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## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Donations to the Library ... .. 2, 46, 90, 122, 158, 192, 240	
Election of Members ... .. 46, 90, 122, 158, 192, 240	

### NO. CCVIII. JANUARY.

The Council's Report for 1905 ... ..	3-4
THE HON. EMMELINE PLUNKET.—The "Star of Stars" and "Dilgan" ... ..	6-13
F. LEGGE.—A Note on "The Early Monarchy of Egypt." ( <i>Plate</i> ) ... ..	14-16
G. LEGRAIN.—The Inscriptions in the Quarries of El Hôsh. (3 <i>Plates</i> ) ... ..	17-26
E. SIREE, <i>M.A.</i> —Note on a Hittite Inscription (J. II) ...	27, 28
PROF. J. LIEBLEIN.—Observations on the Ancient History of Egypt ... ..	29-32
MARGARET A. MURRAY.—The Astrological Character of the Egyptian Magical Wands. (2 <i>Plates</i> ) .. ..	33-43

### NO. CCIX. FEBRUARY.

THE HON. EMMELINE PLUNKET.—The "Star of Stars" and "Dilgan"—( <i>continued</i> ). ( <i>Plate</i> ) .. ..	47-53
SEYMOUR DE RICCI.—The Zouche Sahidic Exodus Frag- ment (Exodus xvi, 6—xix, 11). From the Original Manuscript ... ..	54-67
PERCY E. NEWBERRY.—To what Race did the Founders of Sais belong? (2 <i>Plates</i> ) ... ..	68-75
R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, <i>M.A.</i> —The Folk-lore of Mossoul. I. ... ..	76-86
F. LEGGE.—A New Carved Slate (fragmentary). ( <i>Plate</i> )	87



## NO. CCX. MARCH.

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, <i>D.D.</i> , &c.—Unpublished Hittite Inscriptions in the Museum of Constantinople. (3 <i>Plates</i> )	91-95
EDWARD R. AYRTON.—Discovery of the Tomb of Si-ptah in the Bibân el Molûk, Thebes. (2 <i>Plates</i> ) ... ..	96
R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, <i>M.A.</i> —The Folk-lore of Mossoul. I.—( <i>continued</i> ). (2 <i>Plates</i> )... ..	97-109
E. J. PILCHER.—Two Kabbalistic Planetary Charms. (2 <i>Plates</i> )... ..	110-118
P. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, <i>B.A.</i> —Note on Two Figures found near the South Temple at Wâdÿ Halfa. ( <i>Plate</i> ) ...	118, 119

## NO. CCXI. MAY.

VICTOR LORET.—Le dieu Seth et le Roi Séthôsis ...	123-132
PROF. A. H. SAYCE, <i>D.D.</i> , &c.—The Ivriç Texts : The Ardistama Inscriptions ; Some Hittite Seals. ( <i>Plate</i> )... ..	133-137
E. O. WINSTEDT.—Some Munich Coptic Fragments. I.	137-142
PROF. D. H. MÜLLER.—The Himyaritic Inscription from Jabal Jehaf. ( <i>Plate</i> ) ... ..	143-148
PROF. F. C. BURKITT, <i>M.A.</i> —The 'Throne of Nimrod.' (2 <i>Plates</i> )... ..	149-155
THE REV. DR. COLIN CAMPBELL.—Inscribed Slab with a portrait of Khuenaten. ( <i>Plate</i> ) .. ..	156

## NO. CCXII. JUNE.

F. LEGGE.—Magic Ivories of the Middle Empire. III. (6 <i>Plates</i> )... ..	159-170
PROF. A. H. SAYCE, <i>D.D.</i> , &c.—An Inscription of S-ankh-ka-Ra ; Karian and other Inscriptions. (2 <i>Plates</i> )	171-177
PROF. DR. E. REVILLOUT.—The Burgh Papyrus. Tran- scribed, Translated, and Annotated ... ..	178-181
W. L. NASH, <i>F.S.A.</i> —A Hebrew Amulet against Disease. ( <i>Plate</i> ) ... ..	182-184

	PAGE
E. R. AYRTON.—The position of Tausert in the XIXth Dynasty. ( <i>Plate</i> ) ... ..	185, 186
E. SIEREF, <i>M.A.</i> —Note on the Boss of Tarḳutimme ...	187, 188
PAUL PIERRET.—Le Nom du Pschent ... ..	189, 190

## NO. CCXIII. NOVEMBER.

PROF. A. H. SAVCE, <i>D.D.</i> , &c.—The Chedor-laomer Tablets ... ..	193-200
DR. VALDEMAR SCHMIDT.—Two Statuettes of the Goddess Buto. ( <i>Plate</i> ) ... ..	201, 202
THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, <i>L.L.D.</i> —The Babylonian Gods of War and their Legends ... ..	203-218
R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, <i>M.A.</i> —An Assyrian Incantation against Ghosts ... ..	219-227
H. S. COWPER, <i>F.S.A.</i> —A Bronze Figure from Rakka ( <i>Plate</i> ) ... ..	228
E. O. WINSFELD.—Some Munich Coptic Fragments. II.	229-237

## NO. CCXIV. DECEMBER.

PROF. A. H. SAVCE, <i>D.D.</i> , &c.—The Chedor-laomer Tablets—( <i>continued</i> ) ... ..	241-251
F. LEGGE.—The Tablets of Negadah and Abydos. ( <i>2 Plates</i> )... ..	252-263
THE REV. F. A. JONES.—Pre-Sargonie Times. A Study in Chronology. ( <i>Plate</i> )... ..	264-267
PROF. DR. VALDEMAR SCHMIDT.—Note on a peculiar Pendant shown on Three Statues of Usertsen III. ( <i>Plate</i> ) ... ..	268, 269
THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, <i>L.L.D.</i> —The Babylonian Gods of War and their Legends ... ..	270-283
E. J. PILCHER. A Leaden Charm made under the influence of Saturn. ( <i>Plate</i> ) ... ..	284, 285

Title Page.

Contents.

Index.

## LIST OF PLATES.

---

	PAGE
The Early Monarchy of Egypt ... ..	16
The Inscriptions in the quarries of El Hôsh (3 <i>Plates</i> ) ...	26
The Astrological Character of the Egyptian Magical Wands (2 <i>Plates</i> ) ... ..	49, 42
The "Star of Stars" and "Dilgan" ... ..	52
The Founders of Sais (2 <i>Plates</i> ) ... ..	74
A New Carved Slate .. ..	87
Hittite Inscriptions (3 <i>Plates</i> ) ... ..	92, 94
Tomb of Si-ptah (2 <i>Plates</i> ) ... ..	96
Folk-lore of Mossoul (2 <i>Plates</i> ) ... ..	102, 108
Kabbalistic Planetary Charms (2 <i>Plates</i> ) ... ..	112, 116
Figures from Wâdy Halfa ... ..	118
The Ivriz Texts ... ..	134
Himyaritic Inscription from Jabal Jehaf ... ..	144
The Throne of Nimrod (2 <i>Plates</i> ) ... ..	152, 154
Inscribed Slab in Luxor Temple ... ..	156
Magic Ivories (6 <i>Plates</i> ) ... ..	160, 162, 164
Inscription of S-ankh-ka-Ra (2 <i>Plates</i> ) ... ..	172, 174
Hebrew Amulet ... ..	182
Carving in tomb of Tausert ... ..	186
Statuette of Buto ... ..	202
Bronze Figure from Rakka ... ..	228
The Tablets of Negadah and Abydos (2 <i>Plates</i> ) ... ..	252, 254
Pre-Sargonic Times ... ..	264
Statue of Usertsen III ... ..	268
Leadén Charm ... ..	284



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OF  
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION, 1906.

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*First (Anniversary) Meeting, January 10th, 1906.*

W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., *F.S.A.*,  
*Vice-President,*

IN THE CHAIR.

— ❖ —

The following gifts to the Library were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donor:—

From F. Legge, Esq.—“Das Buch von den Zwei Wegen des seligen Toten.” Part I. By H. Schack-Schackenburg.  
.. .. “Religion of the Ancient Egyptians.” By Prof. Steindorf.

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The Council's Report for the past year was read to the Meeting.

The Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the year ending December 31st, 1905, was presented and approved, and ordered to be printed and circulated among the Members.

The List of the Council and Officers was submitted and approved.

Thanks were returned to the Council and Officers for their services during the past year.

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The following Paper was read:—

MISS M. A. MURRAY: “The Astrological character of the Egyptian Magic Wands.”

Thanks were returned for this communication.

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THE COUNCIL'S REPORT  
FOR THE YEAR 1905.

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IN presenting their Report at the beginning of the Society's 36th Session, the Council have to deplore the loss by death of many old and valued Members, among whom four appear to call for special mention. Of these, M. Jules Oppert was one of our few Honorary Members, having received that distinction at the founding of the Society in 1870. He was also the last survivor of the famous quartette, consisting of himself, Fox-Talbot, Hincks, and Rawlinson, who triumphantly vindicated the true method of reading cuneiform inscriptions, and thus raised Assyriology to the rank of a science. He was a frequent contributor to our *Proceedings*, and the Council feel that there is no need of any words from them to draw the attention of Members to the very serious loss that his death has caused both to this Society and to Oriental Archæology generally. Another most distinguished Member has also gone from us in the person of Sir Charles Wilson. He, too, had been a Member from the beginning, and had served for some time on our Council, while the benefits he conferred on archæology rendered by his explorations in Palestine and Sinai, and the careful survey of both countries which he published, all need as little recapitulation here as do his brilliant services to the State in other capacities than that of archæologist. Even nearer to us was the late Mr. F. D. Mocatta, who had been a Vice-President of the Society since the year 1889, had always contributed in the most generous manner to its funds, and showed his kindly interest in it by bequeathing to it at his death the legacy to be presently mentioned. Lastly, we have to lament the death of Mr. Thomas Christy, one of the founders of the Society, who was specially invited by Dr. Birch to take part in its government, on the ground that his business talents could be exercised to its advantage. How abundantly this turned out to be the case, both the Society and his colleagues on the Council know well.

Owing to the deaths of these and other less distinguished but equally regretted Members, and to the resignations that must always occur in a Society of such long standing as our own, the Council can announce neither an increase nor a slight falling off in the number of Members and subscribing Libraries, which now stands at exactly the same figure namely, 410, as in January last. The net loss would have been much greater but for the gratifying fact that during the past year seventeen new Members have been elected. This compares favourably with the eleven Members elected in 1904, and affords proof that the Society is not losing ground either in popularity or usefulness. But the

Members must again be reminded that it is necessary for them to obtain recruits to fill up the gaps that death and resignation yearly make in our ranks, and that, with the increasing calls upon the income of the classes where we are most likely to find them, this is likely to be a greater difficulty in the future than it has proved in the past. The Council would therefore impress upon all Members the extreme importance of obtaining suitable candidates for election at as early a date as possible.

The financial position of the Society has seldom been stronger, and the Council are glad to be able to report that it continues to improve. Under the will of the late F. D. Mocatta, it has received a legacy of £100, which has been invested in  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Consols, in the names of the Secretary, the Hon. Secretary for Foreign Correspondence, and the Treasurer. Together with the amounts already invested, this makes a Reserve Fund of £236 7s. 9d. stock producing income, and available for emergencies, such as the termination of the Society's lease of their present premises.

The appeal for donations has brought in the sum of £77 13s. 0d., and with the subscriptions paid in advance, and the proceeds of sales, has enabled the Society to discharge the debt of £100 to the Secretary, with which it began the year 1905. It therefore begins the present year without any debt save that for the printing of the December *Proceedings*, and with a balance of more than £100 to its credit. As before, this result is due to the strenuous and unremitting exertions of the Secretary, and the Council hope that the Members will redouble their efforts to maintain the position that has been won with such difficulty. In particular the Donation Fund, which during the past year was contributed to by only fifteen Members out of a total of more than 400, deserves more support from all the Members who can afford to contribute than it has up till now received.

The Papers read before the Society which have appeared in the *Proceedings* continue, it is hoped, to maintain the high level of the Society's work. Omitting those by regular contributors, prominent among whom is our learned President, and whose names are familiar to the Members, the Council beg to draw attention to "The King Samou and the Enclosures of el-Kab," and "Inscriptions from Gebel Abu Gorâb," by M. G. Legrain, and "A Kabbalistic Charm" by Mr. P. Scott-Moncrieff. Another most valuable contribution has been the "Himyaritic Inscriptions on Jabel Jehaf," by Lieut. Yule, R.E., giving an account of a hitherto unknown monument of great importance, a translation and commentary on which by Prof. D. H. Müller, of Vienna, will be shortly published in the *Proceedings*. In all these cases, the Council think that the Society may be congratulated upon the addition to its strength, of which such work is the best evidence.



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

## COUNCIL, 1906.



### *President.*

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, D.D., &c., &c.

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## THE "STAR OF STARS" AND "DILGAN."

BY THE HON. EMMELINE PLUNKET.

"When on the first day of the month *Nisan* the star of stars (or Dilgan) and the moon are parallel, that year is normal. When "on the third day of the month *Nisan* the star of stars and the "moon are parallel, that year is full."

This translation of an Accadian tablet was contributed to the *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society* (Vol. XXXIX, p. 455) by Prof. Sayce and Mr. Bosanquet; and in a very interesting dissertation on the text they explained how, by observing whether the "star of stars" set at the same time as the new moon on the *first* or not till the *third* day of *Nisan*, it was possible for Accadian astronomers to determine whether in the current year it would or would not be necessary to intercalate a thirteenth month in their soli-lunar calendar, in order to keep the year true to the length of the sun's revolution through the stars.

The writers tell us that "Dilgan," a star referred to in other cuneiform inscriptions, "is to be identified with the 'star of stars' "of the rule by a passage in an unpublished tablet which makes the "star of stars' equivalent to 'the star Dilgan of Babylon,'"<sup>1</sup> and they proposed to identify Dilgan with the bright conspicuous star Capella, in the constellation Auriga.

Mr. Maunder has lately again called the attention of astronomers, in the *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society* (March, 1904), and in the *Journal of the British Astronomical Association* (Vol. XIV, No. 6), to this Accadian tablet.

<sup>1</sup> *Notices of the R.A.S.*, XL, 120.

In these Papers he makes it very clear that two conflicting theories have been propounded by Assyriologists in regard to the Accadian calendar. The two theories are, firstly, that the Accadian year was equinoctial; secondly, that the successive constellations of the zodiac were connected with the successive months of the year, Aries being the leading sign.

Many years ago, in this Society's *Proceedings*, I drew attention to the fact that these two theories conflicted with each other, and I contended that, as between their conflicting claims, the evidence of the tablets appeared to be strongly in favour not of an ancient Accadian year counted from the vernal equinox, but of one counted from the entry of the sun into the constellation Aries.

To this view Mr. Maunder is strongly opposed, and he quotes the tablet which heads this Paper as one which, if it has been rightly understood, must render the theory that in ancient times Aries led the year utterly untenable.

He observes: "If Capella was Dilgan, the sun must have been passing through the constellation *Taurus* during the whole of the first month of the year, so that if any connection between the signs of the zodiac and the months of the year was then recognised, the *Bull* must have been regarded as the first sign, and the *Ram* as the last."

Now it must not be thought that these questions concerning the precedence of the Ram or of the Bull in ancient zodiacs are of merely astronomic or academic interest. It cannot with truth be denied that the answer to many historical and mythological problems are closely dependent on those given to such astronomic inquiries, and it is for this reason that I venture to bring before the notice of this Society the subject of the tablet translated by Prof. Sayce and Mr. Bosanquet, and their identifications of the "star of stars" with "Dilgan," and of "Dilgan" with "Capella."

In this inquiry it will be best to deal first with one of these identifications exclusively, namely, that of Dilgan with Capella, and afterwards to discuss whether the "star of stars" can with certainty be equated either with Dilgan or with Capella.

Mr. Maunder thus sums up the considerations which led Prof. Sayce and Mr. Bosanquet to recognise in Dilgan the star known to us as Capella. He says, "They identified *Dilgan* the 'star of stars' with *Capella* by means of a tablet in the Semitic language, which reads:—

“ ‘The appearance at the beginning of the year of the star *Icu* [Dilgan] . . . one observes.’

“ And again :—

“ ‘The star *Icu* in the month Nisan was seen.’

“ These they take, and no doubt correctly, as being observations of the heliacal rising of *Capella*, and they point out that it rose heliacally at the time of the spring equinox about 2000 B.C., and further that its heliacal rising took place before its heliacal setting. These observations they join with the foregoing as together furnishing the determination of the beginning of the “ year.”

It will be seen, from this summing up, that the identification of Dilgan with *Capella* was based on two assumptions, namely :—

First, that the heliacal rising of Dilgan (*Capella*) had been chosen by Accadian astronomers as a mark of the beginning of the year at about 2000 B.C.

Secondly, that the year so marked by Dilgan (*Capella*) was one beginning at the spring equinox.

When Prof. Sayce and Mr. Bosanquet put forward their claim or the identification of Dilgan with *Capella*, both the above assumptions, though not actually capable of proof, were yet not unreasonable.

The earliest known Accadian astronomic tablets were then attributed to a date of about 1600 B.C. To hold that the observations recorded in them had been made some 400 years earlier must have been deemed a sufficiently hazardous supposition. Again, as history showed that at about the beginning of our era Nisan, the first month of the Babylonians and of the Jews, fell close to the spring equinox, the opinion that in past times these nations had counted their years as beginning at that season was very generally if not universally accepted.

Now however that we know that many astronomical observations had been made and recorded long before 2000 B.C., it is impossible to restrict the age of the two references to the star Dilgan in the quoted tablets to that date, and hence the argument for identifying Dilgan with *Capella*, even admitting the equinoctial theory for the Accadian year, is considerably weakened ; and it has further to be borne in mind that two conflicting theories on the subject *do* exist, and that it is not yet a proved fact, or one that can be treated as an axiom, that the Accadian year was equinoctial.

As then there must still prevail much uncertainty regarding the identification of Dilgan with Capella, it will be worth our while to call to our aid in this inquiry some notices of Dilgan occurring in other Accadian tablets, which may enable us to determine in what part of the celestial sphere the star (or constellation) Dilgan was situated.

The translating of ancient astronomical tablets has presented almost insurmountable obstacles to scholars; for as Prof. Sayce observes:—

“ Their interpretation is for the most part difficult, since not only are the terms obscure and removed from ordinary life, but a large portion of the tablets is written ideographically. The astrological information they contain had to be concealed from the uninitiated, and accordingly while the grammar is Semitic, the words are in great measure Accadian. Sometimes, however, these are Assyrian; and the mixture of the two vocabularies considerably increases the difficulty of decipherment, as it is often uncertain whether the characters are to be read phonetically or not. Moreover, the same ideograph is not unfrequently used in totally different senses; in fact we may say that whereas an ordinary Assyrian inscription endeavours to make itself intelligible to the reader, these astrological legends are intended to conceal their meaning as much as possible.”

In the thirty years which have elapsed since Prof. Sayce wrote these lines some advance has been made towards the right understanding of cuneiform astronomical tablets. The advance has been slow; but when we take into consideration the difficulties which had to be encountered at every step of the way, we can only congratulate ourselves on what has been accomplished by the scholars who have turned their attention to this arduous task.

It is now possible to claim with certainty a knowledge of many Accadian technical terms which were still made use of in astronomic and astrologic documents by Babylonian writers in the first and second centuries B.C. The same claim can be made for our knowledge of the Accadian names for the seven planets, and of the first syllable, at least, of the twelve constellations of the zodiac. The Accadian names of a few extra-zodiacal stars and constellations have also been securely ascertained; but for Dilgan, so far as I have been able to learn, no more certain identification has been proposed than that, as above stated, suggested by Prof. Sayce and Mr. Bosanquet.

By making use however of the knowledge that has been gained of the names of other stars and constellations, I think it will be possible to suggest an identification for Dilgan with a well known ancient constellation in the Grecian sphere.

Recorded observations of the position of the planet Venus in different months of the year are to be met with in many ancient tablets. Prof. Sayce translates as follows a passage in which Dilgan is associated with the planet Venus in the month Sebat:—

W.A.I. 53:—

“ 24. [In the month Chisluv] Venus is called the spark of Gula.

“ 25. In the month Tebet, Venus is the spark of the double ship.

“ 26. In the month Sebat, Dilgan of Babylon.

“ 27. A royal crown it *gives* (?) to Merodach.

“ 28. In the month Adar the spark of the Fish of Hea is Venus  
“ (and also Mercury).

“ 29. In the month Adar on the third day (Venus) rises and  
“ in Nisan. . . .”

Fortunately for our inquiry concerning Dilgan, with which in this tablet the planet Venus is associated in the month Sebat, we can claim with almost certainty a knowledge of the names of the two constellations which in the tablet appear as marking the path of the planet in the two preceding months. Gula, it is scarcely possible to doubt, designated the zodiacal Aquarius; and Uz, formerly translated “the double ship,” is now translated “Goat,” and stands astronomically for the zodiacal Capricornus.

The apparent path of the planet Venus is as a rule from west to east amongst the constellations; but for about a fortnight before and a fortnight after inferior conjunction with the sun its path is from east to west. When therefore we read that “In the month Chisluv Venus is called the spark of Gula” (Aquarius), and that in the following month, Tebet, “Venus is the spark of the double ship” (Capricornus), it is clear that at some time during those two months Venus was moving in a retrograde direction through the constellations, and that either at the end of Chisluv or the beginning of Tebet the planet was in inferior conjunction with the sun.

The accompanying illustration represents what may have been the zig-zag path of Venus in a year, in which the longitude of the

planet coincided with that of the sun at a point on the ecliptic between the Babylonian constellations Gula and Uz.

It is not by any means contended that the Babylonian constellations bore in every case exactly the same *figures* as those represented on the Grecian sphere—though there can be no doubt that in many instances a close resemblance did exist. The illustration<sup>2</sup> points to the fact stated by Epping and Strassmaier, that for purposes of astronomical measurement "jedem Bilde genau 30° zugetheilt werden."

As to the initial point of their zodiacal series, I have adopted that of the fixed Hindu sphere. The many considerations which have led me to the opinion that not only in India but amongst "the ancients" generally this was held to be the initial point of the ecliptic circle, I have dwelt upon in *Ancient Calendars and Constellations*. Epping suggests a point about 5° to the East of that here given for the 1° Aries. This difference, though enough to affect the answer given to many chronological problems, need not be taken into consideration in our present inquiry concerning the position of Dilgan in the Accadian sphere.

As the Babylonian years were soli-lunar, the position of the sun on the first of a given lunar month might vary to the extent of about 29° in relation to the constellations of the zodiac. I have supposed that the year in question followed one in which a thirteenth month had been intercalated, and that the first of Chisluv occurred when the sun had advanced about 20° through the Babylonian constellation of the Archer.

During Chisluv, the path of Venus, as may be inferred from the tablet, was through the stars of Gula (Aquarius), and in the following month Tebet through the stars of Uz (Capricornus), therefore in the beginning of the month Sebat the planet would traverse some of the eastern degrees of Uz, and later in the same month would again enter into the constellation Gula. The tablet however associates Venus in the month Sebat not with Uz or with Gula, but with "Dilgan," and this fact should lead us to the conclusion that Dilgan was a star or constellation not far from the point on the ecliptic where the constellations Capricornus and Aquarius meet.

Now Capella—the star with which, as we have seen, it has been proposed to identify Dilgan—is distant by more than 95° of longitude

<sup>2</sup> The Plate will appear with the concluding part of the Paper.

from this point. If therefore we place any reliance on the statement made in the tablet concerning the planet Venus in the month Sebat,<sup>3</sup> we must dismiss the suggested identification of Dilgan with Capella, and we must seek for some star or constellation worthy of notice in or near to Capricornus and Aquarius which could have marked the path of Venus in Sebat, and which also should fulfil the astronomical requirements demanded of Dilgan in the other ancient tablets already quoted, namely:—

“The appearance at the beginning of the year of the star Dilgan . . . one observes.”

And—

“The star Dilgan in the month Nisan was seen.”

To find at 2000 B.C. a star or constellation in the vicinity of Capricornus and Aquarius whose appearance should announce the arrival of the sun at the equinoctial point (then very close to the Pleiades group), it would be necessary to fix upon some star or constellation in *quadrature* to the sun, which star rising at midnight might have called attention to the fact that the sun was at the equinoctial point. That Accadian astronomers should have thus elected to mark the beginning of the year, is a possible but somewhat far-fetched supposition, and to the advocates of an equinoctial year—counted by methods first originated about 2000 B.C.—must be left the task of identifying Dilgan under such a supposition.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Browne, in *Primitive Constellations*, Vol. II, p. 150, refers to a “Dilbat” (Venus) tablet as follows:—

“The tablet S1.7.6, 102, for acquaintance with which I am indebted to “Mr. Pinches . . . gives, but singularly enough not quite in their regular order, “the 12 months with 12 special stars . . .” At a later page Mr. Browne gives a translation of the tablet. I quote from it the lines referring to Dilbat (Venus) in the months Chisluy, Tebet, Sebat, and Adar:—

“7. The Star Gir-anna = Dilbat in Kisluy.”

“8. The star Uz = Dilbat in Tebet.”

“9. The star Dilgan = Dilbat in Sebat.”

“10. The star Kha (the Fish) = Dilbat in Adar.”

Gir-anna, not Gula, is here associated with Venus in the month Chisluy; but for the following three months the path of the planet in both tablets is marked by the same stars or constellations. It has occurred to me that possibly Gir-anna may have been another Accadian name for the constellation “Gula,” and if that were the case, we might assume that the two tablets described the path of the planet in one and the same year; but be that as it may, we find Dilgan in both tablets marking the path of Venus in the month Sebat. The position of Dilgan as in the vicinity of Uz is thus assured by the testimony of two independent witnesses.



If on the other hand we adopt the theory of an Accadian sidereal year, dependent on the entry of the sun into the constellation Aries, we should not find any great difficulty in identifying Dilgan with a well known ancient constellation which could have been associated with Venus in the month Sebat, and which also by its heliacal rising might for Accadian and Babylonian astronomers have marked the arrival of the sun at the initial point of the zodiac. This constellation is the one known to us as *Piscis Australis*—the Southern Fish.

It will be seen from the illustration that this constellation lies to the south and to the west of Aries, and that it underlies the constellations *Aquarius* and *Capricornus*.

A little reflection will, I think, convince us of its suitability for identification with Dilgan.

I have claimed that the heliacal rising of the "Southern Fish" might for Accadian and Babylonian astronomers have marked the arrival of the sun at the initial point of the zodiac.

The late Mr. F. C. Penrose, in a paper published in the *Transactions of the Royal Society* in 1893,<sup>4</sup> thus explains and discusses the meaning of the term "heliacal rising." He says, p. 43, ". . . the meaning of the term being that the star, when very slightly above the horizon, should just be visible in the twilight, before being extinguished by the dawn."

And further, p. 44:—

"The conclusion I have come to is that (1) a first magnitude star in fair average weather in Greece or Italy could be seen when rising heliacally at an altitude of  $3^{\circ}$ , the sun being  $10^{\circ}$  below the horizon; (2) that second magnitude stars should require an altitude of  $3^{\circ} 30'$  with the sun  $11^{\circ}$  depressed, but that for a third magnitude star the sun's depression should not be less than  $13^{\circ}$ . . . ."

<sup>4</sup> "On the Orientation of certain Greek Temples and the Dates of their Foundation derived from Astronomical Considerations, being a Supplement to a Paper on the same subject published in the *Transactions of the Royal Society* in 1893."




(*To be continued.*)


## “THE EARLY MONARCHY OF EGYPT.”

NOTE BY MR. F. LEGGE.

Since Prof. Petrie's Paper on “The Early Monarchy of Egypt” was read before the Society, I have gone carefully over the evidence in the hope of discovering something that might lead me to alter the conclusions expressed by me in “The Kings of Abydos” (*P.S.B.A.*, 1904, pp. 125-144). My search, however, has been fruitless, and Prof. Petrie seems to have ignored most of the points at issue between him and his critics. As, in my former paper, I gave, with such impartiality as I could, all the arguments adduced up to that date by Dr. Naville, Dr. Sethe, and Prof. Petrie himself, there is no need to recapitulate them here: but I may perhaps say that I do not read Dr. Sethe's paper in quite the same sense as he does, and that the former's doubting admission that the Horus- or hawk-name of Ka *may* have belonged to one of Menes' immediate predecessors (*mag daher . . . . . wirklich . . . . . einem der letzten Vorgänger des Menes, die das oberägyptische beherrschten, angehört haben*) can hardly be given much weight against his frankly-expressed opinion that the whole theory of a dynasty before Menes was due to Prof. Petrie's finding names for which he had no room elsewhere (. . . . *verdankt doch die von Petrie aufgestellte Dynastie von Königen vor Menes ihr Dasein im Grunde nur dem Umstande, dass Petrie in der ersten Dynastie keinen Platz mehr für sie hatte*).—However that may be, the real *clenchus* that Dr. Sethe, quite as much as Prof. Petrie, has to face is the identification of Aha with Menes. As I endeavoured to show in my former paper, this is the pivot on which turns the identification of all the kings—except Usaphais and Miebis—claimed for either the First or the Pre-Menite dynasty; and all arguments from style, position of objects and the like, whether valid or not, in the long-run start from this equation. It therefore seems useful to give here two arguments which have come into force since I wrote last year, and which seem to me to increase the probability that the hawk-name of Menes has yet to be discovered.

To the first of these arguments my attention was drawn by my friend, Dr. Naville. It will be remembered that the one document up to the present that bears signs inscribed near the name of Aha which the utmost ingenuity can torture into yielding a name like that of Menes, is the fragment of ivory discovered in the course of M. de Morgan's excavations at Negadah. This fragment, which I here reproduce (Fig. 1 of Plate), shows by the side of the hawk-crowned *srekh* of Aha, a sort of Norman arch formed of three parallel lines, under which appear the part of the royal protocol generally called the vulture-and-uraeus or *nebti* signs, and underneath them, a sign which first Dr. Borchardt and, following him, Dr. Sethe and Prof. Petrie, have declared to be the draughtboard sign reading *Men*, and to be the archaic way of writing the name Menes. As Menes from the analogy of the names Usaphais and Miebis must have represented a cartouche-name, it follows that the arch here shown must, on this hypothesis, be a primitive form of the cartouche. Dr. Naville, on the other hand (*L.P.A.M.*, I, p. 109), will have it to

be not the cartouche but an early variant of the sign  which denotes a building, and would make the whole group read *mennebti* "the royal pavilion." Hitherto this view, though probable enough, has lacked confirmation from precedents going back to very early times, such scenes as that shown in Fig. 2 of the Plate, which depicts the deceased person sitting in a pavilion and playing *draughts*, being taken from a Book of the Dead of the New Empire.<sup>1</sup> Now, however, M. Amélineau has published in his *Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos*, 1897-1898 (Paris: Leroux, 1904), Pl. XV, fig. 19, an ivory tablet coming from the tomb that he there calls Tomb 22 which in a general way resembles the famous fragment of Negadah. On the second register of this (see Fig. 3 of the Plate) there appears an arch corresponding to that on the last-named, with the exception that it is composed of two lines instead of three, under which appear only the two signs  and . If we may read these *nebt*, the whole group might possibly mean something like "the queen's pavilion:"

<sup>1</sup> The sign  occurs on the Palermo Stone, which may be attributed to the VIth dynasty. It is there used in connection with the names of different "Halls," such as "the Hall of the divine thrones" and the like. Cf. Naville, *Rec. de Trav.*, XXV, pp. 64 *sqq.* Schäfer (*Ein Bruchstück Altägyptischer Annalen*) disputes this.

but, in any case, it would require very strong faith to see in the arch any reference to the cartouche. The tablet, it should be noticed, appears from the *srekh* in the left-hand extremity of the upper register to have been made for the king whom Dr. Naville calls *Schesti*, but whom Dr. Petrie would call Zer, and would identify with the king bearing in Manetho the cartouche-name of Atothis. The probability of the truth of Dr. Naville's interpretation of the so-called Menes tablet is now therefore at least twice as great as before.

The other argument that I should like to impress upon the Society is the old one from silence, which seems to me to gather additional force every day. Aha was evidently a king ruling over a great part of Egypt, as is shown alike by the richness of his funereal equipage and by the fact that part of it appears at Negadah and the rest at Abydos. M. Amélineau, M. de Morgan, Prof. Petrie, and Mr. Garstang have in turn unearthed monuments inscribed with his hawk-name, of which we now possess many hundreds as against the dozen or so that can be ascribed to well-authenticated names like Usaphais and Miebis. On the other hand, the cartouche-name which underlies that of Menes must have come down from very early times as that of the founder of the kingdom, since we find both Seti I and Rameses II beginning with it the lists of their predecessors which they engraved on the walls of the temple at Abydos. Hence it should have been as well known in the time of its bearer as that of William the Conqueror was in his; yet among all the hundreds of examples that we now possess of Aha's inscriptions, not one gives any hint of the name of Menes except the fragment given in the Plate, to which a perfectly different and more plausible interpretation can be given. At first this argument had little weight because it might be said that the search for Aha's monuments was not completed; but now, when all find-spots likely to contain his monuments have been ransacked, it seems to me to be almost conclusive. Dogmatism, notoriously unsafe in matters of science, is in Egyptology, peculiarly liable to disaster; and it is, of course, quite possible that the earth may yet give up some inscription that will put the identity of Aha with Menes beyond a doubt. But until this happens, he will I think be rash who will put faith in any lists of the Menite dynasty which, like those of Dr. Sethe and Prof. Petrie, are founded on this equation.

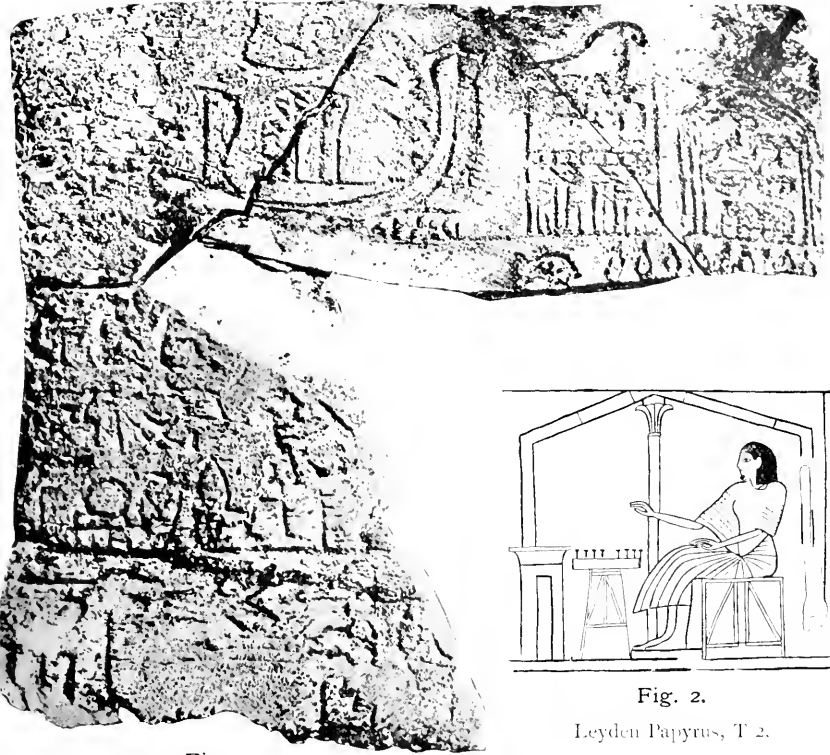


Fig. 1.

From *Rec. de Trav.*, XXI, 105, 1890.

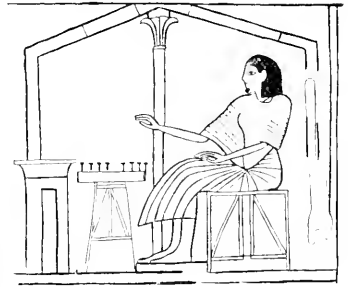


Fig. 2.

Leyden Papyrus, T 2.

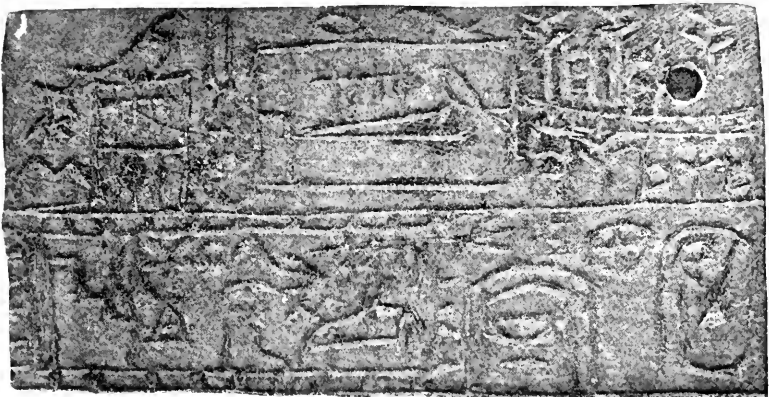


Fig. 3.

From Amelineau ; *Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos*, 1897-98. Paris : Leroux, 1904.



THE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE QUARRIES  
OF EL HÔSH.

BY G. LEGRAIN.

Among the inscriptions which I have collected in the course of my journeys through Egypt, more particularly those that I have found between Edfû and Gebel Silsileh, are nearly one hundred graffiti engraved in the quarries of El Hôsh alone, and which for the most part have not hitherto been published.

Various scientific observers, noticing that these graffiti are only met with in the quarries, and not on the rocks which border the river, have regarded them as "*Steinmetzmarken*," stone-workers' marks, and in some cases have seen in them the mark of the owner of the quarry, a sort of rebus which had no connection with any language or alphabet whatever.

This opinion has seemed to me to be perhaps somewhat hasty, and Prof. Sayce, to whom I showed my copies, encouraged me to make a somewhat closer examination of these inscriptions than had hitherto been done. It may be that these researches will yield no results; but in any case the Plates will serve the purpose of keeping together the complete collection of these curious inscriptions.

For about twenty kilometres South of Edfû, on the West bank of the river, lies the country of Ramadi, the Northern extremity of which is marked by the Gebel Rashîdi. At this point the mountain approaches the river, and past the mouth of a large irrigation canal there is nothing but a narrow band of fertile earth to be found on the border of the Nile. The view of the country from the river is charming: palms, tamarisks, beans, lupins, and walled-in gardens everywhere meet the eye. Those natives of the country who travelled to the Sûdan after its re-conquest, brought back with them the culture of the millet, which has proved an abundant source

of wealth to this pretty country, formerly so poverty stricken. The village is perched on the mountain, fifty yards from the river, and is sufficiently well protected from the attacks of the robbers who sometimes prowl about the river bank. It contains about fifty houses, built of sandstone, and roofed with dried *dúrrah*. The population approaches the Berberine type rather than that of the Arabs of the Saïd.

The roofless quarries, which were worked in ancient times, lie to the North, between El Hôsh and the little Khôr el Âshurai. They are four in number, and we will distinguish them, starting from the North, by the letters A, B, C, D. The quarry A is by the inhabitants called *el Marayha el âbit*, and the quarry C *el Hôsh abû Matar*. These quarries being situated close to the river, working them was an easy matter; the stone moreover was excellent, and the Greek inscriptions found by A. C. Harris in 1857, show us that it was still in use in the eleventh year of Antoninus.

Together with these inscriptions engraved on the unworked walls, we find other texts composed of peculiar characters, for the most part engraved in horizontal lines. These characters are sometimes carefully sculptured in *bas-relief*, sometimes also they have a double outline. The most beautiful example (Plate I, No. 16) is found in the centre of the West wall of quarry A. Carefully sculptured, it appears to be the ensign of the quarry, to indicate its name, or that of its proprietor. This mark or inscription is composed of two signs only—a harpoon and a circle crossed by a horizontal bar. Sometimes a single sign only is engraved, at others the engraver was more ambitious; thus, for example, No. 35 (Plate I) contains no less than eleven characters; Nos. 12, 20, 38, 44, have six characters each; others again have five; all which strike one as an assemblage of a large number of conventional signs for the simple purpose of a stone-worker's mark.

In the collection of the inscriptions given on Plates I and II the Nos. 1-16, and No. 96, come from quarry A; Nos. 17-73 from quarry B; Nos. 74-95 from quarry C. The Greek text No. 98 comes from quarry B, those which follow, from quarry C.

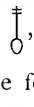

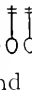
I do not think that these inscriptions are very ancient: Greek letters are among the signs employed, and sometimes even are intermixed with the foreign characters, as, for example, the syllable **ΠΑ** in the inscription No. 88, which does not appear to be in any way a palimpsest. On the other hand, we find the typical harpoons

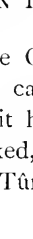


engraved not far from the Greek texts (see Nos. 103, 104). Nowhere else, on any rock, can this contiguity of signs have any determinative value; but it has some such value in the case of a quarry which is being worked, where, contrary to what has happened at Gebel Silsileh and Tûra, the "bench-marks" have been neglected.


We will admit therefore, pending further information, that the Greek inscriptions and their neighbours are contemporaneous, and may be dated under the reign of Antoninus.


Can we, and ought we to, believe that these signs, so numerous and so varied, had no meaning for those who engraved them? Such an idea appears to me impossible. If such were the case we must also disregard, and declare to be meaningless, the Egyptian characters, the signs

, , , etc., and even the cartouche



which are found as marks on certain stones which come from Pharaonic quarries. My own opinion is that when we find any "quarry-mark" on a block of stone, it may, and even must, have a meaning, just as much as the hieroglyphic or hieratic signs engraved or painted in red in the Pharaonic quarries. These last are comprehensible now that we know the meaning of the hieroglyphs, but in former times they would have seemed as meaningless as the characters of El Hôsh.

The characters  *nefer* = "good" on the Pharaonic stones are not an invention of the quarry-master to indicate that the stone was good; it was the sign and word belonging to the language of his country which expressed the quality he attributed to the stone taken from the quarry.

The presence of these signs  does not lead to the conclusion that no hieroglyphic language or writing existed in which this sign and word were employed. The same reasoning is surely applicable to the inscriptions from El Hôsh, which appear to be for the most part of remarkable length, if they are nothing more than the conventional marks of a more or less ignorant quarry-man. On Plate III I have arranged 77 of these signs—this is much for an unlettered stone-dresser, and for recalling on the walls of a quarry the quality of stones which are no longer there.

If we regard the signs from El Hôsh as indicating the name of the owner of the quarry, or his limit of working, we, in that case,

ought to find the same sign, or group of signs, continually repeated. Our collection of the texts engraved in the three quarries (Plates I and II) shows that the engravers had other purposes than those which they seem to have sometimes expressed in a somewhat prolix manner, as for example in the inscription No. 35. But the mere fact of indicating a name is sufficient to raise these signs to the rank of characters having a conventional meaning: in this case we find ourselves in the presence of an unknown writing, and perhaps of a language that we have yet to learn.

We have not a sufficient number of documents to allow of our venturing very far in this hypothesis, but we may make some remarks on the characters.

The presence of signs singly or in groups of two or three would appear to indicate that most of them must be either syllabic or pictorial. Their great number would moreover go to show that we have not to do with a simple alphabet. Moreover, in certain instances we find Greek or Egyptian characters which seem to have been added to the clearly foreign signs, to aid or assure their vocalization, which is an indication of the primitive poverty of the written system. The syllable **ΠΑ** may be the phonetic value of the circle crossed by a horizontal bar (No. 88). The direction of the almost hieroglyphic signs of the text No. 49 appears to indicate a reading from right to left.

The whole signs may be divided into three groups:—

- (1) *The primitive group*, among which I put the circles, harpoons, keys, and some other geometrical signs.
- (2) *The group with Greek letters added*, among which I believe I have recognized the vowels **Α Ι Ο Υ** and the consonants **Β Δ Λ Π**.
- (3) *The group of pictorial signs*, among which I recognize some hieroglyphic signs.

On Plate III all the known signs are collected together. It is very probably incomplete, and we must look to the discovery of other inscriptions to enrich it.

In the following Table I give in one column the reference Nos. of the signs on Plate III, and some notes on the signs; in the other column will be found the reference Nos. of the Inscriptions, given on Plates I and II, in which each sign appears.



PLATE III. Signs.	PLATES I AND II. Inscriptions. Nos.
1. A curved oblique line . . . . .	12, 60, 63, 96
2. A vertical line, perhaps the Greek <i>iota</i> . . . . .	64, 83, 87
3. Perhaps the hieroglyphic sign  <i>am</i> . . . . .	51, 56
4. Perhaps the sign  <i>hedj</i> . . . . .	38
5. Harpoon? . . . . .	69
6. . . . .	91
7. . . . .	96
9, 10. These two signs are very similar. Taking 25, which is more carefully carved than the others, as the type, I call all the signs from 9 to 26, Har- poons. No. 9 is found on the right of the Greek inscription 103.	1, 7, 20, 25, 33, 35, 36, 38, 52, 56, 57, 60, 62, 63, 72, 86, 89, 93, 94, 96
11. . . . .	13, 14, 22
12. In Inscription No. 67 this sign ap- proaches the form of an anchor. ( <i>See</i> sign No. 92.)	15, 17, 19, 29, 31, 34, 35, 41, 46, 50, 62, 63, 65, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 73, 78, 79, 82, 85, 86, 92, 96
13. . . . .	24
14. . . . .	39
15. . . . .	30, 37, 59
16. . . . .	3, 4, 5, 10, 53, 58, 61, 81
17. . . . .	8, 42
18. . . . .	12
19. . . . .	64

PLATE III. Signs.	PLATES I AND II. Inscriptions. Nos.
20. . . . .	9, 18, 35, 44, 45, 46, 48, 62, 66, 73, 77, 78, 80, 88, 92, 94
21. . . . .	16, 82 (?)
22. . . . .	23, 43, 47, 52 (?), 54
23. . . . .	6
24. The second example of this sign does not come from El Hôsh. My copy was made from an engraving of it on a rock at Gebel Rashidi, some kilometres further North, and I know of other signs in the same neighbour- hood.	21, 97
25. . . . .	28
26. . . . .	10
27. Doubtful and ill defined . . . .	35
31. I suggest the name "keys" for the signs 31 to 41.	45, 47
32. . . . .	19, 33, 34
33. . . . .	35, 54, 65
34. . . . .	55
35. . . . .	8
36. . . . .	37
37. . . . .	43
38. . . . .	56
39. . . . .	71
40. . . . .	44

PLATE III. Signs.	PLATES I AND II. Inscriptions. Nos.
41. . . . .	47
45. This sign, the most frequent of all, does not appear to be the Greek $\Theta$ . The sign No. 82 must be its most perfect form, and the two inscriptions 82 and 92, are similar. The inscription 88, seems to indicate the reading $\Pi A$ or $A\Pi$ , for this sign.	1, 2, 8, 9, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 25, 26, 29, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 60, 61, 62, 63, 66, 67, 71, 72, 74, 75, 76 (?), 77, 78, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 92, 94, 96
46. Probably not the Greek $\Phi$ .	7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 19, 20, 22, 45, 46, 47, 58, 59, 65, 68, 70
47. Perhaps a compound of two different characters.	8
48. . . . .	87
49. . . . .	83
50. . . . .	83
51. . . . .	10
52. Perhaps the same as 45 . . . .	76
53. See the Egyptian hieroglyph $\textcircled{v}$ . . . .	64













PLATE III.		PLATES I AND II.
Signs.		Inscriptions.
		Nos.
56.	This sign is found in other places besides El Hósh, for example at Naukratis, <i>cf.</i> Petrie, <i>Naukratis</i> I, Pl. XXXIV, fig. 397B, and also on rocks, and blocks of stone in the neighbourhood of El Hósh.	8, 20, 21, 22, 29, 35, 38, 42, 44, 52, 55, 66, 67, 68, 69, 74,
57.	. . . . .	40
58.	. . . . .	71
59.	. . . . .	85
	It appears to me that eight Greek letters can be recognized, to which may be added the sign No. 2 if we regard it as the Greek <i>iota</i> , thus completing the series of the vowels <b>A, I, O, Y</b> , and the consonants <b>B, Δ, Λ, Π</b> .	
63.	<b>A</b> , is found under the same form in the Greek inscriptions 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106.	36, 52, 88
64.	<b>B</b> . . . . .	35, 56
65.	<b>Δ</b> (?) . . . . .	87
66.	<b>Λ</b> <i>see</i> the Greek inscriptions, as above .	35, 84, 86
67.	<b>O</b> (?) <i>see</i> the Greek inscriptions, as above.	8 (?), 10, 84, 86 (?)
68.	<b>Π</b> . . . . .	88
69.	<b>Y</b> <i>see</i> Nos. 98, 103, 104, 106 . . .	84
70.	<b>Φ</b> (?) . . . . .	70
	Some signs are borrowed from hieroglyphs.	
74.	 <i>her</i> , the face . . . . .	95
75.	 <i>ari</i> , the eye . . . . .	49


PLATE III. Signs.	PLATES I AND II. Inscriptions. Nos.
77, 79.  <i>ankh</i> . . . . .	50
80, 81.  =  <i>shen</i> . . . . .	26, 47, 82
86.  (?) . . . . .	38
87.  . . . . .	39
88. * =  *  . . . . .	49, 62
89.  <i>am</i> (?) <i>see</i> sign No. 3 . . . . .	
91.  <i>h</i> . . . . .	95
Other signs apparently from different sources.	
73. A Dolphin . . . . .	49
78. A Foot . . . . .	34
82. This does not appear to be the sign  No. 46. <i>See</i> sign No. 45.	
83, 84. Branches of a tree . . . . .	44, 45, 47
85. Arrow . . . . .	11, 90 (?)
90. A Graeco-Syrian Altar . . . . .	93
92. Anchor . . . . .	27


I have left vacant spaces in the Plate of signs, as I am satisfied it is far from complete. It is most desirable that we should ascertain if similar Inscriptions do not exist elsewhere, and if so to add them to those which I have here grouped together. I myself know of some examples of the signs Nos. 8, 13, 20, 56 (Plate III), engraved on the rocks *outside the quarries* in the country around El Hôsh, between Gebel Rashidi and Gebel Silsileh. It is by forming a sort of *Corpus* of the Inscriptions that we shall be the better enabled to arrive at the conclusion that these singular characters are probably not simply

stone-workers' marks, but are real characters which have served to transcribe a foreign language that the future may perhaps enable us to understand.

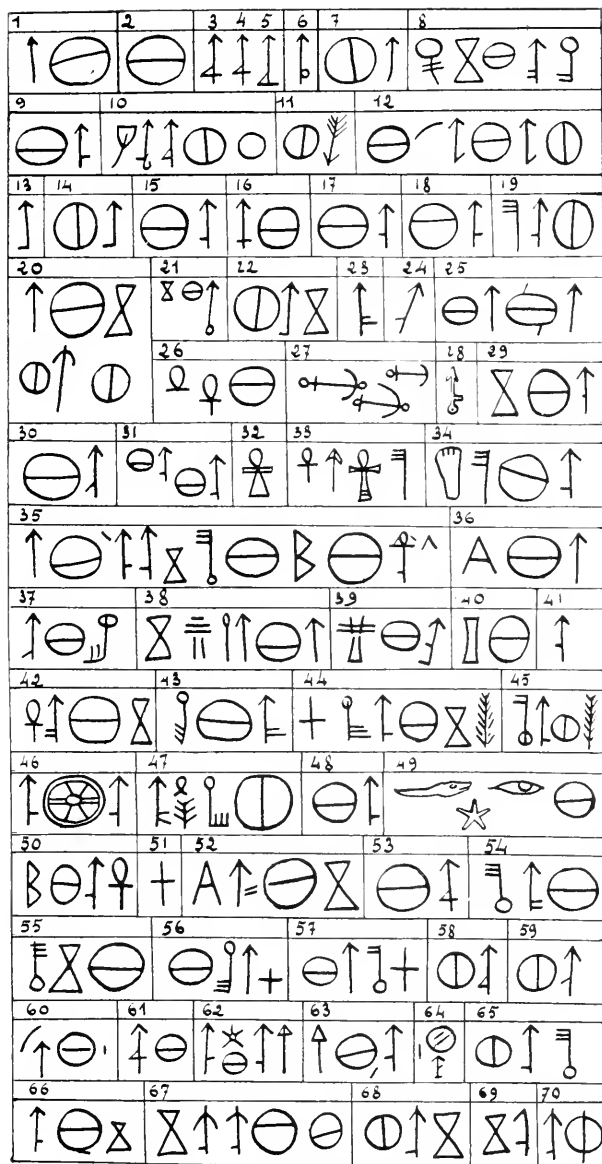
NOTE BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE.

I have copied similar groups of characters, elsewhere in Upper Egypt, the following examples are from El-Kab.

On an isolated rock quarried in the VIth dynasty mine to the East of Hilâl, is an *ankh* and  .

In the Ptolemaic quarries behind Mahamid are an Altar (Plate III, No. 90): the branch (No. 83): the *ankh* (No. 86): and a character  which I have found elsewhere as well as in an inscription of the Middle Empire near Assuan.





INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE QUARRIES OF EL HÔSIL.



71	72	73	74	75	76
⊥ ⊙ ↑ ⊥	⊙ ↑	↑ ↑	⊗ ↑ ⊙	+ ⊙	⊙ ↑
77	78	79	80	81	82
⊙ ↑	↑ ⊙ ↑	↑	↑ ⊙ ↑	⊙ ↑	↑ ⊙ ↑
83	84			85	
⊙ ⊙ ⊙ ⊙ ⊙	Υ Ο Λ			↑ ⊙	
86	87	88	89	90	
⊙ ↑ ⊙ ↑ ⊙	⊙ ⊙ Δ ⊙	⊙ ↑	↑	⊙ ↓	
91	92	93	94	95	
⊙ ↑	↑ ⊙ ↑	⊙ ↑	↑ ⊙ ↑	⊙ ↑	
96	97	98			
⊙ ↑	↑	ΑΡΧΥΝ ΕΠΕΤΕ ΕΘΕΩΣ ΠΑΧΟΥΜΙΣ			
↑	⊙	99			
↑	⊙	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΜΗΧΑΝΙΚΟΣ			
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ			100	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ	
ΛΙΑ ΔΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ ΜΕΣΟΡΗ			103	ΛΙΑ ΔΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ	
ΟΜΙΛΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΗΛΘΕΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΣ ΠΕΤΕ			ΧΟΥΜΙΟΣ		
102	ΤΟΝ ΟΡΜΟΝ ΜΕΣΟΡΗΚΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΜΗΧΑΝΙΚΟΣ				
ΕΠΑΓΑΘΩ					
104	ΛΙΑ ΔΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ ΕΚΟΥΣΑΜΕΝ				
↑	ΤΟΥΣ ΜΕΤΑΛΟΥΣ ΛΙΘΟΥΣ				
	ΠΗΧΩΝ ΤΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΥΛΗΝ				
	ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ				
105	105	105	105	106	106
ΙΛΣΑΝΤΗ	ΝΚΑΙΚΑΡΟΣ	ΔΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ	ΚΑΙ	ΚΑΡΟΣ	
ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ	ΤΟΝ ΟΡΜΟΝ	ΝΙΛΟΣ ΕΙΣ	ΝΟΡΜΟΝ	ΜΕΩΣ	
ΩΑΤΩ	ΣΛΙΕΡΗΚΣ	ΚΑ	ΠΟΥΤΟ	ΚΑΙ	ΡΗΚΣ
ΤΑΤΟ	ΧΑΙΟΥΣ		ΝΤ		
			Λ		

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE QUARRIES OF EL HOSH.
















































































							
							
							
							
							
							
							
							
							
							
							
							

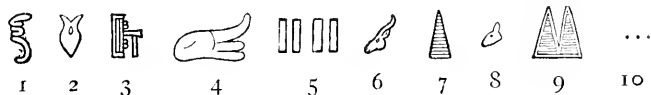
TABLE OF THE SIGNS WHICH OCCUR IN THE INSCRIPTIONS 1 TO 97.



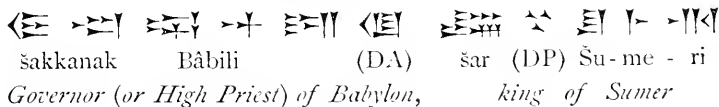
NOTE ON A HITTITE INSCRIPTION (J. 11).


BY E. SIBREE, *M.A.*



The inscription known as J. 11 begins with the words





No. 9 has long been recognized as the symbol for "country." M. Six has discovered that Nos. 3-6 represent the Hittite name of Carchemish, 7 being the determinative of place. May not 9 also be a determinative in the above instance? If so, is it the determinative of 8 or 10? In cuneiform the determinative of place (*ašru*) is affixed to a place-name, the determinative of country (*mātu*) being prefixed to the name of a country, as in the following passage in the Sinjerli inscription of Esarhaddon (l. 14):—



If the Hittite arrangement of determinatives is the same as the Assyrian, then 9 will be the determinative prefix of 10—the name of a country. It also follows that 8, which looks like a lamb's head, will be the symbol for "king"; cf. the Sumerian word *umun*, meaning both "sheep or lamb" and "king" (*šaru*) (*vid.* Ball, "Accadian Affinities," *Trans. IX Congr. of Orientalists*, Vol. II, p. 693; Sayce, *Assyrian Grammar*, p. 29). Again, if 3-6 is the name of Carchemish, then 1, 2, may be a word meaning "governor," or the like. Now, if we compare 1, 2, with the linear form of ,

viz., , prototype also of the Egyptian , we shall see that

2 bears some resemblance to the first symbol, while 1 may be compared with the abridged form , of the second symbol. The transposition of the symbols in the Hittite is due probably to causes similar to those which occasioned the change in reading of  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\parallel \parallel\parallel$  *zu-ab* in Sumerian to  $\parallel\parallel \rightarrow\rightarrow\parallel$  *ab-zu* in Assyrian. Again, the immediate prototype of the Hittite symbol No. 2 is possibly not the above Babylonian symbol, but  (=  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\parallel\parallel$ ), "dagger," since both this symbol and the above had the same phonetic values, *gir*, *mer*. If so, the Hittite symbol which resembles a dagger must be regarded as merely due to a confusion of signs which arose in the Babylonian prototype of the phrase. The word represented by 1, 2, may be rendered either "governor" or "high priest."

We might then translate the opening words of J 11 as "Governor of the city of Carchemish, King of the land of . . ."



## OBSERVATIONS ON THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF EGYPT.

BY PROF. J. LIEBLEIN.

I long since expressed the opinion that the Egyptian civilization, as manifested in its most developed form on the monuments of the period of the pyramids, commenced in prehistoric times, probably several centuries, or rather some thousands of years, before Menes. It originated in that part of the Valley of the Nile which extends from Heliopolis in the North to the neighbourhood of Abydos on the South, that is to say, from  $30^{\circ}$  to  $26\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  of latitude.

It is this district, containing the cities Heliopolis, Heracleopolis Magna, Hermopolis, and Panopolis, which is exclusively mentioned in the most ancient part of the Book of the Dead—Chapter XVII—which relates the history of the creation of the world. It is here that the Sun was the principal deity, Ra, Horus, Tum, and that Heliopolis, the place of his worship, was the holy city, the most ancient centre of Egyptian civilization. In short, it is here that lived the people who represented the Egyptians, properly so called, and whom we may designate the “Heliopolitan people.”

To the North of this district, in the swamp of the Delta, lived the Semitic immigrants from the adjacent Asia, with their deity Set-Typhon, who is doubtless to be identified with the Seth of the Bible (Gen. v, 3 *ss.*), and with the god Set of the Khetas, mentioned in the treaty between the Khetas and Rameses II.

To the South, beyond This—Abydos and Negadah—lived a third people, immigrant perhaps from the Red Sea littoral, whose kings at the very commencement of historic times constructed the tombs at Negadah, and above all at Abydos. These immigrants, whom we may call the “Abydenian People,” finally settled at Abydos, and when they had become accustomed to their new surroundings, and felt themselves strong enough to continue the conquest of the country, one of their kings, Menes, went northwards, subjugated the

Heliopolitan Egyptians and founded, for the first time, the Egyptian Empire. Osiris of Abydos was his god, and as the god of a people shared the lot of his people, Osiris became at first the principal deity of the Empire. The worship of the solar god Horus was so firmly established among the most civilized Egyptians, that the necessity for a compromise was very soon felt. Osiris became the father, Horus the son. But later the worship of Horus took the ascendancy over that of Osiris, and as the moral sense became simultaneously developed, the relative position of the two gods became thus fixed: Osiris as the dead god became the supreme judge in the other world, while Horus as living god was king on earth. The Book of the Dead, Chapter XVII, 5 ss., expressly says: "I am yesterday and I know the morrow. Yesterday is Osiris, to-morrow is Ra, in that day on which he has killed the enemies of the Universal Lord, and on which he has given the royalty to his son Horus. In other words, it is the day on which we celebrate the finding of the coffin of Osiris." Again, l. 69 ss.: "He to whom is given the royal crown and joy in Heracleopolis Magna, is Osiris. It is given to him to reign over the gods in that day on which the two countries (Upper and Lower Egypt) are established before the Universal Lord. He who is ordered to reign over the gods, is Horus, son of Osiris, who governs in the place of his father Osiris. The day of establishing the two countries, it is the union of the two countries (Upper and Lower Egypt) on the burial of Osiris."

This, in my opinion, means, when Menes had finished the war by a decisive battle, and had united Upper and Lower Egypt under one rule, so Osiris had at the same time began to reign over the gods. He was "yesterday." But the morrow was Horus, who after the death of Osiris took the government in place of his father. All is clear and simple, without either ambiguity or mystery.

The usual name of this god is "Osiris, Lord of Abydos," a name which indicates that he was in fact the local god of Abydos. As a dead god he is called "Khentament," *he who is in Amenti*, the god of the dead. A third name of this god is "Osiris Lord of Mendes," a name, however, which does not indicate that his worship originated in Mendes; on the contrary, we know that instead of being a primitive deity at Mendes, he was introduced there at a later time. For in the Book of the Dead, Chapter XVII, 42 s., we read, "I am a soul in its two twins. Osiris enters into Mendes, he finds the soul of Ra there; then they unite the one with the other and they

become his soul in his two twins: It is Horus, avenger of his father and Horus-Khont meriti. In other words: the soul in his two twins is the soul of Ra with the soul of Osiris." This is a perfectly clear and authentic statement to the effect that at a later epoch a new worship of Osiris was introduced into Mendes, to be united with the ancient worship of Ra.

Menes has therefore, by his victory, not only united the two countries—the Abydenian and the Heliopolitan peoples—into a single empire, but he has also arranged a compromise between the worship of Ra and that of Osiris, which last has in course of time become changed into a worship of the dead.

With regard to the third people, the Semites who had wandered to the North in the swamp of the Delta, they were not yet subjected to the new empire, but this probably took place under the last kings of the IIInd dynasty. At least, we know from M. Amélineau's excavations at Abydos, a king Khasekhemui, last king of the IIInd dynasty, or, as M. Maspero thinks, one of the kings of the IIIrd dynasty, whose name appears below two symbols which represent the gods Horus and Set. Prof. Petrie in his *History* (I, 28\*, 5th ed.) writes as follows of the clay sealings of this king: "In every case the name is surmounted by both Set and Horus; face to face where the name is of the full form; both the same way where the shorter form is used." Again, on page 27\*, speaking of Khasekhem, whom he regards as the predecessor of Khasekhemui, but who was probably the same person, he writes: "The seated figures (of Khasekhem) are, one in slate and the other in hard limestone. Around the base of each figure is a row of slain enemies, and on the front is the inscription 'Northern enemies.' . . . . these can hardly be of the Nile valley, nor are they likely to be Sinaites, as such are not termed Northern."

All this accords perfectly well with my views, long since expressed, on the most ancient history of Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

The "Northern enemies" were the Semites who dwelt in the Delta, and the "two tribes of Horus and Set worshippers" were the Egyptians represented by their god Horus, and the Semites represented by their god Set. The war between the Egyptians and the Semites was long and fierce, but at last terminated, probably under the reign of Khasekhemui of either the IIInd or IIIrd dynasty. A

<sup>1</sup> J. LIEBLEIN, *Gammegyptische Relig.*, Kristiania, 1883, I, 81, ss.

compromise, analogous to that between Osiris and Horus, was made between Horus and Set, by which Set as god of the Semites obtained a place by the side of Horus.

From the time of Khasekhemui, all Egypt, from the Mediterranean to the First Cataract, with its inhabitants of different nationalities, was then united in one empire. At the commencement of this period several colonies had been founded. Southwards :

- (1) *On-Denderah*, with the goddess Hathor ; here the names of the town and goddess recall the Heliopolitan town and goddess.
- (2) *On (Oni) Esna*.
- (3) *On of the South Hermonthis*.

The two last were probably Heliopolitan colonies ; at least their names recall the name of On-Heliopolis.

- (4) *Nubi-Ombos(?)*, with its double worship of Set and Horus.

As to the colonies in the North, we may be tempted to regard *Sais* as a colony of *Siut*. The hieroglyphic names of these two towns closely resemble each other in some of their variants, and the two towns, Upper Sau and Lower Sau, named in the Book of the Dead, Chapter CXLII, 3 and 4, may very well be Siut and Sais.

The high civilization, that the monuments of Snofru and of the other kings of the IVth dynasty attest, commenced in Middle Egypt thousands of years before the immigration of the Abydenian people in the South, and can certainly not have been developed in the short space of fifty or a hundred years that separated the rude Royal Tombs at Abydos from the fine monuments of Snofru's period at Memphis.

## THE ASTROLOGICAL CHARACTER OF THE EGYPTIAN MAGICAL WANDS.

BY MARGARET A. MURRAY.

In looking over the very interesting drawings and photographs of magical ivory wands published by Mr. Legge in the May number of the *Proceedings*, one is struck by two things : first, by the number<sup>1</sup> of figures having reference to birth, and, second, by the extraordinary number of signs having reference to astronomy. The combination of birth and astronomy points to only one conclusion, Horoscopes.

The "science" of astrology is very ancient. Horoscopes of the kings of the XIXth and XXth dynasties still remain to us, and it is evident that these are not the first of their kind. The Egyptians, even in primitive times, had a fair knowledge of astronomy ; and as astrology always precedes the exact science, we may safely say that if the Egyptians, at some primitive period of which the date is lost, knew sufficient astronomy to reform their calendar and base it upon astronomical data, they also were able to cast a nativity from the stars and set down the result in conventional signs and figures.

To take the signs of Birth first. These consist of three, Taurt, Bes, and Heqt. Taurt, goddess of birth and of magical protection, and Bes, god of birth and of magic, are constantly represented over the doors of the royal birth-chapels in the temples ; and in representations of the birth of a monarch, Taurt and Bes are in conspicuous positions. It may be noted that Bes as god of birth is not quite the same as Bes in his other rôles of god of pleasure and of war. As god of birth, he wears no head-dress or other insignia,

<sup>1</sup> The *figure* numbers given below refer to Mr. Legge's Paper on "Magical Ivories" in the May number of the *Proceedings* of the current year ; *plate* numbers to the plates accompanying this Paper.

and his hands are either empty, or more usually he holds a snake in each. Taurt the hippopotamus has always been identified as the goddess of birth, and these wands are made of hippopotamus ivory, an appropriate material if they are used for recording the date of birth and the prognostications to be derived from that date. The frog-goddess Heqt, wife of Khnum the creator, is also a birth-goddess, as is shown in the story of the birth of the kings of the Vth dynasty (Westcar Papyrus), where Heqt comes with Isis, Nephthys, Meskhent, and Khnum to assist at the birth. Taurt, Bes, or Heqt occur on all the wands, except No. 7, a few small fragments (and the one from the Hood Collection recently published).

The astronomical signs are, as might be expected, more varied than those of birth, including, as they do, the signs of the Zodiac, the planets, and the dekan-stars. The signs required, if all the constellations and stars were represented, would be:—

Signs of the Zodiac.

Planets.

Stars and constellations of the dekans.

Deities of the dekans.

Symbols of the dekades.

Deities of the dekades.

Besides signs which refer to other constellations. This number is far beyond those figured on the wands, on which there are, roughly, about sixty signs represented.

SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC.—The Egyptian signs of the Zodiac, as given at Denderah, are the same as our own, with the exception of Cancer, which is there given as a scarab. In the star maps of the Tombs of the Kings, the Scorpion is represented by the goddess Serq, showing that a constellation keeps its name, though the representation of it may change. The Zodiac of Esneh gives Gemini as a double-headed animal (*Desc. de l'Égypte*, I, pl. 87); we may therefore take the double-sphinx to be the sign Gemini, which in the Zodiac of Denderah is represented by the twin deities, Shu and Tefnut. Shu and Tefnut are often represented elsewhere as a double lion, and it is not difficult to see in the lion with two human heads the double lion, which is the representation of Shu and Tefnut. Another proof that these are the signs of the Zodiac is given in fig. 2, where the figures of a scarab and a ram-headed man are divided off from the rest of the signs and from each other

by straight lines. In a well-drawn horoscope, the Houses are divided from each other by lines; in a modern horoscope, each house is numbered, and the sign of the Zodiac to which it belongs is written above it by its astrological symbol, and within the House is the astronomical symbol of any planet which happens to occur in that sign. In this early astrology the representation is more simple; the House is given with only the sign of the Zodiac to which it belongs, in this instance Aries and Cancer.




Here then are four out of the twelve signs of the Zodiac which appear on the wands:—



Ram, or ram-headed god	= Aries.
Double-sphinx	= Gemini.
Scarab	= Cancer.
Goddess	= Scorpio.






PLANETS.—The planets are seven in number: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercury, and Luna, and, according to the ancient Greek usage, which has descended to our times, they each rule two Houses (*i.e.*, signs of the Zodiac), with the exception of Sol and Luna, which rule only one apiece.

Brugsch says (*Aegyptologie*, p. 338) that Egyptian astrology recognised the same order, except that Jupiter and Mars change places, Jupiter ruling Aries and Scorpio, Mars, Sagittarius and Pisces; I am, however, inclined to think that the order was the same as the Greek. The Houses of the Exaltations of the planets appear, from the only indications left, to have been the same in Egypt as in modern times. To quote from a mnemonic rhyme, "The Moon is exalted in Taurus," and at Esneh and Denderah (*Desc. de l'Egypte*, I 79, and IV, pl. 20) the bull, which represents Taurus, carries on his back the disk of the moon. We may therefore conclude that, if astrology has hardly changed in the 2000 years which have elapsed since the building of the Denderah temple until the present day, it is hardly likely to have changed even as much in the 2500 years which divide these ivory wands from the Denderah temple.



The planets are represented at Denderah as hawks, distinguished from one another by the crowns which they wear, but their characteristics are so marked that in other places they are figured in other shapes.








Jupiter is, I believe, always a hawk, his name being     
*Hor-uf-sheta*, which Brugsch (*Ägyptologie*, p. 336) says is the official name of Osiris as king.

Saturn is called   *ka pet*, "Bull of heaven," and is represented as a bull-headed man.

Mars is called   *Horakhti*, and is figured as a sun . In Graeco-Roman times he is called   *Hor-deshor*, "The red Horus": in Greek, Ἑρτοσι or Ἀρτυς. This planet is often considered to be feminine among the Egyptians, and called *Hor deshert*.







The Sun as a planet is represented (Mariette, *Denderah*, IV, 76) as a disk on legs walking upon the body of the sky-goddess Nut.

Venus is identified with the Bennu-bird of Osiris, and in late times is called   *py neter duu*, "The god of the Morning-star." Venus is always masculine in Egypt.

Mercury has two names,    or   Sebek the crocodile, and   Set. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that Sebek is his own name, and Set the god to whom he is dedicated; but according to the Egyptian method he may be represented either as a crocodile or as the Set-animal.

The Moon is commonly represented as the Sacred Eye, either alone or carried by the ape which is the emblem of the Moon-god Thoth.

DEKANS.—The Dekans and Dekades offer the chief difficulties; the former may be represented by their own symbols, or under the forms of the gods which govern them; and as there are 36 dekans, that makes 72 figures which can be used. Brugsch (*Thes.*, p. 18) gives the names and symbols of 58 dekades, the number of snakes among the symbols being quite remarkable. The dekans denote dates, and therefore their importance in a horoscope would be second only to the Houses and the planets.

CONSTELLATIONS. Among the constellations "which are behind Sothis" are    *shethu*, "the tortoise" and     
*nesru*, "Flame (?)."



Taurt figures largely as a constellation in all Egyptian star-maps, but in the earlier ones invariably with a crocodile on her back; Taurt without the crocodile cannot be intended for the constellation.



The constellation round the Pole is represented by a jackal, and this is striking when we remember that as a rule one end of the wands bears a jackal's head. The other end has a lion's head, in which I would see the sign Leo; the two together representing the solstices, Summer and Winter, North and South.

In applying this theory of their astrological use to the wands, I find that it is upheld in so many instances as to induce me to believe that it is the true solution. Although I cannot identify every sign, yet enough can be identified with the planets and the signs of the Zodiac to prove the fact of their astrological purpose, and the signs of birth on each one shows that it was birth-astrology.

FIG. 3. In the Zodiac of Denderah we find Cancer represented as a beetle, in Zodiacs of the *Tombs of the Kings* Scorpio is always figured as a goddess, *i.e.*, as a woman, with her name *Sery* above her. These two constellations hold the same place on the different sides of the wand, and may therefore be considered as equally important. A true birth-horoscope should be counted from the time, not merely of birth, but of conception, which is evidently the case here, the distance between Scorpio and Cancer being nine months. The one horoscope modifies the other, when the future has to be read from the signs. The planets of the two Houses are Mars and Luna. Mars as the ruling planet is shown as a shining sun; he also appears as the shining sun on the other side of the wand alongside the figures of his two houses, Scorpio and Aries. Luna as the Sacred Eye appears at the far right hand corner of the reverse side of the wand. Mercury under the form of Sebek the crocodile occurs three times, once on the reverse side, where the figure is fully drawn out and is placed above the Hawk and Sun (Jupiter and Mars), perhaps to show a conjunction with those planets; twice on the obverse, where only the head is given. The positions of the heads are interesting; one is in the middle of the wand, the other in the right-hand corner. We know so little of ancient astrology that it is impossible to say whether they are placed in those positions to indicate their aspect to other planets or their direction to fixed stars or constellations; or whether Mercury like Mars is placed beside one of his houses, Gemini, represented by the double-headed sphinx.



FIG. 4. Here I can only identify Luna as the Ape with the sacred Eye, and Mercury as Set; and I would suggest that the Lion with the sacred Eye on his head and his knee is Sol, and that the fire-sign is the constellation *Nesru*.





FIG. 16. First come three planets, Luna, Sol, and Saturn, perhaps a conjunction of the three; the three signs at the opposite end of the wand appear to me to be the date—the House or sign of the Zodiac, the Hour, and the Dekan constellation.

FIG. 19. Here are five figures between Taurt and the winged serpent, two of which can be identified as planets; I therefore presume that they are the five planets Jupiter, Saturn, Mars, Mercury and Venus. The first two figures are greatly damaged; the third, Mars, is a female figure, but in late inscriptions Mars is constantly spoken of as   “the feminine Horus.” The fourth is Set or Mercury; the fifth is a hawk-headed man representing Venus, which among the Egyptians is essentially a masculine planet. The identification of the hawk with Venus is shown at Denderah (*Desc. de l’Egypte*, IV, pl. 20), where a human figure with two heads, a man’s and a hawk’s, represents the planet.

In all astrology the ruling planet is looked upon as a protector. A strong planet, when in the ascendant or as Lord of Mid-heaven, will protect the “native” from ills and misfortunes innumerable, and when favourably aspected, the good influence of that planet on the fortunes of the “native” is immensely increased. The ruling planet exercises a continual influence on the life of the “native,” and, except when in a definitely bad aspect, the influence is always favourable and protective. This same idea of protection applies in a lesser degree to the other stars.

The few inscriptions which remain upon the wands also point to this same idea of the protective influence of the stars.

The purpose of these wands is  *sa*, “Protection,” and the dekan-stars are called  *sebau sa*, “stars of protection.” (Brugsch, *Thes.*, p. 133.) One of the inscriptions of fig. 4 begins:

    *zed medu yn āhā*, “words spoken by the fighter.” In the tombs of the kings (Brugsch, *Thes.*, p. 122) Set is




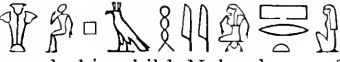

called  *āhā āa*, "The great fighter." Set is the same as the planet Mercury, and on this wand Set occupies a prominent place towards the middle of the obverse. In astrological language he would be the Lord on the Nativity, *i.e.* the chief or strongest planet in the horoscope, and would therefore be the star which exercised most influence on the "native."

FIG. 9 gives  *sed medu ynuk kher usat*, which Mr. Hall translates, "I am the possessor of the eye," but taking *kher* in its literal sense of "under," this would read equally well, "I am under the Moon," *i.e.* the Moon is my ruling planet.

On some there is no inscription, but  *sa Ra*, "Protection of Ra." Here I take Ra to mean the sun, not as a planet, but as the ruler of the heavens, to whom all planets, stars and constellations are in subjection.

No. 7. After the usual formula, the "protection of Ra" is invoked  *ha khered py Nehy mes Pert*, "around this child Nehy, born of Pert." Here the wand is definitely for a child, and from the word-sign , probably a young child. This is a clear proof that the wand was made for its owner early in life.

The signs of wear which many of the wands show cannot be explained, I think, by their having been worn on the person. On most of them there is no means of attaching them securely; besides, they are never shown on any figure of that period, whether painting, bas-relief, or statue. They are also never shown in any list or pictures of objects intended for the use of the dead; but this is easily accounted for if they are horoscopes, for at the death of the "native" the use of the horoscope comes to an end. I account for the signs of wear in this way: a horoscope when first drawn up is fairly simple, merely indicating in a general way the character and fortunes of the "native," and the stars which afford him protection; if definite information is wanted as to, *e.g.*, a journey, the character of a new acquaintance, an auspicious day for beginning any fresh work, etc., the horoscope is sent to an astrologer, who calculates from it the desired result. A simple horoscope like fig. 2 would

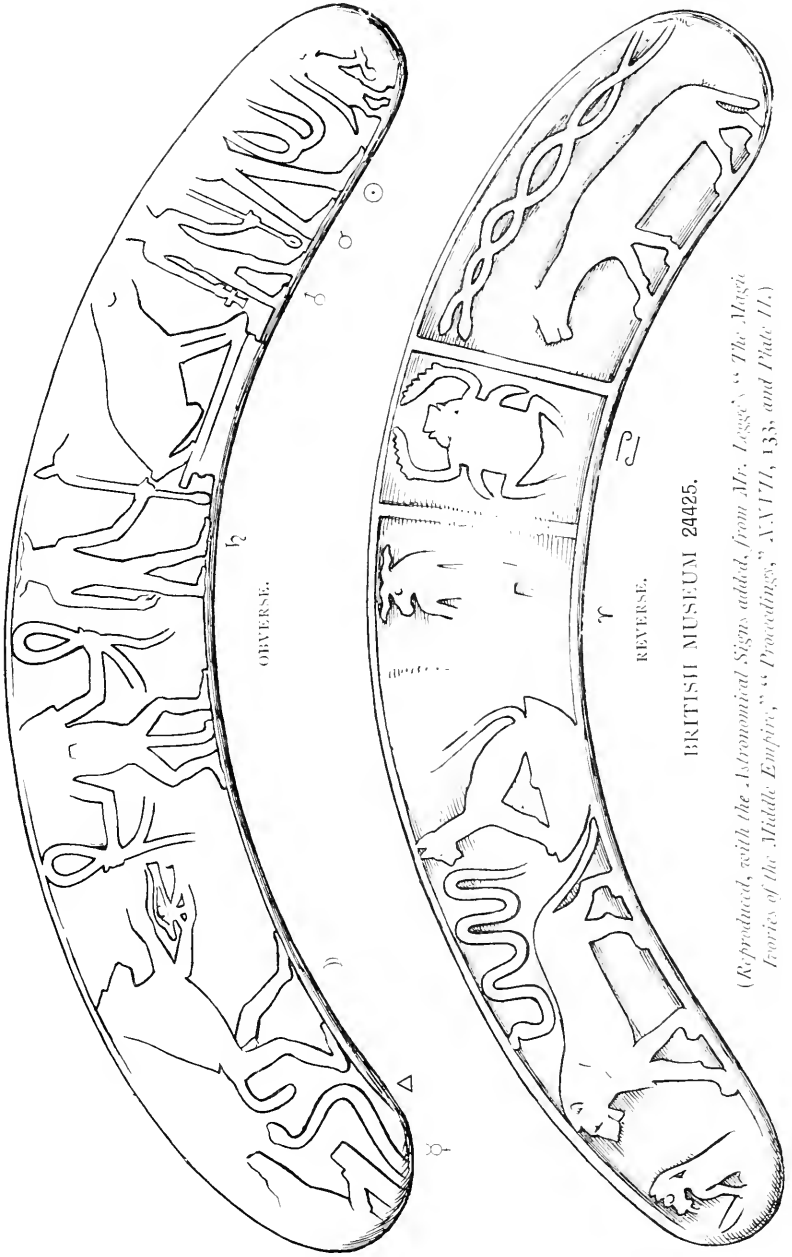
require more additional calculation than an elaborate one like fig. 3, and therefore shows more signs of wear.

The position and relative size of the figures appear to have some definite meaning. Lane, in his notes to the *Arabian Nights*, describes divination from the motion "or positions of birds or gazelles and other beasts of the chase. Thus what was termed a *Sáneh*, *i.e.*, such an animal standing or passing with its right side towards the spectator, was esteemed among the Arabs of good omen: and a *Báreh*, or an animal of this kind with its left side towards the spectator, was held as inauspicious." On these wands several of the figures, *e.g.*, the sun on legs, are represented sometimes turned to the left, sometimes to the right, which, if my theory is correct, would show respectively a bad or a good aspect of the planet or sign.

The relative positions of the planetary signs to each other appear to show the Aspects: Conjunction, Sextile, Quartile, Trine, and Opposition. And the size of a planetary sign, *e.g.*, the crocodile on fig. 3, which is very large in proportion to the other signs, indicates the Lord of the Nativity, or the chief planet of the horoscope.

FIG. 2 (see Plate I). This is one of the simplest as well as one of the oldest of the wands. The Houses are clearly shown as square divisions, containing respectively the signs of Aries and Cancer. These are the Houses of Conception and Birth, the House of Birth being Aries, as it is in the principal place, in the middle of the wand. The planets are given on the obverse, and are represented as follows: Sol as a disk walking and with two uraei hanging from it; Saturn as a bull-headed man holding a sceptre; Luna as the Ape with the sacred Eye; Mercury as a crocodile.

I read the figures thus: (1) The figure of Taurt, which I take to be an astrological symbol, and may represent one of the "Significators" which signify the events about to happen to the "native." In modern astrology there are five significators, the Ascendant, the Mid-heaven, the Sun, the Moon, and the Part of Fortune. In early and less complicated astrology, the Sun and Moon would probably be looked upon merely as planets, reducing the Significators to three, which might be identified with the three birth-gods, Taurt, Heqt and Bes, though this I think hardly likely; the Ascendant and Mid-heaven would be expressed by the position of the planet on the wand. The three divinities may, however, very well be the symbols for the Giver of Life, the Giver of Years, and the Lord of the Nativity, and on a birth horoscope these symbols would be



BRITISH MUSEUM 24425.

*(Reproduced, with the Astronomical Signs added, from Mr. Lesse's "The Magic  
Fancies of the Middle Empire," A.VII, 133, and Plate II.)*




very appropriately expressed by figures of gods of birth. Of the three, the term Giver of Life appears to me most applicable to Taut. On this wand, the unidentified planet, which I take to be Mars, must be the Lord of the Nativity (*i.e.*, the strongest planet in the horoscope), because being one of the leaders of the procession and next to the Sun, he is evidently in the Ascendant, and in conjunction with Sol. A Conjunction with the Sun, if it is Partil. *i.e.*, exact, is called *In corde solis*, and is one of the most beneficent of aspects. Aries, one of the houses of Mars, is the House of Birth in this horoscope, and one of the Decanates or Faces of Mars is in Aries. All these combined, give Mars a greater number of dignities than the other planets, and therefore make him Lord of the Nativity; a position which I take to be indicated by the Frog. Bes would then indicate the Giver of Years. (2 and 3) Sol and a planet unidentified, perhaps Mars, both moving towards the right. From their position, *i.e.*, leading the way, we may conclude that they are in the Ascendant, Sol being the Giver of Life as indicated by his position next to Taut. They are divided from the next planet by (4) the frog-sign, and are therefore placed closely together; a position which evidently represents a Conjunction. A conjunction of planets in the Ascendant is considered one of the most fortunate and important of all aspects, and would be emphasized in any horoscope, ancient or modern. The unidentified planet is the Lord of the Nativity. (5) The bull-headed man, which is the planet Saturn. From his position in the middle, and highest part, of the wand he is the Lord of Mid-heaven, and from his position next to Bes, he is the Giver of Years as well. Saturn stands alone, divided from Sol and Mars by the frog-sign, and from the following planets by Bes. Saturn in Mid-heaven is very important, and would exercise a very strong influence on the horoscope. (6) Bes with snakes. (7) Luna the Sacred Eye, followed by (8) Mercury the crocodile, from whom she is partly divided by (9) a snake. This indicates an aspect of the two planets with one another, but the interposition of the snake shows a distant aspect, perhaps Trine, or even Opposition; though, as the figures face to the right, it is probably the auspicious aspect, Trine. This is another strong combination, from the fact that Cancer is the House of Conception, which gives more power to Luna.


The reverse side of the wand offers more difficulties, as I cannot identify many signs. (1) Taut, probably purely astrological; (2) a

lion, unidentified; (3) a waved snake, perhaps the sign of a dekade; (4) a cat on a *neb*-basket, unidentified; (5) Aries in the House of Birth; (7) Cancer in the House of Conception; (8) a twisted snake, probably the same as an astronomical sign or constellation at Denderah; (9) a panther, unidentified.

To recapitulate: Cancer is the House of Conception, Aries the House of Birth, therefore Mars, the planet of Aries, is the ruling planet. Only the strongest planets and their aspects are given; Conjunction of Mars and Sol in the Ascendant; Saturn in Mid-heaven: Luna and Mars in Trine (*see* Plates).



That astrology was well-known in the XIIIth Dynasty is shown by the inscriptions on the coffin of Emseht, published by M. Daressy (*Annales du Service*, I, 85). It begins with a *seten dy hetep* for


 "Ra, Lord of Heaven, in all his places."


 "Meskhu in the Northern heaven" (the


Great Bear);  "Nut":  "Sahu in the



Southern heaven" (Orion). These are evidently parallel passages: Ra, ruler of the starry host, and the chief constellation of the North; Nut, the sky goddess, and the chief constellation of the South. The other constellations and stars are in pairs, the names joined by the


word  "Together with;"  "The Southern

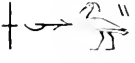

*Semd*," and  "The Northern *Semd*." M. Daressy


says that these are planets, the Southern *Semd* being Jupiter, the Northern *Semd* Mercury.  "The god traversing the sky"


and  "The upper arm" (of Orion). "The god traversing the sky" is said by M. Daressy to be Saturn. "The upper arm" is a

dekan. Then comes  "Sirius" and  "The Great

Bear," a fixed star and a constellation.  "Akhy," and

 "That which is behind Akhy," both dekans. 

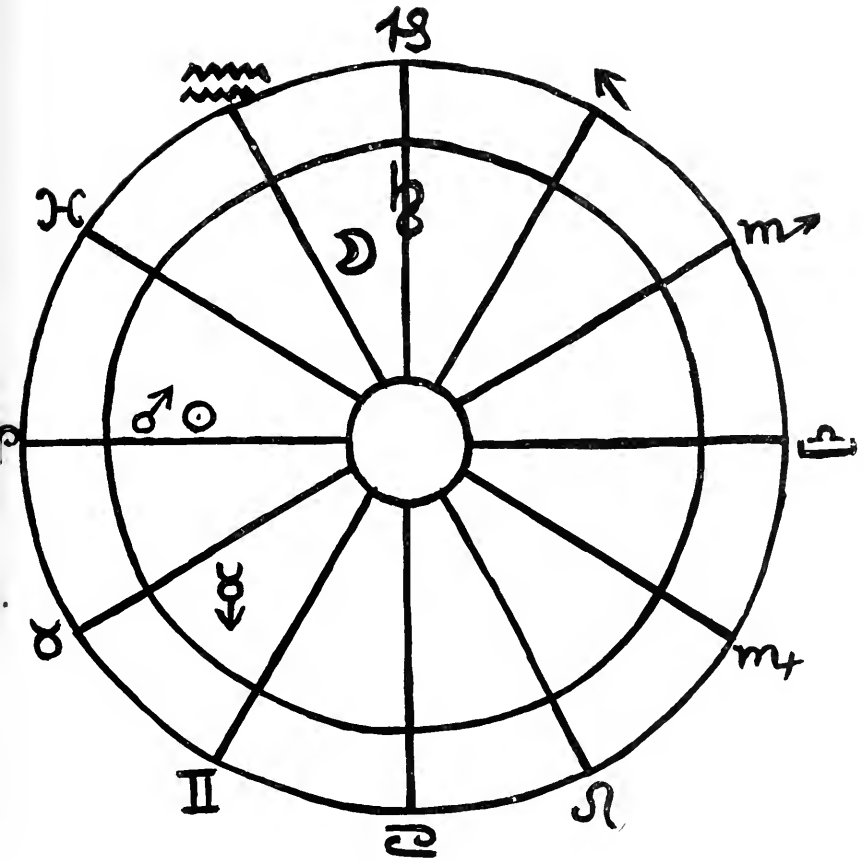
"Beginning of the thousands," and  "End of the

thousands," both dekans, perhaps the Milky Way;  "The



IVORY WAND. B.M. 24425.

Astrologically expressed.



Saturn ♄ Lord of Mid-heaven.

Jupiter ♃

conjunction

Mars ♂ ♂ ☉

The Sun ☉ ♂ ♂

Venus ♀


Trine

Mercury ☿ Δ ☽


The Moon ☾ Δ ♀

} The position in the Horoscope  
of ♀ and ☽ is conjunctural.



upper Khentet," and  "The lower Khentet," both dekans.

Thus the inscription contains the names of the ruler of the stars and the sky-goddess, the two chief constellations of the North and South, three planets, the most brilliant of the fixed stars, the most brilliant group of stars which are always visible, and seven dekans. This combination means nothing as it stands, but if we take the names as referring to the horoscope of Emseht, they at once have a definite meaning. Worship is paid to Ra and Nut as the rulers of the sky, and to Orion and the Great Bear as the respective rulers of the two parts of heaven. The dekans are used instead of the signs of the Zodiac, and express the Houses which were most fortunate to the "native," and the three planets were the most important in the horoscope.

The "many protectors" referred to by the inscription on the wand belonging to Mr. Hood, and recently published by Mr. Legge (*Proceedings*, XXVII, p. 299), are the planets and other stars, which are symbolised by the figures on the wand. The phrase  *sa en ānkh* may be translated "Protection for the life," a most appropriate expression for the horoscope of a new-born child.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, February 14th, 1906, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

**R. Campbell Thompson, Esq., M.A.:** “The Folklore of Mossoul.”

PROCEEDINGS  
OF  
THE SOCIETY  
OF  
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION, 1906.

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*Second Meeting, February 14th, 1906.*

SIR H. H. HOWORTH, *K.C.I.E., F.R.S., &c.*,

IN THE CHAIR.

— 3/4 —

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

- J. Pollard, Esq.—“The History of Egypt.” By Samuel Sharpe.  
 ” “Modern Egypt and Thebes.” By Sir Gardner  
 Wilkinson, *F.R.S.*  
 F. Legge, Esq.—“Scarabs—an introduction to Egyptian Seals  
 and Signet-rings.” By Percy E. Newberry.  
 The Royal Museum, Leyden.—“Suten-ḫeft, the Royal Book.”

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## THE LIBRARY.

### BOOK-BINDING FUND.

The following donations have been received:—

January, 1906:—

W. H. Rylands, Esq., <i>F.S.A.</i> ( <i>Fourth Donation</i> )	£2	2	0
W. L. Nash, Esq., <i>F.S.A.</i> ( <i>Third Donation</i> ) ...	£2	2	0

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The following Candidate for Membership was elected:—

Rev. A. E. Sufferin, *M.A.*, Weybridge.

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The following Paper was read:—

R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, Esq., *M.A.*: “The Folklore of Mossoul.”

Thanks were returned for this communication.

## THE "STAR OF STARS" AND "DILGAN."

BY THE HON. EMMELINE PLUNKET.

(Continued from page 13.)

In the illustration (see Plate) I have adopted as an approximate limit of visibility a circle—having the sun as its centre—of  $13^{\circ}$ , and I have thus attempted to show the relation of the sun, at the initial point of the zodiac, in the horizon line of an observer in the latitude of Babylon, just as the whole constellation of the Southern Fish surmounted that line, at the dates in round numbers of 2000 and 3000 B.C. I have also drawn the horizon line for Fomalhaut—the very conspicuous star of the first magnitude at the mouth of the Fish—and given its circle of visibility when the sun was  $8^{\circ}$  to the east of the initial point of the zodiac.

According to Mr. Penrose's observations quoted above, the dotted circle of  $13^{\circ}$  given as the circle of visibility would suit for that star;<sup>5</sup> though for the fainter stars in the head of the Fish a wider circle ought to be allowed. I have, however, given the same extent to the circles in each case, as it is not indeed possible, not knowing what were the methods pursued, nor what were the powers of observation possessed by Accadian astronomers, to give more than a rough approximation to what they would have calculated as the limit of visibility of a star rising heliacally.

Granting, however, these uncertainties of detail, it may be inferred from a study of the illustration that the Southern Fish rose heliacally when the sun attained to the initial point of the zodiac at a date nearer to 3000 than to 2000 B.C.

<sup>5</sup> To avoid a multiplicity of lines, the  $3^{\circ}$  for the altitude of the star and 10 of depression for the sun have been combined in one circle.

In such a year as that represented in the illustration the constellation during the month Tebet would have been invisible, lost in the overpowering light of the sun, which in that month traversed parts of the constellations *Aquarius* and *Capricornus*. Early in the month Sebat the westernmost stars of the Southern Fish would begin to be visible just before sunrise; but not till some date in Adar would the whole constellation rise visibly above the horizon line, the sun then having arrived at the initial point of the zodiac.

It has been a comparison of the tablet which described the planet Venus as the spark of Dilgan in the month Sebat, with other tablets which referred to Dilgan as worthy of observation at the beginning of the year—it has been a comparison of these various tablets which has given, as it seems to me, a reasonable ground for suggesting that Dilgan was the Accadian name of the Southern Fish; and it further seems to me possible to detect in the Venus tablet, at lines 28 and 29, a reference to the heliacal rising of the bright star Fomalhaut:—

“ 28. In the month Adar the spark of the Fish of Hea is Venus  
“ (and also Mercury).

“ 29. In the month Adar on the 3rd day (Venus) rises, and  
“ in Nisan . . . .”

The Fish of Hea, in line 28, refers probably to the zodiacal constellation *Pisces*, to the westernmost degrees of which the planet attained at the close of the month, though as we do not yet know definitely by what names Accadian astronomers distinguished from each other the many fish and marine monsters represented on the celestial sphere near to the constellation *Aquarius*, it is not possible to feel quite sure whether reference is not still here made, under another name than Dilgan, to the Southern Fish, near to which the path of the planet lay during the greater part of the month Adar.

However that may be, it is to the words “and also Mercury, &c. . . .,” that I wish to direct attention. At the date when the above translation of the Venus tablet was made, the Accadian name of the planet Mercury had not been correctly ascertained; the words “(and also Mercury)” are in brackets, and may be looked on as a provisional translation, and the same may be said of the word “(Venus)” in line 29.

If instead of these suggested renderings we might think that the



word translated "Mercury" really designated the star Fomalhaut, we might read the two lines as follows:—

" 28. In the month Adar the spark of the Fish of Hea is Venus  
". . . . Fomalhaut.

" 29. In the month Adar on the third day rises . . . ."

The appearance of Fomalhaut on the 3rd of Adar, after its long period of invisibility, would have been a noticeable phenomenon, whereas Venus had for more than a month been a glorious object in the eastern sky, and the planet for some months to come would still continue to appear, but with diminishing lustre, as a morning star.

If the reference is to Fomalhaut, it would furnish us with a clue by which it might be approximately determined what was the latest date at which the observations recorded in the tablet could have been made.

In such a year as that dealt with in the illustration, the month of Adar, it is assumed, had by intercalation in the preceding year been pushed forward to its furthest limit in the Accadian calendar; yet even in such a year Fomalhaut could not have risen visibly on the 3rd of Adar at a date much later than 3000 B.C. If, however, the conjunction of Venus recorded in the tablet took place, as possibly might have been the case, in a year when the months had not been pushed quite so far forward amongst the constellations, the observation of the heliacal rising of Fomalhaut on the 3rd of Adar might have been made at a much higher date than 3000 B.C.

The clue obtained therefore would give us the latest possible, but not the earliest possible date for the recorded observation.<sup>6</sup>

Without laying much stress on these speculations concerning the rising of Fomalhaut on the 3rd of Adar, but returning to the main proposition here made, that Dilgan was the Accadian name of the constellation of the Southern Fish, and trusting to the strong probability that in very early ages, and still on into Babylonian times, the heliacal rising of its stars announced the approach of the calendrical new year, I am led to think that the legend of the "Monstrous Oannes" handed down to us by Berosus, embodied not an historical but an astronomical myth, that it did not refer at all to the conquest or civilization of Babylonia by a race of men

<sup>6</sup> It must, however, be pointed out that if the initial point of the zodiac proposed by Epping and Strassmaier is the correct one, the above suggested dates must be lowered by about 1000 years.

arriving from the south in ships, but to the heliacal rising of Dilgan. Berossus tells us:—

“There was originally at Babylon a multitude of men of foreign  
“race who had colonised Chaldea, and they lived without order  
“like animals. But in the first year there appeared from out the  
“Erythrean Sea where it borders upon Babylonia, an animal endowed  
“with reason, who was called Oannes. The whole body of the  
“animal was that of a fish, but under the fish’s head he had another  
“head, and also feet below, growing out of his fish’s tail, similar to those  
“of a man; also human speech, and his image is preserved to this  
“day. This being used to spend the whole day amidst men, without  
“taking any food, and he gave them an insight into letters, and  
“sciences, and every kind of art; he taught them how to found  
“cities, to construct temples, to introduce laws and to measure land;  
“he showed them how to sow seeds and gather in crops; in short,  
“he instructed them in every thing that softens manners and makes  
“up civilization, so that from that time no one has invented any  
“thing new. Then when the sun went down this monstrous Oannes  
“used to plunge back into the sea and spend the night in the midst  
“of the boundless waves, for he was amphibious.”

For dwellers in Babylonia, and especially for those at the mouth of the Euphrates, the constellation of the Southern Fish rose as it were out of the Erythrean Sea. Fomalhaut, by far its most conspicuous star, rose about 35° east of south.

At the season when Fomalhaut rose *heliacally* it might well have been thought of as accompanying the sun, and therefore as “spending the whole day amidst men.” When the sun went down Fomalhaut did not indeed “plunge back into the sea,” but it was no longer above the horizon, and morning after morning for many days it would again and again rise out of the Erythrean Sea. But further, if the season marked by the appearance of Fomalhaut in the early dawn was that, as I have suggested, of the beginning of the Babylonian calendrical year, there is no difficulty in understanding how so many beneficent acts were attributed to the divine “being” who, rising out of the Erythrean Sea, heralded the advent of the most auspicious of all days, the first of the new year.

This ancient Oannes legend has been handed down to us in a language foreign to the country in which it first took shape, and it may be that instead of the words “in the first year” we should read “on the first of the year,” and so reading the passage we should,

I think, easily recognize in the being who appeared on the first of the year, and whose whole body was that of a fish, the constellation Dilgan, the Southern Fish.

If now we adopt the opinion that Dilgan was the Southern Fish, we have still to inquire how this opinion must affect the answer to be given to the question of the identity of the "star of stars" with Dilgan or with Capella.

And as to its equation with Dilgan the answer, either on the equinoctial or the zodiacal theory, must be in the negative.

The star of stars "of the rule" was, as we have learned, to be observed *setting* together with the new moon at the beginning of the month Nisan, the first month of the year; it must therefore have followed and not preceded the sun during that first month.

According to the equinoctial theory the sun 2000 B.C. during the first month of the year traversed the constellation of the Bull, and according to the zodiacal theory the constellation of the Ram. But when the sun was in either of these constellations the *setting* of the Southern Fish could not have been observed, as it *preceded* and did not *follow* that of the sun.

The first month of a year announced by the setting of the new moon together with the Southern Fish must have been a month during which the sun traversed parts of the constellations Sagittarius and Capricornus, and one which in Babylonian times must have fallen in the late autumn.

If therefore Dilgan was the Southern Fish, it could not have been the star of stars "of the rule;" and we are thus brought face to face with a discrepancy between the evidence of the Venus tablet above considered, on which the identification of Dilgan with the Southern Fish was based, and with that of the unpublished tablet referred to by Prof. Sayce and Mr. Bosanquet, on which the identity of Dilgan with the "star of stars" was based.

But it has been admitted, and it must still be admitted, that very many difficulties and apparent discrepancies are to be met with in the study of the obscure astronomical tablets. Further research on the part of Assyriologists will no doubt result in the reconciling of many such discrepancies; meanwhile for those who hold that the Accadian calendar was zodiacal, there can be no doubt that the astronomical probabilities are in favour of the identification of Dilgan with the Southern Fish, and not of that of Dilgan with Capella.

The claim for the identification of the star of stars with Capella, disencumbered of its equation with Dilgan, still remains, but can only be based on the assumptions that the Accadian year was equinoctial, and the date of the origin of "the rule" was not earlier than 2000 B.C.

But, as I have pointed out before, it is not possible to assume either of these propositions as axioms; and if the arguments in favour of Dilgan being the Southern Fish are accepted, the proposition that the Accadian year was equinoctial will appear scarcely tenable.

With increased confidence therefore in the zodiacal as opposed to the equinoctial theory, I now venture to suggest a quite different identification for the star of stars than that of Capella.

In pursuance of this object we have to inquire: Is there any very conspicuous star, or group of stars, which might worthily have been chosen by Accadian astronomers to mark by its seleniacal setting the beginning of a year dependent on the sun's entrance into the constellation Aries? The answer to this question lies at our very hand.

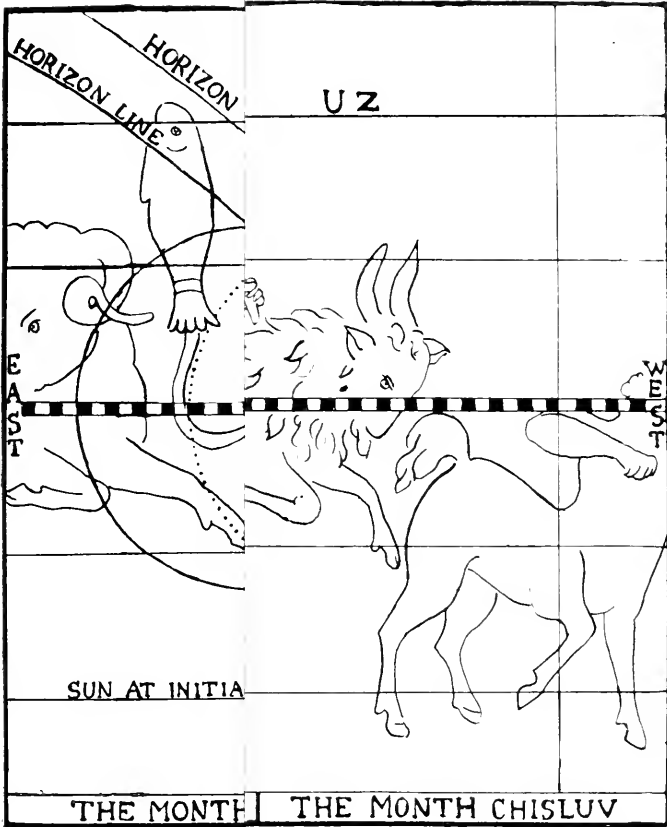
There is, I think, in the heavens no star or asterism which more easily attracts the attention and admiration of even the most casual star-gazer than does the Pleiades group; that—

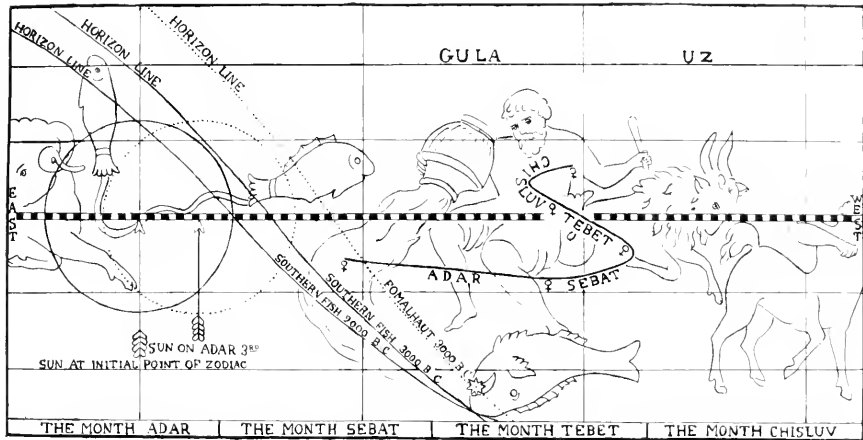
" . . . swarm of fire-flies tangled in a silver braid."

In all lands and in all literatures the "sweet influences of the Pleiades" have been sung.

This group of stars not only at 2000 B.C., but during all the ages of Accadian and Babylonian history could have served, and, indeed, down to the present day might still serve, to determine, according to the method described in the tablet, the length of sol-lunar years whose beginning was fixed at the initial point of the Accadian zodiac.

I have not been able to ascertain what are the cuneiform signs which stand in the tablet for the "star of stars," nor in what way those signs are transliterated; but it has struck me that the name of the Pleiades, or rather of the brightest star in that group, the Pleiad, as it is given by Epping and Strassmaier in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (1892), might bear a meaning not very dissimilar to that of the "star of stars." At pp. 224 and 225 a list is given of 33 important stars the positions of which have been definitely





ascertained. The name of the Pleiad there appears as "Temennu 𒌦 𒌦."

On another page of the same paper (251) the writers draw attention in a footnote to the fact that according to Jensen the sign 𒌦 may be transliterated as "Mulu" or "Kakkabu," words which I often observe are elsewhere translated as star or stars.

I am quite ignorant of cuneiform writing, Accadian or Assyrian, but what seems to me the strong astronomical probability that the Pleiades or the Pleiad was "the star of stars" of the rule, has led me to think, or at least to hope, that the name of the "star of stars" of the tablet may have been rendered in the Babylonian tablets studied by Epping and Strassmaier by the signs 𒌦 𒌦, and that those signs transliterated Te-te might bear the meaning of "star, star," "stars," or "star of stars."

If Assyriologists do not forbid these renderings of the Babylonian name of the Pleiad, and if it should be granted that the tablet quoted at the head of this paper contains an ancient Accadian observation of the simultaneous setting of that star and of the new moon of the month Nisan, then the case for an Accadian sidereal year as opposed to an Accadian equinoctial year must, I think, be considered as very firmly established, and thus a point of vantage will have been gained for the elucidation of many other astronomical, chronological, and mythological problems.

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## THE ZOUCHE SAHIDIC EXODUS FRAGMENT,

(EXODUS XVI, 6—XIX, 11),

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

BY SEYMOUR DE RICCI.

This article contains an exact copy of the first six leaves of MS. Zouche 109, belonging to Lord Zouche, and deposited on loan at the British Museum with the other Zouche MSS., also known as Curzon or Parham MSS.<sup>1</sup>

The fragment consists of six consecutive leaves ( $31 \times 25$  centimeters; writing  $25 \times 20$ ), paged from 77 to 88 on the right-hand upper corner of the odd pages and on the left-hand upper corner of the even ones. I do not consider these numerals as being written in the same hand as the text.

The body of the text is written in two columns of thirty-two lines, in a large circular uncial hand, I would ascribe to the VIIth or VIIIth century A.D. There are no coloured initials nor ornaments of any kind, the initial letters being larger than the other ones: paragraphs are occasionally noted by projecting letters of ordinary size. Punctuation is extensively used, and takes the form of a full-stop, half way up the height of the letters, and supplemented at times by an accent ` which is also used by itself. Some vowels are distinguished by the two dots " others by a circumflex accent ^. I have endeavoured in my copy to reproduce accurately all these signs exactly as they stand in the manuscript.

A single leaf of the same MS., paged 134-35, measuring  $28 \times 22\frac{1}{2}$  centimeters, and containing Exodus xxvi, 24-36, is preserved in the Vatican Library (Borgia 4). It proves conclusively that the Zouche leaves come from the Deir-Amba-Shenoudah (White Monastery), near Akhmim.

<sup>1</sup> The volume is very briefly described in Curzon's *Catalogue for materials or writing* . . . etc. (London, 1849, folio), p. 28, n. 4. The Exodus leaves are not mentioned by him.



This text was first copied by Rev. H. Tattam, who merely noted it in his papers as a "*Sahidic fragment of the book of Exodus, copied from an ancient fragment on vellum. Cairo, January 29th, 1839.*" Tattam's copy was copied in 1848 by the German Moritz Gotthilf Schwartze, who died soon after, and most of whose papers were given to Paul de Lagarde by Alexander von Humboldt. Schwartze's copy was published in 1880 by Adolf Erman, *Bruchstücke der oberägyptischen Übersetzung des alten Testaments*, in the *Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts-Universität zu Göttingen*, 1880, pp. 407-414 (see p. 402).

It was reprinted in the first volume of Cardinal Ciasca's *Sacrorum Bibliorum fragmenta Copto-Sahidica Musei Borgiani* (Romae, 1885, 4°), pp. 46-51.

Erman did not know where the original MS. was, as Tattam's copy said nothing about the owner of these precious leaves. They were identified as being in MS. Zouche 109 by H. Hyvernat, in his excellent "*Etudes sur les versions coptes de la Bible*" (*Revue biblique*, Vol. V, 1896, p. 554, and VI, 1897, p. 59).

Tattam's copy is not very accurate; it gives neither the division into pages nor the division into lines. For such a valuable Scripture text<sup>2</sup> as the Zouche Exodus it was highly desirable to have a reliable edition.

<sup>2</sup> For these parts of Exodus (xvi, 6-xix 11) it is the only evidence available, if we except a few verses (xvii, 1-7 and xix, 1-11) contained in a late liturgical MS. on paper (Borgia 99) and a few other verses (xvi, 27-36) in a *Bibliothèque Nationale* MS.

хѣиша гл̄прот̄  
 зететна ене  
 хѣи хоеи сн̄и  
 таѣтти гт̄не  
 во хѣиша гл̄и  
 кн̄е • т̄иша гл̄

**Д**еи гтоот̄ гт̄е  
 тна хат̄евоот̄  
 п̄и хоеи гт̄и  
 п̄тр̄е ф̄со т̄и  
 енет̄ крири  
 еио гт̄е •  
 аиои хам̄ои  
 п̄и хет̄ети  
 крири ерои •

**П**е хам̄ои н̄о н̄о  
 гт̄еи хе гт̄и  
 п̄тр̄еи хоеи  
 ф̄и гт̄и гт̄и  
 аѣиша гл̄прот̄  
 гт̄е в̄от̄ои •  
 а гт̄о гт̄еи о̄еки  
 п̄иша гт̄оот̄ гт̄е  
 в̄т̄еи • аи хоеи  
 г̄арсо т̄и ене  
 т̄и кририша ӣи  
 т̄со т̄и ет̄ети  
 кририши о̄о  
 егт̄и ерои •  
 аиои о̄еаиои  
 п̄и г̄р̄ен̄ети  
 крири г̄арсо

о̄з̄

опа не гт̄о гт̄е  
 рои • ааа не гт̄и  
 еио гт̄е •

**П**е хам̄ои н̄о н̄о  
 гт̄еи сн̄а гл̄ри  
 аарои • хе хеи  
 п̄т̄ет̄и г̄арсои  
 т̄и р̄еи г̄ур̄е  
 п̄иша • хе т̄и  
 т̄и о̄гт̄еи не гт̄и  
 п̄и ет̄о евоа  
 п̄и хоеи • а гт̄о  
 т̄и г̄ар̄ен̄ети  
 крири • а г̄

**Щ**а хам̄ои н̄о н̄о  
 п̄иша гл̄ри гт̄и  
 г̄со т̄и р̄еи  
 г̄ур̄еи п̄иша  
 а гт̄о гт̄е г̄аи  
 ет̄еи н̄о •  
 а гт̄о гт̄е евоа  
 п̄и евоот̄и  
 п̄и хоеи г̄аи  
 о̄т̄а о̄о е  
 а г̄а хам̄ои н̄о  
 еи сн̄а гл̄ри н̄о  
 гт̄еи е г̄х̄ои  
 н̄о хе аи со т̄и  
 еи кририши  
 г̄ур̄еи п̄иша •  
**Щ**а хам̄ои н̄о н̄о  
 хам̄ои н̄о хеи

OU

пнхл̄п̄рот̄зе  
 тет̄наот̄соп̄  
 зена̄ц̄ · алоп̄  
 пнхл̄п̄г̄тоот̄е  
 етет̄насе̄п̄  
 оекӣт̄ет̄не̄  
 пехе̄мо̄кне̄  
 пхо̄е̄с̄не̄т̄ӣ  
 по̄т̄те · ро̄т̄  
 З̄е̄л̄е̄а̄р̄ӯсо̄пе  
 а̄се̄е̄з̄ра̄п̄о̄т̄  
 от̄г̄ӣп̄ире̄  
 а̄з̄о̄в̄с̄г̄т̄на̄  
 ре̄н̄во̄м̄ ·  
 З̄то̄от̄е̄л̄е̄а̄р̄ӯо̄  
 пе̄'ере̄'с̄о̄те̄  
 н̄т̄е̄п̄е̄с̄г̄т̄ӣ  
 п̄к̄о̄т̄е̄г̄т̄на̄  
 ре̄н̄во̄м̄ ·  
 Δ̄т̄о̄е̄с̄г̄н̄т̄е̄  
 е̄с̄о̄т̄ӣк̄а̄'е̄ц̄  
 пок̄з̄ӣр̄ӣп̄з̄о̄п̄  
 п̄х̄а̄ӣе̄ · п̄о̄е̄п̄  
 от̄в̄ре̄ӯн̄т̄е̄ц̄  
 от̄о̄в̄ӯп̄о̄е̄п̄  
 от̄х̄а̄ц̄р̄а̄ӣг̄ӣ  
 х̄ӣп̄ка̄з̄ ·  
 Δ̄т̄на̄т̄х̄е̄ро̄ц̄  
 п̄о̄п̄ӣр̄е̄п̄  
 п̄ӣна̄ · п̄ех̄е̄  
 по̄т̄а̄'по̄т̄а̄'п̄  
 п̄е̄т̄з̄ӣт̄ от̄со̄ц̄

х̄е̄о̄т̄п̄е̄п̄а̄ ·  
 п̄е̄т̄с̄о̄о̄т̄ӣг̄ар̄  
 а̄п̄х̄е̄о̄т̄ӣе̄ ·

П̄е̄х̄а̄ц̄н̄а̄т̄ӣо̄н̄со̄  
 т̄с̄ӣс̄х̄е̄п̄а̄ӣе̄  
 по̄е̄к̄е̄г̄г̄а̄п̄хо̄  
 е̄с̄т̄а̄ц̄н̄ӣт̄ӣе̄  
 от̄го̄п̄ц̄ · п̄а̄ӣе̄

П̄ӯа̄х̄е̄г̄г̄а̄п̄хо̄  
 е̄с̄г̄з̄о̄п̄ц̄е̄т̄о̄  
 т̄ӣ · х̄е̄с̄о̄о̄т̄зе̄  
 з̄о̄т̄ӣг̄ӣт̄ц̄ ·  
 п̄е̄т̄ӣп̄е̄н̄о̄т̄а̄  
 по̄т̄а̄' · от̄со̄е̄т̄а̄  
 п̄е̄'ка̄т̄а̄т̄ӣн̄е̄п̄  
 п̄е̄т̄ӣ'т̄з̄ӯӣ ·  
 По̄т̄а̄'по̄т̄а̄'п̄ар̄е̄ц̄  
 е̄с̄о̄о̄т̄зе̄з̄о̄т̄ӣ  
 п̄ӣне̄го̄т̄ӣг̄ӣп̄а̄ц̄ ·  
 Δ̄т̄е̄'р̄е̄л̄е̄з̄н̄а̄ӣп̄  
 от̄ӣӯӣр̄е̄ӣп̄ӣа̄ ·  
 а̄т̄с̄о̄о̄т̄зе̄з̄о̄т̄ӣ  
 п̄ӣп̄е̄з̄о̄т̄о̄п̄  
 п̄а̄п̄ко̄т̄ӣ · а̄т̄о̄п̄  
 т̄ӣро̄т̄ӯя̄т̄ц̄ӣ  
 п̄ӯя̄ · п̄ӣп̄е̄п̄а̄ӣе̄  
 з̄о̄т̄о̄р̄з̄о̄т̄о̄ ·  
 а̄т̄со̄п̄а̄п̄ко̄т̄ӣ  
 п̄р̄ӯо̄с̄о̄т̄ ·  
 по̄т̄а̄'по̄т̄а̄'а̄ц̄с̄о̄  
 от̄зе̄з̄о̄т̄ӣп̄е̄т̄  
 н̄ӣе̄ро̄ц̄ ·

Πεχαρδεναι̅τι̅ο̅ι̅  
 πο̅τ̅ενε̅ · χει̅  
 π̅ρ̅τ̅ρε̅λα̅λ̅κ̅ω̅  
 εν̅α̅ζ̅ο̅τ̅ι̅γ̅ι̅τ̅ι̅  
 ρ̅α̅ζ̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ε̅ ἄ̅λ̅ο̅  
 ι̅νο̅ζ̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ι̅  
 εν̅ο̅τ̅ενε̅ · ἀ̅λ̅λ̅  
 α̅ζ̅ο̅εν̅ε̅κ̅ω̅σ̅ε̅να̅  
 ζ̅ο̅τ̅ι̅γ̅ι̅τ̅ι̅ρ̅υ̅α̅  
 ζ̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ε̅ · ἀ̅ρ̅β̅ι̅τ̅  
 α̅τ̅ο̅α̅ρ̅κ̅η̅ο̅ς ·  
 Δ̅ι̅φ̅ι̅ο̅τ̅ο̅ς̅ε̅ρ̅α̅ί̅ε̅  
 χ̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ι̅ο̅ν̅ι̅ο̅τ̅  
 ενε̅ · ἀ̅τ̅ο̅α̅τ̅ο̅  
 ο̅τ̅ι̅νο̅ζ̅ο̅ε̅ζ̅ο̅τ̅ι̅  
 ε̅ζ̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ε̅ · πο̅τ̅α̅  
 πο̅τ̅α̅ πε̅τ̅ι̅ν̅ε̅ρο̅φ̅ ·  
 ε̅ρ̅υ̅α̅ι̅ζ̅ι̅ο̅ν̅ ἄ̅ει̅  
 ο̅ν̅ι̅ρ̅ι̅ η̅ε̅υ̅α̅ρ̅β̅ω̅λ̅  
 ε̅β̅ω̅λ̅ · ἀ̅ε̅υ̅ω̅  
 Π̅ε̅λ̅ε̅ζ̅ι̅ν̅ι̅ε̅ζ̅ο̅  
 πο̅τ̅ι̅ζ̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ · ἀ̅τ̅ε̅ο̅  
 ο̅τ̅ε̅ζ̅ο̅τ̅ι̅π̅ι̅ν̅ε̅τ̅  
 ι̅ν̅ι̅π̅ρ̅ο̅τ̅ε̅ρο̅ο̅τ̅  
 ε̅τ̅κ̅ι̅ν̅ ὕ̅λι̅σ̅η̅α̅τ̅ε̅  
 πο̅τ̅α̅ πο̅τ̅α̅ ·  
 ἀ̅β̅ω̅κ̅α̅ε̅ε̅ζ̅ο̅τ̅ι̅  
 τ̅ι̅ρ̅ο̅τ̅ι̅ο̅ν̅α̅ρ̅χ̅ο̅ν̅  
 ι̅τ̅ε̅σ̅η̅α̅ρ̅σ̅ο̅ν̅ ἄ̅ ·  
 ἀ̅τ̅χ̅ο̅ο̅σ̅ι̅ν̅ο̅τ̅  
 ενε̅ · πε̅χα̅ρ̅α̅ε̅  
 Η̅α̅τ̅ι̅ο̅ν̅ι̅ο̅τ̅ενε̅

ο̅θ̅

χει̅π̅αι̅νε̅π̅υ̅α̅χε̅  
 εν̅τ̅α̅ν̅χ̅ο̅ε̅ι̅σ̅χ̅ο̅  
 ο̅φ̅χε̅ρ̅α̅σ̅τε̅ν̅ε̅α̅β̅  
 β̅α̅τ̅ο̅ν̅π̅εν̅ε̅ι̅τ̅ο̅ν̅  
 ε̅τ̅ο̅α̅α̅β̅ι̅π̅χ̅ο̅ε̅ι̅σ̅ ·  
 πε̅τε̅τ̅η̅α̅τ̅ο̅ο̅φ̅  
 τ̅ο̅ο̅φ̅ · η̅ε̅τε̅τ̅η̅α̅  
 η̅α̅σ̅τ̅ι̅η̅α̅σ̅τ̅ι̅ ·  
 ἀ̅τ̅ο̅ν̅ε̅τ̅η̅α̅ρ̅ζ̅ο̅τ̅ο̅  
 ε̅ρ̅ο̅τ̅ι̅τ̅ι̅ρ̅ι̅α̅  
 α̅ο̅τ̅ι̅ζ̅α̅ρ̅ο̅φ̅υ̅α̅  
 ζ̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ε̅ · ἀ̅τ̅κ̅α̅α̅φ̅  
 ἀ̅ε̅υ̅α̅ζ̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ε̅ ·  
 κ̅α̅τ̅α̅ο̅ε̅ν̅ι̅τ̅α̅φ̅  
 ζ̅ο̅ν̅ε̅τ̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ο̅τ̅  
 ι̅ο̅ν̅ι̅ο̅τ̅ενε̅ ἄ̅λ̅ο̅  
 ι̅ν̅ι̅ρ̅κ̅η̅ο̅ς · ο̅τ̅α̅ε̅  
 ι̅ν̅ε̅φ̅ι̅τ̅υ̅σ̅ο̅ν̅ε̅  
 ζ̅ρ̅α̅ι̅γ̅ι̅τ̅ι̅ ·  
 Π̅ε̅χα̅ρ̅δεναι̅τι̅ο̅ι̅  
 ι̅ο̅τ̅ενε̅ χ̅ε̅ο̅τ̅  
 ω̅ν̅ι̅τ̅ι̅ν̅ι̅π̅ο̅ο̅τ̅  
 η̅σ̅α̅β̅β̅α̅τ̅ο̅ν̅γ̅α̅ρ̅  
 ι̅π̅χ̅ο̅ε̅ι̅σ̅η̅ε̅π̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ ·  
 ι̅τ̅ε̅τ̅η̅α̅ε̅ε̅α̅ε̅  
 ο̅τ̅ο̅ν̅α̅η̅ι̅τ̅ε̅σ̅ο̅  
 υ̅ε̅ · σ̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ι̅ζ̅ο̅  
 ο̅τ̅ε̅τ̅ε̅τ̅η̅α̅σ̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ε̅  
 ι̅ν̅ι̅τ̅η̅ε̅ζ̅ο̅τ̅ι̅ ·  
 ι̅τ̅ε̅τ̅η̅α̅ε̅ε̅α̅ε̅ο̅τ̅  
 ο̅ν̅α̅η̅ι̅τ̅ι̅ν̅ι̅ε̅ζ̅α̅  
 ρ̅ι̅τ̅ι̅ζ̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ χ̅ε̅ν̅ε̅α̅β̅

**Π**

βατο̄νη • χεῑ  
ποτσο̄ντ̄ρη̄μ̄  
γῑτ̄ • ασ̄σο

Πελᾱγῑνῑε̄σα  
ῡφ̄ῑσο̄τᾱσο̄ι  
πε̄γ̄ῑπ̄λᾱος̄ ε̄ῑε̄  
βο̄λε̄σο̄ο̄τ̄η̄ατ̄  
ε̄σο̄τ̄ῑ ᾱτ̄ο̄ῑ  
πο̄τ̄ε̄σο̄το̄ῑ •

Πελᾱγῑνῑο̄ν̄χο  
εῑσῑν̄ᾱγ̄ρῑν̄κο̄τ̄  
εῑσ̄χε̄ῡατ̄η̄ατ̄  
ῑτ̄ε̄τ̄η̄ο̄τ̄ο̄ῡᾱι  
ε̄σο̄τ̄ῑεν̄ᾱεν̄το̄  
ᾱη̄ • ᾱτ̄ο̄ῑᾱνο̄  
πο̄σᾱτε̄τ̄η̄ατ̄  
ε̄ρο̄ • ῑχο̄εῑς  
γᾱρᾱφ̄η̄ν̄τ̄η̄  
πεῑσο̄ο̄τ̄ῑσᾱβᾱ  
το̄ῑ • ε̄τ̄ε̄ν̄αῑ  
ᾱφ̄η̄ν̄τ̄η̄ῑπο̄ε̄κ̄  
ῑσο̄ο̄τ̄η̄ατ̄ •  
γ̄η̄ν̄ῑε̄σο̄ο̄τ̄η̄  
σο̄ο̄τ̄πο̄τᾱπο̄τᾱ  
ῑῑσο̄τ̄η̄ᾱρε̄φ̄  
η̄πο̄ο̄ε̄γ̄η̄ε̄φ̄η̄ •  
ῑπ̄ρ̄τ̄ρη̄ᾱᾱτ̄η̄  
ῑῑσο̄τ̄η̄ρ̄βο̄λῑ  
πε̄φ̄ᾱζ̄η̄ν̄ῑε̄  
σᾱῡφ̄ῑσο̄ο̄τ̄ • ᾱτ̄ο̄  
ᾱφ̄σᾱβᾱτ̄η̄  
ο̄ῑπ̄λᾱος̄ε̄η̄π̄ῑε̄

σᾱῡφ̄ῑσο̄ο̄τ̄ •  
ᾱτ̄ο̄ᾱτ̄η̄ο̄τ̄ε̄  
πε̄φ̄ρη̄ν̄ο̄ῑη̄  
ρη̄ν̄ῑᾱχ̄ε̄ν̄η̄ᾱ  
η̄ᾱ • πε̄φ̄ο̄λε̄ν̄  
ο̄ε̄η̄ο̄γ̄ε̄ρ̄ε̄η̄γ̄  
ε̄φ̄ο̄το̄β̄ῡ • ε̄ρε̄  
τε̄φ̄η̄ε̄ο̄η̄ο̄ε̄  
πο̄τᾱκ̄ρη̄ε̄η̄  
ο̄τε̄β̄κ̄ο̄ •

Πελᾱγῑνῑο̄ν̄χο  
ε̄ς̄εῑε̄η̄ε̄μ̄η̄  
π̄ῡᾱχε̄ν̄η̄ᾱ  
ῑχο̄εῑς̄ο̄η̄φ̄ε̄  
το̄ο̄τ̄η̄ • χεῑο̄τ̄  
η̄η̄η̄ᾱη̄ᾱη̄ᾱ •  
ῑτ̄ε̄τ̄η̄ᾱρε̄ε̄  
ρο̄φ̄η̄ε̄τ̄η̄χο̄ῑ •  
χε̄κᾱε̄ε̄τ̄η̄ᾱτ̄ε̄  
πο̄ε̄κ̄ε̄η̄τ̄η̄ε̄  
τ̄η̄ο̄τ̄ο̄η̄φ̄ρη̄  
γ̄η̄η̄ᾱε̄η̄τ̄ε̄  
ῑχο̄εῑε̄η̄η̄η̄  
ε̄βο̄λ̄ε̄η̄κ̄ᾱη̄  
κ̄η̄ε̄ • πελᾱγ̄  
Δεῑνο̄ν̄κο̄τ̄εῑε̄  
η̄η̄η̄ᾱρη̄ᾱρη̄ο̄ῑ  
πε̄φ̄ο̄η̄ • χεῑη̄  
η̄ο̄τ̄ο̄μ̄η̄η̄η̄ο̄τ̄ •  
η̄η̄η̄ο̄τ̄ε̄ε̄ρο̄φ̄  
η̄ο̄τ̄η̄η̄η̄η̄η̄ᾱ  
ε̄φ̄η̄ε̄ • η̄κ̄ο̄

п̄нофсрл̄п̄п̄ен  
 то̄ево̄л̄п̄но̄т  
 те̄'ср̄е̄ср̄о̄  
 ӯан̄е̄т̄ӣе̄с̄л̄  
 п̄о̄с̄е̄т̄ан̄хо  
 е̄с̄с̄о̄н̄е̄то̄о̄  
 т̄р̄п̄но̄'с̄н̄е̄ •

да̄ар̄со̄на̄с̄ка̄л̄л̄  
 п̄ӣе̄т̄о̄с̄во̄л̄п̄  
 п̄ӣт̄р̄е̄с̄р̄е̄с̄  
 е̄ро̄ф̄ • п̄ӯр̄е

Д̄е̄ӣп̄н̄а̄л̄т̄о̄т̄  
 о̄п̄ӣн̄а̄н̄а̄п̄  
 з̄ӣп̄ро̄н̄е̄ •  
 ӯан̄то̄л̄е̄с̄р̄л̄  
 е̄н̄л̄'п̄о̄'с̄о̄з̄ •  
 а̄т̄о̄т̄о̄п̄ӣн̄а̄п̄  
 п̄а̄ӯан̄то̄л̄е̄с̄  
 е̄с̄р̄л̄е̄с̄л̄'т̄е̄  
 ф̄о̄н̄к̄ӣ • п̄ӯл̄  
 д̄е̄н̄е̄н̄о̄'т̄п̄  
 п̄т̄т̄е̄п̄ӯо̄  
 п̄т̄п̄ӯя̄ • а̄с̄т̄о̄  
 о̄т̄д̄е̄п̄о̄т̄т̄е̄  
 п̄а̄г̄о̄г̄ӣт̄р̄е̄  
 п̄е̄р̄ӯр̄е̄п̄ӣн̄л̄  
 е̄во̄л̄з̄ӣх̄л̄е̄п̄  
 с̄н̄к̄а̄т̄а̄н̄е̄'п̄а̄  
 р̄е̄н̄во̄л̄з̄т̄ӣ  
 п̄ӯл̄х̄е̄п̄х̄о̄е̄'  
 а̄л̄е̄с̄р̄л̄е̄с̄р̄а̄  
 ф̄л̄е̄п̄ • п̄а̄л̄о̄с̄

л̄с̄н̄т̄р̄с̄е̄п̄о̄о̄т̄ <sup>п̄а</sup>  
 е̄с̄с̄о̄ • а̄л̄о̄а̄с̄л̄а̄  
 з̄о̄т̄п̄о̄п̄а̄л̄о̄с̄п̄  
 н̄о̄'т̄е̄н̄е̄'с̄р̄х̄о̄  
 п̄ӣо̄с̄х̄е̄н̄а̄п̄п̄  
 п̄о̄з̄п̄о̄о̄'т̄х̄е̄  
 к̄а̄с̄е̄н̄е̄с̄с̄о̄

П̄е̄х̄а̄д̄е̄н̄а̄г̄п̄  
 о̄н̄о̄'с̄н̄е̄л̄е̄  
 а̄з̄р̄о̄т̄ӣт̄е̄т̄ӣ  
 с̄а̄з̄о̄т̄п̄о̄' • а̄л̄о̄  
 е̄т̄в̄с̄о̄'т̄е̄т̄ӣ  
 п̄е̄р̄а̄д̄е̄п̄х̄о̄  
 е̄н̄е̄т̄п̄о̄т̄  
 т̄е̄ • а̄п̄а̄л̄о̄с̄л̄е̄  
 е̄в̄е̄п̄п̄о̄о̄т̄  
 з̄ӣп̄а̄е̄т̄п̄а̄т̄ •  
 а̄л̄о̄а̄д̄к̄р̄ӣр̄п̄  
 п̄о̄п̄а̄л̄о̄с̄з̄ӣ  
 п̄ӣл̄'е̄т̄п̄а̄т̄е̄  
 п̄о̄'т̄е̄н̄е̄'с̄р̄х̄о̄  
 п̄ӣо̄с̄х̄е̄о̄'т̄п̄е̄  
 п̄а̄л̄'е̄т̄р̄е̄к̄ӣт̄ӣ  
 е̄во̄л̄з̄ӣк̄ӣе̄  
 е̄п̄о̄'т̄о̄т̄'п̄о̄п̄  
 п̄ӣп̄е̄р̄ӯр̄е̄  
 п̄ӣп̄е̄т̄в̄п̄о̄о̄т̄е̄  
 з̄а̄п̄е̄в̄е̄ • н̄о̄'т̄

С̄н̄с̄л̄е̄а̄д̄х̄ӣж̄к̄ав̄  
 е̄с̄р̄л̄е̄п̄х̄о̄е̄с̄  
 е̄р̄х̄о̄п̄ӣо̄с̄х̄е̄  
 о̄т̄н̄е̄п̄а̄л̄л̄

ΠΒ

πνεϊλμοσ'ετικε  
 котннейсегі  
 сонсерої .

Πεχαρλενοпхо

еиспнагрншо  
 тснсхеноо  
 уегаонннеї

лаос'пгхлени

пакеволагнне

пресвттерос

пнамоc . атс

посеровнаїен

такрегннеіе

ропгнтг . еке

хншоцрагн

текогх'нг'вок'

еисгнпгедеа

пог'фагератга

текгнграїгн

тпетрапгхорив .

атсоекерогтп

тпетрапгтеог

поотуотоговоа

пгнтс . пгсоп

опламоc .

αφειρελεσηαν

ошсотснс . пнени

товолапнеун

рвпнпх'латс

тирот . атсмац

погтвспранп

пцетпцатхв

πνειρασινοσατσο

псагог' . хсат

псерах'енихо

еисетхсопнос

хенихоеисуро

онпгнтпгн

пнон . αφειλε

Ποτιμαμικαц

пуге'пнпнх

грггнграфлен .

Πεχαρλεнопхо

тснс'пнагрн

псотехесо

тпнакнзепро

пснхсоторе' .

пг'вокеволапг

српмаз'еволап

папамнкп'расте .

атсоеисгнпте

лаок'фагерат'

гнхгтапненила'

етхоссере

посеровпнпнот

тегнтлаогх .

αφειρελεσηοτιν

сотскатаос

енгтагхооснац

пгнсотснс .

αφвоκεβοлаμ

српмаз'еволап

папамнк .

Πωтснслεατс

III

аарсон̄ ин̄сорат̄  
 азерагогехӣ  
 таненгга ·  
 агоуагуоне  
 еруанӣсог̄сн̄с̄  
 қӣневог̄хер̄а̄  
 уагог̄но̄но̄но̄  
 нна · еруан  
 но̄г̄сн̄с̄дека  
 невог̄хен̄сн̄с̄  
 уагог̄но̄но̄но̄  
 намак · но̄г̄х  
 де̄нӣсог̄сн̄с̄аг̄  
 зроуаг̄хид̄е̄  
 ог̄сн̄с̄аг̄кааг̄  
 зроуаг̄г̄но̄с̄  
 езра̄г̄ехо̄г̄ · аа  
 рсон̄де̄ин̄сор  
 нег̄г̄а̄невог̄х  
 ога̄г̄нӣс̄а̄г̄но̄г̄  
 агок̄е̄ога̄г̄на̄  
 г̄но̄г̄ · агоуо  
 пен̄о̄но̄г̄х̄нӣс̄  
 г̄сн̄с̄е̄г̄а̄х̄рӣг̄  
 уа̄на̄г̄г̄ӣрӣ  
 ег̄а̄го̄г̄ӣ ·  
 ин̄сог̄сн̄с̄а̄г̄е̄  
 г̄ӣна̄мак̄г̄ӣ  
 нег̄а̄ос̄тӣг̄  
 г̄но̄г̄го̄г̄ӣ  
 сн̄с̄е · неаг̄  
 Де̄но̄г̄х̄е̄ӣ

на̄г̄рӣно̄г̄сн̄с̄  
 х̄е̄с̄а̄ӣма̄е̄г̄  
 пӣс̄е̄г̄е̄но̄г̄  
 х̄ӣсо̄не · не̄х̄о  
 ос̄енӣа̄а̄х̄е̄ӣ  
 ин̄сог̄сн̄с̄е̄ӣ  
 о̄г̄го̄с̄е̄во̄а̄ ·  
 г̄на̄ӯо̄с̄е̄во̄а̄  
 тӣрӣне̄е̄г̄ӣ  
 на̄мак̄ · г̄а̄г̄не ·  
 А̄го̄а̄г̄ко̄г̄тӣно̄  
 но̄г̄сн̄с̄но̄г̄  
 о̄г̄с̄а̄стӣрӣо̄  
 тӣх̄е̄ӣа̄го̄г̄  
 те̄не̄во̄г̄а̄х̄е̄  
 п̄х̄е̄ӣе̄не̄ма̄  
 тӣно̄г̄ · х̄е̄ра̄  
 г̄но̄го̄г̄х̄е̄с̄нӣ  
 п̄х̄е̄ӣс̄ӣӯе̄  
 тӣна̄мак̄х̄ӣ  
 х̄он̄ӯа̄х̄он̄ ·  
 А̄го̄с̄тӣде̄но̄г̄  
 го̄ор̄но̄г̄нӣв̄  
 тӣа̄ма̄г̄ӣпӯо̄ӣ  
 тӣсо̄г̄сн̄с̄е̄ ·  
 е̄го̄вӣне̄ӣта̄  
 п̄х̄е̄ӣс̄а̄а̄г̄ӣ  
 нег̄а̄ос̄нӣа̄ ·  
 а̄п̄х̄е̄ӣс̄а̄рӣ  
 тӣне̄во̄а̄г̄ӣк̄ӣ  
 це · а̄г̄х̄е̄  
 Но̄го̄ор̄но̄г̄ӣ







πς

ε̅νο̅τε̅ρ̅σα̅ρ̅η̅  
 η̅π̅η̅ο̅τ̅ε̅ η̅π̅η̅  
 πε̅ρ̅η̅ο̅η̅ο̅ς .

**Π**ε̅χα̅ρ̅α̅δ̅ε̅να̅ρ̅η̅  
 ο̅π̅η̅ρ̅ο̅η̅π̅η̅ο̅  
 τ̅ς̅η̅ε̅χ̅ε̅η̅γ̅ε̅  
 ρ̅ε̅α̅η̅η̅η̅γ̅α̅χ̅ε̅  
 ρ̅η̅ο̅τ̅ς̅ο̅ο̅τ̅η̅ .  
 ρ̅η̅ο̅τ̅τ̅α̅κο̅κ̅η̅α̅  
 τ̅α̅κο̅η̅τ̅η̅ε̅ρ̅  
 ρ̅η̅τ̅ο̅κ̅η̅π̅η̅ε̅  
 λ̅ο̅σ̅τ̅η̅ρ̅ε̅τ̅η̅  
 η̅α̅κ̅ . η̅ε̅γ̅α̅χ̅ε̅  
 ρ̅ο̅ρ̅η̅η̅α̅κ̅ . η̅τ̅  
 η̅α̅ρ̅ο̅η̅ο̅η̅α̅η̅  
 ε̅α̅α̅ρ̅η̅α̅τ̅α̅κ̅ .

**Τ**ε̅η̅ο̅τ̅ε̅ς̅ο̅τ̅η̅  
 ε̅ρ̅ο̅η̅τ̅α̅χ̅ε̅ρ̅ο̅χ̅η̅ε̅  
 η̅α̅κ̅η̅τ̅ε̅η̅η̅ο̅τ̅  
 τ̅ε̅ρ̅ο̅η̅ε̅η̅  
 η̅α̅κ̅ . η̅ο̅η̅ε̅η̅  
 τ̅ο̅κ̅η̅η̅ε̅λ̅λ̅ο̅ς̅  
 η̅η̅α̅ρ̅η̅η̅η̅ο̅τ̅ε̅ .  
 η̅η̅χ̅η̅ε̅ρ̅α̅η̅η̅ε̅τ̅  
 ρ̅α̅χ̅ε̅η̅η̅α̅ρ̅η̅  
 η̅η̅ο̅τ̅ε̅ . η̅τ̅  
 ρ̅η̅η̅τ̅ρ̅ε̅η̅α̅ρ̅η̅  
 ο̅τ̅ε̅ρ̅σα̅ρ̅η̅ε̅η̅  
 η̅η̅ο̅τ̅ε̅η̅η̅η̅ε̅ρ̅  
 η̅ο̅η̅ο̅ς . η̅τ̅α̅  
 η̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ε̅η̅ε̅ρ̅η̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ε̅  
 ε̅τ̅ο̅τ̅η̅α̅η̅ο̅ο̅ε̅

ρ̅η̅α̅η̅η̅η̅τ̅ο̅τ̅η̅η̅  
 η̅ε̅ρ̅η̅τ̅ε̅ε̅τ̅ο̅τ̅  
 η̅α̅α̅α̅τ̅ . η̅τ̅ο̅κ̅  
 α̅ε̅η̅ε̅ς̅ο̅τ̅η̅η̅α̅κ̅  
 ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ρ̅η̅π̅λ̅α̅ο̅ς̅  
 η̅ρ̅ε̅ρ̅ο̅η̅ε̅η̅  
 χ̅ο̅ο̅ρ̅ε̅η̅ρ̅ε̅ρ̅  
 ρ̅η̅ρ̅ε̅η̅η̅η̅ο̅τ̅  
 τ̅ε̅ . ρ̅ε̅ρ̅ο̅η̅ε̅  
 η̅α̅κ̅α̅η̅ο̅ε̅ε̅τ̅  
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 α̅λ̅ε̅ρ̅η̅τ̅ . η̅τ̅α̅  
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 ε̅ρ̅α̅η̅ε̅χ̅ο̅ο̅τ̅η̅  
 α̅η̅ρ̅ο̅ . α̅τ̅ο̅η̅α̅η̅  
 ρ̅ε̅α̅τ̅ο̅η̅η̅τ̅α̅η̅ο̅τ̅ .  
 α̅τ̅ο̅η̅α̅η̅η̅τ̅η̅  
 ε̅ε̅κ̅ρ̅η̅ε̅η̅π̅λ̅α̅ο̅ς̅  
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**Π**ρ̅α̅χ̅ε̅δ̅ε̅η̅τ̅ο̅ρ̅  
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 η̅ε̅η̅η̅ο̅τ̅ . α̅τ̅ο̅  
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 ε̅η̅ρ̅ε̅η̅η̅ε̅γ̅α̅  
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 τ̅η̅τ̅ο̅η̅η̅α̅κ̅η̅τ̅  
 ο̅η̅ο̅η̅ε̅α̅ε̅ρ̅α̅τ̅κ̅ .

атонѣааостн  
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нѣ  
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 зѣннѣннѣѣѣѣѣѣѣ •  
 аѣѣѣѣѣѣѣѣѣѣѣ

[III]

εζοτ<sup>̄</sup>ηερο<sup>̄</sup>ῑ .

Тено<sup>̄</sup>тосε<sup>̄</sup>зи<sup>̄</sup>от  
 с<sup>̄</sup>от<sup>̄</sup>ηε<sup>̄</sup>тетӣ  
 уан<sup>̄</sup>с<sup>̄</sup>от<sup>̄</sup>ηε<sup>̄</sup>па  
 з<sup>̄</sup>роот̄ . η<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>  
 г<sup>̄</sup>арε<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>та<sup>̄</sup>ла<sup>̄</sup>лон  
 кӣ . т<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>па<sup>̄</sup>у<sup>̄</sup>  
 пен<sup>̄</sup>а<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>от<sup>̄</sup>ла<sup>̄</sup>ос  
 ε<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>от<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>те<sup>̄</sup>во<sup>̄</sup>л  
 з<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>во<sup>̄</sup>но<sup>̄</sup>ст<sup>̄</sup>η  
 ро<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>со<sup>̄</sup>г<sup>̄</sup>ар<sup>̄</sup>п<sup>̄</sup>ε  
 п<sup>̄</sup>ка<sup>̄</sup>г<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>р<sup>̄</sup> .  
 η<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>от<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>де<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>те  
 т<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>у<sup>̄</sup>со<sup>̄</sup>п<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>н<sup>̄</sup>а<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>от̄  
 η<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>ро<sup>̄</sup> . η<sup>̄</sup>но<sup>̄</sup>т̄  
 η<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>от<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>н<sup>̄</sup>в̄ . а<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>о  
 от̄ε<sup>̄</sup>во<sup>̄</sup>но<sup>̄</sup>с<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>т̄  
 от<sup>̄</sup>а<sup>̄</sup>л<sup>̄</sup>в̄ . н<sup>̄</sup>а<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ε

Н<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>у<sup>̄</sup>а<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>к<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>а<sup>̄</sup>хо  
 от̄η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>у<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>р<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>а  
 а<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>δ<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>  
 ε<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>δ<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>  
 η<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>р<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>с<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>ε  
 р<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>с<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>α<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>с̄ .  
 а<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>δ<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>у<sup>̄</sup>а<sup>̄</sup>ε  
 η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>α<sup>̄</sup>г<sup>̄</sup>α<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>  
 т<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>ο  
 η<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>т̄ .  
 а<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>у<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>δ<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>  
 η<sup>̄</sup>α<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>с<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>р<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>т̄  
 ο<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>с<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>п<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>  
 η<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>с<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>з<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>β<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup> .

εη<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>ε  
 η<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>α<sup>̄</sup>α<sup>̄</sup>т̄ .  
 η<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>с<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>ρο<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>т̄ .

У<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>т̄ε<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>δ<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>α<sup>̄</sup>т̄η<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>  
 η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>у<sup>̄</sup>а<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ρο<sup>̄</sup>т̄  
 η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>α<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>с<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>α<sup>̄</sup>г<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>  
 η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>ε .

П<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>α<sup>̄</sup>т̄ε<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>  
 ε<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>α<sup>̄</sup>г<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>  
 т̄ε<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>δ<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>т̄η<sup>̄</sup>  
 η<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>δ<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>κ<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>т̄  
 у<sup>̄</sup>α<sup>̄</sup>ρο<sup>̄</sup>к<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>т̄  
 с<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>α<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>с<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>κ<sup>̄</sup>α<sup>̄</sup>  
 ο<sup>̄</sup>λ<sup>̄</sup>ε . ε<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>κ<sup>̄</sup>α<sup>̄</sup>с<sup>̄</sup>ε  
 р<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>α<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>с<sup>̄</sup>с<sup>̄</sup>ο  
 т̄η<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>ρο<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>у<sup>̄</sup>а<sup>̄</sup>ε  
 η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>α<sup>̄</sup>κ<sup>̄</sup> . η<sup>̄</sup>с<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>  
 ε<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>т̄т<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>у<sup>̄</sup>α<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>т̄ .

Δ<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>т̄ε<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>  
 т̄ε<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>у<sup>̄</sup>а<sup>̄</sup>ε  
 η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>α<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>с<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>α<sup>̄</sup>г<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>  
 η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>с̄ . п<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>α<sup>̄</sup>т̄

Δ<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>с<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>  
 η<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>т̄ε<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>δ<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>κ  
 ε<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>с<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>т̄η<sup>̄</sup>г<sup>̄</sup>  
 η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>р<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>α<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>с̄ .  
 а<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>т̄ε<sup>̄</sup>β<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>т̄  
 η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>т̄η<sup>̄</sup>р<sup>̄</sup>α<sup>̄</sup>с<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>ε  
 η<sup>̄</sup>с<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>р<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>т̄  
 ε<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>с<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>у<sup>̄</sup>ο  
 п<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>т̄ε<sup>̄</sup>β<sup>̄</sup>т<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>ε  
 η<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>у<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>η<sup>̄</sup>т̄η<sup>̄</sup>ε<sup>̄</sup>ο<sup>̄</sup>т̄ .

## TO WHAT RACE DID THE FOUNDERS OF SAIS BELONG ?


BY PERCY E. NEWBERRY.


Evidence has lately been accumulating to show that the inhabitants of the Delta in the earliest historical times differed to some extent in race and culture from those of Upper Egypt; but we are still in the dark as to who these people really were. The object of the present paper is to draw attention to a very interesting fact regarding the dwellers in the North-western Delta which has as yet escaped the notice of archæologists.

Of the early history of Lower Egypt we know little beyond the merest outlines. That it was at a very early period divided up into a number of petty kingdoms, with a Chieftain at the head of each,<sup>1</sup> is certain. At a later period these Chieftains were united under a common ruler, a king of Lower Egypt, who appears to have been originally a Chieftain of Sais,<sup>2</sup> and whose capital was Sais.<sup>3</sup> The chief deity of this city was the goddess Neith, and the crown which she is generally represented as wearing is the same as that which was worn by the pre-Menite kings of the Delta.<sup>4</sup> How many

<sup>1</sup> Newberry-Garstang, *A Short History of Ancient Egypt*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Newberry, "On the Horus-title of the Kings of Egypt," *P.S.B.A.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 298.

<sup>3</sup> In the inscriptions of the XXVIth Dynasty there are often references to a temple of Osiris at Sais that bore the significant name  , which means "the Residence of the King of Lower Egypt"—a name which Mr. Griffith (Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, I, p. 37) has observed may well preserve an important relic of history.

<sup>4</sup> On the Palermo stone the names of the kings of Lower Egypt are each determined by the sign .


kings of Lower Egypt there may have been we do not know; but the remains of the names of thirteen of them are found on the Palermo stone.<sup>5</sup> These Delta people, if they did not themselves invent the system of hieroglyphic writing, at all events adopted and Egyptianized it. They were clever artists, especially in sculpture, and it seems probable that they were advanced in the science of astronomy, for to them the Upper Egyptians owed the introduction of the Calendar.<sup>6</sup> Their proficiency in writing and carving alone show how civilized these Delta people were; <sup>7</sup> they were nevertheless conquered by a less cultured race, the Upper, or Dynastic, Egyptians, on whom they imposed their civilization.

These Upper Egyptian conquerors were led by a king named Narmer. He appears to have married Hetep,<sup>8</sup> a Saite princess, who brought with her to Upper Egypt a number of Saite attendants.<sup>9</sup> It is possible that she was the mother of Aha (Menes), the Founder of the Monarchy and the first king of United Egypt.<sup>10</sup> The name of this queen occurs on several small tablets found in a royal tomb at

<sup>5</sup> Schäfer, *Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen*, p. 14. The names are:— (1) . . . pu, (2) Seka, (3) Kha-au, (4) Tau, (5) Thesh, (6) Neheb(?), (7) Uaz-an, (8) Mekha, (9) . . . . a; of the remaining four names only the determinatives are preserved.



<sup>6</sup> Breasted, *History*, p. 32.

<sup>7</sup> Newberry-Garstang, *Short History*, pp. 18, 19. Sais was celebrated for its artists, and the Saite school of sculpture is, I believe, traceable right through the whole course of Egyptian history. Sais was also famous for its learned doctors (see *Ebers Papyrus*, p. 47).

<sup>8</sup> I read the name of this queen Hetep "Peace," "Contentment," a common Egyptian name, rather than Neith-hetep; the Neith-sign which usually accompanies it I take to be the title "Chieftainess of the Saite nome" (see *P.S.B.A.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 298). In the Brussels Museum there is actually an end of an ivory wand inscribed , "The Consort, Hetep," without the Neith-sign.

<sup>9</sup> Like Gilukhipa, the foreign wife of Amenhetep III, in later times (see Newberry, *Scarabs*, Pl. XXX). Petrie (*Royal Tombs*, II, p. 33) remarks: "It will be noticed that out of 70 [grave-]stones [of domestics] with signs from around [the tomb of] Zer, 16 have names compounded with Neith; one may name Horus (No. 100), but no other deity is mentioned. This strongly shows that the domestics and harem of the king belonged to the Neith-worshipping Libyans, rather than to the Dynastic race which specially adored Hathor." Zer, it should be remarked, was the successor of Mena, and the stelae found around his tomb may well have belonged to the attendants (nearly all females) of Queen Hetep; Petrie says that the toilet articles of Hetep were found in the graves of her servants.

<sup>10</sup> Newberry-Garstang, *Short History*, p. 19.

Naqada and on many small objects discovered at Abydos. Accompanying the name on some of the monuments<sup>11</sup> is the sign , which here I read as a title, "Princess of Sais,"<sup>12</sup> and on three of her toilet objects<sup>13</sup> occurs the significant group , "Consort of the Double Dominion."<sup>14</sup> This latter title was borne by Nefret, the queen of Senusret II,<sup>15</sup> and by Hatshepsût.<sup>16</sup>

Three or four generations later we find another king of the Upper Egyptian Ist Dynasty—Den—taking for his consort a princess named Mer-neith, "the beloved of Neith," who, to judge from her name, was also a daughter of the House of Sais. It is at this period that we find a remarkable advance in the culture of the Upper Egyptian people, due probably to the influence of this powerful and enlightened queen; and it is important to note that after this time and up to the end of the Old Kingdom, women of the highest rank, and even queens themselves, often took the title of Priestess of Neith.<sup>17</sup>


Now the question arises, To what people did these princesses of Sais and pre-Menite kings of the Delta belong?

That they were worshippers of Neith is certain. Neith was essentially a Delta goddess, and the seat of her cult was Sais.<sup>18</sup> She is, however, generally regarded by Egyptologists as of foreign origin

<sup>11</sup> Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, Pl. II, 11 and 12.

<sup>12</sup> For the standard-sign of a province meaning "the Chieftain" of the province, see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, bl. 105.

<sup>13</sup> Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, Pl. II, 11 and 12, and end of an ivory wand found by Amelineau and now in the Brussels Museum.

<sup>14</sup> Griffith, in Petrie's *Royal Tombs*, II, p. 48. The title , "She who is united to Horus," is also well known as one of the titles of the queens of the Old Kingdom.

<sup>15</sup> Petrie, *Tanis*, II, Pl. XI. No one who studies the two portraits of this queen found at Tanis, and now preserved in the Cairo Museum, can doubt that she does not belong to the Upper Egyptian (or Dynastic people), and it must be remembered that the successor of her husband, Senusret III (probably her son), is of an unmistakably foreign type.


<sup>16</sup> Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, Pl. XLVIII, p. 16.

<sup>17</sup> See Mar., *Mastabas*, pp. 90, 162, 201, 262, 326, 377, etc.; Lepsius, *Denk.*, II, bl. 10, 15.

<sup>18</sup> Mallet, *Le Culte de Neith*, p. 83.



—*i.e.*, foreign to the Dynastic Upper Egyptians.<sup>19</sup> She is usually spoken of as of Libyan<sup>20</sup> origin, but there is in reality no more ground<sup>21</sup> for this statement than the fact that the people called Libyans (*Temehu*) wove her emblem into their garments at the time of the XIXth Dynasty: before that period she is not found especially associated with Libyans. Her name occurs on monuments belonging to the earliest period of Egyptian history; <sup>22</sup> it is constantly met with on the most primitive type of Egyptian cylinder-seal; <sup>23</sup> some of the most ancient personal names, as we have seen, are compounded with it,<sup>24</sup> and one of the earliest historical tablets bears a representation of her shrine (Pl. I, figs. 4 and 5).

The emblem of the goddess at the time of the Ist Dynasty and down to the IVth was (1) two crossed arrows, , or (2) a slender shield, shaped somewhat like the figure 8, with two arrows across it.<sup>25</sup> (Pl. I, figs. 6, 7.)

During the IVth, Vth, and VIth Dynasties the name of the goddess is written with the crossed arrows alone, or with a sign which may originally have been a rectangular shield (Pl. I, fig. 8) with crossed arrows, but which in the Vth, VIth, and XIIth Dynasties certainly represented a shuttle<sup>26</sup> (Pl. I, figs. 9, 10). Later, the emblem of the Saite nome is the regular rounded-top shield<sup>27</sup> (Pl. II, fig. 12)

<sup>19</sup> In the Pyramid Texts (Pep̄ I, 696) Neith is named together with Set as though she were his wife. Thothmes III was taught by Set to shoot with the bow and arrow, and before him in the scene representing the King with his Divine Tutor is the emblem of Neith (Moret, *du caractère religieux, etc.*, p. 105).

<sup>20</sup> Mallet, *l.c.*, p. 84; Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 140; Petrie, *Naqada and Ballas*, p. 64; Breasted, *History*, pp. 31-32.

<sup>21</sup> MacIver, *Libyan Notes*, pp. 69-70.


<sup>22</sup> Loret, "Quelques idées sur la forme primitive de certaines religions égyptiennes," in *Revue égyptologique*, tome XI, p. 76, fig. 7; Breasted, *History*, p. 30.

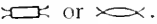
<sup>23</sup> Cf. Newberry, *Scarabs*, Pl. III, 2, 5, 7, and 10.

<sup>24</sup> See Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, I, Pl. XXXI, 9-11, 20; Pl. XXXII, 14, 15; *Royal Tombs*, II, Pl. XXVI, 51-57, 72-75, 97-99.

<sup>25</sup> A reminiscence of this shield is found in the Neith-sign in the tomb of Hetep-her-es of the Vth Dynasty at Sakkara (Mar., *Mast.*, p. 90; cf. Mallet, *Le Culte de Neith*, p. 178, and the figure in *P.S.B.A.*, Vol. XXVI, page 298, fig. 8 of Plate).

<sup>26</sup> Neith, besides being the Goddess of War, was the inventress of the art of weaving: she was the weaver who made the world of warp and woof (cf. Mallet, *l.c.*, pp. 185-186, and Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 128).

<sup>27</sup> This form of shield is found as early as the time of Menes; indeed, it occurs in his Horus-name, , Aha.

of the people of Upper Egypt, with the crossed arrows. In the XVIIIth Dynasty the name of Neith is sometimes written with an oval shield (Pl. II, fig. 11), which is found again in the XXVIth Dynasty (Pl. I, fig. 5); but from the XIXth Dynasty onwards the name of the goddess is generally written with the two forms of shuttle. .

Now it is a remarkable fact that the S-form of shield found on the pre-dynastic cylinder-seals, in the title of Queen Hetep (Pl. I, fig. 3), tablet of Aha (Menes) showing the shrine of Neith, on the stele of Mer-neith (Pl. I, fig. 7), and in the sign of the Saite nome in the tomb of Methen (Pl. I, fig. 6), should not have been used in hieroglyphs after the IVth Dynasty. It is replaced in the Vth Dynasty by the rectangular shield, and later by the common Upper Egyptian shield, rounded at the summit and square at the base, while in the XVIIIth Dynasty, and sometimes in the XXVIth, an oval form of shield is shown.

This S-form of shield which we find occurring in the earliest standard-signs of Neith is of considerable interest; it is the characteristic form that was used by the earliest historical inhabitants of the Eastern Mediterranean. The Mycenaean shields<sup>28</sup> (Pl. II, figs. 16-18) were of identically the same shape, and Prof. Ernest Gardner has described<sup>29</sup> some curious objects found among Mycenaean antiquities which "have a symbolical meaning and are of a form which is derived from shields. They are to be regarded," he continues, "as conventional and abridged representations of an armed divinity. To call them Palladia is the simplest way of expressing this fact, whether it be true or not that those who made them identified this armed divinity with the goddess whom we know as Pallas Athene of later Greece." These Palladia are of two shapes: one is the S-shaped; the other is a form derived from it (see Pl. II, fig. 21), and is exactly like the shield used by the Hittites in the scene of the battle of Kadesh figured in the Temple of Rameses II at Thebes<sup>30</sup> (see Pl. II, fig. 22). On a monument from the Castle gateway at Zenzirli<sup>31</sup> (Pl. II, fig. 15), in Asia Minor, a Hittite warrior

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XIII, p. 215, fig. 24; Schuchardt, *Schliemann's Excavations*, pp. 229 and 277.


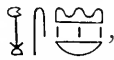
<sup>29</sup> *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XIII, p. 24.

<sup>30</sup> The Boeotian shield is somewhat similar to this Hittite form. See *I.H.S.*, XIII, p. 214.

<sup>31</sup> Messerschmidt, *The Hittites*, p. 33, fig. 3.

carries a shield of the 8-form (Pl. II, fig. 15). The so-called Amazonian shield of Pontus was shaped something like the figure of 8, and it is important to note that "in early art the Amazons are robed in Hittite costume. The dances they performed with shield and bow in honour of the goddess of war and love gave rise to the myths which saw in them a nation of women warriors. The Thermadora, on whose banks the poets place them, was in the neighbourhood of the Hittite monuments of Boghaz-Keui." The *ancilia*<sup>32</sup> of the Salii (Pl. II, figs. 19, 20) was of the same form:<sup>33</sup> an oblong shield, which would have been a complete oval but for a curved indentation on either side.

We have now seen that the shield used by the early people of Sais, in the Western Delta, was (1) of a different form to that employed by the Upper Egyptians, and (2) that it was of identically the same shape as that used by the Mycenaeans, the so-called Hittites, and the aborigines of Latium. The question therefore naturally suggests itself, In what way were these inhabitants of the Western Delta related to the people of the North-eastern Mediterranean?

Inhabiting the Delta in very early times was a mysterious people called the *Haau*, or "Fenmen,"<sup>34</sup> foreigners to the Upper Egyptian Dynastic race, to whom it was expressly forbidden to communicate any of the magical protective formulæ of the Book of the Dead.<sup>35</sup> Whether these people were the same as the *Ha-nebu* of later times is not certain, but Neith in a late inscription<sup>36</sup>—of the time of Nectanebo—is called , "Mistress of the Mediterranean," and in this quality accorded to the king , "all foreign lands," and he in return dedicated to the temple of Neith a


<sup>32</sup> Baumeister, *Denkm.*, p. 1546. On the history of the Salii see Marquardt, *Staatsverw.*, III, pp. 427-438.

<sup>33</sup> Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, p. 455.

<sup>34</sup> On the *Haau* or *Ha-nebu* see Hall, *The Oldest Civilization of Greece*, pp. 158-160, and the same writer, "Keftiu and the People of the Sea," printed in the *Annual* of the British School at Athens, No. VIII, 1901-1902. Hall takes these Fenmen to have been ignorant, uncultured people, but on this point I do not agree with him.

<sup>35</sup> It is important to note that Neith plays a very insignificant rôle in the Book of the Dead.

<sup>36</sup> Maspero, *Musée du Caire*, Pl. XLV, pp. 41-42.

tenth of all the things which came from , "the Great Green Sea of the Hau-nebu." Now Neith has been identified with the armed divinity we know as Pallas Athene of later Greece, and there is a tradition recorded by Plato<sup>37</sup> that "the founder of Sais<sup>38</sup> was a goddess whom the Egyptians called Neith, the Greeks Athene; and its inhabitants," he further remarks, "are very much attached to the Athenians, to whom they consider themselves in some way related." Later Greek writers describe Cecrops (a hero of Pelasgian race) as having emigrated into Greece with a band of colonists from Sais, and Diodorus says inconsistently in one passage that Sais sent a colony to Athens,<sup>39</sup> and in another that Sais itself was founded by Athenians.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> *Timaco* (ed. Franc), p. 1043.

<sup>38</sup> It is curious that Manetho (according to Africanus) should mention that the first king of the XVth Dynasty of Shepherd Kings "was named Saïtes, and the Saïte nome is called after him." The same ancient historian says that the XVth Dynasty was composed of thirty-two *Hellenic* Shepherd Kings.

<sup>39</sup> I, 28 ff. 3.

<sup>40</sup> V, 57, ff. 45.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

### PLATE I.

1. Cylinder Seal. (Strasburg Institute of Archæology.)
2. " " (In the possession of the writer.)
3. Chieftainess Hetep.
4. The Shrine of Neith. (Tablet of Aha. Petrie, *R.T.*, II, Pl. X, fig. 2.)
5. " " (XXVIth Dynasty Stele. Bologna Museum.)
6. Sign of Neith. (Tomb of Methen. Berlin Museum.)
7. " " (Stele of Mer-Neith. Cairo Museum.)
8. " " (Vth Dynasty Stele. MacGregor Collection.)
9. " " (Vth Dynasty Stele. Cairo Museum.)
10. " " (XIIth Dynasty Stele. Cairo Museum.)



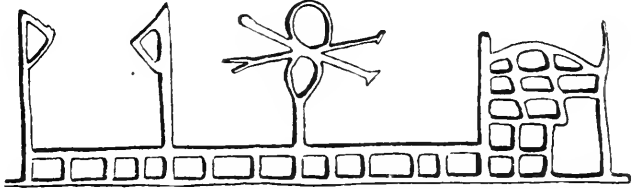
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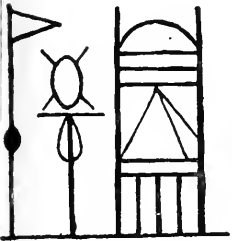
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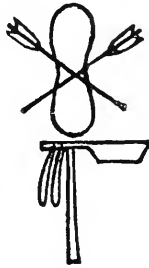
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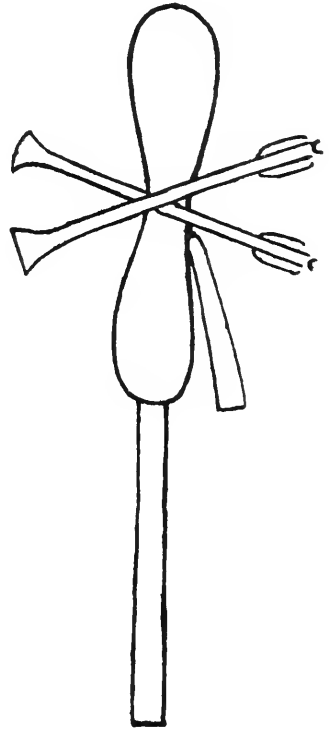
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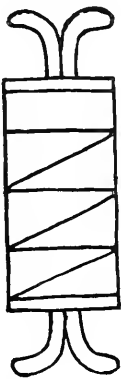
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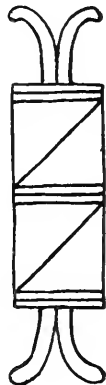
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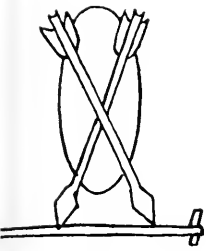


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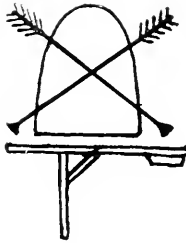


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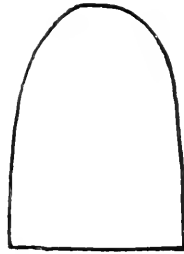




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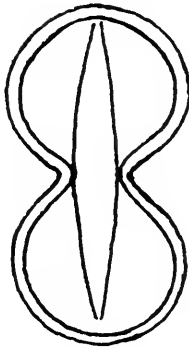
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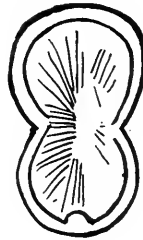
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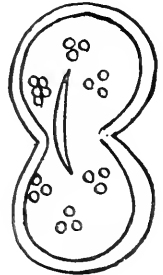
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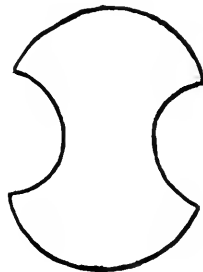
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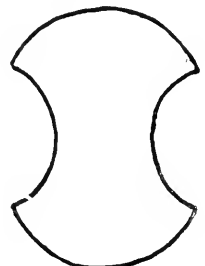
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## PLATE II.

11. Sign of Neith. (XVIIIth Dynasty Stele, Dêr el Bahari.)
  12. „ „ (Late Inscription. Cairo Museum.)
  13. Typical Upper Egyptian Shield.
  14. Shield of the N.W. Delta.
  15. Hittite Shield. (Zenjirli.)
  16. Mycenæan Shield. (*J.H.S.*, XIII, 215, fig. 24.)
  17. „ „ (Cornish, p. 552, fig. 932.)
  18. „ „ (Cornish, figs. 151-154.)
  19. Shield of the Salii. (Cornish, p. 552, fig. 932.)
  20. „ „ (Cornish, p. 552, fig. 933.)
  21. Mycenæan Shield.
  22. Hittite Shield.
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## THE FOLKLORE OF MOSSOUL.

BY R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, *M.A.*

## I.

While engaged on the excavations at Kouyunjik (Nineveh) during the years 1904-1905, which had been begun and carried on in 1903 and the early part of 1904 by Mr. L. W. King, for the Trustees of the British Museum, I collected as many magical manuscripts as I could from the natives of Mossoul, and at the same time made notes on the folklore of the Arabs. Two MSS. that I bought through an old Hebrew *hakim* seem to be worth publishing, because although their spells may not be traditionally descended from the first inhabitants of Nineveh, yet they are still believed in, in the unspoilt and mediaeval town of Mossoul, where it is still possible to find Arab superstitions comparatively uncoloured by Western additions. The peculiar interest of the town of Mossoul is that it is built close to the site of Nineveh, and it might well be expected that the traditions of the modern inhabitants would retain something of the beliefs and superstitions of the ancient Assyrians. First, however, it must be remarked that, though many of the customs of the present people are descended from the former inhabitants, there is another element visible in the native *grimoires* and magic books which is to be referred more probably to an immigrant influence than to a local origin.

It is almost unnecessary to preface this article by saying that devils of every kind are believed in by all classes, and *Shayâtîn* (the equivalent of "Satans") and *Jinn* are, as elsewhere in the East, rampant. According to an old Muslim magician, who came to me one day, the *Jinn* are mild compared with the *Shayâtîn*, for if one of the former enters a man, it can be expelled by exorcisms, but if it be

one of the latter, no power will avail. Demoniac possession is of course firmly believed in, a madman being *majnun* ("possessed by Jinn"), and giddiness and epilepsy are alike referred to the same powers of evil. I am indebted to the courtesy of M. Abdullah Michael, chemist of Mossoul, for the following traditional Arab cure for epilepsy. A *shékkh* must come and lay a knife on the patient's head; then, dates are brought and fumigated with incense, the magician meanwhile uttering various chants over them, and then, after spitting on them, he gives them to the patient to eat.<sup>1</sup>

Now if we examine the ancient Assyrian magic, we find very similar ideas prevailing. To the influence of the *ahhazu*-demon ("Seizer") jaundice was attributed, the cuneiform medical tablets describing it as follows:—

"When a man's body is yellow, his face yellow and black, the root of his tongue black, *ahhazu* is its name: thou must bake great wild MUŠDIMGURINNA, he shall drink it in fermented drink. Then will the *ahhazu* that is in him be silent."<sup>2</sup>

Of other diseases in Mossoul cases of dysentery, typhoid, and, of course, malaria are frequently met with, and an epidemic of cholera occasionally visits the city. Smallpox is comparatively rare, but ophthalmic troubles of various kinds and the Baghdad boil are common. These two latter have been there from the earliest times: we find an Assyrian receipt for some form of ophthalmia inscribed on one of the Royal Library tablets (*W.A.I.* IV, 29\*, 4 c, 10).

"Incantation:—

The wind blew in heaven and brought blindness to the eye of the man: from the distant heavens it blew and brought blindness to the eye of the man; unto sick eyes it brought blindness. The eye of this man troubleth; his eye is hurt (?); this man weepeth for himself continually.

<sup>1</sup> This use of the knife is, of course, only an instance of the power of iron in magic. My servant Mejd told me that if a man falls down in a fit, or faint (I am not quite clear as to which he meant), he is supposed to have been struck on the head by the demon named *Sôda*, the equivalent of our Black Man. Giddiness is also attributed to the influence of a demon, which can be expelled by a *shékkh*.

<sup>2</sup> Küchler, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Assyrisch-Babylonischen Medizin*, p. 61.

“ Nabû hath seen the sickness of this man and (hath said) ‘Take pounded cassia, perform the Incantation of the Deep, bind up the eye of the sick man.’ When Nabû toucheth the eye of the man with his pure hand, may the wind which hath afflicted the eye of the man, go forth from his eyes.”

An instance of the Baghdad boil occurs in an Assyrian astrological report to the king from a priest. “Concerning this evil of the skin, the king, my lord, hath not spoken from his heart. The sickness lasts a year : people that are sick (therefrom) all recover.”<sup>3</sup> Now the boil is popularly supposed to last a year.

In many Oriental countries toothache is frequently supposed to be due to a worm. This has always been the case in Mesopotamia,<sup>4</sup> and I was assured by educated folk in Mossoul that if a man with toothache burnt the berries of a certain plant known as *ambûbi*, and fumigated his open mouth with the smoke of them, the worm would drop out from the teeth. Through the kindness of a friend of mine, Père Makdo, a Chaldean priest of Mossoul, who obtained some of this plant from the hills, specimens of the berry were sent to me, and I am indebted to the courtesy of W. Botting Hemsley, Esq., F.R.S., of the Royal Gardens, at Kew, for identifying them. He tells me that it is the *Withania somnifera (solanaceae)*, a narcotic plant employed medicinally and otherwise by Eastern peoples, the *σπρῦχρος ὑπνετικός* of Theophrastus and Dioscorides. But this theory of a worm in the tooth can be traced back to Assyrian times, and I append the incantation against toothache for comparison's sake :—

“ After Anu [had created the Heavens],  
 The Heavens created [the Earth],  
 The Earth created the Rivers,  
 The Rivers created the Canals,  
 The Canals created the Marshes,  
 The Marshes created the Worm.  
 Came the Worm (and) wept before the Sun-god,  
 Before the god Ea came her tears :—  
 ‘What wilt thou give me for my food,  
 What wilt thou give me for my devouring?’

<sup>3</sup> *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers*, No. 257.

<sup>4</sup> It is also the case in China ; see Coffin, *Dental Annual*.

‘I will give thee dried bones,  
 (And) scented . . . -wood.’  
 ‘What are these dried bones to me,  
 And scented . . . -wood !  
 Let me drink among the teeth,  
 And set me on the gums ;  
 That I may devour the blood of the teeth,  
 And of the gums destroy their strength ;  
 Then shall I hold the bolt of the door.’  
 ‘Since thou hast said this, O Worm !  
 May Ea smite thee with the might of his fist.’

---

Incantation of the Sick Mouth.

---

Thou shouldst do the following :  
 Mix beer, the plant SA-KIL-BIR, and oil together.  
 Repeat thereon the incantation thrice,  
 (And) put it on his tooth.”<sup>5</sup>

Of charms and amulets, of course, there is no end, many of them being, as usual, intended to ward off the Evil Eye. The blue beads plaited into the manes of valuable beasts are almost too well known to be worth mentioning. As an instance of the fixed belief in its power, nothing could persuade the sergeant of my escort between Aleppo and Dêr from attributing a sprained wrist to the machinations of a woman who had overlooked him in Aleppo as he was shifting some sacks.<sup>6</sup>

My servant Mejîd told me that if a man desired a charm (he did not specify the kind), he was to take a dead hoopoe (which are fairly common in the neighbourhood of Mossoul in summer), with a bit of inscribed paper tied to it, to a cemetery, and lay it near a grave at night. He must then read some book, while the demons gather round, without turning to look round. Should he look round during

<sup>5</sup> *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, Vol. II, p. 160.

<sup>6</sup> At Tak-i-Bustan, near Kermanshah, in Persia, I noticed a small boy wearing a necklet formed by a large silver ring with three pendent amulets. These latter were two hands and a crescent moon, and the resemblance of the whole ornament to the necklace worn by the Assyrian kings was most striking. The symbols strung round their necks represent the Sun, Moon, Venus, and the forked lightning of Adad, the Thunder-god, and I have little doubt that the hand, which the little Persian was wearing, is an indirect descendant of the last named, the similarity of form being most marked.

his reading, the demons will have power to attack him. Another charm against fever, told me by a boy employed on the excavations named Shêkko, who was by way of having a reputation as a magician, was one well known in the East, and has come down from Assyrian times. The *shêkkh* who is called in to cure the patient takes a thread of cotton (single, not plaited in three, as he explained when questioned), and ties seven knots in it, putting it on the patient's wrist. After seven or eight days, if the fever still continue, he must keep it on; if it passes, then he may throw it away. He must then make bread and throw it to the dogs. This latter Shêkko explained as a kind of thank-offering, but the root-idea is probably much deeper down.

Now this charm was met with in Persia by O'Donovan, who gives a full description of it in his *Merv Oasis* (ii, p. 319). The thread in his case was spun from camel's hair, folded three times upon itself, and re-spun. Seven knots were then tied in it, and it was to be worn on the patient's wrist: each day one of the knots being untied, and finally the thread was to be thrown into the river.

This very charm is met with almost exactly similar in the Assyrian incantations against headache. The directions are:—

“Take the hair of a virgin kid; let a wise-woman spin it on the right side, and double it on the left; bind twice seven knots, and perform the Incantation of Eridu, and bind the head of the sick man, and bind the neck of the sick man, and bind his life, and bind up his limbs; and go round his couch, and cast the water of the Incantation over him, that the headache may ascend to heaven like the smoke of a peaceful homestead, that like the lees of water poured out it may go down into the earth.”<sup>7</sup>

A further use of the cord folded in three and knotted “twice seven times” is found in the same tablet, and in the same way it is to be tied on the head of the patient.

A Muslim cure for headache in Mossoul was for a *shêkkh* to come and lay his hands on the patient's head, and then to drive a nail into the wall. Now this is simply the nailing down of the headache demon after he has been expelled by the laying on of hands, just as the soul of a murdered man can be prevented from haunting a house. I saw an instance of this latter when I was in Tripoli

<sup>7</sup> *Devils and Evil Spirits*, Vol. II, XXXVIII.

(Barbary) in 1903. While I was waiting for my caravan to be made up for a journey round the inland districts, the proprietor of the little Italian hotel showed me a nail that had been driven into the paving of the porch-floor. A few years back a native had been murdered close to the door, and immediately the neighbouring Arabs thronged thither with hammer and nail, and thus secured the freedom of the little *locanda* from being haunted by the dead man's spirit. Some time after the proprietor attempted to remove the nail, but he was at once prevented, on the grounds that the ghost would thereby be released.<sup>8</sup>

My servant Mejid also told me that an Indian had shown someone how to obtain a charm in the following manner. He was to tie a piece of paper inscribed with some writing round a fowl's neck, and shoot at the fowl with a revolver from a short distance. If the fowl was killed, then the charm was of no avail, but if it escaped unscathed, then he might wear the charm as proved and certain.

The discovery of thieves is a favourite exercise of Arab magicians. One day my servant lost three *mejildis* (about nine shillings), and he found a Muslim that had knowledge of such things. This latter gave him a piece of paper inscribed with various invocations and cabalistic figures, and told him to leave it at the place where the money was lost. If the demons, who inhabit the air, had taken it to add to the enormous treasure in their charge, which every Arab believes to exist, they would return it at midnight; if, however, it had been stolen by human hands, then would they write the name of the thief on the paper.

Ordeal by fire is still in use, as in other parts of Arabia, and it was in this particular instance that it was suggested that a small boy suspected of having stolen the money should be taken to a *shékh*, who would put a red-hot knife on the tip of the boy's tongue, and if it did not burn, he was innocent. I was incidentally assured that the *shékh* had knowledge of certain drugs that could be used to prevent the knife burning.

It is unnecessary to add that among the Assyrians almost all diseases were due to demons, and were to be exorcised accordingly. The beliefs in Palestine at the beginning of our era with regard to epilepsy being demoniac possession are even more clearly indicated in the New Testament than in the Assyrian tradition.

<sup>8</sup> Professor Sayce also mentions this in his "Cairene Folklore," *Folklore*, 1900, Vol. II, p. 389.

It is, I believe, a current belief also in Mossoul that a wizard who has continually had dealings with evil spirits may at last be overcome and killed by them; at least, the explanation given me by one of my diggers on the mound, when I failed to obtain a *séance* with one of his sorcerer-friends, was that the magician had not been seen for some time, and it was possible that the demons had got him.

The following story was vouched for by my servants Mejid and Yakûb, and I heard that it was also current in Baghdad when I was in that city. A certain woman died before the birth of her child, and it was only after she was buried that her child was born. He grew up in the tomb for about ten years, and one day a man, digging into the grave, found the child alive. The boy was taken out, fed and clothed, and lived to a good old age.

The well-known story of death by fright from imaginary ghosts was told me in the following form by Mejid: Within a short distance of the town was a house supposed to be haunted by evil spirits, and a certain man "dared" another to go by night and rap at the door, the belief being that the demon would spring out to seize what he might. Nothing daunted, the man set off and never returned; and when the neighbours sought him, they found him dead at the door of the haunted house, with his cloak caught on a nail.

In all Semitic superstition there is a fixed belief in the ability of demons to ally themselves in marriage with human beings. According to Rabbinic tradition the female demon Lilith was Adam's second wife, and by her he had many children, half devil, half man. Similarly Liliths were supposed to ally themselves to men and bear supernatural children to them which, when the man was dying, would cluster round his death bed waiting to hail him as their father.

This had its origin in the ancient Assyrian beliefs which are known to us from the incantation tablets, the *Ardat lili*, which is practically equivalent to Lilith, having the power of allying herself to human beings. In a hymn to the Sun-god, among the possibilities of affliction the two following cases are recorded:—

“The man whom an *Ardat lili* hath wedded,  
The man with whom an *Ardat lili* hath had union.”<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Devils and Evil Spirits*, Vol. I, p. XXVII. Cf. Tobit, vi, 14, “For a devil loveth her.”



Another tablet states even more closely that the demon known as the *Alû* might be brought into being by such semi-supernatural means.<sup>10</sup>

Now this is believed in by the Arabs to the present day. Professor Sayce, in his article on "Cairene Folklore,"<sup>11</sup> mentions it: "About fifteen years ago there was a man in Cairo who was "unmarried, but had an invisible *ginna* as wife. One day, however, "he saw a woman and loved her, and two days later he died. It "should be added that in Egypt, where early marriages are the rule, "bachelors who have reached the prime of life are believed to be "married to '*afârit* or *ginn*."

I came across an instance of it at Mossoul. One night my men were discussing *jinn* and kindred subjects, and incidentally (and entirely spontaneously) one of them, Yakûb, told me that he knew a man in Mossoul who declared he was visited of nights by a spirit in the form of a beautiful woman who had borne him three children, and the man was so enchanted with this arrangement that he scorned an earthly marriage.

The "censer," which so frequently occurs in the paraphernalia demanded by the Assyrian exorcisms, is still used in Arab priest-craft. A magician told me that if a man were sick of a fever, the *shîkh* would come and "read" over him; but if this were not enough to cure him, the *shîkh* would bring a censer to fumigate him, by putting it at the patient's feet and letting him crouch over it.

As to actual native medicines in use, certain herbs are of course in great demand. For a "weeping eye" I was told that صَبْرٍ أَحْمَرٍ "red aloes" was used, and for "red eye" human milk. For a stomach-ache a man was to drink cinnamon, which grows near Mossoul; and for a swelling, a lotion of oil and *hawajawa*, a red plant which grows wild, was to be rubbed on, five days being the time it was supposed to take to cure the place.

Of local traditions with regard to the various ancient sites there were many. The belief that Jonah is buried in the mosque on Nebi Yunus, the mound to the southwards of Kouyunjik, is of course well known. More curious, however, was a local belief that, as the smaller mound of Nebi Yunus contained Jonah, the larger mound of Kouyunjik contained the whale which swallowed him, and I believe

<sup>10</sup> *Devils and Evil Spirits*, Vol. I, p. XXVI.

<sup>11</sup> *Folklore*, 1900, Vol. II, p. 388.

it was at one time supposed that we were hunting this whale in our diggings. Another reason popularly given for our excavations was that the English had learnt all their science, telegraphs and railways from the cuneiform tablets that Layard found, and that we wished to improve on this. Incidentally, while on the story of Jonah, it must be an inaccuracy to state that the city of Nineveh was a three-days' journey, as the one complete perimeter wall (excluding the outer eastern ramparts, which do not make the journey much longer) can be ridden round in less than an hour. There must be some traditional virtue<sup>12</sup> in the plain surrounding the mound of Nebi Yunus, which overlooks much flat land, for after the cholera had come to Mossoul in the autumn of 1904, an enormous crowd came out thither at dawn to pray that it might be averted. Unfortunately, not knowing anything about this until it was over, I did not see it, but the estimate given by my servant was that there were fifty thousand people of all denominations. Curiously enough, this epidemic ceased a few days afterwards.

Jonah's virtue has descended on one of the properties of the mosque, and this is a large cauldron, contained in an adjoining chamber, which is credited with a supernatural inexhaustibility, from which the poor may be fed. This was working when I visited the mosque, and its virtues were carefully pointed out to me by the old Said.

One curious survival in the everyday utensils in Mossoul is the small copper vessel with a handle which is used by everyone for carrying food about. In every detail of shape it is the counterpart of that held by the winged griffins on the Assyrian sculptures.

Hypnotism is of course part of the magician's stock-in-trade. A *shék* assured me that he would be able to show me the house-wall removed, or would have put before me to eat anything I liked, obviously by means of hypnotic suggestion. Inkpool-gazing (a variant of crystal-gazing) is a form of clairvoyance still in use. Water-, crystal- or ink-gazing has been from time immemorial an Eastern practice, and directions for its performance are to be found in Egyptian demotic and Græco-Egyptian papyri, in Indian magic

<sup>12</sup> This peculiar sanctity of sites is not necessarily confined to Muslim saints. While Mr. L. W. King and myself were collating the inscriptions at Behistun, we noticed a bush covered with small pieces of rags at the foot of the gorge beneath the great trilingual inscription of Darius, exactly as though the spot were as sacred as a *shék*'s tomb.

books, and even in the Arabic and Hebrew manuscripts that I picked up in Mossoul.

My servant Mejid found a *shékkh* who was capable of showing me the inkpool magic, and he came up to my hut on the mound of Kouyunjik one day in September. He was a spare and ascetic-looking man of about forty or forty-five, and when he came into the hut he began his preparations. First a corner of the floor at the door was swept, and he spread one of my blankets down on it and sat thereon in the sunshine, and at his suggestion Mejid brought a fire-shovel with hot coals on it; then we found a small boy of about eight or nine years of age, by name Dio, the son of one of my diggers, between whom and the magician there was little risk of collusion, and the *shékkh* made him sit down near, and began drawing cabalistic figures in the boy's right hand. He then shut up the hand, and on the thumbnail spread a large patch of ordinary ink, which he moistened from time to time to keep it bright, the boy meanwhile staring at it intently. Holding the boy by the right wrist, the *shékkh* rapidly under his voice gabbled off some formulae, occasionally at the periods giving a short sharp tone to the last word. He began to throw some aromatic gum on the coal-pan; then he made his recitation aloud, and said to the boy, "Say, 'Come, Shemha'il'!" "Say, 'Come, Berkân'!" which the boy did. I noticed that the boy put his thumb about four or five inches from his left eye, not using both eyes; but this was his usual custom, as he always had a remarkable squint. Presently he said "He's come." Then the *shékkh* said "Say, 'Set a chair for the king,'" and the boy repeated it, and then the *shékkh* asked me what I wanted. I said I wanted to know the thief who had stolen the three *mejidis* from my servant. "Tell him to bring the thief," said the magician to Dio. So the boy spoke to the demon in the ink, and the demon brought the likeness of the thief. "What is he like?" said the *shékkh*, and the boy answered, "Old, and with a white beard, from among the workmen."

We left this for the moment, and passed on to another question. I asked for a relative of mine, and the demon brought his likeness. I asked how he was, and the small boy said, "He is well and laughing, and *amin* (*i.e.*, a trustworthy person)." "What is he like?" "He is an oldish man, his face red, with a red moustache and a beard; his clothes are black."

Now it was very difficult to get anything certain from the boy, and it was not until leading questions began that the red moustache

changed to white, and the beard vanished. Certainly the person in question had no beard, nor was his moustache red. My last question whether he was asleep in bed or in the market produced a bad result. The boy asked the question of the image in his nail, whether he was in the market, on the understanding that it was to wave its hand for an affirmative answer, and at once it signified "yes." Now all this was taking place about four hours after sunrise in Mossoul, which is equivalent to an hour before dawn in London.

The magician laid his hand on the boy's forehead, repeated some words, and blew in his face. Dio awoke as though out of sleep, stretched himself, and said he was tired, and then my servant carried him off to identify the thief of the first half of the *séance*. In five minutes he came back in high dudgeon, declaring that the boy had pitched on a doddering old greybeard who could not run ten yards, much less the distance necessary to have stolen the money.

The boy sat down again, the same process was repeated, and I asked to know where I was to dig for "written stones" in the mound. So at the question the boy said the demon was beginning to dig in a certain place, and later on in the day he pointed it out to me, giving me, in his uncertainty, the choice of two places. I was curious to find out how he knew that Shemha'il was a demon, and he told me later that he had a red head and black body.

Not even the most credulous of spiritualists would, I think, venture to bring forward this instance as a confirmation of clairvoyance, as it was not until leading questions were put that any result approaching correctness was arrived at. But it was an interesting survival of ancient Oriental magic.

*(To be continued.)*

*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., February, 1906.*



CARVED SLATE IN THE COLLECTION OF THE  
REV. W. MACGREGOR.

*(From a Photograph.)*



## A NEW CARVED SLATE

(Fragmentary).

BY F. LEGGE.

In the MacGregor Collection at Tamworth there is a fragment of yet another carved slate, which resembles in most essential particulars those already published by me in the *Proceedings* (see *P.S.B.A.*, 1900, pp. 125-139, 270, 271; and 1904, pp. 262, 263). When complete, it evidently resembled strongly the smaller of the two slates from Hieraconpolis, now in the Ashmolean Museum, and the fine slate from Damanhur, now in the Louvre. Like these two examples, the upper margin was formed of the bodies of two dogs heraldically "supporting" the central disk, which formed the principal motive of the slate's decoration. The eyes of the remaining dog appear at one time to have been inlaid, like the eyes of all the animals in the Ashmolean slate. Judging, however, from the very small space left between the bodies of the dogs and the central disk, it is doubtful whether the slate contained any other decoration or inscription than that which now appears on it. Mr. MacGregor tells me that he has no record of its provenance, but that he thinks he remembers that it was said to have come from Upper Egypt. The work is poor, but the persistent use of hunting dogs as supporters leads one to wonder whether these animals might not represent the totem of one of the tribes of early invaders. In this case it might possibly be connected with the worship of the god Apuat, who, according to distinguished authority, is really a dog, and not, like his brother Anubis, a jackal.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, March 14th, 1906, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

**E. J. Pilcher, Esq. : “On Kabbalistic Planetary Charms.”**



*PROCEEDINGS*  
OF  
THE SOCIETY  
OF  
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION, 1906.

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*Third Meeting, March 14th, 1906.*

W. H. RYLANDS, ESQ., *F.S.A.*,  
*Vice-President,*

IN THE CHAIR.

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The following gifts to the Library were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :

F. Legge, Esq.—“The Egyptian Heaven and Hell.” By  
Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge.

Rev. A. B. Grimaldi, *M.A.*—“A Catalogue of Zodiacs and  
Planispheres, ancient and modern.”

From the Author, Dr. Oscar von Lemm.—“Iberica.”

J. Pollard, Esq.—“Précis du système Hiéroglyphique des anciens  
Égyptiens.” Par Champollion Le Jeune.

The following Candidate for Membership was elected :—

Rev. Arthur H. Powell, The Vicarage, Bridgwater.

The following Paper was read :—

E. J. PILCHER, ESQ. : “On Kabbalistic Planetary Charms.”

Thanks were returned for this communication.

UNPUBLISHED HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE  
MUSEUM AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D.*, &c.

His Excellency Hamdy Bey has been kind enough to allow me to publish the following three Hittite inscriptions which I copied last May in the Museum at Constantinople. Nos. I and III are published here for the first time; a copy of No. II will be found in the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à l'Archéologie égyptienne, etc.*, XV, 1-2, but owing to the conditions under which it was made it is of little use to the decipherer. The present copy therefore makes it available for study for the first time.

No. I. (Plate I). The monument (No. 1193 in the Museum Catalogue) is said to have been brought from Erzerûm; the upper, uninscribed part of it is broken off. The elaborate picture of a head with which it begins may represent *anas* "prince"; more probably it is the ideographic representation of the name of a king, since the suffix *-si-s* in the proper name which follows is the patronymic. The usual *amé* or *amei* "I (am)" is here written *i-a-me*. The lost character after *mâ* may be *u*; that which follows *uan* is the "word-divider." There was no character after *i*. The ideograph of plurality after the numeral IX was probably not pronounced; in addition to its phonetic values (*i*)*s* and (*mi*)*is*, representing the ordinary plural in *-s*, the Arzawa tablets make it probable that it also had the value of (*i*)*t*, since by the side of the plural in *-s* there was a plural in *-t*.

When lines 1 and 2 are compared, it will be seen that *mû-mû-i* must signify "nine" and *iu-a-w-i* or *iu-a-m-i* "horses," since when the words are written a second time *mûmûi* is omitted before the numeral and *iuawî* is not accompanied by the ideograph of "horse."

The word for "horseman" in M. XXI, 6, *ID.-uas*, indicates that we must read *iua-w-i* and *iua-uas*, i.e. *iuas*. Consequently *iua* was the Hittite word for "horse," *iuas* for "horseman." Now the word for "chariot" was *tua*, as is clear from the fact that both the character which depicts the body of a chariot (No. 45) and that which depicts the wheel (No. 86) were alike pronounced *tua*, and both are accordingly used in writing the name *Tua-na* "chariot-land"—a name which reminds us of the chariot of Gordius, the sacred fetish of Gordium. It is impossible not to be struck by the identity of *iua* and *tua* with the names of the parents of the Egyptian queen Teie, the mother of "the Heretic king," more especially as Dr. Elliot Smith pronounces the skulls of their mummies, discovered last spring at Thebes by Mr. Theodore M. Davis, to be non-Egyptian. The names would explain the burial of a chariot in their tomb, and may be compared with those of Hengist and Heorsa in English history. Hittite Sun-worship, which identified the Sun-god with the god of the state and carved his disk on the monuments, throws light on the foreign "Disk-worship" of Khu-n-Aten. That *Iuas* and *Tuas* were Hittite proper names we know from the native inscriptions. *T(a)uas* is found at Ivriz (see No. III below) and *Tua-is* or *Tuaisis*, "son of the chariot," occurs on a seal in the collection of M. de Clercq, where it is accompanied by the figure of a winged horse (Pegasus). *Teuwatti* or *Tuates* (in the Tel el-Amarna and Vannic texts) is "chariot-lord." In the Greek inscriptions of Cilicia we have *Θουᾶς* and *Θοᾶς* as well as *Ῥουᾶς* and *Ῥοᾶς* together with the compounds *Ῥουᾶσις* "son of the horse," *Ῥουᾶββασις* (i.e. *Iuwasis*) and *Ῥουᾶγῆδης*.

The inscription reads: (1) *ID. Tarka-DET.-kami-is-na-s . . -ID. . . -si-s i-a-me mā-[u?]-uan [DIV.] mū-mū-i-IX-* (2) *MIS iu-ID.-a-w-i DIV.-na (?) -mā IX-w-i-si mā-a-MI unun-ID-u-s-DET. DIV. kai-amma DIV. mis-i DIV. a-na-is IX-MIS DIV. iu-a-w-* (3) *-DET.-uas-DET. a-ma DIV. ma-tu (?) -u nu-DET.-nu-DET. DIV. tua-u-uan DIV. uan-nas-u-su-uan DIV. ID.-w-u una-akasu-DET.*; ". . . of the district of Tarkamis, the son of . . . am I; the place of the nine horses, (and) of this place (?) of the Nine in the city (?) of the Sun-god the building I constructed, being prince of the city of the nine horses; for the place of the chariot (?) I made strong a chariot of wood (and) troughs (?) of stone."

"Tarkamis" is written *Tarka-kamis* "gate of Tarkus" but like Sandapi for Sanda-dapi is probably to be read Tarkamis. Cp. the

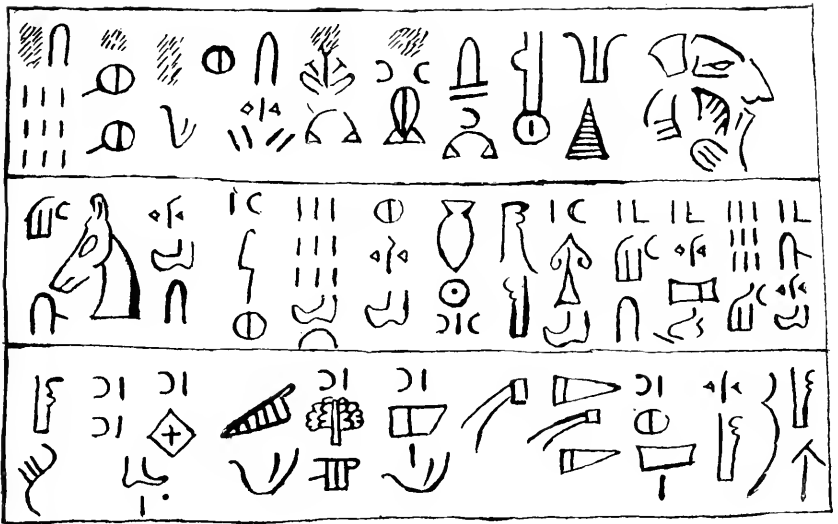
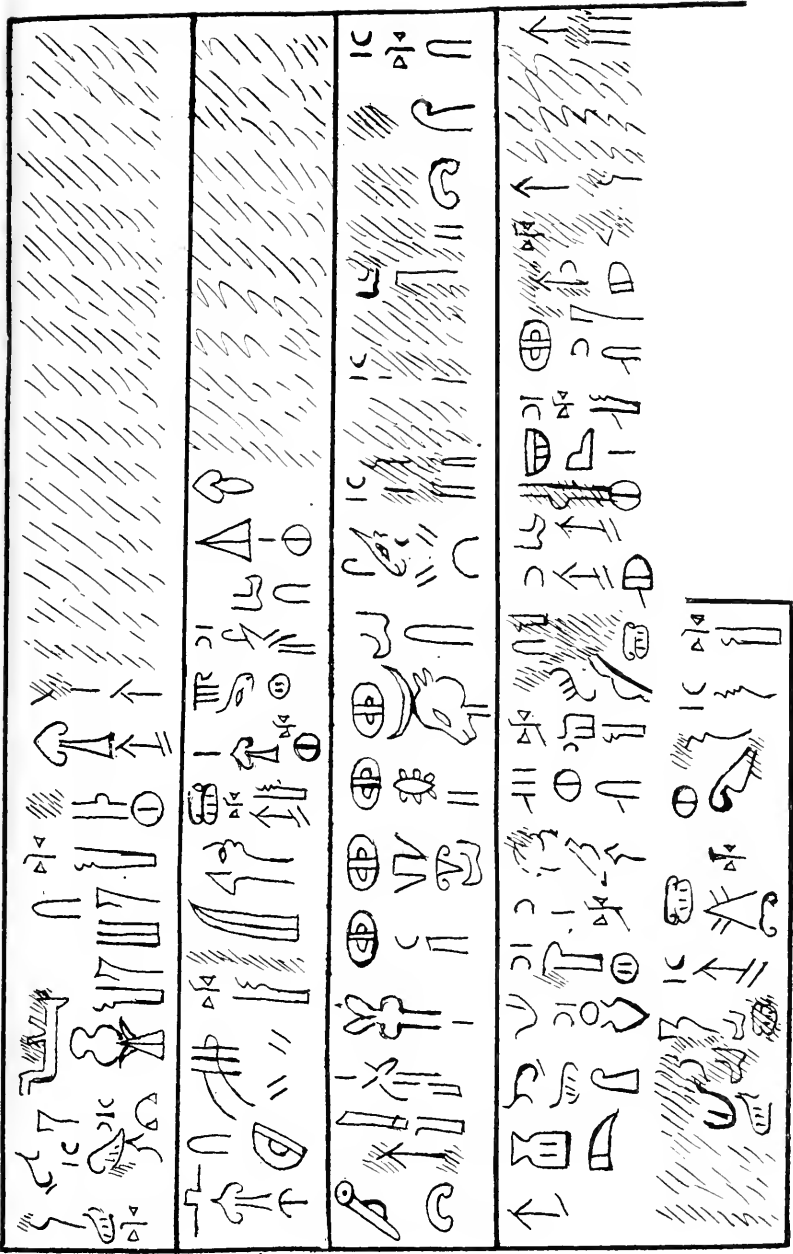


Fig. 1.

ERZERÛM.

Constantinople Museum, No. 1193.





PALANGA.  
Constantinople Museum, No. 1215.





Thorgama of the Septuagint which seems preferable to the Togarmah of the Hebrew text. It was the district from which horses were brought to Syria (Ezek. xxvii, 14). Ashkenaz which is coupled with Togarmah in Genesis is a formation like Tarkhu-na-zi "son of the land of Tarkus" or Tarma-na-zi, the modern Turmannin, and hence must be identified with the Greek Askanios and Aska-ênos.

*Mâ-uan* is found in *Ardistama* A. 3. But perhaps we should read *mû-uan*; at Hamath *mû* is explained by the ideograph of "mountainous country." In line 2 we could read *mâwi*, i.e. *mûi*, but the sense of the passage is obscure. *Mis-i* corresponds with the Arzawan 1st pers. sing. in *-i*. The reduplicated *nu-nu* (1st pers. sing. like *mis-i*) shows that we must read *nu-wa* and not *anu-wa* in M. VII, I, 2, and so explains *nu-mis* (or *nu-it*?) M. XXXII, 2, 3. *Uanna-su-an* "wooden" is written (DET.) *uan-nâ-MI-a-su* on the obelisk of Izgin where MI signifying "land" is given the value of *na*.<sup>1</sup> The ideograph which follows *uanna-su-an* resembles that which I have translated "food" in M. I, 3. It denotes something which like the bowl was made of stone and was associated with horses. The ideograph which I have left untranslated in M. VII, I, 2, must represent a trough or tank with water flowing into it. (I cannot help suspecting that we ought to read in this latter passage ID.-*mâ-MIS ka-KAS-s-mâ i-us-i-ta* "tanks for this chapel.") We must notice that *-u* is the suffix of the plural.

No. II. (Plate II). From Palanga (No. 1215 in the Museum Catalogue). What remains of line 1 reads "The prince (*a-na-a-is-s*) Musus (?) of the city of . . . and the land of . . ., I have built a gate of the city." The ideograph composing the name of the prince may be that which represents the syllable *mus* in M. XVI, 1. The first character in the name of the city is the picture of a boat. The

<sup>1</sup> The land of Uân, west of Aleppo, is written Uânai in the geographical list of Thothmes III (No. 145), and while it is followed (No. 148) by Auniauqa or Unqi, it is preceded (No. 141) by its Semitic equivalent Bursu. Bursu is the Assyrian *burasu*, the Hebrew ברוץ, generally identified with the Aleppo pine (*pinus Halepensis*), which must have been so characteristic of the original home of the Hittite as to have been "the tree" from which the adjective "wooden" was derived. The name of the land of Uan survives in the Bannis of the Peutinger Table, 27 miles from Aleppo on the road to Hierapolis or Membij; the name which follows, Thiltauri, 15 miles distant, is the Til-Turi of an Assyrian tablet (Harper's *Letters*, 625). In the Antonine Itinerary Bannis has been corrupted into Bathnas. Here Thilaticomum, i.e. "the village of Tel-Atha," is placed immediately after Hierapolis.

lost character before the ideograph of "gate" is "one" (*u*). In line 2 we have (*ua*)*nas kamissu ka-a-MA-ma-a mis-wa* "of these gates the construction I built, being king of the city of Gamêr; a stone column . . ." For Gamêr, see *Proceedings*, Nov. 1905, p. 198, where the inaccurate description of the first character of the name, derived from the faulty copy in the *Recueil*, must be corrected.

In line 2 we have: "a (*u*) double-gate for the gods Sandes (*San-dau-wi*), Aramis (and) Ammi (*-Am-mi-i*) belonging to this gate" (*uana ka-me-isi*). The form of the double-gate here explains the "caduceus" which is merely the cursive form of the double-gate as we see it in the equivalent of the name of (Kar-)kamis (M. XI, 3), where we should read *Kamesu-a-uas*. The double-gate was naturally the attribute of the city-god: hence it was assigned to both Apollo and Hermes as representatives of Asianic deities. The serpents associated in Greek art with the caduceus (which was assimilated to the pomegranate) belonged originally to Sandes.

In line 4 we find *aumes* (unless it is part of the preceding word) which enters into the composition of the name of Aum-gal-as (or Aumenuas) and appears to signify "priest" in M. XXXI, A. Then follows *kasu-mà in-ID.-su-is na-u-a-u* (i.e. *nau*) "for the . . . of the stone-towers." The ideograph is too much obliterated to be determined with certainty. The line ends "I have made strong (*NU-nu-wa*) the gate of the Sun-god . . ." The 5th line, which is not separated from the fourth by a line of division, has been added to the inscription subsequently. The name of the Sun-god may occur in it.

No. III. The lower part of the Tyana monument (M. XXXIII, A.) has been recovered, and the whole stela is now in the Constantinople Museum (No. 837 in the Catalogue). Inscriptions run down both sides and under the feet of the figure; that on the left side is more than half broken away, and that under the feet may also be imperfect. The commencement of the inscription on the right side, moreover, is lost. On the left side (Plate III, fig. 1) we have *asi-si-nâ-s (asinas)* "of the land of the sacred stone," and the name of the Sun-god twice repeated; also *ua-na-ta* which may possibly refer to the country of the Veneti. On the right side (Plate III, fig. 2) we have (1) . . . *is-[si?]-iu* . . .; (2) the name of the Sun-god with the adjectival suffix *-is-si-i* in the oblique case; (3) the table on which the sacrificial meal is represented in Hittite sculptures as being placed; (4) *gha-lu-mes* (for which see *Proceedings*, Nov. 1905, p. 194, note 3); (5) "the city



Fig. 1.

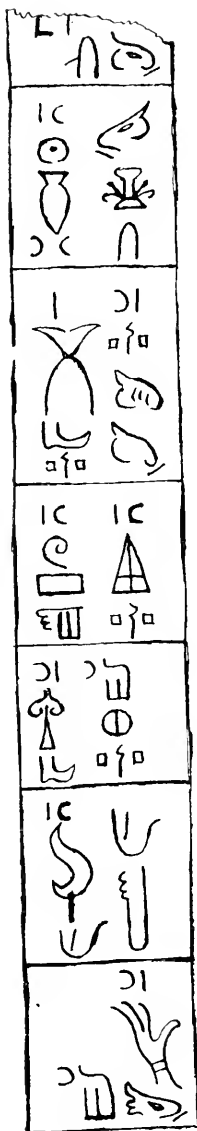


Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



of Tyana" (*Tu-u-uan-uan-DET*)—where the lock of hair must have the value *tu* or *te* and explains a character of the same form followed by *u*, which is preceded by the ideograph of "house," in M. XI, 2, and has hitherto been supposed to be a misformed *na*—; (6) *ID.-ka-(m)is* "protecting" or "consecrating," the position of the hand indicating either one or other act. Hence the translation of the whole text is "for the [priests] of the Sun-god a prince who provides food (or 'the prince provides food,' if we are to read *it* instead of *mis*) for the communion-table: in the capital who protects (or 'he protects') the sacred column of Tyana."

The passage is an important one for the history of religion, on account of its reference to the communion-table on which the sacrificial meal was served. The table was cross-legged, and the priest is represented in the sculptures as sitting opposite the deity and dressed in the same way, while on the table itself is a cup and flat cakes of wafer-bread which are six in number, the cup being placed in the middle (see Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, IV). One of the best examples of it is on a monument from Mar'ash now in the Museum of Constantinople which records the name of Sandu-w-a-s (or Sandu-w-a-s-mi-s). Since nothing similar is met with in Assyria, Babylonia or Egypt we are now justified in tracing to a Hittite origin that communion of the worshipper of Mithras with his deity through bread and wine in which Justin Martyr saw the devil's perversion of the Christian Eucharist. The influence of Asia Minor upon early Christian thought and practice has been pointed out by Prof. Ramsay, and the Hittite reliefs in which the deity is seen partaking of the cup give a peculiar significance to the words: "I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come" (Luke xxii, 18).

In inscription C (Plate III, fig. 3) at the base of the stela I have placed <sup>me s</sup>/<sub>me-s</sub> too far from *San-du*, and the knife (*su*) and animal's head (*na*), which are much alike on the stone, should exchange places. The text begins: *ua DET. San-du-me-s Tu-na ma-na-i*. "This the Sandian for the people (*manai*) of Tyana . . ." The character after *Tua* which has the value of *na* at Karaburna is, I think, a picture of a horse's bit.

## DISCOVERY OF THE TOMB OF SI-PTAH IN THE BIBÂN EL MOLÛK, THEBES.

BY EDWARD N. AYRTON.

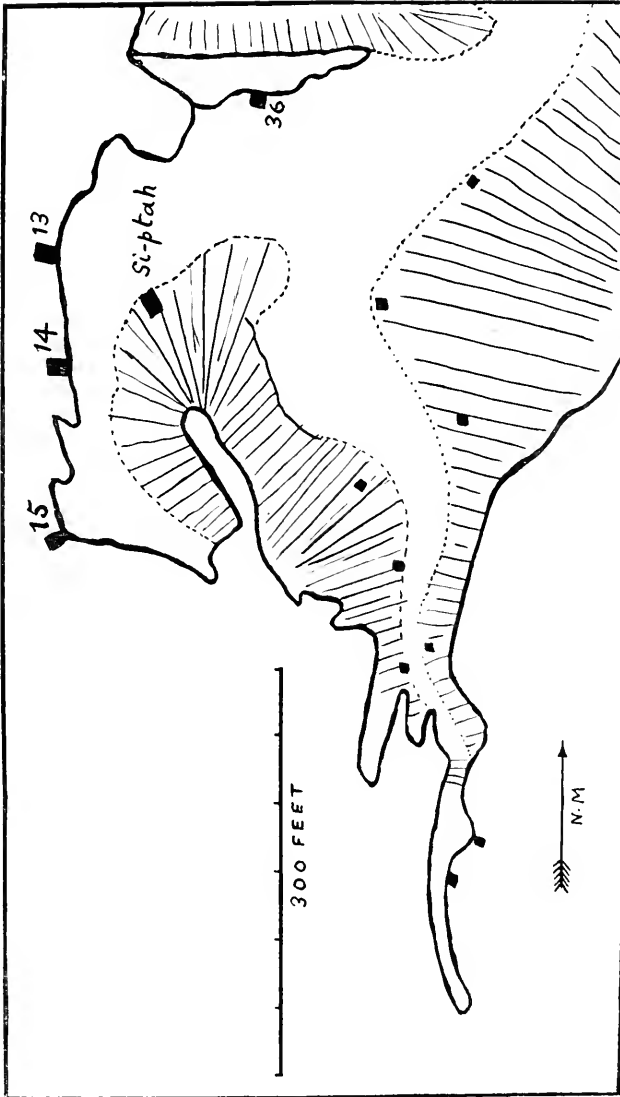
The following account of the discovery of the tomb of Si-ptah is sent in fulfilment of my promise to Mr. Nash, made before I left for Egypt to undertake the superintendence of Mr. Davis' work in the Royal Valley at Thebes, that I would send him a note of any fresh discoveries of interest we might make.

The position of the tomb, as will be seen from the sketch-map (Plate I), is opposite to that of Tausert, and in fact completes the family group of Sety II, Tausert, and Baa. There were at first no indications of the existence of a tomb in this position, the ground being quite level and unbroken.

The plan of the tomb is evidently somewhat similar to that of Tausert's, the proportions however being larger. Two flights of steps, with the usual slope between them, lead down to the first entrance, from which three long corridors lead to a small square chamber, which opens into a large square hall, the roof of which is supported by four square columns. Through the centre of this hall runs a sloping passage leading into two more corridors at a much lower level. These corridors again open into a small chamber which may possibly lead into another large hall which should contain the remains of the burial, but has still to be excavated. The first two corridors, above referred to, are well inscribed, and we get a very beautiful portrait of the king. Unfortunately the tomb was left open for some time after being plundered, and the water entering has destroyed the stucco in the other chambers, and thus absolutely obliterated all trace of inscriptions on their walls. The roofs of the further chambers have also completely fallen in, and it will be some time before we can get to the end of the tomb.

Fragments of a fine alabaster sarcophagus and one or two good ushabtis of the king have been found; and numerous hieratic ostraka and a good deal of pottery lay in the entrance of the tomb; all these objects will of course be published later. The photograph (Plate II) gives a view of the entrance.

Bai.....  
Tausert ...  
Sety II ...



SKETCH MAP OF THE BIBAN EL MOLUK,  
Showing the position of the tomb of Si-ptah.







ENTRANCE TO THE TOMB OF SI-PTAH,

In the Biban el Mouluk.



## THE FOLKLORE OF MOSSOUL.

## I.

BY R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, *B.A.**(Continued from page 86.)*

The following is the text of the first of the two manuscripts. I am indebted to the Rev. G. Margoliouth, *M.A.*, for many kind suggestions.

MS. No. 1.

\* \* \* \* \*

(1) עָא כ' אלו הישמות וההותמות על כפיך וגע בכי יתרצה וזו  
הם [See Plate] תם :

(2) לֵאָהֳבָה עם כל חי ולמיטול על כל הרוחות זכור את זה השם  
רוחיאֵל או כתוב אותו ויטמרהו על בשרך וזמיט עזר עזריה להביאֵל  
הזן ייֵ יהו זה השם הוא כ'א כד' עב :

(3) לכל דבר תעיטה ותצליה ואם תרצה לנסותו תכתוב אותו על ביצה  
וקיטור עליה חוט ואינו נשרף וזיט אביריון אבריאון אבריאן אבירמון  
ונישי קרמייה : עב

(4) לֵאָהֳבָה כ' על קלף היטוטיון ויטרוף אותו עד שיהיה לעפר ותן ביטכר  
או באיזה מיטקה ישיטתה איתו אייט ויאחבוק : עב

(5) להצלחה במיטא ומתן ובכל מה יתרצה כתוב על קלף צבי וזמיט  
לך אל נמלה עצל ראה דרכיה וחכם אישר אין לה קלין יטור  
ומויטל עד מתי עצל תיטכב מתי תקום מיטנתך וקה עפר מהור  
הנמלים ותננו בתוך הקמייע ותלהו על פתח החנות ותראה פלאות  
בעה :

(6) לעצור אדם ולא יכול להשתין כתוב על ביצה בת יומה וקבור אותה בארץ וז"ש בישם אלמיו אלמיו אלמום למזום ואפיל אסיים אלמום ליטיים יטיים פייים יים פי המילה פבב ואם תרצה שישתין נהוציא אותו מן הארץ עב

(7) **לשונא** קח ישעה הדיטה ועיטה ממנו צלם השונא וישמו וישם אמו ואחך נקוב אותו בקוץ נקבים נקבים ומלא אותו בזכוכית ישחור דם ועיטה ארון של ישעה ותניה את הצלם בתוך הארון וכתוב אלו היטמות וישם תחת ראשו ותקברוהו בקבר שלא עבר ג' ימים ותראה מן השונא כל מה שתרצה וז"ש אפפי אפפיט אכפייטין אתשמייט איטבעית עליכון כמו דצלמים דפכפ איט תמיד תוקד על המזובה לא תכבה על ליב פבב אנסו ..

(8) **אם** ייש לך שונא ורוצה שיכלה או יהיה ישטה קח מעט ישעה ועיטה דמות האויב שייט לך וכתוב זה ותניה לתוך הישעה עיטה מחטים וקבור אותה הצורה בקבורת ישראל בומ' וז"ש עקל נאל ברן פבב פלאל מרג אפרס: עב

(9) **לשנאה** יתירה קח אבן שנישך הכלב והעבר ביניהם והיטלך האבן בתוך המים וכל ימין תהיה שנאה ואם תרצה להיות שנאה יתירה היטלך האבן ביטובך של יונים ולא יישארו שניהם במקום א' כי ילכו זה לבאן זה לכאו מרוב השנאה .. עב

(10) **לשנאה** תקח עפר מז' קברים ותאמר עליו ז'פ' אלו היטמו בישם אסמאל יחמאל לעאל תצל ליל נוריאל ופיאל וסנניעאל אתם המלאכים מהרה תפילו שנאה וקנאה ואיבה ותחרות ומריבה וקטטה גדולה בין כל הבית ובין פבב שייטנאו זה את זה שנאה גדולה ותוקה ואיבה קיטה מליב ומנפש מעוע ותיטליך בבית שונאך .. עב

(11) **להמית** כדי שיכוחו היטדים קח אבן א' והיטליכנה לבלב שייטוך אותה וכתוב עליה אלו היטמות ותיטליכנה בבית שונאך ותראה פלאות בהכותם אותו ואפטר שיפחד וימות וז"ש [See Plate] תם"

(12) **עא** קח עפר מקבר הרוג שנהרג בברזל וקח מים מג' בורות שלא ראו זה את זה ולז"ש העפר עם המים ועיטו עונה והיטליכה בבית שונאך ואמור ישכשם שנהרג זה בעל העפר כך יהרג פבב ולא ישלים שנתו בדוק ומנוסה" עב

- 13) **ע'א** לטלטלו יטלך כמקום למקום קה עפר מזו' תנורים ותקרא עליהם  
אלו היטמות ויטפוך בביתו העפר הנז' וז'יט יתקרא תפת'יר שז'טה קוטי  
קוט' קופטיטה קאב טניעה סט' הטזט ז'ף טיטה ז'ועיל בעה
- 14) **ל'טונא** כתוב על חתיכת בנד חדיש ביטעת מעריב וקבור אותו ענ  
גנו ויהיה בו חולי גדול ולא יתרפא עד שיטמות ומיעל הגנ וז'מיט קל  
יבה קתו פדין בידד קרבד קה פרק ביהנם חאקה לסעה לסאעה תם .:
- 15) **עורד** אחרת לאויב קה ליב כטבה ותחובם מחטים ואף תכתוב מרם  
הלב ותישים לתור הלב והלב הזה תטמין במקום הרעים שיבאיש ואף  
האויב החוא יבאייט ויכלה יז'ט היטדיאל ההקדיאל המיאל חרסאל  
המפאל הלואל ישראל אל ברכתא ברכתא חולי חולי חולי חולי  
תבא תבא תבא על יטונאי פכפ אנסו
- 16) **להמית** היטונא כתוב אלו החותמות על הרס חדיש ותמחוק במים  
ותזרוק אותם בבית היטונא כלילה יטני בישבת או ברביעי בישבת  
ביטעת ז' וז'ט [See Plate] .:
- 17) **ע'א** להמיתו קה עצם מת חלול וקה מצואתו וישים מעט כסף חי  
וישים הכל בתוך עצם הנז' וקבור אותו בב'י' עב
- 18) **ע'א** כדי ישיתהל ויטוף ממנו יטתן קה עצם היטוק חלול ותן מן העפר  
ישחישתין עליו עם כסף חי וסתום אותו בטוב וקבור אותו בנהר  
תהת המים וכשיעברו עליו המים תראה פלאות : עב
- 19) **ע'א** עיטה טס ישל נהויטת ארום וכתוב עליו אלו היטמות ומחוק  
במים ויטפוך על פתח ביתו וז'מיט איד איזיר קיס טט יטאתן מז'י יצ'י  
אבל אטתן בט' א' ניאטן<sup>10</sup> יעניחו אמן .: עב
- 20) **להאביר** יטונא יכתוב ביום ראשון בישעה שלישית מהיום על אבן  
סיד אלו היטמות ואחך ייטרוף האבן עם אלו איטר תכתוב נמאל  
להביאל זרועיאל אהביאל יתריאל מריאל אמיאל והביאל אזריאל  
יטפאיאל יטפים עומדים מומעל לו יטתאבדו את האויב פ'ב'פ' למחר  
ישלל חיש בז' או קבור אלו היטמות בקבר ישן והוא בז' מ' עב
- 21) **למלחמה** . בום סב עפרא מתחות רגלך היטמלית ואמור עליו אלו  
היטמות זורוק עליהם ולא יכולים לעשות טוב מלחמה וזה אשר  
תאמור ביטם לוקיא יואל אנתשל ס'א אבתשל ומהותיאל ז'י היאה  
אבניאל אהמנאל יז'ל זהו יוקיאל מיטקתיאל יו בזכותכם שתקשרו  
כל מאני קרבא ישל גייסות פ'ב'פ' מעויע עד יעבור זעם אדיר עב תם

(22) **לשנאה** בין אדם לחבירו קח עונת של קמח סולת וכתוב אלו היטמות עליה ותן לבלב לאכול וויט צעף צקין וקאפיל פקיצאל פלאאל ממחאהל ולא סוזאל פכפ יטנא פכפ ביטם איביאל מדיאל פפיאל סו שתתנו יטנא וקנאה ותחרות ביניהם ולא יהיה שלום ביניהם ולא אהבה אלא קנאה ויטנאה ואיבה כן יומא דנן ולעלם אנכו ..

(23) **להיות** האויב נע ונד כתוב אלו היטמות בדם צפור וקיסור בצפור ברנלו ופרה אותה על פני היסדה אם הלך הצפור יהיה נע ונד ואם חזר ימות האויב וויט ביטם זע תוע זיע הז תעו חיז פוז תפו פוז פכפ יחות לטאול באותה יעה ביטם גק דיק ג' ג' ק' ק' אנם .. תם (24) להוציא אדם מבית הסוהר או להביאו ממקום רחוק יעשה קמיע ויכתוב אותו על קלף צבי על ישם אותו אדם ויתנהו על זרועו

(25) עא לחבוט יכתוב על ג' בעים ואם יהיו בני יומן יותר טוב ויכ' על כל ביצה ג' תיבות אלו וייטקטיין שקטיין ארנן ויאכל הבעים ויצא מבית האסורים " ע"כ

(26) הדין שמא הוא ויעיל להעטיר ולמלוא חן בעיני מלך וישרים וזהו אָן רָפָא סָלֵב רְבִי יֵעָא יַעֲב יַזֵּל בְּתַע מְיָב תְּסִי עָאִי כָאֵב יָאֵא יָוֵא כָאָא והוא בדוק ומנוסה: ע"כ

(27) לחבוט יכתוב על פת לחם ביטם אגם כנא כני אצף צפא צפו ויאכל החבוט ויצא בעה ..

(28) לאישה שנתפרדה מאישה על ידי בישוף ורוצה להחזירה תקח שער האישה וחוט יסקוירת בו ועפר מתחת רגליה ומעט כוסבר ותתן אותם בבגד וקיסור אותו בחוט הנז ותלה את הבגד במקום שהאיט יהיה תחתיו ותן הכסבור על האיט ותאמר אנוכין אנוכין אטטיין אטטיין אנתום ענו ונלבבו פכפ אלענל אלענל אלענל אלוהא אלוהא אלוהא אלסעא אלסעא אלסעא ואחך תבוא בלי ספק ..

(29) לאהבה כ' על קלף היטוטיון ויטרף אותו עד ישיהיה לעפר ותן בישבר אָו באיזה מיטקה ישייתה אותו איש ויאחבוק .. ע"כ

(30) **לעקור** יטנא מדירתו קח כלי הרס חדיש ותרחצנו בכים היים ותכתוב עליו גופרית ומלח ישריפה כל ארצה וכו ביטם יטנאו ורנע יטסת נהרה אב ותקבור בבית אישר יזכן בו היטנא: תם

(31) פרייטות בין ב' אנשים קח ז' הרדלים ורקח וקצה ועפר מ' קבר וקליפת ביצים וקרא עליו וזרוק אותם במקומם וויט כמו קצה ביסדה תרבה מחלוקת וקטטה בין פכפ לפכפ' וכמו ישחבדיל היטית בין

השמים ובין הארץ כך יפריד ביניהם וכמו שהבדיל בין הים ובין היבשה כך יבדיל ביניהם וכמו שהפריד בין האדם ובין השדים כך יפריד ביניהם ולא ייטבו זה לזה לעולם ולעולמי עולמים: תם

לשונא עיטה צורה מנייר לישמו וצבע אותה בכרכום וכתוב על ראש הצורה ימִרְדִּין ועל יד ימין פָּגִישׁ ועל שמאל תְּבַרְחֵנּוּ ועל אמצע הגוף תִּלְהַבֵּן ועל רגל ימין בִּלְאוּ ועל רגל שמאל בְּלוֹבֵב וכתוב בין הרגלים סִמְאֵל עקרב מאדים יבתי ומצד האחר כתוב על הראש פֶּ ועל יד ימין גֶּ ועל יד שמאל ל ובאמצע הגוף קֶטָּה ועל רגל ימין ז ועל רגל שמאל ו וטמון אותם בארץ ביד שמאל עד שירמוס עליה האויב ואחֶךְ תתן אותה תחת פטיש של מלאכה או תחת אבן הכובס ואמור בעת שתטמון אותם בשם ישמנין על הפטיש או על האבן כך יזכה פבפ על ראשו ולא יהיה לו נחת רוח בכל גופו לא ביום ולא בלילה: ע"ב

ע"א קה תרנגול יהור וקניהו בכל מה שיבקשו ממך בפה ושימהו בלול התרנגולים הוא לברו ותן לו לאכול וקרא אותו בשם האיש שאתה מבקש ותאמר לו אכול אתה פבפ בן תעשה ט' ימים רצופים וביום העשירי הוליכהו אל הנהר ושחטהו ישם ותאמר אני שוחט פבפ שכן ימות פבפ בשם שנישחט זה התרנגול ומת בן ימות פבפ וקה יני מחטים ותחוב אותם בלבו אחת באורך ואחת ברוחב ותקברהו על שפת הנהר ולא ייטלים האויב ינתנו בע"ה:

ע"א לתחלישו קה מי רגלים ישלו ותן אותם בתוך קנה על שמו פ' ב' פ' וישם בתוכה כסף חי וסתום פי הקנה והישליך הקנה במקום שהמים נגררים והולכים ויבא לו שלישול ויחלה מיד ולא יתרפא כי אם עד שיוציאנה והוא בדוק ומנוסה: ע"ב

לשנאה קה ביצה בת יומא וכתוב עליה הארי אל אסמא ודפנחא פי קבר די מאת בל הדיד וזמיט מאע מלאכי חבלה שהם ממונים על יערי נהנם שתחכפו ליב פבפ על פבפ שלא יראה אותה ולא יתיחד עמה בשם ה הפפִּיאל שפפִּיאל סודיאל ושרפיאל וישנא אותה בשנאת אמנון ותמר וחתול ועכבר בשם סמִיאל אפִּיאל סִמְטִיאל אנ"סו ..

להביות שונא ראה מקום שישתיך השונא וישם מחט בתוך הישתנה שלו ותאמר מאע שלויטתכם אף וחימה וסֶם בשם ארְנָמָן שתבואו ותהרגו את פבפ ובתוך ד' ימים ימות השונא: ע"ב

(37) לַאֲהַבָּה יִב' זֶה בְּנִי פִתְקִין וַיִּמְחַם בְּמִים אוּ בְיַי וַיִּתֵּן לִשְׁתּוֹת אֶטְמָרוּ  
אֶטְמָרוּ כְּמֵאֲרָמִידוּ אֲרַמָּאדוּ אֲקִיפּוּ אֲקִיפּוּ

(38) עֵא כ' אֱלוֹ הַשְּׁמֹת עַל שְׁבַעָה וְתַנֵּם לֵאבּוֹל לְמִי יִשְׁתַּרְצָה וַיּוּבֹא  
אֲחֵרִיךְ אֲבָלָם אֲבָלָם הַזֶּה הַאִיטוֹנִין בִּישׁוֹמִין הַזֶּה נָדוּ וְהוּא בְּדוֹק .

(39) עֵא כ' וּמַחּוֹק בְּמִים בֵּיטֵם אֲפִיאל וְהַנִּיָּאֵל מִצְפּוֹ מִצְפּוֹ בֵּיטֵם קַצְמִיָּאֵל  
פְּנִיעָאֵל הַתְּרִיָּאֵל הַנִּיָּאֵל תְּקִישְׁרוּ רוּחִיה וּנְפִישִׁיה וְכוּל יִתִּיה יֵל פְּבַפ עַל  
אֲהַבַת פְּבַפ

(40) עֵא כ' עַל בְּנֵד שְׁלַה יִשְׁמָה וְשֵׁם אִמָּהּ וְתַדְלִיק בְּאִישׁ בְּרוּחִין בְּרוּחִין  
בְּרוּחִין עַב . .

(41) לַאֲהַבָּה אֲכַתֵּב פִּי נְקִנְאֵק מֵאֵל נָנִם וְאַחֲרֵק בַּל נֹאֵר אֵל קוּוִיָּא [See Plate]  
תַּחְנוּ אֲהַבַת פְּבַפ בְּלִיב פְּבַפ עַב

(42) מִי שְׂרוּצָה אִישָׁה וְלֹא יִתְנוּ לוֹ כ' בֵּיטֵם הַבַּת וְאוֹתוֹ הַאִישׁ יִשְׁלֵא יִתְנוּ  
לוֹ וְתִשְׁרִיף בְּאִישׁ אֱלוֹ הַחֹתְמוֹת [See Plate]

(43) לַאֲהַבָּה בֵּין אִישׁ לְאִישׁתּוֹ כ' אֱלוֹ הַנִּיָּ הַחֹתְמוֹת עַל ג' עַלִי זִית לִישֵׁם  
פְּבַפ עַל אֲהַבַת פְּבַפ וַיִּשְׁרוּף כָּל יוֹם א' [See Plate]

(44) עֵא כ' בְּדָם יוֹנָה עַל קַלֶּפֶס צְבִי בְּמִקּוּם שְׁעַר וּמַחּוֹק בְּמִים וְתֵן לִשְׁתּוֹת  
זוּמִישׁ קוֹדֶסִי פְּעַלִי יְקִי אֲנִי יְקִי אֲתוֹ יֵאֲתֵנִי קַלֶּפֶס נִקְדָּו וְזֶה תַעֲשֶׂה  
אוֹתָם בְּכַנֵּי לֵחַ מְנוּסָה וּבְדוֹק עַב מִצְאָתִי בַסְפֵּר מוֹר זְקִינִי מִנְדַל  
דוֹר עַב . .

(45) לְשַׁחֹק וּלְהַפִּיל תַרְדִּימָה עַל הָאָדָם יִב' עַל קַלֶּף צְבִי אֱלוֹ הַחֹתְמוֹת  
וַיִּשִׁים עַל הַשּׁוֹלְחָן וַיִּזַּח זֹאֲתָ נֶפֶר [See Plate] עַב

(46) לְקַדַּחַת כ' עַל ג' יִשְׁקִידִים וַיֹּאבֵל אוֹתָם א' בְּבוֹקֵר וַא' בְּצַהֲרוּרִים וַא'  
בְּשַׁעָה שִׁירְעִישׁ עַל הָא' יִב' בִּיקְדִישׁ וְעַל (ends)

## TRANSLATION.

\* \* \* \* \*

NO. 1. *Another*.—Write these names and seals on the palms of thy hands and touch whomsoever thou wilt; and these are they (*see* Plate I, fig. 1).

NO. 2. *For love with all living, and to have power over all spirits*.—Call on this name *Ruhiel*, or write it and keep it on thy flesh; and this is what thou shalt say: "Azor Azariah Lahabiel Hazan YYY Yeho." This name is twenty-one (and) twenty-four (in value)



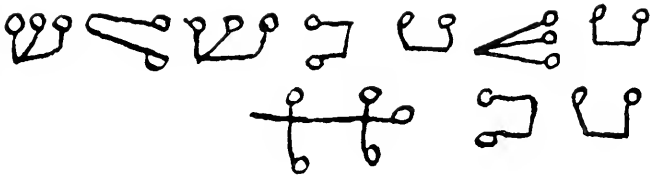


Fig. 1.

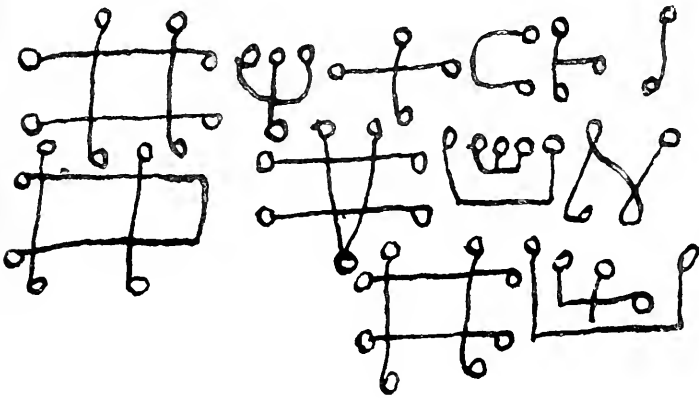


Fig. 2.

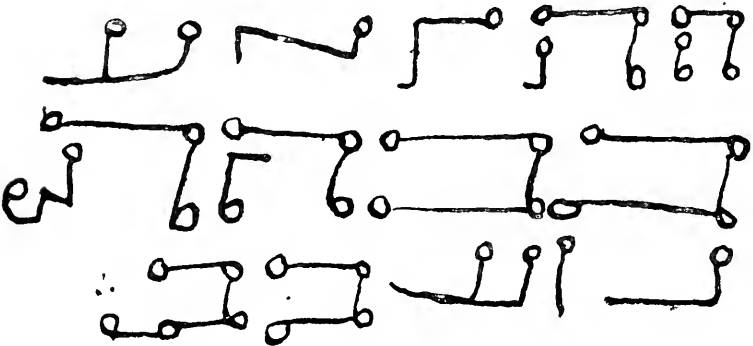


Fig. 3.



No. 3. *For everything that thou dost, that thou mayst prosper (therein).*—And if thou wishest to test it, thou shalt write it upon an egg and bind a thread upon it, and it shall not be burnt. And this is what thou shalt write: “Abirun Abriun Abrian Abirmun unše Kādmaiah.”

No. 4. *For love.*—Write on parchment *Haswaṭos*, and burn it until it becometh ashes, and put them in beer or whatever drink that man drinketh, and they (*sic*) shall love thee.

No. 5. *To prosper in business, and everything that thou wishest.*—Write on gazelle parchment, and this is what thou shalt write: “Go to the ant, thou sluggard, consider her ways, and be wise: which hath no chief overseer, or ruler; how long wilt thou sleep, O sluggard? when wilt thou arise out of thy sleep?” and take dust from an ant’s hole and put it in the middle of the charm and hang it on the door of the workshop and thou shalt see marvels by God’s help.

No. 6. *To bind a man so that he is afflicted with strangury.*—Write on an egg which is a day old, and bury it in the earth. And this is what thou shalt write: “In the name of Almi Almi Almos Lmos and Apil Asayim Almos Liṭayim Iṭayim Ṭayim Ayim Pi, the member of N., son of N.” And if thou wishest that the strangury should cease, take it out of the earth.

No. 7. *For an enemy.*—Take new wax and make of it a figure of the enemy, and his name and the name of his mother, and then pierce it with a thorn in many holes and fill it with fine black glass, and make a box of wax and put the figure in the box and write these names and put (them) under its head; and thou shalt bury it in a grave three days old,<sup>1</sup> and thou shalt see with regard to the enemy all that thou wouldst. And this is what thou shalt write: “Apapi Akpiš Akpišin Athšamiš, I adjure you that just as fire continually devoureth the figures of N., son of N., on the altar, (so) it shall not be quenched in the heart of N., son of N.”

No. 8. *If thou hast an enemy and thou wishest that he should brought to an end or become mad,* take a little wax and make the likeness of the enemy which thou hast, and write this, and put in the middle of the wax ten needles and bury this image in a grave of Israel . . . , and this is what thou shalt write: “‘Aḳel Gal Beren N., the son of N., Pelal Marag Aphras.”

<sup>1</sup> The text here is difficult, and might be read עבד כ' ימים

No. 9. *For extreme hate.*—Take a stone which a dog hath bitten, and make it pass between them, and cast the stone into water; and every day shall there be hatred. And if thou wishest that there should be extreme hatred, cast the stone into a dovecote, and they shall not be left together in one place, for one shall go one way and the other another for the greatness of the hate.

No. 10. *For hate.*—Thou shalt take dust from seven graves, and say over it seven times these names: “In the name of Asmael, Yahmael, Lael, Teşel, Lil, Nuriel, Usiel, Usenaniel—Ye angels, speedily shall ye bring down hatred and envy and enmity and contention and strife and great hostility between all the household and N., son of N., that they may hate each other with a great and strong hatred and bitter enmity of heart and soul henceforth and for ever.” And thou shalt cast it into the house of thine enemy.

No. 11. *To kill, so that the devils shall smite him.*—Take a stone and throw it to a dog which shall bite it, and on it write these names and throw it into the house of thine enemy, and thou shalt see wonders when they smite him, and it may be that he will be afraid and die. And this is what thou shalt write: (*see Plate I, fig. 2*).

No. 12. *Another.*—Take dust from the grave of a murdered man who hath been slain with iron, and take water from three wells which cannot see each other, and knead the dust with the water and make it into a cake and throw it into the house of thine enemy, and say: “As this lord of the dust was slain, so may be slain N., the son of N., and he shall not complete his year.” (*Proved and certain.*)

No. 13. *Another: to drive him forth so that he shall go from place to place.*—Take dust from seven ovens and read over it these names, and pour the aforesaid dust into his house; and this is what thou shalt read: “Taphřir Şizřah řoři řoř řophřřah řab řeni’ah řa řařoř Wiph řřah.” And it shall be successful by the help of God.

No. 14. *For an enemy.*—Write on a piece of new cloth at eventime and bury it on his roof and there shall come on him great sickness and he shall not be healed, till he die or the roof fall in. And this is what thou shalt write: “řal Yabhah řathô Pedin Bidad řarbad řah Pereķ Bihnam řaķa Lsa’ah Lsa’ah.”

No. 15. *Another for a foe.*—Take the heart of a lamb and put needles (in it), and also shalt thou write in the heart’s blood and put

it on the hole of the heart, and this heart thou shalt hide in a place of evil, that it may rot, and that enemy may also rot and come to an end. And this is what thou shalt write: "Hašdiel Hahḳiel Hamiel Harsel Hamamel Haluel Israel El Birketha Birketha Birketha Sickness, Sickness, Sickness, thou shalt come, thou shalt come, thou shalt come upon mine enemy, N., son of N."

No. 16. *To kill the enemy.*—Write these seals on a new potsherd and wash (them) off in water, and sprinkle it in the house of the enemy on the second night of the week or the fourth of the week at the seventh hour. And this is what thou shalt write: (*see Plate I, fig. 3*).

No. 17. *Another to kill him.*—Take a hollow bone of a dead man and take of (thine enemy's) excrement and put a little "living" silver, and put the whole into the bone aforementioned, and bury it in the enemy's house.

No. 18. *Another, that he should fall sick and be incontinent.*—Take a hollow thigh-bone and put some of the dust whereon he hath made water with "living" silver, and seal it up carefully, and bury it in the river underneath the water, and as the water passeth over it thou shalt see wonders.

No. 19. *Another.*—Make a plate of red copper and write on it these names, and wash (them) off in water and pour it out at the door of his house. And this is what thou shalt write: "Ir Izir Ḳiṭ Ṭaṭ Ṣathan Minni Y'mê Ebel Aştan Baṭ A' Nitan Ya'anihu Amen."

No. 20. *To destroy an enemy.*—Write on the first day at the third hour of the day upon a bit of limestone, these names; and then let him burn the stone with these that thou shalt write: "Nemael Lahabiel Zeru'iel Ahabiel Yahariel Mariel Amiel Wahabiel Uriel Seraphiel, Seraphs that stand above him, that ye may destroy the enemy, N., son of N., to Maher-šalal-haš-baz." Or bury these names in an old grave (and this is proved and certain).

No. 21. *For war.*— . . . Take dust from under thy left foot and say over it these names and scatter it against them (the enemy) and they shall no more be able to make war; and this is what thou shalt say: "In the name of Loki Yoel Antšel. (Another book) Antšel and Mehothiel Yoy Hia Abniel Ahannel Yiol Wahi Yokiel Mišḳathiel Yah—by your purity that ye may bind all kinds of fighting for

brigandage against N., son of N., henceforth and for ever, until the wrath pass. Amen, so may the will be."

No. 22. *For hatred between a man and his friend.*—Take a cake of fine flour, and write these names upon it, and give it to a dog to eat; and this is what thou shalt write: "Ş'aph Şkaş and İaphiel Pekişe Pelal Memuĥel Welo Soel; N., son of N., shall hate N., son of N., in the name of Ibiel Meriel Sephiel So, that ye may put hate and envy and strife between them and there shall not be peace between them nor love, but envy and hatred and enmity from this day for evermore."

No. 23. *That an enemy may be a fugitive and a wanderer.*—Write these words in a bird's blood and bind (it) on the bird's foot and let it fly in the open fields. If the bird goes away, he shall be a fugitive and a wanderer, and if it come back, the enemy shall die. And this is what thou shalt write: "Za' Tiza' Zia' Haz Ta'z Ĥiz Puz Taphaz Piz; N., son of N., shall go down into Sheol at this hour, by the name of Gaĥ Diĥ GG İİİİ."

No. 24. *To bring a man out of prison, or to bring him in from a distant place.*—Let him make a charm and write it on gazelle parchment in the name of that man and let him put it on his arm.

No. 25. *Another for a prisoner.*—Let him write on three eggs (and if they are two days old, better still), and write on each egg these three words: "Wişķain Şiķain Argin," and let him eat the eggs and he shall go forth from the prison.

No. 26. *This is what shall effect a man's growing rich and being high in favour before king and princes.*—And this is it: "Ayan Repha Selab Debi Ye'a Ye'ab Yezal Ketha' Mewab Tesai 'Ai Keab Yea Yewa Keaa." And it is proved and certain.

No. 27. *For a prisoner.*—Let him write on a piece of bread in the name of Agas Sega Segi Aşaph Şepha Şephu and let the prisoner eat it and he shall go forth by God's help.

No. 28. *For a woman that hath been separated from her husband through enchantment, and wisheth to join him.*—Thou shalt take a hair of the woman, and a thread which she hath bound on him,<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>2</sup> Or "it."

dust from beneath her feet, and a little coriander-seed, and thou shalt put them in a (piece of) cloth and bind it with the aforementioned thread and hang the cloth in a place under which the man is, and put the coriander-seed upon the man and thou shalt say: "Anusin Anusin Ateşin Ateşin, do ye subdue and bring N., the son of N., swiftly, swiftly, swiftly, with speed, with speed, with speed, at once, at once, at once;" and then shall she come without a doubt.

No. 29. *For love*.—Write on parchment Haşwatôş, and burn it until it becometh ashes, and put it in beer or whatever drink that man drinketh and they (*sic*) will love thee.

No. 30. *To uproot an enemy from his dwelling*.—Take a vessel of new pot and wash it in running water, and thou shalt write on it: (the verse beginning) "Brimstone and salt (and) burning all its land" and all (the rest) of it,<sup>3</sup> "in the name Şegehu Weregâ' Şheseth Geherah Ab," and thou shalt burn it in the house wherein the enemy dwelleth.

No. 31. *Separation between two men*.—Take seven mustard-(seeds) and spices and nigella and dust from forty graves and eggshells and read over them and scatter them in their place. And this is what thou shall say: "Like the nigella in the fields, so shall contention and dispute increase between N., son of N., and N., son of N.; and as the Lord (blessed be he) divided between the heaven and earth, so may He divide between them; and as He divided between sea and land, so may He divide between them; and as He divided between man and devils, so may He divide between them; and the one shall not come back to the other for ever and ever."

No. 32. *For an enemy*.—Make a figure on parchment in his name and dye it in saffron, and write upon the head of the figure Şamardin, and upon the right hand Pagaş, and upon the left Tibtaz, and on the middle of the body Tilhab, and upon the right foot Bilao, and upon the left foot Belobab, and write between the feet Sammael, Scorpio, Mars, Saturn; and on the other side write on the head P, and on the right hand G, and upon the left hand L, and on the middle of the body K̇Ṫ, and on the right foot K, and on the left foot W, and conceal it in the earth with the left hand until the enemy treadeth on it; and then thou shalt put it under a work(man's)

<sup>3</sup> Deut. xxix, 23.

hammer or under a fuller's stone, and say at the time that thou buriest it: "in the name of Šamnīn" over the hammer or over the stone; "so shall N., the son of N., be smitten on his head and he shall have no peaceful rest in all his body, neither by day nor night."

No. 33. *Another*.—Take a black cock and buy it at whatever price they shall ask from thee, and put it in the fowl-run by itself, and feed it and call it by the name of the man thou seekest, and thou shalt say to it: "Eat thou N., son of N.:" thus shalt thou do for nine consecutive days, and on the tenth bring it to the river and kill it there, and thou shalt say: "I am killing N., the son of N., that N., the son of N., may die thus, in the name whereby this cock is killed, and N., son of N., may surely die." Then take two needles and put them in its heart, one lengthwise and the other breadthwise, and thou shalt bury it on the brink of the river, and the enemy shall not complete his year, by God's help.

No. 34. *Another, to make him feeble*.—Take of his urine and put it in a reed in his name, N., son of N., and put therein "living" silver, and close up the mouth of the reed, and cast the reed into a place where water is continually running, and diarrhœa shall come upon him, and he shall immediately fall sick and shall not recover until he taketh it out. And this is proved and certain.

No. 35. *For hatred*.—Take an egg one day old and write upon it this name, and bury it in the grave of a man slain by iron. And this is what thou shalt write: "I adjure you, Angels of destruction which are set over the gates of Jehannum, that ye turn the heart of N., son of N., against N., daughter of N., that he shall not look at her, nor be joined to her, in the name of Jehovah, Haphkiel Šaphkiel Suriel and Seraphiel, and he shall hate her as with the hatred of Amnon and Tamar, and cat and mouse, in the name of Samiel Aphiel Tamtiel."

No. 36. *To kill an enemy*.—Watch the place where the enemy passeth water and put a needle in the middle of his urine, and thou shalt say: "I adjure you three, Aph, and Ĥimah, and Sam, in the name of Argaman, that ye come and slay N., son of N.," and within four days the enemy will die.

No. 37. *For love*.—Write this on three tablets and wash them in water or wine and give it to drink: "Aṭmaru Aṭmaru Kmarmadu Armadu Aḳīphu Aḳīphu."



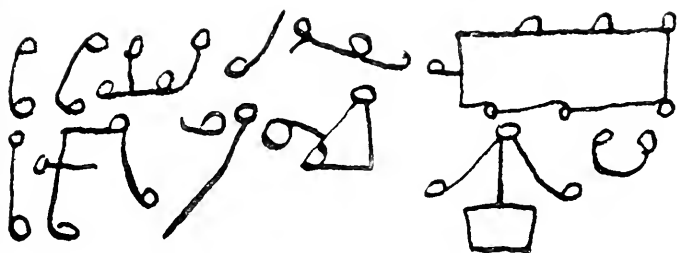


Fig. 1.

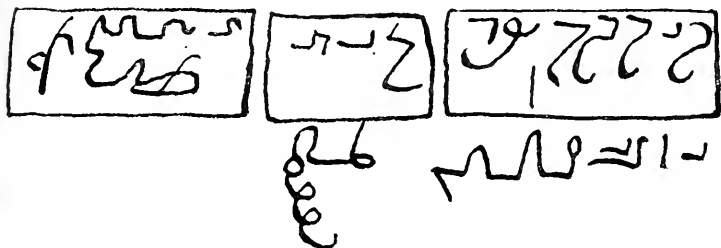


Fig. 2.

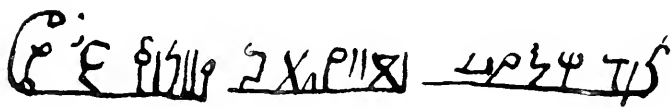


Fig. 3.

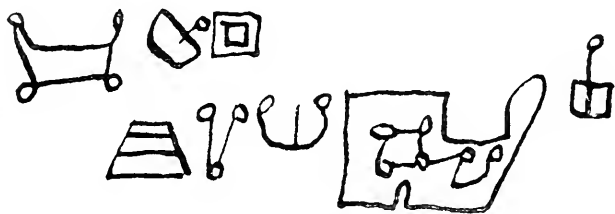


Fig. 4.



No. 38. *Another*.—Write these names on seven . . . and give them to eat to whomever thou wishest, and he shall come after thee: “Akmas Akmas Ḥonah Haiṭunin Bišumin Ḥonah Gedu.” And it is proved.

No. 39. *Another*.—Write and wash off in water: “in the name of Aphiel and Haniel Mašpaz Mašpaz; in the name of Kašmiel Pni’ael Hithriël Ḥaniel. Ye shall bind the spirit and soul and all the being of N., the son of N., for love of N., daughter of N.”

No. 40. *Another*.—Write on a garment of hers, her name and the name of her mother, and burn in fire: “Beruḥin Beruḥin Beruḥin.”

No. 41. *For love*.—Write on a *jakjak* . . . and burn it in a great fire: (*see* Plate II, fig. 1) “Ye shall put love for N., son of N., into the heart of N., daughter of N.”

No. 42. *Whoever wisheth for a woman and he (her father) will not give her to him*.—Write in the name of the daughter and that man who will not give her to him, and thou shalt burn it in fire. These are the seals (*see* Plate II, fig. 2).

No. 43. *For love between a man and his wife*.—Write these three seals on three olive leaves in the name of N., the son of N., for love of N., daughter of N., and he shall burn one each day (*see* Plate II, fig. 3).

No. 44. *Another*.—Write in dove’s blood on gazelle parchment on a hairy place, and wash it off in water and give it (to him) to drink. And this is what thou shalt write: “Ḳursi Pa’ali Y’ki Ani Y’ki Atho Yâthni Ḳalḫa Naḫdo;” and this shalt thou do with great attention. Proved and certain.

(I found this in the book of my worthy ancestor, Migdal David.)

No. 45. *To crush and bring on deep sleep on a man*.—Write on gazelle parchment these seals, and he shall put it on the table. And this is what thou shalt write: “Wath Nepher” (*see* Plate II, fig. 4).

No. 46. *For fever*.—Write on three almonds and let him eat them, one in the morning and one at noon and one at the hour he shivers. On the first write Biḳdaš: and on \*\*\*\*\*

## TWO KABBALISTIC PLANETARY CHARMS.

By E. J. PILCHER.

Kabbalistic astrology conceived the Universe as consisting of ten concentric spheres, each sphere being under the influence of one of the Ten *Sephiroth* (or "Emanations" of the Absolute), arranged in the following manner, one within the other:—

- |     |               |   |
|-----|---------------|---|
| 1.  | ראשית הגלגלים | <i>Rāshīth ha-galgalim</i> = The <i>primum mobile</i> . |
| 2.  | מולות         | <i>Mazlōth</i> = The sphere of the Zodiac.              |
| 3.  | שבתאי         | <i>Shabbathai</i> = The sphere of Saturn.               |
| 4.  | שַׁדַּךְ      | <i>Scdēq</i> = The sphere of Jupiter.                   |
| 5.  | מאדים         | <i>Madim</i> = The sphere of Mars.                      |
| 6.  | שמש           | <i>Shemesh</i> = The sphere of the Sun.                 |
| 7.  | נוגה          | <i>Nōgah</i> = The sphere of Venus.                     |
| 8.  | כוכב          | <i>Kōkab</i> = The sphere of Mercury.                   |
| 9.  | לבנה          | <i>Lebanah</i> = The sphere of the Moon.                |
| 10. | חלם יסורות    | <i>Cholem yesōdōth</i> = The mundane sphere.            |

Each sphere had its own characteristics; but the spheres of the Seven Planets were supposed to be of the greatest importance to mankind; for each planet presided over a certain section of human affairs, and the man who wished to succeed in these affairs must know the mystic symbols of the governing planet, and the names and attributes of the operating genii. When, therefore, we meet with metal plates, or strips of parchment, bearing mysterious symbols and devices, and lists of more or less unintelligible names, they are usually to be explained as charms or talismans, intended to secure to the possessor the offices of the spirits, or the influence of the powers of the planetary spheres. These devices are of various kinds. There is the "Signature" or character appropriated to each planet—an arbitrary figure somewhat cruciform in outline. Also the "signatures" of the beneficent indwelling spirits, and the maleficent

demons associated with the planetary spheres. But the most striking device is the "Magic Square;" that is to say, a square figure formed by a series of numbers in mathematical proportion, so disposed in parallel and equal rows that the sum of the numbers in each row or line taken perpendicularly, horizontally or diagonally, is equal.

The simplest of all the squares is that of Saturn. As Saturn presides over the Third Sphere, he has a Magic Square composed of *three* columns; thus involving *nine* ciphers. The arithmetical sum obtained by adding up each column perpendicularly is *fifteen*; and the same sum is obtained by adding up each row of ciphers horizontally, and by taking them diagonally from corner to corner; thus:—

4	9	2
3	5	7
8	1	6

Furthermore, by taking the arithmetical sum 15, and multiplying it by the number of the sphere = 3, we get *forty-five* as the product.

The numbers in italics should be carefully noted, because the Kabbalist gives special mystic names to each of them, as well as to the numbers derived in the same way from the Magic Squares of the other planets.

In the case of Saturn:—

	3	has the Mystic Name of	<i>Ab.</i>
$3 \times 3 =$	9	„ „ „	<i>Hod.</i>
	15	„ „ „	<i>Iah.</i>
$15 \times 3 =$	45	„ „ „	<i>Zazel.</i> <sup>1</sup>

The two talismans which form the subject of this paper are constructed upon Kabbalistic principles. They both contain blunders arising from the carelessness or ignorance of the engraver; but these probably had no effect upon their magical virtues, or the estimation in which they were held by their possessors. Occultists are perfectly aware that practical magic is full of these blunders; but such difficulties are explained by the convenient theory that the word or

<sup>1</sup> The manner of forming these mystic names is obvious to anyone acquainted with the numerical properties of the Hebrew letters.

the symbol *per se* has comparatively little value. It only attains its power when it becomes the medium of *psychic force*.

The smaller of the two charms (see Plate I, figs. 1, 2) is appropriated to the planet Jupiter. It consists of a silver disk, an inch and a half in diameter, with a suspension loop.

A talisman of Jupiter frequently bears in its centre a representation of a "nobleman." The date and provenance of the present specimen is shown by the full length engraving of a Dutch burgomaster, attired in the costume worn at the latter end of the seventeenth century. We may recognise the broad-brimmed hat, the flowing wig, the square-cut coat, and the high-heeled buckled shoes.

He stands between the two halves of the quaternary square of the planet. The true Magic Square should be as under:—

4	14	15	1
9	7	6	12
5	11	10	8
16	2	3	13

The component numbers of which have the following Mystic Names:—

$$\begin{array}{r}
 4 \text{ } \textit{Aba.} \\
 4 \times 4 = 16 \text{ } \textit{Hagiel.} \\
 34 \text{ } \textit{Elab.} \\
 34 \times 4 = 136 \text{ } \textit{Johphiel.}
 \end{array}$$

The numbers that actually occur on the talisman will not add up. They, furthermore, have seven asterisks distributed among them for the purpose of mystifying the reader.

Above the burgomaster is the "signature" of the indwelling spirit of Jupiter; while he tramples under his feet the "signature" of the corresponding demon.

The letters M L I M are possibly the initials of the owner, but more probably the initials of the four Evangelists.

Around the whole device is a circle containing the names of angels.

The reverse of the talisman presents a circle with eight rays. In the circle are engraved three lines of pseudo-Hebrew characters.



1

OBVERSE.



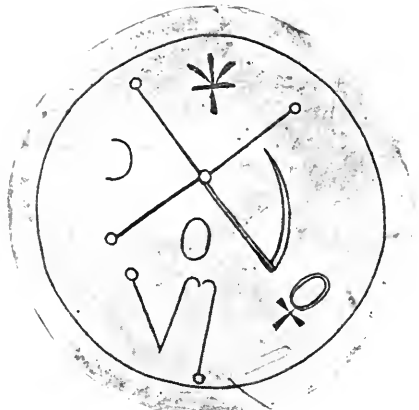
2

REVERSE.



3

OBVERSE.



4

REVERSE.

KABBALISTIC CHARMS.

Belonging to W. L. Nash, Esq.





The rays bear the names of various angels ; and in the spandrels are groups of three, seven, and nine stars, interchanged with crosslets.

Surrounding all is a border, containing the mystic names of the component numbers of the Magic Square. First is *Agiel* ; probably for the Angel of Jupiter, though the usual name of this functionary is *Sachiel*. Then comes the planetary cipher 4, followed by its Mystic Name *Abab*. This being the number of letters in the ineffable name יהוה it is expressed in Kabbalistic style by *Tetragrammaton* ; followed by *Hagiel*, *Elab*, and *Johphiell* for 16, 34 and 136 respectively.

These celestial names and transcendental cyphers, however, were intended to serve a low practical purpose ; for they were engraved upon this talisman with the object of securing mere temporal advantages. The Kabbalist assures us that :—

“If this Magical Square be engraved upon a sheet of silver representing Jupiter in a powerful and dominant conjunction, then it will give riches, favour, love, peace, and harmony with mankind. It will reconcile enemies. It will ensure honours, dignities, and government position.”

The larger charm (Plate I, figs. 3, 4) is a silver disk, two inches and an eighth in diameter. It is appropriated to the planet Venus. Venus being the regent of the Seventh Sphere, her Magic Square is, of course, septenary ; and is arranged as follows :—

22	47	16	41	10	35	4
5	23	48	17	42	11	29
30	6	24	49	18	36	12
13	31	7	25	43	19	37
38	14	32	1	26	44	20
21	39	8	33	2	27	45
46	15	40	9	34	3	28

The component numbers of this square are set out below, with their Mystic Names in italics and in Hebrew letters:—

	7	<i>Alea</i>	אהא
$7 \times 7 =$	49	<i>Hagiel</i>	הגיאֵל
	175	<i>Qodemel</i>	קדמאל
$175 \times 7 =$	1225	<i>Beni Seraphim</i>	בני שרפים

The charm before us exhibits the erudition of the engraver by setting out the planetary square in Hebrew characters. It has two blunders in it, both of them in the second column from the left. The second square from the top has רג for בג; and the second square from the bottom has לה for לט. The correct table is this:—

כב	כו	יו	מא	י	לה	ד
ה	כג	מח	יו	מב	זא	כט
ל	ו	כד	מט	יה	לז	יב
יג	לא	ז	נה	מג	יט	לז
לה	יד	לב	זא	טו	מד	ה
מא	לט	ה	לג	ב	טז	מה
כו	יה	ט	לד	ג	ג	כה

Above the Magic Square is אהא, the Mystic Name of *seven*.

Below it is the well-known astronomical symbol of Venus ♀.

In the outer circle we again meet with the mystic אהא on the right hand; while, on the left, is הגיאֵל for *Hagiel*[?] the Mystic Name of 49.<sup>2</sup> On the top is engraved 1225, the product of multiplying the arithmetical sum of the square by its planetary number. The Name (*Qodemel*), or the Number 175, might have been expected to figure at the bottom, but has been omitted for some reason.

<sup>2</sup> A corresponding charm in the British Museum has the full word הגיאֵל *Hagiel*.

The reverse of the talisman gives us the "Signature" of Venus; below which is the "Signature" of the indwelling spirit of the planet, with the astronomical ♀ in the field.

Kabbalistic lore tells us that:—

"This Magic Square engraved upon a sheet of silver representing Venus in a lucky conjunction, procures harmony, terminates discords, and obtains female favours. It assists conception, prevents sterility, and gives conjugal strength. It delivers from sorcery, makes peace between husband and wife, and causes all kinds of animals to be produced in abundance. Placed in a dovecot, it causes the pigeons to multiply freely. It is good against melancholy sicknesses; and is strengthening. Carried upon the person it makes travellers lucky."

These two charms are interesting as memorials of the belief in magic, astrology and witchcraft, which characterized the seventeenth century. The belief was shared by the ablest and most learned men of the period. In fact it was learning (of a kind) that gave it its great influence. Johann Reuchlin in the sixteenth century, and Athanasius Kircher in the seventeenth, devoted much time and labour to expounding the abstruse teachings of the Kabbalah; and they were eagerly followed by a crowd of lesser luminaries. The Kabbalah itself was at first a body of theosophic doctrine originated by the Jews of Spain in the thirteenth century on the lines of Neo-Platonism; but the mysticism of the early Kabbalists speedily developed a system of magic, that gradually absorbed all the half-forgotten fancies of Greek sorcery and astrology. Thus Kabbalism became the principal repertory of magical ideas; and all the forms of modern occultism, whatever their names may be, have derived their material from the Kabbalah; although the debt is not always acknowledged.

The British Museum possesses seven of these planetary charms, exhibited in the Mediæval Room, Table Case B. All of them except No. I appear to have been part of the Sloane Collection. They may be described as follows:—

I. A silver disk, pierced.

*Obverse.*—A magic square of four columns in Hebrew characters; above which is the word אלהב. On the right side אבה. On the left side יהביאל. At the base ז. Below all "136."

*Reverse.*—The “signature” of Jupiter: below which is the astronomical ♃, and the “signature” of the indwelling spirit of the planet. On the right hand the words, “*Confirmo O Deus potentissimus.*”<sup>3</sup>

II. A silver disk, pierced.

*Obverse.*—A magic square of four columns, without any dividing lines, above which are the words, “*Aba iohphiel Hismael.*” On the right hand the “signature” of Jupiter. On the left “*Sachiel.*” Below, the signatures of the spirit and demon of the planet.

*Reverse.*—A nondescript winged figure, and the word “*Gabriell.*”

III. An octagonal plate, with suspension loop, cast in pewter.

*Obverse.*—A magic square of four columns, in Hebrew characters, surmounted by the figure of a throned monarch. At sides and base are various emblems.

*Reverse.*—Twelve lines of Hebrew.

IV. A thick oval of reddish bronze, with suspension loop. [The rubric states that the talisman of Mars in a fortunate conjunction should be of iron. But a charm constructed under an unfortunate conjunction must be in “red brass.” It will then have sundry maleficent properties, including the power of “striking terror into one’s enemies, and compelling them to submit.”]

*Obverse.*—A magic square of five columns, in Arabic numerals, surmounted with the symbol of Mars ♂.

*Reverse.*—A man in complete armour, of apparently sixteenth century date, brandishing a drawn sword above his head. Below him the “signature” of Mars. Above, in a kind of heraldic chief, the symbol ♂.

V. Square plate of silver, with suspension loop.

*Obverse.*—A magic square of seven columns, in Arabic numerals; above which are the words *Nihil Deo impossibile.* On the right hand, *Quis sicut infortibus.* Running round the bottom and left hand, *O tetragramaton qui aperuisti vulvam Rachelæ concepit filii.*

*Reverse.*—A clothed female figure seated on a throne, bearing in her right hand a feathered dart; in her raised

<sup>3</sup> There is a precisely similar medal in the York Museum.



OBVERSE.



REVERSE.

KABBALISTIC MEDAL.

Belonging to W. L. Nash, Esq.



left hand a flower. Two birds on the back of the throne. To right, the symbol ♀, a balance with the sign ⚖, and the signature of the spirit of Venus. To left, the signature of Venus, a crouching bull, surmounted by ♂, and the signature of the planetary demon.

VI. An exactly similar plate in *copper*; with the same devices.

[According to the rubric, a talisman of Venus in a lucky conjunction should be in silver. Under an unlucky aspect, the charm should be in copper. It was then supposed to have a precisely opposite effect. The two plates in the Museum, therefore, are complementary; and represent the planet in both its beneficent and its maleficent qualities.]

VII. A silver disk, pierced. It bears an old label, reading, "*Silver amulet or talisman made under the joint influence of Venus and the Moon. Date XVI or XVII century.*"

*Obverse.*—Magic square of seven columns, in Hebrew characters. Above all 1225 and יהודה. On the right הגיאל. On the left אהה. Below all אהה.

*Reverse.*—The "signature" of Venus; the signature of the indwelling spirit, ⚖ and ♀. The following words are engraved in a spiral around these figures. "*Accipe mihi petitione O Domine keep me as apple of an eye hide me under the shadow of thy wings from all evil (sic) up Lord and help us for thou art my strong rock and my castle Amen.*"

To the above list I may add a description of a pewter medal with Talismanic inscriptions belonging to Mr. Nash (Plate II), bearing :

*Obverse.*

An interlaced star of eight points. In the spaces of the figure are the letters of the word TETRAGRAMATON. Around the figure are the astronomical hieroglyphs of the seven planets, and a star with eight rays, thus :

✳ ☉ ☾ ♃ ♄ ♂ ♀ ☿


Around all are "Words of Power," separated by Maltese crosses :

⊙⊙⊙ adonay + sother + astisap + el + on + iesus + christus + hely +  
G + M + B +

*Reverse.*

An interlaced star of five points, forming the "seal of David." "Seals" of angels between the points. Surrounded by sixteen "seals" of angels; making twenty-one "seals" in all.

In the surrounding circle are the words:—


 agla + tetragramaton + elion + pantagaton + eloy + ananisapt +  
 emanuel

I wish also to draw attention to a very beautiful porcelain bowl and saucer exhibited by Mr. Nash. Both pieces have a magic square of sixteen spaces, surrounded by lines of an inscription in Arabic alternating with lines of an ornamental pattern. I can offer no further account of this object until the inscription has been translated.

NOTE ON TWO FIGURES FOUND NEAR THE  
SOUTH TEMPLE AT WADY ḤALFA.

BY P. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, *B.A.*




While excavating for the Sudan Government at the XVIIIth dynasty temple near Wady Ḥalfa during the months of November and December last, I opened up a vaulted brick chamber which abutted on the old temenos wall. Its appearance is very much like that of the vaulted shrine of Taharkā at Semneh opened in 1904 by Dr. Budge and Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, and for that reason the Ḥalfa chamber may very probably owe its origin to the same king. In it, however, was found a strange miscellany of objects. The first figure illustrated [Plate, figs. 1 and 2], which stands 17½ inches high, was found with several Middle Empire grave-stelae, pots, and other fragments, at the bottom of the chamber, some 12 feet below the surface. It is the portrait of *Sebek-em-heb*,   , a scribe of the soldiers; the brief inscription on the knees of the figure only





Fig. 3.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

FIGURES FROM WADY HALFA.

Found by P. Scott-Moncrieff, Esq.



contains the name and office of the deceased, with the usual *Suten ta hotep* formula addressed to Ptah. As may be seen from the illustration, it is of fine workmanship, and executed in a style of great dignity and repose. The material is black basalt, and it clearly belongs to the XIIIth dynasty.

The other figure [Plate, fig. 3] was found some time before the bottom of the chamber was reached, only about 3 feet from the surface: close by it were two fragments of ostraka, inscribed in cursive Meroitic. It is of soft limestone, and stands about 18 inches high. In spite of the rudeness of the workmanship and the primitive idol-like expression it bears, the object is surely meant for a copy of an Egyptian figure. The red is exactly the tint found on Egyptian work. The necklace and wig also seem to show an effort to copy an Egyptian model. Its date and origin, however, are difficult to guess, but it may possibly belong to the period of the later Nubian empire, about which so little is at present known. The existence of Meroitic ostraka close by would support this supposition.

The presence of Middle Empire objects in a brick chamber which must be of much later date may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that they originally came from the Middle Empire brick temple a few hundred yards distant, and having perhaps been brought into the XVIIIth dynasty temple soon after it was built, they were afterwards, in unsettled times, thrown into the brick chamber. Their position, lying anyhow, seems to confirm this. All the objects are now in the Gordon College at Khartoum, and will eventually be placed in the museum shortly to be built there.

“THE STAR OF STARS” AND DILGAN.

The author omitted to refer to the identification, by Mr. R. Brown, of the “Star of Stars” with the Pleiades (see “*Primitive Constellations*,” II, 209), an identification, however, which is based on different grounds to those adopted by the author of the Paper.

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The next Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, May 9th, 1906, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

**Dr. Pinches: “The Babylonian Gods of War,  
and their Legends.”**

*PROCEEDINGS*  
OF  
THE SOCIETY  
OF  
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION, 1906.

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*Fourth Meeting, May 9th, 1906.*

REV. W. T. PILTER, *M.A.*,

IN THE CHAIR.

— 916 —

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

From the Author, Prof. Dr. A. Wiedemann.—“Ägyptische Grabreliefs aus der Grossherzoglichen Altertümer-Sammlung, zu Karlsruhe.”

From the Author, Prof. Waldemar Schmidt.—“Choix de Monuments Égyptiens.”

From the Author, Mon<sup>r</sup>. A. Baillet.—“Les Vases ‘Oucheb’ et ‘Sochen.’”

From the Publishers, Messrs. Putnam.—“Man’s Responsibility,” by T. G. Carson.

## THE LIBRARY.

### BOOK-BINDING FUND.

The following donations have been received:—

March, 1906:—

The Rev. W. T. Pilter	...	...	...	£1	0	0
The Hon. Miss E. Plunket	...	...	...	£1	1	0

The following Candidate for Membership was elected:—

C. Barclay Holland, Esq., 9, Beaumont Street, W.





The following Paper was read:—






Dr. T. G. PINCHES: “The Babylonian Gods of War, and their Legends.”


Thanks were returned for this communication.

LE DIEU SETH ET LE ROI SÉTHÔSIS.

PAR VICTOR LORET.












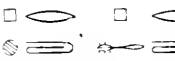






Dans son très curieux ouvrage *Aus Ägyptens Vorzeit*,<sup>1</sup>—où se rencontrent, à côté d'assertions aventureuses et déconcertantes, un grand nombre d'aperçus ingénieux et originaux qu'il serait bon de ne pas laisser tomber dans l'oubli,—F. Lauth a émis, au sujet du nom du roi , une idée qui n'a pas fait fortune et qui pourtant, si je ne me trompe, méritait un meilleur sort. A son avis, ce nom ne doit pas se lire *Seti*, ce qui eût donné en grec une transcription \*Σέτις, mais bien *Soutekhi*, ou plutôt *Setoukhi*, ce qui explique très naturellement la transcription manéthonienne Σέθωσις, dans laquelle le  est rendu par un *ς*. On constate, en effet, la même manière de rendre le  par un *ς* dans la transcription Σοῦφις, Σαυφίς du nom royal .



















D'après Lauth, on le voit, le signe  répondrait ici, non pas à la forme  du nom divin, mais bien à la forme , la plus fréquente d'ailleurs sous les Ramessides. Toute cette argumentation me paraît fort rationnelle, et je m'étonne qu'on ne l'ait, dans la suite, jamais discutée, ni même signalée. Or, il me semble que l'opinion de Lauth est d'autant plus juste, que même le nom , sur lequel repose pour  la lecture *Seti*, est loin de présenter une apparence correcte et originelle.





On a, en effet, relevé déjà depuis longtemps, dans une copie du chapitre XVII du *Livre des morts* peinte sur le sarcophage de Sebek-âa (Moyen Empire), deux exemples de l'orthographe  pour le nom du dieu Seth.<sup>2</sup> Cette orthographe est hors de toute

<sup>1</sup> Berlin, in 8°, 1881, pp. 292-293.

<sup>2</sup> R. LEPSIUS, *Älteste Texte des Todtenbuchs*, pl. xxxi, col. 27 et 28.

discussion, le même signe  se retrouvant, à deux colonnes d'intervalle, dans le mot bien connu  (col. 26). Il n'y a donc pas lieu de chercher à voir dans ce signe quelque déterminatif phonétique du son , comme par exemple  ou . C'est bien du  qu'il s'agit ici<sup>3</sup> et ce signe représente un élément phonétique du mot, soit le son , soit plutôt la lettre . On a remarqué, en effet, dans plusieurs textes du Moyen Empire, des équivalences comme , , ou , ou , , , ou encore , , , .<sup>4</sup>



D'autre part, un autre sarcophage de même époque, celui de Mentou-hotep, présente au même chapitre XVII, au lieu de , l'orthographe .<sup>5</sup> Là encore on pourrait hésiter et chercher à voir dans ce signe  une variante du  des temps postérieurs. En réalité, il n'y a aucun motif d'hésitation. Ce signe se retrouve, sur le même sarcophage, et dans le même chapitre du *Livre des morts*, dans les mots  (col. 11, 12, 30),  (col. 12, 13),  (col. 21),  (col. 35),  (col. 35),  (col. 38),  (col. 43), etc. Le  est donc bien partout un  et, les deux sarcophages appartenant à la même époque, il est bien évident, puisque  et  se remplacent, que le signe , dans le nom , est bien la lettre .




























<sup>3</sup> Sur le sarcophage de  (XII<sup>e</sup> dyn.), récemment découvert à Béné-Hassan par M. Garstang et publié par M. Lacau (*Ann. du Serv. des Antiq.*, t. v., pp. 246-249), on rencontre trois nouveaux exemples de la même orthographe  (ll. 6-7, 75 et 82). Le premier de ces trois exemples, qui appartient à un texte déjà connu par ailleurs, a pour variantes, aux pyramides de Saqqarah,  (Ounas, 69) et  (Pépi II, 330).










<sup>4</sup> K. SETHE, *Das ägyptische Verbum*, t. I, § 259.

<sup>5</sup> R. LEPSIUS, *op. cit.*, pl. II, col. 20.











Donc, sous le Moyen Empire, le nom du dieu Seth était  ou , soit *S-t-sch*. En était-il de même aux époques immédiatement voisines, soit antérieures, soit postérieures?—Nous allons voir que oui.











Dans les textes des pyramides de Saqqarah, partout le nom du dieu, lorsqu'il n'est pas exprimé au moyen du figuratif , est écrit , avec, comme dernier signe, un  qui présente exactement la même forme que le  (= ) d'autres mots dans les mêmes textes. Certes, le nom n'étant pas suivi du , déterminatif ordinaire des noms divins,—ce qui s'explique d'ailleurs par l'hostilité entre Seth et Horus,—on pourrait être tenté de voir dans  un déterminatif et de le considérer comme l'équivalent de , d'autant plus que ce dernier signe offre parfois la forme allongée . Mais, aux pyramides de Saqqarah, les noms divins se présentent le plus souvent sans déterminatif, et  = *S-t-sch* sans déterminatif n'est pas plus embarrassant que , , , , ,  (Téti, 87, 91, 143, 172), etc. J'admets que, matériellement, sous l'Ancien Empire, le  de  peut être aussi bien un  qu'un . Mais, ce qui montre qu'il est bien un  (), et que le  des pyramides de Saqqarah est identique au  =  du Moyen Empire, c'est que, encore sous le Nouvel Empire et postérieurement même au règne de Séthôsis, le nom du dieu Seth est toujours écrit au moyen d'un  bien caractéristique et complètement distinct du .



Au Papyrus d'Ani, par exemple, le nom est écrit <sup>6</sup> et <sup>7</sup>. Or,  est, au même papyrus, employé dans   (pl. 19, § xv, 12) et  est employé dans    (pl. 8,

<sup>6</sup> *Facsimile of the papyrus of Ani*, London, British Museum, in-fol., 1894, pl. 8, § xvii, 67-68.


<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 8, § xvii, 69.

§ xvii, 61-62), dans   (pl. 8, § xvii, 70), dans    (pl. 19, hymne à Osiris, 1), tandis que  , dans le mot   (pl. 19, § xv, 11), a une forme absolument différente.




Changer en *S-t-sch* un nom que tous, depuis Champollion, nous avons toujours lu *Sch*, était chose trop grave pour que je ne me sois pas entouré, avant d'oser proposer cette nouvelle lecture, de toutes les précautions possibles. J'ai patiemment dépouillé en son entier, ligne par ligne, l'édition du *Todtenbuch* de Naville, dans laquelle se trouvent réunies un grand nombre de variantes datant de la XVIII<sup>e</sup>, de la XIX<sup>e</sup> et de la XX<sup>e</sup> dynastie. Partout, à part d'insignifiantes exceptions,<sup>8</sup> lors qu'il n'est pas écrit  ou  , le nom du dieu est écrit   , avec un  qui présente trois ou quatre formes différentes, mais toujours identiques aux formes variées que revêt le  dans des mots où sa valeur alphabétique est hors de toute discussion. Or, ces variations mêmes, concordant toujours exactement avec les variations du signe  dans les autres mots, constituent précisément un argument dont il est impossible de méconnaître l'importance extrême. Par contre, dans ce même recueil, le  ne présente jamais aucun rapport avec le troisième signe du nom  .

Même constatation dans la riche collection des textes de sarcophages du Moyen Empire que publie en ce moment M. Lacau dans divers ouvrages, et l'auteur lui-même n'a pu, au moins une fois, s'empêcher d'attirer spécialement l'attention du lecteur sur ce fait que le  du nom de Seth est absolument identique à la lettre  d'autres mots.<sup>9</sup>


Je n'énumérerai pas, par crainte de prolixité, une quantité d'autres remarques analogues que j'ai relevées un peu de tous côtés. Je dirai seulement que toutes les notes que j'ai prises sur cette question m'ont unanimement et désespérément ramené à cette même conclusion, qu'au moins jusqu'à la chute des Ramessides (j'ai jugé inutile pour le moment de faire porter mon enquête au delà de cette époque) le nom du dieu Seth s'est toujours écrit *S-t-sch*.






<sup>8</sup> Même dans ces quelques cas exceptionnels, qui résultent de fautes d'inattention ou de transcriptions maladroites, jamais je n'ai rencontré le .










<sup>9</sup> *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, t. v., p. 231, n. 2.

Ce fait nouveau, dont la réalité me paraît indéniable,—et qu'en tout cas chacun pourra facilement contrôler et vérifier,—est appelé à jeter quelque trouble dans des habitudes prises et dans des théories admises depuis longtemps. Il nous sera difficile de continuer à parler du temple de *Séti* à Abydos : nous devons dire *Sétoukhi* ou *Sétouschi*, ou plus commodément *Séthôsis*. Il nous faudra renoncer à voir dans le dieu Seth, du moins avant la XX<sup>e</sup> dynastie, le dieu de la terre ou du désert , , par opposition à quelque Osiridiale ou à quelque Horus céleste. Enfin, nous devons, nous conformant d'ailleurs à la transcription classique Σήθ, orthographier *Seth* et non plus *Set* le nom du dieu typhonien, afin de maintenir le souvenir de l'ancienne aspirée .



Quoi qu'il en soit, il est évident que, du fait que le dieu Seth s'est appelé *S-t-sch* pendant plus de vingt dynasties, découlent naturellement un grand nombre de remarques et d'observations, dont je veux signaler ici quelques-unes des plus importantes.



1.—Il est certain qu'à un moment donné le nom du dieu Seth s'est orthographié . Quelle est l'origine de cette orthographe, et quel rapport présente-t-elle avec le nom Σήθ?


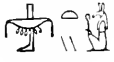


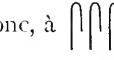




L'orthographe  est très récente. Elle est surtout fréquente dans les textes ptolémaïques. On la rencontre au *Todtenbuch* de Lepsius et dans les nombreux travaux de mythologie pour lesquels on a utilisé ce très malencontreux document. Cette circonstance fait que, l'orthographe  étant devenue classique, s'étant ancrée en nous par la force de l'habitude, bien des éditeurs d'inscriptions ont copié et fait imprimer  dans des cas où l'original portait certainement .<sup>10</sup> Pour découvrir l'époque exacte du premier emploi certain de , il sera donc prudent de revoir les originaux.

<sup>10</sup> M. Budge, qui fait imprimer ordinairement le nom , même dans des textes de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, le fait imprimer correctement dans la phrase       (The Book of the Dead, Text, p. 496), très certainement parce que le voisinage des signes  et  lui a fait remarquer entre les deux une différence caractéristique de forme.




En tout cas, je n'ai jamais remarqué ce nom dans les textes antérieurs à la XX<sup>e</sup> dynastie.



Il semble naturel, à première vue, que la forme récente  dérive d'une erreur de lecture du nom . En examinant la question de plus près, il paraît pourtant difficile qu'une telle erreur ait pu se produire dans un nom de divinité aussi répandu que celui du dieu Seth. Qu'un vieux mot, oublié pendant des siècles, ait pu reparaître un jour sous une forme fautive, rien de plus admissible. Mais, qu'un nom employé journellement ait pu se modifier brusquement pour des raisons épigraphiques, c'est là un fait qu'il me paraît difficile d'admettre.






Si l'on a pu, un jour, écrire , c'est-à-dire *S-t*, le nom d'une divinité que tout le monde appelait *S-t-sch*, c'est que le dieu Seth devait porter, outre son nom *S-t-sch*, un autre nom, analogue à *S-t*. Dès lors, la confusion s'expliquerait. Et elle s'expliquerait encore mieux si le nom *S-t-sch*, pour telle ou telle raison, avait disparu de la langue à un moment donné, ou plutôt s'était modifié progressivement au point de ne plus pouvoir être machinalement reconnu dans . Or, ces deux particularités se présentent.





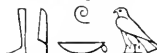


Le dieu Seth, en effet, dès la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, porte très souvent le nom de . Ce nom me paraît être un ethnique analogue à , autre nom très fréquent du même dieu. On sait que le dieu Seth était considéré comme natif de la ville de , dont le nom devait très certainement se lire *Sout*.<sup>11</sup> Le nom  était donc, à , ce que  était à . Que les Egyptiens, qui donnaient à Seth le nom de *Souti*, aient pu, méconnaissant la valeur du groupe , y voir un mot  qu'ils prononçaient *Souti*, rien de plus vraisemblable, surtout si l'on

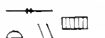
<sup>11</sup> Cf.  = ,  = ,  = , et surtout  = **COU**, *dies* (G. MASPERO, *Et. Egypt.*, t. I, p. 177, n. 3).









considère que l'on rencontre parfois, dans les textes récents, les orthographes intermédiaires ,  et .







Mais, pour que les Egyptiens pussent voir dans  un nom *Souti*, il semble de toute évidence qu'ils devaient en même temps avoir cessé de donner à Seth le nom de *S-t-sch*, sans quoi ils auraient reconnu ce dernier nom dans . Or, cette seconde particu-
















larité me paraît également certaine. Le nom , si répandu en Egypte à partir des Ramessides, a dû très vite se confondre et s'identifier avec le vieux nom , et même le remplacer complètement. D'où l'explication du double phénomène linguistique et épigraphique : *Soutkh*, d'une part, supplantant *Soutsch* définitivement banni de la langue ; , d'autre part, remplaçant le mot  dans lequel,—ayant oublié le nom *Soutsch*,—on ne pouvait voir qu'une orthographe archaïque de .

Enfin, je ne suppose pas que  $\Sigma\eta\theta$  présente le moindre rapport avec  = *Souti*.<sup>12</sup> Je crois préférable d'y voir plutôt une transcription de  considéré comme forme récente de . Il faut remarquer, en effet, que  $\Sigma\eta\theta$  se termine par un  $\theta$ , et non par un  $\tau$ . Je sais bien que, dans  $\text{N}\eta\theta$ , le  $\theta$  final répond à un  $\Delta$ , mais il n'en est pas moins vrai que, dans des noms comme *'Αθῆναι*, *Νέφθους*, pour n'en citer que deux, le  $\theta$  répond à  $\Delta + \text{ῥ}$ . Certes, , vocalisé *Sauth*, aurait dû donner \* $\Sigma\acute{\epsilon}\theta$  et non  $\Sigma\eta\theta$ , mais on pourrait citer bien des noms vocalisés en *ou* qui ont pris aux époques récentes une vocalisation en *i*. Si  a pu devenir  $\text{ΒΗΧ}$ , si  a pu devenir  $\text{Μῖ}$ , rien d'anormal à ce que *Sauth* ait pu devenir *Saiith* ( $\Sigma\eta\theta$ ), tout comme , *Gaub*, est devenu *Gaib* ( $\text{Κῆβ}$ ).

<sup>12</sup> Je crois me rappeler, mais je n'oserais affirmer que ma mémoire ne me trompe pas, avoir rencontré la forme  dans des textes d'époque ptolémaïque.

Un fait assez significatif vient d'ailleurs corroborer cette manière de voir. On sait que les étymologies données dans le traité grec *Sur Isis et Osiris* sont généralement correctes, sinon toujours au point de vue mythologique, du moins au point de vue linguistique. Or (§§ 41, 49), le nom Σήθ y est expliqué comme exprimant, en égyptien, les idées de *contraindre, opprimer, soumettre, renverser* (τὸ καταδυναστεῖον καὶ καταβιάζονον, τὴν ἀναστροφήν). Je ne vois guère que les factitifs en  de   , "être bas," et  , "être renversé," qui aient pu inspirer cette étymologie. D'où la preuve formelle que le nom égyptien transcrit Σήθ comportait une aspirée finale. Aucun radical  ou , à ma connaissance, n'amènerait à la même signification.



La transcription *Seth* est donc la plus correcte que nous puissions donner du nom   =    . Elle a le double avantage de transcrire exactement le nom Σήθ, et de conserver l'aspirée finale du mot égyptien.



2.—On rencontre assez fréquemment, dans les textes du Nouvel Empire qu'a publiés Naville, une orthographe  , dans laquelle un signe nouveau vient s'intercaler entre la partie phonétique et le déterminatif du mot. Cette orthographe est même d'origine bien plus ancienne. car on la rencontre souvent sur des sarcophages de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie.<sup>13</sup> Ce signe nouveau représente bien certainement la queue bifurquée, si particulière, de l'animal typhonien. Il est même très vraisemblable, étant donné le goût très prononcé des Egyptiens pour les calembours mythologiques, qu'ils ont pu voir dans  quelque chose d'analogue à      , "queue de l'animal typhonien." En tout cas, cette queue bifurquée leur a paru caractériser si spécialement leur dieu *S-t-sch* que, dans les mêmes textes, le nom   est fréquemment réduit à  , mot qu'il faut bien se garder de transcrire par  .<sup>14</sup> Cette


<sup>13</sup> P. LACAU, dans *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, t. V, pp. 231-245.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 231, 232, 234, 243, 244, 245.

queue typhonienne sert simplement, par l'intermédiaire du jeu de






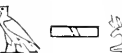
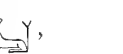

mot , à rendre le nom .

3.—Enfin, une très importante question se pose, relativement à l'origine du dieu Seth. Les Egyptiens connaissent, dès les temps les plus anciens de leur histoire, puisqu'on le trouve figuré sur des objets provenant des tombes thinites d'Abydos, un dieu dont l'animal sacré est un lévrier d'un genre tout spécial.<sup>15</sup> Ce lévrier a le museau très allongé, très fortement courbé, et la queue terminée par une épaisse touffe de poils. Ce dieu, déjà ennemi d'Horus sous la première dynastie, porte dans la suite le nom de  ou .<sup>16</sup>




Or, bien plus tard, les Hyqsôs, puis ensuite les Hittites, introduisent en Egypte, comme divinité nationale de leur pays, un dieu qui porte exactement le même nom, , et qui a comme animal sacré le même lévrier si caractéristique.

Peut-il y avoir là un simple effet du hasard? Bien certainement non. Ou bien les Hyqsôs et les Hittites ont emprunté, Dieu sait comment, ce dieu aux Egyptiens et l'ont réintroduit plus tard en Egypte; ou bien, au contraire, ce sont eux qui l'ont révélé aux Egyptiens à l'époque thinite, et qui l'ont ramené avec eux chaque fois qu'ils ont eu l'occasion de rentrer en contact avec les Egyptiens. Par conséquent, ou bien Seth est un vieux dieu égyptien qui eut la bonne fortune de plaire à des étrangers et de se naturaliser en Asie; ou bien Seth est un vieux dieu asiatique qui s'acclimata de très bonne heure en Egypte, lors d'une invasion, et qui, sur les rives du Nil, resta toujours plus ou moins le dieu ennemi.

<sup>15</sup> E. LEFÉBURE. *L'animal typhonien*, dans *Sphinx*, t. II (1898), pp. 63-74. L'auteur rassemble dans cet intéressant travail un certain nombre de documents démontrant que l'animal séthien était un chien, et plus spécialement un lévrier, opinion que Brugsch avait déjà émise, sans insister, dans son *Dictionnaire hiéroglyphique*, t. IV (1868), p. 1422.

<sup>16</sup> Il semble s'être appelé tout d'abord d'un nom d'animal, comme la plupart des divinités primitives, , c'est-à-dire, "le lévrier" (F. PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, t. II, pl. 22, no. 179), mot écrit plus tard  (Béni-Hassan), puis , , , , , .

Comment sortir de ce dilemme? Je n'ai trouvé, pour ce faire, qu'un seul et unique moyen: étudier de très près les lévriers d'Afrique et les lévriers d'Asie, et voir auquel des deux groupes appartient le lévrier de Seth. C'est là une étude très compliquée, qu'on ne saurait exposer sans de nombreuses citations et d'abondantes figures, et que je compte publier avant qu'il soit longtemps. Je crois pourtant intéressant d'en donner dès maintenant la conclusion. Le lévrier séthien n'est ni un animal égyptien, ni un animal africain. C'est bien indiscutablement un lévrier asiatique, originaire du Taurus et du Caucase, c'est-à-dire précisément des régions d'où ont pu venir les Hyqsôs et les Hittites, et par conséquent, tout comme Horus, Seth est en Egypte un dieu d'importation étrangère.

En attendant la publication du travail de zoologie mythologique que je prépare sur cette question, j'espère avoir au moins démontré, ce qui constitue un point de départ important, que , , et  sont un seul et même nom, s'appliquant à un seul et même dieu.



THE IVRIZ TEXTS.  
 THE ARDISTAMA INSCRIPTIONS.  
 SOME HITTITE SEALS.

By PROF. A. H. SAYCE, D.D.

Casts of the Ivriz texts are now in the Ashmolean Museum, and I am therefore able to give correct copies of them at last. In A (Plate, fig. 1) the only important correction is in the last line. The text reads: (1) *wa-a* DET.-*Sandun kai-s Ta-ua-s kai-wa* (2) *Au-m-nu-a-si-s a-tu Ta-ba-la-u-* (3) *s-má Uan-tu-DET.* (No. 16) *-ta*, "This Sandes I T(a)uas making have made, being son of Aumenuas (or Aumgalas), king of the Tabal, in the land of the Veneti." It is possible that, after all, the king's name should be read, not Aumgalas, but Aumenuas, an adjectival derivative, like *Karkamisiuas*, from Omanos, whom Strabo (XI, 511, XV, 733) describes as a Cappadocian god associated with Anaitis or Artemis.<sup>1</sup> For Tauas or Tuas "horseman," see above.

B (Plate, fig. 2) is: (1) *wa-a i-USU-mes Au-m-* (2) *nu-a-isi abakali da(u)* (3) *i-u-is-ua*, "This carving (*or* erecting), the sculpture of the high-priest the son of Aumenuas I have carved" (*or* "erected"). The last line shows that in the verb the ideograph (No. 65) was pronounced *usu*. *Da* or *du* or *dau* (No. 43, which is, however, not correctly drawn) represents a graving tool of a well-known type, not a vase.

The whole of C (Plate, fig. 3) can be deciphered in the cast. It reads: *wa-is-a da-u-uas i-USU-mes is-su<sup>2</sup>-ua ID.-u-ba-na?-DET.-ná ID.-nun-má Au-m-nu-a-isi a-isi-mú-ta a-isi-má-tu [kai]-s atu-tu kai-amma unni*, "These sculptures carving (*or* erecting) I have carved (*or* erected), the place of the Sun-god of the land of the rock of . . . ubana (?) in the high-place (*or* food-place) of the son of Aumenuas, [mak]ing

<sup>1</sup> Omanos would be itself a derivative from Aumes.

<sup>2</sup> *Su* as on my seal, *Proceedings*, Nov. 1905, p. 253. The older form of the character is found in one of the Carchemish fragments where we must read *uas-S-u*. I have hitherto confounded it with the basket *m* (No. 19), but the handles rise on both sides like horns, which is not the case with *m*.

this high-place (*or* food-place) of the king and the monument of the god," or perhaps better, "making this high-place (*or* food-place) for the king as a monument for the god." For the determinative of "rock," see Ardistama, I, 3. Since Ivriz was in the district of Kubis-tra, the Khubis-na of the Assyrian inscriptions, while the leg has sometimes the value of *bi* (see M. II, 5),<sup>3</sup> it is tempting to make the obliterated character *is*, reading the foot as *ku*, but to my eyes the traces were those of *na* rather than *is*. *Aisimâ* can hardly be anything else than *isimâ* "high-place"; on the other hand on the bowl (M. I, 3) "food-place" seems to be *a-isi-mâ-i-ua*, i.e. *aisimiuu*. But the high-place was also a place where food was offered and eaten in honour of the gods and the dead. It will be noticed that Sandes is identified with the Sun-god of the rock; the Hittite god of a locality was always also its Sun-god.

#### THE ARDISTAMA INSCRIPTIONS.

Since my copies of these were published in the *Proceedings* for January, 1905, I have been able to study enlarged photographs of them, which when compared with the squeezes necessitate numerous and important corrections in my copies, more especially in the first line of A.

A, line 1. After *Ma-me-(m)is* two characters are lost, then comes a bull's head, then the head of a bull on a pole. *Na* is more probably the numeral 1. The boot after *abû a-ra* should be deleted; the character which follows *nâ* is probably an arm, and it is followed by *uan* not *amis*. After *mâ* is the determinative of divinity, *Aram-u*, *uana* (the tree), *nâ*, and a lost character. The double-headed eagle does not exist: after *amis* we have simply a bull's head followed by *me-uan*. The head on a pole should be made to face the other way; a lost character which the traces show to have been *amis* preceded it. Hence the whole line should read: *Ma-me-(m)is* [*kai-s*] *cm* 1D. *u* (?) *kaisima* 1D. *abû a-ra* AMIS *nâ-atu* (?) *-uan-mâ* DET.-*Aram-u-Uana-nâ*-[*uan*] 1D.-*amis ama-me-uan*-AMIS *kai-s* ATU [*kai*-]*isimâ* [AMIS] DET.-*Aram-me-uan* AMIS-*mis-ta-amma am-a* 1D.-*mâ-mâ-uan*, "Mames, the maker of the bull of the bull-fetish of the high-place of Aramis, the royal father of the city of the Natians(?), belonging to Aramis-Uan the guardian of the bull-city, who has made for the king the

<sup>3</sup> My reading of *balu* for the character rests on an error.



Fig. 1.

IVRIZ. A.

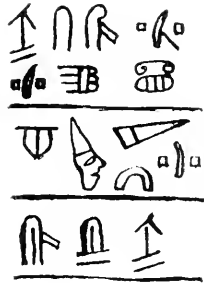


Fig. 2.

IVRIZ. B.



Fig. 3.

IVRIZ. C.

### THE IVRIZ TEXTS.

(From Casts in the Ashmolean Museum.)



high-place of the Aramis-fetish, the . . . of the city of Mamau" (perhaps identical with the city of Mamis). With the corrected reading the translation presents no difficulties.

Line 2. After *Ma-me-mis* read [*kai*]-s. The character before the ideograph of "king" is *a*. Instead of the head-fetish we should read the head (*ara*) and *ta*; *nu* and *ka-i* are right. Instead of . . . *uana* . . . *aram* . . . *me*, read [DET.] *aram-u-[uana]-na-a* (?) (or *ta*). We are probably intended to read *ara-nu-ta ka-i-KAI-m-a-uan-ta*.<sup>4</sup>

Line 4. The character preceding the head (*ara*) is *uan*.

Line 5. After the lacuna read *ara-me-su* (the knife) instead of *ara-ara-me*.

In B line 1, instead of *uan-uan- . . . -ná* read *kas-u-uan-na ara* (the head). The next three characters are right; so are *uan* and *AMIS*, but *a* should be *me*.

In line 2, *ná-m-a* is right. Delete the first *má* in the name of the city *Má-máu*. After *má-uan AMIS* we should probably read *Ma-me-DET.-ni-MÁ Khatta-ná-m-a* "the city of Mames in the land of the Hittite."

Line 3. After *ATU* we have *atu* (No. 88) and *isi*, which are drawn quite differently in the original.

Line 4. *Kai-uas* is right. In the lacuna after *kai-i-uas-s* the characters are *katu* (the seated image of the goddess) and the determinative of "district."

In C face A, line 1, delete the cross. After *má* read *i isi . . . . uas kai-i-má-AMIS*, the determinative of divinity and *uana* (?) *uan* (?) *na* (?)

Line 2. We have *a* instead of a circle before *ná*. After the determinative of god is the human head on a pole, a lacuna, and then *me-[i]-isi* (?) *-AMIS*. This is of course *Aramis-ammeis* "king of the city," but in face B 1, 3, the *u* after *aram* implies that we should read *atu-ammeis*.

Line 3. In the lacuna after *am-a* is an arm. The head at the end of the line is that of a calf (*am*).

Line 4. *AMIS* is right. Insert before it . . . *-me*.

<sup>4</sup> The approximate translation of the line would accordingly be: "Mames who has [made] the high-place of the king ([*aram-*]a) in the high-place of Aramis, in building style (*kaimáuanda*) in the land (*a-amma-ta*) of the sanctuary of the city of Aramu-Uan (*i.e.* Aram-Uan), the chief minister of Siu (Sawa) and Attys, dirk-bearer of Atu, attached to the queen of the rock (and) to the goddess-image, the kingly."

Line 5. At the end of the line is *tir(?)a-mâ* "shrine" which was probably preceded by [*mâ-katu*]; cp. A, 6.

Face B, line 1. Read *kas* instead of *me*.

Line 2. The line begins with *ua-s*. *Anu* is right and is followed by *uas*; cp. A, 2. The first *uan* is doubtful.

Line 3. After *kas-uan* is AMIS *a-na*.

Line 4. After the crown read *nâ* instead of *uan*. Delete *mâ*: "of the god Uan the king of the city of Siu," i.e. of the god of the sacred dance (Siuwas).


Line 5. *A* after *uan* is doubtful, and *uan* is either the arm or *nâ*. For *kai* read *uas*. *M* should be the arm with a dagger.<sup>5</sup>


#### HITTITE SEALS.

The Ashmolean Museum has acquired some more Hittite seals. Among them is one of semi-globular form, of white stone, and with transverse hole: upon it on the flat surface is the figure of a prince, standing and extending his arms. In front is written the name *Sandu-uan*, Sanduan, of similar formation to Kuaruwan and signifying "belonging to Sandes." There is a border of rosettes. On the concave surface is *Sandu-ana*. The second character here is the arm (ID. No. 2) which represents both *ara-mis* and *ana-mis*. On either side of the name is a sacred stone, the whole being enclosed in a rope pattern outside which is a border of rosettes and pyramids, with the sacred tree at the top. Sanduan would correspond with the Greek Σάνδων. Cp. Tarkôn.

<sup>5</sup> Notwithstanding the broken condition of the inscription on the trough what remains of it is worth giving:—

A.	B.
1. . . . in the land of Siu a high-[place] [I have erected?], a monument of the god Uan . . .	1. . . . [the high-place] of the city of Uan Atu-ammeis of Kas . . .
2. . . . city of the prince of the city of Aramis-ammeis, of Kas . . .	2. . . . formerly, the high-place of Aramis . . .
3. . . . [ruling] the royal land (Arinna), the city of the 9 courts, king of the city of the land of Kas, prince . . .	3. . . . guardian of the city of Uan Atu-ammeis of Kas, prince . . .
4. . . . city of the three guardians . . .	4. . . . the crown of the god Uan the king of the city of Siu . . .
5. . . . [guardian] of the city of Uan Atu-ammeis of Kas, [king] of the dance-[city] (Siu), guardian . . .	5. . . . [ruling] the land of Kas, the royal land, the kingly one, the great.

NOTE.—An examination of the original of M. XI in the British Museum has made it clear that in line 2 Mr. Rylands was right in the form which he gave to the character underneath  (DET. 17); it is not *khat* and occurs again at the end of the line in the shape of two rods (?) tied together. It is also clear that the character follows, and does not precede, the first *uan*. Since

 has the phonetic value of *mû* attached to it in M. III, B. 2, we must read: *Kar-ka-me-is-m-a-DET mû-uan Kha-tu-a-uan-DET ua-uan-na i-uas-i-mâ atu-ATU-m-a suan-tu-u-?-mâ*, "this high-place, the temple of *tu* . . . of brick, belonging to the Hittite land of Carchemish," giving the new character the value of *kha*. The name of the city at the commencement of the line will be *Kha-atu-me*, the Khatuma of the Egyptian texts. In line 4 the character which follows *Tarkais* is *uan*, not *na*; hence the line should be translated: "making the gate-place of this priestly land here for the god, making the building (*kai-amma*) of the temple of Tarkus (*suan-amma Tar-ka-is-uan*) for the dance of these dancing priests in this city as before." In line 5 instead of *ni-m-a* we should perhaps read *Khatta-m-a* "of the Hittite land."

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## SOME MUNICH COPTIC FRAGMENTS.

### I.

BY E. O. WINSTEDT.

In the *Proceedings* of this Society, XXV, p. 267, 1903, Mr. Crum published an article on "Coptic Texts relating to Dioscorus of Alexandria," taken from Des Rivières' papers now at Munich. As, however, in some cases he omitted to print the Coptic text, I think it may be worth while to supply the deficiencies, adding at the same time one or two more fragments which would seem certainly to come from the same text. Mr. Crum did not appear to be aware that a few fragments of the original papyrus, written in a magnificent

uncial of early date, are also to be found at Munich in MS. Copt. 2. For example, No. XCVI, of which the text is here given, as Mr. Crum only gives a translation, exists in MS. as well as in the copies; and part too of No. XCV. As the collection seems practically unknown and unworked, I add fragments of a few other texts of some interest from Des Rivières' copies—part of the martyrdoms of Ignatius and of Peter and Paul, the beginning of a life of James the Persian, part of a letter of Chrysostom to Basil, and a few ostraca. Lamentably incomplete as they are, I think they are sufficient to show that anyone who has time to work at the collection might glean a few fragments, as Coptic texts go, comparatively worth gleaning.

I give first the Dioscorus fragments.

Copt. 3, No. XCVI; the original exists in Copt. 2. The top of a page is complete, but some lines are lost at the bottom:—

VERSO.

ΠΑΣΕΒΗΕΝΕΓΓΑ[ϞϞϞϞ]  
 ΣΚΟΠΟΣ, ΕΞΡΟΝΗ . . . .

ΦΑΝΑΘΕΝΑΤΚΣΙΝΕ[Τ]

ΧΠΠΟΟΤΚΑΤΑΛΑΛ[Ϟ]

ΠΣΗΟΤ · ΠΣΕΓΓΑΥΕ

ΟΒΥΠΛΑΛΥ, ΠΥΛΑΧΕ, ΕΦ

ΦΟΤΒΕΠΛΟΓΝΑΠΙΕΝ

ΕΙΟΤΕ, ΕΤΟΓΑΔΒ, ΕΠΤ[ΟΥ]

ΤΑΥΕΝΕΤΡΑΗ · ΠΕΤΦ

ΓΑΡΟΤΒΕΝΕΤΠΗ[ΑΥ]

[ΠΑΤ]ΚΣΕΟΥΤΕΝΟΥ, Π

[ΤΕΥ]ΠΟΛΟΣΠΧΑΛΚΗ

ΛΟΝΤΑΙΕΓΓΑΤΑΥΕ

[Φ]ΥΣΙΣΣΠΤΕ, ΕΞΟΤΗ ·

ΕΠΟΤΑΝΟΥΧΟΤΠΙΕΝ

ΧΟΒΙΣΙΝΕΧΣΙΠΠΙΣΑ

ΤΠΠΤΟΤΑΠΑΥΛΑΧΕ

ΕΡΟΣ · ΑΥΟΦΑΝΑΘΕ

[ΠΑ]ΤΚΣΙΝΕΖΟΒΗΠΠΗ

[ΖΒΠ]ΥΣΙΠΠΙΕΝΤΑΥΡΑ . . .

..... ΧΟΟΥ . . .

<sup>1</sup> The letters in square brackets with dots are letters found in Des Rivières' copies with dots under them, and not now visible on the papyrus. Des Rivières seems to have used dots indifferently for uncertain letters and letters added by conjecture.

<sup>2</sup> Verso, l. 1, [ΑΝΑΘΕΝΑΤ]ΚΣ.

<sup>3</sup> ΠΠ, MS.; ΠΠ, Des R.

<sup>4</sup> ΧΟΟΥ or ΤΟΟΥ, Des R. Only the tops of letters are visible. To me they look more like ΧΟΥ.



Copt. 3, XCVII:—

VERSO.

..... ΤΕ, ΕΤΖΑΤΗ[ΟΜΙΣΕΤΗ]  
 [ΠΑ]ΓΓΩΠΙΝΟΣΧΕ . . .  
 . . . ΑΤΑΑΣ, ΤΕ · ΤΑΙΟ . . . . .  
 . . . . . ΝΕΝΕΙΟΥΤΕ, ΕΤΕ . . . . .  
 . . . . . ΠΥΤΑΙΟ · ΠΕ[ΠΙΣΚΟ]  
 ΠΟΣΕΝΤΑΤΣΩΟΥΤ[ΣΣΗΠΠΟ]  
 ΛΙΣ, ΠΤΙΠΤΕ . . . . . ΒΕ . . . . .  
 ΠΙΝΟΣ · ΒΑΝΕΝΤΑ[ΣΩ]  
 ΟΤΣ, ΒΕΦΕΣΟΣ, ΤΑΧΡ[ΗΤ]  
 ΠΡΟΤΟ · ΠΑΙΕΝΤΑ[ΚΑ]  
 ΘΑΙΡΟΤΠΙΠΑΣΕΒΝΙΣ, ΝΕ  
 ΣΤΟΡΙΟΣ, ΠΙΝΕΝΤΑΤ . . .  
 ΠΕΕΤΕ, ΕΝΕΤΠΙΣΕΤΕ  
 ΕΡΟΟΥΤ · ΠΙΝΕΤΗ . . . . .  
 ΟΠ, ΤΕΠΟΥΤ :  
 ΕΤΒΕΝΑΚΑΤΑΘΕ ΠΤΑΦ  
 ΧΟΟΣΗΠ[Π]ΕΣΣΑΙ[ΠΑΠΟΣ]  
 ΤΟΜΚΟΗ . . . . .

..... ΠΕ, ΠΚΑΡΟ . . . . .  
 ΕΠΙΛΗΛΕ, ΑΤΣΤΠΟΠ  
 . . . ΚΑΤΑΘΕ, ΕΠΤΑΙΣΟΤΗ . . .  
 . . . . . ΑΤΣΥΤΡΤΡΠΛΟΓΙΟ . . . . .  
 . . . . . ΑΠΟΤΤΕΠΤΕΤΗ . . . . .  
 . . . . . ΑΒΕΙΑ · ΒΑΤΕΤΗΠ . . . . .  
 . . . . . ΕΧΕΜΕΧΕ, ΒΑΥΣΟ . . . . .  
 . . . . . ΠΠΑΛΑΤΗΣΩΒΠΒΡ  
 ΡΕΥΒΕΣΟΤΗ, ΕΠΗ  
 ΕΤΙΣ, ΠΟΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ · Ε  
 ΤΒΕΝΑΓΓΟΤΟΥ, ΕΤΡΕ  
 ΤΕΤΠΕΠΕΧΕΣΤΠΠΕ  
 ΠΠΥΜΠΕΤΟΤΑΛΒ, ΚΑΠ  
 . . . ΧΕΜΠΟΥΤΡΟΠΠ  
 ΡΕΥΡΠΠΟΒΕ · ΑΛΛΑΖΟΠΠ  
 ΛΟΓΙΑΠΠΠΕΤΙΣ, ΕΤ  
 . . . . . ΑΝΑΣΤΕΠΠΟΣ  
 . . . . . ΠΠΠΕΧΑ . . . . .

I add here a fragment in the same writing which seems to be connected with the same subject, though I can find no parallel passage in the Bohairic and Syriac texts. Both the original and

<sup>5</sup> Recto, l. 6, **ΣΩ**]**ΕΩ**, Des R. 7, **ΛΙΣ** or **ΛΙΣ** and **ΒΕ** or **ΒΟ**, Des R. 9, Des Rivières **ΤΑΑΡ** . . . , but **Α** might easily be confused with **Χ**. L. 16, **ΠΤΑΦ**] possibly **ΕΠΤΑΦ**. Des Rivières' copy is blurred.

<sup>6</sup> Verso, l. 4, ? **ΛΟΓΙΣΝΟΣ**.

Des Rivières' copy exist, but I unfortunately omitted to note the number :—

## VERSO.

PHE

PHS

ΕΝΕΡΜΑΝΑ · ΑΡΟΥΕΣ  
 ΕΑΖΗΕΣΤΡΕΤΥΜΑΝΑ'  
 ΤΗΡΟΥ, ΠΗΝΑΔ · ΠΤΕ  
 ΡΟΥΟΤΩΔΕ, ΕΤΥΜΑΝΑ  
 ΠΣΕΧΟΠΗΓΜΗΝΗ ·  
 ΤΗΡΟΥΤ[ΙΟΥ]ΤΣΟΠ · ΑΡ  
 [ΟΥΤΩΠ]ΠΡΟΦΠΟΠΗΠΟΕ'  
 [ΠΑΓ]ΟΣΕΠΗΝΑΔ, ΑΡ  
 ΠΤΕΦΣΗΠΗΠΕΤ  
 [ΠΤΟ]ΕΒΟΛΤΗΡΟΥ, ΕΦ  
 [ΧΟΠ]ΠΟΣΧΕΝΑ'ΕΙΟΤΕ  
 [ΕΤΟΥ]ΔΑΒ · ΠΟΥΟΥ  
 [ΠΠΠ]ΟΥΤΓΕΝΕ, ΕΤΡΕΠ  
 ΠΤΟΠΟΣΠΑΣΟΠ  
 ΠΟΥΑΤ  
 Ε]ΒΟΛΖΠΠ  
 ΟΠΠΠΠ  
 ΠΟΣ · ΧΕΠ[ΤΟΠΟΣ]  
 [ΠΛΕ]ΣΟΠΠΑΣΕΒΠΣ  
 ΑΓΕΡΠΠΡΟΖ  
 ΔΠΡΟΟΤΔΕΠΠ  
 Ε · ΠΠΔΑΔ, Π  
 ΔΟΠΠ[Α]  
 Π

ΕΠΗΟΥΤΕΠΠΟΠΟΥΕ  
 ΠΠΣΠΛΟΥΟΣΠΕΧΣΕΦ  
 ΠΟΥ, ΠΠΟΥΦΕΦΤΣΙΣ  
 ΕΠΤΕΠΠΠΕΑΤΠΠΤ  
 ΟΤΑΠΠΤΥΔΧΕΡΟΣ ·  
 ΑΛΛΑΠΠΟΥΟΒΕΡΥΠΠΕ  
 ΤΕΤΗΑΤΑΓΕΠ  
 ΔΧΙΣΧΕΑΠΛΟΕ[ΠΑΕΤΕΤΠ]  
 ΖΟΔΟΣΠΠΤΑΣΟ[ΟΥΤΣ]  
 ΖΠΠΔΑΚΠΠΛΟΠ  
 ΑΠΔΟΣΠΑΕΤΕΤ[ΠΖΟΔΟΣ]  
 ΠΑΠΟΣΤΑΠΠΣ  
 ΑΠΔΟΣΠΑΕΠΠΤΟ[ΠΟΣΠ]  
 [ΔΕ]ΣΟΠΠΑΣΕΒΠΣ  
 ΔΕΤΒΟ  
 ΠΑΕΠΕΤ  
 ΤΠΠΠΠΠΠ  
 [ΠΠΠΠ]ΤΑΠΠΠΠΠΠ[ΠΕ]  
 ΕΙΟΥΤΣΟΠΠΠ  
 ΣΙΣΠΠΠΠΠΠ  
 ΦΖΟΥ  
 ΠΠ

The following fragments in the same handwriting seem to belong here, though they are too small and indistinct to translate.

Copt. 2, 132<sup>b</sup> = Copt. 3, XCV :—

ΠΗΠΗΠΩ  
 ΠΙΣΤΙΣΑΘ, Π  
 ΤΟΥΤΩΒΤΟΥ  
 ΤΕΤΦΤΕΙΣ  
 ΕΣΟΘΟΣ  
 ΤΕΤΩ  
 ΤΑΓΑ

ΗΚΕΑΔΑΤ  
 ΠΙΣΤΙΑΘ  
 ΡΑΤΚΣΙΧ  
 ΟΤΟΒΙΥ  
 ΟΤΟΒΙΥ  
 ΠΠΙ  
 ΟΣΠ

and

ΕΣΠΟΖΗ  
 ΑΓΩΠΑΠΟΣ [ΤΟΛΟΣ]  
 ΠΠΟΤΤΕΘ  
 ΤΡ

ΠΠΟΦΑΤΩ  
 [ΑΠ]ΛΟΒΙΑΤΙΣ  
 ΠΕΥΘΠΕ  
 ΠΕΖΙΟΠΕ

Lastly, Copt. 3, XCII, which Crum infers to be the end :—

ΠΠΗ . . . .  
 ΡΟΠΖΗ . . . [ΘΕ]  
 ΟΠΙΣΤΟΣΠΔΙ [ΑΚΟ]  
 ΗΟΣ, ΕΠΤΑΘΕ . . .  
 . . . ΖΠΤΠΕΠΤ

. . . . . ΟΡΟΠΟΣ  
 . . . Τ. ΑΓΓΑΠΟΪ  
 . . ΕΠΠΟΤΠΠΑΣΕΒΗΣ  
 . . ΕΣΟΤΟΠΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΣ  
 . . ΕΠΠ'ΕΑΤΟ . . . . .

A small part of this fragment still exists in Copt. 2.

#### TRANSLATION.

XCVII.—“. . who were at (that city?). I count it . . . . .  
 The bishops who assembled in the city of . . . . . Those who  
 assembled at Ephesus were far firmer, they who destroyed the

unrighteous Nestorius and those that thought his thoughts or . . . again now. For this reason even as he said in the apostolic writing . . . . .”

*Verso*.—“. . . But since they remember(?) according as I heard . . . they trembled . . . . . stand fast. I (admitted?) no new change in the orthodox faith. For this reason I wish that ye know through your holy prayers, even if . . . I am a sinner, yet the confession of the faith, which . . . grasps it . . .”

P. ptic.—“. . . to the prayer. He commanded them all to pray with him. When they had finished praying and all said ‘Amen’ together, that great (saint opened?) his mouth and (lifted up) his voice in their (presence) saying: ‘Holy fathers, this is the will of God, that we . . . the book of Leon . . . . . the (book) of Leon the unrighteous . . . . .’”

*Verso*.—“God the only-begotten, the word, Christ, he divided him into two natures after the ineffable unity. But at all times we will teach . . . . . Say ‘Anathema on the Synod which assembled in Chalcedon, anathema on the apostate Synod, anathema on the book of Leon the unrighteous . . . . .’”

Nos. XCVI and XCII are translated by Crum: XCV is too small to be worth attempting a translation.

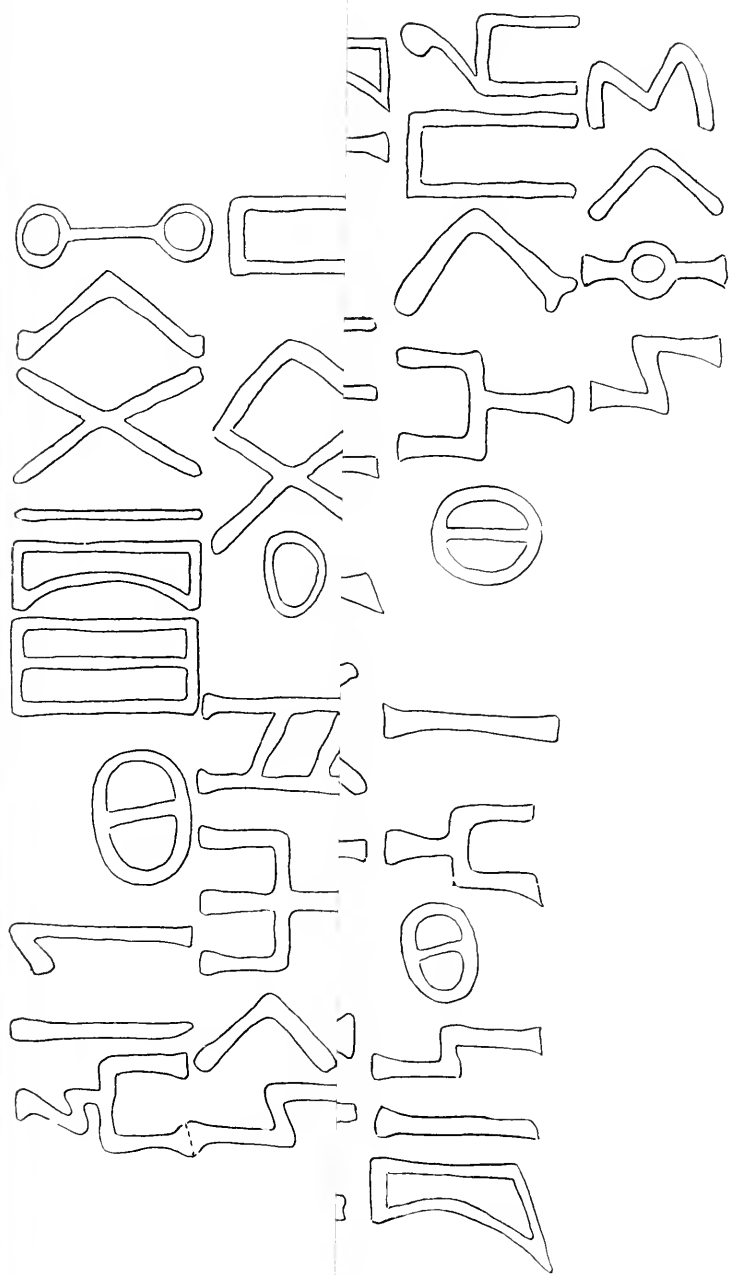


On comparing the Glaser transcription with Yule's facsimile they are seen to agree *quite completely*, even to the reading of  $\overline{\text{טבררו}}$  (for  $\overline{\text{בבררו}}$ ), as a comparison of the  $\text{ח}$  in  $\text{סחאחאס}$  with the  $\text{ח}$  in  $\text{ח(ח)ס}$  fully demonstrates. The English copy accordingly rejects no single point of the Glaser transcription. Therefore where the readings of Derenbourg and Halévy differ from the concordant readings of Glaser and Yule, they are simply not to be regarded. Derenbourg is certainly wrong in wishing to correct a stone inscription, and all his attempts to alter the reading have failed in consequence. As to the meaning of the inscription, in spite of the three commentaries, it still remains doubtful. The difficulty lies in the obscurity of the two words  $\overline{\text{מטול}}$  |  $\overline{\text{תרת}}$  of the first line, which Halévy treats as a proper name, Glaser, on the other hand, as appellatives; further, in the meaning of the word  $\overline{\text{בני}}$  (preceding  $\overline{\text{ריתהאר}}$ ), which Halévy takes to be a verb ("he built"), Glaser a substantive, "the sons." Also with reference to the word  $\overline{\text{ובנית}}$ , Halévy and Glaser are of a different opinion. The first considers it a verb ("and here built"), and the last named an appellative. I give Glaser's translation, and subjoin Halévy's in a note, so far as his reading can be relied upon.

1. The territory of the district of A-
2. biratta' of Ḥirrán
3. and of his people, the lords of the lowlands
4. of Ḥirrán, the followers of *Du-Ye'ar*,
5. the Rabibites, the Ḥayyaṭites (extends)
6. from this Inscription to the North point
7. and the branches and the defile (breach)
8. of its (of the district) borders S.W.N. el-ma-
9. šriḳ (towards the East)<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Glaser gives also a synonymous interpretation of the individual phrases, which I have left out. Halévy's translation reads:—

1. Zit Mṭwl A
2. brata' de Ḥarrán
3. ainsi que ses Bakil de Hwm et
4. Ḥarrán a construit (le fort nommé) *Du-yat'ar*
5. Arlabán Aḥyaṭan
6. depuis cette stèle au nord
7. . . . . a construit le *szw* oriental.



HIMYARITIC INSCRIPTION FROM JABAL JEHAUF.

‡ real size.





Line 1. Glaser has *guessed* the meaning of the first two words **מטול** | **תרת** and though they are not guessed without some ingenuity the solution cannot be relied on with any certainty. Further, he has put the etymologically correct and incorrect side by side.

The word **תרת** may very likely spring from **ותר** and certainly originates therefrom in GLASER 379, 3, **תרתהו** | **עד** | **מריניהו** | **בן** as, since in a similar place **מותרם** appears, MORDTMANN and MÜLLER, *Sab. Denkmäler*, 31, 4, **בן** | **מותרם** | **עד** | **תפרעהו** | **בן**, “from the foundation to the roof.” But **תרת** cannot possibly be connected with the Assyrian *šurru*, *šurratu* and the Aram. **שירותא**, because phonetic laws are opposed to it.

In the same way **מטול** must not be compared with Arab. **مدولة**. The meaning of “the extent of the district,” or such like expression, is consequently most uncertain; but considering the obscurity of the inscription I think this hypothesis preliminarily in the mean time permissible. But much more probable, because etymologically confirmed, is the rendering of **תרת** as “foundation”; what meaning **מטול** has in this connection (supposing it to be an appellative) I dare not even venture to conjecture.

Line 2. I read with Halévy, **Abṛata'**, not **Abīratta'** (Glaser). **Ḥīrrān** is *nom. loci*; “the village near the N.N.W. of the inscription is to-day still called **Di-Ḥīrrān**” (Glaser).

Line 3. **ובבלהו**, Halévy, “and his *bakil*”; Glaser, “and of his people” (tribe). According to Hamdāni **بكيل** means much the same as **جمع** or **جميع** multitude, people. He says in *Iklil*: **التبكل والتخشد المتجمع**. Glaser explains **דהומו** as lowlands (perhaps **هوما\***), which is very possible. Nevertheless Halévy's reading (which had also occurred to Glaser) **והרן** | **דהום** is on no account to be set aside. Perhaps both these words form a parallel to **טודם** | **ותהום** = **طود وتباعة**.

Lines 4 and 5. The **Beni Ya'ar**, the **Rabibites**, the **Ḥayīṭites** (Glaser) appear to me to be correct.

Line 6. "From this inscription to the North" (Glaser and Halévy) is fairly certain.

Lines 7-9. The words **וּבְנִית | וּפַג | סְבֵרְהוּ | סוֹן | מִשְׂרָקָן** are very difficult. I am inclined to think that they have no connection with the preceding **לְשֵׁאֵב**, but begin another sentence: "And the building (بِنْيَاةٍ) and the defile of his (of the **מִטְוֵל**) *Zibr, swm* of the east" (or according to Glaser, towards the east).

In order to have an idea of the purport of the inscription we must here repeat the short description of the locality given by Lieut. Yule in its important points:—

"From the Dthala plateau the mountain mass of Jabal Jehaf rises abruptly some 2,500 feet; one of the north-eastern spurs of this mountain terminates in three small peaks, which are easily identified by a white mosque half-way down the slope, which forms a conspicuous *landmark*. Cut on the side of a *cliff*, on the north side of the centre of one of these peaks, I found the Himyaritic inscription here shown . . . . There are traces of an old road to the top of this spur, with the *foundation stones* of one or two buildings, not sufficient to show what sort of dwellings they were. About four miles off is an old *zigzag* road up the *K'hureba* Pass, which is said to be Himyaritic."

From this description it follows that our inscription deals with the road cut through the mountain, and also makes reference to the building sites.

Very important is the word **סְבֵר**, upon which Glaser has brought forward what was necessary out of the dictionaries; but he is certainly not right in connecting it with the Hebrew word **דָּבָר**, "passage for cattle," etc. This comparison must be rejected for phonetic and essential reasons.

While Glaser in his most recent publication draws from Hamdâni both what is suitable and unsuitable, and plays fast and loose with Hamdâni's text, two places in the *Gazirat* and the *Iklil* have escaped him which appear of some importance to our rock inscription.

The quotation in *Iklil* (Burgen and Schlösser, I, S. 8 and 26 [320 and 378]), reads:—

The *founder* (وَالَّذِي أَسَّسَ) of Ghomdân is *Shem*, the son of Noah. He has begun the building and dug the well which still serves

as the drinking well of the Mosque of Ṣan'â. After Noah's death the inhabited portion of the *northern* districts (ارض الشمال) had become desert, and Shem went south, exploring the countries, until he came to the first zone, and there found Yemen particularly adaptable for human dwelling places. After a long time, while he was roving through Yemen, he found in the plains of Ṣan'â most excellent water. There he laid his building-measure (وهو النخيط) and afterwards built on the place of the foundations (بموضع الأساس) in the neighbourhood of the mountain pass of Ghomdan (بموضع فيج غمدان) west of the Ṣan'â plain, the angular column (الظبر) which is still known in Ṣan'â (or as Ṣan'â).

After the building was erected God sent a bird which seized the cord and flew off with it. Shem followed him to see where he would stop. The bird stopped on the hard ground of Na'im, on the slope of the mountain Nuqum. After Shem had followed him there, the bird flew farther, and dropped the cord on the stony ground (حرّة) of Ghomdân, where it remained lying. Shem knew that he was commanded to found a castle here, and he founded Ghomdân.<sup>2</sup>

قيل فيروز ذكر علماء صنعاء عن كابر فكابر أنه وضع سقراته وهو  
النخيط الذي يتدر به البناء على موضع الظبر بالطاء والظبر جبل  
قريب من صنعاء كما يقولون وهو حرف الجبل وحرف البناء . . . .  
فبنى الظبر فلما اجد في البناء اتى طائر النهم

The whole situation of Ṣan'â and Ghomdân forcibly recalls Lieut. Yule's description of the locality.

Looking at the passage and taking note of the overlined Arabic words, one finds in this account:—

1. The word "foundation" (أساس and أسس).
2. The word "north" (الشمال).
3. The word "pegging-out cord" (النخيط).

<sup>2</sup> The passage in *Gazrat* (p. 195) has the same rendering, but the word الظبر is explained somewhat more in detail :

4. The word "mountain pass" (فَيْح).

5. It speaks of الظَّبِير, which appears to denote a building. Hamdāni himself does not seem to have known the precise meaning of the word.

6. The "stony ground" (حَرَّة) is also mentioned.

As we know that the old Yemenite archæologists often got their knowledge from inscriptions which they in part misinterpreted,<sup>3</sup> I think it not at all impossible that the narrative in the *Iklil*, which is very ancient (عَنْ كَابِرِ فَكَايِرِ), was constructed from our inscription, but, from local patriotism, was made to refer to those two renowned places, Ṣan'â and Ghomdân.

*Foundation* (أَسَاس) can derive from our הָרַת, and خَيْط may be from our אַהֵינן. The equivalent of لِشَاہ is الشَّمَال, فَحْج and ظَبِير are taken from פַּח and צָבַר, and حَرَّة can be connected with הָרַן.

A mere accidental clashing of locality and of the same expressions used seems to me to be excluded. If a present day Himyarist can mis-read 𐩦𐩣𐩥 for 𐩦𐩣𐩥, one may venture to believe that an old Yemenite archæologist has, *bona* or *mala fide*, read 𐩦𐩣 for 𐩦𐩣 in order to bring the old inscription into connection with the Bible and the Koran, to prove a primitive foundation for Ṣan'â and Ghomdân.

The history of our little text shows us that knowledge is not confined to any one individual, and that "four heads are better than one."

<sup>3</sup> Compare my *Südarab. Studien*, pp. 15-34, and *Sab. Denkm.*, p. 66.

## THE 'THRONE OF NIMROD.'

BY PROF. F. C. BURKITT, *M.A.*

Some months ago I came into correspondence with Mr. J. G. Shammass, a Protestant Missionary in Urfa, the ancient Edessa. I asked him, if possible, to get me a photograph of the ancient inscription on one of the two great Columns in the Citadel, which are locally known as the Throne of Nimrod. This Mr. Shammass succeeded in doing. He sent me last March a fair photograph of the Inscription, which is here reproduced (Plate I), together with a photograph of the Mosaics in the recently discovered Tomb. As these ancient monuments were very little known in England, I had intended to publish them in the *P.S.B.A.*, but in the interval has appeared Dr. Rendel Harris's book on *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* (Cambridge, 1906), which contains a discussion of the Column Inscription and of the Mosaic, together with photographic reproductions of them. This publication has naturally altered the form of what I have to say. Dr. Harris's pictures seem to be derived from the same negatives as the photographs sent me by Mr. Shammass. His reproduction of the Mosaic (*Harris*, Plate IV) is very good, and it seemed unnecessary to give a representation of it here, especially as we agree in the decipherment of the funeral inscription except in the matter of the name of the maker of the Tomb. But the Column Inscription (*Harris*, Plate III) is not so well executed, and we differ more seriously in the decipherment. Dr. Harris's half-tone block has been touched by the engraver to bring out the lettering. This is a usual practice among block-producers; in view therefore of the importance of the Inscription, I give here (1) an entirely untouched reproduction of the sun-print sent me by Mr. Shammass, and (2) my own retouching of this reproduction, which shews what I think I see on the photograph. These difficulties are inevitable in photographs of incised inscriptions, for they are mainly visible by the shadows in the grooves; and if the shadow falls so as to make, say, the horizontal lines of

the letters fully defined, it will generally happen that the vertical lines shew very little shadow and become almost invisible.

The Column Inscription was first made known by Badger (*Nestorians*, i 323); a very much better attempt at decipherment was made by Sachau, and published by him in *Z.D.M.G.* xxxvi 153-157, but of course Dr. Harris's transcription (*Twins*, p. 111) supersedes the earlier publications.

The colossal pillar on which the Inscription is traced is built up of 27 pairs of semicircular stones and crowned with a Corinthian capital, the whole being about 50 feet high. On the seventh and eighth courses the inscription is cut, and below it, as may be seen from the reproduction, "a large piece of the column has, with considerable skill, been cut out, and the triumphant 'No God but God' has been written below the erasure . . . Where the stone has been cut away, there must have been something in the inscription or an objectionable carving which provoked the hostility of the Moslems" (*Harris*, p. 107). No doubt it was the 'Statue' mentioned in the Syriac inscription, which was probably a figure in high relief, like so many of the Palmyrene funeral monuments.

The Cufic Inscription runs, according to Sachau,

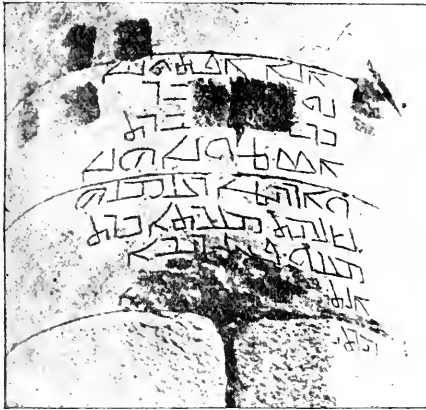
لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
 وَنَسَمَ سَمَرِ الْاَمَدَدِ  
 . . . سَدَه دَمَانِ وَ بَلَدَمَانِه

(The overlined letters are very uncertain.)

The last line implies that the defacement took place in the year 308 A.H., *i.e.*, 920 A.D., but though I can identify ثَمَانِ 'eight,' and مِائَةَ 'hundred,' together with the 'and' between the numbers, I confess that I do not see in the photograph the letters بَلَدِ, *i.e.*, بَلَدِ, which makes 300 instead of 100. Is it possible that the defacement took place in 108 A.H., *i.e.* 727 A.D.? Of course it is unlikely that Dr. Sachau was wrong, and it may be that it is mere accident that the letters are illegible in the photograph. At the same time, we may notice that 108 A.H. is a very likely date for the defacement of the monument to have taken place. M. Duval, in his excellent *History of Edessa* (p. 255), points out that until the

time of the Caliph Abd-el-Malik, who died in 705 A.D., the governors of the conquered provinces had been Christians. From this epoch the new era of direct and often fanatical Moslem rule has continued till the present day.

I read the Syriac inscription thus :—



ܠܘܬܗܘܬܐ ܠܐܢ  
ܐܘܠܘܢ ܐܠܘܢ  
ܕܘܠܘܢ [ܐܠܘܢ] ܐܠܘܢ  
ܠܘܬܗܘܬܐ ܠܐܢ  
ܐܠܘܢ ܐܠܘܢ ܐܠܘܢ  
ܕܘܠܘܢ ܐܠܘܢ ܐܠܘܢ  
ܠܘܬܗܘܬܐ ܠܐܢ  
ܐܠܘܢ ܐܠܘܢ ܐܠܘܢ  
ܐܠܘܢ ܐܠܘܢ ܐܠܘܢ

Collation with Dr. Harris's Transcription (*Twins*, p. 111).

- 1. ܠܘܬܗܘܬܐ] or, ܠܘܬܗܘܬܐ (*F.C.B.*); ܠܘܬܗܘܬܐ *Harris*.
- 2. . . . ܐܠ] ܐܠ *Harris*.
- 3. . . . . ܐܠܘܢ *Harris*.
- 5. ܐܠܘܢ *Harris*.
- 7. ܠܘܬܗܘܬܐ] ܠܘ+++ܐ *Harris*.
- 8. ܐܠܘܢ] ܐܠܘܢ *Harris*.

*Translation.*

I, Aphtôhâ  
 N . . . . ., son of  
 Barsh[emash,] have made  
 this column  
 5 and the statue that is on it  
 for Shalmath the Queen, daughter of  
 Ma'nu the Viceroy,  
 wife of . . . . .,  
 my Lady.

This inscription raises questions which may be grouped under the heads of Palæography, Grammar, and Interpretation.

*Palæography.*

The character is a type of Estrangela, sensibly earlier than that of our earliest MSS., though not quite so archaic as the inscription of Amassamsé at Deir Ja'kub, published by Sachau (*Z.D.M.G.* xxxvi 145), or the coins of Wâ'el, which must be dated 163-165 A.D. The style of the coins, however, may be simply archaic, and so may furnish no clue to the date of this inscription. All the letters are represented, except ז and ק, if my reading of line 1 be correct. As in almost all ancient Syriac writing ס (ס) is not joined to the following letter. This is the case in the inscription with ג (ג) and ש (ש) also, and what is more curious, this is also the case with ב (ב). It also appears that ת (ת), ה (ה), and ו (ו) do not allow of a ligature with the preceding as well as with the following letter, but to this the ה in the first line forms an exception. It is worth notice that the first כ in אכחכח (line 1) cuts through the division between the stones. On palæographical grounds we could not place the inscription later than the 3rd century A.D., and it is probably much earlier. The tall ד in line 6 is particularly ancient in style.

*Grammar.*

אדריתא is to be vocalised *adriatā*. This word is an adaptation of *ἀντίπύρνα*, which is found elsewhere in Syriac, e.g. 2 Chron. xiv 3. The phrase אשפנא דאדוניהא דפיליפוס 'the column of the statue of Philip,' actually occurs in Budge's *Alexander*, 60<sup>9</sup>. In this inscription the *n* has been assimilated before the *t*, just as אמשמש is read for אמת שמש in the inscription at Deir Ja'kub.

The word following אדריתא is דעלמנה, as is now acknowledged by Dr. Harris, though he differs as to the interpretation of these letters. I understand דעלמנה to mean, 'which is upon it,' i.e. the statue which occupied the niche on the face of the column. The compound preposition על ח is given by Nöldeke (*Gram.*, § 156, end), but it is said to be rarely met with. This is, of course, just the kind of point in which we might expect the language of the Inscription to differ from the literary practice of two centuries later. Dr. Harris connects דחלחח with חלחח 'a young man,' and suggests that the word is a dual, and that the *Alimē* are the Dioscuri. This surely is a counsel of despair. It





THE COLUMN INSCRIPTION AT EDESSA.

*(Reproduced by mechanical process only, without retouching, from a photograph.)*



does not account for the perfectly legible **𐤌** at the end, shewing that we are dealing with something that has the suffix of the third person singular, added to a noun or preposition in the singular. The word **𐤌𐤃𐤌𐤃** cannot be a dual or a plural. In fact, there is nothing in the terms of the Inscription to tell of whom the lost figure was a representation, except that an *ἀνέπαις* must evidently be a figure in human shape.

The word **𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤃**, read here for the first time, is, I venture to think, quite certain. The tail of the second letter is broken away, but the other letters are quite plain. This puzzling word also occurs in the Syriac *Theophania* ii 19, and in the Bardesanian *Hymn of the Soul*, line 48. In the Hymn it appears to be used interchangeably with **𐤏𐤍𐤏**, 'the second in command,' as the title of the heir apparent to the throne.

The derivation of **𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤃** is quite obscure, but its presence on the column clears up the difficulty felt by Sachau (p. 157) at the absence of **𐤌𐤃** 'king' after the name of Ma'nu, father of Queen Shalmath. Possibly a coin published by Langlois, *Numismatique de l'Arménie*, Plate V, no. 12)<sup>1</sup> may refer to this title. On one side of the coin is **ΑΒΓΑΡΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ**; on the other, **ΜΑΝΝΟΣ ΠΑΙΣ**. The bearded head does not seem appropriate to a *παῖς*, so that perhaps the letters may be an abbreviation or adaptation of Paṣgribâ, if that be the pronunciation. It is clear from the *Hymn* that the word has only three syllables.

#### *Interpretation.*

A few words must be said in conclusion about the general interpretation of this interesting monument. As I have said, the Inscription itself tells us nothing about the cult in which the monument was used, and I venture to think we shall be unable to get much further until we have a good plan of the ruins, as well as photographs of their general appearance. I give here (Plate II) a view of the columns, from a photograph by Father Raphael, of the Capucin Mission at Edessa, which shews the ruined walls of the Temple as well as the two pillars. We do not know for certain to

<sup>1</sup> Another example is given by Babelon, *Revue belge de numismatique* for 1892, pl. xii, no. 8. 'Le mot **ΠΑΙΣ** est tout à fait insolite en numismatique. says M. Babelon, p. 521.

whom this Temple is dedicated. Fascinating as Dr. Harris's theories are, and probable as is his account of the genesis of the Legend of Judas Thomas the Twin, which is contained in the so-called Acts of Thomas, I do not think he has made it probable that these Columns, or the Inscription here edited, have anything to do with the Dioscuri. It is extremely likely that the Heavenly Twins were revered at Edessa, but I very much doubt whether their worship was connected with this building.

The name of the writer of the Inscription, who also set up the Column and the Statue, presents a difficulty. It is evidently the same as that on the Mosaic edited by Dr. Harris, but it cannot be  $\text{ܟܘܪܫܟܐ}$  as Dr. Harris reads. The penultimate letter is not very distinct, but its form is very different to the angular  $\text{ܟ}$  of  $\text{ܟܘܪܫܟܐ}$  in line 4. Moreover, if it had been a  $\text{ܟ}$ , it would not have been joined to the final  $\text{ܟ}$ . I am certain it is either  $\text{ܘ}$  (*i.e.*,  $\text{ܘ}$ ), or  $\text{ܘܢ}$  (*i.e.*,  $\text{ܘܢ}$ ). These letters are much alike in many Syriac scripts, but I think the evidence of the Mosaic makes it practically certain that it is  $\text{ܘܢܟܘܪܫܟܐ}$ . For the name Aphtôhâ see S. A. Cook's *Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions*, p. 24, s.v.  $\text{ܘܢܟܘܪܫܟܐ}$ . Curiously enough the  $\text{ܘܢܟܘܪܫܟܐ}$  of the Nabataean Inscriptions (*Völdeke*, 9 ff.) was a sculptor or architect in stone ( $\text{ܘܢܟܘܪܫܟܐ}$ ), but I leave the possible Dioscuric inferences to be drawn by those who have greater faith than I have.

With this correction the inscription on the Mosaic reads (*Harris*, p. 109):

|  $\text{ܟܘܪܫܟܐ}$  |  $\text{ܘܢܟܘܪܫܟܐ}$  |  $\text{ܘܢܟܘܪܫܟܐ}$  |  $\text{ܘܢܟܘܪܫܟܐ}$  |  $\text{ܘܢܟܘܪܫܟܐ}$   
 |  $\text{ܘܢܟܘܪܫܟܐ}$  |  $\text{ܘܢܟܘܪܫܟܐ}$  |  $\text{ܘܢܟܘܪܫܟܐ}$  |  $\text{ܘܢܟܘܪܫܟܐ}$  |  $\text{ܘܢܟܘܪܫܟܐ}$

“I, Aphtôhâ, son of Garmu, have made me this House of Eternity for myself, and for my sons, and for my heirs, for the days of Eternity.”

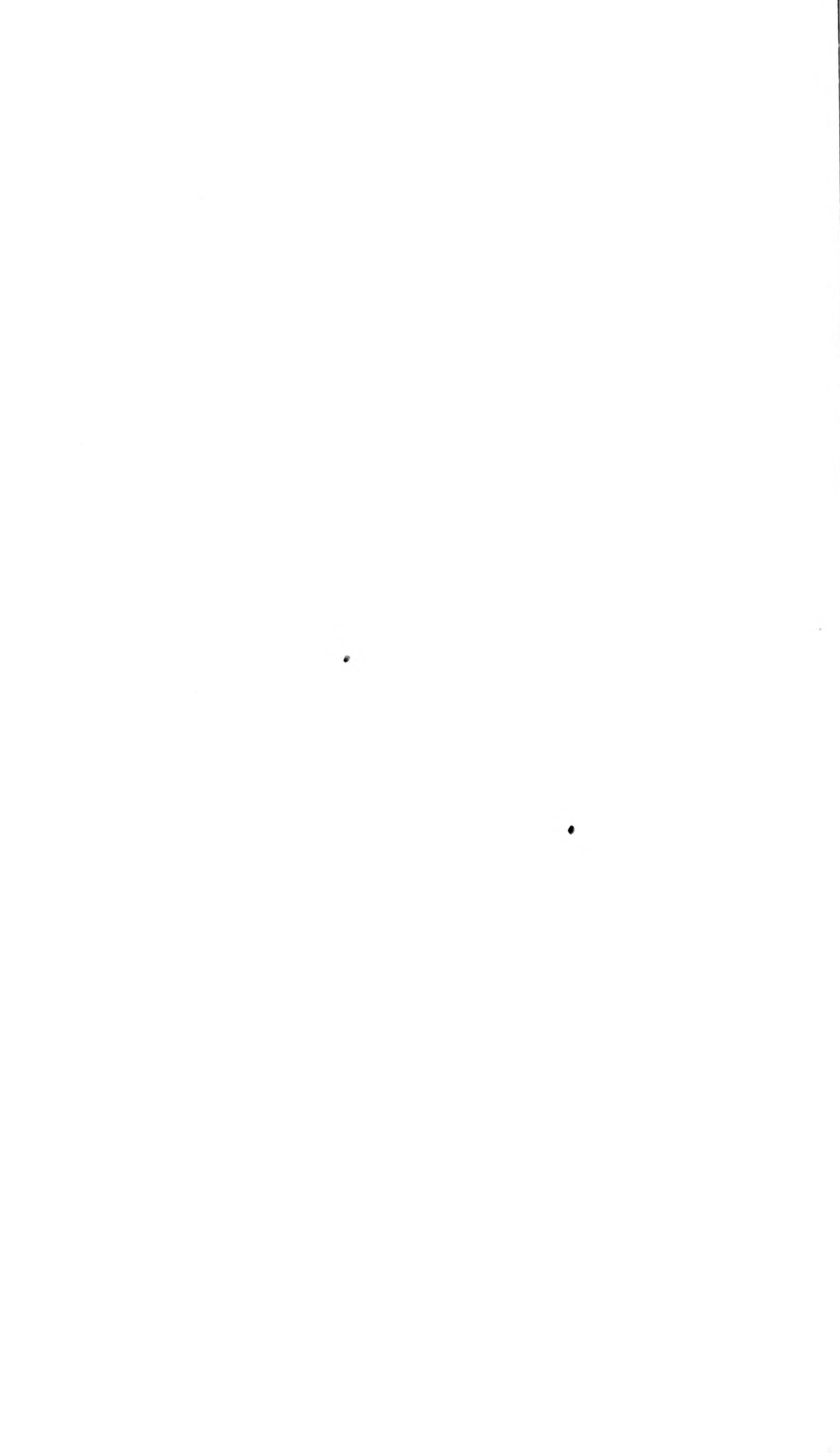
(In the fourth line Dr. Harris reads  $\text{ܘܢܟܘܪܫܟܐ}$  for  $\text{ܘܢܟܘܪܫܟܐ}$ , but the reading is certain.)

It is a pity that the ancestry of Aphtôhâ in the Column Inscription has been so much damaged, but it does not seem as if we could interpolate into it ‘son of Garmu.’ In the third line of the Column Inscription, after  $\text{ܘܢܟܘܪܫܟܐ}$ , there comes a horizontal line. Now the only letter which begins with a horizontal line in this script is  $\text{ܘܢ}$ , and that being so, considerations of space make it almost



GENERAL VIEW OF THE "THRONE OF NIMROD."

*(Showing the alignment of the Walls.)*



necessary to read the name **בר שמיט**. *Barshemash* was the name of one of the noble families of Edessa : we read, for example, in the *Doctrine of Addai* 40<sup>22</sup> of **בן שמיט כו כו צבא** *i.e.* Maryhab bar Barshemash, and the name occurs also on one of Sachau's inscriptions (*Z.D.M.G.* xxxvi 163).

Unfortunately we cannot identify Queen Shalmath, as the name was borne by several personages. The Queen of Abgar Ukkâmâ in the *Doctrine of Addai* is also named Shalmath, but she was a daughter of one Meherdath (*i.e.* Mithridates), and this is a daughter of Ma'nu. The Queen was doubtless the wife of the King, but the 8th line is too much cut away to enable us to tell whether, as is probable, it ran **אנתת [אבגר מלכ] א**, *i.e.* 'the wife of King Abgar.' What, however, the decipherment of the title **פגריבא** makes quite certain, is that the Column was raised under the auspices of the old native dynasty of the Abgars and Ma'nus of Edessa, though I must repeat that we do not yet know to what deity it was dedicated.

INSCRIBED SLAB WITH A PORTRAIT  
OF KHUENATEN.

BY THE REV. DR. COLIN CAMPBELL.

The annexed Plate is from a photograph of a slab, which I found last winter lying in one of the Courts of the Temple of Luxor, representing Khuenaten, the heretic king of the XVIIIth dynasty, receiving from the Sun's rays, which end in hands, *ankhs* and *User* sceptres, emblems of life and power. With it I found a number of small fragments inscribed with the king's name in cartouches.

Similar slabs have been often illustrated, but the chief interest of this example lies in its being found in Luxor Temple. It seems probable that all the fragments must have been removed there from some other building—perhaps from the tomb at Thebes, which was opened by the late Mr. Villiers Stuart.

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The next Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, June 13th, 1906, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

Prof. A. H. Sayce, *D.D.*: "The Chedorlaomer Tablets."





AN INSCRIBED SLAB NOW IN THE TEMPLE OF LUXOR.

From a photo by the Rev. Dr. Colin Campbell.



*PROCEEDINGS*  
OF  
THE SOCIETY  
OF  
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION, 1906.

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*Fifth Meeting, June 13th, 1906.*

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D.*,

IN THE CHAIR.

— 3/6 —

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

From the Author, M. J. Baillet.—“La réunion de la famille dans les enfers Égyptiens.”

From J. Pollard, Esq.—“Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre.” By the late Major-Gen. Sir C. Wilson, K.C.B.

## THE LIBRARY.

### BOOK-BINDING FUND.

The following donation has been received :—

June, 1906 :—

Rev. Dr. Colin Campbell ... .. £1 0 0

The Rev. F. A. Jones, 2, Argyle Road, Ilford,  
was elected a Member of the Society.

The following Paper was read :—

Prof. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D.*: “The Chedorlaomer Tablets.”

Thanks were returned for this communication.

THE MAGIC IVORIES  
OF THE MIDDLE EMPIRE.

BY F. LEGGE.

## III.

I am fortunately now in a position to complete, so far as can be done at the present time, the collection of these objects which was begun in the *Proceedings* of May and December last year. Although most of those about to be noticed were unknown to me in May last, some of them confirm in a striking manner the views that I then expressed as to the meaning of the figures and the use and date of the wands, and none I think will be found to conflict with them. I venture to think that this is in itself a proof that the views then expressed were correct, and that no other theory heretofore advanced concerning these objects has shown any claim to general acceptance.

*Description of the Plates.*<sup>1</sup>

## PLATE I. NO. 49.

This, as will be seen, is the photographic reproduction of the wand in the "Edwards" Collection at University College, London, a sketch of which by Miss Murray appeared as No. 47 in the December *Proceedings*. It is always as well in these cases to have as exact a representation of the object as possible under one's eyes, but the photograph here does little except to emphasize the accuracy of Miss Murray's sketch. Attention may be drawn, however, to the holes showing where the two halves of the wand were formerly joined, and also to the fact that here, as in many other cases, the middle of the wand was much worn and the figures inscribed thereon were almost effaced before the fracture. This is in itself significant, as will afterwards be shown, of the manner in which these wands

<sup>1</sup> As before, the Nos. follow on those attached to the figures in the two earlier papers.

were used. I may also say that the name of Nehi which we find on wand No. 7 (*P.S.B.A.*, May, 1905, p. 139 and Pl. V), as that of the son of the "lady of the house Pert" for whom the present wand was made, is a name frequently met with on the seals of officials of the XIIth–XIVth Dynasties, and that it appears on a scarab in the Fitzwilliam Collection as that of a "Superintendent of the Interior of the *Dep*," and on another in the Murch Collection as that of the "Great One of the Southern *Tens*."<sup>2</sup>

PLATE II. NO. 50.

This fragment I owe to the kindness of Prof. Wilhelm Spiegelberg, of Strasbourg, who tells me that he bought it at Luxor, in the year 1898, and that it was said by the vendor to have been found at Drah Abu'l Neggah, whence came, it will be remembered, wand No. 16 (*P.S.B.A.*, May, 1905, p. 143 and Pl. IX).<sup>3</sup> On the same authority, it is dark brown in colour, and the work is poorly executed. The fragment that remains is the blunt end of the wand, and contains the usual procession beginning in this case with the hippopotamus-goddess, upright, and armed with a knife. She is followed by the figure I have called the Chimæra, the human head between the wings being but faintly indicated by a sort of rectangle with a hole for the eye, which is, however, reproduced in the hieroglyph of the seated woman on the reverse. This is followed by the sun-disk, mounted on two human legs each of which bears a knife at the foot, and encircled by a uræus, whose head projects some way in front. Behind this, the forepart of a human-headed sphinx, crowned with the two plumes generally given to Amen-Rā, and also armed with a knife, is just visible.

On the reverse is the inscription:—



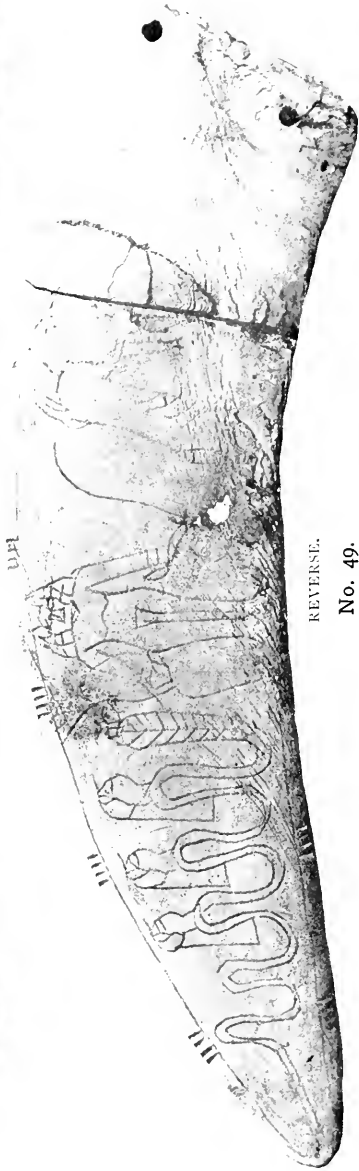
"Protection around the royal daughter Mentuhotep, life, health and power!"

<sup>2</sup> Newberry, *Scarabs* (London, 1906), pp. 133 and 143, and Plates XIII and XVII. Cf. also "the Royal Clothier Nehy," p. 130 and Pl. XII, and "the Scribe of the Army Nehy, born of the lady Kesen," p. 195 and Pl. XLIII.

<sup>3</sup> Both Luxor and Drah Abu'l Neggah are, like Gurneh, in the immediate neighbourhood of Thebes.



OVERSE.



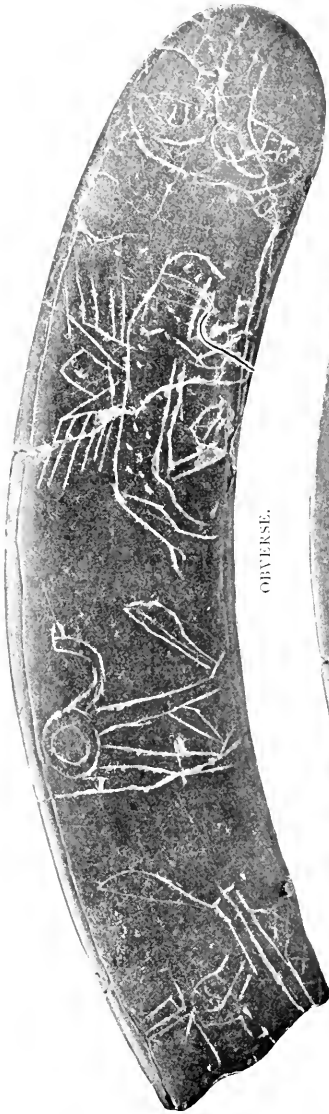
REVERSE.

No. 49.

Wand in the "Edwards" Collection, University College.  
*From Photographs.*







OBVERSE.



REVERSE.

**No. 50.**

Wand in Prof. W. Spiegelberg's collection.

(From *Drah Abu'l Nessagh.*)

*From Photographs.*



It is not very likely that this was the queen Mentuhotep whose coffin and other funeral equipage were found some years ago,<sup>4</sup> but the use of the same name for both the male and female members of the same family is curious, and can be paralleled by other instances on these wands. It also confines the date of the wand pretty closely to the time of the XIth–XIIth Dynasty.

PLATE III. No. 51.

This beautiful wand comes from the Public Museum at Liverpool, no record of its provenance being obtainable. It is engraved on one side only, and is nearly perfect, only a small piece near the tip being missing, and having been replaced by cement. The procession goes as usual from the lion's mask to the jackal's head, both here very clearly shown, and begins with the figure of a cat *passant*, having a knife in her forepaw. Behind her comes the hippopotamus-goddess, leaning upon the *sa* sign, and armed with a knife, and then the lion, which we have seen named *mahes*, or "lion fascinateur,"<sup>5</sup> similarly equipped. The middle of the wand is occupied by the snake-necked panther, also armed with a knife, with a cresset or light displayed above his back, and followed by the tortoise *shetu*.<sup>6</sup> The procession is closed by the chimæra, followed by another cat, this time rampant, and armed with the knife displayed by all the animals except the chimæra. The figures are carefully executed, and the wand in excellent preservation.

PLATE III. No. 52.

This fragment which, like the last, is engraved on one side only, comes from the collection of Prof. Spiegelberg, and has the same provenance as No. 50. Unlike the last-named, however, it is white in colour, and the style of the figures is too dissimilar for it to have

<sup>4</sup> *J.Z.*, XXX, 46; XXXI, 23.

<sup>5</sup> *P.S.B.A.*, December, 1905, p. 302. On the whole subject of the "lion fascinateur," Maspero, *Ét. de Myth.*, Vol. II, pp. 415 *sqq.*, may be consulted with advantage.

<sup>6</sup> See last note and *P.S.B.A.*, May, 1905, p. 149 and note 32, and references there given.

been executed by the same hands as its fellow. The small piece that remains shows the chimæra figure with the head between the half open wings so far raised above the body as to be entirely separated from it, which perhaps confirms the suggestion that this was a symbolical or conventional way of portraying a mounted man. After this comes the snake-necked panther, the neck being not merely elongated, but waved in the manner which appears more clearly in Nos. 3 and 9 in Part I of this paper. Following him is a very long snake extended, and then the tortoise, after which nothing can be distinguished.

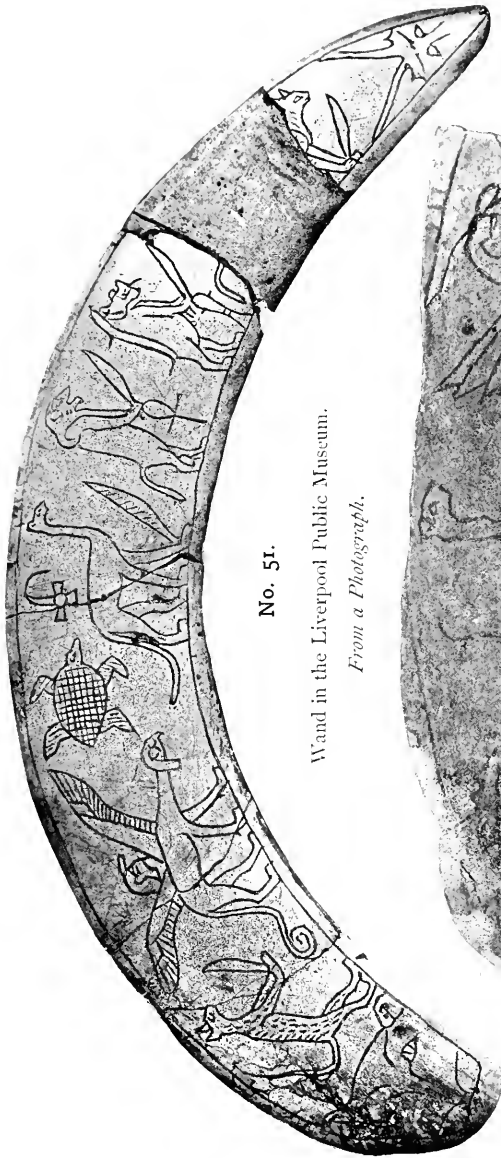
PLATE IV. No. 53.

This fragment comes from the Ashmolean Museum, and was acquired in 1900, the place where it was found being said to be Abydos.<sup>7</sup> It is engraved on one side only, and the figures are roughly cut. The most marked feature about it is a curious line below the figures, made up of a series of curves, or, perhaps, *neb* baskets, so as to present the form which heralds call "engrailed." The subject seems to be the usual procession of animals armed with knives, opening with a frog and closing with a lion; but I can make nothing of the intermediate objects.

PLATE IV. No. 54.

This, like the last, is now in the Ashmolean, though no record of its provenance is obtainable. It is in two parts, which have been joined in the middle, though it is by no means certain that they were originally continuous. On each side of the break is a figure of the hippopotamus-goddess, upright, and bearing a knife, the one on the right being followed by a seated lion, or perhaps a cynocephalus baboon, devouring a snake. The other figures have been too much defaced by the flaking of the ivory to be decipherable.

<sup>7</sup> This of course may mean very little, as it is the practice of the native dealers in antiquities to label their goods with the name of any find-spot for the moment in vogue. The year when this and the next wand were acquired corresponds with the time when M. Amelineau's discoveries at Abydos were beginning to attract attention, and the native shops were full of objects described, with or without justification, as coming from his excavations.



No. 51.

Wand in the Liverpool Public Museum.

*From a Photograph.*

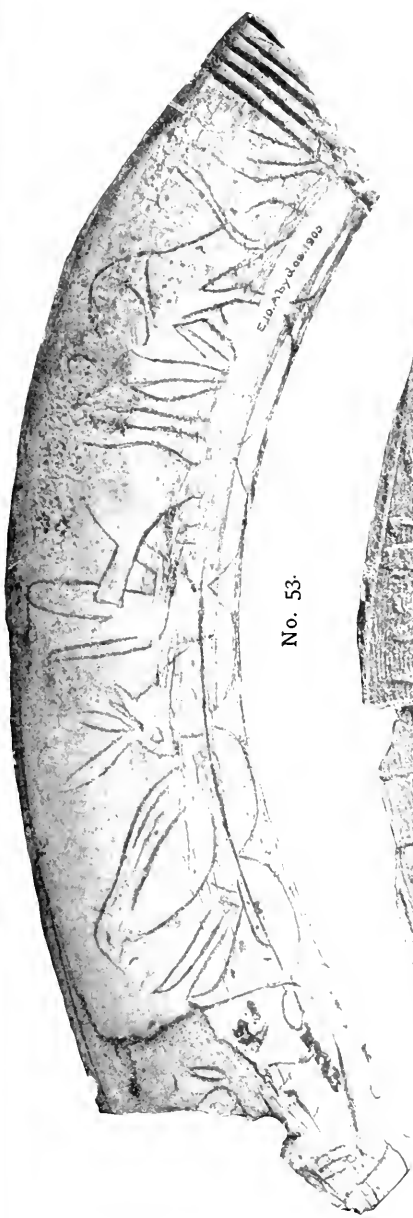


No. 52.

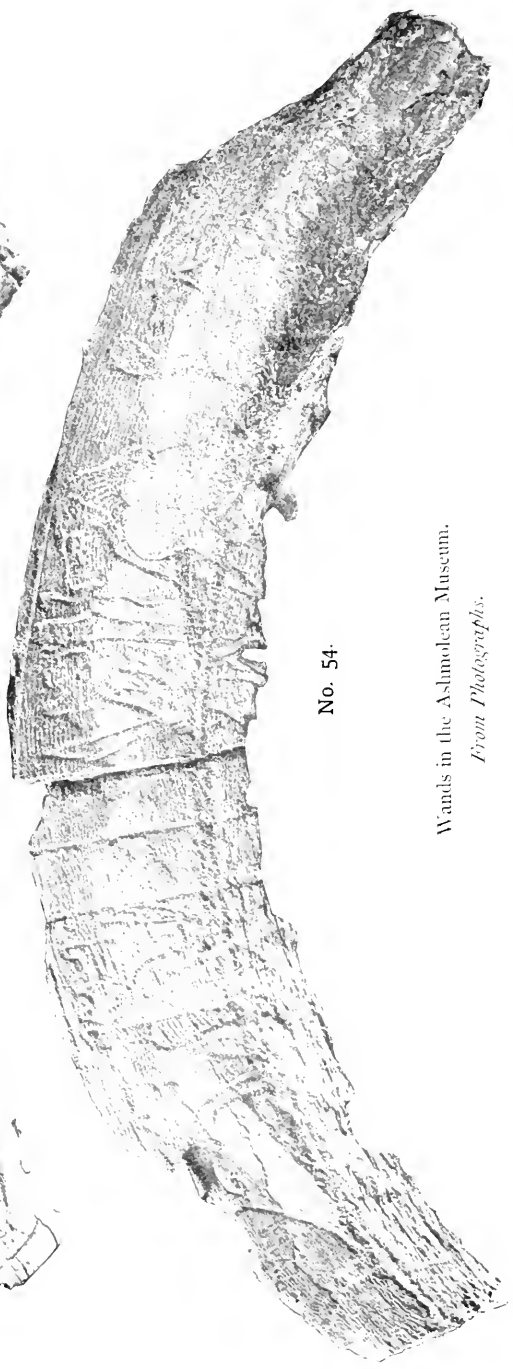
Wand in Prof. W. Spiegelberg's collection.

*From a Photograph.*





No. 53.



No. 54.

Wands in the Ashmolean Museum.  
*From Photographs.*





## PLATE V. No. 55.

This is also in the Ashmolean, was purchased at the same time as No. 54, and is also said to have come from Abydos. It bears no figures, but shows the pains taken to fashion the pointed end of the tusk into the form of a jackal's head, and thereby confirms the opinion expressed in Part I of this paper, that this had a symbolical or ritual meaning.

## PLATE V. No. 56.

Also in the Ashmolean, and said to come from Abydos, though purchased a year after Nos. 53, 54 and 55. It is a small piece broken off from the extreme tip of the tusk, which terminates with an incised representation of the jackal's head, immediately after which is seen what appears to be a human leg and foot, and may possibly be a partly obliterated representation of the walking sun-disk just about to disappear in the West. Facing this is a lion couchant, armed with a knife, after which the wand is broken away.

## PLATE V. No. 57.

A small fragment of unknown provenance, also in the Ashmolean, and included in this paper for the sake of completeness. It shows the Anubis-term, with knife at foot, and the hind-quarters of some feline animal with the interlaced snakes stretching over the two.

## PLATE V. No. 58.

I have kept this and the two which follow to the last, in the hope that I might be able to get photographs of them. Unfortunately all my efforts have been unavailing, and I cannot give any information as to their present whereabouts.<sup>8</sup> They were all discovered

<sup>8</sup> That this should be so shows the haphazard method still pursued with reference to the distribution of the objects obtained by modern exploration in Egypt. Mr. Quibell, when he found them, was working for the Egyptian Research Account, and I therefore applied to Prof. Petrie in the first instance. He told me that so far as his recollection went, they had been presented to some Museum in America; but although I have written to the curators of the Museums of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Baltimore, I have received no answer from any of them except in the case of Chicago, where Dr. Breasted informs me they certainly are not. Miss Murray, who was, I think, Secretary of the Research Account at the time, is also ignorant of their whereabouts.

by Mr. Quibell at Thebes in a wooden box containing some broken papyri in XIIIth century hieratic, in which, Mr. Newberry tells me, were contained magical receipts.<sup>9</sup> From this it may be judged that they formed part of the stock-in-trade of a professional magician, which confirms the conjecture that I have before put forward that Thebes was the hunting-ground of the workers in curious arts. No. 58 is a piece of the pointed end of the tusk which once terminated in the usual jackal's mask, the tips of the ears being alone left. Immediately after this comes a snake, curled as though about to spring, and facing a frog, who is followed by a seated cat. After this, we have a cresset and the Anubis-term, followed by the sun-disk walking, which in its turn is followed by the chimæra. The pose of the snake is peculiar, as is the spot in the centre of the sun-disk.

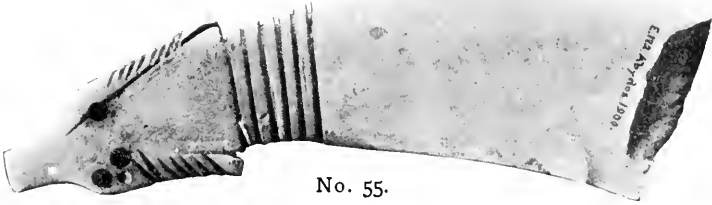
## PLATE VI. No. 59.

This is assumed by Mr. Quibell to be two fragments of the same wand, though if the reproduction in "*The Ramesseum*" is accurate, it would appear that the more pointed end of the blunter half was too small to fit accurately in with the other. Immediately behind the jackal's mask, at the tip of the tusk, is the head of a long-eared animal with a crest of hair, which may be the Set animal, or perhaps the cow of wand No. 1. Behind this, and back to back with it, is the cynocephalus, dancing. After the break, the outline of the knife-armed Anubis-term is just visible, and then the god Bes, in his usual full face attitude, holding a snake in each hand. Then comes the hippopotamus-goddess, upright, with knife in one hand, and resting the other on the *sa* sign, another figure of the god Bes as before, with perhaps a scourge in the left hand, and then the lion *makes* with knife and *sa* sign, in the act of devouring a snake. Lastly, at the blunt end of the tusk, turned about to face the lion, is the snake-necked panther, with a three-headed serpent extended over it.

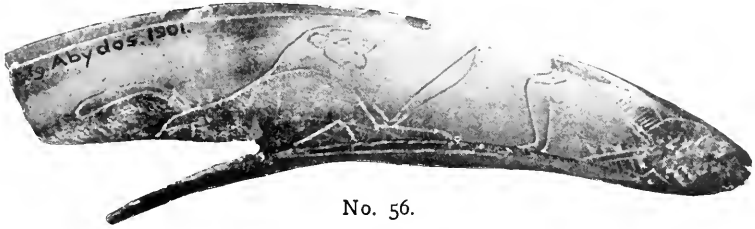
## PLATE VI. No. 60.

This, which is only slightly broken, shows at the tip of the tusk the jackal's mask. Then comes the turtle *Shetu*, and a bird of

<sup>9</sup> Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, London, 1898, p. 3.



No. 55.



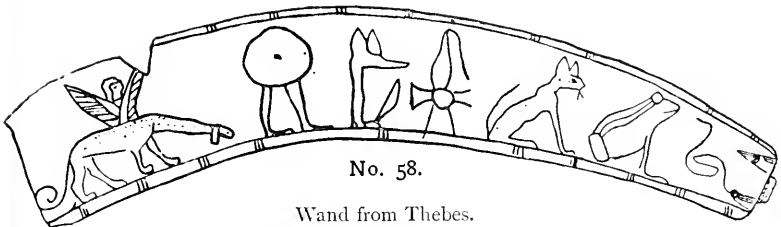
No. 56.

Wands in the Ashmolean Museum.  
*From Photographs.*



No. 57.

Wand in the Ashmolean Museum.  
*From a copy by Miss Murray.*



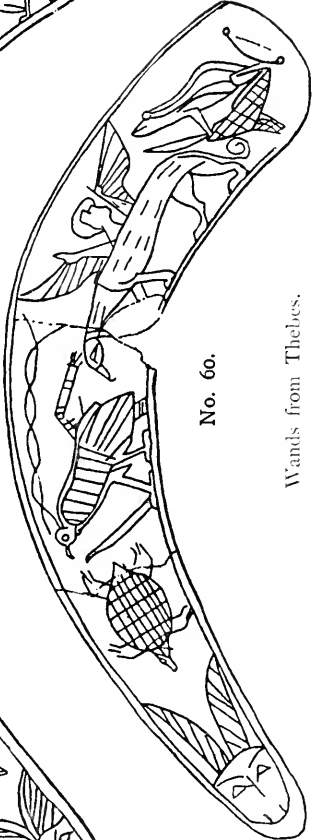
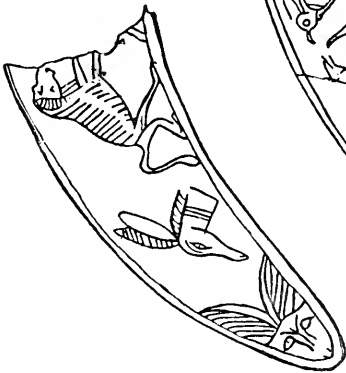
No. 58.

Wand from Thebes.  
From "The Ramesseum," by J. E. QUIBELL.





No. 59.



No. 60.

Wands from Thebes.

From *‘The Ramesseum,’* by J. E. QUIBELL.



curious form, which is probably intended for a vulture, bearing a scourge or flail as well as a knife. Then comes the chimæra, while the frog seated on the *neb* basket closes the procession. The two holes connected by a curved line at the end, are probably part of the lion's mask, either broken or rubbed away.

### *Date of the Wands.*

I now return to the question of date, which was only briefly touched upon in Part I of this paper. All those which bear the names of the persons for whom they were made can be dated with reasonable exactitude, as with one exception they are all names belonging to known personages of the Middle Empire. Thus, to take them in their order, the name of Seneb or Senb, found on No. 3, appears also on a scarab in the Cairo Museum<sup>10</sup> which seems to be the seal of an official describing himself as "the Instructor of the House of Life, Senb"; on another in the British Museum<sup>11</sup> made for "the *ser hayt* Senb"; on another in the Berlin Museum, belonging to "the Attendant Senb";<sup>12</sup> on another in the Cairo Museum,<sup>13</sup> belonging to "the Guardian of the Storehouse Senb"; and on yet another in the Murch Collection,<sup>14</sup> made for the "Royal Sealer, Superintendent of the Prison Senb." All these scarabs are described by Mr. Newberry as belonging to officials of the XIIth–XIVth Dynasties, and it is therefore plain that the name must belong to this period. So, the "Snaa-ab, daughter of Senb-se-ma" for whom the wand No. 4 was made, bears the same name as the Ramenkhou or Snaa-ab, whom Prof. Petrie<sup>15</sup> believes to be a king of the XIIIth Dynasty, or the "*ser hayt* Senaab," whose scarab is in the British Museum, and as the "Great One of the Southern Tens Senaa-ab" on a scarab in the MacGregor Collection;<sup>16</sup> while her mother's name seems to be the same as that of the "Superintendent of the Seal Senb-su-ma" of the same period, of whose scarabs a long list might be given.<sup>17</sup> *Néhi* again, the appellative of the owner of wand No. 7,

<sup>10</sup> Newberry, *op. cit.*, p. 135 and Pl. XIII.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 141 and Pl. XVI.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 197 and Pl. XLIII.

<sup>15</sup> Petrie, *History of Egypt*, Vol. I, p. 227.

<sup>16</sup> Newberry, *op. cit.*, p. 136 and Pl. XIV.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 126 and Pl. XI.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 142 and Pl. XVI.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 199 and Pl. XLIV.

as has been mentioned above (note 2, *sup.*) is a name borne by several officials of the same period, while his name and that of his mother Pert has been found by Miss Murray under the circumstances mentioned in Part I of this paper. The princess Ptah-neferu of wand No. 13 bears the same name, and may be the same person as Ptah-neferu, daughter of Amenemhat III, of the XIIth Dynasty, whose sarcophagus was found in her father's pyramid at Hawara.<sup>18</sup> The name of the Mer-senb-s of wand No. 46 I have not yet identified, but that of her mother Nub-n-ab is sufficiently like that of Queen Nub-em-hat, of the XIIIth Dynasty, to leave little doubt that it may be assigned to the same period. As the name of Mentuhotep has been already dealt with above, this leaves only the Seb-kai of wand No. 14 to account for. His name, as mentioned in Part I of this paper, cannot be found in any king-list; but the title "Fair God" which precedes it, is said not to have been introduced until the IXth Dynasty,<sup>19</sup> and the name is likely to be that of some usurper or local chief during the troublous times of the XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties. The likeness of style of the wands which can thus be dated to those without names is sufficiently close in most cases to admit of our confidently attributing the greater part of these last to the Middle Empire.<sup>20</sup>

### *The Meaning of the Figures.*

I will only add to my remarks under this head that the publication of the Book of the Am-Tuat and the Book of the Gates by Dr. Budge has, to my mind, cleared up the mystery attaching to two of the figures on these wands, namely the double sphinx of wands Nos. 3, 7, and 18, and the double bull of Nos. 1 and 7. There can be, I think, now no doubt that the double sphinx typifies the "Land of Seker," perhaps the oldest of all the Egyptian gods of the dead, over which the Sun-god was supposed to pass during the fourth hour of the night. In Dr. Budge's version of the Book of Am-

<sup>18</sup> Budge, *History of Egypt*, Vol. III, p. 62.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 167.

<sup>20</sup> The only ones about which it seems to me that there can be any real doubt are the two in relief in the British Museum (Nos. 2 and 27), which are certainly very different in style and perhaps in intention from the others.



Tuat, he explains how this veritable "land of darkness" was there represented as "an elongated ellipse formed wholly of sand," and he continues, "This mysterious oval is supposed to rest upon the bodies of two man-headed lion sphinxes, set tail to tail; of these, however, only the heads and fore quarters appear, one at each end of the oval."<sup>21</sup> Moreover, this land of Seker was one "wherein lived monster serpents of terrifying aspect, some having two and some three heads, and some having wings." So terrible indeed were these beings that the Sun-god in the Book never enters the land of darkness at all, but passes over instead of through it in a specially constructed boat; while of the scarab, figured on the wand, as in the Book, as immediately below it, it is said "Behold Kheperu who, immediately the boat of Rā is towed to the top of this circle, unites himself to the roads of the Tuat; when this god standeth on the head of the goddess he speaketh words to Seker every day."<sup>22</sup> No doubt the portrayal of the nightly triumph of the Sun-gods Rā and Kheper over Seker, the master of serpents, was thought to be very terrifying to all serpents who caught sight of it. Nor is the symbolism of the double bull less plain. In his version of the Book of the Gates, Dr. Budge tells us how, in the Third Division of the Underworld, or third hour of the night, the tow-rope of the Boat of the Sun "is fastened to the two ends of a very remarkable object, in the form of a long beam, each end of which terminates in a bull's head." He goes on to say that it is clear that the boat of Rā and the god himself were believed to pass through this object from one end to the other,<sup>23</sup> and in the accompanying vignette a bull is seen standing upon each end of the bull-headed object, which is alluded to as the "Boat of the Earth," while the text says, "Praised be the soul [*i.e.*, Rā] which the Double Bull hath swallowed."<sup>24</sup> As it is evident that both the Book of Am-Tuat and the Book of the Gates represent attempts to synthesize, and, so far as could be, to bring into harmony the different traditions of the Egyptians as to the Underworld, where the sun went during the night and where therefore man might expect to go after death, we can hardly refuse to believe that the double sphinx and the double bull here represent the "house of

<sup>21</sup> Budge, *The Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, Vol. I, p. 93.

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 89.

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 103.

<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 106.

Hades" as it was figured by two different but not necessarily conflicting traditions.<sup>25</sup>

### *The Use of the Wands.*

While the additions that I have been able to make in Parts II and III of this paper to the objects collected in Part I confirm the views as to them expressed in Part I, I see nothing in them that would lead me in any way to alter my original theory that they were intended as phylacteries or magical "protections" against the bites of snakes and perhaps other misfortunes. The word "phylactery" (*φυλακτήριον*) has of course precisely this meaning, but its Biblical association with the frontlets of the Jews seems to have misled some of my readers into supposing that it was necessarily something attached to or worn on the person. This is, of course, not the case, and in a mediæval exorcism I find the magician commanding the spirits "by virtue of these phylacteries which I hold in my hand." Now, in magic, spirits of all kinds have always been supposed to dread a pointed weapon, as is shown (to quote no other instance) in the proceedings of Ulysses in the XIth book of the *Odyssey*. And the serpent, from its silence, swiftness, and the mysterious character of the death which follows its bite, has always been considered by primitive folk as the favourite abode of spirits if not a spirit itself. Hence it is reasonable to suppose that the pointed end of the wand was supposed to be especially efficacious if directed against the serpents and other mysterious animals which it was intended to frighten. But to point it towards them, or towards the quarter in which they were supposed to be, it would be necessary to grasp the wand by the middle, and this I think may account for the signs of attrition that wands like No. 3 exhibit. That the wands were actually regarded by their makers as phylacteries or "protections" of some sort is, I think, sufficiently evident from the words of the inscriptions on wands Nos. 3, 4, 7, 9, 13, 15, 46, 47, and 50.

I have to express my thanks to the Keepers of the "Edwards"

<sup>25</sup> It follows from this that the conjecture expressed by me in Part I (*P.S.B.A.*, May, 1905, p. 132, note 7), as to the great carved slate of the British Museum and Louvre (*P.S.B.A.*, XXII, p. 131 and Pl. II), is well founded, and that the scene there depicted does represent the proto-dynastic invaders hunting the aborigines, under the form of animals, into the underworld, or perhaps into the caves and hollows of the earth.

collection; of the Ashmolean Museum; of the Liverpool Public Museum; and to Professor Dr. Wilhelm Spiegelberg; for their kindness in allowing me photographs of the objects in their collections, and to Dr. Wallis Budge and Mr. H. R. Hall for much kind help and assistance in reading the inscriptions and otherwise.

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As it is unlikely that any considerable number of these objects will be discovered in the future, I think I may refer, in conclusion, to the gallant attempt made by Miss Murray, in the January number of the *Proceedings*, to show that these wands are not phylacteries but horoscopes. As I remarked at the reading of her paper, she seems to have gone astray in the matter, not from any want of Egyptological knowledge, but from lack of practical acquaintance with the "splendid imposture" of astrology—an ignorance for which she is rather to be praised than blamed. Having gone into her arguments fully at the Meeting where they were read, I may perhaps be excused if I here present my refutation of them only in a very brief and summary form, the length to which this paper has already run being an additional reason for not dealing with them more fully. My reasons for rejecting her proposed interpretation of the wands are therefore as follows:—

- (1) Bes, Heqt, and Taurt are only found in the "birth-chapels" of the Pharaoh as the representative of the Sun-god, and their appearance there is evidently due to the part supposed to be played by them in the natural phenomena of sun-rise. There is no reason for supposing that they were thought to play a similar part at the birth of private individuals such as most of those for whom these wands were made.
- (2) The language of the inscriptions on the wands themselves—one of which speaks of cutting off "the head of the enemy"—is quite inconsistent with the view that they were intended for horoscopes; while it agrees perfectly with the theory that they were made for the protection of their owners against snake-bite and other misfortunes.

- (3) The Egyptians, as the Palermo Stone and other monuments show, even before the Middle Empire, had a perfectly consistent method of indicating dates by the year of the reigning king. Yet these wands contain nothing that can by any ingenuity be twisted into the record of a date, which is the most important point in the construction of a horoscope.
- (4) I have worked backwards by the usual process the horoscope which Miss Murray has given in Pl. II of her paper (*P.S.B.A.*, 1906, p. 42) as what she considers the astrological expression of wand No. 2. The only possible date at which the greater planets were in the position there ascribed to them seems to have been the 14th March, 2765 B.C., which is a good deal earlier than that which the most generous chronology now in vogue gives for the beginning of the Middle Empire. While the Sun and Moon were then in the positions she attributes to them, I find that Mars was then in the last degrees of Aries, and Mercury and Saturn in the 15th and 5th degrees of Aquarius. While therefore Mars was a whole sign or the twelfth part of the circle further forward than the place she would give to him, Saturn was a sign and a sixth in *front of* and Mercury three signs *behind* their respective positions in her figure. It appears from this last that none of the planets could have been visible at the hour in question, which must have been a little after 6 a.m., and their positions must therefore have been ascertained, if at all, by calculation from tables. Assuming—and it seems a very large assumption—that the Egyptians of the 3rd millennium B.C. were in possession of such tables, we must suppose Miss Murray's astrologer to have been so unskilful in their use as to assign to Saturn a place in the heavens that he was not to occupy for more than two years to come.

AN INSCRIPTION OF S-ANKH-KA-RA.  
KARIAN AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS.

BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D.*, &c.

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INSCRIPTION OF S-ANKH-KA-RA.

(Plate I.)

While excavating last February at El-Hammâm, on the western bank of the Nile at Gebel Silsila, I discovered a good many rock-inscriptions, including some Karian *graffiti*, which are published in the accompanying plate. I found most of these last on a boulder of sandstone on the south side of the entrance to the Shatt es-Seba' Rigâla, where they surrounded a deeply-incised inscription of a certain Ana or Ani, recording the name of S-ankh-ka-Ra Mentu-hetep of the XIth dynasty. As is well-known, the Shatt or valley is full of inscriptions of this dynasty, one of them accompanying representations of Neb-hapu-Ra Mentu-hetep and Antef, which were discovered by Harris and are figured in Petrie's *Season in Egypt* (1887), Plate XVI. *Graffiti* which I found on the plateau abc show that the valley was not a desert road, as has hitherto been supposed, but that the XIth dynasty officials and workmen came there in search of stone. As the hieroglyphic inscription is important, mentioning, as it does, "the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, S-ankh-ka-Ra, beloved of Horus, beloved of Sebek the lord of the Lake of Khar(u)," I give it here. It would seem that the lake was in the neighbourhood of Silsilis. The rude drawing of the donkey to the right of the inscription was made by the same hand as the hieroglyphic text.

## KARIAN AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS.

## I.

(Plate 1.)

This Karian inscription is incised immediately above the inscription of Ana. When I first copied it I thought that the downstroke to the left of the second word belonged to the first letter of the word, which might therefore be a new form of *m*. But a second visit made it clear that such a supposition was unnecessary, and that the stroke really belongs to the character below it in the second line. Consequently the inscription reads: L-ə-ä-a-ä Vu-u-v-s-ě-a-l-y g-v- . . th-y-gh. Since we have L-ə-r-ö-n in SAVCE, I, 7, it is possible that the third character is intended for *r*, not *ä*. Vuvsěaly would represent the Ὀυσσάλλος or Ὑσσάλλος of Greek Karian inscriptions. *Gh* was a suffix; we find it elsewhere, e.g., in *tugh* at Krya, *ävtugh* (*P.S.B.A.*, May, 1905, No. III) and *thagh* at Silsilis (*P.S.B.A.*, May, 1895). Here it seems to denote the third or first person of the verb.

## II.

(Plate 1.)

Me-s-n-a-w-y. The name of Mesnawö occurs in a large number of Karian *graffiti*. We find it under the forms Mesnabə, Mesnbö, Mesnaby, Mesnawwu, Mesnawy, Mesnäwwa(u), and Mesnawyü (genitive). Here a line is drawn after *mes*, indicating that the name is a compound. Cp. the name Messěve. The inscription is written to the right of the hieroglyphic text. Since *mesəra-čkěthon* seems to mean "they wrote," the word *mes* would signify "to write."

## III.

(Plate 1.)

L-ě-sh-w-wü-s(?)-ö d(?)-a-ö . . This inscription, which is also to the right of the hieroglyphic text, may have lost some letters between *ö* and *d(?)*. Instead of *d* the letter may be *ě*; it is too much obliterated for certainty. For *sh* see below, No. VIII (Pl. II). The sixth letter in the name is probably intended for *s*; it can hardly be *m*.







## IV.

(Plate I.)

V-ł-ss-b(?)-d-(?). A letter may be lost at the beginning of the name, and instead of *b* we may read *č*. If we could read the third letter as *gh* we might compare the Greek Karian name Ἀλκίσις. It is doubtful whether the following word . . l-z- . . -ě is a continuation of the *graffito*, or an independent inscription. Both words are to the right of the hieroglyphic text.

## V.

(Plate II.)

This reads *ě-me-vu-h* and is on a rock on the slope of the cliff about a quarter of a mile north of El-Hammâm, where I found a late Roman cemetery. No. VIII (Pl. II) is on the same rock, as well as a "prehistoric" giraffe, the outlines of which have been hammered out by a flint, and are worn the colour of the rock. Over the giraffe an XIth dynasty inscription has been cut, the characters of which still look fresh. There is also a Greek *graffito* .. Δ .. ΔΝΑ.

## VI.

(Plate II.)

This is a large and deeply-incised inscription facing the river, on a boulder a few yards to the north of that on which No. V (Pl. II) is cut. The letters are not those of the Karian alphabet, the *m* and *b* being formed differently, and were it not for the form of the *s* we might suppose it to be Lydian, since the *m* has the same shape as in the Lydian inscription found two miles to the south of it (*P.S.B.A.*, May, 1905, Plate I, 1). The last letter but one must be a vowel, not *th* as in Karian. The name is enclosed in a sort of cartouche, so that the *m* which introduces it must represent "I (am)." The name reads P-n-o-b-l-ö (?) -s with which I would compare the Παράβλημος of the Budrum inscription.

## VII.

(Plate II.)

This is on a broken tombstone from Memphis obtained in 1905 by Mr. Seymour de Ricci, who has kindly allowed me to take a

copy of it. The stone has the form of a doorway, the inscription running round the three sides of it. It reads: . . . r(?)-ä-l-a-dh(?)-ë-[ü] d-ë-u-l-[a]-dh(?)-ë-ü a-o-v . . . The nouns ending in *ü* are genitives. Cp. Ä-a-u-l-a-dh(?)-ë, SAVCE, IV, 26.

## VIII.

(Plate II.)

This is on another stela, doubtless from Memphis, bought at Giza in 1905 by M. Capart, who has been so good as to let me copy it. It reads: M-ë-y-v-ö-w-u-ö R-a-v-ss-y-sh-a-ä-w-wu-s Gh-o-v-ë-ü. As there is a space between *mëy* and *Iṽwüö*, *mëy* must be a separate word probably meaning "I (am)" like *m* in No. VI (Pl. II). The last two words are "Ravssysshaäwwus the son of Ghove" (or Ghova, since the genitive of Megula is Meguleü).<sup>1</sup> Ravssysshaäwwus, which is a compound of *ra* "son" (which appears as *Ap-* in Greek transcriptions of Karian names), shows that the two sibilants which I have identified in my alphabetic table (No. 24) are really distinct. The name may be compared with that of R-a-vu-ü-ss-d-ë-a-v-ë-ü or R-a-vu-(ü)-ss-d-ä (SAVCE, IV, 24, 25) and the Greek Ἀρῦσσ-ις. -*Hūs* may be the same termination as -*εωζ* in Löwoz, Ervüoz, Uwoz (Ovuz-he); cp. Lavus at Krya.

## IX.

(Plate II.)

This is on the same rock as No. V. Both the alphabet and the language are unknown to me. The inscription may belong to the Late Roman period.

## X.

(Plate II.)

I have found these two Aramaic characters cut in three places on the rocks of a sandstone quarry at Assuan, due east of the

<sup>1</sup> We have Ü-y-gh-o-v-gh-o-v-ë in the Krya inscription (*P.S.B.A.*, May, 1905): cp. Ughüve, Ughove, Ueghuä, Eghuä, Vāghuü, Uaghäv, Vaghäv, and the Greek Ὀγῶα. At Krya I think we ought to divide *s-l-εu-gh-o* (like *s/-modo*, "to Apis," SAVCE, II, 3) *Ü-y-gh-o-v-gh-o-v-ë l-a-vu-s*, comparing Ὀγῶγος, Lycian *aghughä*, and the Phrygian *akevapo-λαφος*. Since *äuvugh* signifies "he has consecrated" and *-ugh* in *Nēpugh* (*P.S.B.A.*, May, 1905, No. II) seems to be the suffix of a title, it is possible that the whole inscription should be translated: "Thogovus the priest (*vā-avugh*), the son of Uroculva, of (or to) the god Ogygos the minister." *S/-modo* may be "bull-god."





famous "obelisk." They were intended to mark the ownership or destination of the stones of the quarry, and the Assuan papyri which I have been editing show that the word represented by them is בית "house." One of the persons who figures in the papyri is Phia the "architect," and the quarry may have been selected by him.

## XI.

(Plate II.)

These two inscriptions were on an early seal-cylinder found in Cyprus, of which Dr. Pierides took a sealing-wax impression which he gave to me, some thirty-five years afterwards, in December, 1880. The inscription to the right is Hittite, that to the left is in an unknown form of hieroglyphic writing which, however, somewhat resembles that of Kreta. The "cartouche" with which it begins is met with on a seal-cylinder discovered by Dr. Schliemann at Troy.

## NOTE.

Several of the vocalic values assigned to the Karian letters in the foregoing transcriptions differ from those given to them in my Alphabet of 1887. The latter were avowedly makeshifts, and with the increase of materials I have been able to approximate more closely to the actual values by the help partly of a comparison of variant forms of the same name, partly of identifications with Karian names in Greek inscriptions. Thus I-ü-l-ö-vu-h-ss-o-i (SAYCE, VI, 1) is the genitive of the Budrum Ἰαλίξῆς, Ü-z-ö-gh-o-ě (VI, 2) is Ὀσογᾶ(*a*), Y-a-ss-ä-ə-v-ě-ü (IV, 26) is Ἰασσίου, R-a-vu(also y)-ü-sh-(d-ě-a-v-ü) is Ἀρῆασσ(ις), M-a-v-a-ö-e-n (II, 3) is Μόμμυος, M-a-g-s-a-ü is Μόξου, Lycian Makhzza, Mi-z-a-ä is Μέσος, Lycian Mizu, Ü-y-gh-o-v-gh-o-v-ě is Ὠγυγος, Lycian Àkhukha, L-ə-r(ö n) is Λέρ(ιος), L-ö-l-ě-gh-ä is the singular of Λέλγες. In variant forms of the same word *a* interchanges with *ä*, *ě*, and  $\Theta$  ( $\hat{a}$ ), *b* with *w*, *y* with *ü*, *vu* and (in suffixes) *ə* and corresponds with Greek *v*, *i* interchanges with *ě*, *ü* with *u*, *o* and Greek *a*, *u* with *vě*, *ě*, *ua*, *va* and *vä*, *ö* with *eü* and *ü* corresponding with Greek *e* and *o*, *ə* with *ü*, *wü*, and *y* and corresponds with Greek *e*. In *ra* "son" for *rav* final *v* is lost.

The nominative of the noun terminates sometimes in a consonant, *n*, *dh*, *h*, *z*, *s*, more frequently in a vowel *a*, *ä*, *ě*, *i*, *o*, *ö*, *ü*, *y*. The genitive singular ends in *ü*, as in Megulëü from nom. Megula, where *a*

becomes *č* before *š*, Thuvlöü from Thovl, or Müüü the nominative of which is found in the Greek *Mús*.<sup>2</sup> By the side of Ęghuüü and Vāghuü, however, we find the abbreviated Ęghuā, and ra Ss-gh-ö, "son of Sghö," replaces Ss-gh-ö-č-ä-ü. In some stems *-ü* follows a consonant without the intervening *č* and *ä*; thus we have Äövyöshü, Madsü, Ra-ygëthü, Üro-reulvü, Uvovü, Migäovü, Vëhü (cp. Vëäü). A dative sing. ended in *-o* and *-ö*. The adjective followed the noun. Besides the suffix *-hč* described in my Paper on the *Karian Language and Inscriptions* (1887), we find a suffix *-(ö)n* as in Lär-ön "Lerian," and also a suffix *-gh*. Thus by the side of avnogh-hč "the dragoman" (II, 3) stands avänogh (*P.S.B.A.*, May, 1905). The proper name Ävnosč, Ävnos (IV, 16, 17, 18) seems to belong to the same root. Nëpugh is parallel with Lölëghä in *P.S.B.A.*, May, 1905 (No. II), and perhaps also in САУСЕ, I, 7 (Näthup-ön), and Lölëghä, "Lelegian," may itself be an example of the same suffix. Another suffix is *-usos, usa*, in Ss-ö-gh-s-n-s-o-s (I, 1), Lëreüdünsa (IV, 32), and the Budrum Σρά-ρασος, where the name of the locality may reappear in the names S-r-a-ö-ü-h-č (I, 5) and Sëreagänč (*P.S.B.A.*, May, 1905). We find the suffix *-su* in *dhčgysn*—, "destroying"—, in an interesting 'bilingual' inscription on a bronze rat now in the Cairo Museum. It was first published by M. Daressy, in the *Recueil de Travaux*, &c., XVII, p. 120, where, however, some of the Karian letters are incorrectly copied, and later by myself in *P.S.B.A.*, May, 1905, No. III. The hieroglyphic text reads: "(To) Atum the great god, giver of life (and) health, Sh-r-k-b-i-m-DET. (of water)," i.e., Sa-räkib-yäma "the sea-rover." The Karian text is:—

R-a-v-y-l-č-ö-n dh-č-g-y-s-n-re-a-gh-ö ö-gh + n-o + re-ö-gh<sup>3</sup> ä-u-vu-gh, which must signify "Ravyleon (cp. Pantaleon Hdt., I, 92) to the Rat-destroyer this rat has consecrated." Atum is here identified with Apollo Smintheus.

The suffix *-hč* is attached to the genitive ending in a 'bilingual' found by Daninos Pasha at Abukir and published by him in the *Recueil de Travaux*, XII, p. 214. The name in the hieroglyphics is Petenit Si-Karr, i.e., Petenit, son of a Karian; the Karian inscription reads: Me-g-gh-ö-sh Ä-th-ö-v-č-ü-h-č. Megghösh is the Maghösh and

<sup>2</sup> Unless, as seems more probable from the fact that it is preceded by a genitive, Ravmaü (IV, 35), *müüü* is merely a variant spelling of *maüü* "memorial."

<sup>3</sup> By + I denote a minor mark of division of words in the original.

Māghāsh of SAYCE, IV, 2, 3. I have given the Karian text in *P.S.B.A.*, May, 1905, No. IV. Magas may have been an Atiad.<sup>4</sup>

*Agh* and *no* are demonstratives (*P.S.B.A.*, Nov., 1894, No. I and May, 1905, and SAYCE, I, 7). They are combined in *agh-no* above. *Mēy* is probably "I" (above No. VIII).

"I am" is possibly *smi* (*P.S.B.A.*, Nov., 1894, No. I). The third (or first?) pers. S. of the verb seems to have terminated in *-gh*; e.g., *thy-gh* (above No. I), *äurugh*, "has consecrated," and *y-ö-sh-v-ö-s(or m)-ě th-a-gh y-o-d-ä y-o-ss-v-gh* (*P.S.B.A.*, May, 1895, and May, 1905). But we have another third person in *wugozēth* (SAYCE, III) and *wugozeth sava* (II, 4), which perhaps signifies "owns the tomb." In the plural we have *mesora-ěkēthon*, "they have written" (?) (I, 7). *Yodä* may be the same word as *vedü* in II, 4, where the meaning may be: *uě gha vedü* "whose epitaph (is) here." *Sava* is the *σοῶα* "tomb" of Stephanus Byz., and the compound *savn-vozheä* (or *savvu-vozheä*) in II, 2, can scarcely signify anything else than "family tomb." In this case it is probable that *ovuzhě* in II, 1, is merely a different spelling of *vozhe* and has the sense of "family."

<sup>4</sup> For a Karian *Méγas* see Ramsay: *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* I, pp. 181-2, and cp. *Il.*, XVI, 695.

THE BURGH PAPYRUS.

Transcribed, Translated, and Annotated

By PROF. DR. E. REVILLOUT.

This Hieratic Papyrus, already quoted by me, both in my *Revue égyptologique* and in my *Précis de droit égyptien*, and the copy of which was obtained for me by my regretted friend Prof. Aug. Eisenlohr, has never yet been published. The first part of it is of special interest as showing us an “*Actio sacramenti*” in criminal cases, analogous to that which was in use in Roman Civil Law (a solemn oath accompanied by the deposit of a sum of money, which was forfeited if the cause was lost). The rôle of the accuser, who is not an accomplice, is shown more clearly than in the other analogous law-suits which have come down to us.

Lastly, there is the question of a word which frequently occurs, and which seems to me to be evidently Greek—the word *χαλκίον*, and that in the XXIst dynasty. Does it refer to the money called “Calque”<sup>1</sup> at a later period? or to certain vases having the same name? What is certain is that the robbers took *outens* of silver, and that they deposited with a man, who was not one of the accused, *outens* of silver coins which the treasure also contained.



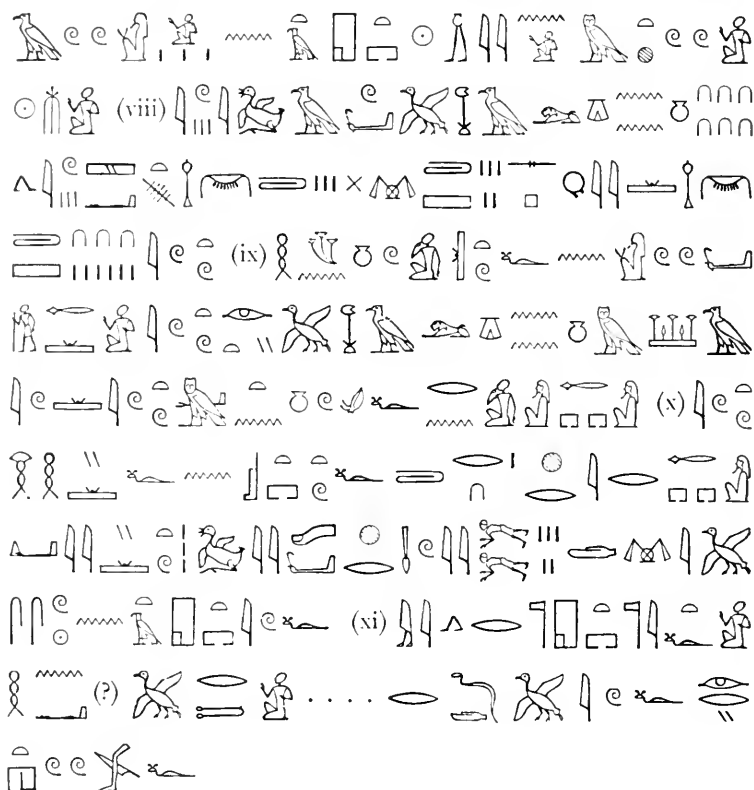
<sup>1</sup> The 3<sup>rd</sup> part of the classic “Drachma.” It is true that at Byzance, etc., much more important “Calques” were minted.












“Year 2, 4th month of *šmu*, day 23rd. On this day was made the examination of the gold and silver stolen from the sanctuary of Ra-user-ma-meri-Amen, money concerning which the divine Father Amen-mes, of the district of this sanctuary, has made a Report to the Pharaoh. The affair was placed in the hands of the prefect of the town *Dja* Ra-neb-nex̄tu, of the steward of the treasure of the Pharaoh, steward of the granaries the Royal officer Ra-men-ma-nex̄tu, and of the steward of the palace the Royal Officer Inua, to make their examination in the Royal dwelling of the “millions of years” of this sanctuary. They made their Report of 86 silver χαλκία being ascertained † to

† , “to draw,” “to bring into the light.”

be missing,<sup>5</sup> which have been stolen, and with regard to which the divine Father of the Fraternity<sup>6</sup> of the sanctuary made his Report (or his claim) to the Pharaoh. He (the *Dja*) said: 'The man who caused them to be stolen has not been seen.' He (the divine Father) said: 'It is the steward of the Treasury, Suteχmes, who had the place of steward of the lands, who has taken them. He has stolen 26 χαλκια, the steward of the Royal palace of the sanctuary. He cut off (took away) in silver 1 *outen*  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{4}$ . He stole them with the divine Father Ima, the priests and chief guardians of the sanctuary, Roanina, Emtexuu, Rames. They took (his accomplices) 60 χαλκια. They cut off (took away) 3 *outen*  $\frac{1}{4}$  of silver. Total 5 *outen*. There remains in silver 36 *outen*. They entrusted that to the guardian Uraa. They got the χαλκια as profit.

"He (the divine Father) was made to entreat (invoke) the name of the king. He was made to deposit the tenth part of an *outen* (one *kati*) in his dwelling. Then the Pharaoh made them apprehend the five criminals together, forthwith, in the sanctuary. He went to the sanctuary, the divine Father (the accuser) with the man (the accused) to say what had been stolen."

The accuser referred to was roused by this first result; for the rest of the papyrus, which I will give soon, relates that later on he made other analogous revelations.



<sup>6</sup> The word "fraternity" is interesting. We find it again in the treaty between Rameses II and the Khetas, concluded with the object of establishing the peace (*hotep*) and brotherhood between the two empires. In the Babylonian contracts relating to a commercial society, the word corresponding to *akhutu* has the same meaning. That reminds one of a sort of corporation or syndicate of the servants of the sanctuary. But this would perhaps be a very rash conclusion. In the Ethiopian epoch the word "my brother" is addressed by the priest in the marriage ceremony. (See my *Corpus papyrorum Aegypti*.)

## A HEBREW AMULET AGAINST DISEASE.

BY W. L. NASH, *F.S.A.*

The words of this amulet or charm (see Plate), which belongs to Dr. Gaster, are written in the form of two interlaced triangles, the ("shield of David,") enclosed within a circle, with six other incomplete circles abutting on the sides of the triangles. The inscription takes so devious a path as it forms the various parts of the figure, that it is difficult to follow; I have therefore given a sort of key-plan to assist the reader.

The amulet is written on vellum, and intended to be carried on the person. Dr. Gaster tells me that it is of the end of the 18th century, but is clearly a copy of a much older one. It was evidently written in the East by a Sephardic Rabbi or Kabbalist.

In the following translation of the text of the amulet the numbers in the margin refer to the corresponding numbers in the key-plan.

- |      |   |   |
|------|---|---|
| (1)  | { | May it please Thee, IHVH, my God and the God of my fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, the great God, the mighty and fearful one, the God |
| (2)  |   | Elyon, father of  |
| (3)  |   | mercies,  |
| (4)  |   | dwelling  |
| (5)  |   | between the Cherubim,   |
| (6)  |   | tabernacling  |
| (7)  |   | between the Living Creatures <sup>1</sup>   |
| (8)  |   | and the Cherubim,   |
| (9)  |   | ruling over   |
| (10) |   | those above   |
| (11) |   | and having power  |
| (12) |   | over those below,   |
| (13) |   | that Thou shouldest command   |

<sup>1</sup> See Ezek. i, 5.

- (14) Thy angels  
 (15) the holy ones,  
 (16) and the pure,  
 (17) who are set over  
 (18) the affairs of  
 (19) the sons of men,  
 (20) { that they shall keep and deliver and protect the girl  
       Kresia, who was born of Esther,  
 (21) { bearer of this cameo (קמיע) upon her, from every evil  
       thing, and from all evil diseases, from pestilence,  
 (22) { and from plague, and from sword and hunger, from  
       strange death and from croup, and from epileptic  
       fits—far be it  
 (23) { from us—and falling sickness, and from ghosts, and  
       male and female destroyers (שירין), male and female  
       Lilin—far be they  
 (24) { from us—and from evil eye; like Joseph the righteous,  
       as it is written, “Joseph is a fruitful bough,  
 (25) { even a fruitful bough by a fountain.” From all may  
       deliver her the Lord God of Israel, from now and for  
       ever, Amen. Selah.

#### OUTER SQUARE.

(Commencing at the bottom right hand.)

Behold, I send the angel SHAMRIEL before thee to keep thee in the way and to bring thee to the place which I have prepared for thee there. The angel of IHVH encampeth round about those that fear him, and delivereth them. Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord. Blessed be the name of the glory of His kingdom for ever and ever.

#### INNER SQUARE.

IHVH, El Shaddai of Hosts, help; the king shall answer us when we call (upon him).

And all the nations of the earth shall see that the name of the Lord is called upon thee; and they shall be afraid of thee.

IHVH, El Shaddai of Hosts is with us. The God of Jacob is our refuge, Selah.

IHVH, El Shaddai of Hosts—blessed is the man that trusteth in Thee.

In the centre of the double triangle is the sacred name יהוה; and between the angles is the word שדי *Shaddai*, repeated six times with the letters interchanged. Within the circles are words containing forty-eight letters, of which forty-two are the letters of one of the Names substituted for the “Ineffable Name” which might never be uttered.<sup>2</sup> They are the acrostics of a number of verses,<sup>3</sup> and the last six are the acrostic of a doxology already once fully written out in this charm.—See the last sentence of the translation of the Outer Square, above.—The figure containing the charm is surrounded by a double square of inscription, and across the corners of the inner square are written the names of the archangels Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Uriel. Below these four names are the letters Aleph, Gimel, Lamed, and Aleph, which form the tetragrammaton AGLA.<sup>4</sup>

I am indebted to the Rev. A. E. Suffrin, Dr. Gaster, and Mr. E. J. Pilcher, for much assistance in preparing this account of the Amulet.

<sup>2</sup> See GASTER, “*The Sword of Moses*,” London, 1896, page 10.

<sup>3</sup> See GASTER, *The Book of Prayer according to the Custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*. London, 1901. Vol. I, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> This word is really an acrostic, as follows:—

אתה	Thou art
גבור	Mighty
לעולם	for ever
אדני	O Lord.



## THE POSITION OF TAUSERT IN THE NINTH DYNASTY.

BY E. R. AYRTON.

Hitherto the supposition that Tausert was a daughter of Sety II and wife of Si-ptah has been generally accepted, a supposition which principally rests on the fact that in the tomb of Tausert the cartouches of Si-ptah have been cut over those of Sety II.

It has therefore been thought that the tomb was commenced during the reign of Sety II and that Si-ptah, on his marriage with Tausert, placed his own cartouches there, and was buried in the same tomb as his wife.

The tomb of Si-ptah has however been discovered in the valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes.

It is obvious that the tomb of Tausert was begun during the reign of Sety II, since on both walls of the first corridor we see this king making offerings to a deity, the queen standing behind him. These scenes belong to the first work of the tomb. Tausert is in all parts of the tomb given the titles of "Heiress, great royal wife, lady of the two lands, princess of the North and South." These titles show no signs of having been reworked, and as they occur on the entrance and in the very first scenes, they must belong to the first executed sculptures in the tomb; that is to say, they were cut during the reign of Sety II.

Tausert must therefore be the wife of Sety II; had she been his daughter, the title of "great royal wife" would have been inserted later over the title of "royal daughter," &c., and this could not have been done in every case without some traces of the original work showing beneath.

The names of Tausert and Si-ptah appear together on a scarab.<sup>1</sup> This does not necessarily mean that she was his wife. As queen-mother she would probably have considerable influence at court. She may even have reigned alone for a short time before Si-ptah came

<sup>1</sup> FRASER, *Scarabs*, 315.

to the throne, since on an ostrakon found in her temple at Thebes she is called "monarch of Upper and Lower Egypt."<sup>2</sup>

In the (funerary) temple of Tausert there is no evidence of Si-ptah, and the objects found cannot have been contemporaneous since they are dissimilar. Prof. Petrie remarks (*loc. cit.*, p. 16), "the glazing of Si-ptah is poorer than that of Tausert, being dull pea-green instead of indigo-blue, . . . the workmanship is rougher and more careless." A scarab of Tausert was found in one of the foundation deposits of Si-ptah.

The mother of Amenmeses was Takhat.<sup>3</sup> On a statue of Sety II a queen Takhat is mentioned, and since there is no reason to the contrary, we may consider her to be the same person.

This Takhat has no titles except those of "royal daughter, great royal wife," whereas Tausert has the full titles of the heiress of the kingdom; and therefore Si-ptah would naturally have a prior right to the throne before Amenmeses.

The illustration here given is from a photograph taken in the tomb of Tausert, and shows the substitution of cartouches very clearly.<sup>4</sup>

All of this agrees very well with my view of the relationship between Tausert and Sety II.

The history now seems to read as follows:—

Sety II marries Tausert, who begins her tomb and temple at Thebes. On the death of Sety II Tausert reigns independently for a short time. The throne is then usurped by Amenmeses. Later Baï heads an insurrection, and dethroning Amenmeses, puts Si-ptah, whom we must suppose to be the son of Tausert, on the throne.

<sup>2</sup> PETRIE, *Six Temples*, xix, 2.

<sup>3</sup> LEPSIUS, *Denk.*, iii, 202 f.

<sup>4</sup> LEPSIUS (*Denk.*, iii, 201 B) published a copy of this scene.



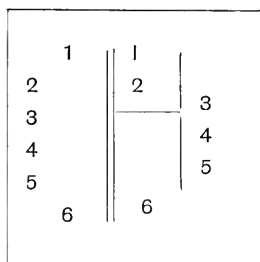
WALL-CARVING IN THE TOMB OF TAUSERT, AT THEBES.







## NOTE ON THE BOSS OF TARĶUTIMME.

By E. SIBREE, *M.A.*

The apparent order of the symbols in this inscription is as follows:—












Nos. 1, 2 on the right are to be read first, as indicated by the direction of the animal's head; Nos. 3, 4, on the other hand, are to be taken next, as shown by the oblique stroke in 3, which in other inscriptions stands behind the symbol to which it is attached. The fact that Nos. 3, 4 face the opposite way to Nos. 1, 2, shows us that 3, 4 is a word distinct from 1, 2, the latter being held to represent the name "Tarĳutimme." No. 5 is the symbol for "country." All the symbols behind the king face the same way. No. 3 is identical with the same symbol in J. ii, where it occurs in the name "Carchemish," and is thought to represent a sound containing the consonant "m." Now 3, 4 occupy the position held by the sheep or lamb's head in J. ii, and the latter symbol we have assumed to have the value of *mun* or *u-mun* (*Proceedings*, XXVIII, 27, 1906). No. 3 therefore may represent the initial sound of *mun*, 4 representing a sound containing an "n." We might then read 3, 4 provisionally as *mu-un* = *mun* "king." The

oblique stroke in 3 may perhaps be identical with the short perpendicular stroke in Egyptian, cf.  (b) by the side of  (w), hence 3 may be read *mu* by the side of   which may perhaps be read *m* or *me*. No. 6 would represent the sound *er* or *eri*, for the following reasons. Taking the cuneiform symbols from break to break, we may read them:—

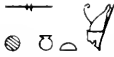

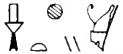



Me-e Tar-ku-u-tim-me SAR MAT Er or Eri







*I (am) Tarikutimme, king of the land of Er*



if, as is probable, the cuneiform inscription and the hieroglyphic symbols are both in the Hittite language. Again, the cuneiform symbol  compared with  (*zu*), linear  would seem to imply a linear form  “tiara” by the side of  “city,” both having a common phonetic value *er*, cf.     *mir* “tiara.”




## LE NOM DU PSCHENT.

PAR PROF. PAUL PIERRET.

L'orthographe normale du nom du Pschent est  que l'Inscription de Rosette interprète ψχέντ en restituant l'article (*p. skhent*). Dans la stèle de Tombos nous le voyons écrit  au lieu de  (cf. *Zeitschr. für ägypt. Sprache*, 1868, p. 103). Remarquons que le signe initial est le sistre, ce qui nous sollicite à examiner de près la formation du nom du sistre en même temps que celle du nom du pschent.<sup>1</sup> J'avais pensé (ainsi que M. J. Baillet, dans son intéressant mémoire publié dans le *Journal Asiatique* de Septembre-Octobre, 1904, p. 316), que l'on devait rapprocher le mot *skhent* du thème verbal  "embrasser, réunir," puisque le pschent est la *réunion* de la couronne blanche et de la couronne rouge, mais l'orthographe *sekhti* ci-dessus repousse cette hypothèse. *Sekhti* qui sert ici à écrire le nom du pschent sert quelquefois aussi à écrire le nom du sistre  (qu'il faut peut-être lire *sekh-sekh* en admettant que  soit une notation de reduplication); *sekhti*, dis-je, suppose un thème simple *sekh*, durcisse-

<sup>1</sup> Constatons en passant que  =  a dû avoir la valeur bilitère  en même temps que la valeur trilitère  sans quoi il faudrait (ce que font certains savants) lire *Sekhemit* le nom  de la déesse léontocéphale *Sekhet*. Or à la page 1107 du Supplément de son Dictionnaire Brugsch enseigne qu'il faut lire *sekh* et non *sekhemekeh* le groupe .

ment du thème  que présente la Stèle du Songe. De même *sekhti* pschent serait un redoublement d'un thème *sek* durcissement de , "chevelure, coiffure," le pschent étant la coiffure par excellence.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Le nom du Pschent *sekhen* à Denderah et dans Rosette ne serait qu'un développement par *n* du thème *sek*, de même que  est devenu  devenu  etc.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, November 14th, 1906, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

F. Legge, Esq.: "The Tablets of the First Egyptian Dynasty"







*PROCEEDINGS*  
OF  
THE SOCIETY  
OF  
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION, 1906.

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*Sixth Meeting, November 7th, 1906.*

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D.* (*President*),

IN THE CHAIR.

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

From the Author, l'Abbé Leroy.—“Les Israelites en Égypte—l'Exode.”

From the Author, J. J. Grinyer.—“Bible Chronology” and  
“A Chronological Introduction to the New Testament.”

From the Author, Dr. M. Gaster. — “Massoretisches im Samaritanischen.”

From W. L. Nash.—“Operations and Travels in Egypt and Nubia.” By G. Belzoni.

From Mrs. Honyman Gillespie's Trustees.—“The Arguments à priori for the Being and the Attributes of the Lord God.” By the Late W. H. Gillespie.

From the Author, the Rev. John Wright, *D.D.*—“Historic Bibles in America.”

From the Author, Prof. A. Wiedemann.—“Altägyptische Sagen und Märchen.”

” ” ” ” ” “Die Zeichenkunst im alten Ägypten.”

From the Publishers.—“Lectures on Babylonia and Palestine.”  
By Dr. Stephen Langdon.

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Mr. E. R. Ayrton was elected a Member of the Society.

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The following Paper was read :—

F. LEGGE, Esq. : “The Tablets of the First Egyptian Dynasty.”



Thanks were returned for this communication.




## THE CHEDOR-LAOMER TABLETS.

BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D.*

Eleven years ago Dr. Pinches made an important discovery. He copied and deciphered certain tablets in the British Museum which referred to a destruction of Babylon and its temple in the early days of Babylonian history. He further pointed out that the destruction was said to have been brought about by an Elamite king, whose name could be read Kudur-laghumar, and since two other princes, Tudghula and Eri-Aku, are associated with him in the story, we must see in the three princes, the Chedor-laomer, Tid'al and Arioch of the 14th chapter of Genesis. Unfortunately the reading of the name of the Elamite king proposed by Dr. Pinches could not be demonstrated, and still more unfortunately Dr. Scheil, about the same time, misread some letters of Khammurabi, in which he fancied he had found the name of Chedor-laomer. The result was that the non-Assyriological public confounded the discovery of Dr. Pinches with the error of Dr. Scheil, and was led to suppose that both stood on the same precarious footing. It is time that this mistake should be rectified, and since I can now show that the reading of the name of the Elamite king proposed by Dr. Pinches is really correct, while the progress of Assyriology has made it possible to give a better and more complete translation of the texts than was in his power in 1894, I purpose to lay before you a revised rendering of the latter, adding to it the necessary notes and historical inferences. The cuneiform texts will be found attached to Dr. Pinches' Paper: "Certain Inscriptions and Records referring to Babylonia and Elam" in the *Transactions* of the Victoria Institute, 1895-6, pp. 43-90.

The texts, which come from the Spartali collection, are all of late date. This is clear from their language and style,<sup>1</sup> and more especially from the rebus-like fashion in which the proper names are written. But at the back of them lies the old history of Babylonia. The Babylonians seem never to have adopted the historical novel which was such a favourite among the Egyptians; in the place of it we find poems of a semi-religious character. It is some of these poems which are presented to us by the texts.

Before translating the texts, however, it is necessary to deal with the royal names. These are three in number, to which perhaps a fourth, that of Khammu-rabi, should be added. Chief among them is the name of the king of Elam, "the wicked enemy," who wrought such havoc in Babylon. The name is written  and , KU-KU-KU-MAR and KU-KU-KU-KU-MAR. About the reading of the first two characters there is little question: we find them used in proper names to express the Elamite word Ku-dur. What, however, is the value of the third KU, which is found also in a reduplicated form? Of one thing we may be sure; in a late neo-Babylonian text the thrice-repeated sign will be employed with three different values, and as the first is the most common one, *ku*, while the second is the less common *dur*, the value of the third will be one which is comparatively rare. It will be a value, moreover, which belongs to the character in both its single and its double form.

Now Dr. Pinches has already pointed out a passage in which  is stated to have had the value of *lakh-kha*. This is in a gloss attached by the Assyrian scribe to an official memorandum of Sennacherib's defeat of Merodach-baladan, where "the country of EME-KU" or Sumer is said to have had the pronunciation of Eme-lakh-kha. That is to say, KU had among its other values that of *lakh-kha*. The memorandum is published in *H.A.I.*, III, 4, 4, but  *lakh* has been misprinted  *ga*, which has naturally prevented scholars who had not seen the original from understanding the gloss.

The gloss is an important one, since *eme-lakhkha* was the name given by the native grammarians to the standard dialect of Sumer, in contradistinction to *eme-sal*, the name of another dialect which

Thus, Northern Babylonia is called Kar-Duniyas, a name which did not come into existence until after the rise of the Kassite dynasty.

was in a much more advanced stage of phonetic decay.<sup>2</sup> As has long been recognised, *eme-sal* means "the woman's language," a name best explained by "the woman's dialects" which are met with in several parts of the linguistic world, as, for example, among the Eskimaux. But the meaning of *eme-lakhhkha* has hitherto remained obscure.

I can now, however, give an explanation of it. In So, 7-10, 129 we have  $\Sigma_{\text{III}} \text{𐎶} > \text{𐎶} < (\text{𐎶} | \text{𐎶} > \text{𐎶}) \text{𐎶} | \text{𐎶} > \text{𐎶}$ , D.P. *zir-* (or *mus-*) *lakh* = *zirlakhhkhu*, or *muslakhhkhu*, "a snake-charmer," as was first observed by Dr. Bezold in 1889. *Zir(u)* was "snake" in Assyrian, but it may have been *mus* in Sumerian, since Dr. Pinches tells me that in W.A.I. II, 32, 13, where the Assyrian word for "snake-charmer" is again given under the form of  $\text{𐎶} > \text{𐎶} < \text{𐎶} > \text{𐎶} > \text{𐎶}$ , the second character is probably *su*.<sup>3</sup> In this case we should have to read *mus-su-la-akh-khu*. If the printed text is right  $\text{𐎶}$  will be *lakh*, with the reading *zir-lakhlakhhkhu* (unless *la-akh* is to be regarded as merely indicating the pronunciation of  $\text{𐎶}$ ).

It follows that  $\text{𐎶}$  with the pronunciation of *lakhhkha* had the signification of "enchanter" or "charmer." It was thus an appropriate title for a language which was mainly employed in the literary days of Babylonia for charms and incantations, and which was, in fact, quite specially the language of the magician. Parallel dialects, according to 81, 7-27, 130, were EME-SIB EME-SES (?) | *li-sa-an ni-sak-ki li-sa-an* [*pa-si-si*], "the language of the sacrificer (and) the language of the anointer." These would have been forms of Sumerian monotoned in particular keys, perhaps with a peculiar pronunciation of certain sounds and words.

If the third *KU* in the name of Kudur-lakhhkhamar had the value of *lakh* or *lakhhkha*, an explanation is afforded of the fact that in two instances it is duplicated in our texts. The ordinary representative of the syllable *lakh* was a duplicated *du*: *KU* with the value *lakh* was accordingly assimilated to *DU* when the latter had the same value. That *KU* could be used with the value of *du* (from *dur*) may have assisted the process of assimilation. It should be added

<sup>2</sup> That *eme-sal* was the dialect of Akkad, or northern Babylonia, where the Semites gained a footing at a much earlier date than in Sumer, follows from 81. 7-27, 130. 6, 7: EME-KU NIN SUG-GA EME-[SAL]: *li-sa-an Su-me-ri tam-sil Ak-ka-[di]* "the language of Sumer is like that of Akkad."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Meissner, *Assyriologische Studien* III, p. 2.

that KU-GIG is rendered "a maleficent charm" (*mušarû maruts*) in W.A.I. II, 27, 53, and that KU with the pronunciation *us* is given as the Sumerian equivalent of *dhému* "decision" (Brünnow, 10557).<sup>1</sup>

The gradation in the rarity of use of the values *ku*, *dur* and *lakhkha*, and the interchange of the duplicated with the single form of the character KU, make it clear that the name of the Elamite king is intended to be read Ku-dur-lakhkha-mar. This is an exact equivalent of the Hebrew Chedor-la'omer, the Elamite Kudur-Lagamar. What makes the equivalence the more striking is that the spelling of the name of the goddess Lagamar is incorrect, and represents a pronunciation which is neither Elamite nor Babylonian. Initial *ga* could become *kha* (i.e. *gha*) in Sumerian, but I do not remember any example in the older Babylonian inscriptions in which the guttural of Lagamar has undergone this change. The fact suggests a close connection between the Biblical texts and the Spartali tablets. It is significant that in A, OBV. 9, where Kudur-lakhkhamar is compared with *Gurra la-gamil* "the Plague-god, the pitiless," with a play on the similarity in sound between the two, the Assyrian correspondent of *lakhkhamar* is given as *la-gamil*. As is well known, the name of the Elamite deity Lagamar is derived from the Assyrian La-gamal.

By the side of Kudur-lakhkhamar we have Eri-Aku and Tudkhula. Tudkhula (i.e. Tudghula, the exact equivalent of Tid'al) is written with the character *khul(-a)* which means "wicked": a similar graphic play is attempted in the name of Eri-Aku, which in one instance is written Eri-é-ku-a "the servant of É-kua," the sanctuary of Bel-Merodach, and in another instance Eri-Ea-ku "the servant of Ea-ku." The identification of Eri-Aku with the Arioch of Genesis goes back to Rawlinson, George Smith, and Lenormant; the name is of Elamite origin, like other Sumerian names found on the monuments of Susa, and the king was known to his Semitic subjects as Rim-Sin "the wild-bull of Sin," in which the Sumerian *eri*, contracted into *ri*, has been assimilated to the first element

<sup>1</sup> U seems to be a dialectal form of *utrus* which is stated to be the Sumerian pronunciation of KU when signifying "a (magical?) writing" (W.A.I. II, 48, 17).

<sup>2</sup> L-lua also forms part of the name of the first postdiluvian king of Babylonia, according to Berossus. The name is Euekhoos, which must be Ewe(EN-ME)-É-kua "the priest of É-kua." Babylonian patriotism thus made the first postdiluvian king as well as the first antediluvian king a king of Babylon.



in the name of Rim-Anum, an earlier ruler of the principality of Emutbal.<sup>6</sup>

Eri-Aku was king of Larsa, as the Biblical Arioch was of Ellasar, and as he was the son of Kudur-Mabug the Elamite prince of Emutbal, and his overthrow at the hands of Khammu-rabi meant the overthrow of Elamite supremacy in Babylonia, he was probably closely related to the royal house of Elam. Tid'al is called "king of Goyyim" or "Nations" in Genesis, and since Kudur-lakhkhamar is stated to have "mustered the Umman-Manda" or "Nations"—of which the Hebrew Goyyim would be a natural rendering—we may infer that Tudkhula, the second vassal-ally of the Elamite monarch, was their king. In the cylinder inscription of Cyrus (l. 13) Quti or Kurdistan, the Gutium of the early Babylonian texts, is made equivalent to "the Manda hordes" who constituted the kingdom of Astyages. In the geography of the Babylonians they were the mountaineers immediately to the north of Elam.



It is possible that the name of Khammu-[rabi] occurs in the mutilated commencement of Sp. III. 2. The passage is concerned with Babylon and its god Merodach, and Khammu . . . might naturally be completed as Khammu-rabi. Against this is the fact that the word is not preceded by the determinative of an individual.

I now proceed to a translation of the texts.

A. Sp. 158 + Sp. II. 962.

OBVERSE.

- .....
- |                       |                        |                    |                       |
|-----------------------|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. [D.P. Elamu        | D.P. tsi-e-nu          | yu-nab-bil         | é-]gal-[l]a-su        |
| [ <i>The Elamite,</i> | <i>the wicked one,</i> | <i>destroyed</i> ] | <i>its [pal]ace ;</i> |

<sup>6</sup> Unless Rim-Anum is another attempt of his Semitic subjects and scribes to naturalise the foreign name of the king. In W.A.I., v, 19, 43, SAG-SAL "slave" with the pronunciation of *e-ru* attached to it is given as the equivalent of the West-Semitic *abdu* "slave." This is followed by the Akkadian *la-bar* (Sumerian *lagar*) with its Semitic Babylonian equivalent *ardu*. *Eri* is the Akkadian representative of *ardu* in W.A.I., iv, 10, 356 and other passages; see Brünnow, 5858. The Hebrew spelling עֲרִיָא implies a form *Erim-Aku*, *-m* being pronounced *w* as in *Evil-Merodach*, *Sivan*, *Kisleu*, *Marchesvan*, etc.,—and *Erim* would naturally become *Rim*. In  *erim*,  *ru* had the value of *rim*. *Aku* or *Agu* seems to have been an Elamite deity.

2. [ina Babili is-lul sal-lat ê-]kur-ra  
[*in Babylon he carried away the spoil*] *of the temple* ;
3. [il-qi bu-su-su yu-tab-ba-la-ma] E-lam-mat  
[*he took its goods, and conveyed them*] *to Elam.*
4. [I-nu-um D.P. nakru D.P. Elamu is-lu-ul] bu-su-su  
[*When the enemy, even the Elamite, spoiled*] *its goods,*
5. [Bel a-sib eli-su yun-ni-is (?)] zi-mi-su-nu  
[*Bel who sat enthroned there made pale*] *their faces ;*
6. [ki-makh-khi sarrani (?) D.P. nakru yu-na (?)]-am-ma  
*the tombs of the kings (?) the enemy* *ruins and*  
yu-kal-lam D.P. Sam-si  
*exposes to the sun.*
7. [kal (?) yu-]me is-ni-qa a-na babi tsiri  
[*All ?*] *day he pressed on towards the Grand Gate ;*
8. dâlat Istari is-sik is-sukh-ma it-ta-di  
*the door of Istar he tore down, he carried away and laid low*  
A-li-es  
*like a storm demon,*
9. kima D.P. Gur-ra la-ga-mil i-ru-um-ma Dû-makh-is  
*like Gurra the pitiless he entered also the Du-makh ;*
10. iz-ziz-ma ina Dû-makh i-na-adh-dhal ê-kur  
*he halted also in the Du-makh, he beheld the temple ;*
11. pi-su ipus-am-ma itti AMIL-TUR-MES i-dib-lu-ub  
*his mouth he opened and with the young men he spake ;*
12. ana kal-la qu-ra-di-e-su yu-sakh-midh ma-ag-ri-tum  
*to all his warriors he sent in haste the message :*
13. su-ul-la-ah sal-lat ê-kur li-qa-a-ma bu-su-su  
*' Carry off the spoil of the temple, take its goods,*
14. suk-kha-ah u-tsur-ta-su sup-ti-sa-a sak-ki-e-su  
*destroy its walls, break thro' its shrine !'*
15. a-na iki su-[pa-li] is-ni-qa D.P. [nakru D.P. Elamu]  
*To the low[er] canal pressed on the [enemy, the Elamite],*

16. i-bu-ut mal-ki [sa Babili] ma-khar-su  
*he destroyed the princes [of Babylon] before him.*
17. [I-nu-um D.P. Bel izkur sakh-lu-uq-tu sa?] E-sar-ra  
 [*When Bel decreed the destruction of*] *E-sarra*
18. [u istu ê-kur?] yur-rid se-du-us-su  
 [*and from the temple?*] *departed its guardian bull,*
19. yu-šakh-khi [D.P. nakru u-tsur-ta-su] it-bal par-tsi-su  
*destroyed [the enemy its walls], he abolished its lazes,*
20. i-ru-um-ma ana bit AD-GI-GI iś-šukh  
*he entered into the house of the (divine) judge, he removed*  
 ka-tim-tum  
*the veil,*
21. a-na D.P. En-nun-dagal-la D.P. nakru iś-ni-qa  
*towards Merodach the enemy pressed on*  
 lim-ni-is  
*wickedly ;*
22. ina pani-su ilani il-la-bis nu-u-ri  
*before him the god (Elohim) was clothed with light,*
23. kima bir-qa ib-riq-ma i-nu-us as-ru-ti  
*like lightning he (the god) lightened and shook the shrine.*
24. Ip-lukh-ma D.P. nakru uk-kis ra-man-su  
*The enemy trembled and halted,*
25. yur-rid-ma D.P. ni-sak-ka-su a-mat  
*while there enters the priest of the god (and) the word*  
 i-qab-bi-su  
*speaks unto him :*
26. [e-li?] man-di-[ma ki-]i ilani il-la-bis  
 [*Go forward?*] *at once since the god is clothed*  
 nûri  
*with light,*
27. [kima bir-qa ib-riq-]ma i-nu-us as-ru-ti  
 [*like lightning he has lightened*] *and shaken the shrines.*

28. [la tip-lukh sa] D.P. En-nun-dagal-la suk-khi agê-su  
 [Fear not? of] Merodach, to remove the crown:
29. [te-ru-um-ma ana] biti-su ti-iz-bat qat-śu  
 [thou shalt enter] his temple thou shalt take his hand?
30. [D.P. nakru D.P. Elamu] ul i-du-ur-ma ul ikh-śu-śu  
 [The enemy, the Elamite.] feared not and cared not for  
 na-pis-tum  
 life:
31. [ul iz-bat qata? sa] D.P. En-nun-dagal-la ul yu-śakh-khi  
 [he took not the hand? of] Merodach, he removed not  
 agê-su  
 his crown.
32. [su-u] D.P. Elamu D.P. tsi-e-nu iz-kur . . . . nis  
 [He,] the Elamite, the wicked one, proclaimed (it) . . . .
33. [a-na] sa-na kat-te-e yu-sa-an-na-a na-pa-al-tum  
 [to] other(s) the crier repeated (it) far and wide:
34. . . . . ina Dû-makh lu a-sib a-h-il  
 [since the god(?)] in the Du-makh still dwells, (still) abides  
 ni-sak-ku  
 the priest.

(To be continued.)

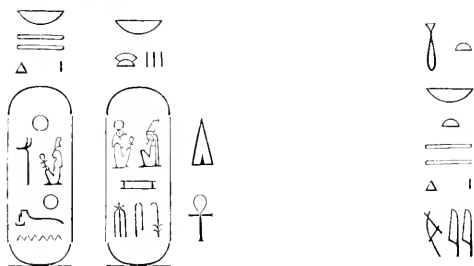
## TWO STATUETTES OF THE GODDESS BUTO.

BY DR. VALDEMAR SCHMIDT.

In the Museo Civico at Mantua, which is very rich in interesting statues of Roman times, there is a fragment of an Egyptian statue in black stone. Only the two feet and the lower part of a long dress remain with the plinth on which the figure stood. It must have been more than life size. One foot is placed very much in front of the other, as if moving forward quickly.

This might indicate that the statue represented some warrior god, as Onuris (Anhur) who always wears the same long garment as the Egyptian goddesses and ladies, whereas in the case of female figures the feet are generally much nearer each other.

However, it seems that the Mantua statue is not Anhur (Onuris), but most likely the goddess Buto, for on the plinth, near the feet, is the following hieroglyphic inscription:—



the well-known names of Rameses II “The Lord of the two Lands, *Usr-ma-ra setp-n-ra*, the Lord of the Crowns, *Ra-messu Mer-Amon*, (he), who gives Life”; and on the other side of the figure we read: “Buto, the Lady of the two Lands, loves (him, the king Rameses).” The statue therefore represented Buto.

The exact pronunciation of the Egyptian name of the goddess called Buto by the Greeks is not known; most likely it was something like *Uttil*, *Vutil*, *Vuto*, etc. Some Egyptologists have proposed to read *Vadjit*, but that is not a probable reading.

On Egyptian monuments this goddess is frequently mentioned as "the Lady of the North" or "the Goddess of the Northern part of the world," that is of Lower Egypt, another goddess, called Eileithyia by the Greeks and Lucina by the Romans, being "the Goddess of the South."

Both goddesses are called "the two serpents," being indeed often represented as serpents, sometimes with wings. They often wear crowns, Buto the red crown of the North and *Nekhheb* or *Nekhhabit*, as the Egyptian name of this other goddess is generally read (formerly called *Suban*, *Neben*, etc.), the white crown of the South.

Buto was also figured as an Egyptian Lady in the usual long dress and with the red crown of the North on her head. She then resembles the goddess Neith at Sais, and indeed both are local, but very ancient, forms or varieties of the goddess Isis. Buto, like Isis, has a son Horus. LANZONE, in his *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, gives figures of Buto, but he gives no references to the monuments from which he copied them. Buto, like several other Egyptian goddesses, such as Sekhet (Sekhemt), Pasht, Tefnut, etc., is figured with the head of a Lioness. LANZONE gives no instance of Buto in this form, but in the recently opened Egyptian section of the Glyptothek at Copenhagen (formerly the private collection of Dr. Carl Jacobsen, of Valby, near Copenhagen), is an excellent bronze statuette of Buto. This statuette (A 281 and pp. 306-7 of the Danish Catalogue of 1899) is a splendid specimen of Saitic Art. It is 245 millimètres (9½ inches) high, and has never been published (see Plate). The right arm hangs straight down by the side; the left arm is slightly curved and the hand holds an object, the nature of which it is not easy to determine. The Lioness'-head is ornamented with the round sun-disk and the uræus, like the head of the goddess Sekhet (Sekhemt).

A hieroglyphic inscription on the front of the plinth proves that the statuette represents Buto and not another goddess. We read on the base of the statuette: "So says Buto: give life and health to *Hata*, who is in alliance with the goddess Buto, and who is son of *Ooh* and of the lady of the house *Ti-tikh-a-ma?*, and also to *Pen-ta-nekht?*" The last part of the inscription is very indistinct and difficult to read. The statuette was acquired in Cairo in 1892. It is probable that it was found in the ruins of Sais, where several thousand statuettes were discovered by the natives about twenty years ago.



BRONZE FIGURE OF BUTO

In the Copenhagen Glyptothek.








THE BABYLONIAN GODS OF WAR  
AND THEIR LEGENDS.

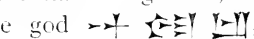
By THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, *LL.D.*






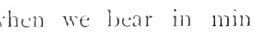
For the sake of brevity I have adopted as the title of this Paper one which, though correct, would probably have been regarded by an ancient Babylonian as somewhat of a generalization. The text which supplied me with the data for this title—the now well-known tablet which furnished material for a definite statement with regard to the nature of Babylonian monotheism, such as it was—uses two different words to express the attributes of the two divinities of whom it is my intention to speak. As the inscriptions tell us, the god of war as such was Nergal, or Nerigal, ‘the lord of the great region,’ by which is probably meant ‘the land of the dead,’ and he is described in the text to which I have referred as *Marduk ša qabli*, ‘Merodach of war,’ apparently in the sense of the meeting of hostile forces (*qabālu*), from which root *muqtablu*, one of the Assyro-Babylonian words for ‘soldier,’ comes.

The other god of battle referred to in the list in which the gods are identified with Merodach is Zagaga, or, in the ‘dialect’ of Sumerian, Zamama. He is not called, however, *Marduk ša qabli*, but *Marduk ša taḥāzi*, with much the same meaning—for the sake of making a difference we may say ‘Merodach of battle.’ What the precise distinction between these two words is, is uncertain, but may be found, perhaps, in the Sumero-Akkadian ideographs often used to express them. That by which *taḥāzu* was indicated was regarded, to all appearance, as being composed of  and , ‘to make’ (*ēpēšu*), and ‘men’ or ‘soldiers’ (in the singular *šabu* or *ummanu*). These, united, may possibly have been used for the expression ‘to lead men,’ like *ēpēšu ša šarrūti*, ‘to rule,’ literally ‘to make royalty.’

In this case Zagaga would seem to have been conceived as the god of strategy.

The original meaning of the character for *qablu*, , which is used in connection with Nergal, was possibly that expressed by the non-Semitic *nisag*, meaning 'that which is at the head,' hence the signification of *ašarādu*, 'chieftain,' which it has. The meeting-point of two opposing armies being their foremost ranks, it is there that the battle rages, hence, perhaps, the words applied to it by both Semites and non-Semites. As one cannot dogmatize in such a matter as this, I give the above merely as suggestions—for the present, however, they will suffice to indicate what, from the nature of the deities in question, would be expected, Nergal being god of death, and therefore of slaughter in the forefront of the battle, and Zagaga, god of all the accessories which belong to the carrying on of a military expedition or conducting operations in the field.

It is somewhat strange that, in the inscription to which I have referred, the god , whose name is generally read Ninip, which immediately precedes these two, is not described as a god of war or battle—a title which we meet with in other inscriptions—but as *Marduk ša ālli*, 'Merodach of strength,' as I provisionally translated it. But before discussing these deities' names at greater length, it would be well, perhaps, in order to avoid ambiguity, to say a few words upon the readings of the name hitherto commonly transcribed as Ninip (or Ninib) which will be used in this Paper, concerning which there has been much difference of opinion.<sup>1</sup>

The true reading would seem to have been suggested about two years ago by Dr. Fried. Hrozný, in his work, *Sumerisch-Babylonische Mythen von dem Gotte Ninrag (Ninib)*. This he bases on the fact that the Arabic name of the planet Mars is , *Mirriḥ* (? for *Mirriḡ* = *Nirriḡ*), in Mandaic , *Nērīgh*,  or  (Hrozný) in Syriac. That this name should have become confused with that of Nergal was only to be expected, and Hrozný points out that once, in fact, , *Nergel*, i.e., Nergal, is found. It is needless to say, that these statements are of considerable importance, especially when we bear in mind that  in one

<sup>1</sup> The most common alternative reading is Adar, adopted on account of a termination added to it which suggested that the name ended in *r*—an assumption recognized by most Assyriologists as unsafe.

instance is followed by the lengthening *gi*, written with  $\text{𒄀𒄀𒄀}$ , and making the full form to be *Nirigi* or *Neregi*. Certain dialectic forms occur, namely, *Ulua* and *Ulaba*, which latter may also be read *Uriba* or *Ureba*. As *u* is known to be one of the late Sumerian words for 'lord,' and to correspond in meaning with *ni*, 'lord,' taking its place in the dialectic forms of divine names, *Ureba*, with the usual replacing of *g* by *h*, may be regarded as an excellent confirmation of the theory which Hrozný has advanced. I am, therefore, inclined to accept his reading, simply changing the vowels and dropping the second *n*, thus changing *Ninrag* to *Nirig* ( $\Delta$ *Verigh*), in accordance with the indications of the Arabic, Syriac, and Mandaic.

Doubt still exists as to the Semitic pronunciation of the name of this god, but it is indicated within certain limits by some of the Aramaic dockets on trade documents found by the American explorers at Niffer. Naturally, in a method of writing in which the vowels are omitted—and all the Aramaic dockets are written thus—there is considerable doubt as to the way in which a word should be read, and this is mainly the reason of any uncertainty which may continue to exist.

But besides this, there is doubt as to the reading of some of the letters, mainly the second and third, and scholars waver between  $\text{𐤁}$  and  $\text{𐤂}$  in the first case, and  $\text{𐤃}$  and  $\text{𐤄}$  in the second. Prof. Johns has suggested *Uraštu* as the reading, and later, *Araštu* and *Arašit*. Prof. Clay proposed provisionally  $\text{אנושת}$ , *Anušeth*. Prof. Sayce has read *In-arišti*.

This last is based upon Prof. Hilprecht's reading,  $\text{אנרשת}$ , *En-rešeth*, a reading with which I fully agree, but which I am inclined to vocalize as *Ēnu-rêštū*, 'the primaeval lord,' or something similar. This I suggested in January, 1905,<sup>2</sup> and the same thought independently struck Prof. Dynelly Prince, of New York. This being the case, *Ēnu-rêštū* would seem to be the most probable reading, and may be adopted until disproved by further research.

We now return to the consideration of the nature of *Nirig* or *Ēnu-rêštū* as a deity of the Assyro-Babylonian pantheon. Jensen renders the word *állu*, generally translated 'strength,' as 'arable land,' which would make the deity the Babylonian god of agriculture—an exceedingly possible rendering. Another *állu*, meaning 'yoke,' 'chain,' or 'collar' as badge of servitude, suggests the possibility that

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, p. 206, footnote.

Nirig was the god of slavery. Another word, *alluhappu*, which has *allu* as its first component, is generally regarded as meaning 'net,' such as the Roman gladiators of old used, and in this case, Nirig would be the god of the net with which the Babylonians of the earliest period captured their enemies, as is illustrated by the sculptures on the well-known stele of É-anna-du, called by the French, who possess the greater part of the monument, the *stèle des vautours*, or vulture-stele. The roots *âlālu*, 'to be feeble, weak,' and *âlālu*, 'to rejoice,' are probably not those from which *allu* can be derived.

The principal inscriptions referring to the attributes of Nirig are those published in the second volume of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, plate 57, and the third volume of the same work, plate 67, lines 63-68. These texts are too long to quote in full, but a few of the more important statements they contain may be of value in deciding the view which the Babylonians took of his nature.

The text in the second volume of the *Inscriptions*, plate 57, is a longish list of gods, unfortunately imperfect. In this the names of Nirig are the most numerous, occupying, as they do, the greater part of the second, third, and fourth columns. He is first described as the god of oracles, and, apparently in consequence of that, was identified with Nebo, the god of writing and literature. When named *En-bandu*, which probably means 'the lord of youthful strength,' he was the deity who accepted the command of the gods; as *Halhala* he was the guardian of the decisions of father Bel, and as *Me-mah*, 'the sublime word,' he was the god who controlled the sublime commands, apparently of the gods. A different idea is contained in the name *Kalumma*, i.e., '(the god of) the date,' which he bore, and to which the explanation (as yet a puzzle to Assyriologists) *aniku anihu* is appended. I conjecture that these words express his nature as nourisher and strengthener, or something of the kind.

At this point in the list his attributes coincide largely with those given on plate 67 of the third volume of the inscriptions. As *A-kala-mah*, 'sublime strength,' he was Nirig, lord of might (*émuki*, not *alli*). The text then proceeds:—

*Uraš* is Nirig of *uddanē*.

*Uru* is Nirig of *alli* (*Uru* probably means 'farmer,' 'husbandman,' or something of the kind, which would justify Jensen's explanation).

*Saršarri* is Nirig of *našpanti*, or overthrowing.

*Nunnir* is Nirig of *qabli*,<sup>3</sup> or battle.

*Tišpak* is Nirig of *rankūti*, or lustration.

*Šu-šanabi* is Nirig of *qarradi*, or the heroes.

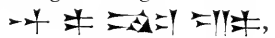
The above is followed by the statement, that *Aštūpinu* or *Aštū-zwanu* is the name of Zagaga and Nirig in the language designated by the character *Mar*, i.e., *Amurrū*, 'Amorite.'

Besides the above, about fifty other names of Nirig are recorded by this important list. He was called Zizanu in the language designated by the character *su*, supposed to stand for Shuite; *Rabimaguza*, apparently meaning 'chief magian,' possibly in another dialect, and if this be correct, the second word would seem to be of Persian origin. In another language—perhaps Shuite again—he is called Laḥu-rabe, in which the only thing certain is, that the second element is the common Semitic word for 'great,' in a seemingly non-Babylonian form. Five names of Nirig in Elamite are then given: *Simeš*, *Adaeni*, *Šušinak*, *Dagbak*, and *Assia*. Of greater interest are the purely Sumero-Akkadian names which follow: *Zi-Zida*, apparently meaning 'everlasting life;' *Giš-ku-pi*, 'the ear;' *Nin-uru*, probably 'lord of agriculture' (see the remarks upon *āllu*, above); and *Nin-Girsu*, 'lord of Girsu,' the well-known city of Gudea's dominion, in connection with which his title of *Uru* = Semitic *āllu*, would seem to have been more especially used. In this part of the text he is again identified with Zagaga, the god of war in the tablet giving the deities identified with Merodach; but more interesting still is the statement in the final column of the tablet, that the star called *Ti-Zagaga*, 'Zagaga's Eagle,' was also the god Nirig.

In at least one way he seems to have been identified with Rimmon or Hadad, for, as I pointed out as long ago as 1883,<sup>4</sup> the group



which is a representation of the wind-god coming from the four cardinal points, has the pronunciation of *Mermer*, and is explained as *Utu-gišgallu*, perhaps 'the southern sun'—in any case, this deity was identified with the god Nirig. Another

of his names was indicated by the group , *Pa-pil-sag*, which is the usual designation of the constellation of the Archer, perhaps as the deity (in this connection) which flashed like lightning—suggesting the possibility that a meteoric shower may have

<sup>3</sup> Replaced by *nehri*, "opposition," in *W.A.I.* III, 67.

<sup>4</sup> *Proceedings* for February 6th of that year, p. 73.

come from the portion of the sky occupied by that constellation at the time when the name had its birth. It is noteworthy that the group  $\rightarrow\text{†}\ \text{†}$  stands both for Nirig and for 'iron,' supposed to have been known originally only in its meteoric form.

It was not, however, my intention to enter at such length into the question of Nirig's names, but only to bring forward evidence that, in spite of the list identifying the gods with Merodach treating Nirig and Zagaga as if they were two manifestations of Merodach, and therefore originally two distinct gods, they had in reality been identified with each other by the scribes who compiled the originals of the lists of gods in Aššur-bani-apli's library at some early date not at present ascertainable, but possibly going back to the dynasty of Hammurabi, or even earlier.

Among the personal names of that period are *Ubar-Nirig*, 'friend of Nirig,' and *Ubar-Zagaga*, 'friend of Zagaga;' *Nirig-ellat-zu*, 'Nirig is his defence;' *Nirig-uballit*, 'Nirig has given life;' whilst Zagaga, the god of war, is also mentioned in such compositions as *Zagaga-manšum*, 'Zagaga has given,' and *Idin-Zagaga*, 'Give, O Zagaga.' The god of agriculture (if we may so regard him) is, as defender of his worshipper, also god of war, and Zagaga, the god of war, is like the god of agriculture, the god who gives, hence their identity in Babylonian mythology. Nergal and Zagaga were both gods of war when that term could be applied to the defence of the land—Nergal was the god of war when the country was subject to its ravages.

Concerning the name of Nergal, that is based upon well-known readings, and is probably to be analysed *Ne-uru* (or *eri*)-*gal*, 'prince of the great region,' that is, of the grave—we shall see later how this came about. At present, it may merely be noted, the most renowned place of his worship was Cuthah, as recorded in 2 Kings, xvii, 24 and 30. This site, as is now recognized, is the ruin which bears the name of Tel Ibrahim, not far from Babylon. In Cuthah there was a celebrated temple dedicated to him, known as *É-meš-lam*, the god himself being called, similarly, *Meš-lam-ta-êa*, 'he who came forth from the *meš-lam*,' possibly meaning 'the fruit of the *mésu*-tree.' Naturally, I can only put forward this interpretation as the expression of an opinion, but it may, by chance, turn out to be correct, and in that case, another interesting legend, at present unknown, may reward the diligent explorer in years to come.

Like most other deities, Nergal had many names. In the great list of gods in the British Museum his names immediately follow

those of *Niriḡ* or *Ēnu-rêštū*. In the first line of the paragraph devoted to him,<sup>5</sup> we recognize that he was probably not called 'lord of the great region' because he was king of Hades, but as god *ša qabri*, 'of the grave,' and therefore of the great army of the dead, who, as the Babylonians realized at a sufficiently early date, much exceed the living in number. In the second line of the paragraph, the ordinary ideograph expressing the name of this god is apparently analysed by the component parts being divided from each other (𐎶𐎵 𐎠 𐎶𐎵), and it is therefore probable that one of its readings was *Ugur*. When thus called he was god *ša hâati*, 'of the sword,' according to Jensen—the thing which throws down, destroys. But if we take another meaning of the root *hātu*, 'to weigh' (Meissner), he would be the god of weighing or inspecting—the judge as well as the keeper of the dead. His next name is 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *Huš-ki-a*, as god *ša šipti*, or *šibtī*, 'of the (chastening) staff,' in all probability. In the next line he appears as some kind of bird, 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *Maš-mušenna*, as Nergal *ša ussi*, 'of violent anger.' His next name is again defective, but may be *Dunga* simply (𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵), apparently so called in the non-Semitic column as Nergal *ša rišati*, 'of joyful triumph (?)', or something of the kind. In the next three lines he appears as the god Nergal *ša di'i* (*ti'i*), 'of disease.' In the first of these the Sumero-Akkadian ideograph is lost, with the exception of the last character, the syllable *-a*. In the second of the three the first two characters, *Šu-ki-..*, are clear, and in the third he has the seemingly Semitic name of *Laqubu* or *Laqupu*. It is difficult to guess what this may mean, but perhaps the Arabic لاقف, 'to snatch away,' may contain a shadow of the meaning, in which case Nergal may have been called *Laqupu*, as he who, by disease, carried off the inhabitants of the earth. His last name is written 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, an ideograph which is employed for the god Nebo, but in what way he could be identified with him is not clear. In this case he is said to be Nergal as god *ša sūqi*, 'of the street,' though the middle character is damaged, and the reading and rendering therefore doubtful. Perhaps the Babylonian streets had their dangers as ours have, but probably more from assassins than from the vehicles passing every moment.

<sup>5</sup> The lower part is unfortunately damaged by a crack which crosses four of the lines, either destroying the names, or rendering them defective. See *W.A.I.* III, pl. 67, lines 69-71<sup>c,d</sup>.

K. 5268 + K. 5373.


## THE CUTHEAN HYMN TO NERGAŁ.

## TRANSCRIPTION.


- 1a. Ur-sag dingirrēne im-tuk êa kalagga dumu Enlilla  
 1b. *Luttâ'id qarradu ilāni gašru šupú mâr Bêl*
- 2a. D.P. Urra ur-sag dingirrēne im-tuk êa kalagga dumu Enlilla  
 2b. *D.P. Nergal luttâ'id qarrad ilāni gašru šupú mâr Bêl*
- 3a. kiaggâ Enlilla sag-kalaga maḥ adāni šu-garraga  
 3b. *naram Bêl ašaredu šīru mutêr gimillu âbi-šu*
- 4a. [mu]h-tudda D.P. Nin-maḥ nun gala dumu lugalāni<sup>6</sup> tu-ni huš  
 gidia  
 4b. *[ilit]ti D.P. Bêlit ilāni šarrat rabiti mâr šarri<sup>7</sup> ša ana êmuki-šu  
 taklu*
- 5a. â-gala [dingir]rēne mašsu maḥ ur-sag gala dur-maḥ Enlilli  
 5b. *igi-galla ilāni massū šīru qarradu rabū tukulti Bêl*
- 6a. D.P. Urra dingir ni-huš aria                      šu-nep-[sisi?]  
 6b. *D.P. Nergal îlu êzzi ša<sup>8</sup> puluḥti u rašubbatu . . . .*
- 7a. dingir azagga D.P. Utu-qime me-lam<sup>9</sup>(?) [kala]g(?) ga ne-gar . . . .  
 7b. *îlu êllu ša zimū-šu kima nûr D.P. Šamaš . . . . .*
- 8a. D.P. Urra gala en êa tun-na<sup>10</sup>(?) gala (?) . . . . .  
 8b. *D.P. Nergal bêlu šupú šakin taḥtū . . . . .*
- 9a. dingir kalagga mu-bi galla ḥula dingir namtara . . .  
 9b. *[îlu ]-bu ša ana zikri šumi-šu gallê u namtare<sup>11</sup> . . .*
- 10a. [D.P. Ur]ra erim kalagga ḥul-gala . . . . .  
 10b. *[D.P. N]ergal ša aabi limnūtu dannu unab- . . . . .*
























<sup>6</sup> Clearly .

<sup>7</sup> .

<sup>8</sup> , judging from the traces.

<sup>9</sup> So also Macmillan, who has published this text in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, V, p. 582 *seq.* The inscription having now been issued, I withhold my copy, which I originally intended to give here.

<sup>10</sup> Or , *en*.

<sup>11</sup>            , apparently =           .




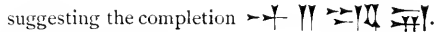
- 11a. . . . k]i-gala dagalla a-didi ĥul-gala dingirrē[ne] . . . .  
 11b. . . . . *ērṣiti rapašti kašid ilāni li[mnūti]* . . . .  
 12a. [D.P. Meš-la]m-ta-êa en D.P. Anunnaki na šid-du<sup>12</sup> . . . .  
 12b. [D.P. Do. Be]<sup>13</sup>(?) D.P. Anunnaki bēl petū . . . . .  
 13a. . . . . dingir azagga gana-bi igi-taba . . . . .  
 13b. [ . . . . . ilu] *ēllu ša ina kakkabē ša-ma* (?) . . . . .  
 14a. . . . . na . . . . .  
 14b. . . . .



## Reverse.


- 1b. . . . . li . . . . .  
 2a. D.P. Urra â-gala tila zi ki-aga- . . . . .  
 2b. D.P. Nergal ilu muntalku ša bulṭa irammu . . . . .  
 3a. uru-zu Amarada D.S. ig-giga dua šala<sup>14</sup>[su] . . . . .  
 3b. *âlu-ka âl Marad ša marušti imĥu-* . . . . .  
 4a. dingir Amarada D.S. dur-â uru-zu ginâ igi- . . . . .  
 4b. D.P. Nergal ana âli-ka âl Marad kiniš nap-li<sup>15</sup>(?) . . . . .  
 5a. ū mae namtila ig-gig-ga (?) . . . . .  
 5b. *û iâši ârdu palih-ka*<sup>16</sup> . . . . . lu- . . . . .  
 6a. D.Pp. Bēl-rēmanni (?)<sup>17</sup> . . . . . nam . . . . . êa šu (?) . . . . .  
 6b. D.Pp. [Bēl-rēmanni(?) . . . . . mûtu tagmîla napi[šti]<sup>18</sup> . . . . .  
 7. . . . . rab(?)<sup>19</sup> D.P. Nergal dannu kalagga ilāni . . . . .  
 8. Kî pi duppi gab-ri Gudua (Kuti) D.S. šaṭir-ma bâri

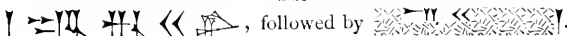

Here follows a blank space, which would accommodate three or four lines.

<sup>12</sup> , *šid-du* . . . . .

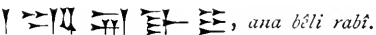
<sup>13</sup> The character here is , suggesting the completion .

<sup>14</sup> . <sup>15</sup> Traces only, which are possibly those of .

<sup>16</sup> The traces following this are .

<sup>17</sup> , followed by .

<sup>18</sup> .

<sup>19</sup> , perhaps , *ana bēli rabī*.

Cf. obv., 12b.

## K. 5268.

## TRANSLATION.

1. *Let me glorify the hero of the gods, the powerful, the brilliant one, the son of Bel :*
2. *Nergal<sup>20</sup> let me glorify, the hero of the gods, the powerful, the brilliant one, the son of Bel :*
3. *The beloved of Bel, the supreme leader, the avenger of his father ;*
4. *The offspring of the Lady of the gods,<sup>21</sup> the great queen<sup>22</sup> ; the son of the king, who trusts in his might ;*
5. *The clever one of the gods, the sublime oracle-priest, the great hero, the trust of Bel.*
6. *Nergal,<sup>20</sup> the powerful god, fear and terror [? fill his hand].*
7. *Glorious god, whose figure [shineth with mighty splendour] like the light of the sun god.*
8. *Nergal,<sup>20</sup> brilliant lord, causing the overthrow<sup>23</sup> . . . . .*
9. *[The mighty (?) god], who, for the renown of his name, the evil devils and fat[es overcometh].*
10. *Nergal, who the evil and powerful foe overthro[weth] :*
11. *[Nergal], who the wide earth captureth, the [evil] gods [subdueth]*
12. *[Meš-la]m-ta-éa, lord of the Anunnaki, who openeth . . . . .<sup>24</sup>*
13. *. . . . the glorious god who among the stars of heav[en] . . . . .*

(Broken.)

*Reverse.*

1. . . . .
2. *Nergal, powerful god, who loveth the saving of life . . . .*
3. *Thy city Marad, which hath misfortune, [grant to her] thy favour.*
4. *Nergal, upon thy city Marad look with favour . . . .*
5. *And as for me, the servant worshipping thee, [save thou] (my) life, which by evil [is attacked ?]*
6. *Bel-rémanni . . . . . death, preserve my li[fe] . . . . .*
7. . . . [to] the great [? lord] Nergal, the powerful one of the gods . . . .
8. *Written and made clear according to the tablet, the copy of Cuthah.*

<sup>20</sup> *Ura* in the Sumerian line.<sup>21</sup> In Sumerian: *Nin-mah*.<sup>22</sup> Sum. : "princess."<sup>23</sup> Sum. : "a great (?) overthrow."<sup>24</sup> This is from the Sumerian line, which is slightly more perfect. The Babylonian rendering differs, and has at the end "the lord opening . . ."

This is, naturally, only a kind of address to Nergal by one of his special worshippers, and ends in the usual way, that is, with a prayer for mercy and favour both for himself and for the city of Marad, Nergal's abode. In the obverse of the inscription, however, we have the information that Nergal was regarded as the son of Bel and of the Lady of the gods. In this we may perhaps see the older Bel and his consort, but if so, the parentage of Nergal was in later days transferred from him to Bel-Merodach, whose consort was Zêr-panitum, 'the seed-creatress,' identified, in one of the lists, with Aruru, who made the seed of mankind with Merodach, and was also identified with the Lady of the Gods. The third line, which calls Nergal the avenger of his father, seems to point to some legend concerning him which has still to be discovered.

Another interesting question is presented by the reverse. As is well known, Cuthah was the principal city of Nergal's worship, the city which is mentioned in the colophon. In the body of the text, however, his city is referred to as Marad, suggesting that that city and Cuthah were one and the same place. As most of the cities of Babylonia bore more than one name, this would seem to be very probable, and may be settled by further research. The worshipper's name seems to have been Bêl-rêmanni, either a priest of Nergal, or a little-known Babylonian king.

One of the most interesting of the bilingual inscriptions concerning this god, however, is that published on plate 24 of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. IV. This is in the form of eulogistic phrases in which each line, it may be supposed, was first uttered by the priest, and then repeated by the people. Unfortunately, the ends of the lines are wanting in every case, so that a satisfactory rendering of the text is at present impossible :—

12. Priest : *Leader, whose face is bright, the shining mouth of the powerful fire-god [illuminateth him].*
14. People : *Nergal, leader, whose face is bright, etc.*
15. Priest : *The lusty son beloved of the heart of Bel, the great director [of the world].*
17. People : *Nergal, lusty son, etc.*
18. Priest : *Prince of the great gods, who [spreadeth] fear and awe.*
20. People : *Nergal, prince, etc.*

21. Priest: *Giant of the Anunnaki, who [spreadeth] terrible awe [over all the lands].*
23. People: *Nergal is the giant, etc.*
24. Priest: *Lord, supreme being, beloved of Ê-kura, the record of whose name [overcometh evil].*
26. People: *Nergal is the supreme being, etc.*
27. Priest: *High one among the great gods, who sceptre and decision [over the land holdeth].*
29. People: *Nergal is the high one, etc.*
30. Priest: *Dragon supreme, pouring out venom over them [the hostile lands].*
32. People: *Nergal, dragon supreme, etc.*
33. Priest: *His bright image (?) overshadoweth the powerful demons right and left.*
35. People: *Nergal, his bright image, etc.*
36. Priest: *The long arm whose blow (disease) is invisible, the evil one with his arm [he smiteth].*
38. People: *Nergal, the long arm, etc.*
39. Priest: *Great god . . . at the noise of whose feet the house of a man [is not disturbed?]*
41. People: *Nergal, great god, etc.*
42. Priest: *The lord who goeth about in the night, who . . . the women (?) who are by themselves (?) he . . . .*
44. People: *Nergal, the lord who goeth about by night.*
45. Priest: *The hero whose whip (?) . . . speaketh, the voice of all (?) . . .*
47. People: *Nergal, the hero whose whip, etc.*
48. Priest: *The single-hearted one (?) whose strength is mighty, like a dream by barriers he is not [restrained].*
50. People: *Nergal, the single-hearted one (?), etc.*
51. Priest: *Hero, the foe of Ê-kura, the enemy of Dur-an-ki, thou [entrappest].*
53. People: *Nergal, hero, the foe, etc.*
54. Priest: *The great furnace, the fierce fire-god, whose attack [is irresistible].*
56. People: *Nergal, the great furnace, etc.*

57. Priest: *The storm-flood destroying the land of the disobedient, [capturing] the opponents (?) of the great gods.*

59. People: *Nergal, the storm-flood destroying, etc.*

Here this noteworthy but exceedingly unsatisfactory text breaks off, but we have in it a further view of the nature of this deity worshipped by the Babylonians and Assyrians. He was not only god of war, but also of disease and death, and in connection with this it is noteworthy that his arm was long (*ida árrakātu<sup>m</sup>*) to strike the blow of disease, and his power invisible, as Mr. Campbell Thompson translates. If this rendering be correct, it would be a very good description of the insidious action of the god of disease and death, whose ways, for the ancient Babylonians, must have been past finding out. It was in consequence of this that it could be truly said, that the fear and awe of him was spread over all the lands, and it is noteworthy that, as a god wishing the Babylonians well, he could not do them any injury—indeed, his name overcame evil, and opposed the powerful demons, who might do harm to their land, right and left. As, moreover, no just man could be injured by him, the implication in these lines seems to be, that any person smitten by disease must of necessity be evil, or must have committed some sin, as was the common belief in ancient times.

Most entertaining of all, however, is the account of the way in which Nergal became the spouse of Ereš-ki-gal, and at the same time lord of the underworld, where that goddess from of old had her domain. This legend is contained on fragments from Tel-el-Amarna, now in the British and Berlin Museums. An excellent translation has been published by Jensen, of which I have made use.

#### FIRST FRAGMENT.

1. *When the gods made a feast,*
2. *to their sister Ereš-ki-gal*
3. *they sent a messenger:*
4. *'We can indeed descend to thee,*
5. *but thou canst not ascend to us—*
6. *Send then, and someone shall receive thy food.'*
7. *So Ereš-ki-gal sent Namtaru, her messenger,*
8. *and Namtaru mounted to the heavens sublime,*
9. *entering the place where sat the gods.*
10. *They . . . . . then Namtar,*

11. *the messenger of their eldest sister :*
12. *they assembled . . . . . to his land.*
13. *The supreme god . . . . .*
14. . . . . *his lady.*
15. . . . . *they wept and lamented.*

(Illegible ends of three lines.)

SECOND FRAGMENT.

(Remains of three lines.)

4. (say) *thus : 'The god who stood not up before my messenger,*
5. *bring him to my presence, that I may kill him.'*
6. *Namtaru then went, he talked with the gods—*
7. *the gods answered him, and talked with him of death :*
8. *'Behold, the god who stood not up before thee,*
9. *take him to the presence of thy mistress.'*
10. *Namtaru then counted them, and a god behind was hiding.*
11. *'Who is he, the god, who has not stood up before me ?'*
12. . . . *Namtar went, he had mercy (?) upon him.*
13. . . . . *them and*
14. . . . . *the god behind*
15. *' . . . . . where is he !*
16. . . . .
17. . . . . *her messenger.*

(Here the tablet is broken.)

*Reverse.*

1. *'Take to Ereš-ki-gal . . . . .*
2. *to the presence of Ea, his father . . . . .*
3. *and may she give me life (?)? 'Fear not . . . . .*
4. *will I give thee—7 and 7 [companions]*
5. *to go with thee—the god . . . . the god . . . the god . . . -ba,*  
*the god Mutabriqu,*
6. *the gods Šarabdū, Rabišu, Tiriid, Ilutu,*
7. *Benna, Šidana, Mikit, Bêl-katri,*
8. *Umma, Liba . . . . .*
9. *shall go with thee? Nergal then approached the gate*
10. *of Ereš-ki-gal. He said to the watchman . . . . 'Open thy gate*
11. *loose the fastening: that I may enter—to the presence of thy mistress,*
12. *Ereš-ki-gal, am I sent? The watchman then went ;*
13. *he said to Namtāru, 'A god stands at the entrance of the gate,*

14. *come, look at him, and let him enter.* Namtāru went out,  
 15. (and) saw him, and . . . . . said  
 16. to his mistress, 'My lady, (it is) the god who, in the former  
 17. months went, and would not stand up before me.'  
 18. 'Bring him in, . . . . . let him come, let me kill him.'  
 19. Namtāru went out, he said to the god, 'Enter, my lord,  
 20. into the house of thy sister, and . . . . . thy going forth  
 21. . . . . Nergal, may thy heart rejoice.'

*Reverse of the B.M. Fragment.*

1. [the god . . . . in the first, the god . . . . in the second],  
 2. . . . -bu in the third, Mutabrigu in the fourth,  
 3. Šarabdū in the fifth, Rabišu in the sixth, Tirid  
 4. in the seventh, Ilutu in the eighth, Bēnnu  
 5. in the ninth, Sidanu in the tenth, Mikit  
 6. in the eleventh, Bēl-kabri in the twelfth,  
 7. Ummu in the thirteenth, Libu in the fourteenth  
 8. gate he placed. He cut off her ħudubā (?) in the court,  
 9. giving a command to Namtāru, his warrior: 'The gates  
 10. shall be opened—now will I rush upon you.'  
 11. Within the house he seized Eriš-ki-gal,  
 12. by her hair he dragged her down then from the throne  
 13. to the ground, her head to cut off.  
 14. 'Slay me not, my brother, let me speak to thee.'  
 15. When Nergal heard her, loosing his hands, weeping she sobbed :  
 16. 'Be thou my husband and I thy wife. I will cause thee to take  
 17. the kingdom in the wide earth. I will place the tablet  
 18. of wisdom in thy hand, thou shalt be lord,  
 19. I will be lady.' Nergal heard this, her speech—  
 20. he took her, kissing her, and wiping away her tears :  
 21. 'Whatever thou hast asked me for months past  
 22. now receives consent.'

Conjecturally the lacunae may be easily filled up. When Namtāru, Eriš-ki-gal's messenger, arrived on high to fetch his mistress's share of the feast, all the gods stood up before him, except one, and on his return he informed the Queen of Hades of the want of respect on the part of one of her brothers on high. The result was, that the messenger was sent back with the demand that the delinquent should be delivered up to her, that she might punish him

with death. The gods consented, but did not like parting with their companion, though they recognized the justice, from their point of view, of Ereš-ki-gal's demand. Namtāru seems, therefore, to have been sent back with words of consent, and a statement that Nergal would follow afterwards. Appeal was apparently made to the god Ea (Ae) for counsel, the result being, that Nergal was promised twice seven companions, whose names are given, some of them being recognizable as personifications of the ills which sometimes afflict mankind: Mutabriqu, the thrower of lightning; Rabišu, the liar in wait; ʿIrid, the driver; Benna, some kind of sickness; Umma, fever, etc. With these he goes down to the gate of Hades, and commands the watchman to open. Namtāru announces him, and Ereš-ki-gal directs that Nergal should be brought in, that she might kill him. The god of death, however, had other ideas, and posts his companions at the fourteen gates of Hades, so as to make sure, apparently, of a free passage to the interior. What it was that Nergal cut off in the courtyard of Hades is unknown—the word is doubtful, and research is at present powerless to reveal its correct form, or to enable one to judge what the object may be. An alternative translation would be, 'He cut the (? two) . . . . which were in the court,' perhaps something which kept the gates closed, or which communicated with the interior, giving notice of the approach of an enemy.

Nergal is then represented as giving a command to his warrior—probably in prospective—the spirit of fate, Namtāru, saying, 'Let the gates be opened,' and having rushed in, instead of being himself killed by Ereš-ki-gal, he seized her by the hair, with the intention of serving her as she would have served him. Her proposal that they should wed, instead of his cutting her head off, is made in the same words as Istar used to the hero Gilgameš with different result. Nergal, however, at once accepts, and the words which he uses after kissing her and wiping away her tears, suggest that all this comedy was part of the courtship, and that she had already sent to him in the realms above, asking for various things, which Nergal had not felt inclined to grant, hence her demand for him to be delivered to her for immediate execution as a punishment for not standing up in the presence of her messenger. If the words be rightly understood, he at the end grants her all her desires.

*(To be continued.)*



## AN ASSYRIAN INCANTATION AGAINST GHOSTS.

BY R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, *M.A.*

The following is a transliteration and translation of my copy of the Assyrian Tablet K. 2175, published in Part XXIII of *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets., etc.*, plates 15, ff. The contents are new, and describe the methods of laying a ghost which has appeared. As usual, long formulæ containing the descriptions of all possible apparitions are prescribed, in order that the wizard may show that he knows the name of the haunting spirit. "A brother's ghost, or a twin, or one unnamed, or with none to pay it rites, or one slain by the sword, or one that hath died by fault of god, or sin of king" (Col. I, ll. 6-8), or "the ghost of one unburied, or of a brother, or anything evil"<sup>1</sup> (ll. 22-23). The most interesting part is the actual charm. Two different kinds of thread or hair are to be spun together and knotted seven times, and the ends are to be sprinkled with a mixture of cedar oil, the man's spittle, leavened dough, earth from an old grave, earth (or dust) from the roots of some thorny plant, dust from an ant-hole, and one or two other ingredients of which the translation is doubtful. The man's temples are to be bound with this, after the due incantation has been repeated, and it is apparently to be twisted tighter until a change of colour in his face occurs, but this last, however, is a little doubtful. It is not curious to find the same materials for spells found in Semitic charms of a later date, many of these, notably dust from old graves, and earth from an ant-heap, occurring in quite modern Oriental grimoires.

To complete the charm, two little figures, probably of clay or some plastic material, are to be made, one to represent the living man, and the other the dead man whose ghost is now roaming

<sup>1</sup> For this phrase, compare Meissner, *Ritualtafeln*, p. 152, No. 45, l. 9, but it is also possible to translate it here "or of an evil brother or sister."

on earth.<sup>2</sup> The magician is then to dig a grave and bury the latter in it, while the former he is to wash in pure water and lay in the sun; the head of the man himself, together with his whole body, is to be washed in oil, and a spell repeated three times.

There is another incantation to be used when the ghost of the dead man has been recognized, and his name is known. A small clay figure of the dead man is to be made, and inscribed on the left side with his name; this is to be placed in a gazelle's horn (as a coffin), a hole is to be dug in the shadow of a caper or thorn bush, and it is then to be buried there.

## OBVERSE.

## COL. I.

.....  
 . . di ša ki ba(?) innammaru (ru) . . . . .  
 lu ekimmu ša ina a-ra-an ili u še-rit šarri [imût] . . . . .  
 iš<sup>u</sup>dalat bâbi-ia li-tir irat-ka ina ka- . . . . .  
 ZI AN.NA KAN.PA ZI KLA KAN.[PA]. . . . .  
 5. AN.ZA.GAR IGLLA ŠI.NE.IN.DU.RU GABA-ZU . . . . .  
 . . . . . KAN.NILLA

Šiptu . Ekimmu GAR.SAG.NAM.MA UŠ.UŠ-an-ni ur-ra u  
 muši(?) . . pu(?)-luḥ(?)-tu . . . lu ekimmu a-ḥu-u  
 lu-u ekimmu ma-šu-u lu-u ekimmu ša šu-ma la na-bu-u lu-u  
 ekimmu ša pa-ḳi-da la i-šu-u  
 lu-u ekimmu ša . . . . lu-u ekimmu ša ina iš<sup>u</sup>kakki di-ki lu-u  
 ekimmu ša ina a-ra-an ili u še-rit šarri imût  
 . . . . . su an-na-a lim-ḥur-ma ia-a-ši li-maš-ši-ra-an-ni

10. [INIM . INIM . MA            BAD . MEŠ]            IGI . MEŠ  
 tippuš suāti VII GAR.DU.DU GAR.KU.ŠE.[SA.A] . . . . .  
 ri-te šupur alpi sâmi  
 KU.ŠE.SA.A GAR.ŠE.ŠIŠ ana pani tanadi šiptu an-ni-tu III-šu  
 tamanu (nu) . . . . tanakḳi (ḳi)

Šiptu . Nišê<sup>pl</sup> mi-ta-tum am-me-ni tannammaru itti-ia ša alâni<sup>pl</sup>-  
 ši-na tilâni<sup>pl</sup> . . . -ši-na iz-me-e-tum  
 ana-ku ul al-lak ana Kûti<sup>ki</sup> bu-ḥur ekimmi at-tu-nu am-me-ni  
 . . <sup>pl</sup>-ka ar-ki-ia tum-me-tu-nu

<sup>2</sup> The figure of the dead man is then, as far as can be made out from a broken line in the text, to have a dirty libation poured on it, while that of the living receives one of pure water; but this is doubtful.

15. <sup>ilu</sup>A-ba-tu aššat šarri <sup>ilu</sup>Allatu aššat šarri <sup>ilu</sup>NIN.KURUN.AN.NA  
<sup>sal</sup>dupšarratu ša ilâni<sup>pl</sup> ša ға-an dup-ṗa-ša <sup>abnu</sup>uknû <sup>abnu</sup>šamtu

INIM . INIM . MA            BAD . MEŠ            IGI . MEŠ

tippuš šuâti . . . . ana erib <sup>ilu</sup>Šamsi bat-te ana lib ғaran alṗi a-ḫi  
 tibut(ut)(?) KU.ŠE.SA.A GAR.ŠE.ŠIŠ tanadi (di)  
 . . . . . KAB KUR mē-šu-nu-ti tamaḫaṣ(aṣ) šiptu III-šu  
 tamanu (nu) mē-šu-nu-ti ana būri  
 . . . . . taballal GAR.NA GI.BIL.LA tuš-ba'-šu

20. [Šiptu . <sup>ilu</sup>Šamsu] muš-te-šir elûta(ta)<sup>pl</sup> u šaplûta(ta)[<sup>pl</sup>] ṗa-ṗir  
 ka-si-e at-ta-ma

. . . . . [ekimmu GAR.SAG] . NAM.MA UŠ.UŠ-an-ni ṗa-  
 . . . pu-luḫ-tu ar-ta-na-aš-šu-u  
 . . . . . [lu-u] utukku lim-nu lu-[u]alû lim-nu lu-u ekimmu  
 lim-nu  
 . . . . . [lu-u ekimmu] la ғib-ru [lu-u] ekimmu ša aḫi u mimma  
 lim-nu  
 . . . . . lu-u ekimmu ša ina ṣeri na-du-ma

25. . . . . a-šu ṗi-қid-su

[INIM . INIM . MA            BAD . MEŠ]            IGI . MEŠ

. . . . . -rat A.BAR in-na-aš-šu-u  
 . . . . . MAḪ IM.RI.A-šu tuš-ta-na-al-šu-nu-ti

. . . . . DIM.MA.GE E.NE

30. . . . . [ḪE].EN.ŠI.IN.GIN.NA

[UTUG.ḪUL A.LA.ḪUL]            BAR.KU ḪE.IM.TA.GUB

[INIM . INIM . MA            BAD . MEŠ]            IGI . MEŠ

[šiptu . <sup>amelu</sup>(?)SA(?)GAZ.ZA ғatâ<sup>II</sup>-šu limsi u ḪAR.GIM<sup>3</sup>  
 taқabbi <sup>ilu</sup>Šamsu ekimmu limnu ša at-ta tidi-ma  
 ana-ku la idi u la iṗḫḫi la i-ғar-ri-ba la inakar(?) . . a-lak-ta-šu  
 purus (us) taқabbi-ma

35. ṣupur alṗi sâmi KU.ŠE.ŠIŠ ana libbi tanadi (di) ina <sup>šammu</sup>elpiti  
 diš-ši-niṣ(?)tamaḫaṣ(aṣ) tanaққи(қi)-ma mitûti<sup>pl</sup> ipparrasu<sup>pl</sup>

Šiptu . DINGIR.BABBAR LUGAL GIDIM.GIDIM.E.NE.  
 GE : GIDIM IM.ŠU TU.UL.RU.A

<sup>3</sup> "Like a . . ." The phrase seems to mean "clearly," and occurs elsewhere with *қabû* (see *C. T.*, Part XXIII, pl. I, l. 12).

- GU.ŠI.NE.IN.GAB.RU IGI.LA.E : GU.ŠI.NE.IN.GAB.RU  
ME.EN  
DINGIR.BABBAR DINGIR.ZA.GAR DINGIR.MA.ĤIR.  
DA LA.E GLA NU.IGI.E ME.EN DINGIR.ZA.GAR  
DINGIR.MA.ĤIR.DA  
GAR.ZAG ŠU BAL.BALE.NE ME.EN : TU DINGIR.EN.  
KI DAR ZU.AB DAR ZU.AB.GE  
40. EN.GAL DINGIR.BABBAR KIBI ĤE.EN.BALE : MU.  
PAD.DA DINGIR.RI.E.NE  
DINGIR.ZA.GAR DINGIR.MA.ĤIR.DA.RIA : DINGIR.  
NIN.KI.GAL DINGIR.NIN.A.ZU.GE  
NAM.MU.UN.DA.AN.BUR.RI DINGIR.NE.URUGAL  
DUR.GU.BI ĤE.NE.IN.SAR.SAR

INIM.INIM.MA enuma amelu mitu itti ameli balṭi ana limutti  
innammar ana parasi-im(?)<sup>4</sup>-ma la innammar . .

- tippuš suāti šipātu<sup>4</sup>pusikki šipātuKAN.ME.DA ešteniš(niš) tiṭimmi  
VII kišri takašar  
45. šaman erini ru'uti(?) ameli KU.ŠE.ŠIŠ epir kimalḥḥi labiri pi  
pu-lu-uk-ki i<sup>su</sup>ašagi(?)  
epir išdi balti epir zir-ba-bi ešteniš(niš) taballal ki-iš-ri tasallaḥ  
e-ma takšur šiṭti tamani ina SAG.KI [ameli takašar]  
ki-a-am tu-kin-nu-šu<sup>4</sup> a-di sâmi pa-an pi-ši-e pi-zu-u pa-an ši-rip  
sâmi iš-šak-[kan]  
ekimmu ša itti-ia innammar a-a i-tu-ram-ma ina ma-ša-rat  
ûmi(?) . . . . .  
šum-ma tidi-šu šuma-šu takašar(ar)-šum-ma ina muši lu ina kal  
ûme . . . . .

## COL. II.

. . . . .  
. . . . .  
šalam ameli miti ana . . . . .  
ana pani-šu tašakkan (an) šalam ameli balṭi . . . . .  
šalam ameli balṭi ina karpāt mē(?) . . tanaḥḥi (ḫi) šalam ameli  
miti ina karpāt la . . . . .

<sup>4</sup> Read thus with Col. II, l. 23.

5. şalam ameli mîti kimahhi tanaçar-ma te-[kib]-bir-šu : ZI PAD.  
DE E TU UT MA'SU . . . . .

şalam ameli balți ina mē ellūti<sup>pl</sup> timissi [ina] pani<sup>ilu</sup> Šamši tar-şa  
ili ameli marşi zumri-šu kakkadi-[šu] . . . . . şamni  
tu-ra-ĥu-şu III-şu[taĥabbi]ur-ru-u ka-si şil-lu şal-lu ana bîti-şu  
şuteşur

Şiptu. <sup>ilu</sup>Šamšu şar şamê u irşiti daian elûta (ta)<sup>pl</sup> u şaplûta (ta)  
bêl ameli mîti mur-te-du-u ameli balți

<sup>ilu</sup>Šamšu mîtûti<sup>pl</sup> şa iš-şak-nu-nim-ma innammaru (ru) lu ekim  
abi-ia u ummi-ia lu ekim aĥi-ia

10. u aĥati-ia an-nam lim-ĥu-ru-ma ia-a-şi li-maş-şi-ru-nin-ni

tippuş şuâti ina še-rim ina şimetan . . ki-şir mē ellūti tasallaĥ pani  
<sup>ilu</sup>Šamši GAR.NA RIG.LI taşakkan (an) bi-riş tanaĥki (ki)  
şinat imiri ina şupur alpi . . . [ekimmu] şa itti ameli innammar  
III-şu tanaĥki(ki)-ma ameli mîtûti<sup>pl</sup> ipparrasu<sup>pl</sup>

Enuma amelu mîtu itti ameli balți innammaru . . . . . [şalmi]  
şa tiĥti tippuş (uş) şuma-şu ina naglabi şumeli-şu taşatar  
ana lib ĥaran şabiti taşakkan-şu-ma pani-şu . . . . .  
[ina]şilli<sup>isu</sup>balti lu ina şilli<sup>isu</sup>aşagi

15. bûri tanaçar-ma te-kib-bir-şu . . . . . taĥabbi

(Remainder too mutilated for insertion.)

OBVERSE.

COL. I.

. . . . .  
[Whether thou art a ghost that] . . . . .

. . . . .  
Or a ghost that [hath died] by fault of god, or sin of king . . . .

May the door of my portal turn thee back . . . . .

By Heaven be thou exorcised! By Earth be thou exorcised! . . . .

5. May Zagar, that appeareth(?), go in front (and) [turn] thee  
back . . . . .

Incantation. The ghost that hath . . . . and hath attacked  
me, by day and night(?) [casteth ?] fear(?) [upon me];  
. . . . . whether it be the ghost of a brother,

Or a twin-ghost, or a ghost without a name, or a ghost with none  
to care for it,

*Or a ghost which . . . , or a ghost slain by the sword, or a ghost that hath died by fault of god or sin of king, . . . . . may it accept this, and leave me free!*

10. [*Prayer for the dead*] appearing.

*Thou shalt do this: Put before (thee) seven small loaves of bread of roast<sup>5</sup> corn, . . . . ., the hoof of a dark-coloured ox Flour of roast corn, a lump of leaven.<sup>1</sup> Thou shalt repeat this incantation three times . . . . and pour libation.*

*Incantation. O ye dead folk, whose cities are heaps of earth, whose . . . are sorrowful, why have ye appeared unto me? I will not come to Kutha! Ye are the first-born of ghosts; why do ye cast your enchantments upon me?*

15. *O Abatu,<sup>6</sup> king's wife! O Allatu, king's wife! O Nin-kurunnanna, scribe of the gods, whose pen is of lapis and samtustone!*

*Prayer for the dead appearing*

*Thou shalt do this:—About the hour of sunset thou shalt put a mixture(?) of the flour of roast corn (and) the lump of leaven into the horn of another ox, . . . . Thou shalt beat up the liquid thereof; thou shalt repeat this incantation three times; the liquid thereof into a hole . . . . thou shalt pour; then, bring a torch (and) censer to him.*

20. [*Incantation. O Sun-god*] *that ruleth what is above and below, that releaseth those in bondage, . . . . [the ghost] that hath . . . and attacked me, I am overwhelmed with fear, . . . . whether it be an evil spirit, or an evil demon, or an evil ghost, . . . . . or a ghost of one unburied, or the ghost of a brother, or anything evil<sup>7</sup> . . . . . or a ghost of one that lieth (unburied) in the desert,*

<sup>5</sup> On KU.ŠE.SA.A and GAR.ŠE.ŠIŠ, see Meissner, *Ritualtafeln*. GAR.ŠE.ŠIŠ is there translated “‘bitter’ meal,” but it evidently is meant in this text to be used as leaven, the words suggesting bread that has gone sour.

<sup>6</sup> Anatu?

<sup>7</sup> Or perhaps read *aḫi u aḫati lim-nu* “‘of an evil brother or sister.’”

25. . . . . [into the kindly hands?] of his [god] commend him!  
 [Prayer for the dead] appearing

. . . . . of lead are brought

. . . . . his fear lay them

. . . . . go forth

30. . . . . may they go

[May the evil Spirit, the evil Demon] stand aside!

[Prayer for the dead] appearing

[Incantation.] Let the slaughterer(?) cleanse his hands; clearly(?) shalt thou<sup>8</sup> say:—"O Sun-god, the evil ghost which thou knowest

I know not; let it not approach nor draw nigh nor attack(?) me; do thou block its way" shalt thou say.

Place the leavened dough in the hoof of the dark-coloured ox, and beat up thickly(?) with a reed<sup>9</sup>. Pour out the libation, and the dead will be stayed.

Incantation: O Sun-god, king of spirits . . . . .

(Ll. 37-39 uncertain).

40. O great lord Sun, break forth upon the land! Invoke the gods!  
 Zagar with Mahir . . , Allatu, Ninazu!  
 The . . . of Nergal, let it not be loosed, but let it be bound!

Prayer for when a dead man appeareth unto a living man for evil, to turn him back that he appear not.

Thou shalt do this: Spin a pusikku-thread(?) and a kanmeda-thread(?) together, and tie seven knots in it.

45. Thou shalt mix together oil of cedar, spittle<sup>10</sup> of the man, the leavened dough, earth from an old grave, a tortoise's<sup>11</sup>(?) mouth(?), a thorn(?),

<sup>8</sup> Or perhaps the third person all through this section.

<sup>9</sup> *Elpitu*, cf. Late Hebrew עֵלְפִיטָא.

<sup>10</sup> *Ru'utu*. The characters are UŠ.GU "blood (or similar) of the mouth," but they also form in conjunction the character 𒍪𒍪, i.e., UŠ in GU, which has the value *ru'utu*.

<sup>11</sup> *Pulukku* is the equivalent of Cancer in the Assyrian Zodiac (see Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 311) but there is no crab represented in the zodiacal signs on the Babylonian boundary stones, as Jensen (*Kosmologie*, p. 65) points out. The equivalent is probably, according to the same authority, the *tortoise*, which appears to take the place of Cancer in these representations, but the translation here seems to be untrustworthy.

*Earth from the roots of the caper*<sup>12</sup>, *earth of ants*<sup>13</sup>: *thou shalt sprinkle the knots with this where thou hast tied them. Thou shalt repeat this incantation, [(and) bind it] on the temples*<sup>14</sup> [of the man].

*Thus shalt thou tighten it, until the darkening of the white part of the face and the whitening of the dark-coloured part of the face takes place.*

*· O ghost that hath appeared unto me, return not again, and in the watch . . . . .*

*If thou knowest its name, thou canst bind it, and by night or every day (?) . . . . .'*

## COL. II.

. . . . .  
*a figure (image) of the dead man . . . . .*

*Thou shalt lay it before him: a figure of the living man . . . . .*

*Over a figure of the living man with a cup of [pure] water (?) thou shalt pour a libation; on the figure of the dead man with a cup of [impure (?) water (?) thou shalt pour a libation]*

5. *(For) the figure of the dead man thou shalt dig a grave and bury it; . . .*

*Thou shalt wash the figure of the living man in pure water (and) lay it out before the sun, the god of the sick man; his body, [his] head . . . in oil*

<sup>12</sup> On *baltu*, see my *Devils and Evil Spirits*, I, p. 137. It is possibly the equivalent of the Syriac **ܒܠܬܘ**, *radix capparis spinosa*.

<sup>13</sup> *Zirbabu*. The most probable rendering is "ant." It is the name of a small animal or insect, with a synonym *lamattu*. "20 Landmeilen Schlangen und Skorpionen (GIR.TAB) *ša ki-ma zir-ba-bi malû ugaru* welche gleich z. das Feld erfüllen" (Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 264). *Lamattu* (= *lamantu*) is to be

compared with the Hebrew **נִמְלָה**, the Arabic **نملة**, by metathesis of the *l*, *m*, *n*-letters, sufficiently frequent in the Semitic languages (cf. **נִמְלָה**,

**نملة**, **نملة**). Compare also the use of "the dust of an ant's hole" in the Hebrew charm No. 5 in the "Folklore of Mossoul," *P.S.B.A.*, March 14, 1906.

<sup>14</sup> For SAG.KI cf. *Devils and Evil Spirits*, II, 81, 83.



*Thou shalt wash all over ; three times thou shalt say " Light . . . . . direct to his house "* <sup>15</sup>

*Incantation : O Sun-god, king of heaven and earth, judge of what is above and below, lord of the dead, ruler of the living, O Sun-god, the dead who have arisen and appeared, whether the ghost of my father, or of my mother, or the ghost of my brother*

10. *Or of my sister, let them accept this and leave me free !*

*Thou shalt do this : in the morning in the twilight thou shalt sprinkle the knots with pure water ; thou shalt lay a censer (burning) burašu (-wood or gum) before the Sun-god, and make plentiful libation*

*Thou shalt pour as libation three times asses' urine in the hoof of the ox [for (?)] the ghost that hath appeared unto the man, and the dead will be stayed.*

*When a dead man appeareth unto a living man . . . thou shalt make [a figure] of clay, and write his name on the left side with a stylus.*

*Thou shalt put it in a gazelle's horn and its face . . . . . and in the shade of a caper-bush or in the shade of a thorn-bush.*

15. *Thou shalt dig a hole and thou shalt bury it, . . . . . thou shalt say.*

(Remainder too mutilated for publication.)

<sup>15</sup> The sense and reading of this are obscure.

## A BRONZE FIGURE FROM RAKKA.

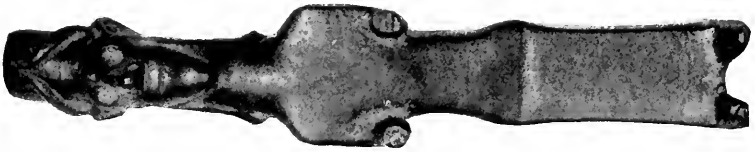
BY H. S. COWPER, *F.S.A.*

This little bronze figure I purchased last winter from Kyticas, the Cairo dealer, who told me it came from, and was probably found at, Rakka on the Euphrates.

The figure stands  $4\frac{1}{16}$  inches high, and is of crude design and unusual style. The head bears a high cap, encircled with horns, indicating Babylonian influence, although the figure is evidently not Babylonian. The face is long, the nose prominent and pointed; and the eyes, nostrils, and ear-holes are formed by circular holes, apparently bored, the eye-holes being in one, and passing behind the nose. The cheeks bulge out, the artist's intention probably being to represent high cheek bones, while the mouth is a mere lipless line. The hair falls on the shoulders, where it has a projecting outward twist, which suggests a wig, and rather resembles the treatment of the hair in the stela of a Hittite king from Birejik now in the British Museum.

The rest of the figure is even ruder than the face. From the neck downwards it is nearly flat, though there is a little modelling about the neck and chest, with nothing to indicate that a female is represented. The arms are raised from the elbow, but the hands are broken off. The hips are represented by a slight lateral projection and a transverse groove on front and back, and from here downwards the legs are undivided and shapeless. The feet, however, are indicated separately.

The bronze seems to represent a man in a long robe—perhaps a priest with offerings. When I bought it I thought it a barbarous figure, shewing influence of Babylonian art, but Professor Sayce has called my attention to the so-called Hittite Bronzes, figured by Perrot and Chipiez and others. The locality it comes from (Rakka is 150 English miles N.E. of Ḥamāh, and 100 miles S.E. of Jerabis), the peculiar treatment of the eyes, the prominent features, and clean shaved face, combine to give it some title to be classed among those bronzes, and to be considered a remarkable example.



BRONZE FIGURE FROM RAKKA.  
Belonging to H. S. Cowper, Esq., F.S.A.



## SOME MUNICH COPTIC FRAGMENTS.

## II.

By E. O. WINSTEDT.

*(For Part I see page 137.)*

## IGNATIUS.

Copt. 2, 113 = Copt. 3, LXV. The handwriting seems the same as that of the Dioscorus MS.

## RECTO.

[ТОА]ЕИГ[ОИ]ЕТЕУ  
 [УЕГАР]НЕЕТ[РЕИ]ИСОТИ  
 [ИСАПЕ]ТСОТИ[АТОНЕТ]ТОАИ  
 ИГА[НОТАЕ]ИПААТ[СО]ТИ  
 ЕТИИТЕТСЕВНС :  
 ПЕХАҚИОТРАИАНОСХЕЗСО  
 ОКЕПТЕСХИСЕ · ИТЕТИ  
 ХООСНАҚХЕССОТИИСА  
 ПАТТОКРАТОР · АТОНИ  
 ОТЕКАТАПДОГНАИТЕТИ  
 КАНТОС · ПЕХАҚИОТ  
 ИГНАТИОСХЕАНОКТРЗОТЕ  
 ЗИТҚИПАДОГНАИПНОТТЕ  
 ЕТХОТИОСХЕИТЕУСО

## VERSO.

ЕХИИЕ[УАУ · ПЕХАҚ]  
 ПОННА[ТИО]СХЕЗ[ИСЕИИ]  
 ЕТ[НАУ]СОПЕИИ[ОИЕТВЕ]  
 [ООНО]МОГЛЕЗОТ[ИЕНХС]  
 ИС · СЕССОУГНА[ИЕЗ]ОТИИ  
 ЗЕНВЕКИТЕЕСТО[Т]ААВ · И  
 ЗИСЕГАРИИЕИОТОЕИУТЕ  
 ПОТСЕИПРААИИПЕО  
 ОРЕТИАТОЛИНЕРОННОС  
 ЕТЕНЗ : ПЕХАҚИОТ  
 ТРАИАНОСХЕПРОМЕ · ТСО  
 ЕРОКЛОННОПАГАКНИ  
 ЕИРЕИТЕТОТОТЕЗСАИЕ  
 ИНОУНАК · ЕУСОИИ

1. 2 r., the И of ИСОТИ can hardly be the beginning of ИСА, and seems to be a slip of the copyist. 14 r., I am not sure if there is room for ОТАЕ.

RECTO—*continued.*

ΠΕΝΑΚΤΩΙΣΕΙΚΕΝΟΤΕ  
 ΠΒΑΛΛΙ· ΔΥΩΧΕΝΕΤΗ[Δ]  
 ΟΥΛΟΥΤΗΓΕΝΗΟΤΤ[ΕΙ]  
 ΖΗΝΟ· ΣΕΝΑΔΟΥ[Ω]  
 ΠΓΗΑΣΟΤΗΔ[ΠΕΔΥΕΤΓ]  
 ΚΑΠΤΟΣΠΠΡ[ΡΟΕΦΟΥΣΕΣ]  
 ΕΔΖΗΕΝΑΙΕΝΑΡΑΠ[ΟΠΟΣ]  
 [ΠΠ]ΠΟΣΓΑΡΠΠΠΟ[ΥΤΕ]  
 [ΧΩ]ΠΠΠΟΣ· ΧΕΠΠ[ΕΚΧΙΣΟ]  
 [Π]ΟΥΔΥΠΑΣΤΗΣ· [ΔΥΩΟΥ]  
 [Π]ΠΕΚΣΠΠΠΟ[ΤΚΠΠ]  
 [ΟΥΠ]ΠΠΥΣΕΧΗΟΤΚ[ΔΚΙΑ]  
 [ΠΕΧ]ΔΥΠΠΠΡΑΠ[ΔΠΟΣ]

VERSO—*continued.*

ΠΟΠ· ΦΠΔΥΡΩΠΑΚΠΖΕ  
 [Κ]ΕΒΑΣΑΠΟ[Σ]ΕΤΣΟΟΤΕΠΠ.  
 [ΠΕΧ]ΔΥΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ  
 [ΠΕΠΠ]ΠΠΡΥΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ  
 [ΠΠΠΠ]ΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ  
 [ΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ]· ΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ  
 [ΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ]· ΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ  
 [ΔΥΠΠ]ΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ  
 [ΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ]ΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ  
 [ΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ]ΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ  
 [ΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ]ΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ  
 [ΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ]ΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ  
 [ΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ]ΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ  
 ΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ[ΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ]  
 ΕΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ

The last line of verso I give from Des Rivières' copy, in which all the letters are marked as uncertain. The traces of the tops of letters which are still visible seem from my copy to fit just as well with ΚΠΠΠΠ, which would agree with the Bohairic version **ΧΕ** ΕΚΠΠΠΠ ΠΠΠΠ ΠΠΠΠ.

l. 21 v., ΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠΠ, Des Rivières probably from conjecture as it should be the verb.

Copt. 2, No. 89 = Copt. 3, No. LXVI :—

RECTO.

[HKⲉ]ⲣⲁⲧⲉ · HTO[ϣⲛⲟⲥⲓⲕ]  
 [HTI]ⲛⲣⲁⲧⲛⲟⲧⲛⲉ · ⲁⲧⲟ  
 [OⲗⲆ]ⲥⲟⲛⲉⲓⲛⲥⲟⲛⲉⲗⲁⲛⲉⲗ ·  
 [ⲁⲗ]ⲥⲟⲁⲛⲟⲕⲁⲓⲛⲥⲟⲧⲛⲓⲣⲧ  
 [ⲁⲗ]ⲥⲟⲁⲓⲛⲣⲱⲛⲁⲛⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ  
 [ⲣⲥⲆⲃ]ⲟⲁⲓⲛⲁⲗⲗⲁⲗ · ⲉⲧⲃⲉ  
 [ⲛⲁⲦ]ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲫⲣⲟⲛⲉⲓⲛⲉⲕ  
 [ⲃⲁⲤⲛ]ⲥⲧⲓⲣⲓⲟⲛ · ⲁⲗⲥⲟⲧ  
 [ⲧⲉⲤⲟⲉⲃ]ⲟⲁⲓⲛⲉⲕⲧⲁⲉⲓⲟ

VERSO.

[ⲉⲓⲛⲉⲕⲓⲧⲉⲧⲛ]  
 ⲣⲓⲟⲛ · ⲕⲉⲕⲁⲥⲉⲛⲁ[ϣⲥⲟⲛⲉ]  
 ⲛⲟⲧⲟⲉⲓⲕⲉⲣⲧⲃⲛⲓⲧ · [ⲛⲁⲓ]  
 ⲁⲃⲓⲧⲉⲣⲉⲣⲥⲟⲧⲛⲉⲣ[ⲟⲣ]  
 ⲛⲟⲧⲧⲣⲁⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ · ⲁⲣⲣ[ϣⲛⲛ]  
 ⲣⲉⲥⲛⲁⲧⲉ · ⲁⲗⲥⲟⲛⲉⲕ[ⲁⲣⲕⲉ]  
 ⲟⲗⲛⲟⲥⲧⲉⲟⲧⲛⲟ[ⲓⲟⲛⲛⲓ]  
 ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲓⲥⲉⲧⲉⲧⲉⲓ[ⲗⲆ · ⲓⲛⲓ]  
 ⲗⲓⲛⲉⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲗ[ⲛⲃⲁⲣⲃⲁⲣⲟⲥ]

LXV (*cf.* Lightfoot, *Ap. Fath.*, II, 2,876 foll.)—" (they are) condemned. For we ought to pursue (?) what is good, (and) not what is damnable. Nothing is better than godliness. Lacerate his back, saying to him, obey the emperor and sacrifice according to the decree of the senate.' Ignatius said: 'I fear the decree of God which saith, "thou shalt have none other gods but me," and "he that worshippeth strange gods shall be put to death." I will not obey the senate and the king when he bids me transgress: for the law of God saith, "thou shalt not accept the person of a ruler," and (again) "thou shalt not consort with numbers for evil." Trajan said: ' (Pour vinegar mixed with salt)

(*Verso*) upon his (wounds).' Ignatius said: '(All the) sufferings (which shall) happen to me (for) the confession of Jesus (Christ) gather for me holy rewards: "for the sufferings of the present season are not worthy of the honour which shall be revealed to us"

Recto, l. 1, HKⲉ, Des Rivières probably wrongly; the letters are now lost. OTOZ EIZHA, Boh. l. 5, HEETE = HEETE, probably a mistake in my copy. l. 8, HTETHPION, Des Rivières.

Verso, l. 1, I could not read the slight traces of letters that remain, and so give Des Rivières' reading though it cannot be right; ZITENENHAXI HNAMONHPION, Boh. l. 4, EPOT, Des R.; probably EPOT.

even as it is written.' Trajan said: 'Spare thyself, fellow, henceforth, and do that which is bidden thee; if not, I will employ worse tortures than these.' Ignatius said: 'Who (shall) separate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation, (or distress,) or famine, or peril, or the sword? I am persuaded that neither (life) nor death shall be able to (part me) from godliness, (being) confident in the power of Christ.' Trajan said: ' . . .

LXVL.—'I go my way to him: he is the bread of immortality and the draught of eternal life. And I am wholly his, and I yearn for him in my mind. Therefore I despise thy tortures (?), and I reject thy honours.

(*Verso*) thy beasts (?) that I may become pure bread.' But Trajan, when he heard these things, was greatly astonished, and said: 'Great is the endurance of those who believe on (Christ, What) Greek or . . . . .'"

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#### PETER AND PAUL.

These fragments appear to be from a different MS. to the Dioscorus fragments. Des Rivières copies the four columns of CL and again of CLII abreast; and this, coupled with the narrowness of the columns, makes it probable that each page had two columns, not one, as the Dioscorus fragments. If so, CLI was only a fragment of a page. The fourth column of CLII corresponds clearly enough with the Greek Martyrium Petri et Pauli, § 50 (*Lipsius Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, Vol. I, p. 162), and the preceding three columns to §§ 47-49, though not so exactly. CL refers to an attempt to bribe Nero and the baptism of one Dionysius, neither of which events are recorded in the Greek martyrism. Whether CL belongs to the same text at all it is difficult to say, as it is so mutilated as to defy translation. It appears to be dealing with a sinner and a gate, neither of which can I find mentioned in the Greek version. However, as the Coptic version seems not to correspond exactly with the Greek, and Des Rivières states that this fragment is in the same handwriting, it is better to add it. Nothing similar occurs in the fragments published by Von Lemm, Guidi, and Jacoby.



Copt. 3, CLII:—

COL. I.	COL. II.
..... <b>OI</b> .	<b>CO</b> . . . . .
.... <b>ONΔEE</b>	<b>T</b> . . . . .
<b>EPENHOTTE</b>	<b>CA</b> . . . . .
<b>NAPOTH</b> . . .	<b>HE</b> . . . . .
<b>NAAT</b> . . . <b>II</b>	<b>OE</b> . . . . .
<b>PEHTA</b> . . <b>CAE</b>	<b>PH</b> . . . . .
<b>COPEXAC</b>	<b>Z</b> . . . . .
<b>ΠONHPON</b>	<b>P</b> . . . . .
<b>XEHPXH</b>	<b>E</b> . . . . .
<b>ΘOA · ZOBHNI</b>	<b>HO</b> . . . . .
<b>EOOOTHOTK</b>	<b>O</b> . . . . .
<b>HE · XEHTOT</b>	<b>PH</b> . . . . .
<b>TECHHPAP</b>	<b>PH · [HCO]</b>
<b>ESZOOTEK</b>	<b>THP</b> [ <b>ICHXE</b> ]
<b>EPENNAI</b>	<b>PH</b> [ <b>PHNA</b> ]
<b>ATCOEAKAA</b>	<b>ETOTAAE</b>
<b>PAEHPHALO</b>	<b>PEXACHPAC</b>
<b>ΓICHOEZHTH</b>	<b>PAΓMOEXE</b>
<b>ZAZHZOB ·</b>	<b>ANOKZOF</b>
<b>ZOCTEETH</b>	<b>ZONOLOGEI</b>
<b>TPAEPAHC</b>	<b>PHNAQH</b>
<b>TOSHEK</b>	<b>NAI · XEHN</b>
<b>ZBHTE · HE</b>	<b>OTXAEPOON</b>
<b>XAPHONET</b>	<b>ZHPOAAATEI</b>
<b>POCXEHPPO</b>	<b>AO</b> . . . <b>HE</b> . .
.... <b>BHT</b> . .	<b>H</b>
	<b>HE</b>

Col. I, l. 7, **CO** or **OI**, Des R. ll. 16–17, undoubtedly **EAKPEIPAZE**.Col. II, l. 1, **CO** or **CE**, Des R. l. 4, **HE** or **HO**, Des R. l. 6, **PH** or **PH**,  
Des R. ll. 24–5, **ATCO EIAOΛON** (?).



Copt. 3, CLI:—

COL. I.  
 . . Δ  
 ΩΥ  
 ΕΠΕΕ . . Ζ · ΠΠ  
 ΕΤΕΡΕΠΠ  
 ΡΩΠΠΚΑΛΕΙ  
 ΠΑΤΕΤΒΠ  
 ΠΤ̄ΓΖΑΠΕ  
 Χ̄Ε · ΑΤΩ  
 ΖΠΠΤΡΕΤ  
 ΤΙΖΠΑ  
 ΨΠΠΧΡΠ  
 ΠΑΠΠΕΠΠ  
 ΠΚΩΤΕΠ̄  
 ΠΠΡΩΠΠΡ̄  
 ΡΩ · ΑΡΚΑ  
 ΑΤΕΒΩΠ̄

COL. II.

ΖΑΛ . . . . .  
 ΤΕΠ . . . ΠΑΤ̄  
 ΛΟΣΕΠΑ  
 ΡΑΚΑΛΕΠ̄  
 ΠΘΓΕΤΡΕΓ  
 ΒΑΠΤΙΖΕ  
 ΠΠΘΓΠ̄  
 ΛΑΦΠΧ  
 ΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ  
 ΑΤΩΠΠΤΕΡΕ  
 ΠΑΤΛΟΣΒΑΠ̄  
 ΤΙΖΕΠ̄ΛΙΟ  
 ΠΤ̄ΓΙΟΣΠ̄  
 . . . ΠΧΩΤ̄

Col. I, l. 3, Des R. gives an alternative ΠΠΕ . . ΖΑΙΩ.

Copt. 3, CL:—

COL. I.  
 ΠΠΠΑΠΠ  
 Τ . . ΠΠΔΕ  
 . . . Ζ . . . ΨΩ  
 ΠΕΖΩΩΩ  
 ΟΤΡΕΦΡΠΟ  
 ΖΕΠΕ —  
 ΨΑΠΠΩΖΕΤ

COL. II.

ΑΠ . . . . .  
 ΖΩ . . . . .  
 ΑΤΖ . . . . .  
 ΩΚ . . . . .  
 ΖΤΠΑΡ . . .  
 ΠΠΤΕ . . . .  
 ΧΩΠΤΑ . . .

Col. I, l. 4, ΖΩ or ΖΠ, Des R. ll. 5-6, doubtless ΡΕΦ̄ΡΠΟΒΕ.

COL. I—*continued.*

ρορηενιγ  
 ανθαρε  
 πεσφοτο  
 ωνηεφ  
 ποβεταζενε  
 τογαδβ · ηεε  
 . . . . . ε

COL. II—*continued.*

χουτα . . .  
 αιοκ . . . .  
 ατς . . . . .  
 ρω . . . . .  
 η . . . . .  
 εφ . . . . .

Col. I, l. 10, Des R. gives as variants for C and O, O and G.

COL. III.

. . . . . οκ  
 . . . . . ρη  
 . . . . . Δ  
 . . . . . ητα  
 . . . . . ηεε  
 . . . . . ητο  
 . . . . . πα  
 . . . . . †η  
 . . . . . κη  
 . . . . . αατ  
 . . . . . ωωωφ  
 . . . . . ηκα  
 . . . . . βοτ  
 . . . . . ηφ  
 . . . . . εη

COL. IV.

ηη . . . . .  
 ηοτ . . . . .  
 εηεν . . . ακ . . .  
 ηηηη . . . οοτ  
 ητ . . . ζεζ . . .  
 χωωκαζ . . .  
 ηαααηηηη . . .  
 ακαιοστηηη  
 βοκεζοτηη  
 τεηοτζατηη  
 η . . . αη . . . τ  
 οητηη . . . εα  
 ηωφ . . . . .  
 ητ . . . . .  
 . . . η . . . . .

Col. III, l. 3, Δ or Η, Des. R. l. 12, Η or Η, Des R.

Col. IV, l. 11, Η or Τ, Des R. ; probably ΠΤΜΗ

CLII.—“ . . . . . Nero said: ‘Do not lie. Everything that is evil is thine. By evil art you do these things, and you tempt my judgment through many things, that I may not disbelieve in your works.’ Peter said: ‘King . . . . . the Saviour (Jesus Christ?) and the Holy (Spirit?).’ Paul said to him: ‘I, too, agree with him in this, that there is no salvation in lies . . . . .’

“ . . the Saviour of (?) (all?) men. But Simon said: ‘I (am he?). Ye know (?) me, (Peter) and (Paul. That which?) ye desire does not happen to you.’ Said Peter: ‘Now what I desire has happened to me.’ Paul said: ‘I, too, have done (?) that which I expect.’ Said Simon: ‘Take me away from the . . and I will go up to heaven to my father.’ Nero said: ‘How is it possible for these things to happen?’ Said Simon Magus: ‘Bid them build a wooden tower in the Campus Martius; and I will ascend into it, and my angels will take me up . . . . .’”

CLI.—“ . . . . that with which Nero charges them for (?) Christ. And when much money had been given to those round Nero, he let them go . . . . .

“ . . Paul to exhort him to baptize him and make him a Christian. And when Paul baptized Dionysius . . . . .”

The next Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, December 12th, 1906, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

**The Rev. C. J. Ball, *M.A.*—“Assyrian Notes.”**

*PROCEEDINGS*  
OF  
THE SOCIETY  
OF  
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

---

THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION, 1906.

---

*Seventh Meeting, December 12th, 1906.*

SIR H. H. HOWORTH, *K.C.I.E.*,

IN THE CHAIR.

---

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

From the Author, Prof. E. Naville.—“La Religion des Anciens Égyptiens.”

From the Author, Prof. Dr. A. Wiedemann.—“Ägyptische Religion.”

---

Mr. E. J. Williams, Fort North, Texas,

Mr. G. Haller, 18, Park Village West,

were elected Members of the Society.

---

The following Paper was read :—

Rev. C. J. BALL, *M.A.* : “Assyrian Notes.”

Thanks were returned for this communication.

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## THE CHEDOR-LAOMER TABLETS.

By PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D.*

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*(Continued from p. 200.)*

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Translation of the texts—*continued.*

A. Sp. 158 + Sp. II. 962.

## REVERSE.

- .....
- 
1. I-nu-um      ra-bi-tsu      su-lum i-dib-[bu-ub      ana D.P. nakra]  
*When      the Accuser      welcomed      [the enemy]*
2.    yur-rid      se-du-us-su      sa      ê-sar-ra [bit kissat  
*there departed the guardian-bull of E-sarra [the temple of the host*  
           ilani  
*of the gods],*
3. D.P. nakru      D.P. Elam-u      yur-ri-ikh      lim-ni-e-tum  
*the enemy,      the Elamite,      hurried on      mischief,*
4.    u    Bel      ana      E-KI<sup>7</sup>      yu-sak-pi-du      li-mun-tum  
*and    Bel      against    Babylon      planned      evil.*
- 
5. I-nu-um                    la sa-ma                    mi-sa-ri                    iz-ziz-zu-ma  
*When                    there was no                    righteousness,                    there came*  
                   a-khi-tum  
*the foreign foeman ;*

<sup>7</sup> We may perhaps infer from *Cuneiform Texts*, XII, 47, 24, that E-KI was pronounced *agit*.

6. sa ê-sar-ra bit kis-sat ilani yur-rid  
*of E-sarra, the temple of the host of the gods, there departed*  
 se-du-us-su  
*the guardian-bull;*
7. D.P. nakru D.P. Elam-u il-te-ki bu-su-su  
*the enemy, the Elamite, seized its goods;*
8. Bel a-sib e-li-su ir-ta-si [ki-]mil-ti  
*Bel who sat enthroned upon it had displeasure.*
9. I-nu-um sa-bu-ru-u is-ta-nu lim-nam-su-nu  
*When the mages repeated their enchantments,*
10. D.P. Gul-lum u im-khul-lum yu-pa-aš-si-dhi (?) [lim?]-ni-su-un  
*Gullu and the evil wind (worked?) their evil(?) ;*
11. yur-ri-du-ma ilani-su-nu yu-ri-du-ma na-qab-bi-is  
*there departed their gods, they departed like a torrent;*
12. me-khi-e saru lim-nu il-ma-a sa-ma-mi-is  
*the storm, even the evil wind, encircled the heavens;*
13. D.P. A-num pa-ti-iq-su-nu ir-ta-si ki-mil-tum  
*Anu their creator had displeasure;*
14. yun-ni-is zi-mi-su-nu yu-na-a-ma man-za-aš-šu  
*he made pale their faces, he made desolate his abode,*
15. [sa] ni-ib-khi ê-an-na yu-šakh-khi utsurta-su  
*[of] the sanctuary of E-anna he destroyed the walls,*
16. [sa is-da-]a ê-sar-ra i-nu-us ki-gal-la  
*[of the foundation]s of E-sarra he shook the platform.*
- 
17. [I-nu-um Bel] iz-kur sakh-lu-uq-tum  
*[When Bel] decreed destruction*
18. [u abu sa ilani] ir-ta-si ki-mil-tum  
*[and the father of the gods] had displeasure,*
19. ikh-pu-un mat Beli [D.P. umman] Man-da kharran  
*there ravaged the land of Bel the Manda-[hordes] on the road*  
 Su-me-ri-is  
*to Sumer.*

20. â-u D.P. Ku-dur-lakkhha-mar [e-]pis lim-ni-e-tum  
*Who (is) Chedor-laomer who has wrought the mischief?*
21. id-kam-ma D.P. umman Ma-an-[da ikh-pu-]un  
*He has gathered together the hordes of the Man[da; he has ravag]ed*  
 mat Bel  
*the land of Bel;*
22. yu-na-am-ma-am-ma X [alâni is-kun pa-]na ina  
*he has laid in ruin 10 [cities; he has taken the] lead at*  
 a-khi-su-nu  
*their side.*
- 
23. I-nu-um sa ê-zi-da [iz-ziz-zu sakh-lu-uq-]ta-su  
*When of E-zida [was determined the destruct]ion,*
24. u D.P. Nabu pa-qid kis-sat yur-ri-[id ana ma-khar-]su  
*and Nebo, the marshal of armies, depart[ed to meet] him,*
25. sap-lis ana Ti-amti-ki is-ku-[un pa-ni-su]  
*down towards the Coastland he (Nebo)<sup>s</sup> set [his face.]*
26. ana I-bi-D.P. Tu-tu sa ki-rib Ti-amti ikh-mudh  
*To Ibi-Tutu who (was) in the Coastland he hastened*  
 D.P. Utu-sûtu  
*southward;*
27. i-bir-ma Ti-amti-ki ir-ma-a  
*he passed through the Coastland, he set up (there)*  
 la-su-bat-sû  
*a seat which was not his,*
28. sa ê-zi-da bit ki-nim su-khur-ru-ur  
*(while) of E-zida, his own true temple, was broken down*  
 śak-ki-e-su  
*its shrine.*
- 

<sup>8</sup> Or perhaps, Chedor-laomer. In this case in l. 26 we should translate "against Ibi-Tutu," and in l. 28 *kinim* will be merely the standing epithet "the well-built" temple. But the next paragraph is against this interpretation.

29. [D.P. nakru          D.P.] Elam-u          yu-se-sir          tsi-in-di-su,  
     [*The enemy,*]      *even the Elamite,*      *set forward*      *his steeds,*
30. sap-lis      ana          Bad-ši-a-ab-ba      is-ku-nu      pa-ni-su  
     *down towards*      *Borsippa*      *he had set*      *his face,*
31. yur-ri-[da-am-]ma          kharran          da-um-mat-tu          kharran  
     *he marched*      *by the road*      *of the western sunset,*      *the road*  
     me-es-ki-is  
     *to Mas :*
32. D.P. tsi-e-nu          D.P. Elamu          yu-nab-bil          e-ma-akh-su  
     *the wicked one,*      *the Elamite,*      *destroyed*      *its palace ;*
33. D.P. rubuti [sa Akkadi u Su-me-]ri          i-na-ri ina kak-ki  
     *the princes [of Akkad and Sume]r*      *he subdued with the sword ;*
34. sa ê-kurâti          ka-la-su-nu          [is-]lul          sal-lat-šu-un  
     *of the temples,*      *all of them,*      *he carried away*      *the spoil,*
35. [bu-]su-su-nu      [il-]qi-e-ma      yu-tab-ba-la      E-lam-mat  
     *their goods*      *he[to]ok and*      *conveyed*      *to Elam ;*
36. . . . . mal-ku      i-bu-ut      mal-ki-su  
     . . . . . *(he) a prince*      *destroyed*      *its princes ;*
37. [qab-la u ta-kha-za?]      im-lu-u-ma      ma-a-tum  
     [*with war and battle?*]      *he filled also*      *the land.*  
     . . . . .

## B. Sp. II. 987.

- . . . . .
1. [ ?      *Babylon, the city of Merodach, was troubled ;* ]
2. . . . . D.P. Marduk sar]      ilani      [i- gu-ug ?]  
     . . . . . [*Merodach king*]      *of the gods*      [*was wroth ?*].
3. [rabu u tsikhru]      ina ali      ikh-ta-at      ur-ra [u musi]  
     [*Old and young*]      *in the city*      *feared*      *day [and night].*
4. [bit UT-]UNU-KI          mar-kaš sam-e sa          ana  
     [*The temple of L*]arša,      *the bond of heaven which (looks)*      *to*  
     ir-bit      SA-ru      ik-[su-du]  
     *the four winds, they captured.*

5. [i]-sim-su-nu-tum sar-tam  
*He (Merodach) assigned to them (the foe) the judgment-hall(?)*  
 sa ina DIN-TIR-KI al ta-na-[at-ti-su]  
*which (is) in Babylon, the city of [his] majesty,*
6. i-sim-su-nu-tum nam-kur su-ut E-KI tsa-khar u  
*he assigned to them the possessions of Babylon small and*  
 ra-[ba. ab-bi-um]  
*great. [The elders]*
7. ina mil-ki-su-nu ki-nim ana D.P. Ku-dur-lakkha-mar  
*in their trusty counsel to Chedor-laomer*  
 sar mat E-la-[mat]  
*king of the land of Elam*
8. yu-kan-nu-u rid-di ga-na sa eli-su-nu dha-a-bi  
*gave trusty advice. So that which unto them seemed good*  
 [e-pus-ma]  
*[he performed, and]*
9. ina E-KI al Kar-D.P. Dun-ya-as, sarru-tam  
*in Babylon, the city of Kar-Duniyas, the sovereignty*  
 ip-pu-us [eli-su-nu]  
*he assumed [over them];*
10. ina DIN-TIR-KI<sup>9</sup> al sar ilani D.P. Marduk  
*in Babylon, the city of the king of the gods, Merodach,*  
 id-du-u GIS-[GU-ZA-SU]  
*he set [his throne].*
11. šu-kul-lum u kalbi bit-khab-ba-a-tam i-ma-ag-ga-[ru]  
*The herd and the dogs the desecrated temple frequen*  
 [u ina-su]  
*[and in it]*

<sup>9</sup> The Semitic rendering of the name, *subat baladhi* "seat of life," implies that it was pronounced Tīr-din. The name of the later Tereḏon may have been taken from it, unless this is Iddarātu as Professor Hommel suggests.

12. ikh-tar-ku      ki-i-nu      a-ri-bi      mut-tab-ri-su      i-ra-mu  
*they grind the teeth perpetually. The raven winged builds*  
 [qin-na-su ina-su]  
 [his nest therein];
13. i-naq-qar      a-ri-bi      tsir-khu      tab-bi-ik      mar-tum  
*croaketh the raven, shrieking (and) pouring out gall;*  
 [ina kir-bi-su]  
 [within it]
14. kalbu      ka-si-is      ner-pad-da      i-ma-ag-ga-ar      D.P. NIN-  
*the dog who crunches the bone loveth the Lady*  
 [DIGGA-NA ina-su]  
 [of Death; in it]
15. i-naq-qar      tsir-khussu      D.P. khab-ba-a-tum      ta-bi-ik      [im-tam]  
*hisses the snake, the evil one, who pours out [poison].*
16. â-u      sar      mat E-la-mat      sa      GIS nun-nu  
*Who (is) the king of Elam who the carved work (?)*  
 ê-Šag-gil      yu-[šakh-khi]  
*of E-Saggil has [destroyed],*
17. [sa]      D.P. marê E-KI      is-ku-nu-ma      sip-ru-su-nu  
*[which] the sons of Babylon made, and their work*  
 i-[dhib-bi (?)]  
 [was good (?)]?
18. [an-na]-a-tum      sa      tas-dhu-ru,      um-ma ana-ku      sarru  
*This (is) what thou hast written that: 'I (am) a king,*  
 mar      sarri . . . .  
*the son of a king . . . .'*
19. [â-]u      mar      marat      sarri      sa      ina GIS-GU-ZA  
*Who (is) the son of the daughter of a king who on the throne*  
 sarru-tam      yu-si-bu . . . .  
*of kingship will sit . . . ?*

20. [su-u D.P.] Dhur-makh-AN-ME mar sa D.P. Eri-ê-ku-a  
 [He is] Sar-ilâni the son of Eri-Aku  
 sa sal-lat Bar-[sip is-lu-ul]  
 who the spoil of Bor[sip] has carried away],
21. [ina] D.P. kušši sarru-tam yu-si-ib-ma ina ma-khar  
 [on] the throne of kingship he has sat and in front  
 di-i-ku-[su il-lik]  
 of [his] warriors [has marched].
22. [i-]nu sarru lil-lik sa ultu yu-mu da-ru-u-tu  
 Now let the king march who from days everlasting  
 kun-[nu ana sarru-tam]  
 has been dest[ined for sovereignty],
23. [sa] in-nam-bi bil E-KI ul i-kan-nu  
 [who] has been proclaimed lord of Babylon; shall not endure  
 ip-se-[it D.P. nakri]  
 the work [of the enemy].
24. [ina] arakh Kišilimi u arakh SU-KUL-NA ina E-KI  
 [In] the months Kisleu and Tammuz in Babylon  
 in-ni-ip-pu-[us . . . ]  
 were performed [the ceremonies] :
25. [ip-]se-e abil kali ša-pi-in-nu mata  
 witchcraft the son of the mage who destroys the land,  
 kala-[sa ip-pu-us]  
 even the whole [of it, practised] ;
26. [u<sup>10</sup> ab-]bi-um ina mil-ki-su-nu ki-nu-um [ana  
 [and the] elders in their trusty counsel [to  
 Ku-dur-lakkha-mar (?) rid-di]  
 Chedor-laomer (?) advice]
27. [yu-kan]-nu abil kali ku-um a-bu-su  
 [give]: the son of the mage in the place of his father  
 [kun-nu-u?]  
 [was appointed?]:

<sup>10</sup> Or perhaps D.P.

28. [D.P. AKH-]SIB-MES I amta yu-se-its-bi-[tu] . . . . .  
 [the ano]inters one maid caused to be taken . . . . .  
 . . . . .

## C. Sp. III, 2.

## OBVERSE.

- . . . . .
1. . . . . ip-se-tu-su la . . .  
 . . . . . his work does not [continue (?)]
2. . . . . tsu Kha-am-mu-[ra-bi (?)]  
 . . . . . Khammu-[rabi (?)]
3. . . . . ilani nab-nit [a-bi-su (?)]  
 . . . . . of the gods, the creation [of his father (?)]
4. . . . . yu-mu ina [tsi-it] D.P. Samsi mu-nam-mir  
 . . . . . during the day at the rising of the sun who illumines  
 ad-[na-a-ti]  
 man[kind]
5. . . . . bil bilê D.P. Marduk ina kun-nu  
 . . . . . the lord of lords, Merodach, in the faithfulness  
 lib-bi-su  
 of his heart
6. . . . . ma-ai-ku la za-nin  
 . . . . . the prince who nourishes not
7. [es-re-e-ta-su] D.P. PA yu-sam-kit D.P. Dhur-makh-AN-ME  
 [his sanctuary] Nebo causes to be slain. Sar-ilani  
 ablu sa D.P. Eri-D.P. Ê-a-ku  
 son of Eri-Aku
8. [Bar-si-ip dan-]na-a-tam is-lul mé eli E-KI  
 [Borsippa, the strong]hold spoiled, the waters over Babylon  
 u Ê-sag-gil  
 and E-Saggil



9. [yus-te-bil D.P. Dhur-makh-AN-ME mari-su ina kakki  
 [he let flow. As for Sar-ilani] his son with the weapon  
 qatâ-su kima as-lu yu-la-bi-ikh-su  
 of his hands like a lamb slaughtered him,
10. [ina eli-sa (?) ana isati ik-bu (?) -si D.P. sêba u  
 [because that] to the fire he cast (?) the old and  
 mara ina kakki  
 young : with the sword
11. [D.P. marê E-KI ra]b u tsikhra ik-ki-iš  
 [the sons of Babylon, gr]eat and small, he cut off  
 D.P. Tu-ud-khul-a mar D.P. Gazza . . .  
 Tid'al the son of Gazza . . .
12. [Sip-par (?) dan-na-]a-tam is-lul mê eli E-KI  
 [Sippara (?)<sup>11</sup> the strongho]ld spoiled, the waters over Babylon  
 u ê-sâg-gil  
 and E-Saggil
13. [yus-te-bil D.P. Tu-ud-khul-a] mari-su ina kakki  
 [he let flow. As for Tid'al] his son with the weapon  
 qatâ-su mukh-kha-su im-quit  
 of his hands upon him fell,
14. [ina eli-sa ? kušsa] be-lu-u-ti-su a-na pa-an bit  
 [because that the seat] of his dominion before the temple  
 An-nu-nit [is-kun]  
 of Anunit [he set up].

## REVERSE.

1. [sarru sa] E-lam-mat al Akh-kha(?) e-lis  
 [The king of] Elam the city of Akkha (?) above  
 mat Rab-ba-a-tum is-lul  
 the district of the capital spoiled :

<sup>11</sup> Or Agadê, Akkad (?).

2. [mat Me-es ?-] ku a-bu-ba-nis is-kun ma-kha-zu  
 [*the land of Mas ?*] *in ruins he laid : the cities*  
 mat Akkadi gab-bi Bar-si-[ip]  
*of Akkad, the whole of Borsippa,*
3. [ka-lis] ik-lu D.P. Ku-dur-lakkha-mar mari-su ina  
 [*utterly*] *he destroyed. As for Chedor-laomer, his son with*  
 padhri parzilli sibbi-su lib-ba-su il-ta-[qib]  
*the dirk of iron of his girdle his heart pierced*
4. [ina sep]â D.P. nakri-su il-ki-ma ab-ah  
 [*at the feet*] *of his foe. Was brought low thus the thought*  
 sarrani a-nu-tu bilê ar-[ni]  
*of the kings, these wicked ones,*
5. [sar]-ru-tu ka-mu-tu sa sar ilani D.P. Marduk  
*evil-doers, prisoners of the king of the gods, Merodach.*  
 i-gu-ug-su-nu  
*He was wroth with them ;*
6. [ma-la-at] mar-tsa-a-tum i- rat-šu-nu ar-rat u-tsur-ta  
 [*was filled*] *with affliction their breast ; the curse of a ban*  
 ina [eli-su-nu]  
 (*was*) *up [on them].*
7. [ga-na(?) i-]tur-ru ana na-me-e GIS-TE (?) -ME-ni zir  
 [*So(?) will return*] *to the desert the plants, the seed*  
 mat-šu-nu ana sarra bel i-ni[-si]  
*of their land. To the king, the lord of the weak,*
8. [ir-su(?)] mu-]di-e lib-bi ilani  
 [*the wise one (?)*], *who knows the hearts of the gods,*  
 rim-nu-u D.P. Marduk ana zi-kir sumi-su  
*the merciful one, Merodach, for the renown of his name*
9. [ina ki-rib E-]K1 u ê-šag-gil ni-bu  
 [*in Baby*] *lon and E-Saggil it is proclaimed :*  
 ana as-ri-su li-tur  
 ‘*May (his heart) be turned again (to us)!*’

10. [na-khu sa lib-]bi-ka      liskun      an-na-a      sarru  
 [Rest to] thy heart may he establish! This may the king,  
     bel      i-nis(i)      lik-[bi]  
     *the lord of the weak, pronounce!*
11. [li-iš-šu-ukh]      limutti-su      lib-ba-su      ilani  
 [May he remove] his plague! His heart may the gods  
     ab[ê-su]  
     [his] fathers
12. [lu-sap-si-khu]      bil khi-dhu      la i-[su]  
 [pacify]! The sinner shall not exist.

(To be continued.)

## THE TABLETS OF NEGADAH AND ABYDOS.

BY F. LEGGE.

The tablets which I propose to describe here are the small inscribed pieces of ivory or wood found in the course of M. de Morgan's excavations at Negadah and those of M. Amélineau and (later) of Prof. Petrie at Abydos. They are mostly incised, with the exception of one or two which bear an inscription in ink, and can be referred with great certainty to the earliest dynasties of Manetho. All have been published before and the original memoirs from which the reproductions in the plates are copied will be found under each figure. They are all of very small size, never exceeding 2 or 3 inches square, and their one common feature is the round hole appearing in the right-hand top corner of each. From this I draw the conclusion that they were intended to be strung on a string or pin or otherwise filed for reference, and that they were thus, in the strictest sense of the words, records. As will be seen later, it is contended by me that the events which they were meant to record were the royal gifts to temples or other religious foundations on the occasion of certain festivals. The tablets have already been discussed and different theories have been put forth concerning them by M. Maspero, Dr. Naville, Mr. Griffith, M. Georges Foucart, M. Moret and Prof. Petrie,<sup>1</sup> and I wish to acknowledge here my indebtedness to the works of all these writers in case I should fail from lack of space to give due acknowledgment to each in the course of the discussion.

<sup>1</sup> See Maspero, *Revue Critique*, 1898-1906, *passim*; Naville, *Recueil de Travaux*, t. XXI, XXIV, and XXV, and *La Religion des Anciens Égyptiens*, Paris, 1906; Griffith, *Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty*, Vols. I and II; Foucart, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1901 and 1905, and *Sphinx*, Vols. IV and V; Moret, *Le Rituel du Culte Divin Journalier*, and *Le Caractère Religieux de la Royauté Pharaonique*, Paris, 1902; Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, Vols. quoted, &c.

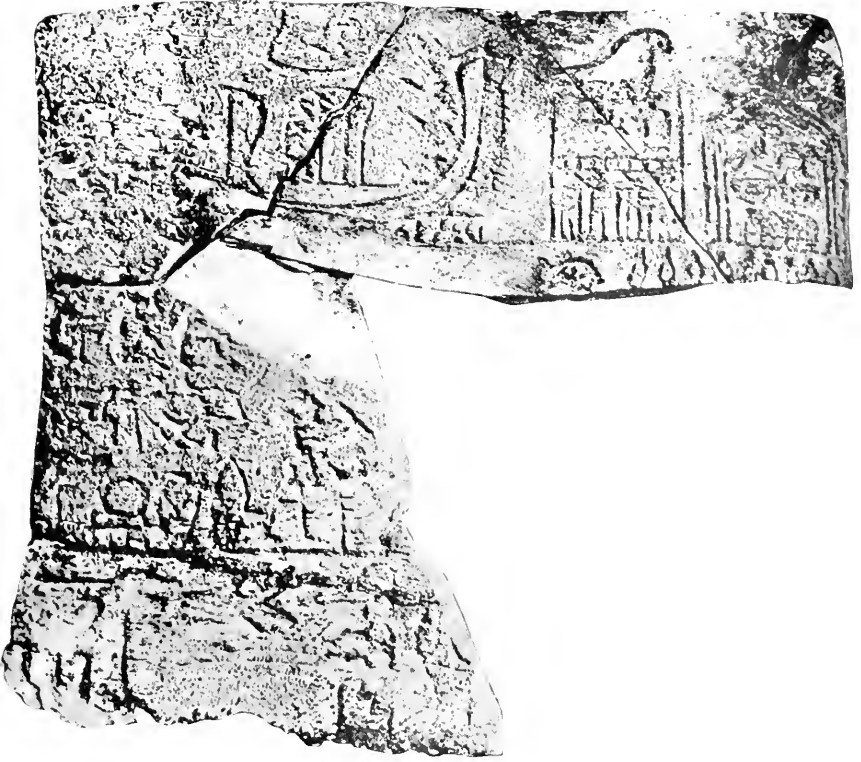


FIG. 1.

From *Rev. de Trav.*, XXI, 105, 1890.



FIG. 2.

From a photograph by Mr. GARSTANG.



## THE TABLET OF NEGADAH, PLATES I AND II.







*Description of the Tablet.*

This, which is the most important of the series, inasmuch as it gives us, if I am right in my conclusions, the clue to the interpretation of all the rest, was found in several fragments of which the largest have been joined together and form the part shown in Pl. I, Fig. 1. These were discovered by M. de Morgan at Negadah in 1897 in the great building which is often, although erroneously, called from this fragment, the "tomb of Menes." In 1894, Mr. John Garstang working on the same site was fortunate enough to discover the missing fragment shown on Pl. I, Fig. 2, together with the fragment of a somewhat smaller tablet bearing, as he thinks, the same inscription. With the help of this, he has been able to reconstruct the tablet as he thinks it must have appeared when whole, and this reconstruction appears in Pl. II, Fig. 1.<sup>2</sup> Only the extreme right-hand bottom corner in this has had to be drawn from the imagination, and I think an examination of the different figures will convince most persons that this addition is justified. Mr. Garstang has, however, omitted the figures in the opposite corner to this, which appear in the drawing of M. de Morgan's find made by M. Jéquier and published in the 2nd volume of M. de Morgan's *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1897), where it appears as Fig. 549 (p. 167). I have therefore found it necessary to make a second restoration which will be found in Pl. II, Fig. 2. It is this last which will be referred to in the following remarks.

The tablet appears to have been originally divided horizontally into three registers,<sup>3</sup> which I will take in their order. The upper register


<sup>2</sup> I have to thank Mr. Garstang for having most kindly sent me the photographs and drawing from which Fig. 2 of Pl. I and Figs. 1 and 2 of Pl. II were made.

<sup>3</sup> This appears quite plainly in Mr. Garstang's smaller tablet. But it should be noted that the line between the top and middle register does not appear to have been continued to the left-hand or dexter side of the tablet in Fig. 1. This may possibly be due to the weathering of the ivory, which was evidently in a worse condition when photographed for Dr. Naville's paper in the *Recueil* (t. XXI, p. 105) than when copied by M. Jéquier at its first discovery. The point will be referred to when we come to discuss the figures in the left-hand top corner or dexter canton.

represents, immediately under the hole bored for the purpose of placing the tablet on the file, an arched construction enclosed in a border composed of three parallel lines and containing within it the well-known vulture and uræus or *nebti* group , which in later times always formed part of the royal protocol. Below this appears a sign which has been read by Dr. Borchardt and Dr. Sethe as the draught-board or *men* sign , and which forms the sole ground for their assumption that the king whose hawk name follows was Manetho's Menes. It will be remembered, however, by everybody that Dr. Naville has given many cogent reasons against this reading which gather additional weight from the fact that no confirmation has been given to Dr. Borchardt's theory by the many other tablets and jar-sealings of the same reign that have since come to light. I prefer then for the present to read, as does Dr. Naville,<sup>4</sup> the whole of this group of signs as *mennebti* or "the funerary pavilion of the king," while awaiting the publication in which Mr. Garstang proposes to show that the sign under the *nebti* is not , but some other hieroglyph.<sup>5</sup> Immediately after this pavilion comes a *srekh* or hawk-crowned rectangle containing above the usual façade or false door the sign , "*Aha*" or "the fighter" which appears on the hundred or so of other monuments belonging to this king. This is followed by the sacred bark containing the usual cabin or deck-house, and from its high prow is suspended the most usual sign of the *Sed* festival.<sup>6</sup> Above this soars the hawk riding a harpoon which we have seen on the great carved slate of Hieraconpolis (*P.S.B.A.* XXII, Pl. I).<sup>7</sup> Behind this again come two seated or couchant figures of animals which Mr. Jéquier seems to have thought hawk-headed sphinxes, but which appear more like the crouching or bound calf portrayed in the hieroglyph  of which we have many instances in these tablets. Underneath these are two  which here seem to be used as numerals. In the event of my view that the dividing-line is not

<sup>4</sup> *Recueil de Travaux*, t. XXI, p. 112.

<sup>5</sup> *A.Z.*, Bd. 42 (1905), p. 64.

<sup>6</sup> For this, which I would suggest is the ordinary palm-leaf sign of the year, , with a great many transverse notches added, and a cartouche and *atef* crown at the foot, see Naville, *Festival Hall of Osorkon*, Pl. xvii, figs. 11, 12. Cf. Lepsius, *Denkm.*, IV, 57a.

<sup>7</sup> As will be seen later, this group appears under one form or another in every one of these tablets. Cf. also the "Palermo Stone" (*Recueil de Travaux*, t. XXV, Pl. i).



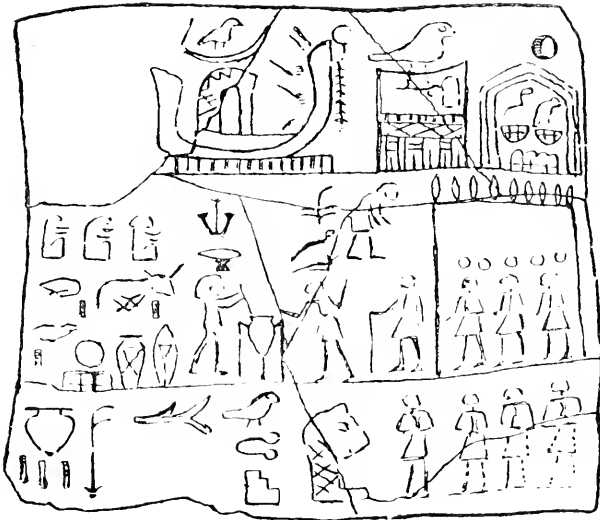


FIG. 1.

From a drawing by MR. GARSTANG.

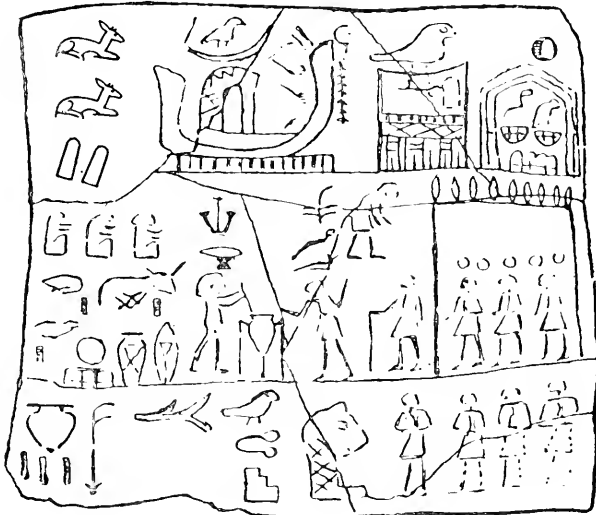
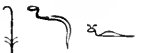
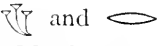



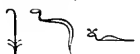




FIG. 2.




After a drawing by M. JEQUIER in M. DE MORGAN'S *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Égypte*, Vol. II, p. 167, Fig. 549.



carried to the left edge of the tablet being accepted, it seems likely that these groups of signs are a kind of overflow from the middle register, in which there was apparently no room for them.


In the middle register itself appears the principal scene that the tablet was doubtless made to commemorate. The central group shows a man dressed in a wig and a singularly abbreviated tunic,<sup>8</sup> engaged in stirring with a stick something in a vase or jar supported by a ring stand about three feet high. On the other side of the vase is the figure of a man bent over as if to look into its contents with one hand outstretched towards it and resting on its rim, while the other is raised as if in astonishment or adoration. Behind him comes a sort of procession led by a man dressed in a long kilt and leaning on a stick, and followed by three personages emerging from an enclosure or hall surmounted by the *cheker* sign. Over the three personages of the procession who remain within the hall are a row of five dots or circles which, again, are probably intended for numerals. Above the leader, and in what according to Egyptian ideas of perspective would be the background, is another man also dressed in a kilt in the attitude of bowing. Behind him, in the part which is missing from the larger of the two examples of this tablet, is written a group of three signs placed vertically which seem to read . Above the head of the figure in the wig are the two signs  and  placed vertically, the lower one being followed by what Mr. Garstang thinks is a third sign. I should be more inclined to read these signs as  and , but it should be noted that they do not appear on the larger tablet, the place which they would there occupy to correspond with the other being broken away. From their distinctness on the smaller tablet, moreover, there is some possibility of these, as well as the other group , having been added by a later hand. Behind the figure with the wig are ranged, first three seated figures which should probably be taken as the usual ideogram  for "god," while underneath these three come an ox bound , a

<sup>8</sup> This very brief tunic or kilt, barely reaching to the knee, and clinging to the figure, is well marked in the representation of Pepi I at the quarries of Wady Hammamât. See Lepsius, *Denkm.*, II, p. 115, or Moret, *Royauté Pharaonique*, p. 263. Cf. also the very short kilt in the great slate of Hieraconpolis, *ubi cit.*

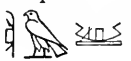
trussed goose , and a third animal, evidently a dead bird of some sort. Each of these animals has before it the billet , which signifies a numeral. Below these again are a jar with the usual conical clay seal and another jar without a seal, both bearing lines which seem to point to an external covering of basket-work, while behind them is what appears to be the sign for water, not here given as , but in the chequered form in which it appears under the sacred bark, and on the top of it a ring or ball, which is probably the round cake always seen on the table of offerings.<sup>9</sup>

The lower register contains a group of four men probably all dressed like their leader in a long kilt, but with their arms bound to the body and not swinging loose as with the personages in the middle register. Facing them is a horizontal line of hieroglyphs which should read



As Mr. Garstang has noticed, there has been an erasure in both tablets under the sign .

#### *The Meaning of the Scenes.*

This becomes fairly plain when we once picture to ourselves the ceremonies celebrated at the *Sed* and other festivals of the kings of Egypt. As M. Moret shows with great clearness in his most instructive book (*La Royauté Pharaonique*), the *Sed* and perhaps most of the other festivals were periodical contracts in which the god renewed, for a stated time and in exchange for certain gifts, the divine power granted to the king on his coronation. That they were as often celebrated for the dead as for the living seems plain from the instances there given (see especially p. 269 *et seq.*) where they are repeated not only for dead kings but for Osiris himself. They are also peculiarly associated with the foundation of a temple or other sacred building and would be singularly appropriate to the foundation of a funerary chapel such as we consider to have been the building at Negadah where the tablet was found.<sup>10</sup> That the scene here depicted belongs to a religious ceremony seems plain from the occurrence in the upper register of the group  which

<sup>9</sup> See Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* I, Pl. xvi. It should be noted that here, as elsewhere, the lower shelf (so to speak) of the table is occupied with water-pots.

<sup>10</sup> See Naville, *Recueil de Travaux*, t. XXIV, p. 109 *sqq.*

occurs so frequently on the Palermo Stone. This, which Dr. Naville reads *Sches Hor*, is admitted to denote a festival, and if the object dangling from the beak of the galley is really the *Sed* symbol, there can be little doubt that it is some ceremony of the *Sed* festival which is here depicted.<sup>11</sup> Now at this festival the king is represented as passing from one chamber to the other where he performs certain symbolical acts. Thus in one he is represented as seated in a double pavilion, in one compartment of which he wears the Crown of the North and in the other that of the South, and is exhibited to the adoration of the people at the top of a staircase. In another scene he is depicted as staking out the ground for the proposed construction in company with the scribe-goddess Sakhit, digging the foundation 'lines with a hoe, and scattering sand in the trench thus formed to make them more distinct. In yet another he steps out the ground dedicated either alone or in company with the Apis bull, and in another he shoots four arrows or releases from a cage four birds which fly towards the four quarters of the world. But he is also represented as moulding bricks to be placed at the four angles of the building, and this is what he is apparently here depicted as doing.<sup>12</sup> In Brugsch's *Wörterbuch* (Vol. VII, p. 1095), indeed, is given a scene much resembling that here shown, in which one man is depicted as pounding something in a mortar placed on the ground while another stands by with raised pestle ready to take his share in the operation. This, apparently, has induced Prof. Petrie to suggest that a similar group shown on another tablet (*R.T.* I, Pl. xiii, 5) shows "a man pounding" (*op. cit.*, v, p. 21). But the only thing that would be likely to be pounded in this way is corn, to which Brugsch's scene evidently refers, and the vessel or clay jar in a ring stand would be singularly ill-adapted for such a purpose, being at once certain to break from blows applied to the inside and liable to tip over. It seems to me therefore much more likely that the king is here not pounding but mixing the clay and water necessary for the making of the foundation bricks, while

<sup>11</sup> Dr. Schäfer, *Ein Bruchstück Altägyptischer Annalen*, Berlin, 1902, translates the group the "Adoration of Horus," which would make little difference as to the meaning of the scene, although it would introduce some repetition into the actual reading of the tablet.

<sup>12</sup> All the above ceremonies are described at length in Moret's *Royauté Pharaonique*, where references to the monuments are given. They are also admirably summarized by Dr. Naville in his *Collège de France Lectures* now published under the title *La Religion des Anciens Égyptiens* (Paris, 1906). See especially p. 234 *et seq.*

the figure opposite him stands ready to carry them into position as soon as made. The presence of the jars and the water table behind him may be connected with this and the man in the back ground who appears to be bowing is according to M. Moret the figure of a man modelling in clay (*R.P.*, 154, note). As for the provisions in the middle register, we know that at one part of the *Sed* ceremonies the king passed through chambers in which tables of offerings were laid out in presence of the statues of the gods and which were expressly called <sup>13</sup> "eating-halls." Perhaps the billet in front of each dead animal signifies that one such table was set for each statue, but this is very doubtful, and it is more probable that it refers to some numeral as yet unknown to us. On the other side of the principal group the three men coming from the chamber surmounted by the *cheker* ornament are doubtless the *rekhitou* or peers of the conquering race whose presence was obligatory at these ceremonies. I should like to see in the , as Mr. Garstang suggests in his *A.Z.* article, the spear heads which appear in the scene on the Hieraconpolis <sup>14</sup> mace as supporting the canopy over the double pavilion; but I am not sure that the finials shown on the mace are really spear heads (the ivory being much eaten away at this point), and in later times at any rate the symbolism of this seems to have been completely lost. <sup>15</sup> It seems therefore more likely that they must be considered as representing flames and that this was the "chamber of fire," from which the king passed on setting out for the *Sed* ceremonies. <sup>16</sup> The circles over the heads of the *rekhitou* probably refer, as I have suggested, to their numbers, here denoted by some system of numeration not yet known to us.


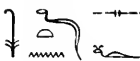


Before leaving the middle register, it is necessary to say something about the two hieroglyphic phrases or groups there found, which, as I have suggested, may have been added by a later hand, and on the smaller example of the tablet only. The first of these,

<sup>13</sup> Moret, *Royauté Pharaonique*, p. 247.


<sup>14</sup> Quibell, *Hieraconpolis*, I, Pl. xxvi, 6, and Moret, *Royauté Pharaonique*, p. 240.

<sup>15</sup> See, however, Pepi I at Wady Hammamât (*ubi cit.*) where the supports of the pavilion are still spars.

<sup>16</sup> See scene from Gayet's *Louvre*, given in Moret, *Royauté Pharaonique*, p. 238, fig. 68.

which Mr. Garstang would read with some reserve,  might well be taken for an archaic and abbreviated form of the  "the king himself,"<sup>17</sup> so often met with in these ceremonies as a rubric denoting that the particular act must be done by the king, who was theoretically, and as being himself a god, the only person who could venture to perform them. As a matter of practice, however, it was impossible for the king to visit all the temples in Egypt where such festivals as the *Sed* were celebrated, and it was therefore necessary for him to delegate his powers for the occasion to the high priest of the temple in question who acted in his name.<sup>18</sup> This would account for the personage in the wig in our tablet, who seems to represent the king, not wearing either the *atef* or the *tchesert* crown. As Negadah was not even a principal town, and was quite out of the ordinary track of royal progresses, it is most probable that the performance of these rites in any temple there would be thus delegated. In like manner the legend  appearing over the head of the priest, which we may perhaps read  "chief of the South," would be perfectly appropriate.

The meaning of the two upper registers is then plain, and it will hardly be disputed that the four figures in the lower register with bound arms represent prisoners. There only remains, then, to consider the horizontal line of hieroglyphs above-mentioned, which sufficiently resemble those on all the other tablets yet found at Negadah or Abydos to convince us that it is some phrase of common form, or, in other words, a formula. These other tablets will be reproduced and discussed in later parts of this Paper. In the meantime, the variants of the formula in the Negadah tablet which they present appear to work out thus<sup>19</sup> :—


<sup>17</sup> Mariette, *Abydos*, I, Pls. 44, 45, 47a, 47b, and 53. Cf. Moret, *Royauté Pharaonique*, p. 120. If we like to imagine the determinative , it may mean, as Baron von Bissing suggests in another case (*L'Anthropologie*, t. IX, pp. 251-252 (1898)), the royal storehouse.


<sup>18</sup> Compare the *ἄρχων βασιλεύς* at Athens.


<sup>19</sup> The references given in the margin to *Royal Tombs*, I and II, and *Abydos*, I, are to the admirably clear hand copies provided by Prof. Petrie. Reproductions of the actual objects will be given later.

(a)  *R. T.*, II, Pl. x, fig. 2.

(b)  *R. T.*, II, Pl. xi, fig. 2.

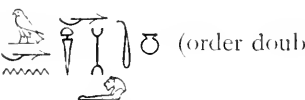
(c)  (signs doubtful) *R. T.*, I, Pl. xiv, fig. 10.

(d)  (the like) *R. T.*, I, Pl. xiv, fig. 11.

(e)  (order doubtful) *R. T.*, I, Pl. xv, fig. 16.


(f)  *R. T.*, I, Pl. xv, fig. 18.

(g)  *R. T.*, I, Pl. xvii, fig. 26.

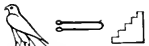




(h)  (order doubtful) *R. T.*, I, Pl. xvii, fig. 28.

(j)  *Abydos*, I, Pl. xi, 11.

(k)  *Amélineau, N. F. d'Abydos*, t. III, 1, Pl. xv, fig. 19.

These are all that can be made out with any certainty, and although some of these signs can be recognized on other tablets of the period, they are too fragmentary for any argument to be drawn from them. Nor can very much be drawn from the order of the signs, which has evidently been varied by the writers to suit the exigencies of each particular case; but it is evident that the presence of the demi-lion  is invariable, in the one instance in which it is missing, the part being broken away where it would naturally have been









found. Next to this comes the group , which appears in five out of the ten Abydos inscriptions just given in addition to the Negadah tablet, the three signs composing it being always in close enough juxtaposition to make it clear that their relative situation is not accidental. Another group which occurs with equal frequency is the sign which I have read  (*khet*), which appears in every case but one in company with one or more  (*shaà*). This last is evidently a numeral denoting probably, as in later times, 100, while the  (*tef*) sign found in at least three places is probably the ordinal number meaning "first." The only other sign on which I would lay much stress is the vase , which occurs in one shape or another in seven of the above inscriptions, and on three of them occurs twice.


*The Meaning of the Formula.*




The reading of this formula presents several difficulties not met with in later inscriptions. Mr. Griffith admits that there is here no evidence of the employment of determinatives,<sup>20</sup> and although he thinks that the case is different with regard to phonetic complements, the two instances that he quotes<sup>21</sup> hardly bear out his contention. It has also been suggested, that in the primitive writing of such inscriptions as the present, the signs have no phonetic value, and that each sign represents a word, either by its pictorial signification or by some convention which we cannot always trace. Hence we can only guess at their meaning, and until some *consensus* of opinion be obtained, one guess is likely to be as valuable as another. Hence our best guide must be what we think from external reasons to be the general sense of the formula, and in




<sup>20</sup> *Royal Tombs*, I, p. 34.




<sup>21</sup> These are: (1) the employment of the sign  as the phonetic complement of  in the word *suten*. But if my reading of the phrase  here given is correct, this is not the case with this tablet, and the instance on which he relies is taken from the inscriptions of Qa, who is certainly not earlier than the end of the I<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, and should probably be assigned to the II<sup>nd</sup>. (2) The use of the same sign  as part of the  or *suten bät* title. But this also does not appear in the earlier inscriptions, while the sign  is often found on them with apparently the meaning of *suten* and without any complement.

this case there is good ground for thinking that this must be a donation. On the departure of the king (or his representative) from the "eating-hall," says M. Moret, "le roi fait connaître aux dieux les fondations de bien meubles et immeubles, les dotations du personnel sacerdotal . . . en reconnaissance des honneurs divins de la fête *Sed* et des souhaits dont on l'a comblé." Moreover, since the very small size of the tablet forbids the belief that it was intended as a memorial of the ceremony or as a model for future use, the inscription of the donation was probably its chief *raison d'être*. We are confirmed in this view by the fact that such things as jars, ☉, and pieces of wood, ↗, seem indicated by the signs in each case accompanied by numerals.






With these hints we seem to be able to make a guess—I do not pretend to anything more—at the meaning of the signs in which the formula is expressed. The sign , which, I shall contend, should always be placed first in the different readings of the formula, seems to be generally used in early times in the sense of *beginning* or *commencement* or *the first part* of anything. Hence it would be very appropriate to the foundation of a temple or chapel, and in this sense I propose to read it. The



group    which follows, Mr. Griffith would read with

the last as   , which he translates as "who takes the throne of Horus." But this, besides giving no particular sense in itself, does not seem to agree with the context, either here or in the variants, and it is to be noted that, in the variants I have called

(c) (f) (g) (h) and (j), the group    is dropped, which would render Mr. Griffith's reading of the first sign impossible.

I propose therefore, while accepting Horus as the equivalent of

 to give to the  the meaning of "temple," or "sacred building" which it often takes later, and to read  as the primitive form of what was afterwards , with the sense of "bringing," or even "giving." The sentence would then read, "At the foundation, the Horus (*i.e.*, the king) gave to the temple." What it was he gave is sufficiently shown by the *khiet* sign , which we may take in its more primitive sense of "wood," while the erased sign underneath it may be restored to accord with (a) as one, or with variants (b) (d) (e) and (f) as two measures. The amount of the measure cannot, of

course, be stated with any accuracy, but if the later significance of the @ be considered, it may be held to mean one or two hundred beams, planks, or other quantities of wood. In like manner the sign which follows, if it be really , may mean, as later, 1000, and as the  bears under it the sign of the plural, it must be taken as signifying a thousand jars of some liquid. Was this bitumen, which seems to have been much used in the construction of these edifices, or clay for bricks, or even water, very likely to be precious on the edge of the desert? And were the four captives seen before the inscription included in the donation, slaves given to the temple for sacrifice or otherwise, or merely the carriers of the king's bounty? As they do not appear later, this last question will remain unanswered.

### *Summary.*

On the whole, then, my suggestion is that the tablet should be read thus:—

First Register.—At the *Sed* festival of the Horus Aha in his pavilion of repose (*i.e.*, after his death).

Second Register.—[*Rubric.*] The acts done by the king himself (*i.e.*, by the priest who plays his part). The chief of the South mixes the clay for the bricks of the foundation before the *Rekhitou* and passes through the eating-hall, where tables of offerings of meat, wine, and the like are set before three statues of the gods.

Third Register.—At the foundation, the Horus gave to the temple (or had brought by his slaves) two hundred measures of wood and a thousand measures of water (and in the alternative four captives).

I by no means venture to assert that this reading is the only one possible or even likely, but I hope to be able to show later that it can be made to accord with the inscriptions on the other tablets of the same age.

(*To be continued.*)

## PRE-SARGONIC TIMES.

## A STUDY IN CHRONOLOGY.

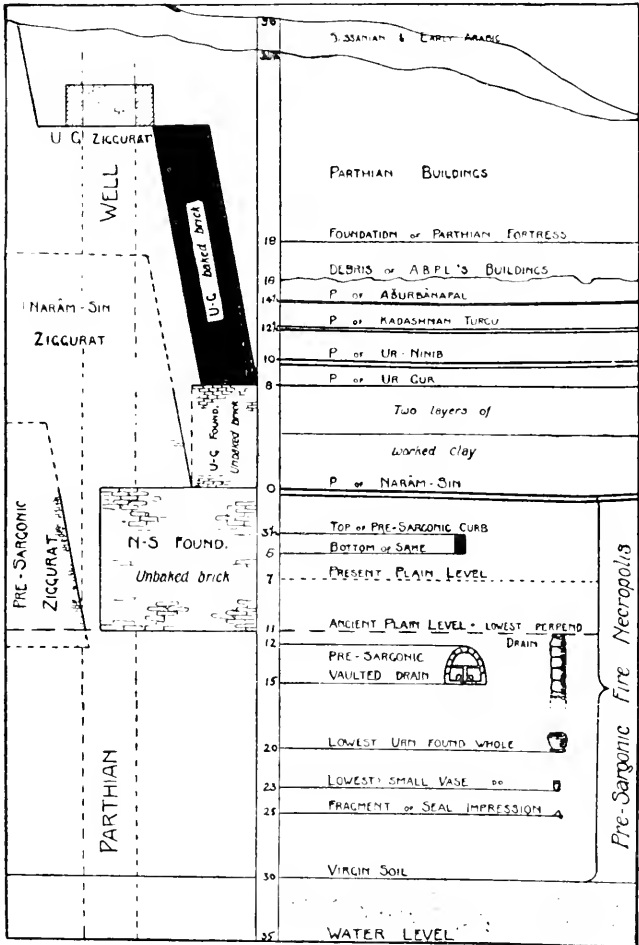
By THE REV. F. A. JONES.

The excavations at Nuffar furnish a very remarkable consecutive record of a long period of time. The sectional diagram of this on p. 549 of Prof. HILPRECHT'S *Explorations in Bible Lands* is of unique interest, giving as it does in condensed form so much valuable data by which to judge the history. The lists of Babylonian and Egyptian Kings in the Catalogues of the British Museum also furnish very full information of the same character, and do not exceed the estimate of at most 5000 B.C. for the earliest archæological remains.

The points in the sectional diagram referred to above, reproduced with Prof. HILPRECHT'S kind permission (see Plate), which may be said to be identified with unquestioned accuracy are the Parthian Era, 200 B.C., and Assurbanipal, 650 B.C. The interval shows  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet deposit, or one foot per century.

It would be absurd to attempt to gauge time with any accuracy by the depth of deposit of this kind, which must have varied greatly with the conditions. Times of peace would remain largely without record; times of disturbance or of building activity might suddenly account for several feet. Still, as this argument has been used to prove the earliest remains at Nuffer 8000 B.C., it may be examined.

From Assurbanipal, 650 B.C., to Narâm Sin, 3750 B.C. (according to the received reckoning), we have  $14\frac{1}{2}$  feet to represent 3100 years. And if the date given by Prof. HILPRECHT (p. 417) for Kadashman Turgu, 1400 B.C., and that of 2500 B.C. for Ur Ninib are right, we have 2 feet deposit for 750 years,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet for 1100 years, and then 10 feet for 1250 years, without appropriating a date for Ur Gur. This sufficiently proves the irregularity. The interval of 8 feet between Ur Gur and Narâm Sin stands in the British Museum List for 1250 years, but is not bridged over by a single known name. If Eri Arku, 2300 B.C., and Khammurabi, 2200 B.C., were, as we now have good



Section of the Stage-Tower and the Adjoining Southeast Court

Restored and designed by Hilprecht, drawn by Fisher

A-B-P-L. Ashurbānapal. N-S. Naram-Sin. U-G. Ur-Gur. P. Pavement. ■. Baked Brick. =. Pavement of two layers of bricks. Measurements given in feet.

From Prof. HILPRECHT'S *Explorations in Bible Lands*, 1903.



reason to believe, contemporary with Abraham, 2000 B.C. is about as early as they can reasonably be placed.

The Elamite invasion, according to Berossus, was quite 200 years before the Babylonian dynasty to which Khammurabi is appropriated, and Rawlinson in Herodotus (I. 423) argues by four lines of proof that this took place about 2231 B.C. If so, the invasion after Ur Gur, so graphically depicted by Prof. HILPRECHT (pp. 379-81 and 513), was probably a later one, in support of which view further evidence might be adduced.

In my short pamphlet on "The Inscription of Nabonidus" I have stated reasons for a different understanding of the 3200 years to Narâm Sin, which would bring that king say 2300 B.C., and make him the immediate predecessor of Ur Gur.

Professor Sayce in his paper on "The Astronomy and Astrology of the Babylonians" (*S.B.A. Trans.*, III, p. 237), before the discovery of this inscription, referring to the record of the equinox being then in Aries, gave 2540 B.C. as the "extreme limit of the antiquity of the ancient Babylonian Calendar" of Sargon I by the precession of the equinoxes.

The view I have contended for has the merit, at all events, of agreeing with the Chronology of Berossus, so explained, with the Hebrew, Hindu, and Chinese classics, and, as shown above, with the date of Sargon I as calculated by the precession of the equinoxes.

If it is even approximately correct, it involves that the deluge testified to by these authorities took place within 100 years of Sargon I, which raises points of considerable interest, as in that case a great deal at least of the pre-Sargonic remains must be antediluvian. Is that possible?

All the authorities agree in describing that 100 years, or thereabouts, following the deluge, as being a time of petty kings, and Prof. HILPRECHT seems to confirm this by the testimony of the monuments (pp. 254 and 383). But what of the Flood?

Professor Sayce, to whom the suggestion was made, very kindly replied, and pointed out the grave difficulty involved in the supposition that the crude bricks of the pre-Sargonic period could have survived a deluge which lasted, according to the Hebrew account, for twelve months. But the crude bricks referred to in this connexion are said by Prof. HILPRECHT to be made of clay, not of mud as in Egypt. Such bricks would speedily be re-converted into clay. It must be, however, remembered that clay is not exactly mud.

Puddled clay will resist the flow of water very effectually, and it seems not impossible that the first few layers of bricks permeated with water might serve this purpose, even if the 4 feet difference of the two plain levels indicated in the diagram did not also indicate an alluvial deposit brought up by the first rush of water, which might serve the same purpose and protect the buildings which it covered.

In this connection it is interesting to note the quantity of worked clay found at Nuffar, that is, clay that had been already made into bricks but had disintegrated—Why not by the Deluge? Ur Gur found this material so abundant that he covered Narâm Sin's pavement with it 8 feet in depth. As there are two layers of it with articles imbedded, it was evidently laid in the position in which it is found (p. 387). Prof. HILPRECHT further tells us where such material could be found, and it is specially interesting to read of an ancient wall which thus formed a source of supply (pp. 493 and 499), and especially because when the pit was examined from which such clay had been taken, a pre-Sargonic gateway was found immediately beneath, proving that the cause of the destruction of that wall at all events was subsequent to the pre-Sargonic period, though the earlier remains survived it.

It must not be imagined, however, that the pre-Sargonic buildings were constructed necessarily of unprotected crude bricks. On p. 373 Prof. HILPRECHT argues specially against any such assumption concerning later structures. Besides which, there is testimony to baked brick and sometimes bitumen having been used for the protection or construction of at least some of the pre-Sargonic work. It was so at Nuffar (p. 398), where well-baked bricks are described as forming the arch of the most ancient drain. Also at Telloh (p. 240-1) the earlier structure is imbedded in baked bricks laid in bitumen, though, as this is ascribed to Ur Nina, it may possibly be too late to apply. The description given on pp. 173-4 of the oldest work at Muqayyar, "sun-dried bricks in the centre, with a thick coating of massive, partially burnt bricks of a red colour with layers of reeds between them, the whole, to the thickness of 10 feet, being cased with a wall of inscribed kiln-burnt bricks," suggests at least a structure that might even survive the flood, especially as it is said (p. 176) that this dates to the pre-Sargonic period.

Another possible confirmation is found in Prof. HILPRECHT's explanation of the peculiar L-shaped structure and the reason for building it (p. 451); while the evident care taken in Narâm Sin's



day of relics of the pre-Sargonic age, the civilization of which was so highly advanced, is at least consistent with the view suggested.

At all events, so much attention is just now being given to remains of this period, that it will soon probably be easy either to prove or to disprove the possibility of a deluge having occurred since the earliest buildings on this very probable site for antediluvian remains.

## ACCEPTED DATES.

	B.C.
<i>a</i> } Parthian	200
<i>b</i> } Assurbanipal	650
<i>c</i> } Kadashman Turgu	1400
<i>c</i> } Ur Ninib	2500
<i>d</i> } Ur Gur	2500
<i>d</i> } Narâm Sin	3750

*a* is known for certain, the rest estimated.

A. CALCULATION ON THE ACCEPTED DATES.				B. SUGGESTED REVISION OF NARÂM SIN'S DATE.			
	feet.	years.	per century.		feet.	years.	per century.
<i>a</i>	4½	450	12'0 inches.	<i>a</i>	4½	450	12 inches.
<i>b</i>	2	750	3'2 "				
<i>c</i>	2½	1100	2'72 "				
		<i>or,</i>					
<i>c</i>	4½	1100	4'9 "				
<i>d</i>	8	1250	7'69 "				
		<i>or,</i>					
<i>d</i>	10	1250	9'6 "				
<i>b + c + d</i>	14½	3100	5'6 inches.	<i>b + c + d</i>	14½	1600	10'87 inches.

NOTE ON A PECULIAR PENDANT SHOWN ON THREE  
STATUES OF USERTSEN III.

BY PROF. DR. VALDEMAR SCHMIDT.

The British Museum received last year from the EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND, three excellent statues found at Dêr el Bahari by Prof. NAVILLE and Mr. H. R. HALL during the excavations made by them on behalf of the FUND. The statues, Nos. 684, 685, 686, represent the XIIth dynasty king, usually called *Usertesén*, or *Usertsen*; and lately, by some Egyptologists, *Senusert*, and *Sesostris III.*

All three statues, which are partly mutilated, the lower part of the arms and legs being missing, have on the breast as a pendant, an ornament which, though not hitherto quite unknown, is seldom met with.

The pendant in question was recognised, some years ago, by Dr. H. SCHÄFER, of the Berlin Museum, as a knot tied with a linen band. It was considered in Old Egypt an amulet of magic power, and therefore often worn. This pendant is not the only form of magic knot used by the Ancient Egyptians. There are many other forms which have been studied quite recently by Baron Dr. Fr. W. von BISSING in a very interesting article, "Aegyptische Knotenamulette," printed in a volume dedicated to the late Dr. Hermann Usener on the occasion of his 70th birthday. This volume was published in 1905 as an Appendix to Vol. VIII of *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.*

The pendant in question is seen on the breast of a bronze bust in the Egyptian museum of the "Palais du Cinquantenaire" at Brussels, and also on the breast of the upper part of a granite statuette of an Egyptian king in the Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg at Copenhagen (marked A. 1, see Plate). This figure seems to have been seated, but the lower part has disappeared; what remains of it is  $12\frac{1}{2}$  inches high. As it bears no inscription it is difficult to assign a date to it. It was bought in Cairo in 1892, and, according to the



GRANITE STATUE  
IN THE COPENHAGEN GLYPTOTHEK.



dealer, it was found at Memphis near the spot where the well-known statuettes of old kings in the Cairo Museum were found (at Mitrahinne). It might possibly, therefore, date from the Old Empire. A comparison of this statue with those from Dêr el Bahari clearly shows that the former represents Usertesen III. In the Berlin Museum is the upper part of a granite statuette of a king (No. 11348), which is similar in character, but without the pendant on the breast. This statuette is also uninscribed, but is, in the Catalogue, attributed to the Middle Empire.

THE BABYLONIAN GODS OF WAR  
AND THEIR LEGENDS.

By THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, *LL.D.*

(Continued from p. 218.)

The legends of the god Nirig or Ênu-rêštū are two in number, both bilingual, and of the nature of hymns in his praise. The first is entitled *Ana-gim gima*, 'Formed like Anu,' and the second, *Lugale ud melama-bi nirgal*, 'The king, when his princely splendour.' Both these have been excellently published and translated by Dr. Fried. Hrozný, who, as has already been remarked, makes some excellent suggestions as to the true reading of the name of this god.

The shorter legend is inscribed on four tablets, very neatly written, and provided with ruled borders to give them a finish. None of them are complete.

The first is of the nature of a hymn in praise of the god, describing him as being in the form of Anu and Bel, as the giant of the Anunnaki, who is clothed with awesome fearfulness, and as the son of Bel. In his anger he destroys the gods of the hostile lands, etc.

The second tablet is in a better condition, though still incomplete, being the lower part of the obverse and the upper part of the reverse. It began by describing the god as riding in a chariot of lapis-lazuli—that stone whose beauty had early captivated the Babylonians, so that they regarded it as being the most suitable material for the things needed by a god or hero. After a gap, we learn that Anu gave to Nirig, as a gift, terrible magnificence in the midst of heaven, whereof the dreadful news was received by the *namru* (translated 'whale' by Hrozný) in the ocean, and it was said that the Anunnaki, the great gods, did not on that account attack him.

*'The (royal) lord like a stormflood rushed past—  
Nirig, destroyer of the defence of the hostile land, rushed like a storm-  
flood past.'*

*Like a storm he thundered in the foundation of heaven,  
 Setting his course, by the command of Bel, to Ê-kur—  
 A hero of the gods, overthrowing the land—  
 To the city Nippur, unapproachable from afar.  
 Nusku, the sublime messenger of Bel, went to meet him in Ê-kur,  
 Greeting lord Nirig with 'peace':<sup>25</sup>  
 'Lord,<sup>26</sup> thou art hero, thou art perfect, thine intention is thine own—  
 Nirig, thou art hero, thou art perfect, thine intention is thine own,  
 The fear of thy splendour has covered Bel's house like a garment.  
 As to thy chariot, at the sound of its thundering,  
 In thy course tremble heaven and earth—  
 At the raising of thine arm a shadow extends.  
 The Anunnaki, the great gods, tremble even to the horizon.  
 Terrify not thy father in his dwelling-place—  
 Terrify not Bel in his dwelling-place,  
 Make not the Anunnaki tremble in the seat of Ubšukenaku.  
 Let thy father give thee a gift for thine heroic arm.  
 Let Bel give thee a gift for thine heroic arm.'  
 Mighty king Anu, chief of the gods,  
 Bel's prince;<sup>27</sup> the living creatures of Ê-kur,  
 O hero of the mountains, who slayest,  
 Send then not one single god [? to destroy them]—  
 [Hero of the mountains], who slayest,  
 Send them [not one single . . . .']*

The third tablet is a similar fragment, containing the middle portion of the text—the lower part of the obverse and the upper part of the reverse. It seems to begin by referring to some beings, divine or human, who, like birds, would retire behind their defences,

<sup>25</sup> Lit. : " He speaks to Lord Nirig ' Peace.' "

<sup>26</sup> In the Sumero-Akkadian version " My king. "

<sup>27</sup> In Sumero-Akkadian 𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒌦, translated, in the Semitic line (according to Hrozný) by 𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒌦 𒌦, which he transcribes *amel ša ħutari*, " sceptre-bearer, " here as a title of Bel, whose name follows. Instead of 𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒌦 𒌦, I thought I saw, on the original, 𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒌦 𒌦, *u-ma-aš*, construct of *umašu*, " prince, " " hero, " or something similar—a synonym of *ċċlu*, one of the meanings of 𒂗𒂗𒂗 when pronounced *mes*. I regard the second character as being part of 𒌦, but all three are doubtful. The Babylonians called Ochos (Artaxerxes III.) *Umasu* (see the *Proceedings*, Vol. VI, 202 ff)—is this a variant of the word?

seemingly at Nirig's approach. 'Who can make head,' he says, 'against my fearful magnificence, which is mighty like Anu?'

*'I am lord, the pointed mountains have taken refuge at the horizon—  
The mountain of limestone, chalcedony, and lapis-lazuli fills my hand.  
The Anunnaki have rushed like wild swine into the clefts ;  
In the mountains I wreaked vengeance for my heroic arm.  
In my right hand I bear aloft Šar-ur :  
In my left I bear aloft Šar-gaza.  
I bear aloft Udkaninnū, the weapon of my Anuship ;  
I bear aloft the hero, the destroyer of the mountains, my Udbanuila ;  
I bear aloft the weapon which eateth the corpses like a dragon—  
the mir-siliga  
I bear aloft the destroyer of the mountains, the heavy weapon of Anu.  
I bear aloft the subduer of the mountains, the fish whose fins are seven.  
I bear aloft the wild cow of battle, a snare for the hostile land.  
I bear aloft the cutter of necks, the sword, the dagger of my Anuship.  
I bear aloft that from which no mountain hath escaped, the battle-net.  
I bear aloft the helper of heroes, the long bow, as arm of battle.  
I bear aloft the girdle which fitteth a man, the bow of the stormflood.  
I bear aloft the conqueror of the house of a hostile land, the bow and  
the shield.  
I bear aloft the stormflood of battle, GIŠ-KU-sag-ninnū (i.e., the  
weapon with fifty heads).  
I bear aloft that which, like the great serpent, hath seven heads,  
dealing death, Giš-ga-sag-imina.  
I bear aloft that whose face, like the serpent-dragon of the sea, putteth  
to flight the enemy, the overthrower of the fierce battle, the strong  
one in heaven and earth, GIŠ-KU-sag-ia (i.e., the weapon with  
five heads).  
I bear aloft him who, like the day, sendeth forth light, Kura-šu-ur-ur.<sup>28</sup>  
I bear aloft the consolidator of heaven and earth, Erim-a-bi-nu-tuga.  
I bear aloft the weapon whose fearful splendour [overthroweth] the  
land, in my right hand greatly used, standing forth for admira-  
tion in gold and lapis-lazuli, Igi-kim-tila.  
I bear aloft the weapon which, like the Fire-god, consumeth the hostile  
land, GIŠ-KU-sag-ninnū (i.e., the weapon with fifty heads).*

Here the text breaks off, but in all probability it continued, with references to other wonderful weapons and devices for overthrowing

<sup>28</sup> "He who maketh the mountain to tremble."



the enemies of the gods, of himself, and of Babylonia, especially the city where the seat of his worship was. I have translated it in full in order to show how fertile was the fancy of the Babylonians in such things. It is worthy of note, that in the Sumero-Akkadian lines there is a slight variation from the Semitic text, namely, the addition of the word *mu*, 'my,' after the names of the emblems and weapons enumerated: *Giš-ku-sag-ninnû-mu*, 'my weapon with fifty heads,' etc.

The final tablet of this series is contained on three pieces, all more or less fragmentary. The text is fairly well preserved, and though the pieces do not join, two of them are duplicates, so that a portion of the inscription receives completions which we should not otherwise possess.

Where the tablet opens, Nirig is to all appearance still describing his own glories: he is the king who, like Anu, has the day in his power; the mighty one, Bel's stormflood, who is not met with in the mountains.

*'Lord Nirig am I—at the invocation of my name shall bow down  
The supreme powers, the brilliance of the labu, whom Bel in his  
strength hath begotten.*

*Since Anu, the mightiest of the gods—*

*King Anu in his great strength I saw, even I,*

*Have I been the weapon destroying the lofty mountains which is used  
for royal dignity.<sup>29</sup>*

*The mighty power of battle, the living creature of Ištar, am I;*

*The hero, who by the decision of Êa (or Aa), goeth to the fierce fight,  
am I—*

*Let my dominion to the boundary of heaven and earth shine forth.*

*The mighty one of the gods am I, with splendour let me be clothed.*



*Beloved city, house of Nippur, may thine head<sup>30</sup> [be high] like heaven.*





*O my city. In the city of my brothers let [me be] chief.<sup>31</sup>*

*O my temple. In the temple of my brothers [let me be chief.]*

*. . . my city is the well of water . . . . .*

<sup>29</sup> *Nam-lugal-la dum-me-en*. The *ma* after *dum*, which Hrozný gives in Italics, has been erased by the scribe.

<sup>30</sup> The word for head was , traces of which, and not of , are clear on the broken edge.

<sup>31</sup> Not , but quite clearly , followed by another character. The group may have been  , *gu-gala* = *ašarêdu* and *gugallu*, "eldest," "chief."

Here comes a gap, followed by some imperfect lines, and then the text continues:—

*The hero's brilliant [words],*

*Nirig's gracious [speech],*

*Nin-kar-nunna heard.*

*To lord Nirig stepped she then and spoke to him a prayer:—*

*' Lord, in thy city, which thou lovest, may thine heart take rest,*

*Lord Nirig, in thy city, which thou lovest, may thine heart take rest.*

*In the temple of Nippur, thy city which thou lovest, may thine heart take rest.*

*When Ē-šū-me-du, the seat of thine heart's delight, with joy thou interest,*

*To thy consort, the handmaid Nin-Nibri,*

*What is in thine heart tell her, what is in thy mind tell her,*

*Tell her the gracious words of the king for remote days.'*

*(She) who (as) the offspring of the prince was brought forth,*  
*Nin-kar-nunna,*

*Then from the mouth of a victim<sup>32</sup>*

*Amidst offerings<sup>33</sup> sprinkled water of healing.*

*When he had spoken in fullness . . . .*

*His command for future days [? he set firm, and]*

*Went (?) to Ē-šū-me-du in glory (?).<sup>34</sup>*

*The heart of Nirig was pleased—*

*' Lord Nirig looked upon her with favour—*

*Upon his consort, the handmaid Nin-Nibri.*

*He told her what was in his heart, he told her what was in his mind,*

*He told her the gracious words of the king for remote (days).*


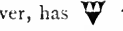
*The hero, whose heroism shineth forth,*


*Nirig, the son of Bel—*

*His supremacy from the house of Bel filleth the earth.*

*The lord, destroyer of the mountains, who hath no rival,*

<sup>32</sup> Hrozný: "aus dem Munde des Ausgiessens." *Niqû* means not only "libation," but also "sacrifice," "victim."

<sup>33</sup>  *lib-bi kat-ri-c.* The Sumero-Akkadian, however, has , *ig-peš*, "that which is pregnant," as the equivalent of *katrē*, hence Hrozný's suggestion that the meaning is *vulva*. Perhaps the idea of "bringing forth" has developed into that of "offering as a gift."

<sup>34</sup> The traces seem to be those of , *šū-piš*, an adverbial form from *šupû*, "to beam forth." Hrozný suggests a form of this root, and my revision confirms his restoration of the non-Semitic version.

*Hath fiercely let loose his sublime battle—  
The hero in his strength rusheth past.  
O Nirig, sublime son of Ê-kur,  
Prince of the father thy begetter, thy glory is supreme.*

Here comes the colophon :

*Tablet IV of 'Formed like Anu,' to its conclusion.  
Palace of Aššur-bani-apli, king of the world, king of Assyria.*

To all appearance this text is merely for the purpose of showing how Nirig became one of the gods of Ê-kur in Nippur, along with his father Bel. The part in which he is requested not to disturb his father Bel in Ê-kur with the noise of his chariot is curious, not to say amusing. Was it because of the noise he made that he was admitted as one of the gods of Nippur? In any case, it is not to be wondered at that a deity with so many dreadful weapons and terrifying things was looked upon as one of the gods of war, and honoured accordingly. As will have been noticed, *Nin-Nibri* or *Bêlit Nippuri* was regarded as his consort, from whom, if the text be understood aright, Nirig had apparently become estranged, and was reconciled to her by the intervention of his attendant, *Nin-kar-nunna*.

One point in the enumeration of Nirig's many weapons and divine emblems is noteworthy, namely, the reference to the bow of the stormflood, *giš-ban a-ma-gur*, Semitic *qaštu* (*âbubi*). This suggests some connection with the rainbow, symbolized, in the story of the flood, by means of Istar's sacred necklace. The reference to the stormflood of battle points to another symbolical use of the term, in which an invading army is likened to a destroying inundation. The description of Nirig as the mighty one, Bel's stormflood, who is not met with in the mountains, calls to mind the explanation of their defeat given by the Syrians, on the ground that the Israelites' god was a god of the hills, on which account the latter was the stronger of the two.<sup>35</sup> Nirig was a god of this kind; he could not be met (*i.e.*, resisted) in the mountains, and it may be that, as he was, before the entry of the Israelites, the god of one of the districts near Jerusalem, if not of Jerusalem itself, the Syrians identified the God of the Hebrews with him. The result of the encounter in the plain was disastrous to the Syrians, who, it will be remembered, were

<sup>35</sup> 1 Kings, xx, 23.

defeated by the Israelites at Aphek. As Babylonia itself consisted of an immense plain, the inhabitants would, in all probability, if asked, have denied that Nirig, their war-god of the hills, could not have aided them in the defence of their fatherland, in one of the chief of whose cities he had his seat.

We now come to the last of the interesting legends, or texts of that nature, on my list. This is the legend entitled 'The king, when his glorious splendour (streamed over the land'—or something similar). The first fragment in order, according to Hrozný's publication, speaks of the Tigris, and mentions the time when the Idiglat (= Hiddekel, its early Semitic name) 'was troubled, dammed up, disturbed, and weakened,' a statement which recalls the fact that the sister-stream, the Euphrates, was treated in the same way by Cyrus when he captured Babylon (according to the Greek historians). Both Herodotus and the Babylonian inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar testify that the Babylonians had for a long time been nervous on that score, and the inhabitants of cities on the Tigris would seem to have had the same feeling with regard to the stream which then, as now, was the life of the city through which it flowed. The next tablet is apparently wanting, but the colophon of this fragment, which gives the first line, refers to some deity who 'came forth from Ê-gir (the temple of the sword) and went to battle.'

What the gap may be between this and the next is not known, but as the tablet which follows is given as the eleventh of the series, the amount wanting must be considerable.

This section refers to Nirig and the stones used in making statues, bas-reliefs, and seals, whose fates he decided. The first referred to is the dolerite, and this portion contains a distinct reference to the statues in that material in Ê-ninnû, the temple of Lagaš, the unnamed king referred to being either Gudea or one of his dynasty. Notwithstanding that this passage is exceedingly mutilated, I give such a translation as is at present possible, on account of its historical interest :—

*'The lord stood by the dolerite—  
Like a reed in the mountain [? alone he stood]—  
Nirig, the lord, the son of Bel, decided its fate :  
'Dolerite, who in my battle [? remainedst inactive],  
Like heavy smoke [which doth not move],  
Thou raisedst not thine arm [to help me]—*

*In the rebellions the lord alone [thou leftest].*  
 'Nirig, lord, son of Bel, who is like unto [thee?] . . .  
 From the lofty mountain may it . . .  
 From the mountain of Makkam may it [be brought?].  
 Thou [cuttest?] the copper, which is strong, like skin.'  
 'I am lord, for my heroic arm [art thou] greatly [suited.]  
 The king who setteth his name that it may live to remote days,  
 Who carveth his image for future times,  
 In Ê-ninnû, the temple which is full of delight,  
 May he [set] thee at the place of water-drinking(?) . . . as an  
 adornment.'  
 The lord [assumed the form] of the stone,  
 [He entered] the body of the stone tablet(?).  
 Nirig, the lord, the son of Bel, pronounced a curse:  
 'As it were a stone (am) I . . . . .  
 Stone, which in my battle [refusedst] to take part,  
 Thou, in thine acts, mayest thou lie down like a swine.  
 Be thrown down, and be not used for work—end in becoming small:  
 May he who knoweth thee return thee to the water.'  
 The (kingly) lord stood by the alallu-stone,  
 Nirig, the lord, the son of Bel, decided its fate:  
 '[If] thou art an enemy of the understanding man, mayest thou for  
 fear of me fall down.

*Reverse.*

*In hostile land as in (this) land mayest thou proclaim my name.*  
*In thy well-being thou shalt not be reduced—*  
*May thy greatness hinder belittling,*  
*May my command work good in thy body.*  
*In the clash of weapons, hero, whom thou killest, gloriously end;*  
*In the great court, the plain (of burial) mayest thou found;*  
*May the land favourably regard thee and cause thee to be an honour.'*  
*The lord stood by the 'mountain-stone,'*  
*For its power he speaketh,*  
*Nirig, the son of Bel, decideth its fate:*  
 'Glorious hero, the beaming of the light of whose eye is directed on  
 (all) sides—  
 'Mountain-stone,' who in the hostile land a mighty cry hast caused,  
 Victoriously my hand did not seize it—

*With the unworthy have I not thrown it.  
 At the feet of thy people thou shalt not be poured out.  
 Let the command of the sun-god be thy command—  
 Guide thou the lands like a judge.  
 The wise one, he who knoweth everything,  
 Let him treasure thee like gold.  
 O hero, whom I have grasped, I lay not down to rest until I gave thee  
 life.  
 Now, by the fates of Nirig,  
 It is said: 'There are days in the land, the mountain-stone lives.'  
 Let it be thus.*

Naturally, if my supposition that the portion referring to dolerite was written as it here stands in consequence of the statues of that material which were set up at Lagaš (the stone is expressly stated by Gudea, as here, to have come from Makkan) be correct, that circumstance has a certain amount of importance, as it would fix the date of the composition of the legend as being not earlier than 2700 years B.C., or thereabouts. More material is required before this can be stated as a fact—at present it can only be given as a note-worthy probability.

From the brilliance of the 'mountain-stone,' it is not improbable that it was the name, or one of the names, of the diamond. Like the diamond, 'the light of its eye' is said to have been directed on all sides. The stone in question was apparently regarded as similar to the sun-god in the possession of a command, and it imitated him also in its guidance of the lands like a judge, apparently because its rays, like those of the great orb of day, penetrated everywhere. How precious it was in the eyes of Nirig, who conceived it, may be judged from the fact that he is said not to have rested until he had brought it into existence. By Nirig's fates, according to the inscription, it was said that there were days in the land because the 'mountain-stone' lived, implying that its brightness imitated that of the sun, the orb of day. The word 'mountain-stone' reminds us that the greatest diamond of modern times is known by the Persian name of Koh-i-Nūr, 'the mountain of Light,' but the Babylonian name may have originated in a different way. The Sumero-Akkadian name is *za ka* (or, *enima*)-*gina*, 'the stone of the faithful saying.' This may have a bearing upon the name of one of the earliest viceroys of Lagaš, *Uru-ka* (or, *enima*)-*gina*, whose name might then mean, instead of

'City of the faithful saying,' 'Diamond-city,' or, '(He of the) Diamond-city.'

The twelfth tablet is preserved only in a small fragment, belonging to the Royal Museum of Berlin, which originally formed a part of the library of tablets kept at Borsippa, the modern Birs-Nimroud. It is published by Abel and Winckler in their *Keilschrifttexte*, p. 50 f. See also Hommel's *Sumerische Lesestücke*, pp. 122-125. It has the beginning and the end of the section with which it was inscribed:—

*'The hero stood by the alabaster,  
Nirig, the lord, the son of Bel, decided for it the fate :  
'Alabaster, whose body is brilliant like the day—  
Purified silver, O hero, which for the palace is adorned,  
Thy hand alone hath not held.  
In thy mountain mayest thou lie on the ground.  
With the weapon have I not smitten thee—let my power enter—  
'The gracious place'<sup>36</sup> let thy name be called.  
Mayest thou be the adviser of the Anunnaki, the great gods.  
Alabaster, be thou placed as a decoration in the temple of the great  
gods.'*

*The hero stood by the algamišu<sup>37</sup> stone, and looked at it in displeasure.  
The lord speaketh angrily a word in the land—  
Nirig, the son of Bel, curseth it :  
'As thou wast a hindrance to my course,  
Going in front among the shieldbearers,<sup>38</sup>  
For whatever may be thy working, raise the head.  
Let its name be called 'Algamišu, the offering of the storm, in its  
rising.'<sup>39</sup>  
The lord<sup>40</sup> stood by the dušû-stone,  
Speaking to the hulalu, the grey stone, and the lapis-lazuli.*

(The remainder of the obverse is lost, as well as the upper part of the reverse.)

<sup>36</sup> Probably a play upon the granting of grace by Nirig to the stone, as suggested by Hrozný.

<sup>37</sup> Hebrew אֶלְגָמִישׁ, "crystal." (Hommel, *Proceedings*, 1893, p. 293.)

<sup>38</sup> *A'iskattî*, a doubtful word.

<sup>39</sup> This would seem to point to a meteoric stone—meteoric haematite or iron-stone.

<sup>40</sup> The Sumerio-Akkadian version has "My king."

*Reverse.*

*The lands in . . . . .*

*The lord <sup>40</sup> stood by the šurru-stone, and [looked at it in displeasure].*

*The lord speaketh angrily a word to the land—*

*Nirig, the lord, the son of Bel, curseth it :*

*‘Woe, šurru <sup>41</sup> of the sun-god . . . . .*

*To him who seeketh thee the horn may he win from thee, and be thou added to the precious things ;*

*For thy being ignoble thou settest thyself(?) .*

*As a helmet (or a garment) is cut to shape, may a man make thee diminish ;*

*May the coppersmith be set upon thee, and crush(?) thee with a pestle.*

*The hero who brought thy body (lit., flesh) from an opponent—*

*The smith, whose work one calleth beautiful—*



*May he kill thee like death, and grind thee like a mill <sup>42</sup> (?) .’”*







Here this tablet comes to an end. The first line of the next tablet, given in the catchline, is :

*‘The hero stood by the immana-stone.’*

In the above, I have rendered *giš-nu-gal* by ‘alabaster,’ following Hrozný. Formerly I thought I had evidence that *giš-nu-gal* was ‘white limestone,’ which the Babylonians may have regarded as being quite as good as alabaster for decorative purposes. With regard to the *gir-gu-gal* = Semitic Babylonian *šurru*, as it was a stone which was to be destroyed and crushed, corundum, or something similar, would probably be nearer the mark, especially as *na gir-gu-gal* may be translated “the stone of the great etching point.”

Three more fragments remain, and are exceedingly imperfect. The pronouncement of the fates of the stones by the god Nirig continues, however, throughout them all. It is needless to say, that this series is of considerable value, not only for the legend of the blessing and cursing of the stones which it contains, but also for the

<sup>41</sup> Compare Hebrew , “flint” (Hommel, *Sumer. Lecest.*, 123, footnote), and , “rock.” Hrozný translates “chalcedony.”

<sup>42</sup> The original has the Babylonian form of , which, it may be noted, seems to have nothing to do with  (compare W.A.I. II, 30, 70-78e with     in line 78b).




descriptions of those stones, and the references to their fates, implying their uses, and sometimes the method of their working. The completion of the series will be of the utmost importance, not only philologically, but also from an antiquarian point of view.

As an appendix to the texts already described and translated, I give here a rendering of one which Hrozný does not regard as belonging to the series entitled 'The king, when his sublime glory (? enlightened the land),' but which, nevertheless, may have been added to it. Notwithstanding its larger form, I used to regard this tablet as belonging to the first legend, in consequence of the elegant style in which it was written—the beauty of the series referring to Nirig found at Nineveh being noteworthy.

*Obverse.*

1. *'Towering high . . . . .*
2. *The might of the labbu, the great serpent, becoming great,<sup>43</sup> increasing in the mountains.*
3. *Nirig, the royal son, whom Bel caused to be greater than he himself is<sup>44</sup>—*
4. *Hero, whose net overthroweth the enemy—*
5. *Nirig, thy fearful shadow is stretched out over the country.*
6. *Angrily, to spoil the land of the enemy, he collecteth his army.*
7. *Nirig, the royal son, whose father he had caused to bow down the face to him from afar,*
8. *When he sat upon the throne in the royal chamber,<sup>45</sup> when he raised on high his splendour,*
9. *When he sat joyfully and widely in the festival instituted for him,*
10. *When he contended with Anu and Bel, when he made the wine,*
11. *When Bau offered a prayer for him to the king,*
12. *When Nirig, the lord, the son of Bel, decided the fate,*
13. *Then the lord's weapon—his ear [set] in the mountain—*
14. *Šar-ur, to lord Nirig spoke :*
15. *'Lord, high resting-place in all the land,*
16. *Nirig, thy command is not changed . . . . .*

<sup>43</sup> I read here , *muktaššaššu.*

<sup>44</sup> Or, 'Whom Bel himself caused to be great.'

<sup>45</sup>  *paramaḫi.*

*Reverse.*

1. *Lord Anu made the earth . . . . .*
2. *To Nirig, the fearless hero, the asakku (demon of fever?) [came not near].*
3. *The child who sat not to the nurse, [eschewing] the strength of milk,*
4. *The lord not knowing the progeny of the father, he who shattereth the mountains,*
5. *The mighty hero, in whose face there is no shame,*
6. *Nirig, the manly one, exalted, who rejoiceth in his appearance,*
7. *The warrior who is like a steer, I will stand by his side.*
8. *The lord who is gracious to his city, complaisant to his mother,*
9. *Rode upon a mountain, scattered seed.*
10. *Unanimously proclaimed the plants his name to their kingdom,*
11. *Raising his horns among them like a great wild ox.*
12. *The sù-stone, the ašaridu-stone, the dolerite, the uz-stone, the 'mountain-stone,'<sup>16</sup>*
13. *The hero—alabaster their hero—plundered the cities for them.*
14. *In the mountain the poison-tooth cometh forth, and it trembleth.*
15. *His arm boweth down its city on high to the ground.*

(The remainder is wanting.)

We have much to learn ere we shall understand this strange inscription, with its reference to Nirig's infancy, to his graciousness, and to his being regarded as a king among the plants, whose originator he seems to have been. Here, too, he is again mentioned in connection with various stones, one of them being described as the poison-tooth (*šinni kuši*) coming forth on the mountain. This, of course, is only thus designated on account of its shape—it was possibly more or less like a serpent's fang, as is the inscribed stone found by Sir Edward Durand in the island of Bahrein, which was evidently a sacred object. In this connection it is possible that Nirig was regarded as the god of meteors and shooting stars, as is suggested on p. 208. That he was one of the gods of storms, especially when accompanied by thunder, is suggested not only by the ideograph practically identifying him with Rimmon quoted on p. 207, but also by the reference to the thundering of his chariot, and

<sup>16</sup> See page 278.

the terror caused to the earth and to the gods—even to his father Bel—by the raising of his arm, as is stated in the translation on p. 271.

Equally important and interesting, also, are the parallels which may be made between this last text and the story of Merodach, as related in the Babylonian account of the Creation. Like Nirig, Bel may be said to have caused Merodach to be greater than he himself was (p. 281, line 3); it was the net of Merodach which overthrew the Dragon of Chaos (cp. line 4); and after the victory Merodach, like Nirig, was made king of the gods in the royal chamber (line 8), took part in the festival instituted for him (compare line 9), competed successfully with Anu and Ea (or Aa) in the matter of the overthrow of the Dragon of Chaos (line 10); though it would seem that Merodach, at the festival instituted for him, did not himself make the drink which was used, as is here related of Nirig. Merodach, too, was appointed the decider of fate for all the world (as it is apparently to be understood), and not, as the wording here (in line 12) presupposes, on one occasion, or for a limited time. The parallelisms in this portion of the legends of Nirig seem to be sufficiently in accord with those in the story of Merodach to make it probable that the two deities were in some way related and identified—and, in fact, we know that all the principal deities were identified with Merodach during at least a portion of the Semitic period, perhaps reaching as far back as the time of Hammurabi.

There are many imperfections in the above remarks upon the Babylonian gods of War, but defective though this paper may be, it will doubtless prove to be of interest, and may even contain something new. In any case, I have fulfilled the task which I had set myself, namely, that of placing before the learned world of this country some account of what is being done with our tablets by the Assyriologists of the continent and of America. For the legends concerning Nirig, I am much indebted to Dr. Fried. Hrozný's *Sumerische-babylonische Mythen von dem Gotte Ninrag (Ninib)*, whose excellent edition I have frequently quoted in this paper. Whether my departures from his renderings are always for the best or not, time alone can decide.

A LEADEN CHARM  
MADE UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF SATURN.

By E. J. PILCHER.

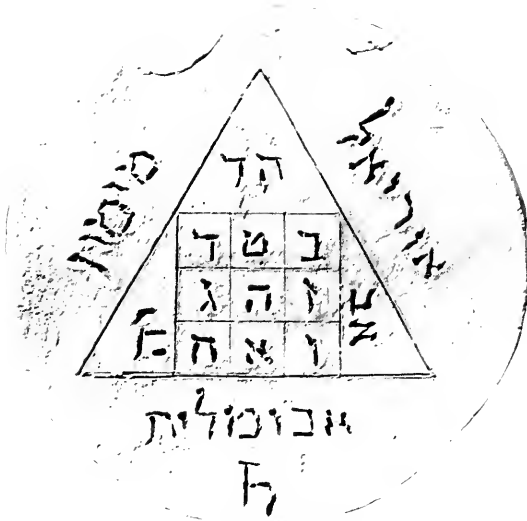
This Charm, which belongs to Mr. Nash, is a leaden disk,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  ins. in diameter, and about  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. thick. It was dug up in a Cornish garden some years ago, having apparently been deposited there for magical purposes. When found it still bore traces of a red pigment with which it had been coated before burial; but this had not prevented extensive oxidation.

The disk bears on both sides various symbols connected with the planet Saturn. According to the Kabbalists, the emblems of Saturn, engraved on a leaden plate under a fortunate aspect of the planet would render the owner confident and powerful, and ensure him worldly success. But in an unlucky aspect it would have the opposite effect: it would cause the ruin of buildings, blight crops, and cause dissensions. The ancient astrologers looked upon the influence of Saturn as uniformly bad. Kabbalism, in accordance with its fundamental principles, attributed good, as well as bad, influences to the planet; but even then the bad aspects were vastly more frequent than the good ones; so that a talisman of Saturn is more likely to be unlucky than otherwise. In the present instance the inference is that the amulet was intended to be malevolent; and the leaden disk was secretly buried for the purpose of bringing ill-luck to a neighbour.

OVERSE.

As the planet Saturn dominates the *third* sphere of the Universe,<sup>1</sup> the names, symbols, &c., upon this disk are arranged in groups of three; and the Magical Square is placed in a *triangle*.

<sup>1</sup> *P.S.B.A.*, vol. XXVIII, p. 110.



OBVERSE.



REVERSE.

LEADEN CHARM

In Mr. W. L. Nash's Collection.



In the angles of the triangle are the words **יה** and **הד אב** (*Ab Hod* and *Jah*). The letters of these, taken in their numerical values, add up to 3, 9 and 15 respectively. That is to say, the characteristic numbers of the Square, which is composed of *three* columns, involving *nine* ciphers, and containing the sum of *fifteen* in every direction.

On the sides of the triangle are the names of three of the principal Angels of the planet, viz., Uriel, Maimon, and Abumalith.

Beneath all is the astronomical symbol of the planet ♄.

#### REVERSE.

The reverse of the medal presents three "Signatures." The first is that of Saturn, accompanied by his Hebrew name Shabbathai. The second is the Signature of the planetary Demon, Zazel. The third is that of the Indwelling Spirit, Agiel.

Below the Signatures are three words from Exod. xvi, 25, **שבת** **לִיהוָה** **הַיּוֹם** "Sabbath is the day of the Lord"; thus introducing Saturn's Day, and also the Word of Power **יהוה**.

At the base of all we have "Adonai ♄ Agla"; or the planetary symbol between two Words of Power.

This talisman, therefore, was intended to contain within itself all the most powerful influences of the planet Saturn, as registered by the characteristic words and symbols; and, consequently, it was made of lead—the Saturnine metal.

The Anniversary Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, January 9th, 1907, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

**Miss M. A. Murray.**—“**St. Menas of Alexandria.**”

*With Lantern-slide Illustrations.*



# INDEX.

## A.


	VOL.	PAGE.
“ Abab,” the mystic name of the cipher 4 ... ..	XXVIII.	113
Abydos, the people of... ..	XXVIII.	29
Amulet, a Hebrew, against disease ... ..	XXVIII.	182
Ardistama Inscriptions, the ... ..	XXVIII.	134
Assyrian incantation against Ghosts, an ... ..	XXVIII.	219

## B.

Babylonian gods of war, the ; and their legends ... ..	XXVIII.	203, 270
Baghdad boil, the, mentioned in an Assyrian Astrological Report	XXVIII.	78
Bilingual inscription relating to Nergal ... ..	XXVIII.	213
“ Bow of the storm-flood,” one of the god Nirig’s weapons ...	XXVIII.	275
Burgh Papyrus, the ... ..	XXVIII.	178
Buto, goddess, two statuettes of ... ..	XXVIII.	201
,, fragment of a statue of, in the Museo Civico at Mantua ...	XXVIII.	201
,, sometimes figured wearing the red Crown of the North ...	XXVIII.	202
,, an ancient, local, form of Isis ... ..	XXVIII.	202
,, sometimes with head of a Lioness ... ..	XXVIII.	202
,, figure of, in the Copenhagen Glyptothek ... ..	XXVIII.	202
,, frequently called “ Lady of the North ” ... ..	XXVIII.	202
,, and Nekheb called “ the two serpents ” ... ..	XXVIII.	202

## C.

Charm, a leaden, made under the influence of Saturn ... ..	XXVIII.	284
Chedor-laomer Tablets, the ... ..	XXVIII.	193, 241
,, ,, ,, translation of the text ... ..	XXVIII.	197, 241
Chedor-laomer of the Tablets is the king of Elam mentioned in Genesis xiv, I ... ..	XXVIII.	193
Child born after the mother’s death and burial ... ..	XXVIII.	82
Coptic fragments, at Munich, I ... ..	XXVIII.	137
,, ,, ,, II ... ..	XXVIII.	229

Crossed arrows,  , an emblem of Neith from the 1st to the IVth dynasty ... .. XXVIII. 71	
Cutha, city, seat of worship of Nergal ... .. XXVIII. 213	
Cuthean Hymn to Nergal ... .. XXVIII. 210	

## D.

Delta, the inhabitants of, different from those of Upper Egypt ... XXVIII. 68	
.. the people of, conquered by Narmer, king of Upper Egypt XXVIII. 69	
.. pre-Menite kings of, worshippers of Neith ... .. XXVIII. 70	
Demons, marriage of, with human beings ... .. XXVIII. 82	
Den, 1st dynasty king of Upper Egypt, marries Mer-Neith ... XXVIII. 70	
Diseases always due to Demons, in Assyrian belief ... .. XXVIII. 81	



## E.

Egypt, Lower, originally divided into a number of petty king- doms under chieftains ... .. XXVIII. 68	
Egyptian Ancient History, observations on ... .. XXVIII. 29	
Egyptian Civilization, prehistoric origin of ... .. XXVIII. 29	
.. .. originated in district between Heliopolis and Alyôos ... .. XXVIII. 29	
Egyptian magic wands, Astrological character of ... .. XXVIII. 33	
El-Hammâm, inscription of S-ankh-ka-Ra from ... .. XXVIII. 171	
El-Hôsh. Inscriptions in the quarries of ... .. XXVIII. 17	
.. .. Greek letters among the signs of ... .. XXVIII. 18	
.. .. probably of the time of Antoninus... .. XXVIII. 19	
.. .. the signs, characters not arbitrary marks ... XXVIII. 20	
.. .. division of, into groups .. .. XXVIII. 20	
.. .. note on, by Prof. Sayce ... .. XXVIII. 20	
Eme-laklâkha, the name given to the standard dialect of Sumer ... XXVIII. 194	
Eme-sal, the name of a dialect of Sumer ... .. XXVIII. 194	
.. means "the woman's dialect" ... .. XXVIII. 195	
Epilepsy, an Arab cure for ... .. XXVIII. 77	
Eres-ki-gal, goddess of the Babylonian underworld ... .. XXVIII. 215	
.. her espousal with Nergal ... .. XXVIII. 215	
Eri-Aku, of the Chedor-laomer Tablets, is the Arioch, king of Ellasar, mentioned in Genesis, xiv, 1 ... .. XXVIII. 193	
Erzerum, Hittite inscription from ... .. XXVIII. 91	
Eye diseases, Arab remedies for ... .. XXVIII. 83	






## F.

Fever, an Arab cure for	... ..	XXVIII.	79, 80
Figures found near the South Temple at Wādÿ Halfa	... ..	XXVIII.	118
Fire, ordeal by, in Arabia	... ..	XXVIII.	81
Folk-lore, the, of Mossoul, I	... ..	XXVIII.	76, 97

## G.

Ghosts, an Assyrian incantation against	... ..	XXVIII.	219
Greyhound, a form of, sacred to the god	 or 	...	...
depicted on objects from Abydos	... ..	XXVIII.	131

## II.

Haâu, or "Fen-men," inhabitants of the Delta in very early times	... ..	XXVIII.	73
Ha-nebu, the same as the Haâu?	... ..	XXVIII.	73
Headache, Assyrian incantations against	... ..	XXVIII.	80
Heliopolitan people, the	... ..	XXVIII.	29
Hetep, a Saïte princess, marries Narmer	... ..	XXVIII.	69
,, ,, perhaps mother of Aha (Menes)...	... ..	XXVIII.	69
,, her name on tablets found at Naqada	... ..	XXVIII.	69
.. .. accompanied by the sign 	... ..	"Princess of Sais,"	
and by the sign 	... ..	"Consort of the Double Dominion"	XXVIII. 70
Himyaritic inscription, the, from Jabal Jehaf	... ..	XXVIII.	143
Hittite inscription (J. II), note on	... ..	XXVIII.	27
,, inscriptions in the Constantinople Museum	... ..	XXVIII.	91
,, seals in the Ashmolean Museum	... ..	XXVIII.	136
Hyksos and Hittites, the, their national deity the god	  	XXVIII.	131

## I.

Ivritz texts, the	... ..	XXVIII.	133
-------------------	--------	---------	-----

## J.

Jaundice attributed to the "ahhazu" demon	... ..	XXVIII.	77
Jonah believed to be buried in the mosque on Nebi-Yunus	... ..	XXVIII.	83




## K.

Kabbalistic planetary charms	... ..	XXVIII.	110
Karian and other inscriptions...	... ..	XXVIII.	172













## M.

Magic ivories, the. of the Middle Empire, III	... ..	XXVIII.	159
.. .. date of	... ..	XXVIII.	165
.. .. meaning of the figures on	... ..	XXVIII.	166
Magic squares	... ..	XXVIII.	111
Marriage of demons with human beings	... ..	XXVIII.	82
Mer-Neith, marries Den, king of Upper Egypt	... ..	XXVIII.	70
Mesnawō, name found in Karian inscriptions	... ..	XXVIII.	172
"Mistress of the Mediterranean," Neith so called in an inscription			
of the time of Nectanebo	... ..	XXVIII.	73
Monarchy, the early, of Egypt (Note by Mr. Legge)	... ..	XXVIII.	14

## N.

Narmer, king of Upper Egypt, conquers the Delta	... ..	XXVIII.	69
.. marries Hetep, a Saite princess	... ..	XXVIII.	69
Negadah, Tablet of	... ..	XXVIII.	253
.. .. discovered by M. de Morgan in 1897	... ..	XXVIII.	253
.. .. missing fragment of, found by Mr. Garstang	... ..	XXVIII.	253
.. .. description of	... ..	XXVIII.	254
.. .. meaning of the scenes on	... ..	XXVIII.	256
.. .. variants of the formula on	... ..	XXVIII.	260
.. .. meaning of the formula on	... ..	XXVIII.	261
.. .. summary of the reading of	... ..	XXVIII.	263
Neith, the chief deity of Sais	... ..	XXVIII.	68
.. represented wearing the same crown as that worn by the			
pre-Menite kings of the Delta	... ..	XXVIII.	68
.. a Delta goddess	... ..	XXVIII.	70
.. usually described as of Libyan origin	... ..	XXVIII.	71
.. her name on monuments of the earliest period	... ..	XXVIII.	71
.. her emblem from 1st to IVth dynasty was  , or an			
8-shaped shield	... ..	XXVIII.	71
.. her emblems in the IVth, Vth and VIth dynasties	... ..	XXVIII.	71
.. her name, from the XIXth dynasty, written with two			
forms of shuttle,  or 	... ..	XXVIII.	72
.. foundress of Sais, a Greek tradition	... ..	XXVIII.	74
.. identified with Pallas Athene	... ..	XXVIII.	74
Nekheh, the Egyptian goddess, called by the Greeks Eileithyia	... ..	XXVIII.	202
.. .. called by the Romans Lucina	... ..	XXVIII.	202

	VOL.	PAGE.
Nergal, Babylonian God of War ... ..	XXVIII.	203
„ bilingual inscription relating to ... ..	XXVIII.	213
Nimrod, throne of, Syriac inscription on ... ..	XXVIII.	151
„ „ „ translation of ... ..	XXVIII.	151
„ „ „ paleography of ... ..	XXVIII.	152
„ „ „ grammar of ... ..	XXVIII.	152
„ „ „ interpretation of ... ..	XXVIII.	153
Nirig or Ênu-rêstû, an Assyro-Babylonian deity ... ..	XXVIII.	205
„ „ hymn in praise of ... ..	XXVIII.	270
„ „ four tablets relating to ... ..	XXVIII.	270
“Northern enemies,” mentioned on a figure of Khasekhem, are probably the Semites of the Delta ... ..	XXVIII.	32
O.		
Ophthalmia, an Assyrian receipt for cure of ... ..	XXVIII.	77
Osiris, the great god of Abydos ... ..	XXVIII.	30
„ at first the principal deity of the Egyptian Empire ... ..	XXVIII.	30
Osiris and Horus, relative position of ... ..	XXVIII.	31
P.		
Palanga, Hittite Inscription from ... ..	XXVIII.	93
Pendant, a peculiar, on a statue of Usertsen III ... ..	XXVIII.	268
Planetary Charms in the B.M., list of ... ..	XXVIII.	115
Planets, “Signatures” of the ... ..	XXVIII.	110
“Priestess of Neith,” a title borne by women of high rank ... ..	XXVIII.	70
Pre-Sargonic Times ... ..	XXVIII.	264
Pschent, the name of the ... ..	XXVIII.	189
R.		
Rakka, a bronze figure from ... ..	XXVIII.	228
Ra, the principal deity of Heliopolis ... ..	XXVIII.	29
S.		
S-ankh-ka-Ra, inscription of ... ..	XXVIII.	171
Sahidic Exodus fragment, the, in the Zouche collection ... ..	XXVIII.	54
Sais, to what race did the people of, belong? ... ..	XXVIII.	68
„ Neith the chief deity of... ..	XXVIII.	68
„ a chieftain of, becomes king of Lower Egypt ... ..	XXVIII.	68
„ princesses of, worshippers of Neith ... ..	XXVIII.	70
„ founded by Neith, a Greek tradition ... ..	XXVIII.	74

Saite emblem of, after XIIIth dynasty, is the round-top shield with crossed arrows	... ..	XXVIII.	71
Sekem-heb  , "a scribe of the soldiers,"			
figure of, found at Wādý Halfa	... ..	XXVIII.	118
Semitic immigrants in the Delta of Egypt	... ..	XXVIII.	29
Sephereth, the ten, or "Emanations of the Absolute"	... ..	XXVIII.	110
Set, the god, his name written  on the sarcophagus of Mentuhotep	... ..	XXVIII.	124
" " "  on the sarcophagus of Sebek-aa	... ..	XXVIII.	123
" " "  or  on the Saqqarah pyramids	... ..	XXVIII.	125
" " "  and  in the Papyrus of Ani	... ..	XXVIII.	125
" " "  in some Ptolemaic texts...	... ..	XXVIII.	127
" not a god of the land or desert	... ..	XXVIII.	127
" from the XVIIIth dynasty often written 	... ..	XXVIII.	128
" regarded as a native of the town of Sout	... ..	XXVIII.	128
Seti, should be read Soutekhi, or Setoukhi...	... ..	XXVIII.	123
Séth, le Dieu, et le Roi Sethosis	... ..	XXVIII.	123
Σήθ, the Greek transcription of 	... ..	XXVIII.	129
Set-Typhon, the god of the Asiatic immigrants in the Delta	... ..	XXVIII.	29
Shield, the S-form of, not found after the IVth dynasty	... ..	XXVIII.	72
" " the characteristic form used by the earliest historical inhabitants of the Eastern Mediterranean	... ..	XXVIII.	72
" " carried by a Hittite warrior, carved on the castle gateway at Zenjirli	... ..	XXVIII.	72
Signs, the  and  found in connection with the name			
of Hetep, wife of Narmer	... ..	XXVIII.	70
Si-ptah, discovery of the tomb of	... ..	XXVIII.	96

	VOL.	PAGE.
Slate, a new carved ... ..	XXVIII.	87
Soutekhi, or Setoukhi, the correct reading of Seti...	XXVIII.	123
"Star of Stars" the, and "Dilgan" ... ..	XXVIII.	6, 47

## T.

Tablets, the, of Negadah and Abydos ... ..	XXVIII.	252
Takhat, mother of Amenmeses ... ..	XXVIII.	186
,, a queen mentioned on a statue of Sety II ... ..	XXVIII.	186
Talismanic medal, a, of pewter ... ..	XXVIII.	117
Tarḳutumme, note on the "boss" of ... ..	XXVIII.	187
Tausert, the position of in the XIXth dynasty ... ..	XXVIII.	185
,, in her tomb described as "Heiress, Royal Wife," etc. ...	XXVIII.	185
,, wife of Sety II ... ..	XXVIII.	185
,, the tomb of, begun during the reign of Sety II ... ..	XXVIII.	185
Tausert and Si-ptah, their names on a scarab ... ..	XXVIII.	185
Tetragrammaton, the Kabbalistic expression of the four letters of the ineffable name יהוה ... ..	XXVIII.	113
"Throne of Nimrod" ... ..	XXVIII.	149
Toothache, in the East attributed to a worm in the tooth ...	XXVIII.	78
Tudghula, of the Chedorlaomer Tablets is the "Tidal King of Nations" mentioned in Genesis xiv, 1 ... ..	XXVIII.	193
Tyana, Hittite Inscription from ... ..	XXVIII.	94

## W.

Wādÿ Ḥalfa, figures found at ... ..	XXVIII.	118
-------------------------------------	---------	-----

## Z.

Zagaga, Babylonian War God ... ..	XXVIII.	203
-----------------------------------	---------	-----

## LIST OF AUTHORS.

	PAGE
Ayrton, L. R. . . . .	96, 185
Burkitt, Prof. F. C., <i>M.A.</i> . . . . .	149
Campbell Thompson, R., <i>M.A.</i> . . . . .	76, 97, 219
Colin-Campbell, Rev. Dr. . . . .	156
Cowper, H. S., <i>F.S.A.</i> . . . . .	228
Jones, Rev. F. A. . . . .	264
Legge, F. . . . .	14, 87, 159, 252
Legrain, G. . . . .	17
Lieblein, Prof. J. . . . .	29
Loret, Victor . . . . .	123
Muller, Dr. D. H. . . . .	143
Murray, Miss M. A. . . . .	33
Nash, W. L., <i>F.S.A.</i> . . . . .	182
Newberry, Percy E. . . . .	68
Pierret, Prof. Paul . . . . .	189
Pilcher, E. J. . . . .	110, 284
Pinches, T. G., <i>L.L.D.</i> . . . . .	203, 270
Plunket, Hon. Miss E. . . . .	6, 47
Revillout, Prof. Dr. E. . . . .	178
Ricci, S. de . . . . .	54
Sayce, Prof. A. H., <i>D.D.</i> . . . . .	91, 133, 171, 193, 241
Schmidt, Dr. Valdemar . . . . .	201, 268
Scott-Moncrieff, P., <i>B.A.</i> . . . . .	118
Sibree, E., <i>M.A.</i> . . . . .	27, 187
Winstedt, E. O. . . . .	137, 229







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