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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-EIGHTH SESSION, 1908.

First (Anniversary) Meeting, January 15th, 1908.

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 Donors :—

From the Author, Prof. E. Naville, *D.C.L.*—"The Origin of Egyptian Civilization."

From the Author, M. N. Adler, Esq.—"The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela."

From W. E. Crum, Esq.—"Amulets" (*Catalogue Gén. du Musée du Caire*).

From the Author, Jean Capart.—"Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah." *With* 100 *Plates.*

From the Author, the Rev. Dr. Joseph Horner.—"The Gospels of Matthew and Luke."

BOOK-BINDING FUND.

The following donation has been received :—

The Hon. Miss E. Plunket (*3rd donation*) £1 1 0

The Rev. C. L. Bedale, *M.A.*,

was elected a Member of the Society.

The Council's Report for 1907, and the Statement of Receipts and Expenditure were formally presented to the Meeting.

The following Resolutions were proposed and seconded and unanimously agreed to :—

That the Council's Report and the Statement of Accounts be received and adopted, and be issued with the next Part of the *Proceedings.*

That thanks be returned to the Council and Officers for their services during the past year.

That the Council and Officers be re-elected for the ensuing year.

The following Paper was read :—

F. LEGGE, Esq. : "The Titles of the Thinite Kings."

Thanks were returned for this communication.

THE COUNCIL'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1907.

At the opening of the Thirty-eighth Session of the Society we have first to notice the deaths of five Members since the last Report. Among these may be specially mentioned Mr. C. Martin, one of our oldest Members, while the other deaths include the Right Rev. H. Tully Kingdon, *D.D.*, Anglican Bishop of Fredericton, Canada, and the Rev. Dr. Lamy, S.J., of Louvain, in Belgium. The Council is sure that they are only giving voice to the wishes of the Members in deploring the loss of these valuable supporters and in condoling with the families of those thus taken from us. They have further to regret the resignation, from different causes, of six other Members, the increasing demand upon the purses of those interested in archæology by the multiplication of Funds and Societies being the reason assigned for their withdrawal in the majority of cases. On the other hand, the Council are glad to announce the election, during the past year, of seventeen new Members, which brings up the total Membership to 406, or six more than the figure at which it stood in the last Report. This is still, however, rather less than the total of even a few years ago, and it is hoped that the Members will not relax their efforts to obtain desirable recruits.

The financial position of the Society is a little better than last year, and although the expenditure on repairs to the House has been unusually heavy during the past Session, we are able to begin the present one with a balance of £155 17*s.* 3*d.* For this satisfactory result the Society is again indebted to the unremitting exertions and the discriminating vigilance of the Secretary, Dr. Nash. For the first time for many years it has been found possible to add to the Library by the purchase of several expensive books often enquired for and urgently needed.

The Meetings of the Society during the past year have been better attended than has sometimes been the case, and the optical lantern has been used at most of them—it is believed to the satisfaction of the Members. The Papers read have more than maintained the reputation of the Society for solid and learned work, and, together with the contributors of many years standing, Mr. Campbell Thompson and Mr. E. R. Ayrton deserve hearty thanks for their valuable and original Papers on "The Folklore of Mossoul" and "The Tomb of Queen Thyï," respectively. Special attention may also be drawn to the series of Papers contributed by Mr. F. Legge under the title of "The Tablets of Negadah and Abydos," which have received much favourable notice on the Continent and elsewhere.

COUNCIL, 1908.

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

Vice-Presidents.

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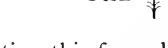
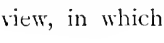
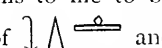
THE *DI-HETEP-SUTEN* FORMULA, A FUNERARY STELA OF A MAN FROM GEBELÊN, AND OTHER NOTES.

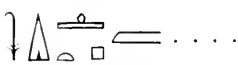
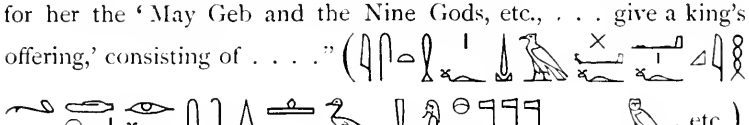
BY H. R. HALL, *M.A.*

THE FORMULA.

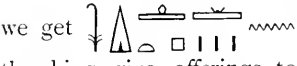
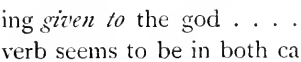
In translating this formula in the inscription given below, I have regarded the  as optative, and the god invoked as the subject of both: he (originally Anubis) is asked to give a royal oblation, a king's offering, *ḥetep-suten*, to the *ka*. This is a partial return to the older view, in which  was translated "royal oblation." Of late the view has been taken that the is the subject of , the god the subject of , or both of when does not occur. As expressed by Prof. ERMAN in his *Handbook of Egyptian Religion* (Eng. transl.), p. 124, the translation could run, "May the king give an offering; may the god give . . . .," or, "An offering that the king gives, and the god; he gives . . . ." But the evidence for this personal intervention of the king in the burial of every man in the earliest period, as stated by Prof. ERMAN, seems to me to be weak. It rests on this hypothetical translation of  and the fact that the kings often took an active interest in the burial of their more important subjects. The translation being hypothetical, other hypothetical translations are possible, which do not demand the theory of invariable royal

gifts of food for the *ka* in the archaic period to every man who could afford decent burial. Instead of proclaiming "an offering that the king always gives and that Anubis gives," is it not more probable that one prayed that Anubis would give such an offering as the king *would give*, if he had occasion to, and one worthy, therefore, of the god: a king's offering, ?

I admit that it is convenient to be able to translate

 . . . . . as "May one make for thee an offering that the king giveth, consisting of . . . .": the presence of the verb seems to preclude the translation "May one make for thee a king's offering . . . ." But I think that the formula "May . . . . . give a king's offering" had become at an early period a mere conventional phrase, *di-ḥetep-suten*, and that one could describe people as "doing a *di-ḥetep-suten*," and say, "May one make for thee a *di-ḥetep-suten*, a give-king's-offering, consisting of . . . ." So Aaḥmes, on the stela of Teta-shera, "stretched forth his arm and bent his hand and made for her the 'May Geb and the Nine Gods, etc., . . . give a king's offering,' consisting of . . . ." ( , etc.). The sign was sometimes omitted: "May the god *ḥetep-suten* to the *ka* of . . . .": this shows how meaningless it had become even under the Middle Kingdom. In many inscriptions the name of a god is altogether omitted: are we then to suppose that the king only is invoked? Does mean "An offering that the king gives to the *ka* of . . . ."? Is it not equally probable that no king was invoked at all, but that the phrase "May . . . . give-king's-offering" having become conventional, the name of the god was sometimes omitted as much as the sign was in other cases? It seems to me that such a typical example of the simplest form of the phrase as is better translated "May Osiris, prince of eternity, give a king's offering to the *ka* of the priest of the necropolis Ānkhu, justified and

venerated," than "An offering that the king gives and that Osiris, prince of eternity, gives," etc. Why should the king come first, unless he were giving the offering *to* Anubis, Osiris, or Amen-Rā for the *ka* of Ānkhu or Penamitur?

In later times the formula was evidently taken to mean this, and we get  N., which meant either "May the king give offerings to the Sarapis N.," or, as I think more probable, "Royal offerings given to the Sarapis N."; but in view of the fact that in the ancient inscriptions the never appears, we must take its Ptolemaic appearance to be an attempt to make sense of an incomprehensible formula. We cannot then regard as originally a perfect participle active (*cf.* , "the life-given," according to one view),[1] and as final, translated "a royal offering *given to* the god . . . . in order that he may give . . . ." The verb seems to be in both cases either optative or indicative, and the subject of both, if it is not the king and the god, must be the god alone, and this seems to me to be the most probable alternative. He is asked to give to the justified and venerated dead man such an offering as a king would give to him: "the very best of everything," in fact—thousands of oxen, geese, and so forth. Perhaps there is in the phrase  no more than this.

A MAN OF GEBELÊN.

A small funerary stela (Plate I), in the possession of Mr. R. G. STANNARD, bears the following inscription :—

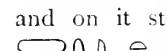
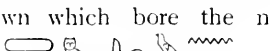
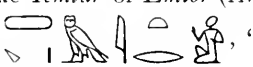
[1] Which certainly seems the most probable one. We may compare the same phrase in Sumerian, used of Babylonian kings on their statues: *cf.* the name of the statue "Unto-Gudea-the-builder-of-the-temple-hath-life-been-given."

Di ḥetep-suten Àmen-Rā neb pet, di-f ḥesut-f n rā neb, ānkh nefer didi n ka-f Ptaḥ šepsi neb ānḫ t'ām, di-f āḳ m reḫiut àm-f n ka n unbi Pen-àa-m-àtr.

"May Àmen-Rā, lord of heaven, give a king's offering: may he give his daily gifts that are praised (*lit.* 'his praised-things of every day'), the good life that Ptaḥ the venerable, lord of life and strength, giveth to his *ka*: may he give entrance among the illuminated (*lit.* 'knowers,' *rekhiut*) who are with him to the *ka* of the goldsmith Pen-àa-em-àtur (Penamitur, Penemior)."

In the third line the sign is confused with .

The stela is a small one of grey steaschist, unglazed, with rounded top. Above the inscription stand two Amen-rams facing each other: each has an uræus on his head, and above him is inscribed the god's name, . Over both flies the winged sun-disk. The rams and the disk are moderately well cut in relief: the inscription is incised. The date of the object is evidently about the time of the XIXth Dynasty.

The name of the goldsmith Pen-àa-em-àtur, or Penamitur (probably pronounced something like "Penemioor"), "He who belongs to Isle-in-Stream," would be in Arabic Gebelêni, "the man of Gebelên." The modern Gebelên was in ancient times an island, and on it stood a town which bore the name of *Àa-m-atur*,  , or  , "Isle-in-stream." As the of the word *àtur* was early dropped in pronunciation, the word was pronounced *iur*, *ior*, Coptic **ⲓⲱⲟⲣ**, and so the name of the town on Gebelên must at the time this stele was made have sounded something like *Iemiar* or *Emior* (*Amur*),[2] so that the name of the goldsmith,  , "He of Gebelên," must have been pronounced Penimior or Penemior.

[2] In Demotic the forms *Em'ur* , and *Amur* , are found, see SPIEGELBERG, *Eigennamen*, pp. 68*, 58. Following DÜMICHEN, Prof. SPIEGELBERG speaks of Amitur as "welches auf einer Insel gegenüber Gebelen lag," and gives KRALL, *Beiträge* (referred to below), p. 3, as his authority. But I cannot find that KRALL has done more than merely quote DÜMICHEN as holding this belief: he himself seems rather to hold with DARESSY (*Recueil*, x, 140), that Amitur was at Gebelên itself. And this seems to me more probable, Gebelên having in all probability been an island till a late period.

Two thousand years later, at the end of the Roman period, Gebelên bore, as we learn from the official records of the rule of the Blemmyes in Upper Egypt, the names *Temsir* and *Tanare* The first-named could only be brought into connection with the ancient *Iemior* by somewhat drastic methods, which seem hardly justified. In the first place, we should have to assume a change of gender for the word "island," or at any rate a popular confusion of *ȧa*, "island," which is masculine, and *ȧat*, "dwelling-place." It is true that in Ptolemaic texts is sometimes written when is meant: there is a good example in the name of Philae, sometimes spelt *P-ȧa-rḳ-t* (pronounced *Pilak*).[3] But this is a mere mis-writing: there was probably no confusion in speaking between the words *p-ȧa*, "the island," and *t-ȧa*, "the dwelling"—*Philae* was never called "*Thilae*"—so that if the name of Gebelên was ever given the article it was certainly pronounced *Pimior or *Phemior, never Temior, for which we might otherwise have supposed that **ⲧⲉⲙⲓⲟⲣ** was perhaps a mistake. Nor can we suppose that the other name, Tanare, is really a mistake for Tamare, which might be a form of *amur* with a feminine article. Were the name written "Panare" or "Phanare" we might well suppose that we ought to emend the N to M, and read Pamare = *P-amur*. But it is not.

[3] Such confusions in writing were not rare in the later period, *e.g.*, in the compound place-name , transcribed from the Demotic, in which script the now mute feminine ending *-t* was constantly interpolated where it had no right to be (*P.S.B.A.*, xxvii (1905), p. 119). The Greek form of this name, **Βομπαη**, shows that the final element in the name is really the masculine *āḫā*, perhaps "stele" (rather than "palace," as in *P.S.B.A.*, *loc. cit.*), and not the feminine *āḫāt*; the masculine definite article was evidently pronounced, though it is not found written in the Demotic form. Characteristically, the place-name is found in hieroglyphs (BRUGSCH, *Dict. Géogr.* 470): this is more probably a mis-writing for *p-āḫā* than for *t-āḫāt*. (The Demotic form of the name Bompaê on the Brit. Mus. bilingual tablets, , shows that SPIEGELBERG's proposed form for it, (*Ägypt. Eigennamen*, p. 67*) is erroneous, though no doubt as pronounced the name was very like **ⲂⲀ-Ⲃ-ⲠⲀ-ϩⲏ**; see *P.S.B.A.*, *l.c.*, p. 121).

FROM GEBELÊN: "KHARAKHEIN AND KHARAZIEU (?)."

One of the most interesting sets of Egyptian documents of late age published during the last few years is the number of letters, etc., dealing with the rule of the Blemmyes and Nubians in Upper Egypt, which were said to have been found at Gebelên, and are published by KRALL in his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Blemyer und Nubier*. The finest of these documents is the Greek will of a basilisk (*regulus*) of the Blemmyes, handing over to the rule of two of his sons the island of *Tanare*, which, as KRALL says, seems to be Gebelên, then an island, as its old Egyptian name "Isle in the Stream," shows. On a similar document another chief named Pakytimne (?) gives the same isle of Tanare to "Pōae the most noble priest," one of the medicine-men of the still heathen Blemmyes; here the island has also the by-name *Temsir*.

KRALL reads the name of the prince who gave Tanare to his sons as Charachēn (ΧΑΡΑΧΗΝ), and the names of the sons as Charapatchur (ΧΑΡΑΠΑΤΧΟΥΡ) and Charahiet (ΧΑΡΑϩΙΕΤ). The reading ΧΑΡΑΠΑΤΧΟΥΡ is certainly correct, so that the first son's name is Kharapatkhour; but, after an examination of the deed at Cairo, it seems to me more probable that the king's name is written ΧΑΡΑΧΕΗΝ than ΧΑΡΑΧΗΝ, and that the name of the second son should be read ΧΑΡΑϫΙΕΥ (or, at any rate, ΧΑΡΑϫΙΕΤ), not ΧΑΡΑϩΙΕΤ. These two names should then be Kharakhein and Kharazieu or Kharaziet, not Kharakhēn and Kharaḥiet. The alteration from Η to ΕΙ in the first name would make no difference in the sound of the name, so that the correction may seem immaterial; but this is not the case with the second name. The interjection of a single instance of a Coptic ϩ into a Greek deed of the first half of the fifth century,[4] to which it probably belongs, seems to me very doubtful, and I cannot see any particular difference between the supposed ϩ of the name "Charaḥiet" and the χ, with which the name of Laize, occurring in the same document, is written. I therefore read the name Kharazieu or Kharaziet.

[4] KRALL dates it to the last half of the century. The name Sansnōs which occurs on it would incline one to prefer an earlier date, if possible.

MŌḤŌN = MEHENDI.

In the Coptic document also published by KRALL in the same place, which was written in the reign of the Nubian king Kyrikos, who invaded Egypt in 737 A.D. to compel the release of the patriarch Khaîl, occurs the name of a town ⲙⲱϩⲱⲛ. Prof. KRALL proposed to identify this place with *Māḫenti*, a place in the Apolliropolite nome, but mentioned in a note at the same time that a place called Mehendi existed south of Hierasykaminos. It seems to me that the document being dated in the reign of a Nubian king, and having probably been written in Nubia (since we have no proof that Kyrikos actually ruled the Sâ'id: he only invaded and plundered it), a Nubian place is more likely to be intended than an Egyptian one, and that the well-known Mehendi, or Ikhmindi, "south of Hierasykaminos," is the ancient Mōḫōn.[5] Here there are still the remains of a mediaeval Nubian town, and it is not impossible that this Mōḫōn-Mehendi was the capital, the king's seat, of the conquering Kyrikos. The document being in the form of a letter addressed to persons residing at Mōḫōn may very well have been found at Mehendi.

A GREEK MUMMY-TICKET.

Plate II shows a mummy-ticket in the possession of the Egypt Exploration Fund. On the OBVERSE is the Greek inscription; on the REVERSE is traced in ink a figure of the jackal Anubis, seated on a stand, with what is possibly intended for a collar with *menat*-counterpoise round his neck. The inscription reads—

Σενπλῆνῖς
Σενπαπωεις
γυνη ΠΛῆιν Πα
υρις ετων
ν̄ε̄

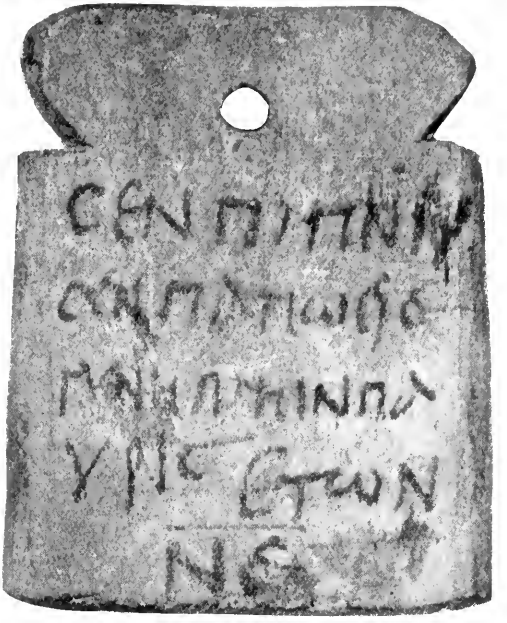
"Senplēnis, (daughter of) Senpapōĕĭĕ, (and) wife of Plēin-the-elder; 55 years (old)."

[5] The name is also spelt *Moondē* on a stela mentioned by Mr. CRUM, *cf.* E.E.F., *Archaeological Report*, 1906–7, p. 77.

Senplēnis is *Tšenpleïn*, "the daughter of Plēïn," which was also the name of her husband. The name Pleïn or Pleïne was fairly common as late as the seventh to ninth centuries, *cf.* my *Greek and Coptic Inscriptions of the Christian Period in the British Museum*, pp. 32, 73, 94, 105. The form Pleïnōs also seems to occur; *cf. ib.*, p. 140. On these mummy-tablets, four hundred years earlier, only the Graecized form Plenis has hitherto been found: the above is the oldest instance of the real form, Pleïn. Neither its meaning nor that of the mother's name, Senpapoeie, are clear. The latter is "daughter of Papoeie," a name that may be compared with Pabaious and the feminine Tbaiai, ⲡⲃⲁⲓⲟⲩ ⲧⲃⲁⲓ (SPIEGELBERG, *Eigennamen*, p. 21*), or with P-abaiu, ⲡⲉⲃⲁⲟⲩ ⲛ, Pebōs, "the panther" (*ib.*, p. 57). But these identifications are not altogether satisfactory: the name may be "The daughter of him who belongs to *Poeie*," perhaps a village. Ἅπαξ is probably simply a by-name, "the great" or "the elder."

STELA OF THE GOLDSMITH PENAMITUR.

Belonging to R. G. Stannard, Esq.



OBVERSE.

REVERSE.

GREEK MUMMY-TICKET.

NOTES ON ASSYRIAN AND EGYPTIAN HISTORY.

AN ARAMAIC OSTRACON.

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

I.

I can throw a little more light on the names of the Assyrian kings which have come down to us from Ktesias in a more or less corrupted form. The 16th king is Askatades (Sync.) or Astakadis (Euseb.), who was followed by Amyntes, Belokhos II, Balatores (Sync.) or Bellepares (Euseb.), Lamprides, Sosares, Lampares, Panyas, Sosarmos, and Mithraios. It is now some years ago since I pointed out that Sosares and Sosarmos are variants of an Assyrian Samas-Ramman, the two elements of which are reversed in Arma-mithres, the 7th king, who is made the predecessor of Belokhos I and the successor of Baleus. Samas regularly becomes Σως in Greek—Shesh in the Hebrew Shesh-bazzar—and Samas-Ramman II, the conqueror of Media, is represented by Sosarmos in Ktesias's list of Median kings. It is true that in the name of Hadad-nirari the name of the deity was pronounced Hadad or Adad by the Assyrians; but the divine name is also written Ram-ma-nu, Ra-man, and Ra-ma-nu, and the Biblical Hadad-Rimmon is evidence that the two names were equivalent and interchangeable. The Persian representative of Samas is Mitra, Greek Mithres or Mithras; hence Mithraios is merely a translation of Sosarmos and Sosares, and Arma-mithres is but another form of Arma-sôs. It may be noted that Tukulti-In-aristi calls himself "the Sun-god of all mankind."

I have further pointed out that the Belitaras and Belitanas of the Ktesian list, as given by George the Syncellus and Photius, is the Belêtaras of Agathias (*De regn. Just.*, II, 25, 15). Belêtaras,

according to Bion and Polyhistor, had been the gardener of Beleous, the last of the Derketades or Delketades, whom he overthrew and whose crown he seized. Beleous will be the Bêlôkhos of Ktesias (also written Belokhoos), and the Derketades, who are called the descendants of Semiramis, are simply the descendants of the goddess Derketo, that is to say 'Atar-gatis or Istar, the goddess of Nineveh. The Askatades of Ktesias is clearly a corruption of Derketades, which has been still further corrupted into Astakadis.

All this I first pointed out twenty-two years ago. But I can now add something more. Lampares, with the Greek patronymic Lamprides which has been formed from it, shows that Bel-lepares must be the Bilu-labiru, "Bel the elder," of Tiglath-pileser I, to whom a temple was dedicated at Assur. Panyas, which is formed like Ninyas from Ninos, is probably taken from the Assyrian *paniu*, "the older," a synonym of *labiru*, rather than from *sar pani*, "former king." It is possible that there may be also a reference to the fact that the ideographic name of Assur was "the city of the old dynasty" (*pali labiri*). Bellepares, which is the spelling of Jerome, appears as Balepares in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius (II, 36) and Belleropares—with an obvious reminiscence of the name of Bellerophon—in the excerpts of the Latin Barbarus.

In another passage of the *Chronicon* (I, 65), however, Eusebius writes Balatores, the Belêtaras of Agathias, further transformed by Photius into Belitanas, whose tomb, according to Ktesias, was the temple of Bel at Babylon. If the conjecture is right that Belitanas is בל־איתן "Bel the elder," Ktesias will have confounded the temple of Bel-Merodach at Babylon with the temple of the older Bel at Nippur. In any case the form Belêtaras is due to the "euhemerism" which associated the name of Bilu-labiru with the fall of the first Assyrian dynasty. In-aristi-pal-esarra, according to his descendant Tiglath-pileser I,[1] was the founder of a new line of Assyrian kings about B.C. 1200, the old line apparently ending with Bel-kudur-utsur, and as Belokhos could correspond with the abbreviated form of the name Bel-kudur-utsur, so in Belêtares we could have the pal-esarra or pileser of In-aristi-pal-esarra. Amyntes is the Greek translation of *natsir* or *utsur*, and it is noticeable that the

[1] A fragmentary inscription, however, recently found by the German excavators at Qal'at Sherqat makes In-aristi-pal-esarra the son of Erba-Hadad (*Mitt. d. D. Orient-Gesellschaft*, April, 1905, p. 60). It is possible that the Arma-mithres of Ktesias may have been influenced by the name of Erba-Hadad.

same length of reign (45 years) is ascribed to him as to the other two kings, Panyas and Laosthenes, who bear Greek names in the Ktesian list.

The changes are thus rung in the list on the following names: Belokhos II = Amyntes = Askatades (Derketades), Bel-lepares = Lampares = Panyas, Sosarmos = Sosares = Lamprides = Mithraios. A Samas-Ramman, it may be added, built the temple of Bel in Assur, called the House of the Bull of the World, which may have been the same as the temple of Bel-labiru (see *W.A.I.*, I, 14, 87).

The same names, with slight alterations, recur in an earlier part of the list of Ktesias, where, however, their order is reversed. Here we have (1) Baleus, of which Xerxes, the Persian Khshayârshâ, is given as an equivalent, (2) Arma-mithres, *i.e.*, Sos-armos, (3) Belokhos I, (4) Balaios, "he who belongs to Bel" (the elder), and (5) Altadas, which a comparison with the variant Sethos in the Syncellus shows must be a corruption of Askatades, *i.e.*, Derketades. Altadas is followed by Mamitos, the Assyrian deity Mamit, reduplicated a little later in the list under the form of Mamylos, *i.e.*, Mama-ilu, "Mama the god," where, however, Eusebius has Mamitos II; by Mankhaleus or Askhalios, which I cannot explain; and by Sphairos with its duplicate Sparetos or Sparthaios. Light is thrown on the latter by bricks found by the German excavators on the site of Assur, from which we learn that Assur-nirari I built, or rebuilt, the temple of Bel-sipria. By the side of *sipri* we also have *siprêti*.

Mithraios is fitly followed by Thinaios "he of the Moon-god (Sin)," Teutamos or Tautanes and Teutaios being interposed between them. But this is because Teutamos was reputed to have sent help to Troy, and the siege of Troy in the chronology of Ktesias would have taken place at this particular point. Teutaios seems to be "he of the sea-coast," Assyrian Tamti or Tavti, a native word with which the Teutamos of Greek legend was ingeniously connected.

The names which come after that of Thinaios are more difficult to interpret, partly because the reading is in more than one instance doubtful. Derkylos, when compared with Mamylos, is probably Derke(to)-ilu; Pyriatides or Pertiades, "the son of the Euphrates (Puratu)," and Ophrataios, "he of the Euphrates," explain themselves, and indicate the transference of the list from Assyria on the Tigris to Babylonia on the Euphrates. Thonos-Konkoleros, we are told, was the Sardanapallos of the Greeks; perhaps we should read Konkoderos and identify the name with that of Kandalanu.

II.

It has long since been observed that Semiramis is the Assyrian Śammu-ramat, the name of the wife of the Assyrian king Hadad-nirari III. But Śammu-ramat itself has hitherto been difficult to explain. Now, however, the contract-tablets of the age of Khammu-rabi show that it is an old West-Semitic (and not purely Babylonian) name which belongs to the period when Babylon first became the capital of Babylonia and was provided with walls of defence. Among the names collected by Dr. RANKE which characterise this epoch is Śumu-ramê, the masculine correspondent of Śam(m)u-ramat. Śumu and Śamu are variant readings of the name of the West-Semitic god who represents phonetically the Hebrew Shem, and, as Dr. RANKE points out (*Early Babylonian Personal Names*, p. 137), Śumu-ramê is a formation similar to the hypocoristic Ramayatum and the Hebrew Remaiah (Ezra x, 25). It is quite possible that Semiramis (Śamu-ramat) was a historical character, the wife of Khammu-rabi or some other king of the First dynasty of Babylon, though popular tradition subsequently confounded her with the goddess Istar of Nineveh.

III.

The Septuagint counts 2262 years from the Creation to the Deluge (B.C. 3246). According to Africanus there were 2280 from Menes to the end of the Eleventh dynasty and of the first Tomos of Manetho, with which therefore we may conclude that the first period of Egyptian history was supposed to end. When, however, we add together the years assigned by Africanus to the several kings and dynasties we find that they amount, not to 2280, but to 2263 years, which is practically identical with the 2262 years of the Septuagint. Considering the efforts made by the Septuagint translators to harmonise the Hebrew chronology with the Egyptian by altering the dates of the Hebrew text, it is impossible to believe that the coincidence can be accidental. In other words, the Manethonian chronology must have been known to the translators, and, accepting the dates usually assigned to the Septuagint translation of the Pentateuch on the one side and to Manetho on the other, it becomes probable that Manetho's chronology was one

which was already established among Egyptian historians before Manetho's work appeared.

From the Deluge to the migration of Jacob into Egypt the Septuagint reckons 1362 years. As this number is obtained by arbitrarily changing the Hebrew text and interpolating a new patriarch into the list, there must have been a special object in inventing it. Now one of the Hyksos kings has been shown by scarabs to have had the name of Jacob-el, abbreviated into Jacob, and with him, I believe, the Alexandrine Jews must have identified their own ancestor. We know from Josephus how ready they were to see their Israelitish forefathers in the Hyksos. If we knew the precise place of Jacob-el in the three Hyksos dynasties, we should thus have their chronology fixed according to the Manethonian scheme; as it is, the chronology approximates to that which BÖCKH and WIEDEMANN have obtained from the imperfect data of Africanus and Eusebius, and altogether excludes the shortened chronology at present in fashion among the Berlin school of Egyptologists.

IV.

In the Armenian Chronicle of Eusebius the Manethonian predecessors of Menes are given, but in a confused way. First of all we are told that the gods, Manes, demi-gods and three pre-Menic dynasties down to Bytes reigned altogether 13,090 lunar years. Then we learn that the demi-gods (including the Manes) reigned 1255 years. Then there were "other" kings for 1817 years, 30 Memphites for 1790 years and 10 Thinites for 350 years. Finally it is said that the Manes and demi-gods reigned for 5813 years, the predecessors of Menes reigning altogether 11,000 years. At first sight the numbers seem hopelessly confused and contradictory.

When, however, we add together 1255 + 1817 + 1790 + 350 + 5813 the sum total is 11,035, that is approximately 11,000, and if we suppose the reign of Bytes to have been computed at 35 years the number will be exactly 11,000. This would leave (13,090 − 11,035 =) 2055 years only for the gods. But as the reign of the demi-gods and Manes is put at 1255 years in one place and at 5813 years in another, we may conclude that the demi-gods have been counted twice, once with the Manes and once with the gods, and so obtain (5813 − 1255 =) 4558 years extra for the gods.

Bytes I identify with Buzau, which Prof. NAVILLE has shown is the true reading of the second name of the king called Nar-mer by Prof. PETRIE. The archæological evidence makes it clear that Nar Buzau was the immediate predecessor of Menes.

Hence, according to the Armenian Eusebius, Manetho's arrangement of the pre-Menic dynasties would have been:—

	Years.
(1) Gods	6613
(2) Manes	1255
(3) Other kings	1817
(4) Memphites, *i.e.*, kings of Lower Egypt ...	1790
(5) Thinites, *i.e.*, kings of Upper Egypt	350

the last king of the fifth dynasty being Bytes.

V.

At the northern end of the Gebel el-Tûkh, on the eastern side of the Nile, are the remains of a fortified town, of which little has now been left by the *sebakhin*. In one place is a flight of fifteen steps cut in the rock, which lead at present to a shêkh's tomb. In the cliff below the wall of the city are some tombs of the Pharaonic age, and in the desert at the foot of the Gebel an extensive cemetery of the Roman and Coptic periods, which has been hopelessly plundered by the natives. The cemetery was planted on the site of a "prehistoric" one. The town must be the Thomu of the itinerary of Antoninus Augustus. Thomu lay between Panopolis or Ekhmim and Chenoboscion (Qasr es-Sayyâd), being 4 Roman miles from the former place and 50 miles from the latter. The distances would agree very fairly with the actual mileage, and there is no ancient site Southward of Ekhmim that is nearer to the last-named city.

VI.

The Aramaic ostracon which I obtained at Elephantinê in 1900, and which has been published by Mr. COWLEY as Ostrakon I (*Proceedings*, June 1903), has received a good deal of elucidation from the Assuan papyri which I have lately been engaged in editing. A re-examination of the ostracon shows that Mr. COWLEY is right in reading הביה and הלו in lines 2 and 5 of the concave

side. In line 1 Prof. CLERMONT-GANNEAU sees in חנתא the Aramaic word for "shop," but this seems to make no sense here, and a word like "vessel" or "philtre" is required. I would now suggest the following translation for the whole inscription:

CONVEX SIDE: "Now [writes X] the . . rian to Malchiah my master, in regard to the document, that when you hear that thy princes (?) have paid tribute in Assuan send to me; behold, there is come the papyrus which thou hast (?) in the hand: send it to me; and the papyrus which I sent to you is part of (?) the papyrus; and the great papyrus which Malchiah gave to them, send: it belongs to it."

CONCAVE SIDE: "Now, behold, the vessel (?) which Uriah has given to me for the libation; convey it to Gemariah the son of Achio, and he shall prepare it with the beer, and do you mix it for Uriah. Moreover, behold [Pe]tosiris: and he (Gemariah) shall go and write it on his (Petosiris's) arm above the writing which is upon his arm. Lo, thus he has sent, saying that they must not forget his child (whose name) is written above his own name."

CONVEX: l. 3. The mysterious ז before שרי turns out to be an abbreviation of זי used after לאמיר, as in CONCAVE 5.

l. 4. Read שלחו or שלחה. The meaning I assign to קפיר is necessarily conjectural; no such word is known elsewhere in Aramaic. Is the Greek *πάπυρος* for *κάπυρος*?

CONCAVE: l. 1. חנתא may throw light on the affinities of the Assyrian *unutu*, "a vessel," "instrument," "furniture." In an Aramaic fragment I have acquired this winter we read: "3 manehs . . . בחנתן." Compare Heb. חנית. See also Ostrakon IV, CONCAVE 6.

l. 3. We hear of Petosiris in the Assuan papyri as having been tattooed on his arm.

l. 4. Read וילך for ויכן.

l. 5. הלו is the אלו of Dan. ii, 31.

THE COFFIN OF TA-ĀATH.

IN THE BRASSEY INSTITUTE AT HASTINGS.

BY MARGARET A. MURRAY.

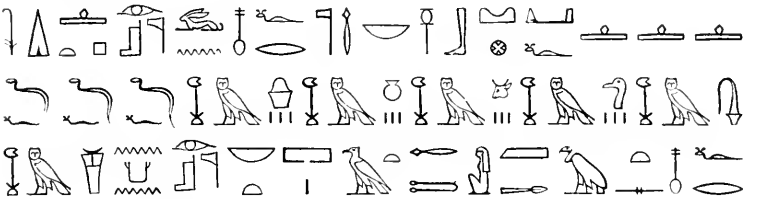
In the Hastings Museum there is a fine coffin of the XXVIth dynasty, which was brought from Luxor about the middle of the last century. It had been opened in order to fix the mummy firmly for removal to England; in doing this the head-end had been somewhat damaged, a piece broken out and the stucco and paint chipped. The floor of the coffin where the mummy lay is a good deal stained, though not sufficiently to obliterate the figure of Nut; and the front of the coffin is also slightly stained. With the exception of these few defects, the coffin is in perfect condition.

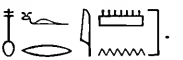
It is of wood, covered with a thin coat of white stucco, and painted in colour. The upper half was fastened to the lower in the usual way, with flat tenons fitting into holes in the lower part.

The face is coloured light red. The wig has a heavy tress, bound at the end, falling over the front of each shoulder, and surmounted by a form of the vulture head-dress, the wings of which fall on each side of the face (*Plate I, fig.* 1). Rows of necklaces and a winged figure of Maāt, kneeling, lie across the chest. Below this the decoration is arranged to represent the bandages of a mummy. The transverse bands are in three lines: the upper and lower lines being the characteristic Egyptian decoration—which comes down from the Old Kingdom—of squares of colour divided from each other by black and white lines; the middle line is white with a design in black. The spaces between the transverse bands are filled with scenes, or with inscriptions in vertical columns.

Immediately below the winged Maāt is a design of a false door, with eight columns of inscriptions on one side and seven on the other. Beyond the inscription on each side (*Plate I, fig.* 2) is the sacred ram on a perch, the symbol of divinity; he is crowned with the disc and the double upright feathers. Above the animal is the

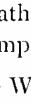
sacred eye resting on the *neb*-sign. The inscription is the usual formula and should run:



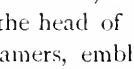
[in one place, ].

"*May the king give an offering to Osiris-Unnefer, the great god, lord of Abydos. May he give offerings and fatlings, thousands of bread, thousands of beer, thousands of cattle, thousands of birds, thousands of incense, thousands of ointment, for the* ka *of the Lady of a House, Ta-āath, true of voice, whose mother was Nefer*[*t*] (*or Nefer*[*t*]*-Amen*)."

This inscription is repeated, in a more or less blundered form, all over the outside of the coffin, the only variations being in the titles of Osiris and the mistakes of the scribe.

These fifteen columns of inscription are divided from the scene which comes below by a triple transverse band. The scene is the usual one of the Judgment, and is so arranged that the figure of Osiris, which is otherwise unimportant, should be exactly in the centre of the coffin. He faces towards the spectator's right and holds an *uas*-sceptre. He is followed by six bearded figures, each holding an ostrich feather, and bearing what appear to be scarves over the arm; they are the deities of the Under-world. In front of Osiris is an altar piled with offerings, apparently leaves, as they are painted green, and on each side of the altar is a small tree or shrub. On the further side of the altar, and advancing towards Osiris, is the god Thoth leading the deceased person, here represented as a man, though the coffin is inscribed for a woman. Behind them is Amemt, the Eater of Hearts, followed by the personification of the West, who holds an ostrich feather. Behind them again is the balance, of which both pans are empty. On each side of the upright of the balance is the sign of the West  .

A triple transverse band separates this scene from the next

division. The decoration below is somewhat altered; instead of the transverse bands running right across the coffin, they appear only on each side, and a vertical panel of decoration extends to the feet. At the top of this panel is a narrow white line decorated with *neter*-signs in black; then comes the scene of the mummy laid upon the lion-shaped bier with the soul, in the form of a human-headed bird, hovering above. At the head of the mummy is a hawk perched on the sign ⌓ with streamers, emblem of the West. Below the bier are the four canopic jars, tied up with broad ribbons. A horizontal band of inscription repeats the name of the deceased, and seven vertical lines of inscription, all beginning with  , carry the decoration of the panel down to the ankles, where it is crossed by a single transverse band dividing the decoration of the footpiece from the main part of the coffin. On each side of the panel the decoration is divided by triple transverse bands into four compartments.

On the side of the coffin which is to the right of the spectator, the first two compartments are alike: three vertical lines of inscription, a deity standing, one vertical line of inscription, a deity standing, a snake upright on its tail; the third compartment is the same, with the snake omitted; the fourth compartment omits one line of inscription and the second deity, but retains the snake. The deities are all gods of the dead or of the Underworld, but have no distinguishing marks by which they can be identified.

On the left side of the coffin (*Plate I, fig.* 2), the first compartment has three vertical lines of inscription, the figure of Hapi, one vertical line of inscription, the figure of Duamutef, one vertical line of inscription. The second compartment contains three vertical lines of inscription, the figure of Amset, one vertical line of inscription, a snake-headed deity. The third compartment has three vertical lines of inscription, the figure of Qebḥsennuf, one vertical line of inscription, an indistinguishable deity. The fourth compartment has two vertical lines of inscription, an indistinguishable deity, and two vertical lines of inscription. On both sides three out of the four transverse bands have inscriptions on the middle line.

The decoration of the footpiece is reversed, in order that the figures may not appear to be standing on their heads when the coffin is laid flat. In the middle is a winged figure of Isis standing, wearing the sign , which represents her name, on her head; on each side are two vertical lines of inscription, the sacred eye on the

neb-sign with three lines of inscription below, then four lines of inscription, diminishing rapidly in height on account of the sharp curve of the footpiece.

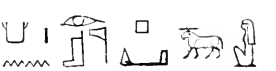
The square stand under the feet is painted in lines of colour round its sides, and there are long lines of colour down each side of the coffin (*Plate I, fig.* 2), forming a border to the decoration of the upper and lower parts.

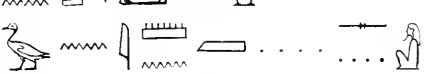
The back of the coffin (*Plate II, fig.* 3) shows a support like those on the ushabtis of the same period. The decoration consists of the *dad*-pillar, emblem of Osiris, surmounted by the horns, emblem of Khnum the creator. On each bar of the *dad*-pillar are ostrich feathers and uraei.

The top of the coffin (*Plate III, fig.* 5) shows the sun on the horizon, either rising or setting, flanked on each side by the emblem of the West.

The base of the footpiece (*Plate IV, fig.* 7) shows the mummy carried on the back of a bull to its last resting-place. The bull is also on the horizon or hill-sign , which, perhaps, is intended to represent the "Gap of Abydos," the Gate of the Kingdom of Osiris.

The inside of the coffin is painted white, with figures and inscriptions in black. In the lower part[1] (*Plate II, fig.* 4) is an outline figure of the goddess Nut with upraised arms, standing on the perch or support which is the sign of divinity; ribbons are tied at her waist, and other ribbons hang over her arms. Her name is above her head. Above that again is an inscription (*Plate III, fig.* 6) in three vertical lines. The upper part has an outline figure of the goddess Nut facing in the opposite direction. Her arms hang at her sides and have no ribbons over them, otherwise she is precisely similar to the figure in the lower part. The inscription over her head is in five lines. Both inscriptions are roughly written, and the father's name is not decipherable.

(1) 

(2) 

(3)

[1] The wooden support at the foot is modern, and was placed there to prevent the mummy from slipping in transit to England.

(1) "*The* ka *of the Osiris Pedu-Khnum,*

(2) *son of Amen* . . . . .

(3) *The mother, the lady of a house, Pedu-Amen.*"

The lines 4 and 5 of the upper part of the coffin are merely , repeated three times. The use of "Pedu" in a woman's name is certainly curious, and must be a mistake of the scribe.

I am indebted to Mr. BUTTERFIELD, Curator of the Hastings Museum, for the exact (*Metric*) measurements of the coffin.

Length.	Outside		1·83·0
	Inside		1·75·0
Breadth.	Outside		55·7
	Inside		48·3
Depth, back to front.	Outside		36·0
	Inside		29·5
Holes for inserting pegs to fasten the lid:			
Average length	... ...		4·2
,, depth ...	... ...		4·0
,, width ...	. . ..		·9

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

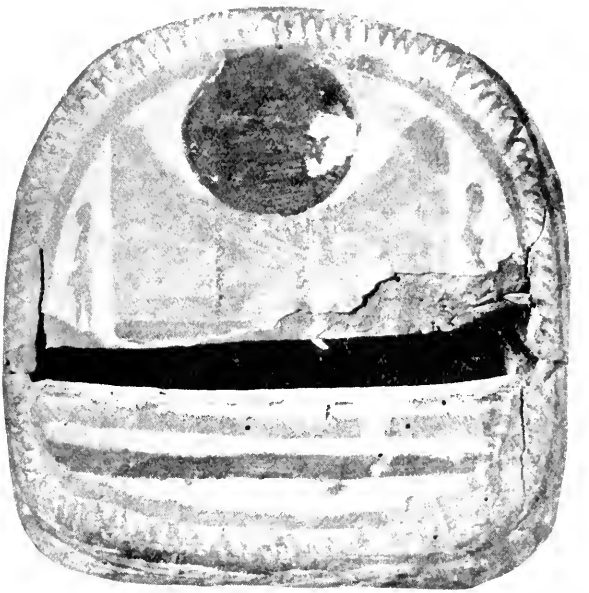


Fig. 5.

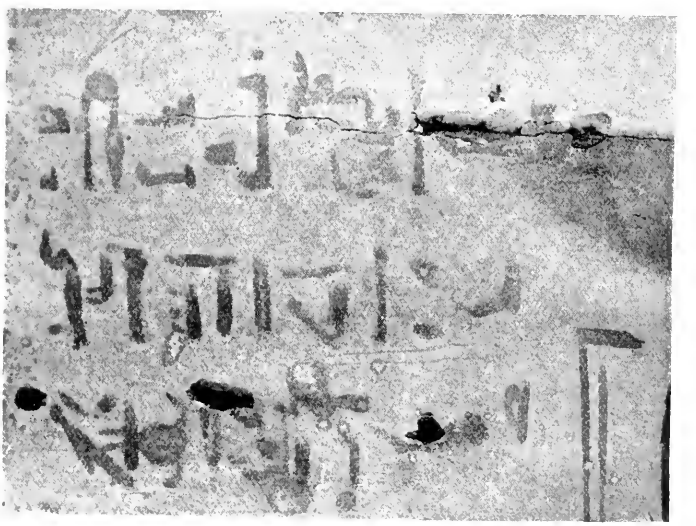


Fig. 6.

Fig. 7.

A MONUMENT FROM TSHOK-GÖZ-KÖPRÜKÖE.

BY W. ATTMORE ROBINSON.

Our present knowledge of the ancient history of Asia Minor is so extremely limited, notwithstanding the constantly increasing discoveries of Sir W. RAMSAY, HUGO WINCKLER, and others, that the following short account of a stone monument I recently discovered at Tshok-Göz-Köprüköe may be of interest.

For a long time it had been my intention to travel leisurely in Asia Minor, and in particular to examine some section of the territory once inhabited by the Hittites and other kindred peoples. As a preliminary step towards gratifying this desire, I profited from an extended visit to Constantinople, in the spring of 1907, to make a brief excursion through Cappadocia. Generously provided by his Majesty the Sultan with a special *irade*, I took the train from Constantinople to Eskishehir and Koniah, where the managers of the Anatolian railroad have constructed a comfortable modern hotel. It happened that Sir W. RAMSAY with his wife and son went by the same train into the interior, in order to join Miss BELL at Binbirkilessi, where they carried on most interesting excavations, and where, three weeks later, on my return from Kaisarie, I enjoyed their unbounded hospitality.

From Koniah I went, accompanied by a servant and two zaptiyes, through the salt desert by way of Obruk and Newshehir to the banks of the Kizil-Irmak.

One morning I set out to explore the mountain ridges, following the course of the ancient Halys, to the north-west of Kaisarie. Having reached Tshok-Göz-Köprüköe, a small village situated on the northern bank of the river, on the main road from Caesarea to Angora, I inquired of its inhabitants whether any antiquities or inscriptions were to be found in that general neighbourhood. I was told that a large stone monument had been seen by a native, somewhere in the mountains to the west of the village. Vague as the

information was, I determined at once to follow it up. Accordingly I remounted my horse, and accompanied by one of my zaptiyes, I set off in the direction indicated.

The whole district is very barren and desolate, and had evidently never been previously visited by any European or American traveller. After a three hours' ride I came suddenly upon a large monument lying on its side on a high hill overlooking a wild and picturesque gorge, through which the Kizil-Irmak flows. The accompanying two photographs, which I took on the spot, will illustrate the brief remarks offered with regard to this remarkable antiquity.

The monument represents a huge eagle, in granite, perched upon the rock. The latter is cut in such a way that, seen from the side (Plate, Fig. 1), it looks like the left half of an arch. Each of the two sides and the front of this peculiar base is adorned with a lion, carved in high relief. All three lions are crouching, with their front legs crossed, and their heads turned outwards. The two animals cut on the front and on the right side of the base turn their heads towards the right (Plate, Fig. 2), while the lion on the left side, forming the pendant to that of the right side, naturally turns its head towards the left.

Unfortunately the head of the eagle has been broken off; whether this happened at the time when the monument was overthrown, or later, could not be ascertained. It is by no means impossible that a careful search of the neighbourhood may lead to the discovery of the missing part of the bird. In its present condition the statue is from about 7 to 8 feet high. The feathers of the wings and tail are represented by long straight lines, connected with each other by many short ones cut in herring-bone fashion, while those on the breast look like roof-shingles. The legs are represented as covered with down as far as the claws.

A few steps away from this statue I noticed a ring of uncut boulders, in the centre of which stood a large rectangular block of stone, with a rim about three inches deep around its top. We may safely assume that this once served as the pedestal for the eagle.

About the age and significance of this monument I do not venture to express a definite opinion. From CHANTRE'S *Mission en Cappadoce*, from an unpublished collection of more than one hundred small bronzes in the possesion of Mrs. HILPRECHT, most of which came from this neighbourhood, and from another (though much smaller) stone eagle discovered several years ago in Caesarea by

2

1

A MONUMENT FROM TSHOK-GOZ-KOPRÜKOE.

Prof. HILPRECHT, to whom I am greatly indebted for valuable assistance in writing this article, we know that together with the bull and the wild mountain goat the eagle played an important *rôle* in the art of the ancient population of Asia Minor. Who the people were that erected this monument, I am unable to state, in view of our present unsatisfactory knowledge of the ancient history of a largely unexplored country. In all probability it was carved some time between 1000 and 500 B.C., and had to do with the religious cult of that unknown people which possibly belonged to the group generally called Hittites.

At my request steps have been taken by HAMDY BEY to secure the preservation of this important statue, and, if possible, to have it transferred to the Imperial Ottoman Museum in Constantinople.

KARIAN, ARAMAIC, AND GREEK GRAFFITI FROM HESHÂN.

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

I was engaged in the spring of 1907 in examining the sandstone rocks on the west bank of the Nile, between the Shatt es-Seba' Rigâla and Heshân, and there came across the Karian inscription discovered by M. LEGRAIN in the Gebel Abu-Ghorâb, of which he was able to take only an imperfect copy. Here I give it in full. (Plate No. 1.) It reads: *h-ə-th-u-p wu-a-v-a-r-ü* (?)*-s-o-*[*s*]. With Hethup we may compare həthup-ön (SAYCE, I, 7) and hĕpugh. The next word is a (geographical) adjective in -(*n*)*sos*, like Ssəgh-sn-sos (SAYCE, I, 1) and Σρά-νσος (cf. also Lĕreüdö-nsa), which make it probable that Θ, which I have transcribed ü (?), is really a nasalised vowel. The first *a* of the adjective might possibly be also transcribed *r*.

No. 2. "I Alpigonos (?) Krateros am come (here)." The name Alpigonos is strange, and I would therefore correct it to Antigonos.

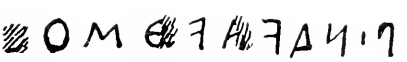
No. 3. "The act of adoration of Apollonios [Gy]mnos." The graffito, like the Aramaic and other Greek ones, is on the upper surface of a rock on the top of the cliff.

No. 4. "Khnum-nathan," *i.e.* "the god Khnum has given." After writing his name the owner of it has amused himself by scribbling *m* in two different forms, to the confusion of the modern palæographist.

No. 5. "Shem-Hor," a name like Samuel, &c.

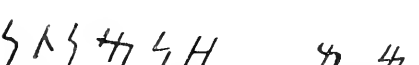
Nos. 6, 7. "Arz(?)d(?)a." Since the Greek name Arkeinis is written immediately above No. 6, and apparently by the same hand, it is probable that we are intended to read the Aramaic characters A-r-kh-n-a. At first I thought that the second and third letters together formed the single letter *m*, but further examination showed that this was not the case.

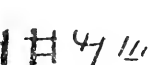
No. 8. "Shar."

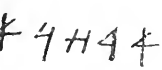
1 

2 ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟC
ΚΡΑΤΕΡΟCΗΚΩ

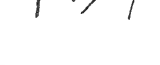
3 ΤΟΠΡΟCΚΥΝΗΜΑ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ
[ΓΥ]ΜΝΟΥ

4 

5 

6 

7 ΑΡΚΕΙΝΙC

8 

9

No. 9. We seem to have here an inscription in an unknown script. On a boulder of sandstone adjoining that on which the Karian graffito is inscribed, is an outline sketch by a first class Egyptian artist (probably of the age of the Twelfth Dynasty) of two elephants, followed by a gazelle, with a young gazelle on either side of it, and a great hippopotamus finishing up the procession. The drawing is equal to the very best on the Egyptian monuments, and reminded me of Japanese work. It would be worth while to take a tin-foil impression of the scene.

THE FOLKLORE OF MOSSOUL.

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

III.

The following story was told me by my Arab servant, Mejîd, a native of Mossoul. I have tried, as far as possible, to retain the language and pronunciation that he used in relating it.

HOW A MUṢLÂWI OVERREACHED THE DEVIL.

Arabic Text.

Eš-Šêṭân jâ al' Mûsul, šâf wâḥid Muṣlâwi ga'id izra' baṣal. Jâ alênu eš-Šêṭân, gâl, Ma t'šârakni? Gâl lu, Bela, ašârakuk. Limen-ma šâraku ṭala' el-baṣal, ṣâr kidha. Jâ a'š-Šêṭân el-Muṣlâwi, gâl lu, Min hâdh' el-woḳti nitgâsim: šûf êš terîd? min fôḳ ella min jauwa? Eš-Šêṭân šâf el-baṣal aḫḍar min fôḳu kwaiyis, gâl lu, Ana arîd min fôḳ. Gâl lu el-Muṣlâwi, Ana aḫôdh min jauwa. Eš-Šêṭân kull iôm iji al' el-Muṣlâwi yegûl lu, Imši nerûḥ neḥûš el-baṣal. El-Muṣlâwi gâl lu, Ba'ad ma ṣâr tamâm. Ḥallônu el-baṣal limen-ma yibis. Gâm el-Muṣlâwi gâl liš-Šêṭân, Arûḥ ajîb el-baṣal. Hadhol jû al' baṣal, gaṣṣ el-baṣal el-Muṣlâwi min fôḳ ya'aṭînu min šân eš-Šêṭân. El-Muṣlâwi išlaḥ el-baṣal min jauwa wa-yiḍḥak 'al' eš-Šêṭân, el-baṣal kulloh šâlu. Gâm eš-Šêṭân gâl lu, Ma yeṣîr kidha. Gâl lu el-Muṣlâwi, 'Amiltu šerṭ wiyâk: gultu luk, êmahu terîd? Gulet li, Ana arîd min fôḳ. Gâl lu, Ṭaiyib, has-sena (= hadha es-sena) nešârak hammînuk.

Zera'u ḫunṭa bi-makân el-baṣal, ṭala'et el-ḫunṭa. El-Muṣlâwi yiḍḥak 'al' eš-Šêṭân, yegûl lu, Imši nuḫṣed ez-zera'. Gâl-lu eš-Šêṭân, Ba'ad, limen-ma yibset el-ḫunṭa. Jâ el-Muṣlâwi al' eš-Šêṭân, gâl lu, Imši nitfarraj 'al' el-ḫunṭa. Râḫu šâfu el-ḫunṭa, gâl liš-Šêṭân el-Muṣlâwi, Êmahu terîd? Gâl lu eš-Šêṭân, Ana arîd min jauwa ilzim enta tâḫôdh el-fôḳ. Lâken gâl el-Muṣlâwi, Aḫâf yeṣîr mithl el-baṣal, enta gulet, ana aḫadhtu el-melîḥ w'enta el-ma-melîḥ. Gâl lu

eš-Šêṭân, La, ma agûl luk kidha. El-Muṣlâwi ḥaṣad el-fôḳâni, šâlu waddânu il' el-bêt. Eš-Šêṭân jâ yaḥfur el-arḍ wa-ṭalla' el-giššṣ; dull yaḥfur bil-arḍ šahr wa-ma šâf šê. Râḥ il' el-Muṣlâwi, gâl-lu, Ana ma šuftu kull šê, enta hammînuk mithli ma anduk šê? Gâl lu el-Muṣlâwi, Kethîr, 'andi el-ḥunṭa kullo. Gâl lu, Imši farrajni. Râḥ farraju. Gâl lu, Ešlôn enta ṣâr anduk el-ḥunṭa? Gâl lu, Dakketûnu wa-ṣâr tibn, ba'adên zittetûnu bil-hâwa, et-tibn râḥ wâḥido w'el-ḥunṭa dullet wâḥidah. Gâl lu, Arûḥ asâwi kidha mithluk? Gâl lu, Rûḥ, imkin yeṣîr. Râḥ ištu"ul fiha, dull ištu"ul kidha ma' el-baṣal wâḥid šahr. Ma šâf šê. Jâ il' el-Muṣlâwi, gâl lu, Tigdhib 'alêya? Gâl lu, Ma kidhibtu 'alêk; enta gulet li, Arûḥ asâwi mithluk, wa-gultu luk, Rûḥ. Gâl lu, Hadha ma yeṣîr; enta aḥadht kull el-baṣal wa-kull el-ḥunṭa wa-ma 'andi šê abadân. Gâl lu, Hadha eš-šerṭ; gultu luk, êmahu terîd, ḫûdh. Ṭala' eš-Šêṭân za'alân, gâl lu, Ina'al abukum w'abu elladhi yefût ila belâdkum w'abu elladhi 'amil eš-šerṭ; min yigdir yeḥaṣṣal minkum fulûs!

Wa-a'aṭi thelâth teffâḥ, wâḥid ilêya, wâḥid ila ḥakkai el-ḥikâya wa-wâḥid ila Mejîd.

Translation.

"The Devil came to Mossoul and saw a Muslâwi planting onions, and going up to him he said, Wilt thou make a pact with me? Verily, quoth the other, that I will. After they had agreed, the onions sprang up *so* high, and the Muslâwi came to the Devil and said, We will make the division now, see which thou desirest—from above or below? Now the Devil saw the onions that they were goodly and green above, and, quoth he, I desire that which is above. Then said the Muslâwi to him, I will then take of what is underneath. And the Devil came daily to him, saying, Come, let us go and gather the onions; but the Muslâwi said, Nay, for they are not yet ready; and so they left the onions until they were dried up. Then up rose the Muslâwi, saying to the Devil, I am going to fetch the onions, and when they came to the onions, the Muslâwi cut off the tops of the onions and gave them to the Devil, while he pulled up the onions themselves, and laughed at the Devil, as he carried them all away. Then quoth the Devil, This cannot be; but the Muslâwi said, Nay, but I made a condition with thee; I said to thee, which dost thou desire? and thou didst say to me, I desire that which is above. And the Devil said, Be it so, this coming year will we make a pact thus.

"So they sowed wheat in the place of the onions, and it sprang up, and the Muslâwi laughed at the Devil, saying, Come, let us reap the corn. But the Devil said, Nay, not yet, until the corn be dry. Then came the Muslâwi to the Devil and said, Come, let us look at the corn. So they went and saw the corn, and the Muslâwi said to the Devil, Which dost thou desire? and the Devil said to the Muslâwi, I desire that which is below; this time thou must take from above. But the Muslâwi said, I am afraid lest it turn out like the onions, for thou saidst I had taken the good and thou the bad. Quoth the Devil, Nay, I shall not speak thus to thee. So the Muslâwi reaped that which was above and took it up, and carried it home, and the Devil came and dug out the stubble from the earth, but although he went on digging for a month in the earth he saw nothing. Then went he to the Muslâwi and said, I have seen nothing; hast thou also nothing like me? And the other answered, Nay, much, for I have all the corn. The Devil said, Come and show me. So he went and showed him, and the Devil said, How didst thou get the corn? and he said, I threshed it, so that the straw was left, and then I tossed it in the air and the chaff went off, and the wheat stayed behind separate. And the Devil said, Shall I go and do like thee: and the other said, Go, perhaps it will be well. So he went and laboured thus, labouring with the onions in this way for a whole month, and saw nothing. He came to the Muslâwi and said to him, Art thou lying to me? And he said, Nay, I lied not to thee; thou saidst to me, Shall I go and do like thee? and I said, Go. Then said the Devil, This cannot be; thou hast taken all the onions and all the corn, and I have nothing at all. But the other said, This was the pact; I said to thee, Take whichever thou wilt. Then up rose the Devil in wrath, saying, May God curse your father, and the father of him that goeth to your city, and the father of him who made the condition, for who shall be able to gain money of you!"

And now give three apples—one to me, one to the teller of the story, and one to Mejîd.

My informant also gave me some of the lullabies which the women of Mossoul sing to their children. If the babe will not sleep, a common thing for the mother to say is, *Nâm, 'ẏni, nâm, jâ el-kutchi*

vákiluk. "Sleep, my darling, sleep—the dog is coming to eat thee!"; or she will sing the following cradle-song :—

Nâm, ʿêni, nâm,
Ez-zuʿʿêri tĕḥĕla bil-menâm,
Kull-ma anayyĭma ez-zuʿʿêri wa-hiya tenâm,
Ḳorbanki, ya ʿadhĕra, nayyimîha,
Bijĕlĕl Hindi koppŏtiha,
"Ab el-gumar wa-ʿatam ʿalêya,
Nôm el-ḳutta, "af el-ḥamâm.

"Sleep, my darling, sleep,
A little one 's best asleep,
Ever I hush my babe to sleep, and she shall sleep,
An offering to thee, O Virgin! Lull her to sleep,
Wrap her in a coverlet of Hind,
For the moon is gone, and the dark is upon me,
The sleep of the sandgrouse, the slumber of turtle-doves."

Or a variation of our "Bye, Baby Bunting":—

Dil dil dilâni,
Bahšika wa-Bahzâni,
Râḥ bâba a'-ḳêʿa
Ištĭrî zĕbîb u-ḳĕḍâmi
U-ṭaʿâma ed-dâmi,
Dibbi, dibbi.

"Rock-a-bye, rock-a-bye,
Bahšika and Bahzâni,[1]
Dadda's gone to the village,
To buy raisins and chickpeas,
To satisty Bogey—
Tickle, tickle!"

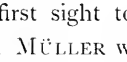
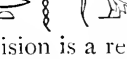
[1] Two villages near Mossoul.

REVIEWS.

"Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah," *par Jean Capart.* Two Vols. Vroment & Co., Bruxelles.

During the years 1897–1899, M. VICTOR LORET was engaged in carrying out excavations among a remarkable series of tombs at Sakkara, but beyond a short notice in the *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien* he has never found time to give Egyptologists a proper publication containing the results of his work. M. CAPART, the Keeper of the Egyptian Antiquities at the Royal Museums of Brussels, who was in Egypt during the winter of 1905–1906 and in the spring of 1907, proceeded, with the assistance of a former pupil, Dr. MATHIEN, to make a complete photographic record of these tombs, having heard in the meantime from M. LORET, who wrote and said that he would probably never have the leisure to make a complete publication of his work at Sakkara. The result is the two handsome volumes before us. The first volume contains 76 pages of introductory matter, in which M. CAPART describes with some detail the many and varied scenes represented on the walls and columns and reproduced in 107 photographic plates in the second volume. M. CAPART has, however, given us no elucidation of the texts which accompany the scenes, and we think this is a pity, for these texts offer most interesting material, both linguistic and religious. Here and there he discusses the meaning of a reading, but in his foreword he says that he reserves to himself the right of publishing later the complete texts. Egyptologists may therefore hope that some day the publication will be made complete.

The three tombs with which this publication deals are of the nobles of the VIth dynasty, *Nefer-sheshem-ra*, *Ankh-ma-hor*, and *Nefer-sheshem-ptah*. The workmanship and skill lavished on the hieroglyphs and scenes are typical of the best work of the period. It is impossible here to go into all the representations of fowling, hunting, agriculture, river scenes, etc., reproduced in M. CAPART'S

photographs, but attention may be drawn to one or two scenes of particular interest. It is curious to notice that both *Nefer-sheshem-ra* and *Ankh-ma-hor* are depicted in two different ways. One is the regular conventional portrait showing the deceased wearing a long wig and a short beard, standing with his shoulders squared, his broad chest and narrow loins being front view on, while his face is in profile. The other not only attempts to give a perspective view of the chest and shoulders, but, moreover, represents the dead man not as an ideal, but as he really was, with flabby fat chest muscles and pot-belly, and wearing a tight little skull-cap. *Nefer-sheshem-ptah* is represented thus invariably, except where he appears with his wife in conventional aspect with broad shoulders and slim waist. Even here the artist has shaken off the strict etiquette, for the deceased leans gracefully on a long staff, with one leg carelessly bent. One of the most interesting scenes is that representing two youths undergoing circumcision in the tomb of *Ankh-ma-hor*. One of the youths stands, a man holding his arms from behind to prevent him struggling, while the *hen-ka* squats on the ground and performs the operation with what looks like a flint. Above is written  , "*the* hen-ka *circumcises*." The other young man also stands while a man squats before him and appears at first sight to be performing the same operation as the *hen-ka*. MAX MÜLLER would make this man a doctor from the word in the text above. M. CAPART, however, is right in his reading of the word as "anoint," for the text above gives us , "*anointing that I may be healed*," while above the anointer is  , "*he is making it pleasant!*" Besides which, circumcision is a religious rite and not a medical operation, for it especially states that the *hen-ka* performs the duty. Whether, as M. CAPART suggests, this scene indicates that it was thought that the ghost of the dead could have ghostly children in the underworld, is another matter. Surely it merely represents one of the many events of the deceased's daily life which might be re-enacted in the underworld without reference to any particular children. M. CAPART also raises a very interesting question with regard to the funeral procession depicted in the same tomb. Was this done by the relatives of the deceased in order to delude his

ghost into the belief that he had really had a magnificent funeral, when as a matter of fact, in order to save expense, he had been shabbily and quickly buried? Perhaps the most remarkable thing in all three tombs is the false door in the west wall of the tomb of *Nefer-sheshem-ptaḥ*. The door is flanked on either side by a full-size statue of the deceased, while over the top is a bust representing the dead man's head and shoulders, looking as it were over the door of his tomb. Although the face of this bust is somewhat mutilated, the execution is splendid, and reminiscent of Donatello's masterpiece, the portrait of Niccolo da Uzzano in Florence. Altogether, M. CAPART has performed a most useful piece of work in giving this record of these three splendid tombs. We need hardly say that the photographs are for the most part excellent, the whole book being got up *de luxe*, and what is highly commendable in a foreign publication, properly bound. The only pity is that M. CAPART has not given us the texts.

P. D. S-M.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, February 12th, 1908, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

E. J. Pilcher, Esq.: "A Coin of Gaza and the Vision of Ezekiel."

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-EIGHTH SESSION, 1908.

Second Meeting, February 12th, 1908.

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, Jules Baillet.—"Les Tapisseries d'Antinoé au Musée d'Orléans."

From the Publishers.—"The Dated Events of the Old Testament," by W. J. Beecher, *D.D.*

From the Author, The Rev. Colin Campbell, *D.D.*—"The first three Gospels in Greek."

From Prof. H. V. Hilprecht.—"The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania." Vol. I, in two Parts.

BOOK-BINDING FUND.

The following donation has been received :—

W. H. Rylands, Esq., *F.S.A.* (*5th donation*) £2 2 0

M. Clédat, Ismailia, Egypt,
Miss B. K. C. Thirlwall, Timperley,

were elected Members of the Society.

The following Paper was read :—

E. J. PILCHER, Esq.: "A Coin of Gaza and the Vision of Ezekiel."

Thanks were returned for this communication.

AN ARAMAIC OSTRACON FROM ELEPHANTINÊ.

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

Thanks to the discovery of the "Assuan" and other Papyri, it is now possible to offer a translation of the Aramaic Ostracon I, from Elephantinê, published by Mr. COWLEY in the *Proceedings* of this Society, June, 1903, p. 264, and belonging to the Jewish community, whose memorial to the governor of Judæa, recently edited by Professor SACHAU, has cast such an unexpected light on the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. With the exception of the first line, the ostracon is complete, and some of the readings in it can now be improved. The following is my translation of it :—

OBVERSE.

1. Now . . . . . [they have sent ?)
2. to Malchiah my master for what is written. So, when
3. you hear that his princes (?) are giving pay
4. in Assuan, send (a letter) to me. Behold, the papyrus is come
5. which I had in [my] possession ; forward it to me ; and the papyrus which
6. I forwarded to you from among the (other) papyri
7. as well as the great papyrus which
8. Malchiah gave to you, forward
9. them to me.

REVERSE.

1. Now look at the cellar which Uriah has given to me for the drink-offering,
2. give it to Gemariah the son of Ahio, and he will value the amount

3. of the liquor, and do you pay the excise-duty to (*or* for) Uriah. Now see [P]etosiris
4. who belongs to us; they shall write it (*i.e.*, the amount) upon his arm above the writing
5. which is (already) upon his arm. Lo, thus has he (*i.e.*, Uriah) written saying that
6. they (*i.e.*, the princes?) must not discover the secret intelligence
7. written over
8. his (*i.e.*, the slave's) name.

OBV. 3. שרי is certain, but the meaning "princes" is difficult to understand. The last letter is uncertain, and may be א or ו. The latter would suit the context.

4. The reading is ישלח(ו)ה.

The context requires for קפיר a signification like "document," or "bond." The reading is certain, but the word is absolutely unknown. I believe, however, that it throws light at last upon the origin of the Greek *πάπυρος*, for which an Indo-European or Egyptian etymology has been sought in vain. *Πάπῦρος* would exactly represent קפיר, initial *q* becoming *π* according to rule, as in *πέντε*, *πέμπε*, and *ῦ* representing a labialised *ī* after *π*. Now, in Assyrian, *gipâru*, from Sumerian *gi-para*, is "papyrus," and *gipâru* is, I believe, the word from which קפיר has been borrowed. Hence the three stages in the history of the word will be: Ass. *gipâru*, Egyptian Aram. קפיר, Greek *πάπῦρος*.

6. The writer has omitted the second *yod* which ought to mark the plural in קפיר(י)א.

8. He has also omitted the *kaph* of לם. לם "saying," which is found in the papyri published by Prof. SACHAU, would here give no sense.

The ostracon has הוישרו.

9. This line reads המו לי.

REV. 1. The occurrence of חנתן in my Luxor papyrus confirms Prof. CLERMONT-GANNEAU'S suggestion that חנתא is the ordinary word for "the shop," and the Berlin papyri published by Prof. SACHAU explain what is meant by "the drink-offering." In the Jewish temple in Elephantinê the regular ritual of the Jerusalem temple was carried on, and large quantities of wine were therefore required for the prescribed drink-offerings. The liquor was, naturally, provided by the Jews themselves, who, doubtless, made a fair profit out of the sale of it for temple uses.

2. The scribe has written הביה, but the י is a mistake for ו.

For ערך in the sense of "valuing," see Job xxxvi, 19.

3. Mr. COWLEY has already compared בלוה with בלו, "excise-duty," in Ezra iv, 13.

The slave is mentioned in the "Assuan Papyri," which show that תטוסרי is a mistake for פטוסרי, and refer to the tatooing on his arm.

4. Read זילן "belonging to us," *i.e.*, our slave.

5. הלו for the ordinary אלו. In the Berlin papyri שלה is used in the sense of "sending (a letter)."

6. As duty had to be paid on the amount of liquor in the store, the actual amount of it, as ascertained by Gemariah, was to be tatooed on the slave's arm, so that it should not be discovered by the imperial excise-officers. Are these the [א]שרי of OBVERSE 3?

7, 8. The slave's name was tatooed upon his arm, and the number communicated by Gemariah was to be tatooed over it, so as to be discoverable by the writer of the letter—who knew how the name had been originally written—but not by the non-Jewish officials.

In the *Proceedings* of this Society, June, 1906, Plate II, No. X, I have given a copy of an inscription consisting of two Aramaic characters which I discovered in a sandstone quarry east of Assuan, and which, as I have said, marked the ownership and destination of the quarry, and were shown, by the "Assuan Papyri," to represent בית, "house." The Berlin papyri now make it clear what this "house" was. It was the Jewish temple on Elephantinê, and the quarry was that from which the sandstone blocks were brought, either for its construction, in the time of the XXVIth dynasty, or, more propably, considering that the forms of the letters are identical with those in the papyri from Elephantinê, for its reconstruction in the reign of Darius II.

TWO NEW HITTITE MONUMENTS IN THE CAPPADOCIAN TAURUS.

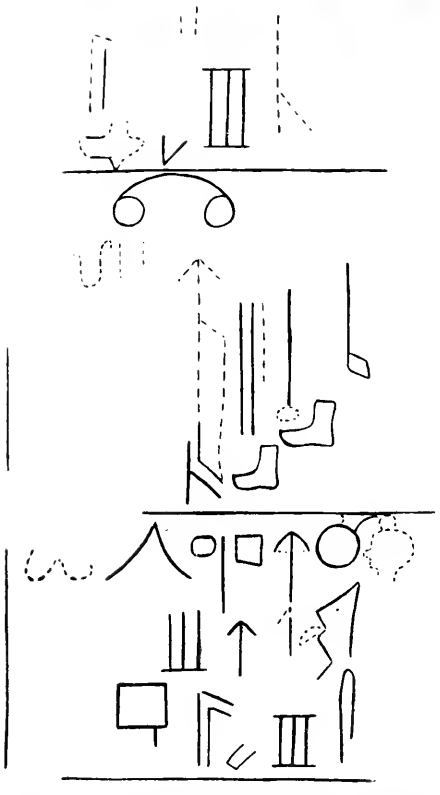
BY GUILLAUME de JERPHANION.

In the course of a journey I made last summer through Asia Minor, I had the good fortune to discover two monuments which, as far as I know, have not been mentioned by any other traveller. Although no absolute evidence can be drawn from the rude inscriptions they bear, it would seem that their attribution to the ancient Hittite population cannot be called into question.

I.

The first monument, called "Arslan Tach" (Plate I), that is the "Lion's Stone," is situated on the lofty mountain of Soghan Dagh, about 16 kilometres to the north-west of Comana, in Cappadocia (now the Armenian village of Shahr). It does not stand on the very top of the mountain, but on a small plateau at the altitude of 2,320 mètres above sea level. This plateau, covered with short coarse grass, forms a "yaïla," or pasturage, surrounded by the three peaks of Soghan Dagh. In the centre there rises a mass of lime stone, on which stands our "Arslan Tach."

The lion's stone itself is a block of rough, sonorous, grey trachyte, a rock which is not found until we penetrate 15 or 20 kilometres farther into the Mount Argæus region. It has, therefore, been transported from a distance, and the problem arises, how they were able to carry this heavy block to such a height; the precipitous path is so difficult and arduous, that we could scarcely get our horses up to the *yaïla*. From the stone I detached a small specimen, in order that I might afterwards measure its density, and calculate the weight of the whole mass. The latter proved to be about 1,150 kilogrammes, a weight which neither horse nor camel can carry. It



"THE LION'S STONE," NEAR COMANA.

may be that a road was specially constructed to bring the stone in some vehicle; or, more likely, they drew it thither on a wooden sledge or, in winter time, on ice and snow.

The stone forms a regular quadrangular base, on which are two lions; the dimensions of the base are: length 122 centimètres, width 85 centimètres, height 43 centimètres. The lions are couchant, and are cut out of the same block. Their length is 80 centimètres, width 27 centimètres, and height 25 centimètres. Between them there is an interval of 60 centimètres.

From time immemorial the shepherds have been accustomed to crush on these lions the roots from which they extract the dye for marking their sheep. Thus each lion bears three deep holes, like mortars, on head, back, and crupper. We even found in these holes the round polished stones used as pestles.

On the right side of the anterior face of the base is an inscription which occupies a space of 34 × 18 centimètres. The left part of it has been destroyed and the rest is in a poor state of preservation. Some of the signs are easily recognizable as belonging to the Hittite alphabet, others seem to be unknown. However, I transcribe them as exactly as possible.

For this purpose I have three documents to work upon: (1) The copy of the inscription which I made on the spot. (2) The photograph; as I had only a single plate, I could not photograph the inscription apart from the whole stone, but on the plate the characters, though small, are quite legible. (3) A rough paper cast or impression. This, however, on account of the roughness of the stone, proved to be of little or no use.

The transcription I give is drawn up from the copy and the photograph, the paper impression being used merely to keep the relative size of each character. I indicate with lines the signs I read in both documents, and with dotted lines those I read in one or other as being more doubtful.

II.

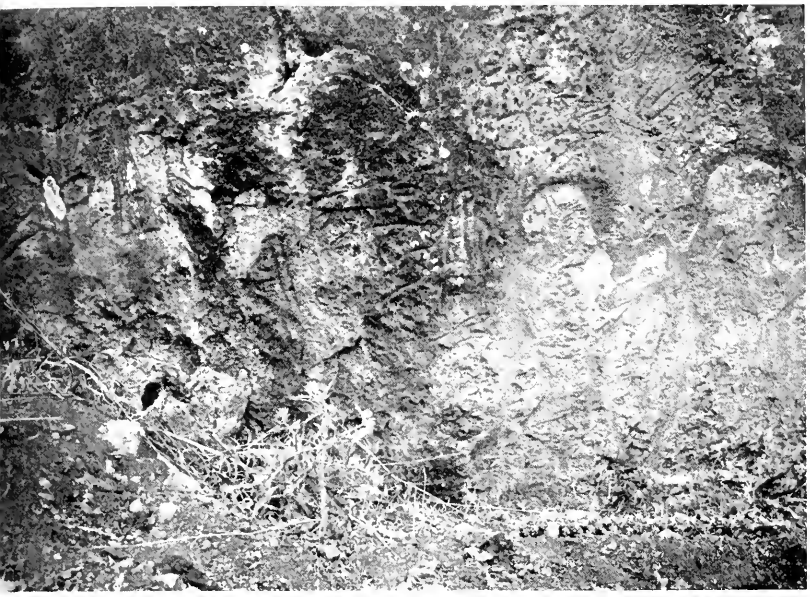
The second monument (Plate II) was found near the Greek village of Tachdji in a narrow glen, on the bank of a small stream which flows into the river of Zamantia Sou (Carmalas). It is therefore only 13 kilomètres from the Hittite bas-reliefs of Fraktin.

On it are cut two human figures and a few characters. Neither the figures (the height of which is about 80 centimètres) nor the characters

are in relief, but are carved in the mountain rock, like the inscription of Arslan Tach. The first figure is much damaged; still, it can be seen that he wears a long gown, and seems to be holding something in his outstretched hand, and to be bowing down his head respectfully. The second figure wears the same kind of dress, and holds the hand in the same way, but the pose of the head is quite different. It shows a very characteristic Hittite profile. Both figures are bareheaded.

The inscription is somewhat peculiar. The characters, most of which seem quite unknown, are carved in a promiscuous order.

On account of the nature of the rock and of the carved signs and figures, the reproduction of the photograph I took will be scarcely intelligible. For this reason I join to it a sketch drawn principally from the photograph.



ROCK SCULPTURE NEAR TACHDJI.

A COIN OF GAZA, AND THE VISION OF EZEKIEL.

BY E. J. PILCHER.

Whenever the divine name יהוה occurs in the Hebrew Bible, it is provided with the vowels of *Adonai* or *Elohim*, so that we cannot directly learn its true pronunciation. When it enters into the composition of personal proper names, however, יהוה loses its final ה, and is rendered *Yahu* or *Yeho*. Thus, יְהוֹחָנָן is *Yeho-ḥanan*, but חֲנַנְיָהוּ is *Ḥanan-yahu*. It would appear from this that the latter is the true pronunciation, because the Hebrew accent usually falls at the end of a word, and the vowels are most fully pronounced in that position; whereas, at the beginning of the word the vowels are slurred over in speaking, and tend to become shortened. In the Assyrian inscriptions the Jewish name of יְהוֹאָחָז, *Yeho-aḥaz*, figures as *Yahu-ḥazi*; so that it would seem that this process of phonetic decay had not set in in the initial syllables of Hebrew words in the seventh century B.C.

Owing to the imperfections of the cuneiform system of writing, we cannot be sure whether the final ה of יהוה was then pronounced, but the Mesha Stela may be cited as evidence that, at a slightly earlier period, the ה was fully audible, because the name of the God of Israel figures upon it with its complete four letters. When we come to the Persian period, however, the evidence seems conclusive, for the newly discovered Aramaic papyri regularly omit the final letter, and the divine name is no longer a tetragrammaton, but a *tri-grammaton* יהו.[1] This indisputable fact may be considered to have removed any doubt as to the meaning of the legend upon the

[1] "Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan." Edited by A. H. SAYCE and A. E. COWLEY. London, 1906. "Drei Aramäische Papyrus-Urkunden aus Elephantine," von ED. SACHAU. Berlin, 1907. (In one instance in the SAYCE-COWLEY Papyri the divine name is יהה, but that may be merely a scribal error.)

interesting coin shown in Plate I, fig. 1. It is a silver drachma, or quarter shekel, and may be described as follows :—

Obverse. Bearded male head, in crested Corinthian helmet, to right. The face is slightly turned to the spectator, but the beard is not shown on the further half. The helmet is in full profile, and has some kind of ornament upon the side, probably a wreath. An illegible object at the back of the plume. The whole in a circle.

Reverse. Above, the three letters יהו in the Phœnician character. Zeus Aetophoros facing to right, holding the eagle in his outstretched left hand. The right arm entirely wanting. The lower part of the body is draped in a mantle, the end of which is carried round at the back, and turned over the upper part of the left arm. The god is seated upon a winged wheel. Opposite, a bearded face or mask (*πρόσωπον*) turned to the left. The whole in incuse square, with guilloche border.

Weight. 50·7 grains (3·3 grammes). That is to say, it was struck on the Phœnician coin-standard, and was lighter than the average.

This remarkable piece has been in the British Museum Collection since A.D. 1814, when it was described and figured in TAYLOR COMBE'S Coin Catalogue. No other specimen is known, and it presents several puzzling features which have not yet been satisfactorily explained.

The main types may be compared with the didrachm of Tarsus in Plate I, fig. 2.

Obverse. בעלתרז (Baal of Tarsus). Zeus seated on throne, facing to the left, wearing mantle over left shoulder and about lower limbs. Right hand resting on sceptre. Bunch of grapes under throne.

Reverse. פרנבזו (Pharnabazus) and כלך (Cilicia). Bearded male head, in Athenian helmet, facing to the left.

Weight. 164 grains. Babylonic standard.[2]

This Tarsian coin differs in fabric, in style, and in standard from the drachm in fig. 1, and the legends are in the Aramaic character, so that, although the types may be similar in idea, the relationship between the two pieces is somewhat remote. Pharnabazus was satrap of Cilicia between 379 and 374 B.C.

[2] B. M. Catalogue, *Lycaonia*, p. 165, No. 20, Pl. XXIX, fig. 5. (The specimen figured is oxidized on the *obverse*; and the *reverse* has been stabbed by some ancient silversmith to test the metal.)

Æ

1

Æ

2

Æ

3

Æ

4

The obverse of the drachm (fig. 1) has been inspired by some Greek original, like the helmeted head of Leucippus upon the coins of Metapontum; but the artist was not content merely to copy his prototype. He attempted to improve upon it—and failed, for he tried to convert a side face into a full face, and his skill was not equal to the task. The full face was a favourite device among the Greek die-engravers of the first half of the fourth century B.C., who have left us many beautiful examples; and the fashion was greatly admired by the Orientals, if we may judge by the barbaric imitations.

Turning to the reverse of our drachma, we may note that the inscription is not in the Jewish, or Old Hebrew character, but is distinctly Phœnician; and this makes it the more remarkable that it should contain the name of the Hebrew deity. The final ה is omitted, so that the word appears under the form יהו, exactly as in the Aramaic papyri of Elephantinê. Consequently the figure beneath must be intended for the god *Yahu*, just as the figure upon the Tarsian coin is indicated, by its inscription, to be the Baal of Tarsus. We know, from 2 Maccabees vi, 2, that the Jewish deity was identified with Jupiter, because Antiochus IV re-dedicated the temple at Jerusalem to Zeus Olympios, and that at Gerizim to Zeus Xenios.

The Father of Gods and Men is almost invariably represented upon coins with the further arm extended, and an eagle or victory perched upon the fingers, while the nearer arm is raised, and the hand rests upon a sceptre. All this is reproduced upon our drachma, with the exception of the right arm and sceptre, which the artist has omitted, in order to give full prominence to the wing which stretches behind the figure. The wing and the wheel are thus shown to be the features to which the designer attached the most importance; and this combination of wheel and wing is the most original part of the composition, for it is practically unique in numismatics.[3]

Another remarkable feature is the head, or mask, facing the seated figure. It may remind us that we learn from Strabo (XVI, 2, 15) that the spur of Lebanon running into the Mediterranean, and now called *Ras-esh-Shekah*, was then styled Θεοῦ *πρόσωπον*,

[3] In Greek Ceramics, however, the figure of Triptolemus offers some analogies, see J. OVERBECK'S *Atlas der Griechischen Kunstmythologie* (Leipzig, 1872), *Tafel* XV.

"God's face," which must be a Greek translation of some Phœnician name like פניאל, either because the headland was supposed to resemble a gigantic face; or else, like the Jewish Peniel, it was the scene of a theophany. The latter is the most probable, especially as the Hebrew פני frequently means "the presence of"; and we may compare the Septuagint of Gen. xxxii, 30, *εἶδον γὰρ Θεὸν πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον*. Unfortunately we know nothing of Theuprosopon except its name, however suggestive that may be. The nearest town of importance to the headland was Tripolis, so-called because it was the federal capital of the three allied cities of Tyre, Sidon and Aradus. The Phœnician name of Tripolis is unknown, and the place is first mentioned in history in 352 B.C., when it was the scene of an assembly of the Phœnician states, who were incited to rebel against the Persian rule by Tennes, king of Sidon, who relied upon the assistance of Nectanebus, king of Egypt, and the valour of the Greek mercenary Mentor, of Rhodes. The rebellion was quelled by Artaxerxes III in the following year, and Mentor and his condottieri transferred their services to the Persian monarch.[4] During the Seleucid period Tripolis struck silver coins with the principal type of the Dioscuri, who were especially venerated by sea-faring men as the *Θεοὶ σωτῆρες*, and who were often associated with theophanies, because the electric discharges frequently seen on the points of masts and spars during a storm were supposed by the ancients to be the stars of the Great Twin Brethren, who thus made themselves visible to mankind.

But our silver drachma cannot possibly have any connection with the Seleucids. In fact, on numismatic grounds, it must be dated about 350 B.C. Its weight-standard alone would prove it earlier than Alexander, though not very much earlier. The style is archaistic, more especially the incuse square of the reverse; but this archaisticism was common to the whole Phœnician series, as that part of the Mediterranean was powerfully influenced by the atavistic mintage of Athens and the singular coinage of Cyprus. M. SIX attributed the coin to the city of Gaza in Southern Palestine,[5] which was a very important place under the Persian Empire, because the drachma seems to be related to a number of other pieces that

[4] *Diodorus Siculus*, XVI, 41–45.

[5] "Observations sur les monnaies phéniciennes," *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S., Vol. XVII (1877), pp. 177, 229.

must be referred to this locality. The earliest of the series are obviously imitated from the coinage of Athens. On some the place of issue is rendered manifest by the inscription עזה = Gaza, in the Phœnician character; and most of the others were in all probability struck in the same workshop. The ultimate reason for this issue of coins must be sought in the changing condition of Grecian politics. So long as the Athenian supremacy was maintained, the Syrian markets were kept supplied with Attic silver; but the capture of Athens by Lysander in 404 B.C. put an end to this state of affairs; and the Phœnician traders were compelled to supply the want of currency out of their own resources. At first they imitated the appearance of the Attic coins that had become familiar to their customers; and they struck them on the Attic standard of 67 grains to the drachm, but the weight was rapidly lowered to the Phœnician coin-standard of 56 grains to the drachm, and about 350 B.C. we find them commonly of that weight, or even lighter.

But we are still confronted with the problem of the intention of the strange types upon our coin in fig. 1. We have seen that the artist attached the greatest importance of all to the peculiar device of the winged wheel, even going so far as to omit the right arm of the principal figure in order to give the wing its due prominence. This device is therefore the key to the composition. It is foreign to Greek art, but suggests comparison with the imagery of the Old Testament, more especially the descriptions contained in the first and tenth chapters of Ezekiel.

It is evident from many passages that the ancient Hebrew imagination pictured the deity under the form of a monarch seated upon a throne: perfectly analogous, in fact, to the enthroned Zeus of Greek art. In their higher exaltation the poets declared the whole of the blue sky to be the seat of Yahweh, while the world itself was merely a place to rest his feet upon, as in Isaiah lxvi, 1: "Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool;" but, as a general rule, the imagery was more circumscribed, and the blue expanse of sky was reduced to a sapphire throne, with the host of heaven standing upon the right hand and the left (1 Kings xxii, 19), and as the Jews, like other ancient nations, imagined the celestial beings to be equipped with wings, and the greater the office the greater the number of wings, so we learn from Isaiah vi, 2, that these *seraphim* were provided with three pairs a-piece; and we may compare these hexapteral angels with the figure

of El, or Kronos, upon the small bronze coin of Byblus in Plate I, fig. 3, from the de Luynes Collection.[6]

In addition to the angels, the winds were also equipped with wings (Hosea iv, 1), as became their office as the messengers of God (Psalms civ, 4), and to the winds was entrusted the task of conveying the throne of Yahweh from place to place, as in 2 Sam. xxii, 11 :—

> "He rode upon a cherub, and did fly :
> Yea, he was seen upon the wings of the wind."

On turning to the first chapter of Ezekiel, therefore, we find no novelties in the shape of celestial machinery, but merely a detailed summary of the ideas contained in other parts of the Old Testament ; and although there are difficulties in the shape of unfamiliar words, and the usual obscurities of prophetic diction, yet the general picture leaves us in no doubt as to Ezekiel's conception of the כבד יהוה, the Glory of the Lord.

The most important figure in the Vision is Yahweh himself, seated upon a sapphire throne. The Greek artists attempted to indicate the supernatural attributes of Zeus by representing him as clothed from the waist downwards, to show that he was invisible to mortals : while he was nude from the waist upwards, as being visible to the immortals. In like manner, the Hebrew Yahweh is presented to us shrouded below in empyreal flame, whereas above he assumes the more solid, but still unearthly, appearance of electrum.

The throne stands upon a clear firmament that shines like "the terrible ice," and this glacial hemisphere is supported by four multi-winged creatures, *ḥayyoth*, or *cherubim*, who are described in some detail but are still obscure. It may be that the text is at fault. For instance, we read : "their feet were straight feet, and the sole of their foot was like the sole of a calf's foot." But it is very probable that instead of עגל, "calf," we should understand עגלה, "wagon." This at once makes the passage more intelligible. "The foot was like the sole of the foot of a wagon." In other words, it was an axletree, upon which revolved a wheel that inspired the awe of the beholder, both from its size and its unearthly surroundings. There were four of these *ḥayyoth*, and four wheels ; and the whole vehicle rolled

[6] This coin has on the obverse the head of Antiochus IV, diademed and radiated, facing to the right. Reverse as figured, with the Phœnician inscription לגבל קדשת, "of Gebal the Holy," and the Greek Βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου. See ERNEST BABELON, *Les rois de Syrie*. Paris, 1890. P. 85, Pl. XIV, fig. 18.

forward with a sound like the thunder of a cataract, or the voice of Shaddai, or the shout of armies.

If we make due allowance for the difference between a literary description and the possibilities of representation upon the limited field of a coin, we shall find many features of this conception of Ezekiel that are more or less embodied in the devices upon Syrian coins; and this is exactly what we might expect, for the artistic ideas of the Hebrews appear to have been identical with those of their neighbours, and Solomon called in Phœnician workmen to build and decorate the temple at Jerusalem. Thus Plate I, fig. 4,[7] shows us a shrine composed of a domed roof, or firmament, supported upon four pillars: essentially the same arrangement as that of the Hebrew prophet. The eagle within it is probably merely a solar emblem, as in other cases it is transferred to the roof of the edifice.

In some cases these Syrian shrines were provided with wheels for processional purposes, as in Plate II, fig. 5, where we have the *naos* of the Sidonian goddess, which appears to have been an important element in the cult of Astarte, if we may judge by the frequency of its representation upon the coins of Sidon.[8] Only two wheels are shown, but that may be due to the exigencies of the die-engraving. The symbol of the goddess appears within the car, supported by winged figures. Plate II, fig. 6, gives us another example on a coin of Marcus Aurelius struck at Philadelphia (Cœle-Syria).[9] The legend informs us that this represents the Ἡράκλειον ἅρμα, or chariot of Hercules, in the form of a wheeled car, having a domed roof supported by four pillars. Philadelphia was a still nearer neighbour of Jerusalem than Sidon, for it is the Rabbath Ammon of Scripture. The Ammonites appear to have lived under a theocracy, as we hear of no monarch of theirs, except the local deity; for the reader need not be reminded that the name Molech is merely the word מלך = "king," provided by rabbinical ingenuity with the vowel-points of *Bosheth*, "abomination." Thus the Herakles of Philadelphia would seem to be analogous to the Herakles of Tyre, who was also styled *Melcarth*, i.e., מלך קרת = "king of the city."

In all these wheeled shrines the symbol of the deity appears within the pillars, whereas in the vision of the Hebrew prophet the

[7] This is a bronze coin of Philip, senior, struck at Laodicea ad Mare. See B.M. Catalogue, *Galatia*, p. 362, Pl. XXXI, fig. 7.

[8] *Les perses achéménides*, par ERNEST BABELON. Paris, 1893. Pl. XXXII.

[9] B.M. Catalogue, *Galatia*, p. 306, Pl. XXXVIII, fig. 9.

figure of Yahweh no longer dwells between the cherubim, but is seated above the firmament. With this exception, however, the general arrangement of the vehicles is remarkably like that of Ezekiel. Yet there are some characteristics of the Vision that seem more clearly expressed in the little drachma of Gaza that we have under consideration, for this shows the deity borne up by the wing, and carried along by the wheel. The crystal firmament is not indicated, and the Atlantean pillars are omitted; but the singular combination of the winged wheel presents a masterly condensation of the prophetic imagery, and would tend to show that the designer of the coin had in mind a conception of a theophany that was very similar to that described in the book of Ezekiel. The name of יהו may not be conclusive of Jewish influence, though it is more than probable that in the fourth century B.C. there was already a road that went from Jerusalem to Gaza (Acts viii, 26).

All the coins illustrated, with the exception of Plate I, fig. 3, are from the British Museum Collection; and the author has to thank the Department of Coins and Medals for much valuable information and assistance. Plate II, fig. 7 is a silver tetradrachm of Smyrna with the name and types of Alexander the Great (*Coins of the Ancients*, Pl. 48, 2), to illustrate the attitude of the eagle-bearing Zeus.

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THE LEGEND OF MERODACH.[1]

BY THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES.

It will probably be long ere the last word has been said, or even nearly said, concerning Merodach, the central divinity of the Babylonian pantheon from the time of Ḫammurabi's dynasty onwards. Thanks to the scholars who have made a study of the so-called legend of the Creation—the late G. SMITH, Profs. SAYCE, FRIEDERICH DELITZSCH, JENSEN, and Mr. KING—we know fairly well what was the nature of this legend, and though it certainly deals with the Creation, the question seems naturally to arise whether it would not be more correctly called "The Story of Bel and the Dragon." This remarkable poetical composition is devoted entirely, or almost so, to the glorification of Merodach, with special reference to his fight with the great dragon of chaos, which takes up by far the greater part of the six tablets upon which the legend itself (omitting "the Tablet of the 51 names") is inscribed.

According to Damascius, whose account seems to have been derived from the documents possessed by the descendants of the Babylonians in his day (the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century of our era), Merodach was fourth in descent from Tauthé or Tiawath—that is, if we take the names in the groups as given by that philosopher. First came Moumis (Mummu-Tiawath), then Laḫmu and Laḫamu, followed, in their turn, by Anšar and Kišar. These were succeeded by the triad, Anu, god of the heavens; Illil (for Enlila), god of the earth; and Êa or Aa, god of the sea. Of these the last-named, by the goddess Dawkina, became the father of

[1] In this paper no attempt has been made to form a theory with regard to the origin of the legend or legends involved, nor is there, *in the introductory portion*, anything new. The object of the author is simply to bring to the notice of scholars what he believes to be an unknown text, with a few notes thereon. Concerning the circumstances under which the legend may have been composed, compare Sir H. H. HOWORTH'S very noteworthy paper, "The god Asshur and the Epic of 'Marduk and Tiamat,'" in the *Proceedings* of this Society for December 14th, 1904, pp. 175–282, and January 11th, 1905, pp. 7–12.

Merodach, the creator of the world and of all living things, including mankind.

In this we have the teaching of the Babylonians concerning the origin of the universe and the world in which they lived. To all appearance creation presented itself to their minds as a kind of evolution—such, indeed, as all theories dealing with that event are bound to be. First comes the watery waste, typified by Tiawath, the personification of chaos; then (as may, perhaps, be supposed) the unformed heavens above, Laḫmu and Laḫamu; after that heaven, earth, and sea, much as we see them now, but awaiting the word of the creator (Merodach) to set all in order, and produce life upon the earth. But before that life could be brought into existence, and order be established in the universe, the old creator of chaos (Tiawath) and the brood which she had given birth to whilst the higher gods were coming into existence, had to be destroyed. In conjunction with her evil progeny, Tiawath had become a hostile power, whose only thought was to destroy the gods whose paths were on the higher plane, and who were advancing to still greater perfection and more exalted aims. Tiawath, "the sea," Apsû, "the abyss," and Mummu, possibly "craft," her son, therefore conspired together how they might overthrow all the descendants of her first offspring, Laḫmu and Laḫamu. The news of their designs, and the preparations which they had made, was first announced to Anšar, a deity typical of "the host of heaven," according to the generally-received explanation of the name,[2] and, in the legend, he immediately communicates it to Anu, his son, with a loud voice, and with expressions of vexation and grief. It is arranged that Anu shall try to overcome Tiawath, and he sets out on the road to her lair with that intention, but fearing for the result he retraces his steps without accomplishing anything, and returns to announce his failure. Another deity, the god Nudimmud, typifying Êa or Aa as the creator, then took the task in hand, but was also unsuccessful. As a last resort, Merodach was appealed to, and accepted the task with rejoicing, stipulating merely that he might receive, as his reward, the power of

[2] In Anšar and Kišar, it really correctly rendered as "heaven-host," and "earth-host," we may, perhaps, see a reflection of Gen. ii, 1: "And the heaven and the earth were finished, and all the host of them." The ground-meaning of the character 𒌷, *šar*, seems to have been "plentifulness," or the like (*duḫḫudu*, *dušši*, *ma'adu*, *naḫāšu ša nuḫši*, *rabû*, etc.). The two names possibly typify "heaven, earth, and all that is therein."

determining the fates, and that his command, when given, might be rendered fixed and unchangeable.[3]

The gods were then invited to a feast, at which bread was eaten and wine drunk, and being thereby, apparently, brought into the state of mind suited to the occasion, "for Merodach, their avenger, they decided the fate."

They founded for him a princely chamber, where he stood to rule in the presence of his fathers; announced to him that he was the honoured one among the great gods, possessing a destiny without equal, and a command like that of Anu, the god ruling over the heavens. His hand was that which was to raise and abase—none of the gods was to cross his boundaries, but in his place they were to find all that they could desire. Merodach was to be their avenger, and to him had they given the dominion—the universe to its whole extent. Sitting in the assembly, his was to be the authoritative command, and the unfailing weapon to destroy his enemy.

"O Lord, who trusts in thee, protect thou his life;
And he who taketh up evil things, pour thou his life away."

Then comes the test of the vanishing garment, which disappears and reappears at Merodach's word, and seeing how effective the power which they had conferred upon him was, the gods rejoiced and did homage, shouting "Merodach is king." Then followed the handing to him of sceptre, throne, and emblem of reign, and an unsurpassed weapon, destroying those who hate.

"'Come, then, cut off the life of Tiawath,
Let the wind carry her blood into hidden places.'
After the gods, his fathers, had fixed the fate of Bel,
They caused him to receive a path of goodwill and obedience as his road."

Merodach then armed himself for the fight. He shouldered his javelin, placed on his left "the divine weapon," probably a special kind of sword, hung his bow and quiver at his side, and set lightning before him, filling his body with darting flame. He then made a net wherewith to enclose Tiawath, to whose name here, and in the passages which follow, the word *kirbiš* is added, implying that the

[3] Concerning the changelessness of Merodach's word, and that of the other great gods, there are several references in the Babylonian mythological texts, some of which recall the words of Psalm xxix in praise of "the voice of the Lord."

Babylonians thought of her as being "in the midst," probably of the earth. He caused the four winds to take up their position north, south, east, and west, in order that no part of her might escape. The net was placed at his side, and appears to have been the gift of his father Anu, though one of the duplicates inserts *ana* before the name of the god, implying a gift "to" that deity. More winds, seven in number this time, were then added as his means of attack—"they rose up behind him to cause trouble to Kirbiš-Tiawath." "The Lord then took his great weapon, the storm-flood; he rode in his chariot terrible, a creature unrivalled." To this chariot was attached a fourfold yoke, but the nature of the steeds is uncertain. They were as terrible, however, as almost anything else mentioned in this wonderful story—unsparing, sweeping down, swift of flight, sharp of tooth, poison-bearing, knowing how to overthrow (as JENSEN completes), skilled in destruction.

As for the god himself, he was covered with the cloak of his dreadful majesty, and his head was crowned with his overwhelming brilliance.

Thus arrayed for the fray, he set out for Tiawath's lair, where, enraged, she awaited him. With his lip he restrained her fury, or something of the kind, holding in his hand the plant of incantation—even the king of the gods did not disdain that means which mortals have employed and still employ to gain an advantage over those whom they hate.

"In that day they clustered around him,
The gods clustered around him;
The gods his fathers clustered around him,
The gods clustered around him;
Whilst the lord advanced scrutinising Tiawath's mind,
Searching out the intentions of Kingu, her husband.
As he looked, his thoughts became troubled,
His understanding cast down, his action confused;
And the gods, his helpers, going by his side,
Saw the trembling (?) of the leader—their glance was troubled (too)."

The words in the last four lines apparently refer to Kingu, Tiawath's spouse, and not to Merodach, for it is unlikely that the Babylonians would have admitted that their great divinity could be overcome with such weakness. The failings attributed to Kingu, however, did not overtake Tiawath herself, at least at first, but raising

her voice, she seems to have reproached Merodach, who, in his turn, utters a long reply, ending with a challenge to Tiawath to begin the fight. With many expressions of rage, she, similarly to Merodach, repeated an incantation and a charm, and then stood forth.

But Tiawath, according to the legend, had no chance from the first. Spreading out his net, he caused it to enclose her; the evil wind attending him he sent on in front, and when Tiawath opened her mouth, he caused that evil wind to enter, so that she could not close her lips.

> "The angry winds filled out her body,
> Her heart was oppressed, wide opened she her mouth;
> He drove in his spear, cut asunder her body,
> Slit her inner part, cut through her heart,
> Captured her, and destroyed her life,
> Threw her body down, and stood thereon."

Having been thus subjugated, her helpers—divine beings whom she had begotten—were scattered, and departed. The gods who had assisted her, and who had accompanied her, trembled, feared, and turned away. Being surrounded, however, they found themselves unable to flee, and were made captive, bearing, in the prison into which they were cast, Merodach's anger. As for Kingu, her spouse, he was bound, and counted worthy to be set with Ugga, the god of death; and the Tablets of Fate, which Tiawath had entrusted to him, were taken away by Merodach, who sealed them with his signet, and grasped them to his breast. Thus was the power of Anšara restored, and thus did Merodach attain the desire of Nudimmud, the Creator, whose son he was. As for Tiawath, she was to be completely destroyed, so her skull was cleft, and the veins of her body cut through, her blood being carried away by the north wind into secret places. This rejoiced the hearts of the gods, who brought to him gifts and offerings. Dividing her members, he thought out what he might do, and cut her body, like a *mašḫ*-fish, into two parts, placing half thereof as a covering for the heavens. There he fixed it, and a watchman was set with instructions not to let her waters come forth. It was thus that the Babylonians conceived the formation of "the waters which were above the firmament" or "expansion." With regard to the other half of the Dragon of Chaos, it may be supposed that it remained below, on the earth, as "the waters under the firmament."

Traversing then the heavens, he examined the places, and set Ê-šara, the heavens, as the city of Anu, Bêl, and Êa or Aa. He erected the stations of the great gods, stars being their emblems. The year was instituted, with its twelve months, to each month three stars, or, perhaps better, three constellations. Nibiru, his own star, the planet Jupiter, received his special attention. In the middle of the heavens he placed the zenith, and caused Nannaru (the moon) to shine forth as the ruler of the night, and to show the divisions of time. Many other things were then created by him, including man, whom, as is shown by the fragment first published by Mr. KING, he formed from his blood, obtained, Berosus says, by cutting off his own head. It is on this account, the priest of Babylon adds, that men are rational, and partake of divine knowledge. At this again, to all appearance, the gods rejoiced, and met in the great assembly-hall, Upšukenaku, to celebrate the occasion. It is a great pity that this portion of the legend is so defective, and it is to be hoped that more of it will speedily come to light. There is a fragment regarded as belonging to this part, which refers to the city of Aššur, the old capital of Assyria; and this, if more perfect, would probably explain why the legend was so popular in Assyria as it is known to have been.

But in all probability there is no portion of the series of tablets dealing with the exploits of Merodach more interesting than that which proves to have been called "the Tablet of the 51 names" and formed the 7th of the series—whether originally belonging to it, or added after the six preceding tablets had been composed in order to make up the sacred number of seven is at present uncertain. That in some way it was distinct from the others may be surmised not only from the difference in subject and also, probably, in style, but from the fact, that the seventh tablet, and that one only (to all appearance), was provided with a glossary, in Sumero-Akkadian, in which the words of a version in the popular dialect are explained, line for line, by the Semitic roots, as given in the text which we possess. The existence of the glossary shows the great importance which the Babylonians and Assyrians attached to this portion, and it is only to be regretted that so little of it has so far come to light.

The text of the seventh tablet is divided into sections, indicated by the name Tutu (designating Merodach as the creator and begetter of the gods) on the obverse, but there is no such distinction in the case of the reverse, at least in the copies of it with which I am

acquainted. It gives his various names, with an indication of his attributes when they were used, and is of considerable interest and importance on that account. He is described as the creator of vegetation, the light of the father his begetter,[1] the life of the people, the pure being, the pure or holy crown, the pure incantation, he who knoweth the heart, etc., in each case under an appropriate Sumero-Akkadian name. The most interesting of these paragraphs, however, is that of the "Pure" or "Holy Crown":—

> "Tutu (is), fourthly, Aga-azaga (the Holy Crown)—may he make the crowns holy—
> The Lord of the Holy Incantation bringing the dead to life;
> He who had mercy on the gods who were imprisoned,
> Took off the yoke laid on the gods who were his enemies,
> To redeem them, created mankind.
> The merciful one, with whom is the giving of life,
> May his word be established, and not forgotten,
> In the mouth of the black-headed ones (mankind) whom his hands have made."

Concerning *ana padi-šunu*, which I translate doubtfully, with JENSEN, "to redeem them," it is not my intention to speak—we do not know sufficient to discuss the matter satisfactorily. It will be sufficient to say, however, that *padû*, the infinitive from which *padi* comes, means "to spare," and that the rendering suggested is one which is worthy of consideration. There is no doubt, however, that Merodach received the title of "the Merciful One," on account of the forbearance which he showed to the followers of Tiawath who had fought against him and the gods of heaven at the beginning of the world, a story which was probably the original of that given by Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, and repeated by Caedmon in *The Fall of the Angels*, and by Milton in *Paradise Lost*.

And this leads up to the inscription to which the preceding outline of the Legend of Merodach forms the introduction. It is a tablet of late date, but from the words in the extract quoted above, "he who had mercy on the gods who were imprisoned," there is every likelihood that the text it bears is a copy of a document of a more ancient period, though probably not as old as the originals of the seven tablets of the Babylonian Creation-Story. It seems to consist of an introduction (which is, for the present comparison, the

[1] The god *Aa* or *Êa*.

most important part), followed by references to the gods going forth from the various cities to greet, apparently, Saturn[5] and Merodach. The following is a rendering of this inscription as far as I am able to make it out, the text being sometimes defectively written, probably in consequence of damaged places in the scribe's original :—

COLUMN A.

1. *He strengthened his bonds.*
2. *He goes down to the prison.*
3. *He rises* (?) *and approaches the prison.*
4. *He opened the gate of the prison, he comforts them.*
5. *He looked upon them then, all of them : he rejoices.*
6. *Then the captive gods looked upon him—*
7. *Kindly the whole of them*
8. *regarded* (*him*). *Their seat*
9. *Nergal took, he is angry* (?) *with them.*
10. *To glorious* (?) *En-me-šara a word he speaks—*
11. *Merodach says thus . . .*
12. "*Lord Kayanu, thy children are* 7—
13. *In the morning he will violently make an end to them.*"
14. *En-me-šara, hearing this,*
15. *Said* "*Woe!*" *His mind became downcast ;*
16. *He opened his mouth and said a word :*
17. "*They are strong, and their judgment is the desire of my children.*"
18. *Nergal opened his mouth, and*
19. *Pronounced the word to En-me-šara the glorious* (?) :
20. "*From the beginning—*
21. *Even from the beginning,*
22. *Has thy creator* (?) *done this.*"
23. . . . . *En-me-šara, Kayanu*

. . . . . .

COLUMN B.

1. . . . . .
2. *The god* . . . . . .
3. *and* . . . . . .

[5] The same as Aa or Êa, the father of Merodach.

4. *he* . . . . . .
5. *After* . . . . . .
6. *And the god* . . . . . .
7. *In the morning* . . . . . .
8. *He took* . . . . . .
9. *He took* . . . . . .
10. *I was angry* . . . . .
11. *Merodach* [*opened his mouth, and*]
12. [*Pronounced the word*] *to En-m*[*e-šara :*]
13. *Thus* (?) . . . . . .
14. *Kayanu, the god* . . . . .
15. *Thou* (?) . . . . . .
16. *and* [*thy*] *sons* . . . . . .
17. *He took* . . . . . .
18. *Kayanu, the son* . . . . . .
19. *His image* . . . . . .
20. *To his fathers* . . . . . .
21. *All* . . . . . .
22. *His image* . . . . . .
23. . . . . .

COLUMN C.

1. . . . . *.fatling* . . .
2. *record* (?) *of* . . .
3. . . . . *.fatling* . . .
4. *all the heart* . . .
5. *and he* . . .
6. *Glory* . . .
7. *Merodach* . . .
8. *and in heaven thou* (?) . . .
9. *lord of heaven* . . .
10. *dwelling in the temple of* . . .
11. *periodical offering* . . .
12. *coming forth from* . . .
13. *I the sin* . . .
14. *Until this* (?) . . .
15. *Altogether* 8 *tablets* (?) . . .

16. *When . . .*
17. *and Merodach . . .*
18. *since in . . .*
19. *for the goods . . .*
20. *and he . . .*
21. *for future* (?) *days . . .*
22. *sceptre and* [*throne*?] . . . .

COLUMN D.

1. *The gods, all of them—the gods of . . .*
2. *Borsippa, Cuthah, Kiš,*
3. *And the gods of the cities, all*
4. *to take the hands of Kayanu* (*and*) *the great lord Merodach*
5. *to Babylon go, and with him*
6. *at the new year's festival, in the sanctuary of the king,*
7. *offer gifts before them.*
8. *As for the day, on his appearance* (?), *Anu and Ellila*
9. *from Erech and Nippur to Babylon,*
10. *to take the hands of Kayanu* (*and*) *Bel, to Babylon*
11. *will go, and with him*
12. *will march in procession. To the temple of offerings*
13. *together the great gods all*
14. *to Babylon will go.*

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15. *The gods, all of them, Kayanu with Bel* (?),
16. *to the temple of offerings will go; like the king*
17. *Kayanu will give forth* (?) *his light.*

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18. *The star Du-sisa; Merodach;*
19. *Nirig:* *Nebo;*
20. *Šamaš, Anu, Bêl and Nebo,*
21. . . . . *in two parts.*

. . . . . .

(*To be continued.*)

AN ASSYRIAN INCANTATION AGAINST RHEUMATISM.

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

The following is a translation of my copy of the series SA . GAL . LA published in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, Part XXIII, Plates I–XIV. Of the rest of this Part, Plates XV–XXII were translated in *P.S.B.A.*, November, 1906, and Plates XXIII–L in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, October, 1907 *ff.*

SA . GAL . LA apparently means "the enlarged (swollen) joint, muscle, or sinew," and the ceremonies all refer to pains in the lumbar region, back, and thighs, which are expected to last two years. Hence it seems most probable that the incantations were written as prescriptions against rheumatism. Many of the passages are absolutely unintelligible to me, and serve to show that our knowledge of the cuneiform medical texts is still very imperfect.

From the standpoint of comparative magic, one of the exorcisms is extremely interesting. The Assyrian magician claims that the incantation is not from man, but from Ba'u, Gula and Nin-aḫa-ḳuddu, and he is adopting it (Pl. III). SKEAT (in his *Malay Magic*, p. 427) has published a similar Malay spell: "Not mine are the materials, they are the materials of Kĕmal-ul-hakim; Not to me belongs this neutralizing charm, To Malim Sidi belongs this neutralizing charm. It is not I who apply it, It is Malim Karimun who applies it."

The philological value of such a text as this is considerable. The meanings of several words, hitherto doubtful, can be cleared up, or at least to some extent elucidated. Especially noticeable are the words *lû*, *kinṣu*, *šašallu*, *giššu*, *kisallu*, and the *ašnan*-stone.

Lû.

Lû is a word that has hitherto given a good deal of trouble. I think, however, some such meaning as "refuse," with a secondary special significance of "excrement," is at least plausible. That two

such meanings could be combined in one word is paralleled by the two meanings for the Syriac ܒܥܪܐ *stercus* (ܥܦܪ ܕܦܪܙܠܐ is "dross of iron"). *Lu'u* has the particular meaning of "filthy" in regard to streets: *ullila sullišunu lu'uti*, "I cleansed their filthy streets" (BA I, 10, quoted MUSS-ARNOLT, p. 464), and there is also a group ḪAR. ṬU. NA = *lu'-i gi-ri-ti* (BRÜNNOW, No. 8596). A classical text (Sennacherib VI, 16) gives "the deluge of my fighting *kima li-e zumuršun išhup* swept away their bodies like dung" (DELITZSCH, *H. W. B.*, p. 374, refers possibly to another *lû*). It has to be some plastic material, for little magical figures are made from it: *e.g.*, *Maḳlu* II, 113, INIM. INIM. MA. *muṣṣaprata nadi* (?) *ṣalam li* KAM, "Prayer of uttering a chant (?) over a figure of *lî* (*i.e.* dung)," parallel hymns to this being recited over figures of bitumen, bronze, etc., in the same tablet. Compare also IV, 41 (*ṣalmâni*) *lu ša iddû* [*lu*] *ša ṭiṭu lu ša li* "(figures) either of bitumen, or clay, or *lî* (dung)." TALLQVIST translates "honig," but this cannot be correct. In the grammatical text, K. 246 (I, 65, *W. A. I.* II, 17), two 'unclean' substances are mentioned: *li ša ina zumri kuppuru*, paralleled by *akalu sa zumur ameli muššudu*. The latter must be "food which a man's body has expressed" (less probably "rejected," *i.e.*, vomited), and hence the former must have a meaning, at least, in connection. *Kuppuru* is, as is now unnecessary to explain, "to make atonement," and the *li* is constantly used in connection with it, and hence we may try a tentative translation: "refuse which has made atonement for the body of a man." The sense of this last passage becomes clear from an "atonement ceremony" (see my *Devils and Evil Spirits*, Vol. II, Tablet XI; *W. A. I.*, IV, 27, 52–54 b): "The kid, whereof thou hast taken out the heart (becomes) *li'i-* food (unclean), with which thou shalt make atonement for the man; bring a censer (and) a torch, scatter it (the unclean food) in the street." Another such is tablet "T," line 38 (*ibidem*) *Akala li ina ḳaḳḳadi-šu šukun-ma*, "set refuse-food at his head." The word apparently obtains a pregnant sense here.

An additional argument for the meaning "excrement" is found in *Maḳlu* VIII, 87–88; II *kurummati I[a-a-an] ṣalam [amelu] kaššapi u [sal] kaššapti akal li epuš-ma libbi kurummati ṣuruḫ-ma*, "Make two meals of dung, one each for the figures of sorcerer and sorceress, and make invocation over the food." TALLQVIST translates "mache von leckerhafter Nahrung," but this seems less probable. Hostile

magicians in effigy are not treated well, and the most abominable food is set before them to drive them away. Delicacies are more likely to attract them than to attain the desired object. KÜCHLER, in treating of this word, shortly (in his *Ass. Bab. Medizin*) translates it by "dough," which seems less probable.

It is interesting to see, in SKEAT's account of a Malay ceremony (*Malay Magic*, p. 431), a parallel which may support this view of the meaning of *li*. When a Malay is under a 'waxen-image' spell, the magician rubs him all over with limes, and next morning, after various ceremonies, the limes are squeezed into a bowl and used, partly for washing and partly medicinally. "The 'trash' of the limes (after squeezing) is wrapped up in a *birah* leaf at evening, and either carried out to the sea (into which it is dropped), or deposited ashore at a safe distance from the house." *Lî* should correspond to the word 'trash' here.

In the present text (*C.T.* XXIII, 1, 4), the priest must put one *ḳa* of leaven on the *šasur*-reed, and put the sick foot thereon, and "make the atonement" for the foot with the *li* (refuse) of the leaven. Again the use appears to be pregnant; it will become "refuse" when it has done its work.

Kinṣu.

Kinṣu is a word which occurs several times. It is known from (*a*) the descriptions of mythical beings (*Devils and Evil Spirits* II, 146 ff.), *i.e.* (1) *ina šepišu ša imitti irṣita* [*šapiṣ*], *libit šepišu ša imitti ṣupur iṣṣuri . . .*, *šepišu ša šumeli tar*[*ṣatma*], *kinṣa ša ṭappišu* [*šapiṣ*] (p. 152) "with his right foot he . . . the earth, the base of his right foot is a bird's claw . . his left foot is stretched out [and] the *kinṣa* of its sole [. .]"; (2) [*ina šepišu*] *ša šumeli irṣita šapiṣ*, [*šepišu*] *ša imitti šuteguratma*, [*kinṣa*] *ša ṭappišu šapiṣ*, [*libit šepišu*] *ša imittišu ṣupur iṣṣurima*, [*kin*]*ṣa ša ṭappišuma šapiṣ* (*p.* 152), "[with his] left [foot] he . . . the earth, [his] right [foot] . . . and [the *kinṣa*] of its sole . . ., [the base of his] right [foot] . . . is a bird's claw, and the [*kin*]*ṣa* of this sole also . . . ."

From (*b*) K. 1285, 19 (published by STRONG, *Trans. IX Orient. Congr.* II, 207) it occurs in the phrase *kamis ina kinṣîšu* ^{m} *Aššur-baniaplu ittanaḫar ana* ^{ilu} *Nabî bêlîšu*; "Bowing on his *kinṣi*, Assurbanipal presents himself before Nabû, his lord."

From (*c*) (the present text) it occurs between the words *ḳablu* ("belly") and [*kisallu*] (כֶּסֶל, "hips" or "loins") Pl. III, 17; with *ḳablu*, Pl. V, II, 2, and *kisâllu*, Pl. XII, 49, the text being broken; between *giššu* ("neck"?) and *kisallu*, *ḳablu rapaštu* and *šašallu* ("shoulders"), being mentioned with it (Pl. IV, 16–17, Pl. XI, 38; between *šir utli* ("the flesh of the loins," or similar) and *kisallu*, Pl. VII, 34; (in Pl. IV, 8, and Pl. VIII, 42, *utlu* takes the place of *kinṣu* between *ḳablu* and *kisallu*).

From (*a*) it is a part close to the foot-sole. There is no doubt as to the meaning of *ṭappu*, "sole"; it is the Heb. כַּף, "palm"; *kan ṭappi*, "the base of the *ṭappu*" occurs constantly in the description of mythical beings quoted above, and it "has no heel" (*iḳba la išî*, *ibidem*, 148, l. 23). But although near the sole in case (*a*) 2, it must be noted that the "sole" is a bird's claw.

Case (*b*) certainly looks as if we are to translate it "knees," although Assyrian has a word *birkâ*. But the "*kinṣa* of the foot-sole" does not seem to coincide with such an explanation, and the case apparently demands some part nearer the foot. I would therefore suggest "shin" as a possibility. As, however, the specification "of the foot-sole" is added, it may be that *kinṣu* meant the forearm as well. In the sculptures (*e.g.* of Jehu, on the Black Obelisk) the suppliant is suing on hands and knees, and it may be that Assurbanipal describes himself in this way. Secondly, the order of the words *giššu*, *kinṣu*, *kisallu*, seems to demand some part between the neck and the loins, although the sequence in these cases apparently does not denote necessarily anatomical order.

Giššu occurs elsewhere in *C.T.* XXIII, Pl. 36, l. 57: "when a man holdeth water on his head [and] thou touch the place where it holdeth the water with thy forefinger; if the flesh of the *giššu* stinketh (*or*, is evil) . . . ."; and in l. 64: "if the flesh of his *giššu* stinketh (*or*, is evil), put 'fire of stones' at the base of his head." *Cf.* also Pl. IX, 12, *ina gišišu šepišu u kisallišu*.

We have therefore to identify some part of the body with *giššu* which will agree with these two descriptions: (*a*) in some form of suppuration on the head, where if the pus be touched, pain (*or*, possibly fetor) is produced in the flesh of the *giššu*; (*b*) in the case of rheumatism where the pain can be felt. Taking into consideration that the charm in the case of the head-suppuration is to put "fire of stones" to the base of the head, the back of the neck seems the most probable part, and this, being in close connection with the

top of the spine, may well be affected by rheumatic pains. Hence *giššu* would appear to mean "neck," or "back of the neck." But it is only a tentative suggestion.

$^{abnu}Ašnan.$

This stone was long ago pointed out to be the cornelian or onyx by MEISSNER and ROST (*Bauinschriften Sanheribs*, p. 58), on the connection between certain discoveries of cornelian by GEORGE SMITH in Sennacherib's palace and the description which Sennacherib himself gives of his building as follows:—"*Ašnan*-stone, whose shape like cucumber seeds is fashioned, as many as are valued for necklet-stones, a stone telling (?) of favour and confidence to be obtained, that no sickness draw near to man, which were brought down from Mount Nipur" (p. 52). I cannot, however, see that the reference given here to SMITH'S *Assyrian Discoveries*, *passim*, proves the point satisfactorily, as the discoveries in question appear to have been only (1) half an amulet in onyx, inscribed (p. 98), (2) bracelets and rings in glass and cornelian (p. 435), probably most of late date, although two cornelian rings were of true Assyrian workmanship. Personally I do not remember finding any cornelian object of great interest on the mound of Kouyunjik, and I think the point of the comparison with "cucumber-seeds," or, in fact, the actual meaning of the word "corn-stone" has been missed by these authors. But it is not far to seek. There is a class of amulet very common in Egypt made of small cornelians in the shape of small arrowheads, about half an inch long, and pierced to wear in necklaces. As far as I can recollect, I saw none in Mesopotamia, but I was able to buy about 500 in Sawâkin, where they were said to have come from Arabia. The description "cucumber-seeds" accurately fits them.

TRANSLITERATION.

Series *Sagallu*.

K. 2432 + S. 1899. OBVERSE.

(*Pl.* 1.)

1. Enuma buâni^{pl} šir utli-šu ešteniš(niš) ikkalu^{pl} . . .-a u izzazu^{pl} ka-la i-li-' SA . GAL šatti II

2. Nâru ir-ḫa-an ša KU . ŠE . SIS te-ṣir [uṣurti (?)] ša nâri GI . ŠA . SUR tušerab(ab) ŠE . GIŠ . BAR tuzarrab(?)-ma

3. ina eli GI . ŠA . SUR tašakan(an) ameli marṣi [ina muḫ]-ḫi tušešib(ib) I ḳa ŠE . SIS tuzarrab(?)-ma

4. ina eli GI.ŠA.SUR tašakan(an) šepi-šu marṣi [ina] eli tašakan(an) ina li'i ŠE.SIS šepi-šu tu-kap-par

5. Šiptu ḪUŠ RI.A ḪUŠ RI.A : la . . . bi ša nab ši na ab
6. a na ni ib bi ša ab ši na ab : tu-[še-ṣa]-am-ma ^{ilu}Šamšu ^{ilu}Zu-uk ši ša nab
7. litti ina ḳarni-ša udurti ina šarti-ša nâru ir-ḫa-[an ina] kib-ri-ša ḳi-ba-ma pulânu apil pulâni lib-luṭ TU EN

8. INIM.INIM.MA SA.GAL.LA.KAM

9. Kikiṭṭu-šu šipta an-ni-ta ina tak-pir-ti šir utli tamannu li'u šu-a-tum
10. ina . . . ša erib ^{ilu}Šamši tašakan-ma ina ṭiṭ pî bâbi-šu tugammar ina ^{abnu}kunukki (?) šubî (?) u ^{abnu}gin-nu
11. bâbi-šu ta-bar-ram šir utli-šu ina gibilli tu-kil te-di-ik-ki-šu-ma ḳat-su taṣabat-ma
12. nâru ir-ḫa-an ša te-ṣi-ru VII-šu u VII-šu tu-šib-bir-šu e-nu-ma ib-bi-ru ḪAR.GIM taḳabbi

(*Pl.* 2.)

13. Šiptu epuš(uš) ^{ilu}E-a ip-šur ^{ilu}E-a pa-ṭar lum-ni šup-šu-ḫi uz-zu
14. pu-su-us ki-ṣir lum-ni ^{ilu}E-a it-ti-ka-ma

15. Šiptu A.ZU KALAM.MA DINGIR.NIN.NI SI.IN . . . . AMA *ŠAL KALAM.MA ME.EN
16. *ITI ARALI NIN E.DUB.BA . . . GAL.AN.NA NIN SAG.GIG.GA.GE
17. . . . . AMA DINGIR KUR LAB.BA GAR . . . . . šame(e) a-gi-e nam-ri-ri
18. . . . . rabûti^{pl} i-na-aš-šu-u-šu
19. . . . . ul gi-gi-tu
20. . . . . kib-ri-ša
. . . . . .

Translation.

K. 2432 + S. 1899.

(*Pl.* 1.)

1. *When the joints of the flesh of his loins are all painful . . . , and are stiff* (?), (*but*) *all having power*, (*the diagnosis is*) *a swollen joint lasting two years.*

2. *Make a circle with an* irḫan-"*river*" *of leavened meal; put into* [*the circle*] *of the* "*river*" *a* šasur-*reed* (?); *knead* (?) *some*

gišbar-*corn and put it on the* šasur-*reed* (?)*; make the sick man rest thereon; knead* (?) *one* ḳa *of leaven and put it on the* šasur-*reed* (?)*; put his sick foot thereon. It is with the refuse-food of the leaven that thou makest the atonement.*

5. *Incantation:—* . . . . . [1] *invoke the cow with its horn, the sheep with its fleece, the* irḫan-"*river*" *with its bank that N., son of N., may recover.*

Perform the incantation.

8. *Prayer* *for the swollen joint*

9. *Ritual for this:—Repeat this incantation in the Atonement for the flesh of the loins: put this refuse-food in a western . . . and complete the door thereof with clay mixed with stubble; seal up the door thereof with a signet* (?) *of* šubû (?)- *and* ginnu-*stone, and then hold the flesh of his loins in* (*the flame of*) *a torch; take hold of his dress and his hand and lead him across the* irḫan-"*river*" (*with which thou hast encircled him*) *seven and seven times. When he has crossed* (*for the last time*)*, say clearly*[2]*:—*

(*Pl.* 2.)

13. *Incantation:—Ea hath created, Ea hath loosed; free the evil, still the wrath, undo the knots of the evil,* (*for*) *Ea is with thee.*

15. *Incantation:—O Physician of the world, O Ninnisin . . .*'[3] *Thou art the gracious mother of the world, the leader of the underworld, mistress of E-dubba . . .* [*Nin*]*-gal-anna, lady of the black-headed race. . . . . of heaven, a shining crown,* . . . . . *great, they bear him* . . . . . .

[1] The first two lines (for which compare Pl. 5, ll. 11–13) are unintelligible to me. Apart from their meaning, they appear to have something in common with such words as *hocus-pocus*, *abracadabra*, and other magic gibberish.

[2] On ḪAR . GIM = "clearly (?)," see *P.S.B.A.*, Nov. 1906, p. 221.

[3] There is a form of Ba'u DINGIR NIN.IN.NI.SI. AN.NA, which is probably the same as this, especially when Ba'u is mentioned on Pl. 3, l. 14, under the form DINGIR.DA.MU and DINGIR.GU.LA. Furthermore Ba'u is called *asîtu gallatu*, "the great physician" (*W.A.I.*, III, 41, *b*. 29).

(*To be continued.*)

THE FIRST YEAR OF SAMSU-ILUNA.

BY THE REV. C. H. W. JOHNS.

The new date-list published by Mr. L. W. KING in his "*Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings*" (see Vol. II, p. 103), gives the traces of the year-name for the first year of Samsu-iluna as MU *Sa-am-su-i-lu-na* LU[GAL-E . . . . .], and, in the second line, NAM-EN-BI KUR-KUR-R[A . . . . .] IN-GAR. Here the verb IN-GAR is restored from the Constantinople date-list, but Dr. MESSERSCHMIDT'S copy in the *Orientalistische Litteraturzeitung* (1907, col. 172) makes it clear that IN-GAR really belongs to the end of the date for the second year. This is borne out by the fact that tablets dated in the second year, and given by Mr. KING in his *Letters and Descriptions of Hammurabi* (Vol. III, p. 242, note 76), and Dr. RANKE in *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A* (Vol. VI, I, 49), have the same verb in the variant forms—I-NI-GAR-RA and UN-GAR.

It does not seem to have been noted that two of the Warka tablets, B 79A and B 96, are dated in the first year of Samsu-iluna, and serve, further, to restore the above traces. Their dates were published by GEORGE SMITH, in the first edition of the Fourth Volume of RAWLINSON'S *Inscriptions of Western Asia* (p. 36, nos. 64 and 65). They were repeated in STRASSMAIER'S *Texte Altbabylonischer Verträge aus Warka* (nos. 51 and 68). The latter was also published by Dr. B. MEISSNER, in his *Beiträge zum Altbabylonischen Privatrecht* (no. 66), and in SCHRADER'S *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* (Vol. IV, p. 30). Unfortunately these copies evidently need collating with the originals. SMITH and STRASSMAIER give, in B 79A, MAḪ for EN, and, at the end of the date, three signs which it is difficult to recognise. These signs may be the same as those Dr. RANKE read UN-GAR, but suggest an ending in AG-A. At any rate, they should be collated now. The reading MAḪ for EN makes little difference to the sense—something like "supremacy" in place

of "lordship." Nor would the last verb make a great difference to Mr. KING'S translation. Taking his readings as correct, so far as they go, we see that it was the year when "Samsu-iluna, the king, at the sure word of Marduk (established?), extended his dominion over the lands." The date may be restored, MU *Sa-am-su-i-lu-na* LUGAL-E DUG-GA ZI-DA *Marduk*-GU-TA NAM-EN-BI KÚR-KÚR-RA PA-Ê' BA-AG-A.

Mr. KING has suggested, *Chronicles* (Vol. I, p. 170), that the closing years of Ḫammurabi's reign may have been clouded by some disaster—either the recovery of Rim-Sin's power in the south, or events which led to that. We may further conjecture that Samsu-iluna had to fight for his throne, and possibly this may be the secret of the discrepancy between the Date Lists and the King's List. The former give Ḫammurabi 43 years, the latter 55. If there were an interregnum of 12 years, during which Samsu-iluna had no acknowledged supremacy, this would account for the discrepancy, as the King's List would reckon the interregnum to Ḫammurabi's reign. It may be pointed out that 55 years is an abnormal length of reign for one so active in his earlier years as Ḫammurabi seems to have been. If he was of age on coming to the throne, his last years would have to be extremely peaceful for him to retain his power. It is certain they were not so, however long we reckon them. This is, however, the merest conjecture, and can only await evidence one way or another.

RECENT DISCOVERIES IN EGYPT.

At Karnak, M. LEGRAIN has discovered the original Sanctuary, which seems to have been a tomb-temple of the Ist dynasty. The tomb was crowded with vast numbers of votive vases of cylindrical shape of later date. He has also found the primitive wall of enceinte, and the remains of a temple of Ra-neb-hepu, *Mentuhetep*, within it.

At Elephantinê M. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, assisted by M. CLÉDAT, is continuing his excavation of the burial-place of the Sacred Rams, and on the cartonnage of one of them found the name of the cemetery. He has also found the chamber in which the embalmment of the Rams took place, and the granite altar on which they were placed while the prescribed ritual was performed. The granite slab, on which the Ram was given its bath of bitumen, is still smeared with pitch, and, like another granite slab on which the viscera of the animal were extracted, bears the cartouches of Usertesen I, showing that a temple of that king once stood here. Close by he has discovered a fine granite *naos* of Pepi I, which carries the history of the temple still further back. His last discovery is that of a "cachette" into which the builders of a temple of Ptolemaic or Roman age have thrown broken statuettes of stone and wood, and beautiful specimens of XVIIIth dynasty blue faience, including a hippopotamus, together with other objects. As none of these is later than the XVIIIth dynasty they must have come from the temples of Thothmes I, Amenhetep II, and Amenhetep III, which are shown by numerous sculptured and inscribed blocks of stone to have existed here.

The German explorers were not fortunate enough to find any more Aramaic papyri at Elephantinê, and are now engaged on the Cemetery of the Sacred Crocodiles at Kom Ombo.

At Shellal, Mr. REISNER has had most interesting results, from an anthropological point of view. A pre-historic cemetery runs under the village, in which green-stone scorpions were found; to the East of it are four other cemeteries; one of them of the XIIth dynasty with negro skeletons, one of the XXth–XXVIth dynasty period, also with negro skeletons; a cemetery of Roman period; and another, also Roman, containing sixty-two bodies, all of which had been decapitated or hanged. To the North is a late Christian necropolis; on the island of Hessa, a Ptolemaic or Roman cemetery; and on Bigga, a cemetery of the early Christian period, the occupants of which, according to Dr. ELLIOTT SMITH, were all of Asia Minor origin.

At Asswân, excavations for the foundations of a building on the North side of the English church, last autumn, have brought to light the remains of an Egyptian temple. The temple seems to have been erected by Ptolemy Philopater, but was subsequently repaired and enlarged by TIBERIUS, CLAUDIUS, and TRAJAN. On a block of sandstone is a well-preserved inscription in red letters, which reads:

SALVIS DDD NNN
VALENTINIANO VALENTE ET
GRATIANO SEMPER AVGVSTOS (*sic*)
FL. MAVRICIVS VC. COM. ET DVX
RENOVARI IVSSIT HVNC LOCVM FL.
TRAIANVS. PP.
CVM THEB. MIL. REPARAVIT.

At a later date a portion of the temple was converted into a Christian church, one of the granite columns being consecrated to the new faith by having a cross within a circle sculptured in relief on it. On the capitals of other granite columns there are well-preserved examples of carved "Byzantine" designs. The granite pedestal of a statue—the bronze feet of which have left a mark on the stone—has been "Christianized" by the erasure of the inscription on it and the carving of a cross within a circle.

The Copts have utilized a granite altar dedicated to Jupiter, and the base of a statue, the inscriptions on both of which have been erased. The temple stood immediately to the East of the bases of statues discovered in 1895 (the inscriptions on which were published

by Prof. SAYCE in these *Proceedings*, Vol. XVIII, 1896, *pp.* 107 *ff.*) : as well as of the base of a statue of Diadumenianus discovered in 1904.

At Thebes, Mr. T. H. DAVIS, for whom Mr. E. R. AYRTON is again excavating in the *Bibân el Molûk*, has discovered in a plundered tomb a quantity of funerary jewellery of Queen Ta-usert of the XIXth dynasty. Among the objects are a magnificent necklace of filagree beads and pendants; two large silver pendants; three gold bangles; a large silver ring, and eight gold rings, with the cartouches of Ta-usert and Seti II, these rings were enclosed in silver cases; two superb gold ear-rings, about 4 inches long; and numerous smaller objects and beads.

EDITOR.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, March 11th, 1908, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

The Rev. F. A. Jones: "The Ancient Year and the Sothic Cycle."

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-EIGHTH SESSION, 1908.

Third Meeting, March 11th, 1908.

W. MORRISON, Esq. (*Vice-President*).

IN THE CHAIR.

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

From the Author, Dr. D. G. Lyon.—"Recent Excavations in Palestine."

From the Author, Dr. O. von Lemm.—"Koptische Miscellen," Parts 26–40.

From the Author, Prof. Dr. Sachau.—"Drei Aramäische Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine."

BOOK-BINDING FUND.

The following donation has been received :—

W. H. Rylands, Esq., *F.S.A.* (*5th donation*) £2 2 0

The following Paper was read :—

The Rev. F. A. JONES: "The Ancient Year and the Sothic Cycle."

Thanks were returned for this communication.

THE LEGEND OF MERODACH.

BY THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES.

(*Continued from p.* 62.)

The "strengthening of the bond" (Col. A, line 1) probably means simply the connection between some divine being and another being or beings. There is no direct statement as to who the person was who went down to the prison, but it may be surmised that it was Merodach, whose name occurs in line 11. In the matter of those who were released and comforted, we are not left in doubt—they are described, in line 6, as the captive gods (*ilāni ṣabtūtu*). If I am right in my rendering of *imtašû* as "they regarded"—according to Muss-Arnolt, there are three roots *mašû*, the other two meaning "to forget" and "to find" respectively[6]—the disposition of those who had been incarcerated was no longer hostile to him.

Why Nergal "took their seat"—apparently that of the imprisoned gods—does not appear, and I am far from being satisfied with the translation. As I have said, the state of the scribe's original seems to have been defective, and the rendering is here and there uncertain—doubtless much will be cleared up when (and if) we get a better text. Unrecognizable characters appear at the beginning of line 3, and an important word may be hidden in the difficult group at the end of line 11, which begins "Merodach thus said," and is followed by the words "lord Kayanu, thy sons are 7" (*bêlu kayanu mârē-ku sibitti šuna-ma*), and I should doubt my rendering, were it not that Pl. 23

[6] As, however, "to look for," and "to find," could be expressed by the same root, there may in reality be only two words *mašû*.

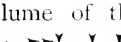
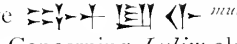
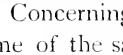
of the fourth volume of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, line 5*a*, mentions "the 7 gods, sons of En-me-šara." If it was Merodach who was going to make an end to Kayanu's sons, this seems strange, in view of the fact that the head of the Babylonian pantheon was regarded as the merciful god *par excellence*. My translation of line 17 is only provisional, though the rendering of all the words therein could be sustained from other passages in Babylonian literature. The last word but one, however, which I have read *nismat* and translated "desire of," is uncertain, and this doubtful word may be the key to the true rendering. Perhaps the phrase *dannu u šipṭi-šunu nismat* (?) *admūa* would be better translated by slightly modifying the meaning I have given to the first two words—"they (the gods of heaven) are severe, but their judgment is the desire of my children," an answer which would denote submission to Merodach's will. If *En-me-šara* be *Kayanu* or Saturn (Cronus), his seven sons are probably the days of the week. Unlike the Greek legend of Cronus, it was apparently Nerigal, or Nergal, the god of war and death, who destroyed them.

The New Year's festival was held at Babylon on the 8th and 11th (of Nisan)—see the Rev. C. J. Ball's rendering of the India House Inscription, *Proceedings*, Dec. 8th, 1887, p. 95, line 57. The present text may refer. however, to the occasion of the sacrifices to Nerigal, which was also on the 8th (Phillipps Cylinder, *Proceedings*, Feb. 7th, 1888). In any case, it suggests a reason for allowing seven days to pass before celebrating the festivals.

The imperfect columns, which are next in order, do not give us much information. They enable us to see, however, that the text was carried on in the same strain, and two of the lines (Col. B, 11 and 12) may be completed: "Merodach opened his mouth and pronounced the word to *En-me-šara*." *Kayanu* is twice mentioned, and there is twice a reference to "his image," but the god intended by the pronoun does not appear. Column C refers to offerings, and one of the paragraphs into which it is divided may be an address to Merodach.

Column D, however, is in a fairly satisfactory state, referring, as it does, to the gods of the various cities of Babylonia going to Babylon to take the hands of Kayanu and Merodach, who is certainly intended in line 4, and must also be the deity referred to as Bêl in line 10. The curious thing is, however, that Kayanu should be placed before Merodach. This reminds us that *Chiun* in Amos v, 26,

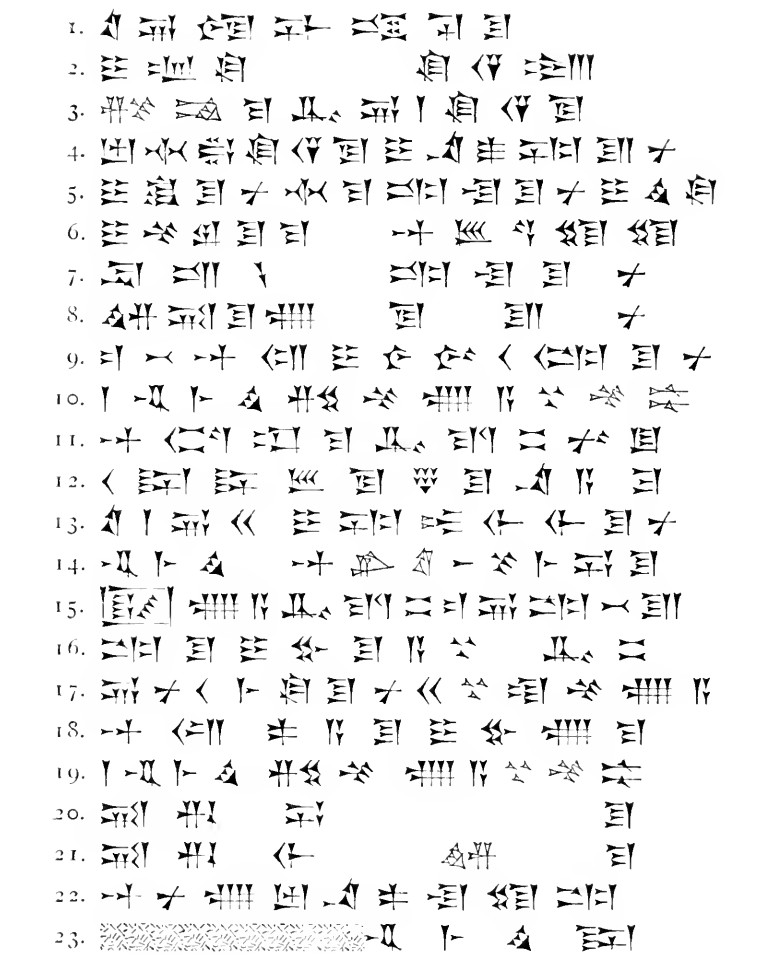
is explained as being for *Kayawan* or *Kayzwan*, the Arabic form of the name of the planet Saturn, and that, in that passage, the Hebrews are reproached for carrying about this divinity, of which they made their images, and which was the star of their god, which they made for themselves. Perhaps, therefore, the words "his image," *tamšil-šu*, which occurs twice in the defective column "B," refers to the representations of this deity, which were carried in procession, and Jewish worship of Kayawan or Saturn may have been due to Babylonian influence, which, as we know, was for many centuries strong in the Mediterranean tract.

From column A, lines 10 ff., it would seem that En-me-šara and Kayanu are the same, and this is supported by the astronomical list published in the fifth volume of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Pl. 46, where  *mul lu-lim* is explained as identical with that god. Concerning *Lulim* also we are not left in doubt, as the second volume of the same work, Plate 48, line 52*ab*, explains *mul lu-lim* as  *mul lu-bat-sag-uš*, which has long been recognised as the planet Saturn—literally "the head-firm (= phlegmatic) planet," which is also, probably, the meaning of *kayanu*, the root of which, notwithstanding the spelling of the word, is probably *kânu* (for *kawānu*), "to fix." The star  , which is generally read *girru*, is explained (*Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. V, Pl. 46, l. 14*ab*) as "the light which is before En-me-šara," or "the god Nusku," an equivalence which needs further explanation.

But "further explanation," notwithstanding the constant additions to our knowledge, is what many a passage in Assyro-Babylonian literature requires. The inscription here dealt with is one among many upon which more light would be most welcome, as I have already said—but when, if ever, will a duplicate copy be found?

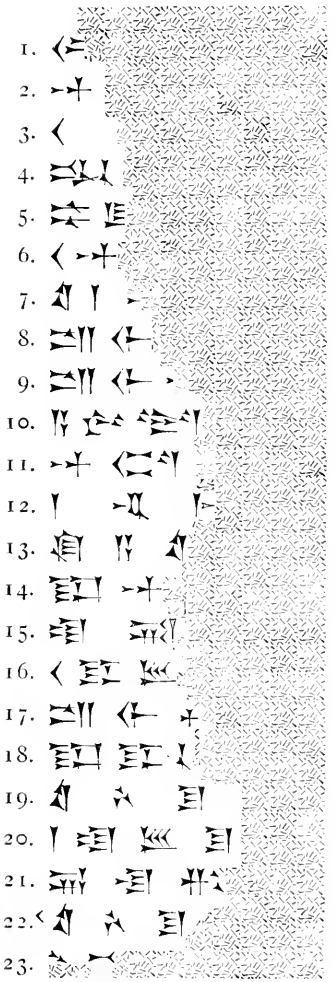
As practically stated in the fragment of the Creation-Story announcing Merodach's intention to create mankind, human beings were created in order that the gods might have creatures to worship them upon earth, and the delight with which, in the Flood-Legend, the gods gathered around the patriarch, after coming out of the ark, to enjoy the resumed sacrifices, is a confirmation of this. The text so imperfectly treated of, in this paper, and many another from Babylonia and Assyria, shows that the Babylonians did not neglect what they considered to be their divine duty in that respect.

COLUMN A.

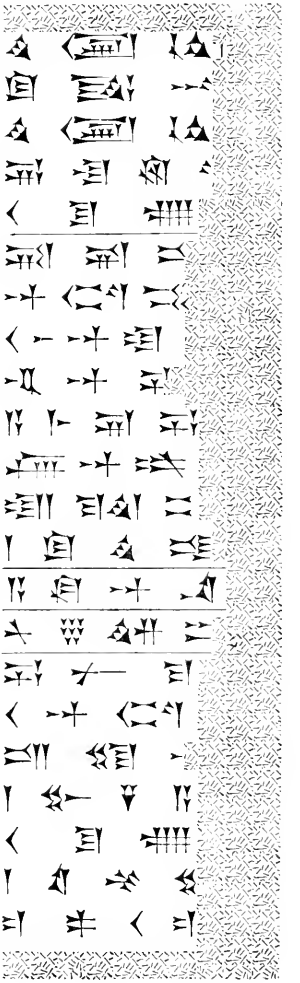


(Remainder broken away.)

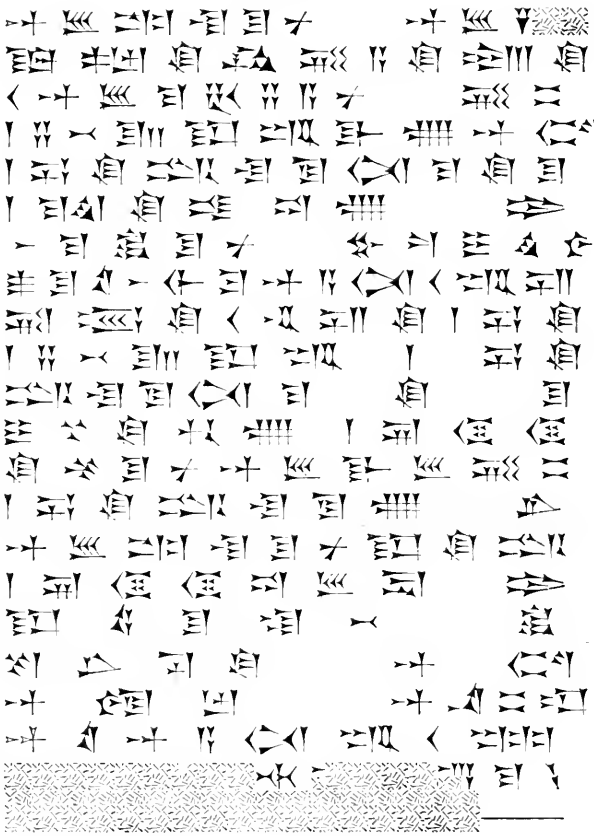
COLUMN B.



COLUMN C.



COLUMN D.



TRANSCRIPTION.

Column A.

1. Ud-dan-nin mar-kas-si-šu
2. i-rid-di ki-šuk-kiš
3. itba (?)-am-ma ik-rib ana ki-šuk-ku
4. ip-ti bâb ki-šuk-ku i-na-aš rês-su-nu
5. i-mur-šu-nu-ti-ma ka-la-šu-nu i-ḫi-di
6. i-mu-ru-šu-ma ilâni ṣab-tu-tu
7. gim-mil-liš ka-la-šu-nu
8. im-ta-šu-u šubat-su-nu

9. iṣ-bat Nerigal i-rag-gu-u êli-šu-nu
10. ana En-me-šara zi-mu-u a-mat izakkar (-ar)
11. ilu Maruduk um-ma iq-ta-bi zir (?)-ku (?)
12. Bêl Kayanu mârê-ku sibitti šu-na-a-wa
13. ud-diš dan-niš i-šak-kan ši-lim-šu-nu[7]
14. En-me-šara an-ni-ta ina še-me-e-šu
15. '-u-a iq-ta-bi is-kal ka-bat-su
16. pâ-šu i-pu-šu a-mat iq-bi
17. dan-nu u šip-ṭi-šu-nu nis-mat (?) ad-mu-u-a
18. ilu Nerigal pa-a-su i-pu-šam-ma
19. ana En-me-šara zi-mu-u a-mat izakkar (-ar)
20. ultu ri - e - šu
21. ultu re - ši - im (?) - ma
22. an-nu-u ib-na pa-la-tu-ka
23. . . . . En-me-šara Kayanu
. . . . . .

Column B.

1. ul (?) . . . . . .
2. ilu . . . . . .
3. u . . . . . .
4. il- . . . . . .
5. ar-ku (?) . . . . . .
6. u ilu . . . . . .
7. ud-diš . . . . . [8]
8. iš-ši . . . . . .
9. iš-ši . . . . . .
10. a-gu-ug. . . . . .
11. ilu Maruduk . . . . . .
12. ana En-m[e-šara a-mat izakkar (-ar)]
13. ki a tu (?) . . . . . .
14. Kayanu ilu . . . . . .
15. at-ta (?) . . . . . .
16. u mârê . . . . . .
17. iš-ši . . . . . .
18. Kayanu mârê . . . . . .
19. tam-šil-šu . . . . . .

[7] Or *ši-lim-ku-nu*.

[8] The two wedges following *ud-diš* may be part of *dan*—compare col. A, line 13.

20. ana âbê-šu . . . . . .
21. kal-la zi (?) . . . . . .
22. tam-šil-šu . . . . . .[9]
. . . . . .

COLUMN C.

1. ḫi tum maš . . . . . .
2. ku gar pal (?) . . . . . .
3. ḫi tum maš . . . . . .
4. kal-la lib. . . . . .
5. u šu-u . . . . . .
6. Ta-nit-tum. . . . . .
7. ilu Maruduk . . . . . .
8. u ina šamê at . . . . . .
9. bêl šame-e . . . . . .
10. a-šib bît e . . . . . .
11. sa-an-tak . . . . . .
12. ṣi-it bi . . . . . .
13. ana-ku ḫi-tum . . . . . .
14. A-di an-na . . . . . .
15. Gamris samantu im . . . .
16. E - nu - ma . . . . . .
17. u ilu Maruduk . . . . . .
18. iš - tu ina . . . . . .
19. ana bu-ša-a . . . . . .
20. u šu - u . . . . . .
21. ana ú-mu arki (?) . . . . .
22. isu ḫattu u isu . . . . . .

COLUMN D.

1. ílāni ka-la-šu-nu ílāni ša . . .
2. Bar-siḫ (ki) Kutû (ki) Kiš (ki)
3. u ílāni ma-ḫa-za-a-nu gab-bi
4. ana ṣa-bat qâtê Kayani Bêli rabu-u ilu Maruduk
5. ana Bâbíli il-la-ku-nim-ma itti-šu
6. ana it-ki-tum du-u šarri
7. ina ma-ḫar-šu-nu šir-qa i-šar-raq

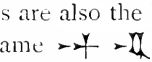
[9] The small character ⟨ on the left-hand margin may be the numeral "10."

8. Aš-šu ûmi ina namari-ma ^{ilu}A-num u ^{ilu}Ellila
9. ultu Uruk (ki) u Nippur (ki) ana Bâbîli (ki)
10. ana ṣa-bat qâtê Kayani Bêli ana Bâbîli (ki)
11. il-la-ku-nim-ma itti - šu
12. i-šad-di-ḫu-u ana bît niqê
13. ki-mu-šu-nu îlâni rabûti gab-bi
14. ana Bâbîli il-la-ku-u-ni.

15. Îlâni ka-la-šu-nu Kayanu itti Bêl (?)
16. ana bît niqê illakuni kima šarri
17. Kayanu nûr-su AT BAT ḪAR

18. Kakkab mešrê ^{ilu}Maruduk
19. ^{ilu}Ni-rig ^{ilu}Na-bi-um
20. [^{ilu}]Šamaš ^{ilu}A-num Bêl u Nabû
21. . . . . -ti . . . mal-ma-liš
. . . . . .

The characters in outline in Col. A, lines 3, 10, 14, 17, 19, and 21, seem to have been defective in the scribe's original, and he has simply reproduced what he saw. The restitution of the defective characters in lines 10, 14, and 19 may be regarded as certain, but the others are doubtful, as are also the last two characters in line 11.

Influenced by the name  , ^{ilu}*En-me-šar-ra* (*Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. III, Pl. 63, line 30*c*; IV, Pl. 1, l. 23; V. Pl. 46, lines 14*a* and 21*b*), I have read (Col. A, lines 10, 14, 19, 23) as *En-me-šara*, but the correctness of this may be doubted. has also the value of *dug*(*a*), so that the real reading may be *En-me-dug*, probably the Εὐήνωκος of Berosus (Abydenus in Syncellus, 38), one of four "double-shaped personages" who came out of the sea. Eusebius's *Armenian Chronicle* has *Iotagus*. The paragraph pointing to the identity of with Kayanu (p. 79) may, therefore, need modification.

In Col. D, line 15, I have regarded the last character as miswritten for . The Sumerian pronunciation of the first four characters in line 18 would be ^{mul}*du-si-sa*.

After copying this inscription, I revised it carefully, but, when I came to study it more closely, found that there were several points which an inspection of the original might have elucidated. Time for this, however, has altogether failed me, and I have decided to give it as it is rather than further delay the publication. I hope to return to the subject when less occupied.

THE TITLES OF THE THINITE KINGS.

BY F. LEGGE.

THE PROTOCOL OF EGYPT.

The form of the protocol, or full royal style of the Kings of Egypt, is settled for us by the rescript of Thothmes I, discovered by EMIL BRUGSCH BEY on a limestone stele in the Gizeh Museum, and published by Dr. ERMAN seventeen years ago.[1] It may be read thus:—

"[Letter from the] king to let you know that my Majesty (Life, "health, strength!) has been crowned King of the South "and North on the throne of the living Horus, peerless "and eternal. My protocol (*nekhebit*) has been "decreed to be this":—

"*The Horus*, Mighty Bull, beloved of Maāt.

"*Lord of Diadems*, Who rises like a flame, the great twice "strong one.

"*Horus of Gold*, Beautiful of years, Who makes hearts to live.

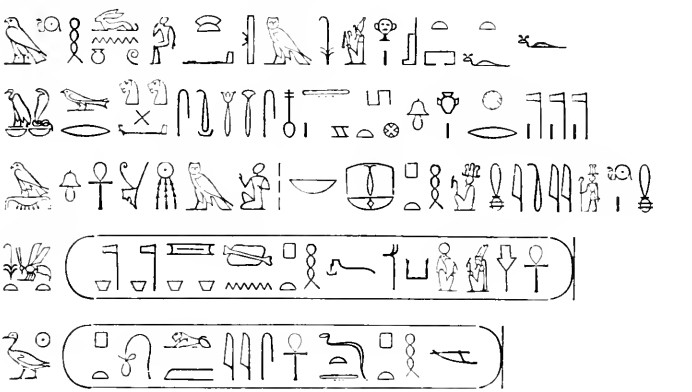
"*King of the South and North*, Fair incarnation of the double "Ra (*Aa-kheper-ka-ra*).

"*Son of Ra*, Thothmes, living for ever."

[1] *Ägyptische Zeitschrift*, Bd. XXIX (1891), pp. 116–119. *Cf.* MORET, ***Royauté Pharaonique***, pp. 84 and 85.

And he goes on to say that the recipient, the officer in charge at Elephantine, is to make offerings to the gods of the South and of Elephantine, and to swear fealty to him in the name of Neferkheper-ka-ra.

Let us take another instance of the protocol, that of Ptolemy V Epiphanes, the first of the Greek kings of Egypt to thoroughly adopt Egyptian customs, which is to be found on the Rosetta stone in Demotic and Greek, and in hieroglyphs on the Stele of Damanhur[2]:—



" *Horus-Ra*, The youth who has risen as a king on the throne
" of his father.
" *Lord of Diadems*, Great twice-strong one, making firm the
" two lands, beautifier of Egypt, beneficent of heart towards
" the gods.
" *Horus of Gold*, Giver of life to men, lord of the Sed-festivals
" like Ptah, prince like Ra.
" *King of the South and North*, Heir of the father-loving gods,
" chosen of Ptah, strength of the double of Ra, living
" power of Amen.
" *Son of Ra*, Ptolemy, living for ever, beloved of Ptah."

It will be noticed that this protocol is modelled on the same lines as that of Thothmes I, the commencement (or italicized part) of each line being evidently a separate title and intended to be constant, while the remainder is a name varying with the occupant

[2] BUDGE, *The Decrees of Memphis and Canopus*, Vol. I, pp. 184–186; Vol. II, pp. 57, 124–125.

of the throne.[3] The titles in the two cases exactly correspond,—with the exception of the first, which, in Thothmes I's case, is simply Horus, and in Ptolemy V's, Horus-Ra. If, for Thothmes' protocol, we substitute that of Tutankhamen, which M. LEGRAIN has just discovered at Karnak, even this discrepancy vanishes.[4] The protocol of Tutankhamen, the last king but two of the XVIIIth Dynasty, runs thus:—

" *Horus-Ra*, Mighty Bull, living image of those who are born.
" *Lord of Diadems*, Good of laws, who makes the two lands " content.
" *Horus of Gold*, renewer of risings, who pleases the gods.
" *King of the South and North*, Lord of the incarnations of Ra " (*Neb-kheperu-ra*).
" *Son of Ra*, Tutankhamen, Prince of Heliopolis Royal."[5]

[3] It should be noticed, however, that these names have a strong family likeness. Thus, the name following the title *Lord of Diadems* in both cases contains the expression or *aa* or *ur pehti*, "twice-strong one" or "great warrior," that following the title *Horus of Gold* an allusion to the calendar, and that following the title *Son of Ra* the expression *ankh zetta*, "ever living." We know from the inscriptions of Queen Hatasu at Deir el-Bahari (NAVILLE, *Deir el-Bahari*, III, Pl. LXII) that these "great names" were given to the king on his coronation by a council of nobles and great officers of the kingdom, and that "the God put it into their hearts to make these names like those which he had made beforehand." As we shall see later, the names of each dynasty generally resemble one another (*cf.* MORET, *Royauté Pharaonique*, p. 83).

[4] *Recueil de Travaux*, 1907, p. 169.

[5] I have given this last name as it is given by M. LEGRAIN (*loc. cit.*) and by Mr. HILTON PRICE in *P.S.B.A.*, X, p. 130. But the final *suten* is probably a mistake for *res*, the whole title *hiq an resu* being "Prince of Annu of the South," or Hermonthis. *Cf.* BUDGE, *History of Egypt*, Vol. IV, p. 143.

Here we see the emblem of Ra added to the Horus on the *srekh*, no doubt in further pursuance of the tendency to identify all the gods with the Sun, which had already brought about a like conjunction in the names Amen-ra, Aten-ra, and the like.[6] The Horus-name begins with "Mighty Bull," as do those of the king's predecessors in the dynasty, and the King of the South and North title contains, in both cases, an allusion to the incarnation of Ra. As Ptolemy Epiphanes' date is 197 B.C., and Tutankhamen's may be put at 1400 B.C., it will be seen that the protocol remained unchanged for a period of twelve centuries.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE PROTOCOL.

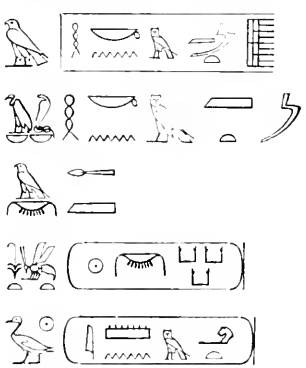
But although the protocol thus became stereotyped, like so many other things in Egypt, after the fall of the glorious XVIIIth Dynasty, before the Hyksos invasion it was subjected to the universal law of evolution. In modern Europe we find royal titles constantly changing from conquests and other causes. The protocol of our own sovereigns, for instance, is an epitome of our history; the titles of "King of France" and "Elector of Hanover," which at one time formed part of it, having been taken into and afterwards cast out of it, owing to dynastic changes. So, too, the title, "Defender of the Faith," still retained in it, marks the relations of Henry VIII with the Papacy, while that of "Emperor of India" bears witness to the assumption by the Crown of the East India Company's territory after the Mutiny of 1857, although the title was formally added only in 1876. It is therefore natural that we should look at the Egyptian protocol for evidence of changes brought about by conquest, or, at any rate, extension of rule, and we find that this is actually to be found there if we go back far enough. But these changes take place entirely under the Thinite or first three dynasties, when, as we may suppose, the empire was in the making. Before coming to them it may be as well to see what other changes took place in the protocol, and, if possible, what brought them about.

[6] The emblem of Ra also appears above the *srekh* of Queen Hatasu at Deir el-Bahari and that of Khuenaten at El-Amarna. But in neither place does it occur invariably, and it may therefore be the addition of a later hand.

Now, going backwards to the time of Usertesen II, the protocol is what it was in the reign of Thothmes I. Usertesen's protocol reads[7]:—

" *The Horus*, Guide of the Two Lands.
" *Lord of Diadems*, Who makes Truth to rise (?)
" *Horus of Gold*, Repose of the gods.
" *King of the South and North*, Rising of the incarnation of Ra
" (*Kha-kheper-ra*).
" *Son of Ra*, Usertesen."

But with Usertesen's immediate predecessor, Amenemhat II, we find a difference. Amenemhat's protocol is[8]:—



[7] NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, i, Pl. XXVI and p. 63. A slightly different one is given in BRUGSCH and BOURIANT's *Livre des Rois*.
[8] NEWBERRY, *B.H.* i, Pl. XXV and p. 58.

" *The Horus*, Praised in (?) Truth.
" *Lord of Diadems*, Praised in Truth.
" *Horus of Gold*, Triumphant.
" *King of the South and North*, Gold of the doubles of Ra
" (*Nub-kau-ra*).
" *Son of Ra*, Amenemhat."

There is no great likeness between the Horus-names of Amenemhat and Usertesen, the last half of the XIIth Dynasty being very unconventional in this respect, although the King of the North and South titles all show a certain analogy. But the *nebti*, or Lord of Diadems title, of Amenemhat merely repeats the name in the *srekh*, and no special name follows it. This is the rule from this reign back to the very earliest occurrence of the title,[9] and both Dr. SETHE and Dr. NAVILLE draw from it the inference that the Horus and *nebti* names were, in these early times, the same. I should prefer to see in it proof that the *nebti* was, at this period, a mere epithet like *neter nefer*, "Fair God," or *neb taui*, "Lord of the two lands," both of which were later used sporadically after the royal protocol, but without forming part of it or acquiring a special name to follow them.

The next change that we see in the protocol is in the time of the Vth Dynasty, the first king of which was User-kaf, who, according to the Westcar Papyrus,[10] was High Priest of Ra in Heliopolis. It seems extremely probable that if we had the full protocols of all the kings of this dynasty, we should find that they all bore the Son of Ra title, with a distinctive name, in a cartouche; but we can only prove this with regard to Kakai, the third king, Ases-ka-ra or Shepses-ka-ra the fourth, A-kau-hor the fifth, and Assa the eighth of these kings. I will therefore give here the protocol of Ne-user-ra (or, as we should call him in accordance with the later practice, An), one of the four kings remaining, who comes sixth in the dynasty. It runs thus[11]:—

[9] SETHE, *A.Z.*, XXX, 1892, p. 53, n. 4. This has since been accepted by Dr. NAVILLE and other writers (see *P.S.B.A.*, 1904, p. 132). Dr. SCHÄFER, *Ä.Z.*, XLI (1904), pp. 87 and 88, tries to show that Unas and Khafra form exceptions to this rule, but to my mind without success.

[10] *Cf.* BUDGE, *History of Egypt*, II, p. 67.

[11] BRUGSCH and BOURIANT, *Livre des Rois*, p. 7.

" *The Horus*, Seat of the Heart of the Two Lands.
" *Lord of Diadems*, Seat of the Heart.
" *Horus of Gold*, Divine.
" *King of the South and North*, Strength of Ra (*Ne-user-ra*).
" *Son of Ra*, An."

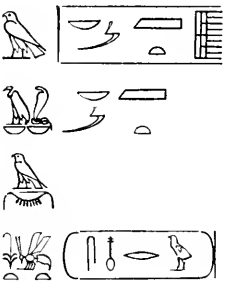
This is the earliest protocol that we have that contains all the five royal titles, and it is fairly certain that the "Son of Ra" title was not used before the Vth Dynasty,[12] a fact which is sufficiently explained by its founder, Userkaf, being the high priest of Ra-worship.

We have now got back to the IVth Dynasty, in which it is to be noticed that while Khafra, its third king, has as his Horus of Gold title the name *sekhem*, "power," his predecessor, Khufu, bears the title without any distinguishing addition.[13] As this is the case with all the Horus of Gold titles belonging to Khufu's predecessors that have yet been found, and the name which follows it consists both here and in the other protocols of this dynasty of a single sign, we may conclude that Khafra was the first to attach a special name to this title, and that before his time the was merely an epithet,

[12] Nefer-ka-ra, the predecessor of Sneferu in the Abydos list, is replaced in the Saqqara Tablet by , in the Papyrus Prisse spelt or *Huni*, whence it has been thought that this name is the Son of Ra name of Nefer-ka-ra. This does not seem to follow, for the Saqqara Tablet gives but few Son of Ra names, and the Prisse Papyrus is not good evidence on the point, being certainly later than the IVth Dynasty.

[13] BRUGSCH and BOURIANT, *loc. cit.*, p. 5.

as I have suggested was the case with the *nebti* or . The complete and primitive form of the protocol under this dynasty is well shown in the case of its founder Sneferu, which is evidently the model of that of his successor Khufu.



"*The Horus*, Lord of Truth.
"*Lord of Diadems*, Lord of Truth.
"*Horus of Gold.*
"*King of the South and North*, Who makes beauties (*Sneferu*)."

This is the first instance of the employment of the cartouche surrounding the "King of the South and North" name, and it may therefore be as well to give here an undoubted cartouche of Sneferu, carved by his orders on the rock at Wâdi Maghâra [14]:—

It will be seen that here all Sneferu's names and titles are crammed together into one cartouche, which would therefore read—if its contents be taken as a connected sentence—"King of the South and North, Lord of Diadems, Neb-maāt, Horus of Gold, Sneferu." A separate cartouche containing the name Sneferu, and a *srekh* with the name Neb-maât surmounted by the Horus-hawk wearing the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt appear on the same monument; but the arrangement within the cartouche given above should be borne in mind in considering the titles of the Thinite Dynasties.

[14] LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, II, Pl. 2. *Cf.* BUDGE, *History of Egypt*, II, p. 22, where the whole monument is reproduced: also WEILL, *Rec. des Inscr.*, p. 103.

We see then from what has gone before, that :—

At the beginning of the IVth Dynasty the protocol included four titles only, viz. : the *Horus* (or hawk), consisting of a name special to the particular king, borne in a *srekh* or rectangle and surmounted by a hawk ; the *Lord of Diadems*, or *nebti*, a simple epithet without a distinguishing name to follow ; the *Horus of Gold*, of which the same thing may be said ; and the *King of the South and North*, or *suten bat*, consisting of the Lotus and Hornet followed by the name peculiar to the king bearing it, which was always different to that borne in his *srekh*.

Sneferu was the first king to use a cartouche.

Khafra was the first king to add any special name to his Horus of Gold title.

An, *i.e.*, Ne-user-ra, was the first king who can be shown to have used the Son of Ra title and the complete protocol of later times, although it is almost certain that this practice came in with Userkaf, first king of the Vth Dynasty.

Usertesen II was the first king to add a special name to the *nebti* title in his protocol.

Tutankhamen was the first king to use regularly the title "Horus-Ra" instead of the single "Horus" on the top of his *srekh*.

After this the protocol remained stereotyped, and it was used in the form in which Tutankhamen left it.

(*To be continued.*)

THE ANCIENT YEAR AND THE SOTHIC CYCLE.

BY THE REV. F. A. JONES.

In the belief that it may throw some light upon Chronology as recorded in the Ancient Monuments, it is proposed, in this paper, to examine the time-measurements of the Ancient World, and especially of Egypt, from the standpoint of the possibilities open to observers without modern appliances.

Ptolemy, Hipparchus, and others, long before the present era, had made observations without either telescope or chronometer, as far as we know, and yet the record of their results is considered sufficiently accurate to quote side by side with modern figures. But Hipparchus is acknowledged to have learned much from those before him, as his predecessor, Pythagoras, who anticipated the Copernican system, is said to have obtained his knowledge from Egypt. The measure of the length of the solar year, which comes to us from at least 2000 B.C., is more accurate than that of Hipparchus: and M. BAILY attributed the Indian tables, which contain some marvellous approximations, to 3101 B.C.

The most obvious unit of time is the day. Although no two days are, perhaps, precisely alike in length, the mean of a few years is so constant that it could not lead astray those who relied upon it: and noon, at all events, was an easily recognised point from which to measure by means of the shadow, and capable of being readily compared with sunrise.

Next in simplicity is the lunation, arresting the attention of the most careless observer by the changes in the moon's form, and recurring with sufficient frequency to constitute it the second great measure of time. In nearly every language the word for month seems to make reference to the moon; while in most lands, both in ancient and modern eras, the new moon has been a starting point in the reckoning of time.

Even now the great Mahommedan world retains the year of twelve lunations, and it seems most probable, if not absolutely certain, that this lunar year of 354 days, which survives to-day, is the oldest reckoning of all.

The lunar year, however, unless modified by occasional intercalation, involves the ignoring of the year as indicated by the return of the seasons, Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter: divisions so perfectly obvious that they share with the day and the lunation the position of natural measures of time for the observation and record of which no astronomical knowledge is needed.

It is the necessity of a calendar of some sort that gives the student of the heavens his opportunity. These natural divisions of time have to be correlated in some fashion before they can be combined: and, had they been intentionally arranged not to agree, they could hardly have been more incommensurable.

The first departure from the year of 354 days—if one allows the Indian astronomy to be ancient—is 355 days, in which time the moon nearly completes thirteen revolutions among the stars. The existence of this record points to observation by careful observers. It introduces a new feature: the use of the sidereal heavens as a background on which to measure the movements of the moon. The sun's apparent movement was far more difficult to observe, no stars being visible throughout its course: and yet their existence was recognised and the sun's course traced through the zodiac. Mr. E. W. MAUNDER, of Greenwich Observatory, in his *Astronomy without a Telescope*, gives convincing evidence of the origin of the zodiac in the era about 3000 B.C., which was the only period within 25,000 years when the blank space represented by the South Polar stars—invisible to an observer in the northern hemisphere—could have been just where it was then depicted.

This 355 day lunar year is by no means common. It was so near to the more obvious year of 12 lunations as to make it a mere refinement; but it indicates a different character of observation. As far as lunar observations are concerned, the eclipses would call attention to some of the more obscure phenomena of the moon's movements, and the lunar Saros of 18 years and about 10 days completing a cycle of remarkable accuracy in 649 years comes down to us from very early times indeed.

There would be no need to have special appliances for the observation of the eclipses, but to know that 223 lunations take place in

18 years and 10 days, or 36 times 223 in 649 years and 1 month, implies a determination of the true length of the year more accurate than most are willing to concede to those early ages.

If Josephus is right (*Ant.* I, 39) the accurate knowledge of the length of the tropical year possessed by men in early times (he says before the Flood) is proved by their use of the Great Year of 600 years. In 600 tropical years and one day there are 7,421 lunations. In that period the New Moon and the Spring Equinox correspond within an hour.

It must not be forgotten, however, that merely counting the lunations and days side by side for so long a period, and comparing them with the changes connected with the seasons, would of itself yield all the data necessary for the determination of the length of the year with considerable accuracy. Still, a rough idea of the solar year must have been formed without waiting so long as that. There are simple means of observation available to anyone really set on using them. The equinox seems to have been noted at least as early as SARGON'S astrological work, "The sixth day of Nisan the day and the night were balanced, there were six Kapsu of day and six Kapsu of night," *W.A.I.* III, 51, 1. And when we remember that the equinox is marked not only by the equality of day and night but by the mean length of the shadow and, most simple of all, by the rising of the sun due east, and that the Great Pyramid is oriented with almost absolute accuracy by the stars, we need not deny such a degree of learning even to very early observers.

Granted a means of knowing the day on which the equinoxes and solstices occurred, we cannot attribute to the ancients ignorance of the fact that there were between 365 and 366 days in a solar year. One of the most ancient of the Chinese records places these words in the mouth of Yao, the Chinese Noah: "The Ti said, 'Ah! you, Hsis and Hos, a round year consists of three hundred sixty and six days. Do you by means of the intercalary month fix the four seasons and complete the period of the year.'"—SHU-KING, Vol. III, *Sacred Books of the East*, p. 34.

They could not, however, have observed the stars very long without discovering that there was a want of agreement between the length of the year, as determined by the return of the equinox, and that indicated by a star occupying the same position again after its apparent annual revolution. Owing, however, to this annual revolution being complicated with the diurnal motion, it would be extremely

difficult for an early observer to determine with accuracy the true length of the sidereal year in the absence of some artificial time-keeper.

There comes down to us from the very earliest ages the record of a 360-day year of 12 equal months. It remained the basis of the calendar in Chaldean astronomy to very late times, with differing methods of intercalation. It was modified in Egypt by the insertion of five days at the end of the last month of the year, making the so-called vague year of 365 days. According to Syncellus, quoting from Manetho (p. 123, C.D., Paris ed., *Catalogue of the Egyptian Kings*), this was done by Asseth who he says was the father of Tethmosis. The quotation is as follows: "He added the five additional days of the year, and in his time as they say, the Egyptian year was appointed to consist of 365 days, when it before this was composed of 360." Several difficulties are raised by referring the change to so late a date, but Mr. F. G. FLEAY in his *Egyptian Chronology*, who reckons Asseth as about 1629 B.C. (p. 108), maintains that the earlier Sed festivals before 2000 B.C. were at intervals of 30 years, and were calculated on the year of 360 days, while in those after the Sothic Cycle was established, which would only reckon by multiples of four, the interval was 28 years (pp. 101–105).

There is no lack of evidence for this 360-day reckoning, but the explanation usually given of it, as a mere approximation through ignorance, is far from satisfactory.

IDELER has asserted: "I do not hesitate . . . to declare that the existence of such a time-cycle, used without reference to the course of the sun and moon, for the sake of simple figures, is extremely doubtful to me." We need not wonder at this repudiation. Why should the ancients supersede the lunar year of 354 or 355 days, based on actual observation, by one of 360 days, which would correspond accurately with no phenomenon and more or less clash with all? And yet they did.

Ancient China is said to have divided the circle into $365\frac{1}{4}$ degrees, but all the rest of the world adopted 360 degrees for its division. May it not have been the use of the circle to express a complete revolution and the necessity of dividing it into a convenient number of parts, which gave rise first to a 360-degree year, and hence for astronomical purposes to a 360-day year?

When we examine the period of 360 days more closely in the light of exact modern knowledge, we find relations between its

sidereal time and solar time which are so remarkable that it is difficult to suppose that they could have been understood then. For instance, the stars rise 3 minutes 56 seconds earlier every day, completing a gain over the sun of one sidereal day in a sidereal year. After 360 mean solar days the gain is just 20 minutes 40 seconds short of the whole. This closely corresponds with the difference between the tropical year and the sidereal year which, according to STOCKWELL, averages 20 minutes 28 seconds. 360 mean solar days in this way represent the tropical year with remarkable accuracy. There is also a relationship to the anomalistic year, when the earth returns to the perihelion, which is not so simple.

The period of 360 days is, however, the representative of a more simple relationship into which we may easily enter. The Egyptians, it is well known, had a vague year of 365 days, which they used side by side either with the natural year or with the Sirius year of about $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, of which we shall have more to say presently, but I suggest that the 360-day year was also a vague year used for a similar purpose. The day is without question the simplest natural unit. It was not difficult to determine the actual day on which any sidereal year ended, but impossible to reckon more closely in the absence of an exact method of artificially dividing time in the night. Besides this the year did not end at the same hour at which it began, but somewhere about six hours later. If, however, the days were counted and grouped into batches of 360, then at the end of 365 such batches or years, the position of the stars would mark off the following year in terms of days. The sidereal year would be found to end on the 92nd day of the 366th year, and this would give the length of the sidereal year to three places of decimals. We then only have to suppose that the reckoning commenced with the equinox, which is the most probable time for commencing, and the fact that in this same 366th year the equinox fell on the 87th day would immediately give the difference of five days between the mean solar year and the sidereal year. How really accurate this method is may be seen by the fact that these five days being the $\frac{1}{72}$ of the whole, it yields 25,920 years for the complete circle of precession which modern science reckons at 25,868 years and does not claim certainty at that. It need hardly be pointed out that $365\frac{1}{4}$ of these 360-day periods are exactly the same as 360 years of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days each, so that by this simple method the length of the sidereal year and solar year and

the difference between them due to precession would be exhibited very closely.

It also accounts for the ancient method of recording the days in order to afford means of ascertaining years, and adds to the already abounding testimony that the extended periods of Berossus 120 Sari = 432,000 are really days, and mean 1,200 years of 360 days, or 1182½ mean solar years. This is even more apparent in his next figure, 33,091, in which the final figures supply the key and suggest that 33,000 days are 91 years of 360 days. The Babylonian Chronology of Berossus, thus dealt with, shows the 3,200 years of the Nabonidus inscription to be 1,700 ordinary years + 1,500 days, as included in the 33,091, and the date of Narâm Sin, consequently, somewhere about 2250 B.C.

The accompanying table (Plate I) of the Berossus chronology will show this. The relation of this explanation to the excavations at Nippur was dealt with by me in these *Proceedings*, Vol. XXVIII, 1906, pp. 264 ff. This seems to require a reduction of about 1,500 years in the date usually attributed to Narâm Sin.

Plate II gives the comparative lengths of the calendar and natural years already referred to.

The Egyptian Year.

While the Chaldeans kept the calendar true to nature by intercalating months into a 360-day year—just as the Hebrews intercalated months into the 354-day lunar year—the Egyptians, as we have seen, made an important departure by adding regularly five days to the 360-day year. That this, however, was done in the full knowledge that it did not accurately represent the natural facts is evident from the year so formed being always known as a vague year, and used side by side with an observation of the heliacal rising of Sirius.

Prof. E. NAVILLE, in a lecture given in the Collége de France, 1905, maintains that the Sed festivals were regulated by a natural year, and Prof. E. MAHLER, *S.B.A.*, Vol. XXVII, Pt. 6, pp. 255–9, says: "Among the Egyptians there was, besides the usual year forms (Sothis year and vague year) also a so-called natural year . . . The months of the respective year forms bore the same names: the first month of every year form was called Thoth." While these quotations confirm the suggestion just made as to the real purpose of both

vague year and Sirius year being astronomical methods for regulating the calendar year, they further suggest how difficult it is to determine now what year is referred to in such inscriptions as give dates at all. If all three forms of year ran concurrently and entered into the popular calendar, there would necessarily be great confusion, for though, as we shall see, the vague year and the Sirius year were correlated as to sidereal time, and coincided in about 1460 years, the vague year and the natural year would not coincide till about 1507 years had elapsed. This would be clear to the astronomer, but very perplexing in an almanack for civil purposes. Most of the inscriptions, however, refer to the religious feasts and were probably dictated by priests, the astronomers of the time.

Some other considerations vital to the enquiry follow upon an investigation of the nature of the Sothic or Sirius year, and the misunderstandings which are embodied in much extant literature on the subject make this investigation desirable.

If the vague year of 365 days is thought of as running side by side with the *Julian* year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days exactly, the 1st of Thoth of the vague year will fall one day earlier every four years till it agrees again after 1,461 vague years. As this is a backward motion, it may also be thought of as the 1st of Thoth of the Julian year *advancing* through the vague year in 1460 Julian years. Thus far is common knowledge, but, unfortunately, the Julian year (365·25 days) is often mistaken for the true Sirius year, and the Sirius year is sometimes taken to be the same as the true tropical year of 365·242242· days.

The Julian year is merely a round figure, nearer to the true length of the year than 365 days, but still more than 10 minutes too long for agreement with the mean solar or tropical year. It did not become a calendar year till B.C. 45, and in that capacity was unknown to the ancient Egyptians, though it was anticipated by the decree of Tanis, B.C. 238. It has now been superseded by our Gregorian calendar year, adopted in Europe A.D. 1582, which is, however, still slightly in excess of tropical time, being 365·2425, or one day too much in 3,600 years.

The Egyptians, however, did know and observe the year, as it was indicated by the first observation of the rising of the Dog Star, Sirius, at or just before sunrise. The length of this year depends upon the difference between the precession, as it affects the star on the one hand and the sun rising on the other, and involves some very curious complications.

The following table, published recently by Professor E. MAHLER,[1] shows that from B.C. 4000 to B.C. 1000 this yielded a year so close to the Julian year, that it would not make one day difference in the complete cycle of 1,460 years on the vague year; but the table for the whole precessional cycle of 25,920 years, accompanying this Paper, shows how very irregular it was at other times (Plate III).

	LENGTH OF SIRIUS YEAR.		DIFFERENCE FROM JULIAN YEAR.		
B.C.	Days.		Day.		Minutes.
4000	365·2498677	=	− 0·0001323	=	− 0·19
3000	365·2500471	=	+ 0·0000471	=	+ 0·07
2000	365·2502908	=	+ 0·0002908	=	+ 0·42
1000	365·2505990	=	+ 0·0005990	=	+ 0·86
0	365·2509715	=	+ 0·0009715	=	+ 1·40

These problems may be roughly solved on a precessional globe, in which the position of the pole is altered for each date required; but I have found the following method to possess many advantages, and to make it possible to work them out without special appliances.

On any globe that is provided with a horizon circle (whether celestial or terrestrial), draw a circle parallel to the ecliptic and 40° south of it. Divide this circle into 72 equal parts, and each division will then mark the position the Dog Star will occupy *in relation to the equinoctial and solstitial* colures at intervals of 360 years. (Of course, the whole celestial sphere is to be taken as moving with this star on the surface of the globe. Any other star's apparent position may be traced in a similar way by a circle parallel to the ecliptic and passing through the present position of the star.) Take the point on the circle where the summer solstice intersects it to represent approximately 1000 A.D., and reckon westward for earlier and eastward for later positions. Set the globe with the pole above the northern horizon 30° for Memphis or 25° 44′ for Thebes, and it will then exhibit the relation between the sun and the star at rising and setting.

For observation at a single date it is sufficient to find the position of the star by reckoning in the same way along the ecliptic 72 years for a degree, and marking the then position of the star 40° south of the ecliptic on a great circle passing through that point on the ecliptic

[1] "Sothis und Monddaten der Alten Ägypter." *Actes du XIIth Congrès international des Orients.* Paris, 1906.

and the south pole of the ecliptic. The latter being always where what is called on the terrestrial globe the Antarctic Circle cuts the summer solstitial colure.

To convert right ascension and declination into celestial longitude and latitude, set the globe with both the pole of the ecliptic and the position indicated on the horizon. The number of degrees on the horizon from the ecliptic to that position will be the latitude, and the degrees on the ecliptic from the vernal equinox will be the longitude.

This method allows of ready modification for change in obliquity of the orbit and varying rate of precession.

There is one element of great uncertainty in the calculation of the heliacal rising of a star. How long before sunrise could the star be seen? It is sometimes reckoned as one hour, 15° on the equator, but should always be measured *vertically* below the horizon.

According to HINCKS (*Years and Cycles used by the Ancient Egyptians*), BIOT calculated the sun's depression at 11° at Memphis. In the accompanying table 9° is assumed, which seems the very utmost that could be allowed for trained observers. Sirius is nine times as bright as the average of first magnitude stars, and the atmosphere of Egypt is exceptionally clear.

According to both Ptolemy and KEPLER, first magnitude stars are visible with the sun 12° below the horizon, but J. SCHMIDT, from the mean results of observation (A.N. No. 1495), says that first magnitude stars may be seen with the sun actually 0° 40′ above the horizon. The angle of the sun's depression affects very considerably the date at which the star would be seen to rise with it, and to some extent alters the length of the Sirius year.

On reference to the accompanying Diagram, *Plate I*, giving the length of the Sirius year for the whole cycle of precession, the following points will be obvious :—

1st. The very limited period for which the cycle of 1,460 years would hold good. Any system such as that of Manetho, or the Old Chronicle based on 25 Sothic cycles, is purely artificial.

2nd. That no Sothic cycle dependent upon the heliacal rising of Sirius *at the solstice* could be observed at Memphis earlier than B.C. 2960 or at Thebes before B.C. 2600, but more accurately B.C. 2600 at Memphis and B.C. 2000 at Thebes, reckoning depression of the sun at 9°.

3rd. That the difference between the Sirius Year and the tropical

year indicated by natural phenomena such as the shortest shadow, the most northern position of the sun at rising, or the inundation of the Nile, would amount to more than 11 days in the course of one Sothic cycle of 1,460 years.

4th. That the statement of Censorinus that Sirius rose regularly with the sun on July 21st, and that a cycle commenced A.D. 139, requires a very abnormal sun depression, 15°, and confirms the view expressed by Sir J. NORMAN LOCKYER in the *Dawn of Astronomy*, pp. 261 and 280, that the decree of Tanis altered the reckoning, and that a date near to 600 B.C. is indicated as marking a change, and also that the cycle really commenced, not 139 A.D., but about 270 B.C., a difference of at least 400 years. He makes the previous cycle commence 1728 B.C., a date which would agree remarkably well with the time of Asseth if that monarch was the same described by Josephus as Assis, the last of the Shepherd Kings.

The Date of the Great Pyramid.

To apply these results to the recorded dates of the monuments is beyond the purpose of this paper, but the facts of precession must have an important bearing on these problems, and there is no more interesting application of them than to the determination of the date of the Great Pyramid.

It is unfortunate that such extravagant deductions have been made from its measurements as to cast discredit upon facts so easy of verification, but there is one thing that all astronomers since Sir JOHN HERSCHEL are agreed upon, namely, that the inclination of the so-called entrance passage indicates the observance of Alpha Draconis as the pole star of the period. When HERSCHEL investigated the problem the common opinion for the date of the Pyramid agreed with the famous despatch of Napoleon to his troops in Egypt: "Forty centuries look down upon you." HERSCHEL looked for confirmation of about 2160 B.C. as the date of the Pyramid and found what he looked for (*Outlines of Astronomy*, 8vo., 1859, p. 205). PIAZZI SMITH gave great attention to this measurement, and adopted 2170 B.C. as the date, and his map of the heavens showing the effect of precession on the direction of the pole has been copied into other standard astronomical books. This, however, did not agree with the later views of Egyptologists, and R. A. PROCTOR very properly called attention to the fact that Alpha Draconis twice had

occupied the position required by the angle of 26° 18′ below the pole at which this passage is pointed, and these two occasions were separated by a period of about 1,200 years. He adopted the earlier of the two and fixed the date of building the Pyramid at 3400 B.C. (*The Great Pyramid*, p. 50.)

I subjoin a diagram (Plate IV, fig. 1) of the problem as presented by the actual facts, and accompanied by the data upon which there is general agreement. The singular fact is that, though Mr. PROCTOR recognised the probability of the Pyramid being built *subsequent* to the date when Alpha Draconis was at the nearest point to the pole, B.C. 2790 (for he says, "it was *still* the pole star"), he entirely ignores that very conclusive argument by fixing on the era *before*, when the pole was gradually approaching the star, but comparatively distant from it.

Singularly enough, the Pyramid builders appear to have recognised the uncertainty, and to have left us an indication of a most remarkable character, that 2170 B.C., and not 3400 B.C., was the true date.

Among all the characteristics of that marvellously accurate construction, there is one anomaly which has never received adequate explanation. Everything is geometrical except the position of this entrance passage, and the whole system of passages and chambers has been placed truly oriented but considerably out of the centre. Col. HOWARD VYSE'S measurements give it as 24 feet 6 inches from the centre, and to the east of the centre of the north side. This eccentricity made not the slightest difference to the portion of the heavens to be seen through it, but it very obviously indicates that, at the time the observation was recorded, the pole was to the west and not to the east of the star observed. When we further discover that the amount of the eccentricity makes exactly the same angle with the line of the true pole, as indicated by the centre of the north side, it forces the conviction upon us, not only that the later date, 2170 B.C., was indicated in the construction of the Pyramid, but also that it was intended to be so indicated, which is a greater wonder still.

In the diagram the two small circles mark the apparent diurnal rotation of the star round the pole at the two eras concerned. Midway between the centres the star was actually very near indeed to the pole itself about the date 2790 B.C.

The rectangular figures represent the view of the heavens through the passage at 63 feet, the point of junction with the ascending

passage, and again at the lowest end of the passage. The dimensions of the passage itself secured the central position of the star at lower culmination, and also the inclusion at its upper limit of the position of the true pole. According to PROCTOR (p. 112), from a point in the passage very carefully marked, the upper culmination could also be just seen from the floor of the passage.

Diagram (Plate IV, fig. 2) indicates the position of the passages east of the centre and the way of measuring the angle to reveal the $3^{\circ}\ 42'$ of difference between the pole and the star.

This seems to require a reduction of about 1,200 years in the accepted date for the erection of the Pyramid, and supports the view of WILKINSON (*Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. II, p. 276) and others, that part, at least, of the dynasties of Manetho were contemporary.

COMPARATIVE LENGTHS OF THE YEAR.

NAME OF THE YEAR	LENGTH IN DAYS	USED BY
LUNAR YEAR 12 LUNATIONS	354·36706464	MAHOMMEDANS
DO. 13 Sidereal Months	355·18225822	ANCIENT INDIANS
Chaldean or Prophetic	360	Chaldeans & Hebrews
VAGUE YEAR	365	ANCIENT EGYPT
SOTHIC YEAR	VARIES	Do. Do.
JULIAN YEAR	365·25	ROMAN WORLD
GREGORIAN YEAR	365·2425	MODERN EUROPE
LEAP YEAR	366	Do & ANCIENT CHINA
* SOLAR or TROPICAL YEAR ERA 3000 BC	365·24249916	LE VERRIER deduced
Do. Do 600 "	365·242349	Do Do
Do Do 1900 AD	365·2421934	Do Do
† SIDERIAL YEAR	365·2563538	Do Do
‡ ANOMALISTIC YEAR	365·2596408	Do Do
ONE HOUR	= ·0416̇ DAY	
ONE MINUTE	= ·000694	
ONE SECOND	= ·000011574	
*EQUINOX to EQUINOX	† Star to Same again	‡ Perihelion to Perihelion

CHALDEAN CHRONOLOGY OF BEROSSUS	360 DAY YEARS	SOLAR YEARS A.M.	B.C.
A period of 480 years PLINY LIB VII c. 56	480		
120 Sari of 3600 = 432,000 (years) (days)	1200		
DATE OF THE FLOOD	1680	1656	2340
33,091 (YEARS DAYS) for 86 Kings	91	90	
The first Median Invasion		1746	2250
8 MEDIAN KINGS		224	2026
11 Kings' Blank in MS. NOTE BY AMANUENSIS IN MARGIN ARMEN. ED.		48	1978
49 Chaldean Kings		458	1520
9 ARABIAN KINGS		245	1275
45 Kings to Phul		526	745
Phul or Tiglath Pileser III		745	
B.C.		3992	0
12 years less than Ussher			

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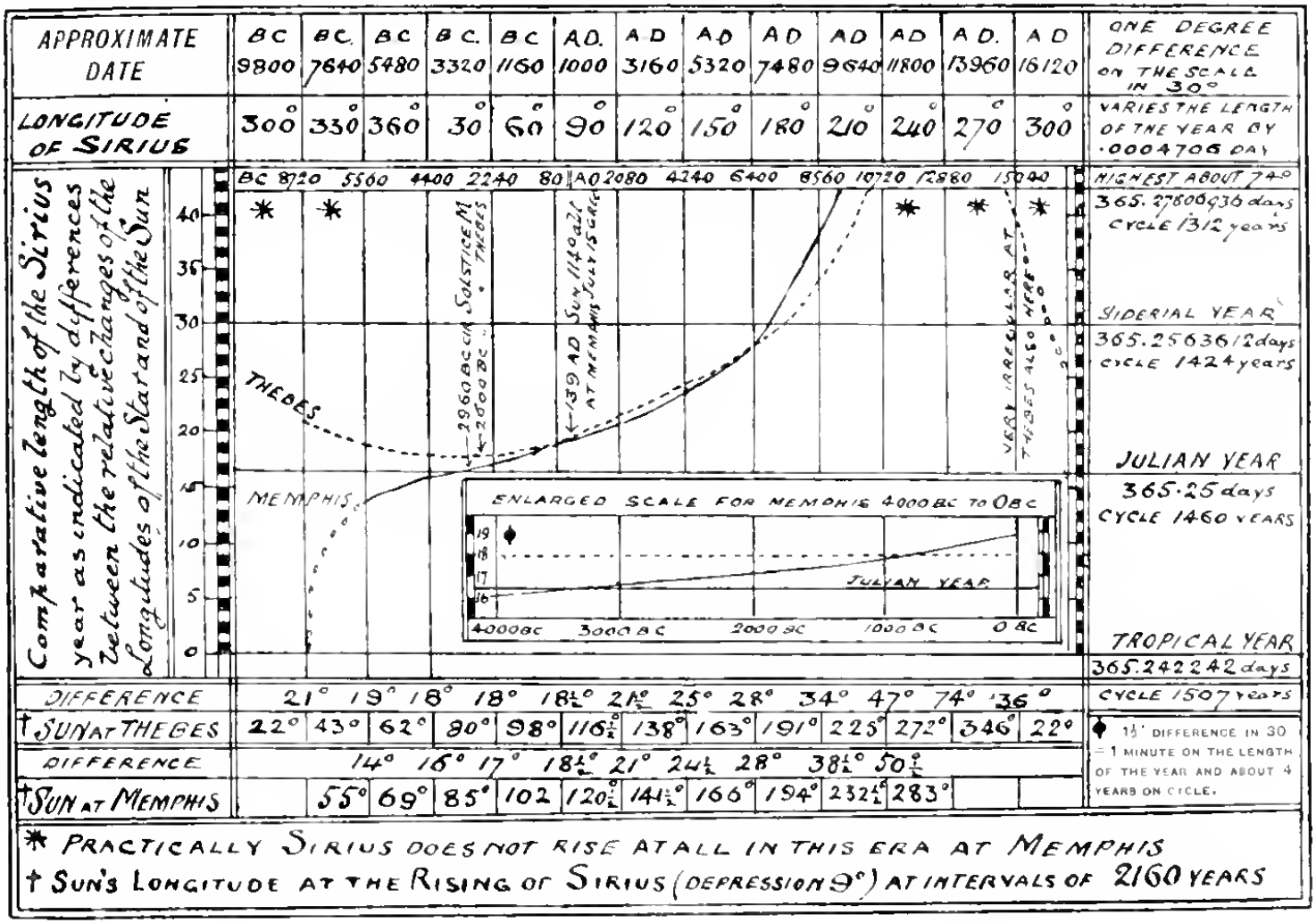
A CURVE REPRESENTING APPROXIMATELY THE VARIATION IN 25,920 YEARS OF THE LENGTH OF THE YEAR INDICATED BY THE HELIACAL RISING OF SIRIUS

DEPRESSION OF SUN BELOW HORIZON 9° — LATITUDE MEMPHIS 30° THEBES 25°44'.



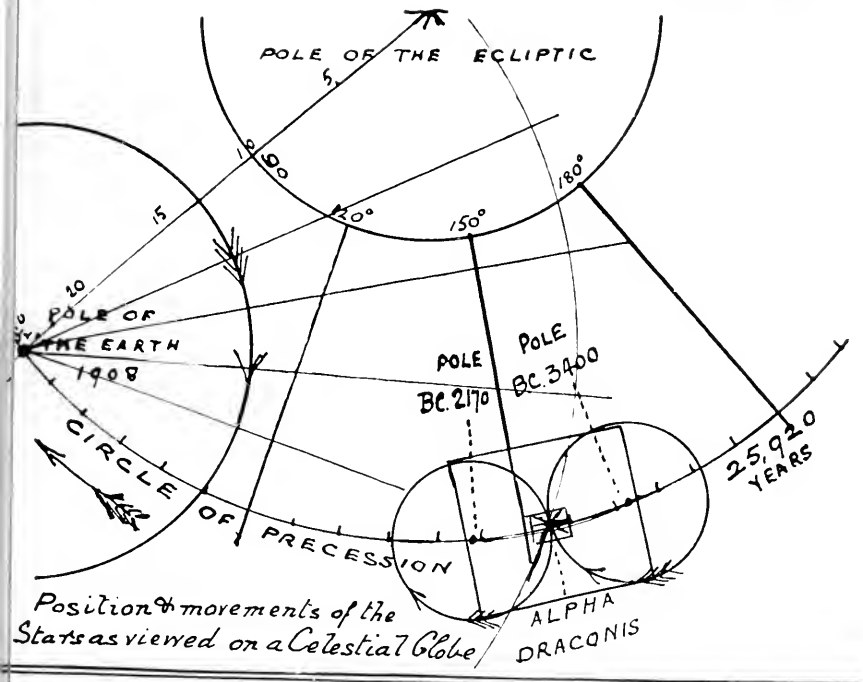


Fig. 1.

PYRAMID DATA

Angle of Passage	26°. 18′
Below Pole	3°. 42′
Angle of view at 63 ft	7°. 7′
So from lower end	2°. 0′
Height of Passage	47.0 in
Breadth "	41.5 "

	INCHES
Side of Pyramid BASE	9120
Passage E of Centre	294
Circumf. of Circle	28651
Angle with Centre	3°. 42′

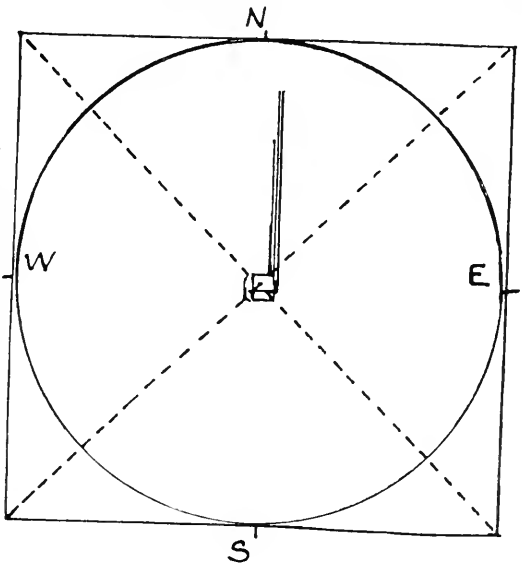


Fig. 2.

THE LOST TEN TRIBES OF ISRAEL.

BY THE REV. C. H. W. JOHNS.

When Samaria fell after its three years' siege, commenced under Shalmaneser IV and finished under Sargon, the Assyrian ruler deported over 27,000 of its inhabitants to the river of Gozan, the Chabour, Ḫalaḥ, and "the cities of the Medes." They thus disappeared from history. Many attempts have been made to trace them further, and there has never been lacking a perennial interest in every question which could throw light upon the exiled Israelites.

Obviously Gozan, Ḫabur, and Ḫalaḥ are the keys to the situation. The Bible dictionaries will show how much light has been thrown upon these names by the cuneiform inscriptions, and it would be out of place here to recapitulate what is known of them. It is clear that a number of Jewish names do occur in the domestic records of Assyria, and there is even a suggestion that the mother of Esarhaddon was an Israelite. But all these, it may be thought, were slaves, or the descendants of slaves. We should expect the Israelites, as a whole, to have been settled in or around the districts above named, much as the serfs were in and around Ḫarran, as shown by the texts published in my *Assyrian Doomsday Book*. Though tied to the soil they had lands, houses, homesteads, cattle, families, probably as independently as in their own home. They were subject to no greater imposts than before, and had the protection of Assyrian power. In fact, the picture which the Rabshakeh drew in 2 Kings, xviii, 32, of a land like their own land, a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of olive and of honey, where they might live and not die, was no fancy picture, but most probably true to the experience of the captive Ten Tribes in Gozan.

Their existence there can be documented, as we shall see later. The banks of the Ḫabur, the land of Ḫalaḥḥi, and the district of Gozan are not a large area. Were they the cities of the Medes? The time came, after Nineveh fell, and the Assyrian Empire was

portioned out between Babylonians and Medes, when this district was distinctly under Median sway, and at that period it might well be called "the cities of the Medes." Still, before long, Cyrus made "cities of the Persians" more appropriate. In the book of Tobit, the Hebrews seem to be in Media, but this might be due to the influence of the view that the phrase necessarily implied Media itself. There was a land called *Mad-a-a* in the Assyrian inscriptions. It is by no means clear that this meant Media, but it may be the land intended by "the cities of the Medes." Volumes have been written on the subject, and, as long as we have no facts, volumes more may be written. There is just enough to excite the imagination and to romance about.

We now have some facts to go upon, and it is well to start by excluding romance as much as possible. It is alleged that we have documentary evidence of Israelites in the above district, before the fall of Nineveh; that, like the Jews at Assuan, they had their own temple of Jahve, which had special privileges, and that they were prominent as traders. These assertions must be examined carefully before they are accepted as historic facts.

Dr. S. SCHIFFER has published, as a *Beiheft* of the *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung* for 1907, a most interesting memoir called *Keilinschriftliche Spuren der in der zweiten Hälfte des* 8. *Jahrhunderts von den Assyrern nach Mesopotamien deportierten Samarier* (10 *Stämme*). He discusses the contents of fifteen texts published by Dr. UNGNAD in *Heft I* of the *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, which are remarkable as forming a group of deeds of sales, etc., connected with the inhabitants of a city called Kannu', whose city-god was Au. It has been suggested that Au is an ideographic writing of Apla-Addu, but Dr. SCHIFFER argues for its being a cuneiform writing of Jahve. He further places the city in the district to which the ten tribes were carried away, and recognizes many Israelite names among them. Hitherto we have had small reference in the cuneiform texts to the existence of the Ten Tribes after their deportation.

In the *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters* (Vol. VI, p. 684 ff.), edited by Professor R. F. HARPER, K. 1366, unfortunately in a very fragmentary state, already published by Dr. H. WINCKLER (*Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*, 1894), contains some interesting references. Samaria is named in line 5, Bi'li-rakabbi of Sama'al in line 6, Tarâṣu the scribe of Gozan in line 9, with whose affairs the letter is chiefly

concerned; while on the reverse Niri-Iau (Biblical Neriah), Palṭi-Iau (Biblical Pelatiah, *cf.* Palti-el, Palti), are connected directly with the city of Gozan. Beside a number of Assyrian officials, we have also Au-killâni. In the *Proceedings* for June 14, 1905, p. 188, I pointed out the significance of these facts.

The reading Abladdu in place of Au is very uncertain, as Professor F. E. PEISER shows in his preface to Dr. SCHIFFER's Memoir; but also the identification of Au with Jahve needs some confirmation. A spelling Iau (as is attested for the historical period by such names as Hezekiah, Ḫazaḳi-Iau, also Ḫazaḳi-Au; Azariah, Azria-Au, Azri-Au; Jo-aḥaz, Ahaz, Iau-ḥazi; extra-Biblical names as Iau-bi'di, Nadbi-Iau, Ili-Iau like Elijah, and others, just as we have Niri-Iau, Palṭi-Iau in K. 1366 above) is much to be preferred. What would help greatly would be the occurrence of (*ilu*)*Iau*, somewhere as a variant of Au. My own conviction is that Dr. SCHIFFER is quite right in his view of the names in Au; but I admit that further evidence may help to overthrow this opinion once more. At any rate, there are a number of names such as Absalami like Absalom, Ilu-idri like Eleazar, Palṭî like Palti, Ḫaninaia like Hananiah, Saulu like Saul, not to mention hybrids of mixed Assyrian and Hebrew elements, which have a Hebrew smack about them. Many more may be either Hebrew or Aramaic, while a number are purely Assyrian. It is absurd to suppose that the Bible gives us a complete list of Hebrew names, and the force of Dr. SCHIFFER'S argument gains greatly by insisting only on such as are certainly Hebrew, if Au be Jahve. Many more may be Hebrew, at least in part.

The identification of the city Kannu' with the Canneh of Ezekiel xxvii, 23, is very interesting; but it is doubtful whether Ezekiel's Chebar is the Chabour, as Dr. SCHIFFER seems to think. Professor HILPRECHT, *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, Vol. IX, p. 28, considers that he has found Chebar in the name of a Canal Kabari, near Nippur, where it is certain that many Jews settled after the Babylonian Captivity. The frequent use of the sign for the soft breathing about this period to replace the letter *n* makes one wonder if Kannu' was a local speaking or pronunciation of Kānu'n, and suggests that these Israelites called their settlement Canaan, after their old home. Its exact locality is not easy to fix, but it is mentioned in Bu. 91–5–9, 95, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, no. 443. There the boundaries of an estate are given as, "the king's road, the road to the city Maliâti, the road to

Kannu', the brook that runs down from the city Adi-ilu to (another city whose name is effaced), and the road from that city to Kannu' as far as the brook." The analogy of similar lists of boundaries elsewhere makes it very clear that Maliâti, Kannu' and Adi-ilu are close neighbours. Of Maliâti I can find no other trace, but the city Adi-ilu is often named. It occurs in a geographical list, K. 4384, published in the second volume of RAWLINSON'S *Inscriptions of Western Asia*, p. 53, just before Ḫigi-anbe and another city, Bêl-ilu (or is this a variant of the name Adi-ilu?). The same column continues with a list of cities, among which Arabḫa, Ḫalaḫḫu, and Raṣappa are named, and soon after Apku, Isana, Guzana, Naṣibina and Amedi. In the next column we find Damascus, Samalla, Carchemish, etc. Hence we may conclude that Adi-ilu was not far away from Halah and Gozan. It is difficult to be sure on what principle this list was arranged, and it would be unsafe to draw more definite conclusions from it.

In 83-1-18, 335, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, no. 350, in another list of boundaries, "the brook, or canal, of the city Adi-ilu" in mentioned. Also one neighbour was Ḳurdi-Ištar, probably the same as the father of the witness Auluai in l. 33 of our no. 2. The property was situated in the city Beth-Dagan. Among the witnesses are three inhabitants of Adi-ilu. The deed is dated in B.C. 707. The city Adi-ilu is also named in K. 3495, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, no. 396, but with no indication of locality. It is also named in a list of estates in K. 9858, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, no. 1116, and little can be made of the fact that the next city named is Raṣappa, for a number of names may have come between; the order may be that on one well known route, or may not be geographically arranged at all. The name Adi-ilu, "How long, O God!" seems very appropriate for a land of exile. But this meaning can hardly be pressed.

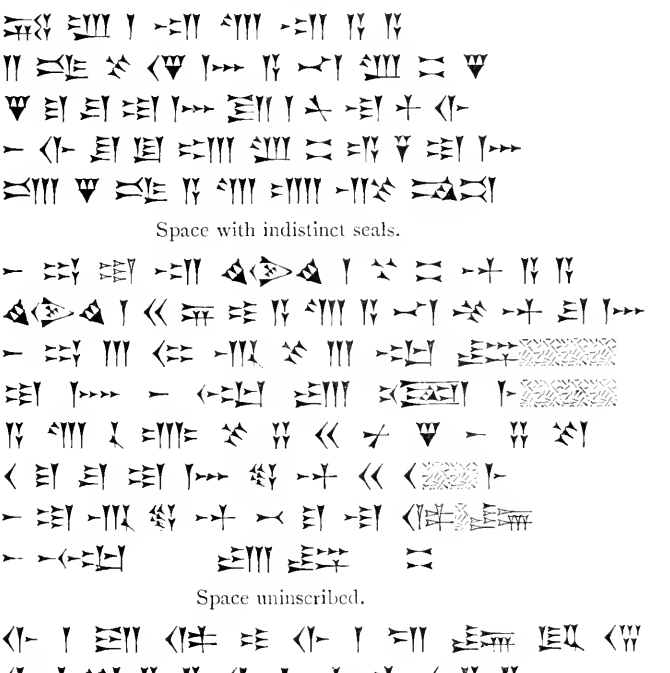
By the kindness of a friend, in whose possession they now are, I am permitted to publish the texts of two more documents closely connected with this subject. They are said to have come from Nineveh, as did K. 1366 and several others in the British Museum quoted by Dr. SCHIFFER. Those in the Berlin Museums are not localised in the publication by Dr. UNGNAD, save that he points out their close connection with the district of the Chabour, and suggests that Kannu' is the Biblical Canneh.

The tablet published by Professor PEISER in *Orientalistische*

Litteraturzeitung, 1905, 130 ff., and also quoted by Dr. SCHIFFER, was bought apparently, and so we are not told where it was found. The indications of locality given by the dealers or native finders are rarely reliable for obvious reasons.

Now, though the district inhabited by these Israelites was on the Chabour, we see that their deeds of sale were found in the archives at Nineveh. We may suppose that all deeds to be valid had to be deposited in the archives at the capital, as our wills have to lie in the Record Office in London, or possibly the Israelites sought refuge there when the invading Medes devasted Mesopotamia. But we know that remains of great Assyrian buildings were found on the Chabour by LAYARD. Here is a grand prospect for future explorers to discover the traces of the Ten Tribes in their exile home.

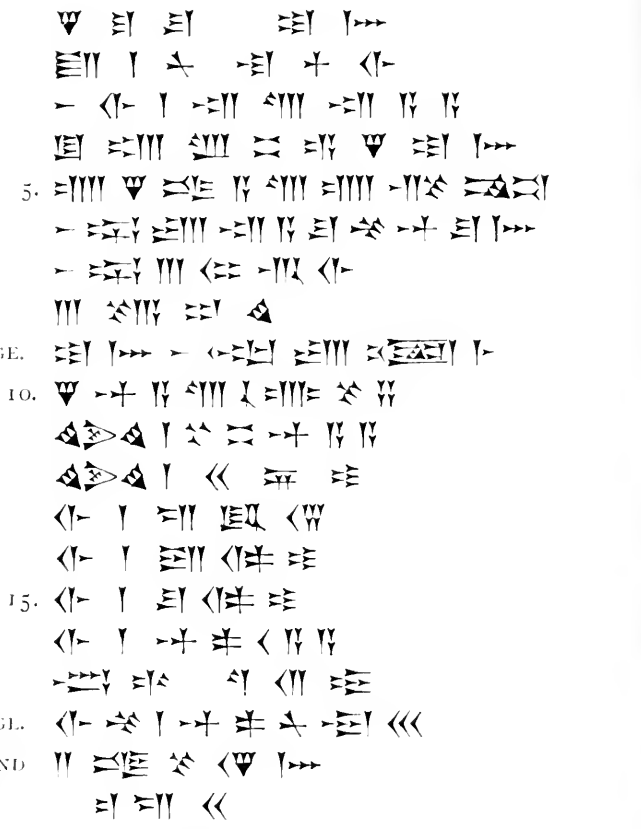
No. I—CASE.



Space with indistinct seals.

Space uninscribed.

TABLET.



TRANSLITERATION.

NO. I—CASE.

Kunuk Aššur-a-a
II imerê ŠE-PAT-MEŠ a-na ru-bi ša
IV ma-na AT-MEŠ šá Aḫu-la-maš-ši
ina pâni-šú ku-um ru-bi-e ša AT-MEŠ
5. ištu IV imerê eḳli bît zi-bil

Space for seals.

ina bâbi šá (?) ali ummu Kúr-bi-ilu-a-a
ummu Man-ni-i. Eḳlu a-na šanâte
ina bâb III mi-ri-še III ka-rab-(ḫi iššakan)

EDGE. AT-MEŠ ina muḫḫi ta-ram-me
10. eḳlu ú-še-ṣa; man-nu ša ina ṣa-te
REV. X ma-na AT-MEŠ idd-an XX . . . . . me
ina at-ri idd-an. Šum-ma la-di-in
ina muḫḫi ta-rab-bi

Space uninscribed.

pân Da-di-i pân Si-in-ḳi-Ištar
15. pân Diḫ-a-a pân Nabû-u-a-a
arḫu Aiaru ûm XII KAN
lim-mu Nabû-aḫi-êreš

TABLET.

IV ma-na AT-MEŠ
šá Aḫu-la-maš-ši
ina pâni Aššur-a-a
ku-um ru-bi-e ša AT-MEŠ
5. bît IV imêrê eḳli bît zi-bil
ina bâb šá ali a-na sânâte
ina bâb III mi-ri-ši
III kar-ab-ḫi
EDGE. AT-MEŠ ina muḫḫi ta-ram-me
REV. 10. iššak-an eḳlu-šu ú-še-ṣa
ummu Kùr-bi-ilu-a-a
ummu Man-ni-i
pân Si-ḳi-Ištar
pân Da-di-i
15. pân Na-di-i
pân Nabû-u-a-a
arḫu Aiaru ûm XII KAN
EDGE. lim-mu Nabû-aḫi-êreš
LEFT-HAND II imerî ŠE-PAT-MEŠ
EDGE. 20. is-si-niš

TRANSLATION.

NO. I—CASE.

Seal of Aššurai
Two homers of corn for interest of
four minas of dates (?) *which Aḫulamašši*
had due from him. In lieu of the interest of the dates
5. *from four homers of field*, bît zibil,

at the gate of the city, (next Ḳurbi-ilai,
next Manni) the field for (a term of) years
in the gate, three sowings three fallows he shall set.
EDGE. *The dates on it shall remain* (?)
10. *The field he has let. Whoever in future :—*
REV. *ten minas of dates* (?) *shall give, twenty . . . . . .*
in addition shall give. If he do not give
interest shall accrue on it.
In the presence of Dadi, in the presence of Sinḳi-Ištar,
15. *in the presence of Nabû-ai.*
Month Aiaru, day 12th,
Eponymy of Nabû-aḫ-ḳeṣ.

TABLET.

Four minas of dates (?)
belonging to Aḫu-lamašši,
due from Aššurai ;
in lieu of interest of dates (?).
5. *a parcel of four homers of land,* bît zibil,
in the gate of the city, for (a term of) years
in the gate ; three sowings
three fallows ;
EDGE. *The dates on it shall remain* (?)
REV 10. *he shall set. His field he has let.*
Next Ḳurbi-ilai
next Manni.
In the presence of Sikî-Ištar,
In the presence of Dadi
15. *In the presence of Nadi*
In the presence of Nabû-ai
Month Aiaru, day 12th,
EDGE. *Eponymy of Nabû-aḫ-ḳeṣ.*
LEFT-HAND *Two omers of corn*
EDGE. 20. *each.*

The scribe was either careless or hurried. He has cut short his sentences, mixed up clauses, left out signs. Further, one or two places are covered with incrustations which partly obscure the characters. On the whole the transaction is exactly like a number of those published in my *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* (A.D.D.). The ideogram *AT*, perfectly certain on the tablets, is new to me, and

BRÜNNOW's *Sign List* does not give any meaning for it that would be likely to suit here. In MEISSNER's *Seltene Ideogramme*, no. 1747, we find a quotation from *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum*, Vol. XII, p. 47, l. 82b, where we may perhaps restore (*TAK*)-*AT* = *aban suluppi*. If this be certain, *AT* = *sulupp̣u*, and the meaning is "a date fruit." Hence my rendering "dates."

The expression applied to the field, *bit zibil*, compare *bît zibli* (*A.D.D.*, 630, l. 2), may be the Talmudic בית הזבלים, said to mean "land needing manure." It is interesting to meet here a Hebrew expression. It is not likely that the usual Assyrian *zabâlu*, "to bring," would yield a good sense; while the Talmudic זבל means "to manure," in many passages. The gate of the city is a difficulty, because in one place the scribe seems to have written *AT* before *alu*, in another *TA*, and again to have repeated "in the gate" in the next line. I have conjectured what seems likely to have been his purpose, but some of my readers may further penetrate this obscurity.

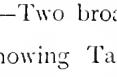
The name Aššurai, literally "Assyrian," is fairly common as a proper name. Aḫu-lamašši is also common, and both are Assyrian in type. Ḳurbi-ilai may not be Assyrian, but Hebrew, compare Ḳurbu-ilu and Ḳurbu-aḫu in my *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*. The verb *ḳarâbu*, "to draw near," occurs in Assyrian, but names like this are rare and Ḳurbi may not be the way to read the signs. Dadî has affinities with David and with Phœnician names. Sinḳi-Ištar, Diḫai, Nabû-ai and Nadî occur in my *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, the latter along with Aššurai as here. The date is B.C. 681.

(*To be continued.*)

RECENT DISCOVERIES IN THE BIBÂN EL MOLÛK AT THEBES.

BY E. R. AYRTON.

The excavations made by Mr. DAVIS have this year resulted in two finds of considerable archaeological interest. Digging along the South slope of the hill of rock occupied by the already opened tomb of Rameses VI (No. 9), we found, early in the season, at the depth of some fifteen feet below the present surface of the valley, the entrance to a deep shaft cut vertically in the rock. From this a single chamber opens off to the North. This was found to be full of rubbish, and apparently contained nothing of interest. On removing the rubbish, we found some pottery and alabaster vases, two of the latter inscribed with the name of Rameses II, and a small heap of jewelry. This jewelry bears the name of Tausert, with that of Sety II, and on one piece is the name of Rameses II.

The chief objects are:—Two broad silver bracelets, with a scene stamped in low relief showing Tausert  playing the sistrum before Sety Merenptah (Sety II), who is seated. Eight gold rings, one of which, in filigree work, bears the name of Rameses II, a second that of Tausert, and a third the cartouches of Sety II, whilst two have scarabs with Tausert's name on the bezel. Six plain gold bangles and a silver ring with the cartouches of Sety II. The rings were all found in two hollow silver bands. Besides these we found the beads and pendants of a necklace in filigree gold-work and two heavy gold wig-pendants, with the cartouches of Sety II (*see* Plate). These, with numerous smaller objects, were the only things found in the pit, which is probably to be regarded as a *cache*, and not an original burial place. The queen's real tomb was No. 14 of the valley, which was altered for the burial of Setnekht, the father of Rameses III.

GOLD WIG-PENDANT WITH THE NAMES OF SETY II.

After clearing out this pit we worked on Westward along the same rock-face, and about a month later discovered the tomb of Horemheb, the last king of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

This runs into the rock from South to North, and consists of a flight of entry steps, a long corridor, a second flight of steps, another corridor, and then a deep pit. Thus far the tomb is filled with rubbish, and water has penetrated as far as the well.

The pit is decorated at the top with brilliantly coloured reliefs, showing the king before various gods and goddesses. The door beyond had already been broken in, and leads into a large undecorated room, the roof of which is supported by two columns. In the left-hand corner of this room a flight of steps leads down to a corridor and small square chamber, both of which are decorated with painted reliefs. Beyond this is the large burial chamber, the roof of which is upheld by several columns. The decoration of this is in an unfinished state ; several small rooms open out on each side.

In a hollow at the further end stands the sarcophagus containing only a few bones, the lid lying broken by the side. The whole tomb has been almost completely plundered, but numerous wooden figures of deities remain, and on removal of the débris which covers the greater part of the floor, we may hope to find more objects of interest. From the pit to this room the roof has fallen in to a considerable extent, and these large blocks will make the examination a matter of some difficulty.

Perhaps one of the most interesting points in connection with the burial is, that though the sarcophagus rests on the ground yet it appears to be supported by six wooden figures of deities placed in hollows in the rock beneath it, five of which are still in position. The sarcophagus itself is of granite, and similar to that in the tomb of Ay, being encircled by the wings of goddesses, which are cut in relief over the usual figures of the genii of the dead.

The whole tomb is of great interest, as showing the transition from the style of the XVIIIth Dynasty to that of the XIXth, the plan and style being intermediate between those of the tombs of Amenhetep III and Sety I.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, May 13th, 1908, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

P. Scott-Moncrieff, Esq., *M.A.*: "The Temples at Massawrat and Naga, in the Sudân."

With Lantern-slide Illustrations.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-EIGHTH SESSION, 1908.

Fourth Meeting, May 13th, 1908.

W. MORRISON, Esq. (*Vice-President*),

IN THE CHAIR.

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

From W. E. Crum, Esq.—"Miroirs," by G. Bénédite. (*Catalogue Gén. du Musée du Caire.*)

From the Egyptian Survey Dept.—"The Archaeological Survey of Nubia." Part 1.

From J. Pollard, Esq —"Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire." Edited by W. M. Ramsay.

From the Author, Dr. O. von Lemm.—"Koptische Miscellen," XLI–XLVI.

Rev. F. C. Norton, Ditchling Vicarage,
H. Hirschefeld, Esq., Muswell Hill,
Miss P. Glendinning, Edinburgh,
Miss M. L. King, Wotton-under-Edge,
C. K. N. Blakiston, Esq., Wellington College, Berks,

were elected Members of the Society.

BOOK-BINDING FUND.

The following donation has been received :—

Miss Rucker £1 1 0

The following Paper was read :—

P. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, Esq., *M.A.*: "The Temples at Masawwarat es-Sufra and Naga, in the Sudân."

Thanks were returned for this communication.

THE TITLES OF THE THINITE KINGS.

BY F. LEGGE.

(*Continued from page* 94.)

In the first part of this paper I pointed out how the protocol of Egypt, in the form in which it remained from the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty up to Roman times, evolved from the simpler form used by Snefru, the founder of the IVth or pyramid-building dynasty. I shall now endeavour to show how the evolution of the protocol can be traced still further back until we find its origin in the totemistic practices of most primitive peoples. But before we can consider this we must first examine what are the titles that have come down to us of the kings of Egypt who reigned before Snefru. As was to be expected, the evidence for this is scanty, and most of it is derived from objects of small intrinsic importance. It is, however, unlikely that it will be much added to in the future, and we must therefore get as much out of it as we can.

THE TITLE-BEARING MONUMENTS OF THE THINITES.

In this category I include, as has been before said, the kings of Manetho's first three dynasties, although, according to that author, Dynasty III came, not from This or Abydos, but from Memphis. The reason for this is that all the monuments of these rulers yet discovered seem to be of about the same style, and therefore to belong to what has been called, with great propriety, the Thinite period,[15] rather than to its successor, the Memphite. No satisfactory dividing-line has yet been discovered between any two of these three

[15] I must, however, repeat what I have said in a previous paper (*P.S.B.A.*, 1904, p. 142, and note) as to the untrustworthiness of the argument from style when applied to monuments the exact provenance of which is not known. The examples there given should convince an unprejudiced observer that style under the earlier, as under the later Pharaohs, had much more to do with locality than period. (See too p. 122 *inf.*)

dynasties; Khasekhmui, who, from the occurrence of his monuments at Hieraconpolis, has been placed in Dynasty II, being plainly connected through his queen Ne-maat-hap or Hapenmaat[16] with Neterkhet or Zeser,[17] who is generally assigned to Dynasty III, as well as with Snefru himself; while the occurrence of both "Narmer's" and Khasekhmui's monuments at Abydos as well as at Hieraconpolis seems to show that Dynasties I, II and III were continuous and probably related.

The attempts that have been made from time to time to identify the names given in the inscriptions of this period with those recorded by Manetho and in the King-Lists have in the opinion of competent judges[18] failed—largely because the tombs or funerary chapels left by them at Abydos have been so frequently disturbed as to make the argument from neighbourhood entirely useless[19]—yet the existence among these inscriptions of Khasekhmui's monuments offers good ground for the belief that they were all made before Snefru, and the discovery by M. WEILL of two bas-reliefs of this last king on the rocks at Wâdy Maghâra, fashioned, one in the Thinite, and the other in the Memphite style,[20] shows that it was with his accession that a change of style took place. In view of the great advance in culture made under Snefru and his immediate successors, as shown by the conquests of Sinai and Nubia and the building of the pyramids and other monuments, we can hardly doubt that we have evidence here of the rise of a new dynasty, coming from a different part of Egypt from their predecessors, the Thinites, and possibly from one more dominated by foreign ideas. Moreover, the order of the kings succeeding Snefru is fairly well ascertained and evidenced until at least the end of the VIth Dynasty, and the unplaced or Thinite kings must therefore be earlier than he. Khasekhmui was, as Prof. SETHE has shown, the consort of Ne-maat-hap, queen mother in Snefru's reign, and we thus possess in him a starting-point from

[16] "Truth belongs to Apis," see SETHE in GARSTANG'S *Mahasna and Bêt Khallâf*, p. 22.

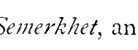
[17] See SETHE, *op. et loc. cit*

[18] *E.g.*, MASPERO, *Hist. anc. des peuples*, etc., 6th ed., pp. 55, 57.

[19] See *art. cit. P.S.B.A.*, 1904, pp. 125 *sqq*. My point is that it is useless to try to date a "tomb" from its proximity to, or distance from, for instance, the "tomb of Zet," when the original contents of these tombs are at the same time described as so inextricably mixed that there is nothing to show whether the tomb in question was made for Zet or for some other king.

[20] WEILL, *Recueil des Inscriptions Egyptiennes du Sinaï*, p. 105.

which we can continue to trace backwards the evolution of the protocol that we have seen existing unchanged from the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty to the extinction of the Egyptian monarchy.

Further evidence of the existence, before Snefru, of this series of Thinite kings is to be found in the bas-reliefs of Sinai, which include the representations of two kings *Semerkhet*, and the  *Neterkhet*[21] already mentioned. Now Semerkhet is one of the "Kings of Abydos" mentioned in my former paper, whose inscriptions were found there in abundance by Prof. PETRIE, while the tomb or funerary chapel of Neterkhet was unearthed by Prof. GARSTANG at Bêt Khallâf, the result being recorded in his work quoted above. In this last tomb was also found a sealing of Queen Ne-maat-hap,[22] in which she is described as "Royal Mother" (or Queen Dowager), and which, therefore, must have been made after the death of her consort Khasekhmui. King Neterkhet must therefore have reigned after Khasekhmui and before Snefru, in whose reign Ne-maat-hap was also "Royal Mother";[23] and the relative position of their bas-reliefs at Wâdy Maghâra, if I understand M. WEILL rightly, supports this conclusion. Nor is this all. The bas-reliefs of Semerkhet and Neterkhet show the king smiting with a club a kneeling captive whom he holds by the hair. But this is the very posture adopted by the king whose Horus-name is Den in the ivory tablet now in Mr. Macgregor's collection at Tamworth (*see* Pl. I *inf.*), which M. AMÉLINEAU says[24] was found by himself at Abydos, and from the time of Snefru onward it passed into Egyptian art as the conventional representation of an Egyptian king defeating a foreign enemy. But Den's inscriptions are too frequent at Abydos for us to doubt his having belonged to the Thinite period, and there is no room for him between Khasekhmui and Neterkhet on the one hand and Snefru on the other, while on the Palermo Stone what appear to be his annals occur some lines earlier than those of Khasekhmui.[25] We may therefore rest assured, before commencing

[21] See WEILL, *Recueil des Inscriptions Égyptiennes du Sinaï*, pp. 96 and 100.

[22] GARSTANG, *Mahasna, etc.*, Pl. X., 7 and p. 22.

[23] SETHE, *op. cit.*, p. 22, and L.D. II., 6. *Cf.* MASPERO, *Ét. Égnnes*, II., p. 225.

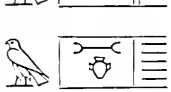
[24] *Nouvelles Fouilles d'Abydos*, t. I., p. 221.

[25] Prof. NEWBERRY has convinced me that nearly all the events recorded in the third register of Face A of the Palermo Stone can also be found noticed in one or other of the tablets of Den given in *P.S.B.A.*, 1906–1907.

in detail the study of the titles of the Thinite kings, that Khasekhmui and Neterkhet (in that order) are the last of the Thinite period, and that Den is anterior to them in date.

The inscriptions, other than those just referred to, are all written on stelas, vases of which we have but fragments, the ivory tablets formerly examined in the *Proceedings* (*see* last note), or the clay sealings of wine-jars discovered by M. AMÉLINEAU and Prof. PETRIE at Abydos, by Mr. QUIBELL at Hieraconpolis, or by Prof. GARSTANG at Bêt Khallâf. No cartouches,[26] or Golden Horus-names,[27] are found among them; but they contain many Horus and *suten bat* titles and names which we will now consider. To avoid discussion at this point of conflicting theories as to date or order, I will arrange them alphabetically. In the first place we have seventeen undoubted Horus-names occurring on stelas, vase-fragments, ivories, or jar-sealings found on find-spots of the Thinite period, viz.:—

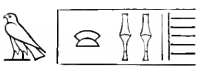
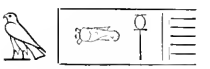
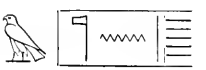
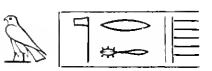
Horus-Names of Thinites.

TITLE AND NAME.	PROBABLE READING.	WHENCE COPIED.
(1)	The Horus Aha.	*P.S.B.A.*, 1906, pp. 253 *sqq.*, Pls. I and II.
(2) 	The Horus Azab.	AMÉLINEAU, *N.F.d'A.*, II, Pl. XXI, 4. *R.T.*, I, Pl. XXVI, Jar-sealing No. 57.
(3)	The Horus Den.	AMÉLINEAU, *N.F.d'A.*, I, Pl. XLI. *P.S.B.A.*, 1907, p. 101 *sqq.*, Pl. No. 5.

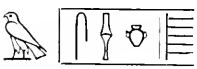
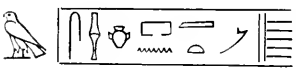
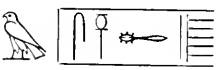
[26] Except city-ones. The scene of the *sam-taui* or uniting of the Two Lands on the Hieraconpolis vases does not, to my thinking, show any cartouche, but merely the female vulture grasping the ring ○ so common in later times, where she is shown with it hovering over the king at his enthronement. (*Cf.* QUIBELL'S *Hierakonpolis*, I, Pls. 36, 37, and 38.)

[27] Khaba's sealing given by Prof. PETRIE (*H.E.*, I, 5th Ed., p. 36) does not show any Horus of Gold title, as he seems to think, since there is no hawk on the *nub*. A golden Ra title, or something like one ( ), is shown on Neterkhet's door-post at Berlin; but this inscription is suspected, with reason, of having been altered after its execution. See WEILL, *Recueil des Inscriptions, etc.*, p. 100, n. 2, for authorities.

Horus-Names of Thinites—continued.

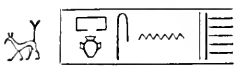
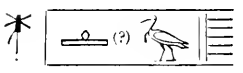
TITLE AND NAME.	PROBABLE READING.	WHENCE COPIED.
(4)	The Horus Hotep-sekhmui.	AMÉLINEAU, *N.F.d'A.*, II, Pl. XXI. *Annales du Service*, III, p. 187. *R.T.*, II, Pl. VIII, 8–11.
(5)	The Horus Kha-ba.	*Hierakonpolis*, II, Pl. LXX, 1, 4. PETRIE, *H.E.*, 5th Ed., p. 36.
(6)	The Horus Kha-sekhem.	*Hierakonpolis*, I, Pls. XXXVI & XXXVII. *id.*, II, Pl. LVIII, and pp. 44 and 45.
(7) 	The Horus Kha-sekhmui.	*Hierakonpolis*, II, Pl. LXIX, 8. AMÉLINEAU, *N.F.d'A.*, Pl. XXI, 12.
(8) 	The Horus Narmer.	*Hierakonpolis*, I, Pl. XXVI, B. AMÉLINEAU, *N.F.d'A.*, I, Pl. XLII. *R.T.* II, Pl. II.
(9) 	The Horus Neteren.	Palermo Stone and Statue No. 1 Gizeh.
(10) 	The Horus Neter-khet.	WEILL, *R. des Ins. Ég. du Sinaï*, p. 100. GARSTANG, *Mahasna*, Pls. VIII, IX, and X.

Horus-Names of Thinites—continued.

	TITLE AND NAME.	PROBABLE READING.	WHENCE COPIED.
(11)		The Horus Qa.	*Abydos*, I, Pl. V. QUIBELL, *Archaic Objects*, II, Pl. 62, No. 14,631.
(12)		The Horus Ra-neb.	Statue No. 1, Gizeh. *Ann. du Service*, III, pp. 188, 189.
(13)		The Horus Sekhem-ab.	QUIBELL, *Archaic Objects*, II, Pl. 8, 165. AMÉLINEAU, *N.F.d'A.*, III, Pt. 1, Pl. XXVII, 4, 8, 9.
(14)		The Horus Sekhem-ab Peren-maat.	*Abydos*, III, Pl. IX, 3.
(15)		The Horus Semer-khet.	QUIBELL, *A.O.*, No. 14,630, (Pl. LXII). WEILL, *R. des Ins.*, p. 96. *R.T.*, I, Pl. VII, 2, 3.
(16)		The Horus Zer, or (better) Khent	*P.S.B.A.*, 1907, p. 71 (and Pl.) No. 4. AMÉLINEAU, *N.F.d'A.*, III, Pt. 1, Pl. XXVII, 156.
(17)		The Horus Zet.	AMÉLINEAU, *N.F.d'A.*, I, Pl. XLII. *R.T.*, I, Pl. IV, 4, and X, 8.

To which, I think, may be added the following, who use the *srekh* surmounted by some emblem other than the Horus hawk :—

Horus-Names of Thinites—continued.

	TITLE AND NAME.	PROBABLE READING.	WHENCE COPIED.
(18)		The Set[28] Perabsen.	AMÉLINEAU, *N.F.d'A.*, III, Pt. 1, Pl. XX. *R.T.*, II, Pl XXXI. GARSTANG, *Mahasna*, Pl. X.
(19)		The Neith[29] Hotep-ba.	DE MORGAN, *Origines*, II, 169. QUIBELL, *A.O.*, II, Pl. 15, No. 11,319.
(20)		The Amen[30] Se(?)	Do. do. 2, 34.

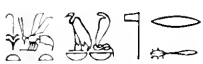
[28] By analogy with the usual translation of the title as "The Horus." The name of the Set animal is probably, as M. LORET has pointed out, to be read "Asch." See his excellent essay "L'Égypte au temps du Totemisme," *Ann. du Musée Guimet, Bibl. de Vulg.*, t. XIX, p. 213. That the signs refer to the animal and not to the god seems plain on comparison with the phylactery No. 48, *P.S.B.A.*, 1905, p. 301.

[29] The bird seems to be the Ba-bird or, at all events, the bird in the *srekh* of Kha-ba (see above). Yet I am still uncertain whether the word in the *srekh* which has been read *hotep* is not really three superposed mountain signs , in which case we may be back again at the name of "Setui."

[30] That the name of the god Amen, or that of his sacred animal, was known in Thinite times perhaps appears from the Jar-sealing 194 in *R.T.*, II, Pl. XXIII. As is but too frequently the case with certain of the E.E.F. expeditions, no correct record seems to have been kept of the destination of this object, and I have therefore failed to get a sight of the original sealing from which the "hand-copy" was made. If the sign on it be turned round, we have here the name of Menes written as under the XVIIIth Dynasty, and by parity of reasoning with the case of Azab-Merbapen given later this must be the *suten bat* name of Khasekhmui. I can make nothing of the second sign in the *srekh* (20) in the text, and am not sure whether it is a *srekh* at all, the part which would contain the *façade* being broken away. According to M. AMÉLINEAU (*N.F.d'A.*, t. III, pt. 2, p. 641), a stela exists bearing the name not enclosed in a rectangle, which he reads "The Horus Sbat," but this seems very doubtful.

We have also nine *suten bat* or King of the South and North titles occurring on similar monuments from the same sites as the Horus titles. These I will also arrange alphabetically, and, except where otherwise noted, all the inscriptions where they occur will be found reproduced in the Plates.

Suten bat Names of Thinites.

	TITLE AND NAME.	PROBABLE READING.
(1)		*King of the South and North, Lord of Diadems*, Hotep.
(2)		*King of the South and North, Lord of Diadems*, Hu (*or* Nekht).
(3)		*King of the South and North, Lord of Diadems*, Khasekhmui.
(4)		*King of the South and North*, Merbapen.
(5)		*King of the South and North, Lord of Diadems*, Neteren.
(6)		*King of the South and North, Lord of Diadems*, Neterkhet.
(7)		*King of the South and North*, Perabsen.
(8)		*King of the South and North, Lord of Diadems*, Qa.
(9)		*King of the South and North*, Setui.

(*To be continued.*)

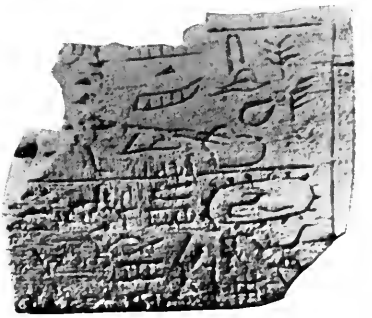
I.

TABLET OF DEN.

IN THE REV. W. MACGREGOR'S COLLECTION AT TAMWORTH.
From a photograph of the original object.

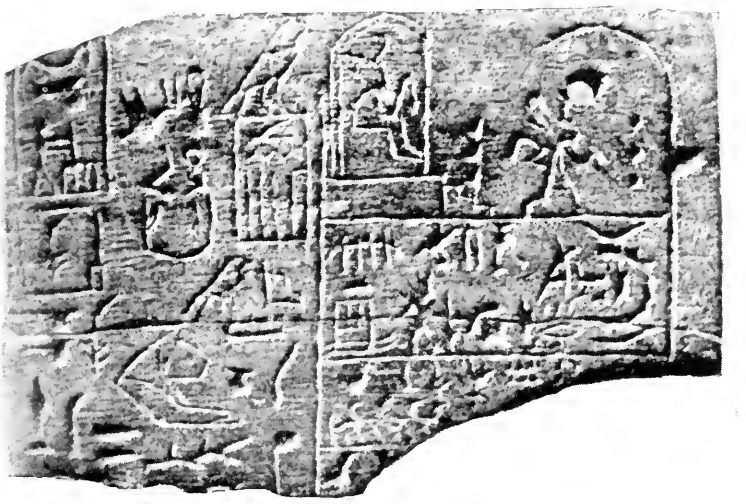
II.

INSCRIPTIONS OF SETUI.



a

FRAGMENT OF A WOODEN TABLET.
R. T., II, Pl. vii, 11.



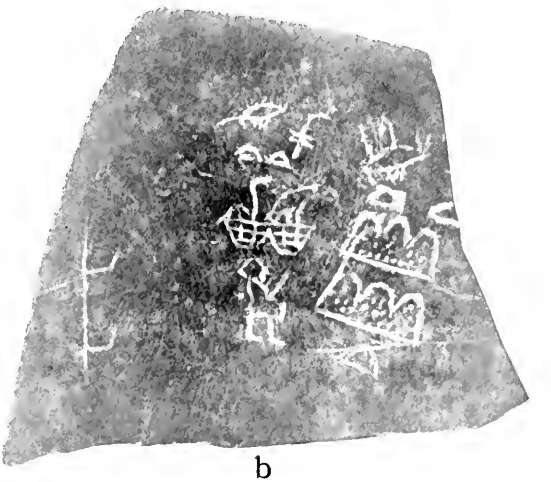
b

FRAGMENT OF A WOODEN TABLET, NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.
R. T., I, Pl. xi, 14.

INSCRIPTIONS OF SETUI—*continued.*

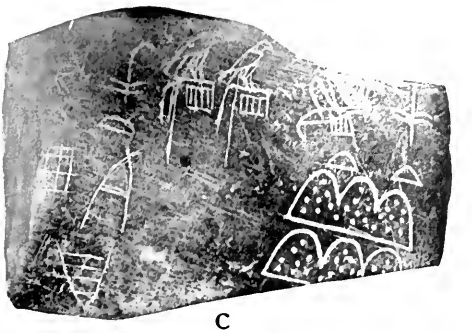
a

FRAGMENT OF A WOODEN TABLET.
R. T., I, Pl. xi, 4.



b

FRAGMENT OF A SERPENTINE VASE, NOW IN THE LOUVRE.
From a photograph of the original object given by M. Bénédite.
Cf. Amélineau, *N.F.d'A.*, t. I, Pl. xlii.



c

FRAGMENT OF A RED LIMESTONE VASE.
R. T., I, Pl. v, 12.

III.

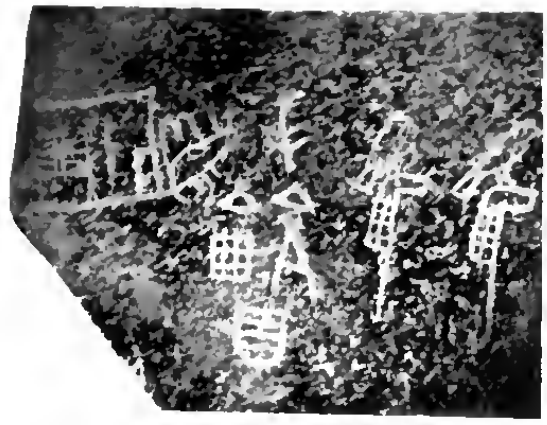
INSCRIPTIONS OF MERBAPEN.

See
Plate III, Fig. c.

a

c

FRAGMENT OF A RED LIMESTONE VASE
R. T., I, Pl. VI, 4



b

FRAGMENT OF A VASE
R. T., I, Pl. VI, 8

d

FRAGMENT OF A HARD STONE VASE
Ameni on *W. / T.*, t. I, Pl. VIII

e

FRAGMENT OF A CRYSTAL VASE
R. T., I, Pl. VI, 5.

f

FRAGMENT OF A VASE
R. T., I, Pl. VI, 6

g

TAB-SEALING, IN CAIRO MUSEUM (?)
R. T., I, Pl. XXVI, No. 58.
Cf. Quibell, *H.O.*, II, Pl. IV.

h

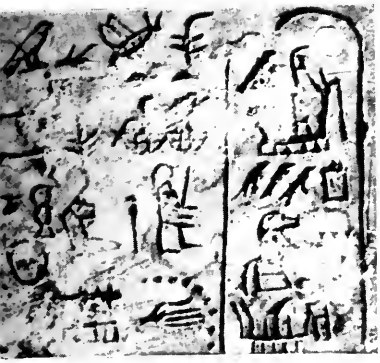
TAB-SEALING, IN CAIRO MUSEUM (?)
R. T., I, Pl. XXVI, No. 57
Cf. Quibell, *H.O.*, II, Pl. IV

i

TAB-SEALING
R. T., I, Pl. XXVI, No. 59

IV.

INSCRIPTIONS OF HU.



a

IVORY TABLET.
R.T., I, Pl. xii, 1.
Cf. *P.S.B.A.*, XXIX, *pp.* 243 *et seq.*

b

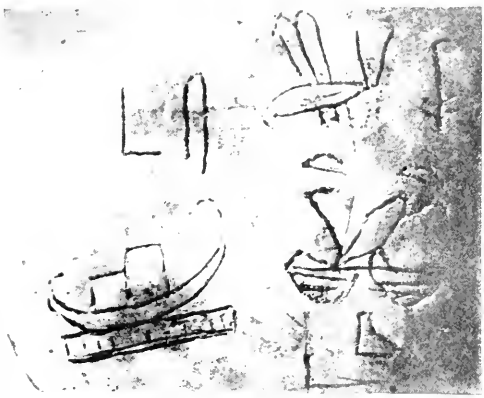
FRAGMENT OF A HARD STONE VASE.
Amélineau, *N.F.d'A.*, t. I, Pl. xlii.
Cf. *P.S.B.A.*, XXI, Pl. iii, fig. 5, facing p. 188.
(The same fragment as Pl. III, fig. b, *sup*).

V.

INSCRIPTIONS OF QA.

c

RAGMENT OF A WHITE MARBLE VASE.
R.T., I, Pl. viii, 1.

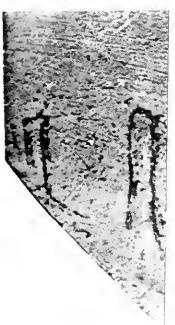


d

FRAGMENT OF A WHITE MARBLE VASE.
R.T., I, Pl. viii, 9.

PLATE

FRAG



FRAGME

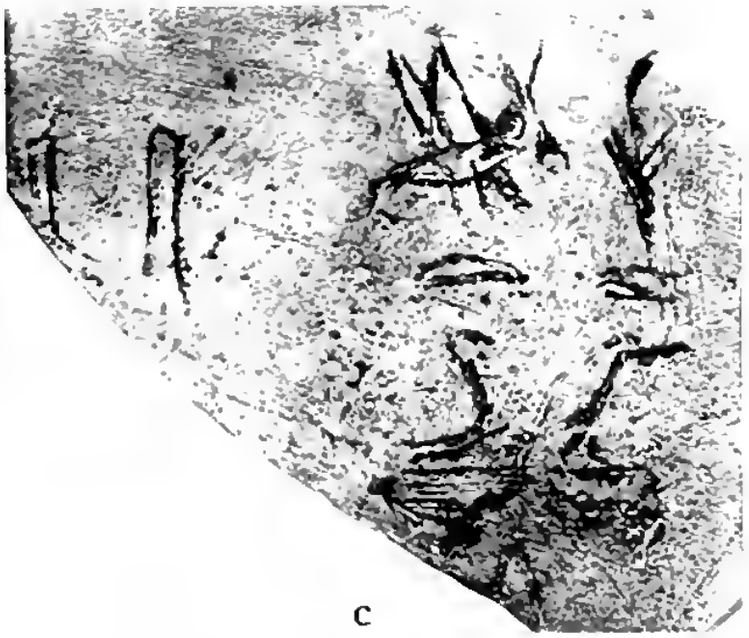
INSCRIPTIONS OF QA— *continued*

a

FRAGMENT OF A WHITE MARBLE VASE
K. T., I, Pl. VIII, 10.

b

FRAGMENT OF A GREY MARBLE VASE.
K. T., I, Pl. VIII, 14.

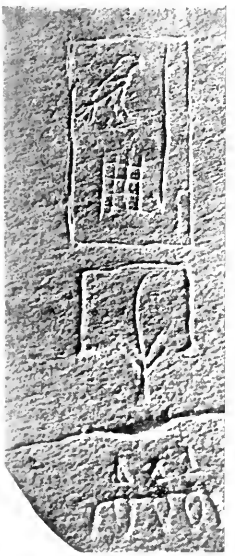


c

FRAGMENT OF A METAMORPHIC MARBLE VASE
K. T., I, Pl. IX, 8.

d

FRAGMENT OF A GREY MARBLE VASE.
K. T., I, Pl. IX, 10.



FRAGMENT OF A V
R. T.,

FRAGMENT O
R. T., 1

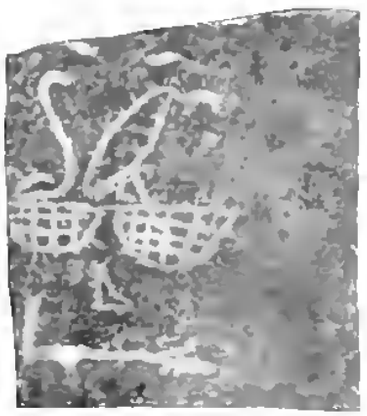
INSCRIPTIONS OF QA—*continued.*

a

FRAGMENT OF A YELLOW LIMESTONE VASE.
K. Z., I, Pl. IX, 3.

b

FRAGMENT OF A DIORITE VASE.
K. Z., I, Pl. IX, 12.



c

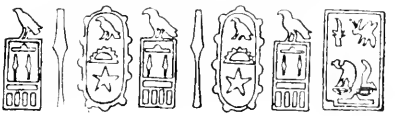
FRAGMENT OF A STONE BOWL.
K. Z., II, Pl. VIII^{a}, 5.

d

FRAGMENT OF A HARD STONE VASE.
Amelineau, *Nouvelles Fouilles*, I, Pl. VIII.

VI.

INSCRIPTION OF HOTEP.

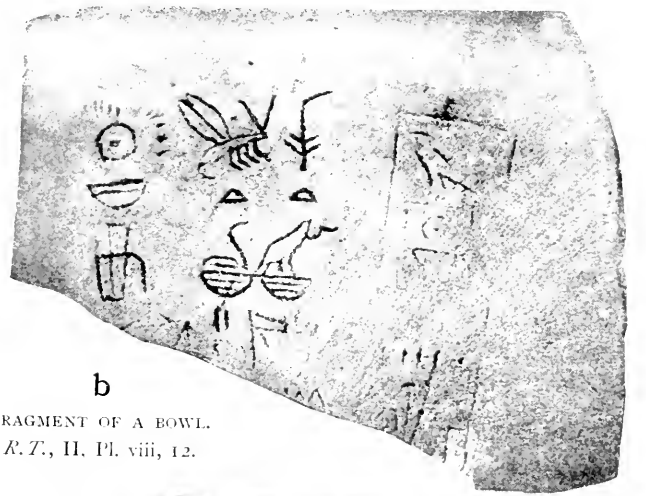


a

JAR-SEALING. Maspero, *Annales du Service*, t. III, p. 187. Type No. 2 A.

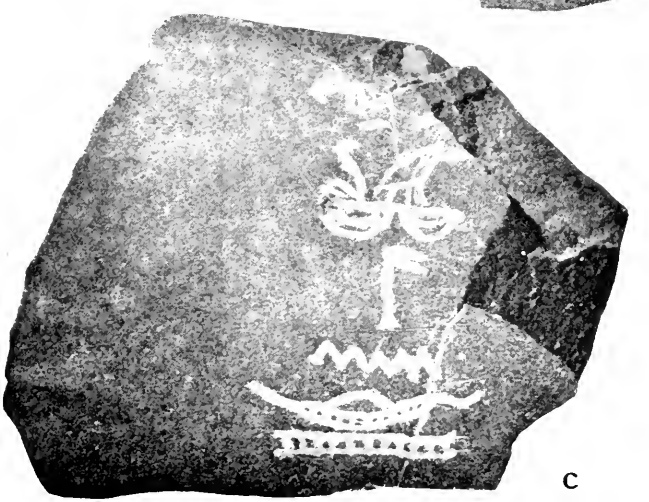
VII.

INSCRIPTIONS OF NETEREN.



b

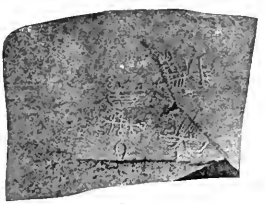
FRAGMENT OF A BOWL.
R.T., II, Pl. viii, 12.



c

FRAGMENT OF A BOWL. *R.T.*, II, Pl. viii, 13.

INSCRIPTIONS OF NETEREN—*continued.*

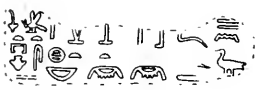


a

FRAGMENT OF A ROCK-CRYSTAL VASE.
Amélineau, *N.F.d'A.*, t. II, Pl. xxi, 5.

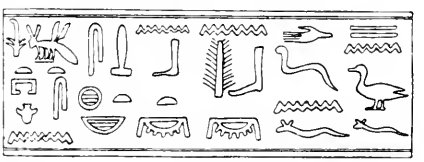
VIII.

INSCRIPTIONS OF PERABSEN.



b

JAR-SEALING.
R.T., I, Pl. xxix, No. 87.

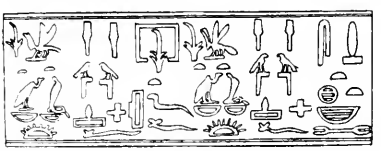


c

JAR-SEALING.
R.T., II, Pl. xxii, No. 190.

IX.

INSCRIPTION OF KHASEKHEMUI.



d

JAR-SEALING.
R.T., II, Pl. xxiii, No. 201.

PLACE-NAMES IN DEUBNER'S *KOSMAS UND DAMIAN.*

BY W. E. CRUM.

Among the subjects most in the air—hagiographically speaking—at the present time are, on the one hand, that of twin saints and twin gods and, on the other, that of the practice of 'incubation' in the shrines of medical saints and divinities. In the investigation of both subjects Professor DEUBNER has taken a foremost part.

In the dissertation preliminary to his excellent edition of the Acts and Miracles of the 'gratuitous' physicians, Cosmas and Damianus,[1] he discusses the name of the burial-place attributed to these saints in the 'Asiatic' version of their story: p. 91 it is stated that they were laid ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ Φερεμάν, and pp. 92, 93 their resting-place is referred to in the same words. Variants are Φερεμμᾶν, Φερμᾶν,[2] Φερμίναν. DEUBNER (p. 47) takes it as beyond doubt that we have here but a form of *Peremoun-Faramâ*,[3] the native (Coptic and Arabic) name of the border town *Pelusium*. His main support for this assumption is the observation of the 9th century writer, EPIPHANIUS of Hagiopolis, who places the saints' bodies at Askelon, apparently holding this to be identical with 'the *castrum* called Φαρμά, the beginning of Egypt' (D. p. 48). It will be noted that EPIPHANIUS has his own spelling of the name; what is more, his inaccuracy argues against any personal acquaintance with the locality.

[1] *Kosmas und Damian.* Texte u. Einleitung. Leipzig, 1907.

[2] A reminiscence of this name is perhaps to be seen in Φερμᾶν for Φίρμη (in Nitria) in one MS. of the *Lausiac History*, BUTLER ii, 62.

[3] So Yaḳût iii, 882 (not Ferma), who observes وهو اسم عجمي احسبه يونانياً.

It may be worth enquiring whether the Egyptian version of the legend offers anything towards confirming or weakening the hypothesis of *Phereman = Pelusium*.[4]

DEUBNER refers (p. 77 n.) to the Egyptian (Arabic) Synaxarium, but not to the Acts whence the short story there is derived. These are to be read in the MSS. Paris *arabe* 154 and 258; Bodleian Hunt. 470 and Seld. 54; Brit. Mus. Or. 4723. The Paris MSS. I have not seen; the others (designated here *H.*, *S.*, and *B.M.*) show the same text, differing, however in certain features. *H.* is dated A.D. 1577, *S.* is almost modern, *B.M.* of about the 17th century.

But the Arabic Acts were of course merely a version from a Coptic text, and it happens that a few fragments of this are preserved. They belong to three Sa'idic MSS., all dating from about ± A.D. 1000.[5] In the following abstract I have indicated the points at which the Arabic is supported by a parallel Coptic passage.

Under Diocletian and Maximian there lived 'in the castle (*burg*, πύργος) built in the name of the Son of God' (*B.M.*) a widow, Theodota, with five sons: the two elder Cosmas and Damianus, learn the art of medicine, the others become monks. Palladia and the eggs. The talking camel. Diocletian's apostacy, owing to the dishonesty of the archbishop to whom the Persian prince had been entrusted.[6] His edict enjoining worship of the gods [*Here Paris MS. copte* 102, f. 8]. He summons C. and D. to Antioch and threatens them. Lycias (Lâsiûs لاسيوس[7]), the wâly of the city, begs they may be mildly treated; but persuasion fails to move them. Cast into a furnace اتون, they remain steadfast; so too, under various tortures, in presence now of the king,[8] now of Lycias. In *B.M.* they give their home as in Arabia ارابيا, in the province اعمال of the castle (*as above*), in the city called *Dabarmá* دبرما;

[4] It is a curious coincidence that Arab tradition (Istakhrî) should place the tomb of Galen at Pelusium. *V.* A. J. BUTLER, *Arab Conq.*, 210 n.

[5] ZOEGA cliii (pp. **CLA**, **CLB**) and Berlin Kgl. Bibl., Cod. Copt. fol. 1611, f. 6 (pp. **CKZ**, **CKH**) are from one MS.; Paris MSS. *coptes* 102, f. 8 (pp. ?) and 129[15], f. 17 (pp. **PZ**, **PH**) from another; Paris 129[15], f. 18 from a third.

[6] *V.* AMÉLINEAU, *Actes* 129, 177; HYVERNAT, *Actes* 192. This and the subsequent introduction of St. Victor are the commonplace furniture of the Coptic versions of many Diocletian martyrdoms.

[7] Hence the 'Osius' of WÜSTENFELD'S, 'Asius' of BASSET'S Synaxarium.

[8] This direct intervention of Diocletian is quite in character with Coptic usage.

H. and *S.* read 'from *ar-Râbiah,* of the province of the pillar whereon is the picture of the Lord Christ, Son of God,' العمود الذى عليه صورة الخ, 'from a noble city named *Biramâ* or *Tarama,*' بيرما, ترما. The three younger brothers are likewise brought to Antioch, where the king offers them life or death. They choose their elder brothers' death. Further tortures (dragged through streets by horses, crushed in a press معصر, roasted in the bath furnace, buried in a deep pit حفير). Several times an angel is sent to deliver or heal them. The king, exasperated, threatens to behead Lysias; hence a new series of tortures, but all in vain. The wâly begs to be taught their magic [*Here* ZOEGA CLIII]; they exhort him to believe. In wrath he imprisons and tortures them afresh. A *lebakh* tree, to which they had been fastened, is destroyed by the angel Michael and, falling, injures Lysias, whom Cosmas then heals. After once more imprisoning them, Lysias in despair resigns his office. The king appoints Claudius in his stead,[9] who threatens to flay the saints [*Here Paris MS. copte* 129[15], f. 17, **ⲁⲥⲩⲱⲟⲛⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲣⲁⲥⲧⲉ ⲁϥⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲁϥⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲕⲗⲁⲩⲇⲓⲟⲥ ⲁϥⲁⲁϥ ⲛϩⲓⲧⲉⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲛⲁⲧⲥⲓⲁⲥ . . . . . ϯⲛⲁϩⲓⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛⲩⲁⲁⲣ ⲧⲁⲉⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛⲥⲟⲙⲁ · ⲙⲡⲣⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ ϫⲉⲛⲉⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲕⲏⲃ ⲛⲁⲉⲥⲓⲁⲥⲛⲉ**[10]]. While their tortures are renewed, Lysias returns and declares it a disgrace that two governors should be thus defeated. It is agreed to try drowning. But Christ himself descends into the deep to encourage them; their bonds are loosed [*Here Paris MS. copte* 129[15], f. 18], the stones about their necks float like ships **ⲁⲛⲕⲉⲫⲁⲗⲓⲥ**[11] **ⲛⲥⲟⲛⲉ ϩϩⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲉ ⲛⲟⲩϫⲟⲓ ⲉⲣⲉⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲧⲁⲗⲏⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲩⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲣⲟ.** The two governors declare their inability to overcome these men. The king in anger sets his *βῆμα* in the theatre of Antioch, where the saints are bound to a

[9] The introduction of this personage, unknown to the other versions (unless we see some hint of him in 'Clinius,' the judge at the opening of MOMBRITIUS' text) inevitably recalls the 'Claudius Lysias' of Acts xxiii, 26. Even such a blunder would not be beyond the capacity of a Coptic adapter. Claudius is the judge in *Synax.*, 5th Thût (*cf.* NILLES, *Kal.* ii, 696) and in that of CPle. (July 14, DELEHAYE 819) in the Passion of Justus, apparently the martyr so popular in Egypt.

[10] 'Think not that these be the cool waters of Lysias.' *B.M.* f. 13 *a*, لا تظنوا فانكم تظنون انى اسيس, *H.*, *S.*, misunderstanding, انى لاسيوس وعدابه البارد.

[11] *κεφαλίς* the capital of a column.

pillar, a fire being kindled in their faces ⲉⲣⲡⲁⲓ ϩⲁⲛⲉⲧⲣⲟ. But at Cosmas' bidding the pillar bows down, ⲁⲛⲉⲥⲧⲣⲁⲗⲟⲥ ⲕⲁ ϫⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲏⲓⲧ, and the theatre quakes. He calms the affrighted crowd. Their mother then reviling the king, is forthwith executed. A young courtier, Victor, son of Romanus,[12] has the courage to bury her, in a place named كنز 'the treasury,'[13] whereat he is banished to Egypt, there to die a martyr. The five saints are finally executed, at a place named ...ع.

An Ethiopic version of the Arabian legend in Br. Mus. Or. 691, f. 179*a* (also in 686, 67*a*, and 689, 87*b*), gives their home 'in the province of *Aṭrânyâ* or *Aṭryânos*, the town of *Dârêmâ*.' The story is a good deal elaborated, introducing at the close, two brothers *Belâwos* and *Belsâwos* (or *Belyos* and *Abelyos*) with a crowd of others, martyred at the same time. But here their death takes place at *Agâwos* or *Agâas*, showing that some Arabic (Coptic) version had actually preserved the correct *Aγαί*. This is indeed demonstrated by the *Difnâr* (Antiphonarium), where, under this date, we read ⲁⲅⲟⲩⲥⲧⲟⲩ (*sc.* the king) ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲟⲙⲡⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲥⲏⲧⲉⲙⲟⲛ ⲉⲣⲉⲁⲥ ⲫⲛⲟⲩⲉ الى جاوس المدينة (MS. RYLANDS, p. ϡⲁ*a*).[14]

These Acts, which, it will be seen, contain little of interest beyond the Synaxarium's abstract, are followed (in the Arabic only) by seven Miracles (Or. 4723, ff. 16*a*–22*b*). They are (1) the man who swallowed the snake = DEUBNER, p. 91; [*Here Berlin, Kgl. Bibl., Cod. Copt.* 1611 *fol.*, f. 6]; (2) Malchus's wife, though here no name is given = D. p. 93; (3) the Jewess healed = D. p. 101, but with a prolongation at the close; (4) the sons of a rich vintner who had made a vow to the saints, are helped in evil days by renewing their father's offering. Not in DEUBNER; (5) a soldier, conveying the bodies of C. and D. to burial at *Dabarmâ*, is robbed of his clothes on the road, but, at his prayer, the five saints, riding white horses,[15] appear and restore them. Not in DEUBNER; (6) the virtuous wife = D. p. 164, but with an additional incident at the close;

[12] The Acts of Victor recount his charity in burying the martyrs' bodies, but give no names (PEREIRA, *Acta mart.* i, Versio, p. 211, in *Corp. Scr. Chr. Or.*). BOURIANT's Encomia (*Mission franç.* viii) do not refer to this.

[13] So *B.M.* Perhaps misunderstanding γλωσσόκομον or ταμεῖον. But *H.*, *S.* read this كنز and the following name برزا (or ? برزا).

[14] So MS. Göttingen Kopt. 9 (PIETSCHMANN).

[15] *Cf.* DEUBNER, p. 53.

(7) a sheep-devouring lion at *Dabarmâ* tamed by the saints. Not in DEUBNER.[16]

Of the miracles which recur in the Greek, nos. 1 and 3 give no place-names, nos. 2, 5, 7 name *Dabarmâ*, nos. 4, 6 'the castle built in the name of the Son of God *or* of the living God.' It is thus evident that *Dabarmâ* in no. 2 corresponds to 'the place called *Phereman*' in the Greek text. The name دبرما is variously pointed. The *BM.* MS. of the Acts and BASSET'S Synaxarium[17] have always دبرما *Dabarmâ*, FORGET'S[18] and one Göttingen MS. ديرما *Dairamâ*, *Dîramâ*, the Brit. Mus. Synaxarium (Or. 2328, f. 29*b*) دترما *Datarmâ*, the other Göttingen MS. *Dîriyâ*,[19] the corresponding Ethiopic version[20] *Dəyômâ*, *i.e.* ديومما for ديرما. MSS. *H.* and *S.* of the Acts have somewhat differently ترما and بيرما. Now apart from these variants, it would not be difficult to read دفرما and, regarding the initial consonant as the Greek article, to see here a mere transcript of τὸ Φερεμά(ν). It is however to be observed that none of the Arabic scribes have so read it, although the form (*Da*)*barmâ* might, it is true, be held to represent (*Da*)*farmâ*.

But the main difficulty in accepting such an equation between the Arabic and Greek forms lies in the one and only Coptic passage, so far as I know, wherein the place is named. The Berlin fragment (*v.* above, p. 132) gives the beginning of Miracle 2 (Malchus) thus: [. . . . .]ⲁⲓⲟⲛ[. . . .]ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ[. . .] . ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲏ[ⲧ[21] ⲉ]ⲧⲏⲟⲁⲓⲥ ⲧⲁⲟⲁⲣⲙⲁ[22] ⲉⲁϥ . . ⲁϥ ⲉⲕⲧⲟϥ ⲉⲥⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲓⲥϩⲕⲁϩ · ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲧⲉϥⲥⲣⲓⲙⲉ ϫⲉⲧⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲟⲛ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲧⲛ ⲉⲡⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲧⲁⲧⲟⲟⲧⲉ (*sic*) ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ &c., '. . . . . a man

[16] These additional miracles, were they not so commonplace, might recall the collection said to have been made by Christodorus (D. pp. 51, 82). But *v.* also D., p. 79 note.

[17] *Synaxaire Jacobite Arabe*, in *Patrol. Orient.*, T. i, p. 330.

[18] In *Corp. Scr. Chr. Or.*, p. 117.

[19] Hence WÜSTENFELD'S 'Darija.' (Was he thinking of داريا, S. o Damascus?) Prof. PIETSCHMANN has kindly collated these MSS.

[20] According to Brit. Mus. Or. 660, f. 72*b* and 667, f. 80*a* and MS. D'ABBADIE no. 66, f. 77*a*, kindly examined by the Abbé TISSERANT.

[21] *Cf.* Paris, 132[1], 42, ϯⲡⲓⲥⲧⲣⲁ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩⲁⲁϩⲧ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ, and probably ⲟⲩⲁⲗⲏⲧⲧ, *Pistis*, 346.

[22] ⲁⲣ slightly doubtful. Kindly examined by Prof. STERN. My copy was made years ago, before the present problem had been raised.

dwelling in the city *Tatharma* and (about to?) return to his own land. He said unto his wife, Arise, let us go in to the *martyrium* of the saints, that I may deliver thee into their hands &c.' To this the Arabic parallel (Or. 4723, f. 16*b*) is كان في ديرما رجل غريب اراد ان الخ, 'There was in D. a stranger, who desired &c.' In the Greek (D. p. 93) it is after Malchus and his wife have decided to apply to the saints that they go to *Phereman*. But although the position in the context is thus not identical, it cannot be doubtful that both versions point to the same place.

It is hardly imaginable that the Copt should by *Tatharma* intend to transcribe any Greek form resembling τὸ Φερεμάν. But still less probable is it that by *Tatharma* he would designate the town familiar among his own countrymen as *Peremoun* or *Pelusium*; for it he would surely have used one or other of these names.

What, then, did he and his Arabic-writing follower intend by *Tatharma*, *Datarma?* The word has anything but an Egyptian appearance; rather its form recalls many localities in Syria. The Arabic Acts (*v.* above) connect the place with 'Arabia.' Is there any place so or similarly named in the 'Arabian' deserts, E. and S.E. of Palestine? I have sought it in vain.[23] The only name which seems within the bounds of possibility is *Tadmor* (Palmyra). Recalling the form Θαδάμορα, used at any rate by Josephus,[24] and assuming a quite conceivable metathesis on the part of the Coptic scribe, the two names appear not unlike. The situation too of Palmyra would suit well with the 'Arabian land,' whence the saints came. One might even—allowing again for the fusion here which DEUBNER has noted (pp. 69 n., 77 n.) of the 'Asiatic' and 'Arabian' legends—see a connection between the ναὸς (or τόπος) Ἀδριανοῦ (D. pp. 218, 219) and the name Ἀδριανούπολις, given to Palmyra after Hadrian's visit, in 129.[25]

[23] I have searched M. HARTMANN'S lists, *Z. Deutsch. Pal. Ver.* xxiii, 131, and ELI SMITH'S in E. ROBINSON'S *Researches*.

[24] DINDORF, viii, VI, 1. I cannot find this form elsewhere. ASSEMANI'S *Thodmora*, B.O. iii, II, p. xiv, is not justified. On the usual form of the name *cf.* LAGARDE, *Bildung der Nomina* 125, RECKENDORF, *ZDMG.* xlii, 402. The confusion Θεδμορ—Θερμαθ in 2 Chr. viii, 4, 1 Kings ix, 18 might support my assumption. Unfortunately neither passage is extant in Coptic.

[25] MARQUARDT u. MOMMSEN, *Handbuch* iv, I², 414, LE QUIEN ii, 845. But Hadrianopolis is a frequent name; see *e.g.*, RAMSAY'S *Geogr. of Asia Minor*, Index.

But there are two strong objections to this solution of the problem: (1) *Phereman* could never be accepted as a phonetic equivalent, however degenerate, for Palmyra; (2) we have no authority for connecting Cosmas and Damianus with Palmyra, either in life or after death.

'Arabia' too, it must be owned, might be, not the Asiatic country, but the district in the Eastern Delta.[26] Nor does the additional description of the locality in the Arabic Acts, 'the castle built in the name of the Son of God,' or 'the pillar whereon is the picture of the Lord Christ,' offer any help. It may be taken for granted that the words embody a reminiscence of a real place—perhaps some *Ḳal'at 'Isâ*—but I have found no such name in the modern lists, maps, or the mediaeval geographers.

Phereman has been sought not in Egypt only (*v.* D. p. 65 n.). In modern times a bishop of Amida (Diarbekr) is quoted,[27] who maintained that it was a town, now destroyed, two days' journey from his city, and that the relics of our saints had been deposited there at the time of the first Turkish invasions (? 11th century). Might this tradition be connected with the ancient claim of Cyrrhus, or its district ἡ Κυρρηστική, to possess the bodies[28]? It may be noted that the Greek MS. of the Miracles newly acquired (from Egypt) by the British Museum places *Phereman* itself in that province: Φερεμμα τῶν Κυρεστικῶν.[29] Possibly this however is merely a superficial confusion, due to the scribe.

It is significant that the Melkite Synaxarium (Bodleian Marsh. 445, 1st of Tishrîn ii), which gives the 'Asiatic' story, accepts Φερεμάν as *Faramâ* فرما.

Finally, I may mention here a short version of the 'Arabian' legend given in the Arabic MS., Brit. Mus. Or. 5019, fol. 59*a*. This beautiful parchment volume is dated AH. 562 = AD. 1172. MS. Add. 26117, which is but a part of it, was brought by

[26] *V.* AMÉLINEAU, *Géogr.* 483, Brit. Mus., *Catal. of Copt. MSS.* p. 147.

[27] From a work by RUDNEFF (1865), cited in *Russian Palestine Soc.*, vol. iv, pt. 2, p. 141 (kindly translated by Mr. C. Faminsky).

[28] D. pp. 51, 81. M. DELEHAYE, I see, accepts Cyrrhus as the burial place, *Anal. Boll.* xxvii, 225.

[29] I owe this to Mr. R. FLOWER, who is entrusted with the examination of the MS.

TISCHENDORF from Sinai.[30] Its text will therefore be independent of Egyptian tradition[31] :—

Lysias لوسيا, the representative خليفة of Diocletian and Maximian, is wâly of the city *Aṣ-Ṣuwârif* (in) the mountain of Samaria,[32] مدينة الصوارف جبل السامرة, and holds his court on the 25th of Tishrîn the Second,[33] in the temple of Hadrian هيكل ايدريانوس. The saints give their city as Al-Bathaniyah مدينتنا يقال لها البثنية. They are martyred at *Aṣ-Ṣuwârif*, on the 25th of Tishrîn the First (*sic*).

No such town as *Aṣ-Ṣuwârif* is to be found. We should, in this context, look for it in Aegae of Cilicia, but the text places it in Samaria[34]. In Bathaniyah, on the other hand, we should see the small town SSE. of the Haurân,[35] unless indeed the district of that name, and not a town, is meant. The names in this text appear therefore to point to ignorant confusion, based perhaps upon some Palestinean form of the legend. *Aṣ-Ṣuwârif* itself may be a mere imaginary name, 'The City of Vicissitudes.'

I am aware of having, in all this, contributed little towards a solution of the geographical problems involved—of having indeed but added an element to the confusion. Let us hope that other sources, perhaps further Coptic fragments, may prove of greater service.

[30] So Mr. A. G. ELLIS informs me. *V.* Brit. Mus. *Catal. Codd. Orient.* 1871, p. 675.

[31] The pagination, in Coptic numerals, was added later, says the scribe's note, fol. 1*a*.

[32] The MS. is sparsely pointed ; this word is written سامزة, which must be erroneous.

[33] = November. On this date, *v.* DEUBNER, p. 80, *supra*.

[34] I had thought of reading صوارق, for *Suwerek*, SW. of Diarbekr. But this appears to be a Turkish word, presumably spelt otherwise. Might صوارف be a corruption of جاوس Aegae (*v.* above)? Graphically the words are not unlike.

[35] *V.* LE STRANGE, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 34, NOLDEKE in *ZDMG.* xxix, 433.

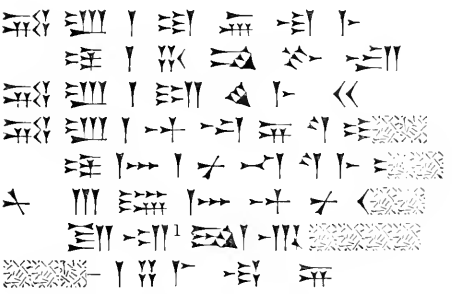
THE LOST TEN TRIBES OF ISRAEL.

BY THE REV. C. H. W. JOHNS.

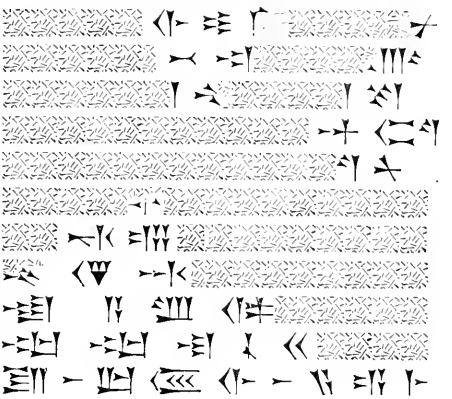
(*Continued from page* 115.)

TRANSCRIPTION—*continued.*

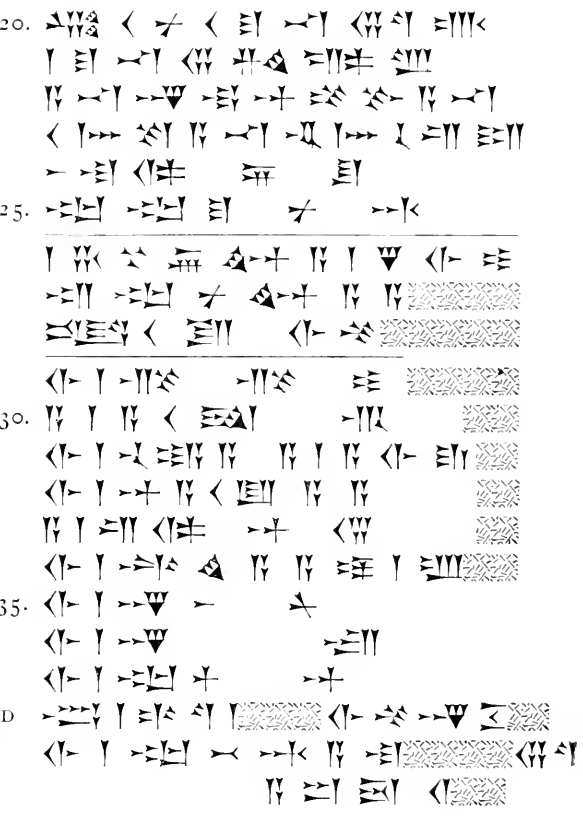
No. 2. Obv.



Two badly preserved seal impressions.



[1] Or .



TRANSLITERATION.

Kunuk Abu-sa-la-me
mâr Ḫa-am-bu-su
Kunuk Raḫi-me-šarri
Kunuk (ilu)Ba-ni-tu-i- . . . . . .
mârê Nu-na-ûme- . . . . .
napḫar III amêlê an-nu-u-(te)
šá (alu)Da-ri . . . . . .
bêlê . . . . za-lal tada-ni

Seals.

. . . . . ši-i . . . . . nu

10. . . . . nu . . . . . ga (?)
. . . . . na (?) . . . . . a-te
. . . . . Marduk
. . . . . uṣur
EDGE. . . . . .
15. . . . . un . . . . . .
zár-pat-TI- . . . . . .
tu-a-ru di-(e-nu)
dabâbu lâ šu man-(nu)
šá ina ur-kiš-ši ina mat-e-me
20. iparrik-u-nu X ma-na kaspi misî
I ma-na ḫurâṣi sak-ru
a-na Ašûr idd-an gab-bu a-na
X-MEŠ-te a-na bêlêšu uta-ra
ina lâ di-ni-šú
25. idabub-ma lâ ileḳḳî

Ḫa-sat-sa-' apil Ša-ši-i
(alu)Ka-nu-' a-a
arku-u šá lim-mu (?) . . . . .

pân Zi-zi-i
30. apil A-u-id-ri
pân Gad-ia-a apil A-ši . . . . .
pân (ilu)A-u-lu-a-a
apil Ḳur-di-Ištar
pân Bul-ṭi-a-a mâr Rid . . . . . .
EDGE. 35. pân Ašur-nâdin-aḫi
pân Ašur-erba
pân Ka-bar-ili
LEFT-HAND arḫu Aiaru um . . . . lim-mu Ašur-rim-(âni)
EDGE. pân Ka-bat-ti apil La . . . . . kaspu (?)
a-ba da- ? . . . . . .

TRANSLATION.

No. 2. *Seal of Abu-salamu*
son of Ḫambusu
Seal of Rahime-šarru
Seal of Banitu-i- . . . . . .

5. *sons of Nuna-úmê* (?)
in all these 3 *persons*
owners of . . . . . za-lal sold

. . . . . *šî* . . . . . *-nu*
10. . . . . *nu* . . . . . *-ga* (?)
. . . . . *na* (?) . . . . . *-te*
. . . . . *Marduk*
. . . . . *-ušur*
EDGE. . . . . .
15. . . . *un* . . . . . .
is sold (*and*) *taken* . . . . . .
return lawsuit
discussion shall not be, whosoever
that in future on any account
20. *shall repudiate shall pay ten minas of pure silver*
one mina of precious gold
to Ashur; all to
tenfold to its owners they shall return.
In his non-suit
25. *he may plead but shall not gain.*

Ḥasaṭsa' son of Šašî
the Kanu'-ite
deputy who (*was Eponym*?)

In presence of Zizi
30. *son of Au-idri*
In presence of Gadia son of Ašir(*u*?)
In presence of Au-lûai
son of Kurdi-Ištar
In presence of Bulṭiai son of Rid (?) . . . .
EDGE. 35. *In presence of Ašur-nâdin-aḫi*
In presence of Ašur-erba
In presence of Kabar-ili
LEFT-HAND EDGE. *Month Iyyar, day* (?), *Eponymy of Ašur-rîmâni*
In presence of Kabatti son of La . . . . . silver
a-ba da- . . . . . .

Although so broken, the permansive *zárpat* in l. 16 shows that something feminine was sold, and comparison with the texts quoted by Dr. SCHIFFER makes it probable that a female slave was the

object of the purchase. The formula of the sale is the same as in Dr. SCHIFFER'S group. In l. 27 we see that Ḫasaṭsa' was an inhabitant of Canneh. This is usually the place for the date; it is quite likely that the people of Canneh dated by their own ruler, Ḫasaṭsa' was an *arkû*, or deputy. But the scribe adds the Assyrian date on the edge. Among the witnesses Gadîa, Aulûai, Ašur-nâdin-aḫi, Ašur-erba, and Kabar-ili also occur in Dr. SCHIFFER'S texts. Palṭi-ai is very closely connected as a name with Palṭî, may even denote the same person. The Eponym Ašur-rîmâni dates several of Dr. SCHIFFER'S lists. We can hardly doubt that no. 2 belongs to the Berlin group.

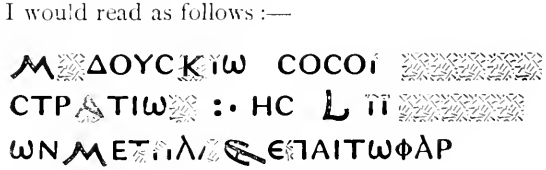
There are many points which call for a more extended discussion than I have been able to give now, but it seemed desirable to put on record this additional material as soon as possible, in the hope that others may find time to work out the problems raised.

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM UPPER EGYPT.

By Prof. A. H. Sayce, *D.D.*

On an isolated hill of sandstone, on the east bank of the Nile, opposite Kilh island, and south of the village of Maghalsa, which is itself five miles south of El-Kab, are the remains of a quarry. Above the quarry, on the top of the hill, impressions of feet have been cut in the rock, accompanied in several cases by half-obliterated graffiti of the early Coptic period. The feet indicate that the rock has been a place of pilgrimage, and that a Christian shrine once stood there—the predecessor of a Shêkh's tomb, which now exists at the foot of the hill. In the plain on the other (E.) side of the hill are a number of large cairns of stone, marking Ababda graves, which, judging from those near El-Kab, would be of the fifth or sixth century.

Among the records of the pilgrims, and partially injured by one of them, is an inscription which tells us approximately when the quarry was opened. If my restoration of the lost portion of the inscription is correct, it would have been in the eleventh year of Hadrian, or shortly afterwards. The inscription, of which I give a facsimile, I would read as follows :—

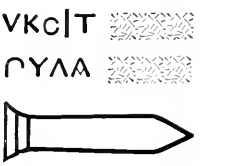


(1) M[ο?]δους K[ν?]ωσος ο . . . . . (2) στρατιώ[τ]ης L ιᾱ [ὡδὲ ἦκ] (3) ων μὰτ[α]λλα ἐπαινῶ φαρ (4) μοῦθ[ι] . . Lια Ἀδριάνου (5) τοῦ κ[υρ]ίο[υ]

"I M(o?)dus C(n?)osos . . a soldier of the 2nd legion [com]ing [here] am looking for quarry-stone, the . . th day of Pharmuthi, the 11th year of Hadrian the lord."

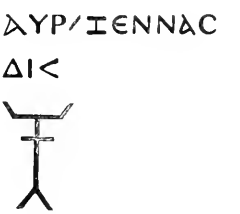
One of the Coptic graffiti

contains the name of Adam: "Adam, the son of Ps . . n [comes?] down [here]." Another,



attached to the drawing of a shoe of peculiar shape, seems to be a curious mixture of Latin and Greek. At all events, the first word appears to be intended for "vixit," while the name was probably Pylagoras.

In another,



instead of a shoe or foot, the picture of a candlestick (?) has been attached to the name of Aurelius Zennas. On another part of the rock a Roman soldier has been drawn.

A day or two before visiting the Maghalsa quarry I was at Hoshân (opposite Silwa), on the west bank of the river. Here I re-copied the inscriptions in the northern quarry, which have been published by Prof. FLINDERS PETRIE in his *Season in Egypt*, Nos. 570–579, and found that the three longer ones, 570, 571, and 572, need correcting. No. 570 consists of three lines only:—(1) *Lια Αντωνινος μεσορη* (2) *ο Νιλος εισηλθεν εις* (3) *τον ορμον μεσορη* $\overline{κσ}$, "The 11th year of Antoninus (Pius), month Mesorê, the Nile entered the basin on the 26th of Mesorê." The three additional lines, given in Prof. PETRIE'S book, have nothing to do with the inscription, the first two being later graffiti, and the third belonging to No. 571.

This latter (No. 571) should be: (1) *επ αγαθω* (2) *Lια Αντωνινος εκολ̣λαυεν* (3) *τους μεγαλους λιθους* (4) *πηχων ια εις την πυλην* (5) *του κυριου Απολλω[νος]* (6) *[και] της κυριας [Λητους]*, "For luck! The 11th year of Antoninus we cut the large stones of 11 cubits for the gate of the lord Apollo and the lady (Latona)" at Edfu.

No. 572, which, instead of being incised like the other inscriptions, is painted in red letters, reads: (1) *ια L Αντω[νινο]υ καισαρος* (2) *εισηλθ[εν]εις τον ορμον της* (3) *λατω[μια]ς μερηι* (*sic*) *κσ̄ κα* (4) *τα το[υς αρ]χαιους [μηνας]*, "The 11th year of Antoninus Cæsar, it entered the basin of the quarry, the 26th of Mesorê, according to the old [calendar]."

The *ὅρμος*, or "basin," was the quarry itself, which has the form of a passage running into the cliff. From another inscription we learn that Apollonius, the son of Petesos, was the "chief engineer."

In the same quarry there is a graffito in Latin characters: ACHARRINI.

I examined the rocks north of the quarries as far as the village of El-Reqiqiya, but found only three hieroglyphic and one hieratic graffiti.

AN ASSYRIAN INCANTATION AGAINST RHEUMATISM.

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

(*Continued from p.* 69.)

TRANSLITERATION—*continued.*

K. 2473. OBVERSE.

(*Pl.* 2—*continued.*)

. . . . . .

1. . . . . ti . . . . . .
2. gir-giš-šum bu-'-ša-nu . . . . . .
3. rigma išakkanu(nu) e-sa-du i-zu-bu ri- . . . . .
4. uz-zar-ri-bu idli^{pl} kal-lu-mi uz-zar-ri-bu . . .
5. man-nu lu-uš-pur ana marat ^{ilu}A-nim ša šamê(e) liš-ša-a . . . .
6. u karpâti^{pl}-ši-na ša ^{abnu}uknî ib-bi li-iḫ-ba-a-ni mê^{pl} a- . . . . .

(*Pl.* 3.)

7. mê^{pl} ^{nâru}Idiklat mê^{pl} ^{nâru}Puratti . . . .
8. ša ur-ru-uš-ti la u-ši-ir-ru u mu-suk-ka-[ni] . . .
9. li-bi-la-nim-ma li-ri-ka-ni ki-iṣ-ṣa-tum . . .
10. ša-aš-ša-ṭu ṣi-en-ni-tum ṣi-rip-tum ip ki na sa . . .
11. pi-a-šu bi-'-a-ra u bu-'-ša-nu kima idli^{pl} ša $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{mut}\\\text{nam}\end{matrix}\right\}$-
12. a-na aḫ-ra-a-tim ki-iṣ-ṣa-tum i-ša . . . .
13. la i-ta-ar ana pulâni apil pulâni šiptu ul ia-ut-tu nišû šipat [^{ilu}Ea u ^{ilu}Marduk]
14. šipat ^{ilu}Ba'u u ^{ilu}Gu-la šipat ^{ilu}Nin-a-ḫa-ḳud-du bêl šipti šu-nu [id-du-ma ana-ku ašši TU EN]

15. [šipta] an-ni-ta a-na ḳu-ta-ri u rimki ša SA . GAL . . . . .

16. [Kikiṭṭu-šu] išid balti išid ašagi ša eli kimaḫḫi kus (?) -sat šamni (?) ṭâbi (?) . . . .
17. . . . . mul-lap-pi ta-lap-pap ina ḳabli-šu kin-ṣi-šu u [ki-sal-li-šu tarakas . . . .]

18. . . . . SA GI ḪU u a . . . . .

19. [INIM . INIM] . MA SA . [GAL . LA . KAM]

20. . . . [šarat] kalbi šarat neši teṭimmi III ^{abnu}AN . ŠE . TIR tašakak(ak)[ma tarakassuma ibaluṭ]

K. 2473. REVERSE.

(*Pl.* 4.)

1. [Šiptu] šu-uḫ-ra-am šu-uḫ-ra-am : ta-an-[bi-tum mu-ut-ta-an-bi-tum]
2. NU . UP . TUR . TUR . RI : ^{ilu}Šamšu [bêl napišti LA ŠI . NA . AḪ
3. ZAG . GA . RA ŠI . NA . AH : NI . IN . . . . .
4. IA . BI . TU E . BI . TU E . TE . MA . AḪ E . BI . TU E . TE . [MA . AḪ E . BI . TU TIL . LA . GE . . . .]
5. INIM . INIM . MA [SA . GAL . LA . KAM]
6. Kikiṭṭu-šu SIG . RID ^{sal}puḫatti SIG . RID utli zumbi buḫa-lim . . . [teliḳḳi]
7. DUR teṭimmi ^{šammu}TAR . ḪU ^{sammu}ŠI . ŠI ^{šammu}[ŠI . MAN tal-pap]
8. VII kaṣir takaṣar šipti VII-šu ana eli tamannu(nu)-ma ḳablišu utli-[šu u ki-sal-li-šu tarakas]
9. Šiptu a-ra-aḫ-ḫi ra ma-ni : a-ra-aḫ-[ḫu pag-ri kima]
10. kalbu kalbata šaḫu šaḫita lit-tab-ku ina ṣêri-šu : kima ^{iṣu}[narṭabi ir-ṣi-tu ir-ḫu-u]
11. ir-ṣi-ti im-ḫu-ru ziri-šu : ir-ḫi ra-ma-ni in (?)- . . . .
12. INIM . INIM . MA SA . [GAL . LA . KAM]
13. Kikiṭṭu-šu VII ḫi-ir-ṣi ša ^{iṣu}eri teliḳḳi(ḳi) [ešteniš išidsunu išati tukabbab]
14. ina šipat nabasi tašakak(ak) VII kaṣir takaṣar šipti VII-šu tamannu[ma tarakassuma ibaluṭ]
15. Šiptu šu-u šum-šu maš-ka-du ki-nu-us-su : iš-tu kakkabi [^{pl}ša-ma-mi ur-da]
16. [iṣbat] ša kal sim-ma-tu kal pag-ri-šu : iṣ-bat giš-ša kin-[ṣa ki-sal-la]
17. [ḳablu ra]-pa-aš-tu u ša-šal-la : ^{ilu}Marduk ša na-ʾ-u-[du u mudû]

18. [kali idišumma šipti] ša šu-ṣi-i kali kima ur-ru mu-šu i-zu-zu li-[zu-za murṣi ša zumri-šu EN]

. . . . . .

K. 2453 + 81-2-4, 194.

(*Pl.* 5.) Col. I.

(1) . . . . (2) . . . . ^{abnu} . . . . (3) . . . puḫadi u ^{sal}puḫatti . . . .
(4) . . . . [^{šammu}ŠI] . MAN ^{šammu}kur-ka-nam . . .
(5) . . . . . KI . A ^{ilu}Nâri UḪ ^{ilu}Nâri
(6) . . . . . puḫadi tal-pap šiptu III-šu tamannu(nu)
(7) . . . . . nâru ir-ḫa-an (8) . . . . GI . ŠA . SUR tašakan(an)
(9) . . . . GI . ŠA . SUR tašakan(an) (10) . . . . tu-kap-par

(11) . . . . . ši na ab (12) . . . [^{ilu}]Zu-uk ši ša nab (13) . . . . lib-luṭ

(14) . . . . a (15) . . . . . .

(Col. II.)

(1) . . . . ḫar-bi (2) . . . . ina ḳabli-šu kin-ṣi-šu
(3) . . . . siḫli RAT ina šamni tapašas-su

(*Pl.* 6.)

(4) . . . . -a kakkabu zi-ia-rum (5) . . . . ia ka riš-ti (or KA SAK TI) ina *ditto* ri-in-ti
(6) . . . . ra ba la ba tu-um-ma-ḫa (7) . . . . kakkabu zi-ia-rum

(8) [INIM . INIM . MA SA] . GAL . LA . KAM

(9) . . . . . teliḳḳi-šu-ma diš-ši-niš
(10) . . . . . ^{pl}pa-ši-rin nâri (11) . . . . VII-šu ana muḳ-ḳal-pi-ti
(12) . . . . ša ana ka(?)-ku(?)-ban-nu tašakan(an)
(13) . . . . ana arki-ka ta-na-suk (14) . . . . . išatti-šu-ma ibaluṭ

(15) . . . . gi pa ta u a na an ku par ri
(16) . . . . . ri an ta na an ku par ri

(17) [INIM . INIM] . MA SA . GAL . LA . KAM

(18) . . . ^{abnu}AN . ŠE . TIR (19) . . . . . tarakas-su

(20) . . . -ma- . . . . (21) . . . . . ru ru u (21) . . . .

(*About four lines wanting.*)

(*Pl.* 7.)

(28) . . . a ra . . . . (28) . . . . . u . . . . (29) . . . . ia . . pi . . . .
(30) . . . ta-bu-u iš . . . . (31) . . . . -ši-ma šur-ši-ša . . . .

(32) . . . . ra-aṣ ana lib šamni tanadi(di) šiptu an-ni-[tu] . . . .
(33) . . . . . DUR šarta sâmta šarta piṣata teṭimmi
(34) . . . . . šipta tamannu(nu) ina šir utli-šu kin-ṣi-šu u ki-sal-li-[šu]
(35) takaṣar(ar ?) ḳišti (?) ana ^{ilu}Šamši u ^{ilu}Gu-la tašakan(an) šamni ḫar-tu tapašaš ana pani(?)utli . . ibaluṭ

---

36. Šiptu šu-uḫ-ra-am šu-uḫ-ra-[am ta-an-bi]-tum mu-ut-ta-an-bi-tum

(*Pl.* 8.)

37. NU . UP . TUR . TUR . RI ^{ilu}Šamšu bêl napišti LA ŠI . NA . AḪ : ZAG . GAR . RA ŠI . NA . AḪ . . GA . . . . .
38. IA . BI . TUM E . BI . TUM E . TE . MA . AḪ E . BI . TUM E . TE . MA . AḪ E . BI . TU TIL . LA [GE] . . .

---

39. INIM . INIM . MA SA . GAL . LA . KAM

---

40. Kikiṭṭu-šu SIG . RID puḫadi u ^{sal}puḫatti šarat zibbat bu-ḫa-li u šarat ^{sal}uniki . . .
41. teliḳḳi(ḳi) DUR teṭimmi ^{šammu}TAR . ḪU ^{šammu}ŠI . ŠI ^{šammu}ŠI . MAN tal-pap VII kaṣir takaṣar . .
42. šiptu VII-šu ana eli tamannu(nu) ina ḳabli utli u ki-sal-li tarakas ^{šammu}ŠI . ŠI . . . .
43. ina šamni tapašas-su ^{šammu}kur-ka-nam ^{šammu}ŠI . MAN taḫašal ina išat ^{iṣu}eri tuṣaḫar(?)-ma [ibaluṭ]

---

44. Šiptu KU UT TE MA ḪA TE MA ḪA NA ḪI LA TE E ḪA MUL ZI E ḪA . . . . . .
45. [TE] E ḪA NI GA ZI IA ŠI MA ḪI MA : IA KU UT TE MA ḪA IA . . . . . .
46. . . RA BI IL UD MAḪ KU . . .

---

47. [INIM] . INIM . MA SA . GAL . LA . KAM

---

48. . . . amelu ša[4] sa-gal-lu-šu ana nâri teliḳḳi(ḳi)-šu-ma i-na šar-ti . . . .
49. . . . GAR (?) . NA buraši tašakan(an) ina mê^{pl} karpta GAR . TA . RIN . TUR . RA . RA teliḳḳi (ḳi)
50. . . . . nâri . . šar-ti ta-ḫap (?)-pu-u ana šar-ru (?)-šu . . . .

---

[4] Probably to be read instead of *da*.

TRANSLATION.

K. 2473. OBVERSE.

1. . . . . .

2. *The* girgiššu[5] [*gave forth*?] *an evil savour* . . . . .
They raised a cry (*and*) *left the pillow*[6] . . . . . .
They oppressed, grown men (*and*) *children* (?)[7] *they oppressed,*
[*until such and such a god spake*]
"*Whom shall I send unto the daughter of Anu who heaven*
"*. . . . . and their cups of shining crystal may hold water*
"*for us* . . . . .

(*Pl.* 3.)

"*water from the Tigris,* (*and*) *water from the Euphrates* . . . .
"*which groweth no crops or* [*watereth*] *palmtrees* . . . *He*
"*shall bring* (*it*) *to us and shall delay for us the wrath.*[8] . . . . .
"*the ulcer, the* . . ., *the* . . ., ...
"*Its stench*[9] . . . (?), *and an evil smell as of men*
that . . . . . .
"*To a later time the anger is deferred* (?) . . . . . .
"*It will not return unto N., son of N.*" *The incantation is not invented of mankind, it is the incantation of* [*Ea and Marduk*[10]]. *It is the incantation of Ba'u and Gula, the incantation of Nin-aḫa-kuddu, the lord of incantation; it is they* [*who have performed, and it is I who have adopted.*
Perform the incantation.]

---

[5] *Girgiššu* is known from BRÜNNOW, *List*, No. 4636, where it is the Assyrian equivalent for an ideogram with the determinative for wood. The same ideogram is translated *tiyalu*, another wood. There is a Syriac word ܐܪܒܘܬܐ *arbutus unedi*, which is comparable, but the whole sense of the cuneiform passage is doubtful. Philologically, the Syriac ܐܪܒܥܬܐ *gleba* is nearer.

[6] *Esadu*, Syriac ܐܣܕܐ.

[7] *Kallumi* (*? kalumi*), very doubtful.

[8] *Kiṣṣatum* from *kaṣaṣu*. See also l. 12.

[9] *Pi-a-šu*; possibly the nominative is *pi-u*, connected with Arab. فَاحَ, "to exhale (a perfume)," and فُوحٌ "the exhalation of an odour."

[10] MYHRMAN (*ZA.*, XVI, translating *W.A.I.*, IV, 56; II, 20, *šiptu ul u-tu niššipat* ^{ilu}*Ea* ^{ilu}*Marduk, etc.*, from which I have restored this line) compares *W.A.I.*, IV, 29, 4, C. 4, *ul ia-at-tu nišu*, K. 2573 *ul i-at-tu nišu*, and KING, *Magic*, No. 61, 20. He translates "Nicht *sucht das Volk* (?) die Beschwörung."

15. [*Thou shalt perform*] *this incantation for the fumigation and washing of the swollen joint* . . . . .

16. [*Ritual for this*]:—[*Take*] *the roots of the caper, the roots of a thorn-bush which on a grave hath been cut out* (?) *sweet* (?) *oil* (?) . . . . . *Roll* (*it*) *up in a band* (*and*) [*bind it*] *on his belly, his shins* (?), *and* [*his hips*].[11]

18. . . . . .

19. *Prayer for the* [*swollen*] *joint.*

20. [*Ritual for this*]:—*Spin together a hair from a dog and a hair from a lion* (*and*) *thread*[12] *three cornelians* (*thereon*), [*bind it on, and he shall recover*].

K. 2473. REVERSE.

(*Pl.* 4.)

1. [*Incantation*]:—*Turn away, turn away!*[13]

5. *Prayer for the* [*swollen joint*].

6. *Ritual for this*:—*Take hair from a female lamb* (*and*) *hair from the rump of a male* (*goat*) . . . ., *spin a thread* (?) (*thereof, and inter*)*twine the plants* tarḫu, šiši (*and*) šiman; *tie seven knots* (*therein*), *repeat the incantation seven times over it* (*and*) [*bind it*] *on his belly, his loins* [*and his hips*].

9. *Incantation*:—*I cherish thee, myself, I cherish thee,* [*my body, as*] *the dog the bitch, as the hog the sow; may it be poured forth in its desert; as* [*the* shaduf *cherisheth the earth*], *the earth receiveth its seed, it cherisheth myself* . . . . . .[14]

12. *Prayer for the* [*swollen*] *joint.*

[11] *Kisallu* = Heb. כֶּסֶל.

[12] UD. DU = *sakâku* = Arab. شَكَّ "pierce, transfix" (*Muss-Arnolt*, p. 1026).

[13] The remainder is unintelligible to me. The text is repeated on Pl. 7, l. 36 ff.

[14] A difficult text, repeated on Pl. 10, ll. 26 ff., and amplified in Maḳlu (Tablet VII, l. 23 ff.). Whether *araḫḫi* and *irḫi* are to be translated "cherish" or "water" is difficult to say, and *ina ṣeri-šu* may be "on its back."

13. *Ritual for this:—Take seven cuttings*[15] *of tamarisk, [char their lower ends in fire together],*[16] *thread them on a scarlet thread, tie (therein) seven knots, repeat the incantation seven times, [bind (it) on him and he will recover.]*

15. *Incantation:—This is its name*—maškadu *is its appellation*[17]*; [it hath come down] from the stars [of heaven; it hath seized] with every* (?) *poison his whole body; it hath seized neck* (?), *shins* (?), *[hips], broad [belly] and shoulders. Marduk, who is glorious [and wise, knoweth it all, too, and may the incantation] which divideth all results* (?) *as between day and night, [divide also between the sickness and his body. Incantation]*[18]

Plates 5 and 6 contain the mutilated ends of lines which do not help much beyond giving some useful repetition of groups.

K. 2453. Col. II, *continued*, l. 32.

(*Pl.* 7.)

32. . . . . *thou shalt put into the oil. [Repeat] this incantation* . . . . . *spin a thread* (?) *of dark and white threads (or hairs)* . . . . . *repeat the incantation: bind it on his loins, his shins* (?) *and his hips; present a gift*[19] *to Šamaš and Gula; with oil* (?) *of* . . . *rub* . . . *and he shall recover.*

36. *Incantation:—Turn away, turn away*[20]

(*Pl.* 8.)

39. *Prayer for the swollen joint.*

[15] *Ḫirṣi* (*cf.* also Pl. 11, l. 30), from *karâṣu*, "to cut into."

[16] For this restoration see Pl. 11, l. 30. *Tukabbab* is from *kabâbu*, Aram. כְּבַב Pa. "to roast," probably the same root from which *kakkabu*, "a star," comes. See MYHRMAN, *ZA.*, XVI, 158; II, l. 4.

[17] *Kînussu* = *kinutsu*, *kinutu* probably being connected with the Syriac ܟܢܘܫܐ and ܟܢܫܐ. The passage is duplicated on Pl. 11, l. 37. *Maškadu* has been known as a form of disease.

[18] This is repeated on Pl. 11, ll. 37 ff.

[19] *Kîštu*, BRÜNNOW, *List*, No. 11988.

[20] See *Pl.* 4, l. 1.

40. *Ritual for this:—Take the hair of a male and female lamb, the hair from the tail of a male* (*goat*), *and the hair of a* [*virgin*] *kid, spin a thread* (?) (*thereof and inter*)*twine the plants* tarḫu, šiši (*and*) šiman, *tie seven knots* (*therein*), *repeat the incantation seven times over it,* (*and*) *bind it on belly, loins, and hips;* šiši-*plant . . . . ; with oil anoint him, bray up saffron* (*and*) šiman-*plant, in a fire of tamarisk reduce* (*them to ashes*) *and* [*he shall recover*].

44. *Incantation:*—[21]

47. *Prayer for the swollen joint.*

48. . . . *take the man whom the swollen joint affection hath seized to the "river," and with the hair* (?) . . . . . *Put cypress* . . . . . *take water in a* [21] gartarinturrara (?)-*cup* . . . . .

[21] Unintelligible to me.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES ON SOME EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES.

III.

BY W. L. NASH, *F.S.A.*

PLATE I.

(*Where no dimensions are given, the illustration is the full size of the object.*)

13. A fragment of a faience plaque with a brilliant light-blue glaze, of Queen Hatshepsut. It is interesting as having on one side the queen's pre-nomen with the feminine title "*Beautiful goddess, Lady of the two lands,*" and on the other her throne-name with masculine title "*Son of the Sun of his body.*" Length $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. From Dêr el Bahari. *In Dr. Colin Campbell's Collection.*

14. Doll (?), consisting of a plate of ivory, the upper end notched to represent the hair. The junction of the head and body roughly defined by a notch on each side. The surface is divided into four parts by three bands, each composed of two lines. In each of the two middle divisions is a circle with a dot in the centre, meant to indicate the face and the pudenda. On the lowest band are two holes. This object appears to be one of the class described by Mr. C. L. WOOLLEY in his article on "Coptic bone figures" (*Proceedings*, Vol. XXIX, p. 218), but is of a more degraded type than any shown by him. From the Fayoum (?).

In Mr. L. S. Loate's Collection.

15. Part of a sistrum handle with the throne-name of Antharyuash, *Darius*. More probably Darius the first than the second. Dark green faience. *In the Author's Collection.*

16. A *Dad* amulet, of dark blue glass. On the *reverse* is the cartouche of Neb Māat Ra, *Amenhetep III*, and "Seten hemt [Thyii]." From Hadj Kandil. *In the Author's Collection.*

PLATE II.

17. A fragment of hard white limestone engraved with the cartouche of Neb-hepet-Ra, *Mentuhetep II*, "*beloved of Hathor.*" A part of the figure of the king standing on a sledge is on the left. From the king's temple at Dêr el Bahari. Length 3 inches.

In Dr. Colin Campbell's Collection.

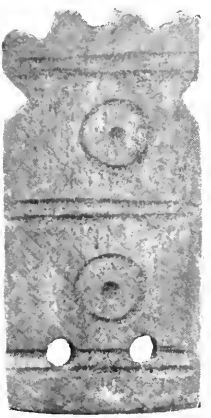
18. A large bead, of Amenhetep III, "*beloved of the Circle of the gods in Hebyt.*" Green glazed faience, with the hieroglyphs in dark purple paste. Hebyt was a town in the Delta, now called Behbit el hagar. *In the Author's Collection.*

19. A tile, measuring 3 inches × 1½ inch, inlaid in yellow glaze with the pre-nomen of Seti II. On the reverse side are the *di* sign and a seated figure, probably a deity, but the edge of the tile is broken away. From Toura, in the Delta.

In the Author's Collection.

20. A blue glazed faience figure of the goddess Mehi, cow-headed and wearing a long wig. The lower part of the object is fashioned as a staff, with a forked end. Mehi was a goddess of the Amenti, probably a form of Hathor. *In the Author's Collection.*

13



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THE HYKSOS AND THE TWELFTH DYNASTY.

By E. W. Hollingworth, *M.A.*

The present Paper attempts to show that several independent lines of evidence unite in pointing to the identity of the great Hyksos with the kings of the Twelfth dynasty. The identification is supported by :—

(*a*) The dates on the monuments.

(*b*) The known lists of kings.

(*c*) The general evidence of the monuments.

(*d*) The features of the statues.

(*e*) The similarity of the facts recorded of the two dynasties.

(*a*) The 7th year of Usertesen III was dated, according to papyri from Kahun, by a heliacal rising of Sirius on the 16th day of the 4th month of winter, while the 33rd year of Tahutmes III is dated by a rising on the 28th Epiphi. Since a sidereal year contains 365·256374 days and the old Egyptian year 365, the above dates would be 398 (or 102 ÷ 0·256374) years apart, and the interval between the end of the Twelfth and the beginning of the Eighteenth dynasty would be about 200 years. The Twelfth dynasty thus falls in the Hyksos period, which according to Josephus and Julius Africanus lasted for more than 500 years.

(*b*) The second book [1] of Herodotus agrees with the conclusion that the Twelfth was a Hyksos dynasty, for it states that there were eighteen foreign kings before Moeris (Amenemhat III), and it may be read as stating that Moeris himself was a foreigner. Herodotus passes from Moeris to Sesostris and his successor Pheron. The name and exploits of Sesostris suggest Zeserkara (Amenhetep I), but however this may be, Pheron is identified with Tahutmes, the

[1] §§ 100 *et seq.*

obelisks, 100 cubits high, erected by Tahutmes III, being far larger than any others known. If the Hyksos had reigned in the interval between Moeris (Amenemhat III) and Pheron (Tahutmes), it is strange that they should have been passed over by HERODOTUS, for some of them were powerful and ruled the whole of Egypt, while the foreigners who preceded Moeris would be otherwise unknown.

The list of Abydos follows the same course, and omits all kings between the Twelfth and Eighteenth dynasties.

The list of Saqquara goes further, for besides omitting all kings between these dynasties, it makes a distinction between the Twelfth and the other dynasties by writing it in the reverse order.

The list of Karnak places the Hyksos, Ra-en-user (Khyan or Janias), in the Twelfth dynasty.

The copies of MANETHO'S lists are too uncertain for much stress to be laid upon them, but the version of JULIUS AFRICANUS supplies a reason for the omission from the Abydos and Saqquara lists of the kings who immediately preceded the Eighteenth dynasty: the country being divided between Shepherd and Theban kings for a period of 151 years.

(*c*) The general evidence of the monuments strongly supports the proposed identification, for between the Sixth and Eleventh dynasties a great change came over Egypt, the shape of the skulls of the mummies,[2] the family names, official titles, the writing, the religion, and the capital being altered, and the objects belonging to the Eleventh dynasty not resembling in the least those of the earlier periods.[3] MARIETTE considered that these facts proved that the country had been under the rule of foreigners.[4] On the other hand, the objects belonging to the Seventeenth dynasty are so similar to those of the Eleventh that it is difficult for even the most practised eye to distinguish them.[5]

(*d*) The features of the kings of the Twelfth dynasty are so markedly un-Egyptian, that the "Hyksos" sphinxes are now attributed to Amenemhat III.[6] The Hyksos statues, as pointed out by Prof. GOLÉNISCHEFF, resemble Amenemhat III, although one in the

[2] F. LENORMANT, *Manual of the Ancient History of the East*, V. I, p. 212.

[3] MARIETTE, *Outlines of Ancient Egyptian History*, trans. by M. BRODRICK, pp. 12, 102.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 108.

[6] Dr. E. W. BUDGE, *A History of Egypt*, Vol. III, p. 64.

British Museum is attributed by Dr. WALLIS BUDGE to Khyan,[7] whose name was found on a fellow statue.

(*e*) The facts known of the Hyksos are few, but they apply in a curious way to the corresponding kings of the Twelfth dynasty.

The lengths of reign worked out by Prof. PETRIE for the kings of the Twelfth dynasty are nearly those assigned by JOSEPHUS to the Hyksos.

PROF. PETRIE.	Years.	JOSEPHUS.	Years.
Amenemhat I (excluding co-regency)	20	Salatis	19
Usertesen I (including ,,)	44	Bnon	44
Amenemhat II ,, ,,	35	Pachnan	36, 7 months.
Usertesen II }	62	Apofis	61
Usertesen III }			
Amenemhat III }	53	Janias	50
Amenemhat IV }			
Sebekhotep (?) ... ... ("after all these")		Assis	49

In the above, the co-regency of Amenemhat I has been excluded, for monuments are dated in the early years of Usertesen I, who appears therefore to have taken over the government. Apofis and Janias have been taken to correspond with the two consecutive Usertesens and Amenemhats respectively, for it seems necessary to split up the figures given by JOSEPHUS. It is hardly possible that four reigns, averaging 48 years a-piece, could be consecutive.

Salatis lived at Memphis, rendered Upper and Lower Egypt tributary, and fortified Avaris. Amenemhat I extended the power of Thebes over the whole country, and established a fortress on his eastern frontier.[8]

Bnon is said to mean the "man of On,"[9] at which city Usertesen I founded the original temple.

Apepa and Usertesen III appear to have built at the same places, Gebelen, Tanis, and Bubastis. At the last place Apepa "erected many columns and a gate of brass," and Usertesen III rebuilt the temple. A monument in the Louvre, read as of Apepa, contains a list of 36 conquered Nubian races;[10] the conquest of Nubia was pre-eminently the work of Usertesen III. The name of Apepa

[7] Dr. E. W. BUDGE, *A History of Egypt*, Vol. III, p. 162.
[8] *Records of the Past*, Vol. VI, p. 135.
[9] Prof. SAYCE, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1901, Vol. XXIII, p. 98.
[10] Prof. PETRIE, *History of Egypt*, Vol. I, p. 243.

occurs as that of private persons not uncommonly in or about the time of the Thirteenth dynasty, *i.e.*, before the period usually assigned to Apepa's reign.

Semitic records relate that the Hyksos Pharaoh Raiyan-ibn-el-walid in 1800 B.C. employed Joseph to dig the Bahr Yussuf canal in connection with Lake Moeris, which is called Wadi Raiyan after this king.[11] The lake was regarded as the work of Amenemhat III, who was called Moeris. The date 1800 B.C., taken as a round number, agrees very well with BORCHARDT's calculation of 1876–2 B.C. for the 7th year of Usertesen III, based on the dates of the heliacal rising of Sirius given in the Kahun papyri. The name of Khyan has been found on a statue of Twelfth dynasty style and on a cylinder similar in general style to those of the Thirteenth dynasty and Sebekhotep.[12] Khyan is now generally recognized to be the Hyksos Pharaoh Janias.[13] He appears also to have been called Ian-ra or Raian and User-en-ra.

In conclusion, it should be noticed that the identification of the great Hyksos with the kings of the Twelfth dynasty is the natural consequence of two views which are widely held, viz., (*a*) that the Twelfth dynasty were descendants of foreigners, to whom the so-called Hyksos statues should be attributed; (*b*) that there was no Hyksos invasion between the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties.[14]

[11] F. COPE WHITEHOUSE, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1892, Vol. XV, p. 84.
[12] F. L. GRIFFITH, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1897, Vol. XIX, p. 296.
[13] Prof. A. H. SAYCE, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1901, Vol. XXIII, p. 95.
[14] Dr. E. W. BUDGE, *History of Egypt*, Vol. III, p. 144.

REVIEWS.

"Les Tapisseries d'Antinoë au Musée d'Orléans," *par Jules Baillet.*

This is a small work dealing entirely with those textiles unearthed by M. GAYET at Antinoë, which are now at the Orleans Museum. From the year 1896, and onwards, M. GAYET has been at work on a cemetery, part Christian, part pagan, which was used as a burial ground from a period so remote, according to the excavator, as the reign of Hadrian, and continued in use far down into Byzantine times. The textiles therefore belong to a very interesting period —the period which should date from the final decay of the old Egyptian art down to the definite establishment of the so-called "Byzantine" influence and spirit. Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to place any certain date on these materials, although those described by M. BAILLET do not seem, any of them, to be as old as the age of Hadrian. On the other hand, there is a remarkable absence of any definite Christian symbolism. M. BAILLET has very carefully described the texture and patterns of the stuffs illustrated. At the same time we find it difficult to agree with him when he states that many of these patterns represent an easily traced family descent from old Egyptian motives. It seems to us that the spirit is almost entirely non-Egyptian, and rather that of a debased Hellenism, although perhaps here and there in the figures of birds and animals we may catch a glimpse of the genius of ancient Egypt. That the old *motives* lingered on there can be no doubt, but it is difficult to recognize them as easily as M. BAILLET does in the baskets, tables, flowers, etc., figured on these textiles. In short, whatever may be their date, they are unsatisfactory evidence of a steady transition from pure Egyptian to Hellenistic or Byzantine art. In textiles, especially, the gap is a wide one. M. BAILLET'S contribution is nevertheless very welcome, as the study of these stuffs is likely to become of considerable importance to a proper understanding of the art of this period, and may make it possible to reconcile STRZYGOWSKI'S theories as to the Syrian origin of Byzantine *motives* with a genuine and traceable development of national feeling and spirit. The book also contains a catalogue list of terracottas, bronzes, etc., from the same site, now in the Orleans Museum.

P. D. S-M.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, June 10th, 1908, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

Prof. A. H. Sayce, *D.D.* (*President*): **"Notes on Some Recent Discoveries in Egypt."**

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-EIGHTH SESSION, 1908.

Fifth Meeting, June 10th, 1908.

PROF. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D.* (*President*),

IN THE CHAIR.

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

From the Author, Prof. A. J. Reinach.—"l'Égypte préhistorique."

From W. H. Rylands, Esq., *F.S.A.*—"The Literature of Egypt and the Soudan: a Bibliography," by his Highness Prince Ibrahim-Hilmy. Vol. II.

From the Author, S. F. Pells, Esq.—"Hades," and "Introduction to Charles Thomson's Septuagint."

The following Paper was read :—

Prof. A. H. SAYCE, *D.D.* (*President*): "Notes on some Recent Discoveries in Egypt."

Thanks were returned for this communication.

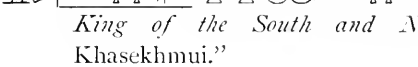
THE TITLES OF THE THINITE KINGS.

BY F. LEGGE.

(*Continued from p.* 128.)

PROTOCOLS OF THE THINITES.

From these two lists we can reconstruct without further difficulty the protocols of some at least of the Thinite kings. No one will be inclined to dispute, for instance, that the Horus Khasekhmui (No. 7 in list of Horus-names) is the same person as the *suten bat nebti* Khasekhmui (No. 3 in the list of *suten bat* names). On this principle we find we have the protocols of five of the Thinite kings, viz. :—



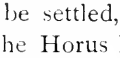
"*The Horus* Khasekhmui, *King of the South and North, Lord of Diadems,* Khasekhmui."

"*The Horus* Neteren, *King of the South and North, Lord of Diadems,* Neteren."

"*The Horus* Neterkhet, *King of the South and North, Lord of Diadems,* Neterkhet."

"*The Set* Perabsen, *King of the South and North,* Perabsen."

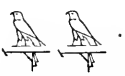
"*The Horus* Qa, *King of the South and North, Lord of Diadems,* Qa."

Besides these, however, there are certain names in the list of Horus-names which may be identified with greater or less certainty with other and different ones in the list of *suten bat* names. This is the case with the Horus Az-ab (No. 2 in list of Horus-names) who, on the strength of a jar-sealing which shows this title and name alternating with that numbered 4 in list of *suten bat* names, has been identified with "the King of the South and North Merbapen," who has in turn been identified with the Miebis of Manetho (see *P.S.B.A.*, 1904, p. 136). I am by no means so sure of this identity as I was in my paper last quoted, but as it makes no great difference to my main argument, I will pass over this for the present.[31] The case of the Horus Den (No. 3 in list of Horus-names) is on all fours with this, having been formerly identified by common consent (see *P.S.B.A.*, 1904, p. 135) with the supposed "Setui," who is No. 9 in the list of *suten bat* names. M. WEILL's very clear argument in his article in the *Recueil de Travaux* (t. XXIX, pp. 26 *sqq.*) has severely shaken this identification: but as the question cannot yet be settled, this also may be left as it is for the present. That of the Horus Hotep-sekhmui (No. 4 in the list of Horus-names) is a little clearer. M. AMÉLINEAU found the fragment of a vase at Abydos inscribed with the *srekh* of the Horus Hotep-sekhmui followed by a house sign containing some much-defaced signs, which are probably  .[32] A house sign thus inscribed is frequently found in a similar position following the Horus-name of Qa (*cf. R.T.*, i, VIII, 12: also IX, 2), which may therefore be thought to refer to a "castle" or house of that monarch. This is confirmed by the instances given in the list from Prof. PETRIE'S excavations on the same spot, where the *srekh* of the Horus Hotep-sekhmui precedes a house sign bearing the signs above the ordinary *Ka* standard , and apparently meaning "the House of the *Ka* of the Horus Hotep-sekhmui." Hotep-sekhmui, therefore, seems to have adopted for some purpose

[31] I hope to return to the whole question of the identification of the Thinite kings with those mentioned in the Manetho and in the King-lists of Abydos and Saqqara in a future paper, which will be, in effect, the continuation of that called "The Kings of Abydos."

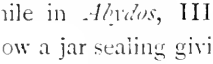
[32] So Mr. GRIFFITH, *R.T.*, i, p. 40, who suggests for the group the extraordinary translation of "Residence of all Protection behind."

or another the house of the Horus Qa and to have possessed besides a residence for his own double. But M. BARSANTI has recently found (*Ann. du Service*, iii, p. 187, Type No. 2 A), under the Pyramid of Unas, certain jar-sealings, which show not only the hawk-crowned *srekh* of Hotep-sekhmui, as it appears on the shoulder of Statue No. 1 in the Gizeh Museum, but, following it, a house sign containing the signs , which M. MASPERO reads "Château du Roi des deux Égyptes, maitre du nord et du sud Hotpou" [Hotep]. Unless, therefore, we choose to believe that a *suten bat nebti* Hotep reigned before Hotep-sekhmui, it seems likely that the two *sekhem* signs were here dropped from his *suten bat* name by the carelessness or haste of the scribe.[33] If this is the case, Hotepsekhmui and Hotep must be the same person, and his protocol must be read like those of Khasekhmui, Neteren, Neterkhet, and Qa.

It seems also extremely likely that "The Horus Khasekhem" (No. 6 in list of Horus-names) and "The Horus Khasekhmui" (No. 7) are the same person. Khasekhem's name appears at Hieraconpolis only, and the signification of the double form of the name is sufficiently shown by the wearing of the crown of the North only by the hawk on the *srekh* in the *Sam-taui* scene there depicted, and by the remark of Mr. QUIBELL (*Hierakonpolis*, ii, p. 44) that there are traces of another *sekhem* sign having been begun but never finished in the king's *srekh*. This accords with the meaning of the names "The Rising of the Sceptre" and "The Rising of the Two Sceptres," respectively, and is evidently intended to mark the annexation (peaceable or otherwise) of the kingdom of Set to the crown of the North. This would doubtless account for Khasekhmui employing on his jar-sealings the "Asch" or Set-animal in addition to the Horus-hawk, the two being borne on a *srekh* containing his name , sometimes with and sometimes without the addition of the signs  "the peace of his two gods."

In like case to this last is the Horus Sekhemab (No. 14 in the list of Horus-names), of whom M. AMÉLINEAU and, after him, Prof. PETRIE discovered many jar-sealings at Abydos. M. WEILL has made it

[33] A similar abbreviation occurs in the protocol of Ne-user-ra given in Part I of this paper, *P.S.B.A.*, 1908, p. 92.

perfectly plain (*Rec. de T.*, *art. cit.*, pp. 29, *sqq.*) that Sekhemab is not Perabsen as Prof. PETRIE thought, the last-named king having been already provided with a Horus, or rather, a Set name of his own; while in *Abydos*, III, Messrs. AYRTON, CURRELLY, and WEIGALL show a jar sealing giving the name of Sekhemab in a *srekh*, together with the signs  reading Per-en-maat, "House of Truth."[34] From this, M. WEILL argues that Per-en-maat is the *suten bat* name of Sekhemab. This may well be so, as a *srekh* of Ne-user-ra, which he quotes,[35] shows a hawk-crowned *srekh* containing the Horus and *suten bat* names side by side. But the usage of the Vth Dynasty is no warrant for that of the Thinites, and I do not agree with M. WEILL that *Neterui hotep un-f* is the *suten bat* name of Khasekhmui, whom he quotes as a precedent.[36] While, therefore, believing Sekhem-ab and Sekhem-ab-Perenmaat to be the same person, I do not suggest any *suten bat* name for the former.

We can, then, reconstitute, although with far less certainty than the five first given, the following additional protocols:—

"*The Horus* Az-ab, *King of the South and North*, Merbapen."

"*The Horus* Den, *King of the South and North*, Setui."

"*The Horus* Hotep-sekhmui, *King of the South and North*, *Lord of Diadems*, Hotep."

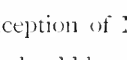
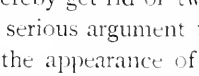
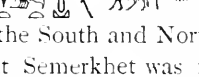
while the Horus Kha-sekhem is otherwise accounted for. Of those remaining in the list of Horus-names there is nothing to give us any

[34] A fine alabaster vase fragment bearing the same inscription is in Mr. NASH'S collection. See *P.S.B.A.*, 1907, pp. 297–298, and Plate.

[35] Given in BRUGSCH and BOURIANT'S *Livre des Rois*, p. 7.

[36] M. MASPERO reads these signs *Hotep Neterui am-f*. "In whom the two Horuses [gods?] are joined." AMÉLINEAU, *Tombeau d'Osiris*, p. 129.

indication as to whether the Horus Kha-ba possessed a *suten bat* title or name, and although the Horus Ra-neb, from his manifest proximity in date to Neteren and Neterkhet respectively, probably did so, we have no means of even guessing what it was.

We have now accounted for all the names in the list of *suten bat* names, with the exception of No. 2  , which according to Mr. H. R. HALL should be read "Hu" or "Nekht." I should much like to identify him with the Horus Semerkhet (No. 15 in the list of Horus-names), as I should thereby get rid of two more numbers. But I cannot do so, as the only serious argument that has yet been adduced for the identification is the appearance of the *srekh* of the Horus Semerkhet on a jar-sealing (*R. T.*, I, No. 72), alternately with a house sign containing the signs  , which may be read "the great house of the Lord of Diadems Hu." If this proves that Hu was Semerkhet, then the next seal to it in the Plate (viz., No. 73) which bears alternately with Semerkhet's *srekh* another house sign containing the signs  must mean that Semerkhet was also the King of the South and North Ti-mer-ka-nub. We must therefore suppose that Semerkhet was not only the one king yet discovered before Usertesen II to possess a *nebti* name different from his Horus-name, but that Manetho and Seti's scribes all put this *nebti* name into their lists to the disregard of his *suten bat* name, which was something quite different from both. This seems to be a sufficient *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole argument, and I am afraid that I must leave the *suten bat* Hu without suggesting any Horus-name to which he can be attached.

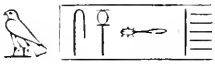
There remain, then, out of the list of Horus-names, besides the Horus Sekhem-ab, the Horus Aha (No. 1), the Horus Narmer (No. 8), the Horus Semerkhet (No. 15), the Horus Zer or Khent (No. 16), the Horus Zet (No. 17), the Neith Hotep Ba (No. 19), and the Amen Se- (No. 20), without *suten bat* names corresponding to them, and I shall ask the reader to believe that in these seven cases the protocol consisted merely of the *srekh* containing the king's name and surmounted by the animal chosen as his emblem. We have many inscriptions, amounting in some cases to more than 100, of each of these kings, and it seems incredible that if any *suten bat* names belonging to them exist, they should not have come down to us. Omitting, then, those instances where we have clearly only a

mutilated protocol, we are left with the following protocols, which I will divide into three groups :—

GROUP A (*Srekh* title and name).

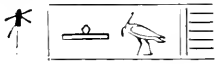
"*The Horus* Aha."

"*The Horus* Narmer."

 "*The Horus* Semerkhet."

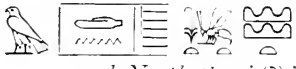
"*The Horus* Zer [Khent]."

"*The Horus* Zet."

 "*The Neith* Hotep-Ba."

"*The Amen* Se-(?)."

GROUP B (Horus and *suten bat* titles and name).

 "*The Horus* Den, *King of the South and North*, Setui (?)"

"*The Horus* Az-ab, *King of the South and North*, Merbapen (?)"

"*The Set* Perabsen, *King of the South and North*, Perabsen."

GROUP C (*Srekh, suten bat* and *nebti* titles and name).

The Horus Hotep-sekhmui, *King of the South and North, Lord of Diadems,* Hotep-sekhmui."

"*The Horus* Khasekhmui, *King of the South and North, Lord of Diadems,* Khasekhmui."

"*The Horus* Neteren, *King of the South and North, Lord of Diadems,* Neteren."

"*The Horus* Neterkhet, *King of the South and North, Lord of Diadems,* Neterkhet."

"*The Horus* Qa, *King of the South and North, Lord of Diadems,* Qa."

If, as M. WEILL (*Rec. de Trav., loc. cit.*) makes probable, it hereafter appears that the name read as "*suten bat* Setui" in Den's protocol is only the epithet "King of Deserts," his protocol will fall into Group A, and the same will be the case with that of Az-ab, if, as I am inclined to think possible, he should turn out not to be the *suten bat* Merbapen. In any event, their protocols, as well as that of Perabsen, are sufficiently distinguished from Group C, from the fact that they do not include the *nebti* title.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE THINITE PROTOCOL.

In considering this, we must first notice that the chain of evolution is continuous between Snefru and the greater part of Group C. Khasekhmui and Neterkhet (in that order) were, as we have seen, his immediate predecessors; while Neteren and Hotep-sekhmui are shown to be consecutive by the occurrence of their

names side by side on Statue No. 1, and anterior to Khasekhmui by the position of Neteren's name some lines above his on the Palermo Stone. Qa, in like manner, must have reigned before—and, probably, immediately before—Hotep-sekhmui for the last named to have adopted his house; and we can, therefore, arrange Group C thus :—

Qa,
Hotep-sekhmui,
Neteren,
Khasekhmui,
Neterkhet,

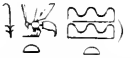
although we should not lose sight of the possibility of a reign, or perhaps several reigns, having occurred between Qa and Hotep-sekhmui or between Neteren and Khasekhmui. But we have no inscription which shows the *nebti* title as forming part of the protocol before Qa[37]; and until proof to the contrary, we are justified in saying that its use in this connection began with that king.

Passing to Group B, the distinguishing feature of which is that here we have the Horus and *suten bat* titles together in the protocol without the *nebti*, we find more than one question awaiting us. Merbapen can hardly be any other than the 6th king of the Abydos list, who figures in the King-list of Saqqara as the first to reign over the whole of Egypt. But of the nine inscriptions given in the Plate, which it is believed are all that exist of this king, only one gives any colour to the theory that the "King of the South and North, Merbapen," has anything to do with the Horus Az-ab. This is the jar-sealing No. 57, found by Prof. PETRIE, which is perhaps at the Cairo Museum.[38] The only reproduction of it that has been published hitherto is a "hand-copy," that is to say, a sketch made up from different impressions of the seal, showing (see Pl. IV, h) the name of Merbapen with the *suten bat* above it alternating with the *srekh* of the Horus Az-ab. The evidential value of this form of record is, as we shall see later, not high, and no other instance is found among Thinite jar-sealings of a king thus giving his *suten bat* title and name by the side of his Horus-*srekh*. It should be noticed also that out

[37] The so-called "Tablet of Mena" is, of course, no exception. It shows a hawk and not a vulture on the first *neb* basket, and a viper and not a cobra or uraeus on the second.

[38] Mr. QUIBELL'S Introduction to *Archaic Objects* in the *Catalogue Générale* leaves it quite uncertain whether the jar-sealings there copied are actually in the Cairo Museum or not.

of the six vase-fragments bearing Merbapen's *suten bat* name, the four which are complete all bear two hawks on perches going before it. Mr. GRIFFITH (*R.T.* I, p. 36) says that this group is certainly to be read *neterui*, and signifies Horus and Set. But he has perhaps not noticed that these two hawks on perches are also the emblem (probably the *totem*) of a tribe, and in one of the carved slates (see *P.S.B.A.*, 1900, p. 135 and Pl. V) are shown, as such, breaking into a town which may be Coptos. Is it possible from this that Merbapen was merely a tribal chieftain or nomarch who claimed the title of King of the South and North without actually possessing the kingdom, to which perhaps his descendants may have attained? At present I see no way of solving this question or of deciding whether he really was the same person as the Horus Az-ab, but it is evident that, if the first question be answered in the affirmative, he may never have received the two crowns of the *nebti* or have been entitled to call himself Lord of the Shrines of Nekhebit and Uazit, which is one of the explanations of the *nebti* title.

With regard to the proposed equation Den=Setui, the evidence is even less satisfactory. Of the five inscriptions in Pls. II and III showing the *suten bat* title followed by the name , which has been read Setui, three are taken from the wooden tablets which, as I endeavoured to show last year (*P.S.B.A.*, 1907, *passim*), are the records of temple donations made by the king on different occasions. In one of these three cases the tablet records the donation of a king who is certainly, and in the other two possibly, no other than Den; but the group (written in two instances, as appears in the plates, ) occurs only in one of the registers of the date, or of what I have called the year-name of the tablet, in which it seems connected with the taking of some city. But a deed, for instance, made in the time of James II, which alluded, as it well might, to an incident in the Rebellion under Charles I, would certainly not prove these kings to be identical; and until the whole of the phrases in which these signs occur can be read, they can hardly be said to prove the equation mentioned above. The remaining two inscriptions (see Pl. III) are even less conclusive for this purpose, for they show, by the side of the , not the *srekh* of the Horus Den, but another *suten bat*, preceding, in the one

case, the name of Hu before mentioned, and, in the other, that of Merbapen accompanied by the two hawks on perches. One of these inscriptions is said to show signs of "usurpation" or erasure, although none appear in the reproductions published; but the other, which is copied in the Plate from a photograph of the original in the Louvre, most kindly put at my disposal by M. BÉNÉDITE, exhibits no trace of anything of the kind. M. WEILL's suggestion that , instead of being a proper name, here means, when taken with the *suten bat*, something like "King of the Southern and Northern Desert" is therefore perfectly tenable.

No ambiguity of this kind troubles us with regard to Perabsen, the third member of Group B. The *suten bat* Perabsen of the jar-sealings shown in the plates is undoubtedly the same person as "the Set Perabsen" whose tomb[39] was discovered by M. AMÉLINEAU, and whose funeral stele was recovered later by Prof. PETRIE (*R.T.*, II, Pl. XXXI). He was also a historical personage, and was worshipped after his death, as is shown by the door-frame of his priest Sheri, reproduced by M. MASPERO (*Hist. Anc.*, 1895, t. i, p. 237) and by M. AMÉLINEAU (*N.F. d'A.*, *vol. cit.*, Pl. XX). Why, then, did he use the Set-animal or *asch* on his *srekh*, instead of the Horus-hawk, and why does his name appear neither in the King-lists of Abydos, Saqqara or Karnak, nor in the Turin Papyrus? The only answers that suggest themselves are, that either he was, like Khuenaten three millenia later, a "heretic king," who introduced the worship of strange gods, or that he was the chief of the Set tribe, who waged war against the "Followers of Horus" in the fratricidal strife recorded in the legend of Edfu, and was for a time so successful as to have ruled over a part of Southern Egypt. In this connection it may be noticed that in the jar-sealings of this king, which show the figure of the god *Set*, animal-headed and upright beside the *srekh* (*R.T.*, II, Nos. 178 and 179), he wears the Southern crown only. As to Perabsen's date, if M. AMÉLINEAU be correct in saying that he found a vase-fragment with the name of the Horus Qa in the undespoiled part of Perabsen's Tomb (*N.F. d'A. vol. cit.*, p. 259),

[39] The attribution is more certain than in any other case occurring in the Thinite period; for M. AMÉLINEAU tells us that more than 100 objects bearing this name were found in the "tomb," and that one of the chambers had not been despoiled. *Cf. N.F. d'A.*, t. iii, pt. I, Chap. XI *passim*, and especially p. 270. "Nearly all" Perabsen's inscriptions discovered by M. AMÉLINEAU are said to be at Cairo (*vol. cit.*, p. 270).

he should be later in date than Qa, and it seems reasonable to believe, from the union of the two animals on Khasekhmui's *srekh*, that the separate reign of the chief of the Set tribe was put an end to by the accession of Khasekhmui. The hypothesis that Perabsen was never king over the whole of Egypt would account for his not assuming the *nebti* title.

We come now to Group A, in which the Horus title and name alone is used, and where no trace of either *suten bat* or *nebti* appears. This is especially the case with Aha, Narmer, Zer (or Khent), and Zet, whose jar-sealings all show a continuous line of hawk-crowned *srekhs* (*see* Plate) without intermediate words or phrases. All these names seem to be written with a single sign, a fact which, from the first, was noticed by M. MASPERO.[40] It is probable, therefore, that these four kings are all close together in point of date, and that we have here another example of the rule that the names of the kings of the same dynasty generally resemble one another. Den, indeed, possessed a seal of the same kind, but wrote his name with two signs, and in this way also he and, I think, Az-ab and Sekhem-ab, form links between the earlier and later Thinites. Semerkhet, from the greater complication of his name, would, on this reasoning, be later than Den, Az-ab, and Sekhem-ab, and this, I think, is borne out by the fact of his being the first royal name to appear on the rocks at Sinai. So far, then, as we can see at present, and subject to what has been said with regard to Group B, we may provisionally arrange those kings earlier than Qa whom we have just discussed, thus :—

Aha Narmer Zer [Khent] Zet	} order uncertain.
Den	if he be not Setui.
Az-ab	if he be not Merbapen.
Sekhem-ab Perenmaat.	
Semerkhet.	

[40] *Hist. anc. des peuples, etc.*, 1895, t. i, p. 236. NARMER would, perhaps, be an exception; but in once instance, at least (*R. T.*, ii, Pl. XIII, No. 91), the second sign in his name has been cast out of the *srekh*, as if with the intention of making his name "like those which have been made before." This seems more likely than that *Mer* should be, as M. WEILL (*Rec. de Trav., art. cit.*) suggests, his *suten bat* name.

The Neith Hotep-Ba, the Amen Se-, and the *suten bat* Hu cannot, in the present state of our information, be usefully placed.

Taking this in connection with what has been said at the end of the first part of this paper, we see, then, that :—

The Horus of Gold title did not come in before Neterkhet, and probably formed no regular part of the protocol before Snefru.

The *nebti* or Lord of Diadems title came in with Qa.

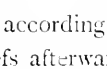
The use of the *suten bat* or King of the South and North title also came in with this last king, unless we choose to believe that Den was Setui and Az-ab, Merbapen.

The earliest group known to us, viz., Aha, Narmer, Zer [Khent], and Zet, used as protocol the Horus-name alone, and wrote it with a single sign.

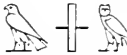
THE MEANING OF THE THINITE TITLES.

The only question that remains to be considered is that of the meaning of these titles and the historical events to which they probably refer. The *nebti*, or vulture and uraeus title, which is probably the last comer but one into the Thinite protocol, has been discussed at very great length by Dr. NAVILLE, Prof. SETHE, Prof. WIEDEMANN and the late K. PIEHL, and the theory formerly put forward by Prof. ERMAN, that it is to be read *smaweti* "the uniter," is now quite given up (*v. P.S.B.A.*, 1898, pp. 117–119) in favour of the view of M. MASPERO in his masterly essay on "Les Quatre Nomis Officiels des Rois Égyptiens" (*Études Égyptiennes*, 1879, t. II) that it means Lord of the shrines of Nekhebit and Uazit. Now Nekhebit, the vulture-goddess, was the divine guardian of Nekhab, or the ancient Eileithyiopolis, now El-Kab, a long way to the south of Thebes, while Uazit, a form of Isis, occupied the same position with regard to Buto or Tell Fera'in at almost the northernmost point of the Delta. It may therefore well be that this title, when joined to the *suten bat*, marks the subjugation of the whole length and breadth of Egypt so far as it was known to the Thinite kings. Later it came to be confused with the actual head-coverings that were the sign of this supremacy, and came to be known as the *nebti* or "two goddesses," as Dr. NAVILLE (*Ä.Z.*, XXXVI, 1898, p. 134) has

shown from a text in Queen Hatasu's temple at Deir el-Bahari. That the Egyptians of the decadence—turning, as they did in everything, to magic to explain the points in their national beliefs of which they had forgotten the historical explanation—attributed a mystic power to all the regalia is well known, and is illustrated by a passage in the *Pistis Sophia*, where the royal crown is made to sing a hymn. Thus is explained the passage in the Stela of Damanhur, where the is translated *κυριὸς βασιλειῶν* "Lord of Diadems."

The *suten bat* title can best be explained in a similar way. The *suten* seems to have been the emblem of the high-priest of *Suten-henen*, or Heracleopolis Magna, while the *bat* was that of the corresponding official at  , Qebt, or Coptos. This last town was, according to some, the first point reached by the invaders whose chiefs afterwards became the first dynastic kings of Egypt when they came into the Nile Valley from Koseir on the Red Sea; and Suten-henen is often spoken of in the earlier myths as the place where Ra rose for the first time, where the great slaughter of mankind was made, and where the , *sam taui*, "the union," or even the *temt taui*, "the completion" of the two lands (BUDGE, *Gods of the Egyptians*, II, pp. 58, 59), took place. Hence there seems little doubt that these two towns formed the limits of the first conquest made by the invaders, and that the priesthood of them thus naturally passed into the protocol of the kingship, a view that was long since put forward by LE PAGE RENOUF and Prof. WIEDEMANN (*P.S.B.A.*, XII, p. 358, and XX, p. 117) and is supported by M. MORET (*Roy. Phar.*, p. 34). In the Damanhûr Stela the *suten bat* title is translated *Βασιλεὺς τῶν τε ἄνω καὶ τῶν κάτω χωρῶν*, "King of the Upper and Lower Land."

We come at last to the Horus or *srekh* title, consisting, as I have said so many times, of an animal, generally a hawk, upright upon a *srekh* or rectangle containing the personal or distinguishing name of the king, and representing in its lower part the façade or

front elevation of a building.[41] This agrees singularly with the description of the king as  "The Horus who is in the palace" (MORET, *op. cit.*, p. 19, n. 2), and leaves no doubt as to the meaning of the group. But why was the king known as "the Horus"? Because, says M. LORET, in the essay I have before referred to, the chief of the premier clan of the invaders was called "the Falcon," as the leader of a tribe or sept who bore that animal as their ensign and *totem*, the word *Horr* or *Haur* being Arabic as well as Egyptian for a falcon.[42] Herein they anticipated exactly the usage of our Highland clans, one of whom, the clan Chattan, gave its name to Caithness and called its chieftain, the Earl of Sutherland, *Mohr an Chat*, "The Great Wild Cat."[43] That the same explanation would by itself account for the example of names included in a *srekh*, surmounted by some other animal than the falcon, such as those given above of the Set Perabsen, the Neith Hotep-Ba, and the Amen Se—, needs no demonstration.

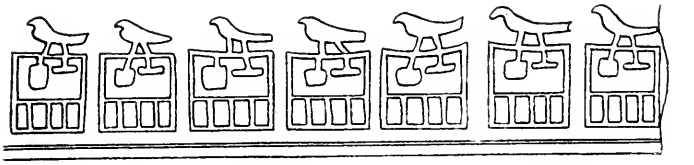
CONCLUSIONS.

We see, then, that the Thinite protocol is not only connected in an uninterrupted manner with the protocol used by all succeeding dynasties, but can be traced back by regular steps to the *totems* of the invading clans. From this we can conclude, I think, that the form of a king's protocol is a valuable help in determining his place in the King-lists, and one, perhaps, more trustworthy than those hitherto employed. It may also be remarked that its use furnishes a proof the more that Aha cannot possibly be Menes. For the pavilion sign , which, in the table of Aha, covers the supposed name of *Men* or Mena, not only appears, as I showed in a former paper (*P.S.B.A.*, 1906, p. 14, *et seq.*), under King Khent, as covering

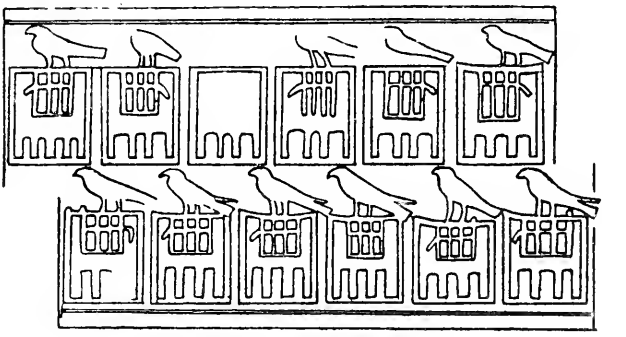
[41] See MORET, *R.P.*, p. 19, n. 3, and authorities there quoted.

[42] See *L'Égypte au Temps du Totemisme*, *Horus-Le-Faucon* (*Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, 1903, p. 1, sqq.) and *Les Enseignes Militaires des Tribus* (*Rev. Egyptol*, 1902). The same contention is put forward by Prof. NEWBERRY in *P.S.B.A.*, 1904, p. 295, *et seq.*

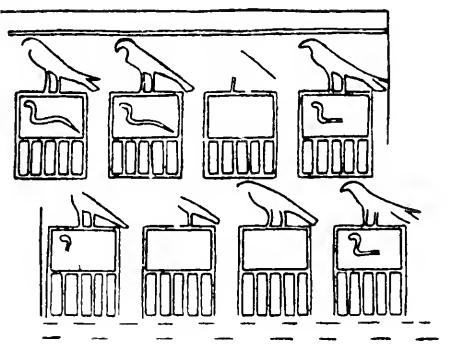
[43] See C. L. GOMME, *Totemism in Britain*, *Archæological Review*, Vol. 3, p. 355, *et seq.* He gives there many other examples of the practice, including, of course, that of the leaders of the Saxon invasion, Hengist and Horsa, "Stallion" and "Mare."



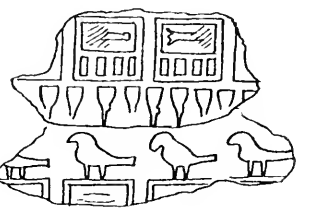
R. T., II, Pl. xiv, 97.



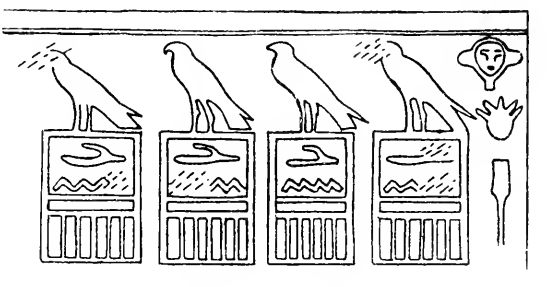
R. T., II, Pl. xv, 105.



R. T., I, Pl. xviii, 1.



R. T., II, Pl. xiii, 92.



R. T., I, Pl. xxiv, 44.

two other signs without any added royal titles at all, but can in no circumstances be mistaken for the cartouche which did not come into use until the time of Snefru. Nor can the hawk and viper which appear in the same tablet of Aha on *neb* baskets have any connection with the *nebti* title which, as we have seen, made its first appearance in the reign of Qa.

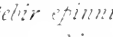
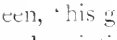
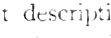
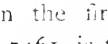
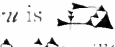
I must here express my thanks to my colleague, Dr. NASH, for the untiring energy and patience he has shown in photographing the different illustrations which go to make up the plates accompanying this paper. Although all have appeared before, either in the *Proceedings* or elsewhere, it seemed in every way more satisfactory to have the actual monuments under the eyes of the reader wherever possible.

ŠURRU, SHOULDER. *AŠĀRU*, ASSEMBLE.

BY S. LANGDON.

I.

Šurru.

In K. 4995, obv. 16 [= HAUPT, ASKT, 124], occurs the following passage: *ŠE-KAK sag-áš-ba = ina šurrī ḫabburšu*; here *áš*, the Sumerian post-position, is evidently for *ina* and *sag = šurrū*. For ŠE-KAK = *še-en-bur = šebbar = ḫabburu*, a loan word for grain vessel, see *Babyloniaca* II, 109. In the preceding lines the god Nergal is described as *lā ša ina nīri sandu*, 'the ox who is bound to a yoke' and *šebir epinnišu* 'the water-wheel is his *šebru*.' If we translate line sixteen, 'his grain vessel upon his shoulder,' we would have a consistent description of Nergal as an ox working on the farm lands. That *šurru* does mean 'shoulder' seems evident from several facts. In the first place, *sag* is here used for *šurru*. [BRÜNNOW, No. 7461, is to be corrected to *ḫabburu*.] A second ideogram for *šurru* is  in Rm. 343, rev. 4 [=CT, XIX, 20], followed by  *maḳāḳu* and  *mitangugu*, and, in the next group, rev. 7–10, is a list of words for parts of the hand *išdi kāti*, wrist (?) *kimkimmu* =  side of the hand [restored from SBH, 75, 8], etc. It is evident from the Sumerian *tig-sir*, 'what binds the neck,' that *maḳ/gāḳ/gu* and *mitangugu* must be a part of the body near the neck. Still another ideogram is  *šugbar = šurru* in 81-4-28, rev. 15 [JRAS, 1905], where *šugbar* has the Semitic equivalents *šurru* and *irnittu*,[1] 'sublime power.' *Šugbar* means also *kirimmu*, 'breast,' *abāru* and *umāšu*, words for 'enclosure,' see *Babyloniaca* II, 106. Therefore *šurru*, certainly a word for part of the breast; in case of an ox, the fore-shoulder (?).

[1] Probably from *šunini = innini*, the Sumerian for the goddess *Ištar*.

II.

Ašāru.

Hebrew presents with certainty a root, אשר 'come in,' 'pursue a way,' generally distinguished by lexicographers from another root אשר, whose piel means to 'make lucky.' Arabic presents a root أثر whose fundamental meaning is not clear, but the piel means 'leave traces,' the *'afa'al*, 'give preference to,' and the *istafa'al*, 'choose for oneself'; the meaning 'choose,' is common in the *ḳal*. From this stem Arabic has أَثَر 'sign,' 'monument,' أَثَرَة 'merit,' 'mention' and أَثِير 'marked for excellence.' Evidently Arabic has one root with the rather vague meaning 'mark what is preferred,' and with this root must be connected Hebrew אַשֵּׁר, 'make lucky,' and the adverbial form אַשְׁרֵי, of wishing. Hebrew, however, in the word אֲשֻׁר, 'step,' 'pace,' shows traces of a meaning 'pursue a way,' 'walk.'

It would be difficult not to assume two roots were it not for the rather decisive veto which Assyrian puts upon this matter. It is customary to derive Assyrian *ašru* 'place' from the root אשר 'walk' (?), see GESENIUS, *Buhl-Zimmern*, p. 64b, although a more natural derivation would be 'marked spot,' the only meaning which אשר, אתר has in Aramaic and Nabatean. Assyrian has in fact three meanings for *ašru* (a) sanctuary, (b) place, (c) excellent; (a) and (b) are probably *pa'al* forms = Arabic أَثَر, and (c) is a *pa'il* form = أَثِير. It is usual among Assyriologists to derive *ašru*, 'excellent,' from ישר 'be submissive,' a root which is said to exist, and to which DELITZSCH gives the meaning [HW 247b], 'prostrate oneself,' and to *ašru* he assigns the meaning 'submissive,' since *ašru* is a synonym of *kanšu*, and is occasionally spelled *wašru*, but this hardly proves a root ושר, since the fem. of *ašru*, 'sanctuary,' is also spelled once *wašrāti*, and if we are to take this writing with *wa* as indicating a פו root we must then assume a פו root for the whole list, which comparative philology obviously forbids. I seriously question a root ושר 'fall down,' although MUSS-ARNOLT also gives such a root, p. 119b. At least *ilāni ašru ašbi ina bikiti*, NIMROD EPIC XI, 126, means rather 'the gods assembled, sat in tears.' To examine this supposed root and its

supposed derivatives would take us too far a-field, and I content myself with expressing a doubt in the matter.

That *ašru* [HW 248a], *ašriš*, 'excellent' and 'in an excellent manner,' are from the same root as *ašru*, 'place,' is evident from the fact that the Sumerian wrote the same word for both of these Semitic words. Thus *ki* [Br 9627] is the common word in Sumerian for the word *ašru*, 'place,' but in REISNER'S *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen*, p. 74, rev. 13, *ki-bi-šú* = *ašriš*[2] = 'fittingly,' 'as it becomes one who is excellent.' The passage leaves no doubt concerning the meaning:

dúg-a muğ-na-šú ki-bi-šú ma-ma-da
ana amat ālidīšu ašris illikma

'At the command of his father, his begetter, he went befittingly.'

Ašru and *aširtu*, 'sanctuary,' *ašru*, 'place,' *ašru*, '*excellent*,' *ašriš*, 'excellently,' are therefore all from a root *athāru*, *ašāru*, 'prefer,' 'select,' 'mark out.' With this result agrees DELITZSCH'S meaning for the piel of אשר [p. 148a], 'to show respect unto.' Despite JENSEN'S statement to the contrary that *ašāru* means only 'muster,' 'oversee,' there is strong probability that the fundamental sense is 'prefer,' 'show favour to.' *Asāru* does mean 'muster,' and *āširu* is a synonym of *pāḳidu*, see KB VI 1, 409: KAT[3] 420; AL[4] 159a; BA V, 324: and K 7331, obv. 6.

So far as Assyrian is concerned we have, therefore, the following results:—

אשר *ašāru* [Ar. أثر] choose, show favour to, mark out (?); (b) assemble, oversee.
II[1] make happy.
III[2 2] imperfect *uštataširuni* they [the stars] muster themselves forth, see ZIMMERN, *Ritual*, index, p. 221.
Ašru, fem. *aširtu*, sanctuary, fem. pl. *ašrāti* and *ešrēti*.
Ašru, place.
Ašru, excellent, good.
Ašriš, excellently, well.

Hebrew אשר 'walk' (?) and אֲשֶׁר 'pace,' 'step,' probably belong to the same root. Certain it is that the Amorite *Ašratu* consort of the

[2] For *ašriš* = *ki-bi-šú* see also ASKT 81, 29, *ašriš iktanšuš* bowed to him as was fitting, and compare EPIC OF CREATION *ašriš ti-amat* . . . . . *gat panuššu iskun*, as one pre-eminent he faced Tiamat.

Amorite *Adad* is from this root, and probably means she that brings prosperity, or if the form in the Amarna letters *Aširtu* be a fem. of أثير = *ašru*, i.e., *aširu*, the original notion would be 'the pre-eminent goddess.' At most, etymology can do little toward settling the primitive conception of a deity. It is not likely that the original idea of *Aširtu*, *Ašratu*, or of Ištartu, '*Aštoreth*, all of which probably go back to this common root, was astral.

THE HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS OF EMIR GHAZI AND ALEPPO.

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

I. The Great Altar Inscription of Ardistama (or Emir Ghazi) is now in the Museum at Constantinople, where it has been copied by Dr. LEOPOLD MESSERSCHMIDT, who has published it in the Second Supplement to his *Corpus Inscriptionum Hettiticarum* (1906), pl. L. The revised copy has introduced many corrections into the copy made from Sir W. M. RAMSAY'S squeeze, which I have given in the *Proceedings* of this Society (Jan., 1905), and has further enabled me (with the help of photographs) to make out the inscription on the Broken Altar, of which I published a very imperfect copy in the same number of the *Proceedings*. The original of the latter inscription has not been taken to Constantinople, and consequently I publish here my corrected copy of it. It turns out that the second and third lines are a repetition of the first line of the Great Altar Inscription, the text of which they serve to complete and emend, and that the fourth line is a repetition of the third line of the other text.

I will first take the Great Altar Inscription (referred to as **A**) in its emended form (MESSERSCHMIDT, L.), and then pass on to that portion of the Broken Altar Inscription (referred to as **B**), which differs from it.

A. 1. The "Broken" text (**B**) shows that Dr. MESSERSCHMIDT is right in making the line begin with the ideograph which represents a tiara, and phonetically expresses *Mama* or Mamia. Between *Ma-me* and *Khat* **B** inserts the ideograph of "country," followed by what I would identify with the determinative of a country and the phonetic complement *i*. In M. IV, B 2, the ideograph is assigned the phonetic value of *miu* or *miy*: hence we must read

here *Ma-me*-MIY-*i*, where the insertion of the ideograph is intended to show that it is the country of king Mamis (or Mameas), and not the king himself that is referred to. The characters which follow *Khat*, (*Khat*)-*uan-mi-a* DET. ID.-*uas ues-i*, are lost in **A**. MESSERSCHMIDT's *s* after *Ka-si-i-mia* must be corrected into *mia*. The lost character which follows is shown by **B** to be the human head. The next picture of the head is shown by **B** (which inserts the determinative of "city") to be the determinative of "deity," not "Sanda," as in M. The whole line is, consequently:

Ma(*ma*)-*mia*-(*u*)*an* DET.			*Ma-me*-(MIY-DET.-*i*)-*Khat-uan-mi-a*	
Of the Mamoassians,			Mames-Hittites,	from the land
DET. ID.-*uas*	*ues-i ká*-ID.	ID.-*a*	ID.-*a*-(*a*)*rami*	
a servant of the Ram-god	this altar	for the Ram-god	for the King	
amia	ID.-*uan ami-a*		*Ka-si-i-mia*	
of the city,	in the city of the Ram-god people,		(I) of the Kasians	
aramis	*kai-s*	*atu-s*	*si-u* (or *-mi*)-DET.	
the king	making	being lord	I have erected,	
DET.-*aram-mi*-(*u*)*an*	*is-tu-mia*	*ami-a*		
belonging to the divine king	within	the city.		

That is: "I, a servant of the Ram-god in the land of the Mamoassians, Hittites of the country of Mames, (and) king of the Kasians, having made this altar for the Ram-god, the king of the city, in the city of the people of the Ram-god, have, as lord, erected it that it should belong to the divine king within the city."

Newly-published inscriptions (M. LI, 3, etc.) show that 𓏏 is *mi* and 𓄿 *mi-a*, though the latter, when followed by the vocalic complement *i*, was pronounced *mi*, and could be so pronounced even without its complement. *Kasimia* is found at Hamath (M. VI, 1); *ami-a Am-ât*(*i*)-MA-[*mia*]-*s Ka-a* (!)-*si* (!)-*mia* [*a*-]*na*, "the Hamathite, king of the Kasians," where I have only recently recognised it. *-Mia* is the *-miya* of the cuneiform tablets. *Si*, "to erect," is of frequent occurrence in various forms, and also occurs in the cuneiform tablets. Since the boot seems to have had the values of *u* and *wi* as well as *mi*, and the first person of the verb in the cuneiform tablets ends in *-mi* as well as *-u* and *-i*, I am doubtful about the reading of the verbal form.

Istu-mia with as first character is found in M. V, 3, where the signification of "within" would best suit the context (*istu-mia Amat-wa*, "within Hamath"). I read the second character *tu* instead of *ta*, since the borrowed Assyrian *istu* appears in the cuneiform tablets of Boghaz Keui in the sense of "in," which would suit the compound *istu-mia*, "in the place."

2. The third character is the ass's head, as in my copy. It had the values of *mias* and *mis*, perhaps also of *as*. Hence the name of Mames was probably pronounced Ma-me-as, which in Greek would be Mamŏas. The line runs :—

Ma-me-(mi)as *Ka-si-[i]-mi-a* *aramis* *ues-i* *ka*-ID. TARKU-*ka*
(I) Mameas of the Kasians the king this altar to Tarkus

NU-*nu-i* *ky*[1]*-mi-a* NU-*uan* *tir* (?)-*a* *a-me*-MI-DET.
have dedicated ; the building sacred of the sanctuary to the lord

amia ... DET. *San(da)-da* ID. DET. *Sú-wi* DET. *Atui*,
of the city ... Sandes (I) being corybant of Subbi (and) Attys,

DET. ID. DET. *Amma* (3) ID. *ghan* (?)-*wa* (*sic*)
dirk-bearer of Amma, the queen of the rock

Katu-u (?)-*wa* (?) . . .
of the image, [have erected.]

Ideographically *ta* (the depressed hand) denoted "to dedicate," "consecrate a gift" by laying the hand upon it, and in this case had the value *nu* ; *see* M. XXIII, A 3, where the value of the ideograph is given as *nu*. *Nu* has the same sense in the cuneiform tablets.

The phonetic complement of Sanda is the "dish," or "table," on which, according to the sculptures and the cuneiform tablets, offerings were made to the gods. The tablets show that *da* was the technical word for "setting" the offering on the dish before the god.

I have lately noticed that Sir W. M. RAMSAY's original copy of the Gurun inscription (M. XVIII, B 1) gives *tu* as the phonectic complement of the ideograph (two legs walking) which represents the name of the god Attys.

[1] I now represent the oblique stroke by *y* rather than by *u* or *ü*, since I find that it interchanges with *i* as well as with *u*. On the Tarkondemos boss it is equivalent to the Assyrian *e*.

The "dirk-bearers" of Istar at Erech are mentioned in the Babylonian legend of the Plague-god (II, 11).

Amma, represented by the feather (?) which I found rising above the head of the goddess when I climbed to the shoulders of the so-called "Niobê" on Mount Sipylus, is similarly called "the queen of the rock" in the inscription which accompanies the figure. The rock itself was called Koddinê, "belonging to Koddi," or Katu.

3. The next paragraph is repeated in the fourth line of **B.** MESSERSCHMIDT'S ① must be corrected into .

[*Ma-me-mias*	*Ka-si-i-mi-a*]	*aramis*	*ues-i*	*ka*-ID	*ara-me-uan*
[Mames	of the Kasians]	the king	this	altar	royal

DET. *a-ta*	*amia*	*tir* (?)-*a*	*katu* (?)-*u-i-a-(ua)n*	
for the lord	of the city	of the sanctuary	belonging to the shrine (?)	
. . -*i*	DET. *San(da)-da*	(4) ID.	DET. *Sû-wi*	
I have [built];	for Sandes	(I) being corybant	of Subbi	
DET. *Atui*	DET. ID.	DET. *Amma*,	*asi-(ua)n*	
(and) Attys,	dirk-bearer	of Amma,	the (sacred) stone	
s-ui	*a-ra-me*-MI (or *wi*)	*Ka-si-i-mia*	DET. *Atui* . . .	
I have erected;	for the king	of the Kasians,	Attys, . . .	

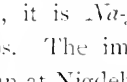
siu-uas . . . .
dances [I have established].

4. In the fifth line a verb in the first person is represented by an ideograph which looks something like the "shuttle" of the Egyptian goddess Nit. There (and again in the sixth line) we have, "to the king of the Kasians, the high-priest of the sanctuary of the place of the image, the king [of the city]," where the word "high-priest" is denoted by the high-priestly head-dress on the upper part of a face. In the 6th line mention is again made of "erecting a (sacred) stone" to some deity whose name is lost. The last word is *amei* (?) *ka-i-wi* (or *-mi*) "I have made."

B. The text of the "Broken" Altar contains a new ideograph, denoting the name of a city, in what remains of the first column. The first line of the second column has *Ka-si-i-mia arami* followed by the name of a god. The name is expressed by an ideograph which I have reproduced exactly, and which seems intended for

Khattu. The passage ends in the second line with "lord of the land of the city"; then comes the first line of the other inscription, which has already been dealt with.

II. I have received from Professor GARSTANG an exceedingly good photograph of the famous Aleppo inscription (M. III, A), which enables us to read it at last, and of which therefore I publish a facsimile. The second character is, I think, *ka*, but may be *uas*. If *ka*, the word is *ka-i*, "I have made:" if *uas*, it is *i-(ua)s-i* (pronounced, I believe, *isi*) "for the temple." In any case, the inscription is only a fragment of a larger text. After *Kai*, or *isi*, we have DET. ID. *-mi* "of" or "for my Sun-god"; then the legs which, as I have already said, had the value of *atu*, so that the sense perhaps is *atu-mi* "my lord"; then the name of the god Katu. There does not seem to have been any character between this and the "house," *sunna*, *suan* (which may also have had the value *dime*). *Atu* is probably the phonetic rendering of the ideograph of "king," which follows it (as in M. XXV, 2); if so, we might read: "Katu-sunna the king." Next comes the name of the district which is mentioned in the Hamath texts (M. III, B 3) as well as in the inscription found at Babylon (M. II, 1), and which, as we may gather from the Malatiyeh inscription (M. XVI, A 1), took its name from that of a king.

What is practically the same territorial name appears again in the Mer'ash inscriptions. Hitherto I have regarded it as, in this case, compounded with *Katu*, "Kataonian;" but erroneously. The character is not *katu*, which is , but simply *it* or *at* (*rat*). In M. VIII, A 3, the correct reading is KATU-*ka-at-uan* (not *ka*-KATU-*uan*) and in M. XXXII, 5, it is *Na-ga-tua-it-mia-s*, i.e., *Nagit(u)-miyas*, the classical Nagidos. The important inscription recently found on the base of a column at Nigdeh and published by MESSERSCHMIDT (LIII) reads: *ue-ues-u* (*uesa*) *asi-n s-it* () *a-na-ś i-uas-i-ta* (*isi-ta*) *a-mi-s Kusy-ś*, "This stone has the king erected in the temple, being lord of Kas." *Si-i-it*, "he has erected," occurs also in the cuneiform tablet from "Yuzghat," *i.e.*, Boghaz Keui (*Rev.* 1, 2). Hence the territorial title of the Mer'ash kings must be read *Sanda-gam* (?)-*mi-it-mi-i-is-s*, "of the land of Sanda-ga (?)-mi-t," where we find the same suffix as in Tarkondima-tos by the side of Tarkondémos. That the land in question included

Aleppo seems to result from the Aleppo inscription. It follows from the correction of the value to be assigned to , that the territorial adjective in M. VII, 1, 1, is not *Ir-katu-nas*, but *Kha-at(i)-nas*, and that, consequently, is *kha* (or *khat*), not *ir*. Since the upright hand interchanged with (M. XXI, 1, 2), it too will have had the value of *it*, *at*. It denoted "a prince" and so could represent indifferently the words *aramis*, *anas*, *amis* and *atus*, or *ates*. Sometimes it interchanges with *anas*, sometimes with *amis*, "lord"; the value *at* points to *atus*. In M. XXI, 6 (written with in M. XXI, 5), it is the name of a god, who would be the Eta, Aida, Ita in the name of the Hittite vassal, Eta-gama, in the Tel el-Amarna tablets.[2] Followed by three drops of (silver) metal it represents the name of a city on the Izgin Obelisk (M. XIX, B 16).

Now this city may be the Yadi of Sinjerli. I find that the value I originally assigned to was right, and that it expresses, not *am*, but *at*. In the Hamath texts the obliterated character at the end of M. V, 1, is not , and in M. VI, 1, the true reading is *Am-ât-*[*mia*]*-ma-s*, where *-mas* (or *mias*) is the suffix denoting "of the land of." Hence, in M. V, 3, there is no longer any difficulty about reading the name of Hamath, and the line should be transliterated: *is-tu-mi-a*[3] *Am-at-wa si-uan wi*-DET. *Am-ât(i)-nas ami-as*, "within Hamath I have founded, being of the land of Hamath." The repetition of *at*, which elsewhere ideographically represents the plural, may have to do with the plural suffix *-t*—hence my *ât*—or it may indicate that the *t* is followed by a short vowel.[4]

[2] The name of the same deity is found in the Bogcha inscription (M. LI, 2.); at Bulgar Maden (M. XXXII, 2, 4.) the place of the upright hand is taken by . As at Bogcha, the name is preceded by the word *ua-mi-is*, *ua-mi-i-s*.

[3] The whole sentence is *numa* (?)-(*n*)*da ue-si*-UIS-*y mi-i-y uis* ID-*ma-asi*(*n*)-*mi* "grandly this country ruling (?), my throne (within Hamath I have founded)." The same formula occurs in M. VI, 4, *ne*-UE-*si*-UIS-*y mi-i-y*-DET. *atuy-*(*n*)*da a-uis Aram-ma m*(*ia*)*-uan Uan*-UAN-*nu-uis uc-mis amis-mia atu-uan-atu-uan Ama-at-wa*-AMIA-*mia-a ama* (?)-ID-*mi*-MI-*uan masi-uan*: "this country royally ruling (?) (and) the land of Aram, the royal city of the people of Uan, the very great, in the city of Hamath a throne for the symbol of the bull [I founded]."

[4] In the inscription of Bogcha (M. LI, 2, 3), the name of the city is *Uan* (?)-*at-ta-na*. Unfortunately the first character is not certain; otherwise we should have here the city of Venata.

The correct determination of the value of clears up the last line of the Carchemish inscription (M. XI, 5). This reads: *ue-is* DET. *nu-as kai-s di* ID. ID. DET. *me*-MIA-*mi-a-as* ID. *Katu Amma* (?) *Tarku-mias-s* DET. *Khal-mia-ś nu* (?)-*at-sĕ-na*, "these priests making, before the pillar[5] of the symbol of Aramis, as ministers of Hadad, Katu and Amma (?) in the land of Tarkus[6] the goddess Khalmia has consecrated them (for the king of the place of the Sun-god)." -T is the suffix of the third person of the verb, which is followed by the accusative of the personal pronoun: *memis*, *memian*, is found with the signification of "servant" in the cuneiform tablets.

In the new inscription from Mer'ash, published by MESSERSCHMIDT (Pl. LII), the king is called (l. 1) *ami-a-as I-at* *-si-s* "the son of the land of Iat," which, further on, is written *I-a-atu-iu*-DET.*-uan* "of the Yatuans," and in line 2, *I-at-a-si-uan*-DET., "of the sons of Yata" (*cp.* also line 3). In Yatu, Yata, Yat, I see the Yaeti of Shalmaneser II, which is probably to be identified with the Yadi of the Sinjerli texts. It is possible that the name of the city mentioned on the Izgin Obelisk (*see above*) is to be read in the same way.

We can now return to the Aleppo inscription. The last character of the first line represents a tree, which also occurs on the Izgin Obelisk (A, last line) where it is followed by *si-is*, "erecting," "planting." The second line begins with: "(of) the divine temple," being sometimes written over the ideograph of divinity (as at Gurun) and sometimes taking its place, thus answering to the use of AN in the cuneiform texts of Boghaz Keui. Next comes *nais* or *anas*, "prince," the translation being more probably "for the prince of the god's house" than "the (sacred) tree of the god's house, (I) being prince." Under the ideograph of "king" which

[5] The pillar had the value of *di* (or *da*?), as appears from the new Mer'ash inscription (M. LII), where (in line 4) the name of the city of Melid (Malatiyeh) is written *Ma-lid-di* (or *da*). Another city is named in line 5, the name of which also terminates in *di*, while the first character had, among other values, that of *ar*. Can the name be that of Arpad?

[6] Or perhaps: "ministers of Hadad, Katu, Amma (?), and Tarkus," or, if *-t* was the suffix of the third person plural as well as singular, "Tarkus (and) Khalmias have consecrated." Instead of DET.*-mc*-MIA-*mi-a-as* we could read *a*-AMIS-*mi-a-(mi)as*, and identify the word with the common *amis-mes*, since the boot, when used ideographically for "earth," had the value of *amis*, oblique case *amia*, whence its phonetic values of *mia* and *mi*.

follows is what looks like a boot turned the wrong way, but it must represent either the recumbent leg of Ardistama (M. L, 5.), or *at* (for *ata*, *atus*). The clenched fist which follows *me-ay-i* ("of the city"?) recurs in M. LII, 3, and is an earlier form of (from *amis* "lord"). Then comes *Kas-pat* (?) AMI-*mi I-ghan-a-nis*-DET. "the Yakhanite of the city of Kaspat." It was of Yakhan that the Hamathite princes call themselves kings (M. IV, A and B 1, VI, 1.), and we learn from the Assyrian inscriptions that its territory extended to Aleppo.

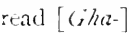
III. Dr. MESSERSCHMIDT has lately published (*Corpus Inscriptionum Hettiticarum*, 2nd Suppl., No. LIII.) the inscription found on the base of a column at Nigdeh. It reads: *ue-ues-a asi-uan s-it a-na-ś i-uas-i-ta* AMI-*s-mi-s Kasy-ś* (i.e., *uesâ asin sît anaś iesi-ta amismis Kasyś*), "this stone has the king erected in the temple, being lord of Kas."

IV. Dr. MESSERSCHMIDT has also published (No. LI) the inscription discovered by Dr. BELCK on an obelisk at Bogcha, about 25 miles west of Kaisariyeh. It begins with the words *a-me Khalv-mi-i-s*, "I am of the land of the Halys." In the second line we have: "making of stone for Sandes alone (*ue-r*), royal (?) stone for the king carving in stone (*k*(?)*r-wes*) I have erected (*śir*) being lord (*namis*) of the city of the Attanians (?); for Atys (Eta)[7] a place (?) (*mi-ay-uan*) I have built (*mis-wi*), obelisks (D.P. *is-mi-is*) of royal (?) stone for the king alone causing to be built (*mis-ghy-is*) [I have erected]." *Uy*, which I have rendered "alone," identifying it with *uis*, "unus," may be a dialectal form of *ui*, "this." In the third line we have: *na-mi-is-ś a-me-is-mi-a atu-i-is qa-mi-is-mia ka-(i)s*-IS *ka-mi-a* D.P. *San-du-ua-s di ka-mia-uan* (*kamyn*) *ay-i-is a-na-a kay*; *ay-i-is a-na aksy-(w)es śy*, "being lord of the royal city, king of the gate-land, who has made the monument, a Sandian, the work of the column I alone for the king have made; I alone for the king building of stone have erected." In *amis-mia* (from *amis-mis*, which is spelt in different ways in M. IX, 5, *a-mi-is-mi-is*, XXXI, A, *a-mi-(m)is*-DP.-*mi-ś*, XXXII, 4, *a-mi-s-mi-a*, XXXIII, 3, *amis-mia*, &c.), as well as in *atuis*, and *kamis-mia*, *uas* clearly has the value of *is*. So *mia* is *mi* (as in the name of Carchemish, M. I, 3), while in this Bogcha inscription, in *a-me-is-mia*, at the end of line 3, it interchanges with

[7] Or perhaps Aramis, if the boot has here the value of *mi* instead of *u*.

mi-a. *Amis-mi-s* is more probably "lord," from *amis* "mighty," than "citizen" from *amis* "a city."[8] "Gate-land" seems to be used as in the Vannic inscriptions of a country where there was a pass. In line 4 *ay-i-is* "unus" is written U-*(m)is*. The end of the inscription seems to be: "I have made of stone; table[s] of offerings and dish[es] dedicating (*nu[is]*) I alone have made." *Anas*, "king," refers to the god.

V. The new inscription from Mer'ash, published by Dr. MESSERSCHMIDT (LII), contains the name of Iati (*I-at(i)-si-is*, line 1; *I-at-a-si-nan*, line 2; *I-at* . . , line 4), which, as I have already said, is the Yaeti of Shalmaneser II. In the first line the name is written *I-a-atu-y-nan*-DET.[9] "The nine Hittite cities" are mentioned in lines 2 and 4, and in line 2 the numeral II is furnished with its phonetic equivalent *tua-a* (or, with the grammatical suffix, *tuassa*). In line 3 we have the picture of a cut stone, which I formerly identified wrongly with *nu* (the quiver) on the Izgin Obelisk, thereby obtaining the word *nu-kas* for "stone." The word for stone is really *agsu* or *gissy*. In lines 3 and 4 the reading is *amei San(da)-*-mi-it(u)-mi-is-s śi-is mia na-a-(m)is*-ŠI-*si* DET.-*na*-NA-*a-(a)i-ś na-a-(a)i-si atu Ma-lid-di-nu-ś*, "I (am) the San . . mitian who has erected the place of the people of the prince, being prince of princes (*or* of the people of the prince), king of Melid." The latter name seems to show that the column had the value of *di* (or *da*). For the termination *-nus* (or *nys*), cf. M. VII. 1. 1, *Uan-ka-ny-i* ("the pavement of the gate of Unqa"). In line 2 we probably have the phonetic reading of the word for "dirk-bearer," which, in this case, would be *amesi(s)*. The word seems to recur in line 5: *amesi-si-(u)an isi isimiya*, "the high-place of the high-place (or temple) of the dirk-bearers"; cp. M. XXIII, A. 2, 3, *ysimiya* ID-*am(e)-s-si-is-mi*. (In the earlier part of this latter line we have the genitive plural Y-ISI-*si-mia a-(u)an*.) Finally in line 1 we must read [*Gha-*] *ti-*[*i-*]*is-si-i-mia*, "land of the Hittites," as in M. XXV, 1.

VI. In the Karaburna inscription (M. XLVI) *nais* (*na-is-ś*) is given as the equivalent of "king" (lines 2 and 3). In the same inscription  in line 2 is written *ui-is-mi-a-mis* in line 3;

[8] Or does it mean "the dirk-bearer," *i.e.*, "the priest"? *Amesis* seems to be the word for "dirk-bearer"; see *infra*.

[9] The same name is found in M. XXV, 2.

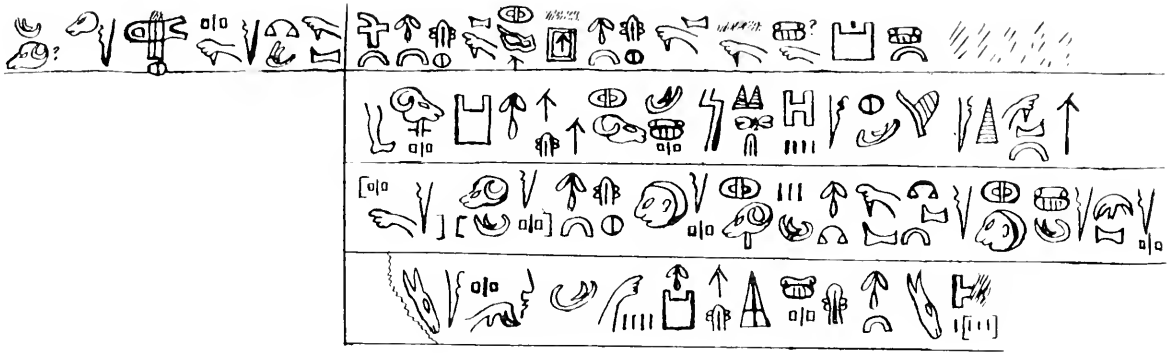


Fig. 1.

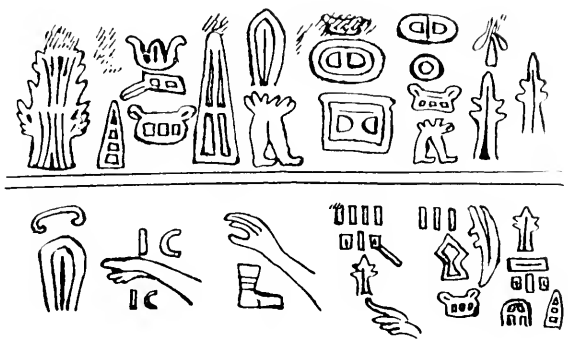


Fig. 2.

hence the boot here is *amis*, "the earth." This explains the interchange of and in M. VI, 4 and V, 2. With *uismia-mis* which must be read *uismias*, cp. *uis-mia*, M. X, 6.

VII. The name in the Bowl Inscription (M. I, 3) I have hitherto transcribed Is- (or Isi-) Tarkus, since the name of the god is that which is attached at Kasili Kaya to the figure of the divine representative of Boghaz Keui, and is accompanied by the figure of a goat. The goat-god of Cilicia, however, as we now know from the cuneiform tablets of Boghaz Keui, had there the title of Khattu, or Khatti, the Hittite cities being deified. Hence it is probable that on the Bowl we ought to read Is-Khattu. If so, since the bowl was dedicated to "Sandes the Atunian," the dedicator may be identical with Us-Khitti of Atuna, or Tuna, who became the vassal of Tiglath-pileser IV. The whole inscription I should now transcribe and translate as follows: *uesa kuin agissi uâ* ID.-*uan Sandayi isi-ta Atunâi kuwi Is-Khatti(s) anâyis ammia-tu asimiyas khallies kasymé isi-miya Khalmi-misi Karkamési*, "this work of the stone-cutters (*or* of stone), namely this bowl, for the temple of Sandes the Atunian I have made, (even I) Is-Khattu, the king of this land, providing water-basins for the temple of the Carchemishian god the son of Khalmias." *Asimiya*, "water-basin," occurs again in the lower inscription at Ivriz

THE RUINED SITES AT MASAWWARAT ES-SUFRA AND NAGA.

BY P. D. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, *M.A.*

The ruins of Masawwarat es-Sufra and Naga are the Southernmost remains known of that strange Negro-Egyptian civilization that flourished from the time when the priests of Amon fled Southwards from Thebes, down to the period when Egypt became a Roman province. The first named locality is so called from the table-like depression in the hills in which it is situated, the Arabic meaning "The sculptured stones of the table top." It lies one day's camel ride almost due South of the town of Shendy, and as the river runs South-West by West from Shendy, Masawwarat es-Sufra is situated well out in the desert. The first part of the journey is monotonous enough, although the barrenness of the Egyptian desert is not in evidence here, for the whole ground is covered with thickly-growing "scrub," stunted thorn trees, and bushes, which for a few weeks after the rains become a brilliant green, but which quickly return to their usual gnarled and faded appearance. Some three hours out of Shendy on the left are a few blocks of red sandstone, the remains of a temple, but what little is left is in an extremely weather-beaten state so that not much can be made out of it. A few hours' more riding brings the traveller to a gap in a chain of low hills which he has been gradually approaching ever since he left Shendy. After the camels have scrambled up a steep and stony *khor* a magnificent panorama comes into view. The hills form a circle like a giant bowl or cup some six to eight miles in diameter, and in the centre lies the ruined mass of Masawwarat es-Sufra.

The first Europeans to give us any definite account of this site were the French archaeologists CAILLIAUD and LETORZEC, who visited

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it in 1821,[1] and made plans and sketches, the accuracy of which considering the then infantine stage of Egyptology is remarkable. About the same time they were visited by the English traveller HOSKINS, and some twenty-five years later, in 1844, by LEPSIUS,[2] who made careful plans and drawings of the reliefs for the famous *Denkmäler*. Since then the only Egyptologists of note who have visited the site are Dr. BUDGE[3] and Prof. SCHÄFER, the former of whom has written an account of them in his recent book on the Sudan. I shall therefore content myself here with giving a few notes which I made when I was enabled in the autumn of 1905 to visit these ruins and those of Naga in the immediate neighbourhood, by the kindness of the Sudan Government, for which I was then doing some archaeological work.

The central feature of Masawwarat es-Sufra is a building raised on a platform well above the plain and consisting of a rectangular hall with a main entrance to the East, three small entrances to the North, and two to the South. It has niches in the West and South walls (Plate I, fig. 1). It is surrounded by a colonnade consisting of a double row of six columns each on the East side, and a single row on the remaining three sides, making twenty-eight in all. If this building is a temple, as has been generally supposed, I would point out that it appears to be built on a Greek model and not on an Egyptian one. Nevertheless the columns are of the Egyptian lotus capital type, and some are rounded inwards at the base. The two rows forming the portico on the East side were elaborately carved with a fluted design and ornamentations which can scarcely be said to be either Greek or Egyptian (Plate I, fig. 2). Two still show reliefs of Egyptian gods and figures (Plate II, fig. 1), but a third has round its base a ring of naked boys dancing with their backs to the spectator—a thoroughly Greek *motif*. The reliefs have a certain barbaric vigour, but have suffered much from the rain and weather. CAILLIAUD thought that the eight columns of the portico were of earlier date than the others from their being differently carved and of a slightly different tint, but I see no reason why this should be so. The difference in the tint of the sandstone is hardly noticeable, and would not prevent it coming from the same quarry as the other, while the whole plan of the temple, if such it is, seems to be Greek,

[1] CAILLIAUD, *Voyage à Meroe*.
[2] LEPSIUS, *Briefe aus Ägypten*, and *Denkmäler*, Vol. V.
[3] BUDGE, *The Egyptian Sudan*.

that is to say a central rectangular building surrounded by a colonnade with a portico in front. The building is in a very shattered state, but the columns on the North side are in good preservation (Plate I, fig. 2). The measurements of the area occupied by temple and colonnades is about 25 × 18 metres.

Round the platform on which the temple stands are the débris of a number of intricate chambers. To the North, West, and South run three long ramparts raised high up above the ground and faced on either side with sandstone masonry, which is carried on up to make a double parapet, the top course of which is formed of rounded stones. These ramparts are approached from below by sloping ramps also faced with masonry. That to the North is about 70 metres long and has on its Western side a group of chambers. It leads to another elevated group of buildings, in the centre of which is a structure which may also be a temple. It appears to consist of an adytum, an outer chamber containing the remains of four columns, and a portico of perhaps eight columns, two of which remain standing almost entire, and which are of the plain lotus capital order (Plate I, fig. 3). The rampart running to the West, which is the best preserved, ends in a small building which may have been a guard chamber. Its length is about 50 metres. The rampart to the South leads to a group of chambers which were probably, as CAILLIAUD suggests, the living apartments. One of them contains the remains of three columns. All round, on every side, are the remains of low walls which must have enclosed huge compounds, possibly for keeping cattle.

The buildings face practically East or South-East-East, and, including the compounds, cover an area of nearly 250 square yards. In front of them, about 60 metres to the East of the platform on which stands the central temple, is a small building which was undoubtedly used for religious purposes (Plate II, fig. 2). It is only 15 × 12 metres, but appears to have had a portico of four columns, according to CAILLIAUD and LEPSIUS, in front of it, but when I visited the site, scarcely anything could be made out of the tumbled débris. On either side of the door are the legs and loins of a male statue, wearing the archaic short skirt. On the side posts are the remains of a twisted serpent in low relief similar to one on the pyloned temple at Naga. There appear to have been four columns within.

Some 100 yards to the South-West are the chaotic remains of a

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building consisting of intricate chambers, perhaps a palace or royal harîm, away from the main structure. About a quarter of a mile to the South-East is the débris of what CAILLIAUD and LEPSIUS called a small temple, and is chiefly remarkable for the extraordinary figures carved in relief on some of the columns, of men riding on animals, etc., which have all been reproduced in the *Denkmäler* of LEPSIUS.[4] They represent a style of art which cannot be earlier than the first century A.D.

The date of these buildings I propose to discuss further on. As to their use, there have been various suggestions. CAILLIAUD thought that they formed a college, and HOSKINS a hospital, neither of which views have much to recommend them. Although the locality is a long way from the Nile, and there is only one well now in the neighbourhood, there is every reason to suppose that at one time it was capable of supporting a numerous population if only the abundant rainfall during the rainy season were carefully stored and used. That this was done to a certain extent, though to how great it is impossible to tell until the whole district has been thoroughly examined, is proved from the remains of several ancient reservoirs that are still to be seen in the neighbourhood of the ruins. As it is, to-day, the desert teems with life—gazelle of various kinds, sand grouse, etc., while HOSKINS was much disturbed by lions, and even LEPSIUS[5] relates how he saw their spoor, although he did not actually see any of the beasts themselves. The latter also states that he found natives who had moved to the locality from the river after the rainy season and who had utilized the rich soil for growing *dhurra*. Dr. BUDGE's hypothesis that these buildings were a fortified *khan* seems the most probable that has hitherto been put forward.[6] The long ramparts with parapets seem certainly to have been constructed with a view to defence. They almost resemble mediaeval embattlements, and the defenders would be raised high above the level of their adversaries. The large compounds that surround the place and which may have been meant for huge cattle pens, were doubtless those in use during peaceful times, while those close in under the ramparts would be used during attacks. The main drawback to these last, however, is that they do not appear, as the ruins now stand, to have had any protection on the North-

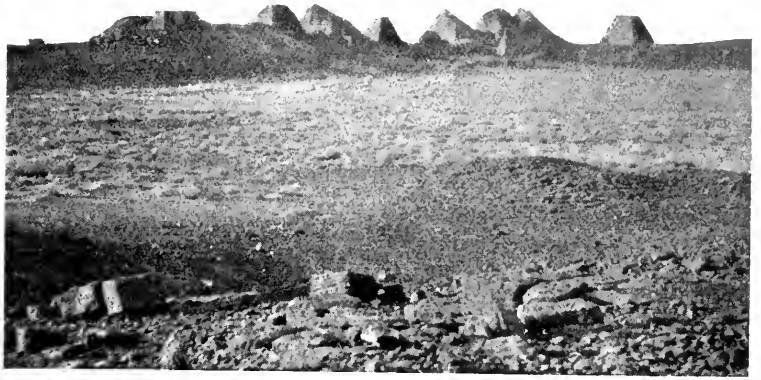
[4] *Denkmäler*, Vol. V, p. 75.
[5] *Briefe*.
[6] BUDGE, *Egyptian Sudan*, I, p. 328.

West side, although it is quite possible that a rampart might be traced with a little excavation. I think that it can be hardly possible that the large enclosed areas were great tanks or reservoirs although the theory is attractive. Their structural appearance does not seem to have been designed for that purpose. The argument that the general style of building is too delicate and weak to be meant for a fortified place does not appear to be of much weight. It seemed to me at least, that the buildings looked solid enough, especially for any kind of barbaric warfare. That they are built in a very degenerate form of Romano-Ptolemaic style is of course undeniable, although they possess a striking picturesqueness of their own.

Both these buildings and those at Naga present a striking contrast to the neighbouring pyramid field of Meroë (Plate III, figs. 1 and 2) where nothing is left of any temple or house except the pyramids and their chapels (Plate IV, fig. 1). Meroë, it would seem, was entirely a city of the dead and connected with their cult. It is, however, clear that Masawwarat es-Sufra was also connected with religion. The small building outside the ramparts with the colossal figures before the door was certainly a temple, and so most probably was the central building with the colonnade and portico of sculptured pillars. It may have also been a palace to which the Aethiopian court occasionally moved.

The position of this site helps us, however, to understand best what the buildings were intended for. Naga, which lies about fifteen miles farther South, was probably the most Southern town of the late Aethiopian kingdom, and lay on the route which led from the Blue Nile and Abyssinia into Egypt. Masawwarat es-Sufra would therefore be the connecting post built to link up Naga with the river which the route would naturally strike somewhere near Meroë, probably more to the South, near what is now Shendy. From there traders would pursue their way either by river or across the desert to the comparative civilization of Napata. An ancient road is also said to lead from Naga to the Blue Nile, and ruins are alleged to lie along the route.[7] One thing further is particularly noticeable about these ruins, and to which we shall return later, when we discuss the dates. With the exception of the figures on the portico columns of the central building, the serpents on the side posts of the doors of the little detached temple, and the extraordinary reliefs of

[7] WARD, *Our Sudan*, p. 163.



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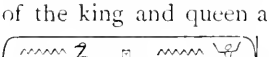
men riding on animals in the building to the South-East, all the vast area of walls and columns remain undecorated. And nowhere has there yet been seen a single hieroglyphic sign. CAILLIAUD, however, found an inscription in Meroitic; and in Latin, on the walls of one of the ramps, the following graffito: . . . . . *Vicina post multos annos feliciter venit ex urbe*,[8] *mense Athyr die* XV *anni* . . . . . The note of some Roman traveller in the wilds! Most unfortunately the date is lost.

A few miles farther brings the traveller out of the great bowl of hills in which the above-described ruins lie into a valley, shut in all round, in which is situated a picturesque desert well. Leaving this valley he descends from the hills again into the plain, and continues to travel in a Southerly direction, keeping at the foot of the long chain of *gebel* on his left, until when about fourteen miles from Masawwarat es-Sufra he will come to Naga.

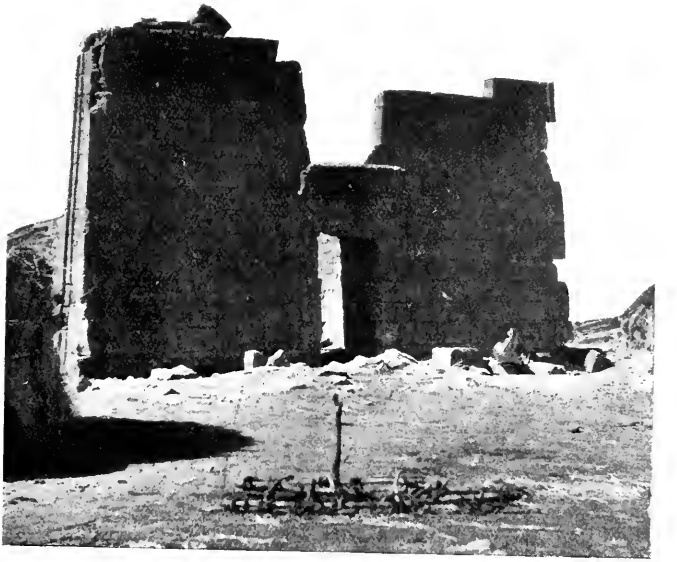
The whole site of Naga bears traces of a great many buildings, and it was doubtless a place of some size; but the only structures that are left in any of their entirety are four in number. Down in the level of the plain is a temple of the regular Egyptian type with a pyloned entrance. Just opposite it is a remarkable building of Graeco-Roman style of architecture, with Egyptian decorations introduced on the doors and some of the windows. About a quarter of a mile up the hill-side is another temple, approached by a flight of steps and a dromos flanked on either side by six crio-sphinxes on large stone bases. In the centre of the dromos is an altar. Nestling under the brow of the *gebel* itself is a further building, in such a chaotic state of ruin that I could make but little of it.

I do not propose to go into a detailed description of these temples, as they have been fully described by CAILLIAUD, LEPSIUS, and Dr. BUDGE, but will content myself with giving a rough sketch of their salient features and discussing some particular points that seem hitherto to have escaped notice. Taking first the pyloned temple at the foot of the hill (Plate III, fig. 3): this faces East. On the outer wall of each pylon are colossal figures cut in *cavo relievo*, after the conventional Egyptian style, of the king and queen, each clubbing a group of enemies whom they hold by the hair (Plates IV and V, figs. 2 and 1). The attitude of both the king and queen is entirely conventional, and they wear Egyptian dress overloaded with

[8] *I.e.* Alexandria.

ornaments and barbaric detail after the regular style of the Aethiopian reliefs. On the outer North wall the king and queen accompanied by an attendant stand in adoration before three goddesses and two gods, all human-headed and wearing the elaborate Egypto-barbaric robes and ornaments typical of this kind of Aethiopian work. On the outer South wall is a similar scene, the gods in this case being a lion-headed god, a hawk-headed god, two ram-headed gods, and a deity who has all the appearance of being the Egyptian Ptaḥ (Plate III, fig. 2). On the outer West wall the king and queen, each accompanied by an attendant, stand on the right and left respectively of a male deity with three lions' heads, one of which is in full face and the other two in profile (Plate III, fig. 2). The reliefs on the inner walls are in a very bad state, but are chiefly remarkable for two male deities wearing curly beards and represented *full face*, very much after the type of Alexandrine Serapis or Zeus Ammon, and also a youth seated on a chair of Egyptian type but crowned with the rays of Helios. It is impossible to tell who each of all these deities is meant to be, although a few lines of battered but unintelligible hieroglyphic text is carved over each figure. The cartouches of the king and queen are, however, well known; the king's name is  , which is generally read, according to the late Nubian values of the signs, *Netekamen*, while that of the queen is , the supposed reading of which is *Amentarit*.

It is obvious that the inspiration which guided the style of this temple is drawn from Ptolemaic ideals of the most florid period. The winged and scaled garments are reproduced with an excess of elaboration and detail, while the complicated headgears have all the air of those represented on the heads of the Macedonian kings, and which were probably never worn at all. At the same time, the full-faced bearded deities and the youthful Helios on the interior walls are extremely interesting, and must point to Alexandrian influence. As this latter had so very little effect on reliefs of Egyptian temple architecture, it comes as all the greater surprise to find it on the Southernmost temple of Aethiopia. It is for this reason, it seems to me, that the temple must be very late, and dating from the days of the last Ptolemies. That the artists were natives there can be little doubt, as they have carefully portrayed all the non-Egyptian details,



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and as the whole thing has so distinctly a style of its own that it is impossible to think otherwise. Another thing worthy of remark in connection with the figures on this temple is that there are two distinct kinds of clothing. On the outer pylon walls the king and queen wear conventional Egyptian dress of the Ptolemaic style, albeit elaborated with all the negro's love of showy finery. Elsewhere they wear a robe which is not in the least Egyptian, although in one case it is depicted decorated with wings, which we may believe from a similar garment worn by an attendant to have been winged lions' heads. This robe seems to have been a loose garment hanging from the shoulders down to the feet and tied at the neck by a tasselled cord. It is worn by the attendants and also by two of the gods, and was apparently usually covered with some kind of pattern.[9] Over the right shoulder was worn, probably by the king and queen only, a sort of fringed shawl. This dress appears to be the general one for royal personages, not only here but at Meroë and Napata also, and it is very probable that the elaborate Egyptian costume was never worn at all, and is simply a conventional style of portraiture adopted for religious purposes and handed down by tradition from the time of Taharḳa. From what remains of the reliefs, the jewelry was of the most elaborate and barbaric kind, Egyptian in design, but in some details curiously like modern Sudani work.[10] In view of the general idea that the queen took the supreme place in the government, it is noteworthy that at Naga the king takes precedence of the queen in every case.

A few yards to the East of the temple described above stands a remarkable building in Graeco-Roman style with a doorway and two side windows of Egyptian detail; the rest of the windows are arched the arches being supported by pilasters (Plate V, fig. 2). The doorway, which is thoroughly Egyptian in style, has an entablature decorated with uraei and designs of the winged solar disk; each of the centre side windows is in similar style. On the inner side is a relief of two couchant lions. The rest of the building, however, is

[9] This robe is also frequently decorated by a small ornament that at first sight has the appearance of a cross, but which is in reality a degenerate form of the Egyptian or . The argument that it is a symbol of Christianity is obviously impossible.

[10] It should be noted that the detailed drawings in the *Denkmäler* owe much of their finish to *restorations* by the draughtsman. The originals are, and must have been for a long time, in a very bad state.

Roman. The archivolts on either side of the door have a curious moulding, consisting entirely of rows of projecting bosses, almost like certain kinds of Norman work. Those at the side are more elaborate and are ornamented with a floral decoration of what I took to be alternate "tongues" and lotus blooms. The sills of all the windows have this latter moulding. The columns have capitals of debased acanthus leaves, and are grouped in two three-quarter columns at the corners. They support a frieze, above which was a heavy cornice which has now fallen away. The building is clumsy and heavy, and yet obviously much more Roman than Egyptian in style.

Some 250 yards up the hill-side to the East we come to the third temple. This is quite Egyptian in style. It is approached by a sloping ramp and then a dromos of twelve crio-sphinxes on large pedestals, six on either side, and divided in the middle by a large stone altar-like construction. These crio-sphinxes have been badly knocked about, only one remaining in anything like its original state, and even that has been knocked off its pedestal (Plate VI, fig. 1). Of the temple itself only the three doorways of each of its main divisions and one pillar remain *in situ* (Plate VI, fig. 2). These are all covered with very well carved reliefs, in a much purer Egyptian style than on any other building at Naga. The scenes, most of which represent the king and queen worshipping or dancing before Amon and other gods, are accompanied by hieroglyphic texts. In this temple neither of the royal devotees are represented as wearing the native robe and shawl, or overladen with barbaric ornaments. The figures, which are clad in the different ceremonial dresses as depicted on the Ptolemaic temples, have little or nothing barbaric about them, while the gods might be the work of an Egyptian artist. Everything is much more restrained and dominated by Egyptian conventionality. The figures and hieroglyphs are all in low relief, and the style is obviously inspired by late Ptolemaic or early Roman influence. The god principally worshipped is, as one would expect, Amon, and he is represented on the reliefs alternately as ram- and human-headed. The temple, which differs so surprisingly from the pyloned building below, nevertheless bears the cartouches of *Netekamen* and *Amentarit*.

At the top of the slope, immediately under the stony cliff that crowns the *gebel*, are the jumbled remains of two or three other buildings, which are in an almost complete state of ruin. LEPSIUS,

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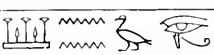
however, was able to read on the doorways of one the cartouche of Shankpitah (?),  . Scattered here and there over the slope of the hill are also the remains of several other buildings, the plans of which LEPSIUS succeeded in making for the *Denkmäler*, but which are now in a more or less totally ruined condition. There are plenty of evidences that Naga was a large place, and there is no doubt that excavations would yield very interesting results if the situation and difficulty of obtaining labour did not put such insuperable barriers in the way.

In considering the date of these buildings, it will be best to deal first with the pyloned temple in the plain. This probably dates to middle or late Ptolemaic times, for reasons that have been stated above. While outwardly thoroughly Egyptian, it shows various evidences of Alexandrian influence, and this I am inclined to think was introduced into Aethiopia by Ergamenes (Arḳamen), who was educated at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The traditions of the native workmen were those of a barbaric imitation of Egyptian styles, probably acquired in Egypt, but we see in this temple that the royal builders have introduced deities who are probably meant to be Greek. It is therefore almost conclusive that they reigned after Ergamenes and the introduction of Greek influence, while the general style of the ornamentation points to late and degenerate Ptolemaic Egyptian influence. The temple dedicated to Amon and approached by the dromos of crio-sphinxes bears the same cartouches as that of the pyloned temple below, and so must in all probability be its contemporary. Nevertheless it differs very considerably in style and character, being, as pointed out above, much more orthodoxly Egyptian, confined to the worship of Amon and purely Egyptian gods, and depicting the royal couple in orthodox Egyptian dress, and not in the native robe and shawl overloaded with barbaric ornaments. It is possible that the pyloned temple was dedicated to a native lion-headed deity who appears at the head of the procession of gods on the South wall, and as chief and only god on the West wall, with three heads and four arms. STRABO relates that "the inhabitants of Meroe worship Hercules, Pan, and Isis, besides some other barbaric deity," and this lion-headed god may be the barbaric deity in question. It appears, too, that the fame of great Serapis must have reached this southern region, and possibly that of Ra or Harpocrates, in the Greek form of Helios, for so, as we have seen

above, two of the reliefs indicate. At the other temple, however, was carried on the orthodox Egyptian worship of Amon, before whom tradition compelled that the king and queen should be depicted wearing the conventional garb assigned to them by the monuments, although probably they never wore them actually.

The classical temple presents greater difficulties. Nearly all the architectural works carried on in Upper Egypt for the first two hundred years of the Roman Empire were in the native style, and even as late as the reign of Antoninus Pius so beautiful a native piece of work as the entrance to Medinet Habu was created. There were, of course, occasional classic buildings, such as the temple built in honour of Antinous by Hadrian.[11] but for the most part outside Alexandria the old Egyptian traditions prevailed. It is therefore the more astonishing to come across a building of this kind so far South, when Roman style had such little influence in Egypt. The capitals and mouldings of the archivolts and sills are elaborate, and scarcely permit of the building being earlier than the end of the second century; indeed, their semi-floral pattern almost point to Syrian influence, if that were only possible. The general state of the country, however, would not permit of the building being as late as the time of Diocletian, after which date the country speedily lapsed back into utter barbarism. The Egyptian details, too, prohibit it from being much later than 250 A.D., and it is therefore probable that its date must be placed somewhere between 200-250 A.D. Considering how little influence Rome had over this part of the world during that period, it seems as if the builders must have been natives who had gained their knowledge in Alexandria, and it stands as another example of the adaptive and imitative power of the semi-civilized negro.

Returning now to the ruins of Masawwarat es-Sufra, it seems probable that here we have buildings which lie some time between the Egyptian temples and the classic construction of Naga just considered. We have again Alexandrian influence, where the predominating style is nevertheless Egyptian. The place, however, is bare of hieroglyphics, and what Egyptian *motifs* do remain are so thoroughly degenerate as to point to the knowledge of Egyptian things being on the wane. On the other hand, the place was in existence when the country was still accessible to Roman travellers, as proved by the inscription found by CAILLIAUD and LETORZEC. The general style

[11] See *Description de l'Égypte.*

and appearance also bears out the view that the buildings must belong to some period of the first century, probably the latter half. I am led to this view owing to the total lack of hieroglyphics, although panels are carved to receive them above the figures of gods on the columns of the portico in front of the central building. There is no knowledge of the arch, which precludes any actual Roman influence.

At these sites, therefore, Masawwarat es-Sufra and Naga, we have the last and most Southerly stage of that strange imitative negro civilization which was founded at Napata. It existed long enough to be influenced by Roman ideals in architecture at least, and at Naga we probably have the most southerly Egyptian temple and the most southerly Roman building, side by side, that there is in existence.

A COPTIC OSTRACON.

By W. E. Crum.

This ostracon (which is published at the request of the Secretary of the Society) belongs to Dr. Colin Campbell. It is a slice of white limestone, 9 × 12 cm. in size. The script, though closely resembling Hands 'A' and 'D' in my *Ostraca*,[1] is not, I think, identical with either. The writer is probably not the bishop, so often occurring there; for, though the bishop too calls himself simply 'the humble,'[2] he would not speak of himself as his correspondent's 'son' or employ such subservient greetings. The ostracon should date from about the year 600.

Recto.

† ϩⲁⲟⲩ ⲙⲉⲛ ⲙⲡⲩⲁ-
ⲭⲉ ⲧⲛⲏⲣⲟⲥⲣⲉⲛⲉⲓ ⲡⲉ-
ϩⲁⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲟ̅ⲩⲛⲉⲓ-
ⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲓⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲧⲥⲟ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲕⲁ-
ⲧⲁ ⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲡⲓⲉⲓⲁⲉ ⲁⲧⲉⲕⲟ̅ⲩⲛ̅-
ⲉⲓⲥⲟⲩ ϫⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲁⲩⲉⲓⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲁⲓ
ⲉⲫⲉⲓⲣⲉ [ⲙ]ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲟⲡⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲁ-
ⲣⲁⲡⲏ . . . . ⲛⲟϫ ⲟⲩϩⲟⲧⲉ
ϩⲁϩ[ⲧ . . . . ⲩⲓⲟⲛ-
ⲉ ⲁ[ⲙ]ⲁ[ⲧⲉⲣ]ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ
. . . . ϩⲁϩⲧⲛ [3]

Verso.

† ⲩⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ
ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲁⲡⲏ ⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅-
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ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲧⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲧⲁⲁⲉ
ⲙⲡⲁⲓⲉⲣⲓⲧ ⲉⲓⲥⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲏ̅
. . ⲙ [4] ϩⲓⲧⲛⲛⲉⲫⲩⲡⲣⲉ
ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ ⲡⲉⲓⲉⲗⲁ-
ϫⲓⲥ †

'Before (+ *μέν*) words, I do obeisance (*προσκυνεῖν*) unto the sweetness of the feet[5] of thy honoured and in all ways holy fatherhood. Since (*ἐπειδή*) thy fatherhood hath sent David out to me, as

[1] *Coptic Ostraca*, pp. xiv, xv. On the date of these hands, *v.* Brit. Mus., *Catal. of Coptic MSS.*, p. xx, n. 2.

[2] Crum, *Ostr.*, nos. 61 and (?) 59, Berlin Ostr. P. 8727.

[3] Or ϩⲁϩⲧⲏⲓ.

[4] Probably an erasure.

[5] ϩⲁⲟⲩ similarly in Crum, *op. cit.*, nos. 195, 255, 398.

representing (– *πρόσωπον*) Tagapê[6] . . . . . cause to fear . . . . . sick (?), Patermoute did . . . . . before me (?) (*verso*), till such time as Tagapê shall come with Patermoute and thou send this tablet (*πλάξ*) unto me, I am ready (*ἕτοιμος*) to give them to them.[7]

Give it unto my beloved, honoured father, from his son the humble (*ἐλάχιστος*) Abraham.'

[6] This name in Brit. Mus. *Catal.*, no. 406, CRUM *op. cit.*, no. 450, TURAIEFF'S Ostraca in *Bull. de l'Acad. Imp.* 1899, no. 13.

[7] Does this imply that the present ostracon was subsequently to be produced as a witness or reminder of an earlier agreement? On *πλάξ* *v.* CRUM, *op. cit.*, p. xi, and KRALL, *Blemyer u. Nubier* (Denkschr. xlvi), p. 2, note.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF THE ISLAND OF ELEPHANTINE.

BY A. F. R. PLATT, *M.B.*

Two explanations of the origin of the word Elephantine are current. One is that the island (or city on it) was the centre of the ivory trade, which is not very convincing. The other is that the Egyptians first saw elephants in the neighbourhood. There are difficulties in accepting this if the elephants were wild, because the Nile Valley in Nubia or Egypt was not, in historical times, a suitable habitat for the animal which requires large tracts of forest.

There is a third possible explanation not less plausible than the other two.

At Assuan the intrusion of the granite into the sandstone breaks up the Nile into a series of rocks and rapids, extending some five miles up the river, to form what is known as the First Cataract. This granite has been split up and weathered into rounded water-worn masses, often covered with a dark grey or black shiny deposit of manganese dioxide. In many of them "pot-holes" have been scoured out when the Nile was much higher and swifter. These holes vary in depth and position, some are deep, vertical and conical, such as that near the Nilometer on Elephantine; others are lateral and often mere shallow depressions.

Some of these rocks present a curious resemblance to elephants, the general outline of the rock corresponding to that of the animal; while the proboscis, legs, tail, ears, and eyes may appear more or less clearly according to the position, number, depth, and arrangement of the shadows formed by the pot-holes and other markings, and particularly by the direction and amount of light.

Sometimes only the head, trunk, and an eye can be made out, as on the Southern extremity of the Island of Elephantine; sometimes a whole animal or a group of them appears. They occur both in profile and with head or stern directed towards the spectator, When close to the water they look as if walking down to drink.

There is a remarkable group to be seen from the terrace of the Cataract Hotel on a little island just to the left of and South of

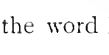
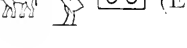
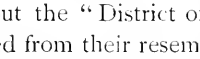
GRANITE ROCKS IMMEDIATELY SOUTH OF THE ISLAND OF ELEPHANTINE.

TAKEN FROM THE EAST BANK, CLOSE TO THE CATARACT HOTEL.

The arrow indicates one of the groups of rocks referred to.

Elephantine. As the sun sinks behind the Western hills, and direct light ceases to fall on the rocks, they stand out very clearly.

This essential condition as to light unfortunately renders it impossible to take a satisfactory photograph at the most favourable moment, and the accompanying view shows little more than the group of rocks in question (immediately above the arrow).

A common form of the word Elephantine is  which evidently refers to the city. I do not know of any example with the island sign. Another common form (as for example in the XIIth dynasty tomb of Sa renput at Assuan (No. 31)) is or . In the still older VIth dynasty inscription of Una, he tells us that he obtained stone from four different quarries (Turah, near Helwan), (Abhat), (Hat Nub, near Tell El Amarna), and  (Elephantine). The quarry determinative does not occur in any of them, but they all have the "*desert hill*" sign  . The conclusion is that means not the island, but the "District of the *Elephant Rocks*," or *Elephant Hills*—so called from their resemblance to the animal.

Long before Una's time granite was quarried at Assuan, and large quantities have been removed from the rocks, where the channel is narrowest both on the Elephantine and Assuan side. It is possible that here, in very early times, existed a bold outstanding rock or group of rocks, which still more strikingly resembled an elephant (or elephants[1]) than those which remain at the present day. As the elephant does not appear to have been a sacred animal, such rocks may have long since been quarried away.

I hope members of the Society may know of facts in favour of this *Petrous* derivation of the word Elephantine, for without confirmatory evidence this "elephant" hypothesis, like the other two, must remain as nebulous as Hamlet's camel, weasel and whale.

[1] In this connection it would be interesting to know if the word occurs in the full plural form, with the elephant written three times.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, November 11th, 1908, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

E. R. Ayrton, Esq.: "The recently excavated Tomb of Hor-e'n-heb."

This Paper will be illustrated by Lantern-slides.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-EIGHTH SESSION, 1908.

Sixth Meeting, November 11th, 1908.

F. LEGGE, Esq.,

IN THE CHAIR.

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

From the Author, W. S. Auchincloss, Esq.—"The Book of Daniel Unlocked," *and* "Chronology of the Holy Bible."

From the Author, Prof. Dr. A. Wiedemann.—"Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft." XXIX. 1906.

From Dr. T. Smolenski. — "Origins of the Jewish-Christian Literature." By Ignacy Radlinski. (In Polish.)

From W. E. Crum, Esq.—"Grab- und Denksteine des mittleren Reichs." Part II; *and* "Bijoux et Orfèveries." Being volumes of the "Cat. Gén. du Musée du Caire."

From the Author, the Rev. F. C. Norton.—"A Popular Handbook to Assyriology."

From the Author, The Hon. Emmeline Plunket.—"The Judgment of Paris."

A. Heber-Percy, Esq., Hodnet Hall, Salop.
Harold Holmes, Esq., Martinhoe, N. Devon.
W. Moir Bryce, Esq., Edinburgh.

were elected Members of the Society.

The following Paper was read:—

E. R. Ayrton, Esq.: "The recently excavated Tomb of Hor-em-heb."

Thanks were returned for this communication.

HITTITE INSCRIPTIONS FROM GURUN AND EMIR GHAZI.

By Prof. A. H. Sayce, *D.D.*

I.

Gurun, called Guriania by the Assyrians, Gauraina in classical geography, lies on the modern road from Sivas to Albistan, and at the northern end of the early road which led from Mer'ash to the Tokhma Su and the valley of the Euphrates. There are two Hittite inscriptions engraved on the rocks in the pass to the N.W. of the town which were discovered by Sir Charles Wilson in 1879. In 1882 he visited the place again with Prof. Sir W. Ramsay who took impressions of the inscriptions, and also eye-copies of them. These were published in the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* XIV, 1, 2 (1892). Little, however, could be made out of the shorter of the two inscriptions, and a photograph which was taken of it unfortunately proved to be a failure. Hence I have never been able to make use of the texts, beyond pointing out that they were the work of a king of Carchemish.

Last summer M. G. de Jerphanion* succeeded in taking an excellent photograph of the shorter inscription, the result being that, with the help of Sir W. Ramsay's copy of the longer text, I am now in a position to give a fairly complete copy of the whole. This is attached to the present paper (Plate I). The inscription is important, not only historically but also from the point of view of Hittite decipherment. The variations between the shorter and the longer texts are more especially of value.

"The inscriptions," says Sir William Ramsay, "are N.W. of the town, at the lower end of a very narrow gorge through which the Tokhma Su forces its way. Both are a short distance up the slope on the right bank of the stream. No. 1 (the shorter text) is cut on the face of a cliff, hanging slightly over a natural recess; a little to the left is a small spring. The inscription is about 15 feet above the ground; the symbols, cut in high relief, are disposed in four panels, and cover a space of about 4 feet by 3 . . . . . No. 2 is cut, not

* *Proceedings*, Vol. XXX, p. 42.

like No. 1 on the cliffs through which the river makes its way, but on the face of a mass of rock, which projects amid the *débris* in front of the cliff, a little higher up the slope than No. 1. The symbols are in six panels, and worn almost entirely away, so much so that, on the rotten surface of the stone, they appear rather as depressions than projections. They are larger than those in No. 1, and less carefully cut."

Sir WILLIAM RAMSAY'S eye-copies vary in a few particulars from the published copies which were made from a comparison of them with the impressions. The variations, however, are of slight importance.

The first line of the shorter inscription is gone; but the longer inscription enables us to restore it, with the exception, unfortunately, of the royal name:

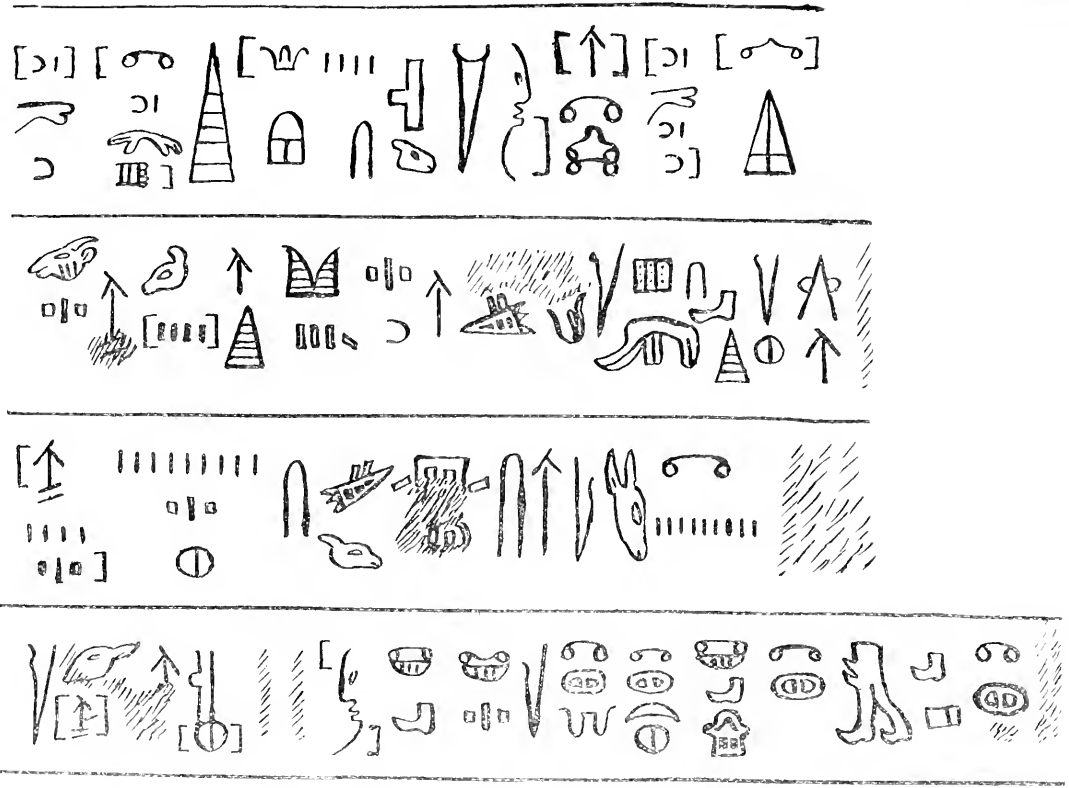
1. [DET.-DET. *Sanda* DET.-DET. (*Ma*)-*mi* DET.-DET. (*A*)-*tu*-DET.
[To the supreme gods Sandes, Mamis (or Ammis) and Atys
. . . -*uan* (?) ASI-*yas*-*si*-*yas*],
. . . uan (?), the son of the sanctuary],

2. [DET.]-ID. [ANA-*na*-*yas*] DET.-ID. [DET.-ID
the king [great], the supreme . . , [the dirk-bearer
Kar-*ka*-*me*-*i*-*si*-]*yas*-DET. [DET.-*nu*-*is*] ANA-NA-
of Carchemish], [the high-priest]

3. NA-*a*-*yas* *am*-[*me*]-*yas*-DET. DET.-*Kasî*-*a*-*na*-*yas* *Mar* (?)-[*ka* ?]-*uan*-
great, of the land of the Kasians, in the city of
DET.-*ta* *Kas*-*i*-*mia*-DET.-MIA ID-*yas*
Maroga (?) the Kasian people ruling,

4. . . . DET. IX-*miyas*-MIAS *yas*-*i*-*y* *ki*-*y*-*mia* (?) *Mar* (?)-*ka*-(?)
. . . supreme over the 9 states, this inscription for Mar-
-*i* IX *a*-*mia* [*ya*-*me*-*a*]-
oga (?), of the 9 states [here]

5. DET.-[*yi*] *nâ* (?)-*yas* (?) . . -DET. . . . [DET.] *mi*-MIA-*mi*-*a*-MIAS
the pass, [I have made], being minister
DET.-DET. *Sanda* DET.-DET. *Ma*-*mi*-MI-MAMI DET.-DET.
of the supreme gods Sandes, Mamis or (Ammis) and
ID.-DET.-*tu* DET.-ID. . . .
Atys the god (s).



No. I.—HITTITE INSCRIPTION FROM GURUN.

1. Sir W. RAMSAY's eye-copy of the longer text (Plate II) correctly gives the symbol of Sandes at the beginning of this line, as in line 5.

The name of the goddess in No. 2 seems to be written , in which case the first character would have the value of *ma* or *am* instead of *atu* as I have supposed. But the exact form of this first character is questionable, and it may be intended for the feather head-dress, , which I found rising from the top of the head of the so-called "Niobê" on Mount Sipylos.

The name of Atys in No. 2 is written with the character *tu* or *tua*, followed by the ideograph of two legs walking, which I have long since shown must represent Atys. Here we have proof that I was right. A character, probably *a*, has been lost between the determinative of divinity and *tu*. On the divine names see further the note on line 5.

The same title *asi-yas-si-yas* is found in one of the Carchemish inscriptions (MESSERSCHMIDT XV), where it is written *asi-s-si-i* (in the genitive). *Yas*, therefore, should probably be read *is* here, as is certainly the case in some of the later inscriptions. Since the last character is the equivalent of in the next line, I give it the same phonetic value.

2. The first character in Sir W. RAMSAY's copy should probably be corrected into the usual form . The restorations in this line are taken from his copy of the longer text.

I have found the ideograph of "dirk-bearer" interchanging with the title *amis*, which will therefore be the equivalent of it. *Nu-is* or *nu-mis* ("the consecrated one") is the title assumed by the Hamath princes; perhaps it should rather be read *ê-mis*.

3. Possibly we should read and translate *Kasê anais* "king of Kas" instead of *Kasê-a-na-yas*. The oblique line is not *u*, but interchanges with *i*, at all events in the older texts, and is represented in Assyrian by *e* (as on the Tarkondêmos seal). Hence it is best expressed by *î* or *ê* or the Welsh *y*.

The animal's head in line 4 may be intended for *ka*, and the quiver with the double line may be an abbreviation of the quiver crossed by two arrows which has the value of *mar*, . Hence we could read the name of the city as *Mar(u)-ka*, and identify it with the classical Marôga, now Maragos, which was not far from Gurun. However, Sennacherib, in a letter to his father, couples Nagi-u

or Nagi, with Guriania, and since the quiver had the value of *nu* or *nê*, we might read Nêga. Unfortunately the animal's head does not exactly resemble any of those I have met with in the inscriptions. The name of the city is omitted in Sir W. RAMSAY's copy of the longer text.

The proper value of was *mia*, written *miya* in the cuneiform texts, see *P.S.B.A.*, June, 1908, p. 183. The boot, when it signified "the earth," was called *amia* (or *ammia*); this became the phonetic values *mia* and *mi*. In the Emir Ghazi texts *Kasi-mia* is written *Ka-si-i-mia*, with for , and the oblique stroke (as in this passage) replaced by *i*.

I do not know whether we should write (*Mark*?)-*uan-ta* or (*Mark*?)-*uan*-NA-*ta*.

4. The same title, "supreme over the nine (states)," is given to the god Aramis by the Carchemish king Khalmi-*-me (M. X, 2). Since the word *amia*, "state," is expressed further on in the line, *mias* may not be the suffix of the numeral, but should be read *amias*.

Yas-i "this" is used in a similar way in the Emir Ghazi inscriptions, *P.S.B.A.*, June, 1908, where I have transliterated the word *ues-i*. It should, however, be *yasi* or *yesi*, the sibilant being probably pronounced like *z*. In the photograph the traces of the following character show that it is the graving-tool, (*Ideograph*).

Ya-me-a is from Sir W. RAMSAY's copy of the longer text, like *yî*, which I cannot explain, at the beginning of the next line.

5. Only the right-hand portion of the animal's head is preserved according to the photograph. After the ideograph of "gate" (which seems to be used in the sense of a "pass," as in the Vannic inscriptions) we should expect the suffix *-ta* "in." The characters preceding the ideograph ought to give its phonetic reading.

In M. XLVI, 2, 3, *nâ-a-yas* seems to be "towers." Perhaps we should translate: "[in] this fortress of the nine (Hittite) states." Sennacherib describes Nagi-u as "the fortress of the Highlands" (*birte* BUR-BUR).[1]

In Sir W. RAMSAY's copy of the longer inscription the leg intervenes between MIA and *mi-a*. *Memis*, *memias*, will therefore be the phonetic equivalent of the ideograph, and not *abi* or *abu*, as I formerly conjectured. In the Arzawa tablets *memis*, *memian*, signifies "servant," "minister."

[1] Unless *birte* stands for *birit*, the translation being "the district between the Highlands and Gamir."

At Carchemish (M. XI, 5), the king, who is possibly the king also of the Gurun texts, calls himself *mi*-MIA-*mi-a*-MIAS, i.e., *memias*, "servant" of three gods, whom I have long since shown to be the triad of father-god, mother-goddess, and son Atys. The father-god is denoted by the numeral X, which in Assyrian represents the god Hadad. On the Babylon stela (M. II) Sandes is identified with the Syrian Hadad; this will explain why the numeral X became his symbol in Syria. The mother-goddess is not represented (in M. XI, 5) by *Katu*, , as I have hitherto supposed, but by the ideograph that immediately follows the numeral, since it is the same ideograph as that which in our Gurun texts is attached to the phonetically-written name of the goddess Ammia (or Mami). Katu must, therefore, represent Atys, either as being "the Kataonian" god, or because the character *Katu* had the secondary value *atu*, just as *mias* was also *as* and *amis* was also *is*. Whether the picture of the sky (?) over the circle of the earth represents *am* or *ma* cannot be decided; both forms, Mami and Ammia, could be supported by Greek inscriptions and writers.[2]

The boot, after the picture of the two legs, is the determinative of "walking," as in the newly-discovered inscription of Emir Ghazi.

The close similarity between the formulae of the Gurun inscriptions and those of the two Carchemish texts, MESSERSCHMIDT XI and XV, suggests the probability that they all belong to the same king of Carchemish and Kas, whose name seems to have been Sunna-mes or, less probably, Dimes. They are records of an expedition which he made to the North, beyond the borders of the Hittite territory.

II.

In 1908 Prof. Sir W. RAMSAY discovered two more Hittite inscriptions at Emir Ghazi (Ardistama): one of them is a fragment

[2] The form Ammia, however, seems preferable, since the ideograph is apparently the same as that which constitutes part of the territorial name in M. IV, A 3, and which accordingly would read *Na-ammi-gha-s*, Nammighas, "Of the land of Nammi." An Amorite in the Tel el-Amarna letters (W. and A. 50, *Rev.* 32) bears the similar name of Nimmakhi. Perhaps we have the name of the country in the shorter Hamath inscription (M. IV, B 2), *Na-mi-a-na-(na)s*-DET., with which the personal name Namya-waza in the Tel el-Amarna letters may be compared.

only, but the other is on the base of another mushroom-like altar, and the larger part of it is preserved. The first line, however, which presumably ran round the edge of the altar-table is lost, as well as a line at the foot of the base, which has been cut off. The following is my reading of the text, derived from a squeeze with the help of photographs and an eye-copy made by Sir W. RAMSAY. Line 1, it must be remembered, is probably the first line only on the base, and the second line of the whole inscription :—

1. *Ma*-MIA-*mi-a-s*-MIAS ID. DET.- . . *-mias* *nâ-a-me*
I Mamias, of the Atys-table the priest this

ID. ID.-DET. DET.-*a*-RA-*mis* *uan-miya*-MIA
altar, of the Flower-city being king, the place of the sacred tree

i-si-is *mi-si* . . . .
having planted, have built . . . .

2. *Ka-ana*-DET. *ka-mia*-MIA *ka-i-s* *mi-si*-DET. . . *me* (?)
for the city of Kana the monument making have built;

. . . . *mia* *ka-mia-a-yas* ID. . . *-i*
. . . . monuments (?), viz., an altar for the sacred ram (?)

tir (?)-*si* *Ka-si-i-miya* ID. *tir*-[*si*]
of the sanctuary, of the Kasians the Tarkus (?) sanctuary,

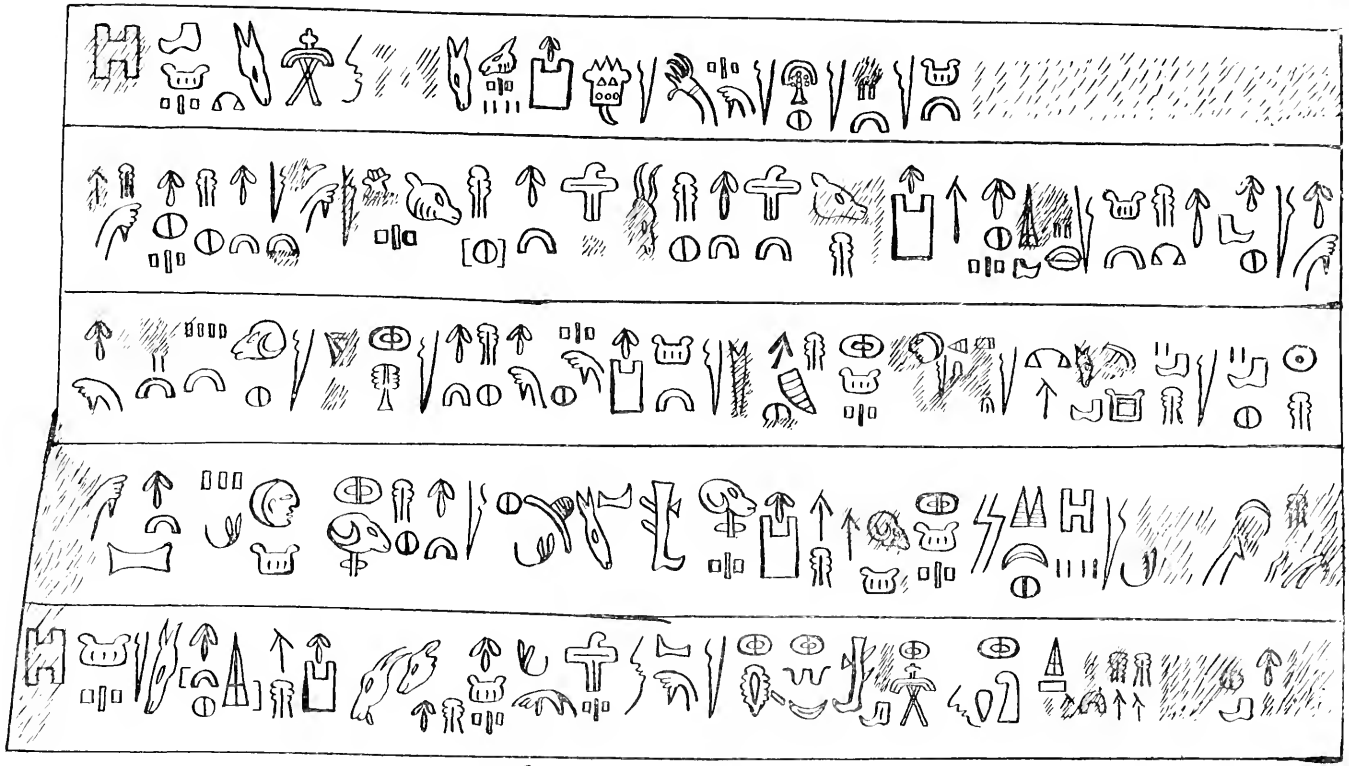
Ka-si-i-[*miya*] *ná-* . . *-a-mias* *ana* (?) . . *am-mia* (?)
of the Kasians the . . . for the king (?) of the city (?),

Ka-si-i-miya *ka-mi-a* *ana-i-yas* (?)
of the Kasians the monument, being king (?)

3. *Ka* (?)-*ana* . . *-si* *me-si* *Li-mia-*(*mia*)*s* . . .
of the Kanians (?) I have built. The walls of the . . .

DET.-*Uan-amiya* *Ka-si-i-miya* *Ka-ana-mia* *a-*(*a*)*na*
of the city of Uan, for the Kasians' (and) Kanians' king

ID. *mi-si*-DET. . . *-yas* (?)*-i-* . . *-mia*
a monument I have built: . . . .



No. II.– HITTITE INSCRIPTION FROM EMIR GHAZI.

DET.-*mi-a* . . . . -*mi-* . . . *s-yas* *am* (?)-*mi-* . . -DET.
the place of the god . . . . . erecting, a throne

II *ami-i*-DET. II-*ami-*(*mi*)*a* ID.-*i*
for the two cities' Sun-god

4. . . . . AMIA *Ma-me*-DET.-*mi-ni* *Uan-mi-a*
. . . . . In the city of Mamias, of the place of the God

li(?)-*mi-yas* (?) *yas-i* ID. ID.-*a*
the walls (?) for this altar, being the ram-fetish's

MEMI-*mi-*(*mia*)-*s* MA-*mia-*(*ia*)*n amia* *Ka-si-i-miya*
servant in the city of the Mamoassians, for the Kasians'

DET.-ID *ara-mi* *Kas-ian* *ka-is* *atus*
Ram-god the king of the Kasians making as king

[*si-mi*]
[I have erected].

5. [*Mâ-*] *mi-a*-MIA-(*mia*)*s* *Ka-*[*si-i-miya anas*] *yas-i* ID.
I Mamias, the Kasians' king, this altar

Tark-ka *ka-i* *ka-mi-a-*(*ia*)*n-da* *tir* (?)-*a*
for Tarkus have made, by way of a monument in the sanctuary,

DET.-*mi*-DET.-*is* DET.-*Aram-î* DET. *San-da*
being priest of the gods Aramis (and) Sandes,

MEMIAS [DET.-*Si-*] *mi* DET. *Atui* DET.-ID. DET.-*Ammia*
servant of Simi (and) Atys, dirk-bearer of Ammia

ID. ID. . . . .
the queen of the rock. . . . .

1. The spelling of the name of the king shows that I was right in believing that it should be read Mameas, Mamias,—Mamoas in Greek,—and settles the phonetic value of the ass's head.

In these inscriptions the Sun-god Atys is represented by a phallus placed on the table on which, in Hittite reliefs, bread and wine are usually set, with the deity and the worshipper partaking of the sacrificial meal on either side (see *P.S.B.A.*, May, 1906, p. 95). Whether the *name* of Atys was applied to the god at Emir Ghazi is of

course uncertain. The difference in meaning between the demonstratives *yâ-mis* and *nâ-mis* has yet to be determined.

The hieroglyph which I have supposed to be a picture of a flower may be intended for a pomegranate.

2. The value of *ana* for is given in M. X, 8. The city of Kanna is placed by Sir W. Ramsay in the close neighbourhood of Khasbia and Emir Ghazi. He identifies Kasi with Khasbia. The Kasî-miya, or "Kasians," have left their name in the classical Kases, the Kusâ of the Assyrians, who describe them as the inhabitants of Cappadocia south of the Halys.

3. In M. II, 2, 3, 5, *limias* seems to signify "walls."

Kasi and Kana appear to be "the two cities" of the end of the line, which were so closely connected with one another as to be under the protection of the same Sun-god. The attachment of the numeral "two" shows that the duplication of a word in the Hittite script denoted the dual. We should probably read *amî* here, *i* being in this case the termination of the dual.

4. This line is practically a repetition of line 1 of the first Emir Ghazi altar (A) and lines 2, 3 of the second altar (B). The variations are: (1) for the phonetic , (2) "the city of Mamia" instead of "the Ram-city," (3) the addition of the phonetic complement *mi* after *ara*(*mi*), and (4) the omission of the words "city of the Ram-god." The characters which follow are shown to represent the sky (?) above the circle of the earth, and it becomes probable that is to be read *ni*, and not *Khat*, as I have done. Mamoassus, "the city of Mamias," would appear to be the same as "the city of the Ram-god."

5. This line is again a repetition of A 2, and B 4, and shows that the god who is coupled with Sandes is Aramis. The name of the father-god, which I have hitherto read Sû-wi, is either Sî-mi or Sî. Perhaps the latter is best, since in M. XI, 4, it seems to be the phonetic equivalent of both "boots" and at Fraktin the lower boot is omitted altogether.

The ideograph of "king" must be read *anas*, since in a fragmentary inscription copied by Sir W. Ramsay in which this line is

repeated we have *Ka-si-i-mi a-na-(i)-s*, with *-mi* for *-miya* like *-me* by the side of *-miya* in the cuneiform tablets of Boghaz-Keui.

It will be observed that I have reverted to my original reading of *ya*, etc., instead of *wa*, etc. for , etc. This is made necessary by instances like *Mâ-mia-ian* in line 4, as well as by the fact that the oblique line turns out to be the equivalent of *ê* or *î*, Assyrian *e*. In the later Cilician texts *u* or *w* takes the place of *y*, except where the latter reading is indicated by the use of the oblique line. Thus the Tuates of the Vannic monuments is written *Tua-a-tua-ê-s*, *i.e.*, Tuates, in M. II, 1, and at Tyana the equivalent of the *mi-si* or *me-si* of the Emir Ghazi texts is written *mis*-MIS-*yê-i* (M. XXXIII, A 4.) The difference between *u* and *y* was probably dialectal; however, in the Assyrian transcriptions of Hittite proper names we find variations like Liburna by the side of Lubarna.

It is possible that while *u* distinguished the Hittites of Boghaz Keui and Arzawa, *ê*, *i*, or *y* distinguished those of Kas. For it is now clear that the Hittites of Kas, to whom the main part of the hieroglyphic texts belong, are not to be identified with the Hittites who founded the empire North of the Halys. In the Tel el-Amarna tablets, while the Hittites and the Kas are associated together, a distinction is nevertheless drawn between them. The Kasi once constituted one of the confederated states over which the Hittite kings of Boghaz Keui held rule, and are probably referred to by Khattu-sil under the name of Gaswya. Their seat was in Cappadocia South of the Halys, and they must, therefore, be the Kusâ of the Assyrians who occupied the same region. Their empire, which is shown by the hieroglyphic texts to have extended from Carchemish in the East to Lydia in the West, and from Gurun in the North Southward to the Mediterranean, appears to have followed that of Boghaz Keui, after the latter was destroyed, probably by the "Northern" barbarians of Ramses III. Upon its ruins would have risen the Kasian power, which will be the empire of Cilicia described by SOLINUS, and which, according to him, extended to Pelusium on the borders of Egypt, and embraced the Lydians, Medes, Armenians, Pamphylia and Cappadocia (*De Mirab. Mundi* XLIX). In the mention of Pelusium there may be a reference to the invasion of Egypt by the "Northern" barbarians. The Kasians left their name, not only in Asia Minor, but also in Mons Casius in the territory of the Khatti-nâ on the Gulf of Antioch.

III.

Seal from Smyrna.

At Smyrna, Sir W. Ramsay obtained a seal of steatite, in the shape of a disk, flat on either side, which bears the same Hittite inscription on both obverse and reverse, the only difference being that the small circle which marks the end of the name is omitted on the reverse. The dirk, or short Hittite sword, here takes the place of the dirk grasped in the hand, which, on other seals, indicates "prince" or the like. I do not know whether the repetition of the first syllable *Khal* is due merely to the artist's desire for symmetry, or whether it is intended to signify that the vocalic termination of the dual (in *-i* ?) should be read after *Khal*. In any case, the name would be: Khaly-nuan or Khaly-nian or Khal-nian. It is a pity that we do not know the precise spot where the seal was found.

ON THE LENGTH OF THE MONTH IN BABYLONIA.

By the Rev. C. H. W. Johns, *M.A.*

Any information bearing on the Calendar of the ancient Babylonians must be of value, especially now that we are beginning to appreciate the services those early sages of Chaldaea rendered to the progress of the world's civilization. Judging from the confident assertions of many writers, there would seem to be no doubt about any point in the Calendar, but one may search in vain for evidence to substantiate their statements.

It has been asserted that each month had, at least normally, thirty days. Also we are told that the months were alternately thirty and twenty-nine days long. One scientist was ready to give the length of the Babylonian month correct to eight places of decimals. There are, however, many pitfalls for the unwary dabbler in Calendar lore. To the plain man no statement can be simpler than that a period lasted from one day of a particular month to another stated day of another given month. All depends on the length of the month, and if all months are not the same length, we need to know the lengths of the months named and also of those that intervened. Further, even the length of time from the first of one month to the first of the next month depends upon whether we reckon in both first days or only one. The former method of reckoning is often said to be that usual in the East, and it is important to know whether it was the custom in early times. If, therefore, we could find a series of original calculations of the length of time in days from one given date to another, we ought to be able to give a definite answer to some perplexing questions, the answers to which seem generally to be assumed without enquiry.

Now there was published in 1896, in the second volume of *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum,*

a text Bu. 91-5-9, 283 (on page 18), which does not seem to have yet received the notice it deserves. It gives the length in days between fixed stated dates, and adds a means of checking them in several cases. Adopting the usual Hebrew names of the months for the sake of clearness, we may examine these data for settling the questions raised above.

The reckonings are for a certain number of days at so much per day, and when the number of days, amount per day, and total amount are all given, we have a perfect specimen of the sort of evidence we desire. Thus, in lines 5–8, we have $49\frac{4}{5}$ *GUR*, from the 3rd of Elul to the 26th of Marchesvan, two months 23 days, at $\frac{3}{5}$ *GUR* per day. Now $\frac{3}{5}$ of 83 is exactly $49\frac{4}{5}$. Hence the scribe reckoned from the 3rd of Elul to the 26th of Marchesvan as 83 days. We have here two alternatives possible. In the first case, Elul and the next month Tesri had each 30 days, and the scribe did not count in the 26th of Marchesvan. In the second case, either Elul or Tesri had only 29 days, and the scribe did count in the 26th of Marchesvan.

The next reckoning, lines 9–11, gives 16 *GUR*, from the 28th of Marchesvan to the 8th of Tebet, one month 10 days, at $\frac{2}{5}$ *GUR* per day. Now $\frac{2}{5}$ of 40 is exactly 16. Hence, if both Marchesvan and Chislev had 30 days, the scribe did not count in the 8th of Tebet; but, if either had only 29 days, he did.

The next reckoning, lines 14–16, gives $1\frac{1}{1}\frac{4}{5}$ *GUR* from the 27th of Tebet to the 25th of Sebat, at $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{5}$ *GUR* per day. This interval the scribe says is 29 days. Now $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{5}$ of 29 is $1\frac{1}{1}\frac{4}{5}$ exactly. To make up 29 days, Tebet must have had 30 days, and the scribe must have counted in the 25th of Sebat. We may conclude that in the two previous cases he also counted in the later named dates. Then we see that either Elul or Tesri must have had only 29 days: and either Marchesvan or Chislev had 29 days only.

The next reckoning occurs in lines 22–25. Here $7\frac{7}{3}\frac{6}{0}\frac{6}{0}$ *GUR* are obtained as the result of four months 8 days at $\frac{1}{3}\frac{7}{0}\frac{7}{0}$ *GUR* per day, from the 10th of Tammuz to the 20th of Marchesvan. This reckoning is exact for 128 days. Hence, as the scribe counted in the last day named, the 20th of Marchesvan, and as four full months with 11 odd days would make 131 days, at least three of the four months, Tammuz, Ab, Elul, and Tesri, must have had only 29 days each. Then, in no case, can the months have *alternately* had 29 and 30 days. We have already seen that either Elul or Tesri had 29 days only.

In lines 26–29, the interval from the 20th of Marchesvan to the 18th of Tebet appears to be stated to be 56 days, though Dr. PINCHES queries the figures. The amount per day is 3 *ḲA*, and the total 171 *ḲA*, which shows that we must read 57 days. Hence Marchesvan, or Chislev, must have had 29 days only, as we saw before.

Lastly, in lines 30–33, we have $1\frac{12}{300}$ *GUR* as the amount of 3 *ḲA* per day for three months 24 days. There must be some mistake here, because this would make the time only 104 days, and that could only be three months 14 days. The dates are from the 16th of Elul to the 12th of Tebet, which is three months (full) and 26 days. We may suppose then that 24 is not a mistake for 14, but that two out of the four months Elul, Tesri, Marchesvan, or Chislev had 29 days only. Then the time is 114 days, the total amount is $1\frac{42}{300}$ *GUR*, and the mistake is in the total. We need suppose but one error of the scribe or copyist.

The text, or its copy, is not faultless. Usually the separate accounts are marked off by a line across the tablet, but this is omitted between lines 4 and 5. The scribe not only inserts or omits *ḲA* at pleasure, but also he omits *TA* at the end of lines 15, 24, and 32. The first calculation, lines 1–4, gave 12 *GUR* as the amount of 24 days at $\frac{1}{2}$ *GUR* per day, which is exact, but unfortunately at the end of line 2 the day of the month Elul is no longer preserved. Hence the text gives us no assurance as to how the scribe reckoned his 24 days. This is particularly unfortunate, as we should have been able to decide whether Tammuz had 29 or 30 days.

In line 17 the scribe gives accurately the total of the amounts in each of the first five sections. In line 18 he has given exactly one-quarter of this amount. The former is said to be *GAB-A* (*ḫašlu*), that is "threshed out"; the latter, *ŠE-BI*, "its corn." Now as the amount in lines 1, 5, 9, 12 and 14 is called *GAB-A ŠE-BI*, and we see that the corn (in ears with short stalks) was reduced in measure to one-fourth by threshing, we can only conclude that at the end of these lines a space was left to fill in the amount of the grain, and that the scribe never did fill in these amounts. What is noteworthy is that so much corn was received in an unthreshed state from Tammuz the 8th to Sebet the 27th. It is hardly possible to think of harvests coming in all that time. The harvest fell in Ab or Elul at this epoch, or rather corn loans were generally repaid then. The first entry may well be the temple receipts just after harvest,

half a *GUR* a day: but the quantity per day rose considerably during the next three months. It did not decline much to the end of Tebet, but fell to less than a seventh in the end of Tebet and Sebat. This seems to imply that unthreshed corn came in diminishing amounts from Tammuz to the end of the year. We do find instances of corn loans being returned in Adar. Practically then, while from Nisan to Tammuz the corn was growing, and the early harvest, 150 *ḲA* per day, came in from the 8th of that month to the 1st (or 2nd?) of Elul, while the bulk of the crop, 49 out of 82 *GUR*, came in from the 3rd of Elul to the 26th of Marchesvan, 180 *ḲA* per day, the rate fell to 120 *ḲA* per day from the 28th of Marchesvan to the 8th of Tebet, while from the 28th of Tebet to the 25th of Sebat it was only 20 *ḲA* a day.

If these quantities had been served out from the temple granaries, there is no obvious reason why the quantity served out per day should be nine times as much at one time of the year as it was at another. If my hypothesis is correct, we obtain a striking sidelight on the course of agriculture during the year.

It will be observed that no entry is given for the 2nd (?) of Elul, the 27th of Marchesvan, and the 9th to 27th of Tebet. Now, in line 4, we read *ištu ûmi* 1 *KAN UDDA GIDDA našḫu*, which seems to mean "from (it, the total?) was abstracted one day, a long day." That *UDDA GIDDA*, *ûmu arku*, can mean "a long day" is certain; but it may here have some technical meaning, which escapes us now. The reason for the subtraction is not stated, but *našḫu* is commonly used of the exactions of the tax collector. Here he seems to have taken one full day's crop or return from the harvest. That would account for the harvest of the 2nd being omitted. Then the scribe would have reckoned from the 8th of Tammuz to the 1st of Elul inclusive as 24 days. Tammuz must then have had 30 days.

In line 8 we read that two days, *UDDA GIDDA*, were abstracted. Counting these as the 27th and 28th of Marchesvan, we must readjust either the entry for lines 5–7 or that for lines 9–11. This is very perplexing, as it invalidates either our conclusions for the months Elul and Tesri or for Marchesvan and Chislev.

The entry in lines 12–13 apparently covers the 9th to the 27th of Tebet inclusive: that is 19 days on any count. But 3 *GUR* 40 *ḲA* is not divisible exactly by 19, and 50 *ḲA* per day, the nearest whole number, is a great fall from the preceding 120 *ḲA*, though succeeded by 20 *ḲA* for the next period. Possibly the rate per day was too

variable to enter as an average, and the scribe was content with giving the total receipt. At any rate, it is included in the total of line 17. What the phrase *ša bi ṣiḫ* (or is it *ṣiḫar?*) *bîtim* means I do not see. Analogy with the rest of the entries would suggest that it marked a date. The *bîtu* referred to may well be the temple, which is often called simply *bîtu* at this period.

With line 19 starts a fresh class of entry, called *GAB-UD-DU*, the exact meaning of which escapes me. It looks as if in this case the yield of grain was only a fifth. Possibly it was a second winnowing. The reverse deals with measures of *maštu*, to which, in line 22, the determinative of drinks is prefixed. Hence *maštu* is more probably "drink" here than "drinking vessel." The words or groups of signs, *AD-UD-GA*, *I-IB-RU*, *BAL-DA-ŠÚ*, in lines 22, 26, 30, are, even if correctly read, unintelligible to me, but possibly are kinds of vessels. Whether the entry in line 35 is complete or not seems doubtful, but the signs are too uncertain to yield any sense.

In line 36 we have another summation, the scribe gives XI$\frac{108}{300}$ *KU-BI*. He should have had 109 in place of 108. Possibly one of the totals above is incorrect. All the corn is now said to be in the form of "meal," *kêmu*, *KU*. The traces in lines 37–38 probably contained other summations.

The text is dated on the 30th of Adar in the 15th year of Ammizaduga, the 263rd year of the Ḫammurabi Dynasty. This was obviously the last day of the old year when the scribe made up his accounts.

Transliteration.

1. XII GUR GAB-A ŠE-BI
2. šá iš-tu arḫi NE-NE-GAR ûmi VIII KAN a-di arḫi KIN-DINGIR-NINNI û(m . . . . . .)
3. šá XXIV û-mi i-na ûmi I KAN CL (ḲA)-TA
4. iš-tu ûmi I KAN UD-DA GI[D-DA na]-aš-ḫu
5. XLIX (GUR) CCXL (ḲA) GAB-A ŠE-BI
6. šá iš-tu arḫi KIN-DINGIR-NINNI ûmi III KAN a-di arḫi PIN-GAB-A ûmi XXVI KAN
7. šá arḫi II KAN XXIII û-mi i-na ûmi I KAN CLXXX(ḲA)-TA
8. iš-tu II û-mi UD-DA GID-DA na-aš-ḫu
9. XVI GUR GAB-A ŠE-BI

10. šá iš-tu arḫi PIN-GAB-A ûmi XXVIII KAN a-di arḫi AB-UD-DU ûmi VIII KAN
11. šá arḫi I KAN X û-mi i-na ûmi I KAN CXX(ḲA)-TA

12. III (GUR) XL (ḲA) GAB-A ŠE-BI
13. šá bi-i-ṣi-iḫ bi-tim a-di arḫi AB-UD-DU ûmi XXVII (?) KAN

14. I (GUR) CCLXXX (ḲA) GAB-A ŠE-BI
15. iš-tu arḫi AB-UD-DU ûmi XXVII (?) KAN a-di arḫi AŠ-A ûmi XXV KAN
16. šá XXIX (?) û-mi i-na ûmi I KAN XX(ḲA)-TA

17. LXXXII (GUR) CCLX (ḲA) GAB-A
18. ŠE-BI XX (GUR) CCXV (ḲA)

19. XX(IV?) GUR GAB-UD-DU
20. ŠE-BI IV (GUR) CCXL ḲA-KU

21. XXIV (GUR) CCXV ḲA ŠE-GUR šá GAB-A û GAB-UD-DU

Rev.

22. VII (GUR) LXXVI ḲA BI ma-aš-ti AD-UD-GA
23. šá iš-tu arḫi ŠU-KUL-A ûmi X KAN a-di arḫi PIN-GAB-A ûmi XX KAN
24. šá arḫi IV KAN VIII û-mi i-na ûmi I KAN XVII ḲA
25. ištu II û-mi UD-DA GID-DA na-aš-ḫu

26. CLXXI ḲA ma-aš-ti i-na i-ib-rum
27. šá iš-tu arḫi PIN-GAB-A ûmi XX KAN a-di arḫi AB-UD-DU (ûmi) XVIII KAN
28. šá LVII û-mi i-na ûmi I KAN III-ḲA-TA
29. iš-tu ( ) û-mi UD-DA GID-DA na-aš-ḫu

30. I (GUR) XII ḲA ma-aš-ti i-na BAL(?) DÁ-ŠÚ
31. šá iš-tu arḫi KIN-DINGIR-NINNI ûmi XVI KAN a-di arḫi AB-UD-DU ûmi XII KAN
32. šá arḫi III KAN XXIV û-mi i-na ûmi I KAN III ḲA
33. ištu II û-mi UD-DA GID-DA na-aš-ri (*for* ḫu)

34. II (GUR) CL (ḲA) ma-aš-ti i-na mu-si(?)-bi(?)-nu û (?)
35. šá iš-tu arḫi KIN-DINGIR-NINNI ûmi II KAN a-di arḫi AB-UD-DU ûmi XXX KAN

36. XI (GUR) CVIII ḲA KU-BI
37. (*traces only*)

38. (*traces only*)

EDGE.

39. arḫu ŠE-KIN-KUD ûm XXX KAN

40. MU Am-mi-za-du-ga LUGAL-E

41. ALAM-A-NI ŠÚ SILIM-MA AB-DI-DI-NE (?)

Semitic words are in ordinary type, ideograms and Sumerian words in capitals, numerals in Roman notation, restorations in curved brackets, Dr. PINCHES' restorations of the text in square brackets.

The lines across the text are due to the scribe.

TRANSLATION OF THE MORE IMPORTANT PARTS.

1. 12 *cor of corn threshed, its grain* . . . . . .
2. *which (was received) from the 8th of Ab to the 1st (?) of Elul,*
3. *which (was) 24 days, each day 150 ḲA.*
4. *From one day a full day('s yield) was abstracted.*
5. 49 *cor* 240 ḲA *of corn threshed, its grain* . . . . . .
6. *which (was received) from the 3rd of Elul to the 26th of Marchesvan*
7. *which (was) two months 23 days, each day 180 ḲA.*
8. *From two days a full day('s yield) was abstracted.*

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9. 16 *cor of corn threshed, its grain* . . . . . .
10. *which (was received) from the 28th of Marchesvan to the 8th of Tebet,*
11. *which (was) one month 10 days, each day 120 ḲA*

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12. 3 *cor* 40 ḲA *of corn threshed, its grain* . . . . . .
13. *which was according to the* ṣiḫ *of the House, to the 27th of Tebet.*

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14. 1 *cor* 280 ḲA *of corn threshed, its grain* . . . . . .
15. *from the 27th (?) of Tebet to the 25th of Sebat,*
16. *which was 29 (?) days, each day 20 ḲA.*

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17. 82 *cor* 260 ḲA *threshed*
18. *its grain 20 cor* 215 ḲA.

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19. 24 (?) *cor ground* (?)
20. *its grain* 4 *cor* 240 ḲA *in meal*

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21. 24 *cor* 215 ḲA *of corn which was threshed and ground* (?)

REV.

22. 7 *cor* 76 ḲA *of drink* ḫašḫuru (?)

23. *which from the* 10*th of Tammuz to the* 20*th of Marchesvan* (*was received*).
24. *which was four months* 8 *days, each day* 17 ḲA.
25. *From two days a full day*('*s yield*) *was abstracted.*

26. 171 ḲA *of drink in* ilurum (?)
27. *which from the* 20*th of Marchesvan to the* 18*th of Tebet* (*was received*),
28. *which* (*was*) 57 *days, each day* 3 ḲA
29. *From* (?) *days a full day*('*s yield*) *was abstracted.*

30. 1 *cor* 12 ḲA *of drink in* BAL-DÁ-ŠÚ (?)
31. *which from the* 16*th of Elul to the* 12*th of Tebet* (*was received*),
32. *which* (*was*) *three months* 24 *days, each day* 3 ḲA.
33. *From two days a full day*('*s yield*) *was abstracted.*

34. 2 *cor* 150 ḲA *of drink in* musibinu (?) *and* (?)
35. *which from the* 2*nd of Elul to the* 30*th of Tebet* (*was received*).

36. 11 *cor* 108 ḲA *its meal.*
37. (traces only)
38. (traces only)

EDGE.

39. *Month Adar, day* 30*th,*
40. *Year when Ammizaduga, the king,*
41. *his statue* ŠÚ-SILIM-MA *consecrated* (?)

For the convenience of those unacquainted with the old Babylonian Calendar, the names of the months with their Semitic equivalents are here given in their proper order:—

	Sumerian.	Babylonian.	Hebrew.
1.	BARA-ZAG-GAR	Nisânu	Nisan
2.	GUD-SI-DI	Aiaru	Iyyar
3.	ŠEG-GA	Simânu	Sivan
4.	ŠÚ-KUL-A	Du'uzu	Tammuz
5.	NE-NE-GAR	Âbu	Ab
6.	KIN-DINGIR-NINNI	Ululu	Elul
7.	DUL-AZAG	Tešritu	Tesri
8.	PIN-GAB-A	Araḫsamna	Marchesvan
9.	KAN-KAN-UD-DU	Kislimu	Chislev
10.	AB-UD-DU	Ṭebitus	Tebet
11.	AŠ-A	Šabâṭu	Sebat
12.	ŠE-KIN-KUD	Addaru	Adar

The *GUR* was a measure used for grain and liquids containing 300 *ḲA*. The scribe usually writes first the number of *GUR*, then the number of *ḲA*, after which he sometimes writes *ḲA*, then puts *GUR* after the whole expression. It seems to be clearer to transfer the *GUR* from the end of the quantity and place it (in brackets) after the numeral giving the number of *GUR*. The reason for the scribe's usage is clearly that he thought of the *ḲA* as $\frac{1}{300}$th of the *GUR*, rather than of the *GUR* as 300 *ḲA*. He reckoned in *GUR*. Professor A. T. CLAY, in his *Aramaic Endorsements on the Documents of the Murašu Sons*, contributed to the W. R. HARPER Memorial Volume of *Old Testament and Semitic Studies*, has furnished the proof of the long-suspected fact that the *GUR* was the same (in name at least) as the Hebrew *cor*.

It may be thought that since there are so many obscurities in the text, no great reliance can be placed on conclusions drawn from it. The obscurities, however, will be seen, on careful consideration, to be entirely irrelevant to the arguments. I think the only probable solution of the above evidence is that Tammuz had 30 days, Ab, Elul, and Tesri each 29, Marchesvan 30, Chislev 29, Tebet 30, and from the date of the text we know Adar had 30 days. The ingenuity of some reader may discern a different arrangement which will satisfy the conditions better.

Some guesses as to truth may be hazarded here. As the total of lines 22–35 is expressed in line 36 as *KU*, *kûmu*, "meal," and the grain said in line 19 to be *GAB-UD-DU* yields in line 20 one-fifth of its amount as *KU*, we may suppose that *GAB-UD-DU* means "to grind" corn.

In line 22 the sign *AD* may be a mistake for the sign given in BRÜNNOW'S *List of Cuneiform Signs* as no. 4192. Followed by *UD* (read *LAĞ*?), to which *GA* would be a phonetic complement, it would be the ideogram for *ḫašḫuru*. This is certainly the name of a plant, which is unlikely here, unless it were used as a flavouring to the drink. What else it could mean is not very clear. In K. 164, line 30, *ḫašḫurshu* seems to be an epithet of *ḳarpat ḳabutu*, but it may be the name of a vessel. In the text Bu. 91–5–9, 399, line 20 (*C.T.* VI, p. 25*b*), a list of household goods, after 5 chairs of one sort and 5 of another, followed by one *iṣu ka-ak GIŠ-KU*, we have *ḫašḫuru ḳaḳkadu šá GIŠ BU-ÌB-DA*. It can hardly be a plant here; but a vessel with a head (cover?) of the wood *BU-ÌB-DA*

would be in place. The plant might give its name to a basket; we read of *ḫašḫur* along with reeds.

In line 26, *i-ib-rum* may be misread for *ilurum*, for *illurum*, which is a "sprout," but also something a Bull colossus might wear on its head, and some article of royal attire. The high artificial head-dress of the colossal bulls might well give its name to a similarly shaped basket.

COPTIC SAINTS AND SINNERS.

By E. O. Winstedt.

I.

ABRAHAM.

It seems a pity that in the case of a small collection of Coptic fragments such as that which passed from Woide's hands into the possession of the Clarendon Press and is now preserved on loan in the Bodleian Library,[1] at least all the hagiographical fragments should not have been published. The fragments of the New Testament were all published by Woide himself, or rather by Ford after his death.[2] The scraps of Apocryphal literature have found their way into Guidi's[3] and Forbes Robinson's[4] collections. Schmidt has edited one page of the two-paged fragment of Athanasius' Festal Letters[5]; Amélineau, a fragment containing homilies of Pachom and Athanasius[6]; Crum has translated part of a sermon of which the text resembles the Apostolic Constitutions[7]; and the remains of Shenoudi's sermons will appear in Leipoldt's collective edition of his works. Of the hagiographical fragments, five have been edited by Amélineau,[8] one by Hyvernat,[9] and one recently by

[1] MSS. Clarendon Press b. 1–5, containing 65 fragments.

[2] Clarendon Press fragments 3–13, in Woide's *Appendix ad editionem N. T. Gr.* (Oxford, 1799).

[3] Clarendon Press fragment 16, in *Rendiconti della R. Acad. dei Lincei*, III (1888), p. 376.

[4] Clarendon Press fragments 14 and 15, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels* (*Cambridge Texts and Studies*, IV, 2), pp. 2, 12, and 70.

[5] Clarendon Press fragment 50 (fol. 1), *Nachrichten der K. Ges. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1901, p. 326.

[6] Clarendon Press fragment 26, *Mémoires . . . de la mission archéologique au Caire*, IV, 2, p. 612.

[7] Clarendon Press fragment 39, Crum and Riedel, *Canons of Athanasius* (Text and Trans. Soc., 1904), p. 141.

[8] Clarendon Press fragments 57, 60, 61–63, *Mémoires . . . de la mission archéologique au Caire*, IV, 2, pp. 539, 703, 774, and *Journal Asiatique*, 1888, p. 362.

[9] Clarendon Press fragment 59, *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, VII (1902), p. 136.

CRUM.[10] There remain six others, which I hope to publish in a series of articles :—

Fragment 54. Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus. (6 foll.)
,, 55. Martyrdom of Psote. (1 fol.)
,, 56. A martyrdom. (4 foll.)
,, 58. Life of Athanasius. (1 fol.)
,, 64. Life of the monk John. (6 foll.)
,, 61. Life of St. Matthew the poor. (2 foll.) This last fragment AMELINEAU[11] professed to have copied, and to have published a collation of it with the text of the Naples MS. of the same life. No such collation, however, does he give; which is not surprising, as the text is quite different and belongs apparently to the earlier part of the work of which he publishes fragments.

But besides these strictly hagiographical fragments, several of the numbers classified in HYVERNAT's unpublished catalogue as homilies are rather hagiographical than homiletic, being probably fragments of encomia. And it is with one of these that I would open the series. Clarendon Press b. 4 (48), is a fragment of five leaves with writing in two columns of about thirty-one lines each, dated by HYVERNAT as of the twelfth century, which is perhaps rather later than necessary. He states that "the subject matter is rather difficult to make out . . . leaves $\overline{\text{r}}$–$\overline{\text{rr}}$ contain the history of Abraham delivered from the furnace. Afterwards the orator extols David and the Apostles, to whom he exhorts his hearers to pay devotion; he praises the martyrs and finally each of the Apostles separately." Certainly the text is more than a little incoherent, but, as that is no uncommon thing in encomia, one need have little doubt that the main purport of the orator was a panegyric on Abraham. The question is what Abraham? And there the oracle is dumb. From his silence one would infer that HYVERNAT understands it to refer to the patriarch Abraham; and, therefore, presumably to the tradition that Abraham was cast into a fiery furnace by Nimrod.[12] And that view is supported by the fact that the orator quotes a passage from the Psalms as referring to this

[10] Clarendon Press fragment 65, *P.S.B.A.*, XXIX (1907), p. 195.

[11] *Mémoires . . . de la mission archéologique au Caire*, IV, 2, pp. 507-10.

[12] *Cf. Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. I, p. 86, where the legend is stated to be probably of Persian origin.

particular Abraham. But, on the other hand, there is a serious, and indeed, insuperable, objection to that identification—the name of the king in whose reign Abraham suffered is given as Sapor. Crum, therefore, in editing a British Museum fragment, which contains part of the same text, identifies the martyr, probably correctly, with the Persian martyr Abraham. That Abraham, according to the very meagre accounts of his life extant, was bishop of Arbela in Sapor's reign, and was accused of Christianity before Adelfôras (or Aderforas) the ἀρχίμαγος and beheaded at Thelam on February 5th. In those accounts there is nothing about furnace or fire, save in the shape of λαμπάδες πυρός mentioned casually among the usual list of horrifying, but quite ineffectual, preliminary tortures. It is strange then that the fiery ordeal should appear in the Coptic fragment as apparently the most important part of the martyrdom. But the Greek accounts are mere summaries, and hurry one to the final act of beheadal without entering into details; and, besides, the details may well have differed considerably in the Coptic and Greek accounts. Legends invariably grow by telling; and authors of hagiographical panegyrics seem to aim more at entertainment than at accuracy. The Coptic writer may well have attributed to the Persian martyr sufferings similar to those which the patriarch was said to have endured at the hands of Nimrod, just as he refers David's words about the patriarch to the saint. Of the rest of the fragment the subject certainly is not clear. Why David and the Apostles should come in for special panegyrics interrupting the thread of the narrative, or what applicability strict injunctions to persons desirous of paying their respects to the Apostles not to set asunder the couples which tradition had put together, have to Abraham's martyrdom, it is difficult to imagine. Probably they had none, and were mere padding.

As I have already mentioned, part of the same text is preserved in a British Museum fragment, Or. 3581B (30) (= Crum 318, part of a leaf, paged $\overline{\text{ϛ}}$, $\overline{\text{ιι}}$). The text of that page is printed by Crum in his catalogue, and from his copy I give the few and unimportant variants. Crum compares the Borgian fragment Zoega ccxxii,[13] now at Naples,

[13] One account is printed in the *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum*, under February 5th (*Acta Sanctorum*, Supplement to November), and two by H. Delehaye ("*Les Versions Gr. des Actes des Mart. Persans sous Sapor II.*" *Patr. Or.*, tome II, fasc. 4, pp. 412 and 450). Assemani, *Mart Or.*, I, p. 141, foll. mentions him among the 40 martyrs, Abdas, etc., slain in the

which he thinks may be from the same MS. as the British Museum fragment. At any rate ZOEGA's description—"De Abrahamio . . . qui a Sapore rege Mesopatamiae in rogum conjectus salvus evasit, quo facto rex ad eum misit duodecim principes populi ut interrogarent, quis esset Deus ejus qui eum servaverat,"—shows that it contains precisely the same text as the beginning of the Bodleian fragment, though, unfortunately, I have not been able to collate it.

In my copy I have not attempted to reproduce the capital letters—which are coloured red and black, and placed outside the line—nor to adhere to the original division into paragraphs; and though I have attempted to distinguish between dots and lines above letters, the distinction cannot be implicitly relied on. In this MS. the lines are so short as to be practically indistinguishable from dots in many cases.

COPTIC TEXT.

ⲡ [ⲁ-ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲁⲗⲟⲩ] ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲥ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ :— ⲁϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ ⲉⲕⲭⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉ̅ⲣⲟⲓ ⲭⲉ-ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩⲥ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ :— ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲓ̈ⲉ̅ ⲙ̅ⲛ-ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̅ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ϩⲓ̈ⲝ̅ⲙ̅ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲥⲧⲟⲉⲓ̈ⲩ ⲉⲧ̅ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ · ⲛⲥⲁⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲩ · ⲉⲕⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲓ̈ⲥⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ̅ :—

ⲥⲉ ⲛⲉϫⲁⲩ ⲛⲟ̈ⲩ̈ ⲛⲉⲛⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲗⲁⲩⲉⲓ̈ⲗ · ⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲁⲥ ⲛ̅ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ϩⲓ̈ⲝ̅ⲙ̅ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲥⲧⲟⲉⲓ̈ⲩ ⲛⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ ·:· ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉ-ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛ ⲙ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩ | ⲛⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ · ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲉ-ⲛⲉ-ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ ϫⲙ̅ⲙⲟ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲓ̈ⲗⲁⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛ · ⲭⲉ-ⲛⲓ̈ϩⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲛ-ⲛⲉ · ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥϩⲟ ⲉϥϫⲙ̅ⲙⲟ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲟⲩ · ⲩⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧ̅ ⲉ̅ⲣⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲉϥ-ⲕⲟⲩϩ̅ ⲉ̅ⲣⲟⲓ ·:· ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ ⲉ̅ϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲙⲕⲟϩ̅ · ÷ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁ-ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲁⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓϫⲟⲉⲓ̈ⲥ ⲉⲓ ⲩⲁⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲓ̈ⲛⲟⲩ · ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥⲧⲟⲩϫⲟⲩ ⲥⲙⲙⲁⲕⲟϩ̅ · ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϥϫⲱⲥ ⲉ̅ⲣⲟⲓ

66th year of Sapor II's reign (A.D. 375), but gives no details except that he was beheaded.

G. HOFFMANN (*Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlands*, Bd. VII, No. 3, p. 52) also mentions Abraham among the martyrs of Karkʰa dʰ Bēṯʰ Stokʰ slain by command of Tohmjazdgard.

ⲉⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ : ÷ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁ-ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲉⲓⲧ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲧⲏⲣϥ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲙⲉⲥⲟⲡⲟⲧⲁⲙⲓⲁ · | ⲭⲉ-ⲁ-ⲡⲉϥⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲩⲭⲟϥ ⲉⲡⲕⲟⲥⲧ ⲁ
ⲛⲉⲁⲩⲟⲣ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ · ÷ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲇⲉ ⲥⲟⲟⲧⲥ ⲉⲡⲥⲟⲉⲓⲧ
ⲛⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ ⲭⲉ-ⲁϥⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲕⲟⲥⲧ · ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥϣⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲟⲟⲩ
ⲛ̀ⲥⲟϥ · ⲭⲉ-ⲛ̀ⲧⲟϥ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲣⲉⲩϯ · ⲓⲙⲟⲥⲧ ⲉⲣⲟϥ : ÷
ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁ-ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲙ̀ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲡⲉϩⲁⲙ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ-ⲃⲱⲕ ⲅⲁⲣⲉⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ-ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲉ ϩⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ · ⲭⲉ-ⲛⲧⲁϥⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲕⲟⲥⲧ
ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲥⲉ · ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟⲛ ϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲙⲓⲛⲧⲁ ⲛ̀ϩⲛⲕⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲱⲟⲣⲡ
ⲥⲓⲧⲉϩⲓⲏ · ⲙⲙⲟⲛ · ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲭⲉ-ⲁ-ⲛⲥⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ·
ⲙⲛⲏⲟⲧⲉ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲧⲟⲣⲓϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲟⲟϥ-ⲧⲏⲧⲛ̀ · ⲅⲁⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ̀ⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙⲉ
ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲓⲅⲩⲁϩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣϥ.

ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲁ-ⲡⲙⲁⲣⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ · ϩⲱⲛ ⲉϫⲱⲧⲛ
ⲉⲣⲟϥ · ⲁ-ⲛⲉϫⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ · — ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲉ-
ⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲉϫⲱⲧⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ · ⲡⲉϩⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ
ⲛⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ-ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ · ⲉⲁⲧⲱⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ · ⲡⲁⲓ
ⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲟⲩⲭⲟⲕ ϣⲙⲕⲟⲥⲧ ⲧⲏⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ | ϫⲱⲟⲩ · ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲃ
ⲛⲁⲩ : — ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲛⲁⲛ ϫⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲟⲟⲩ
ⲛ̀ⲟⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ · ⲛ̀ⲧⲁϥⲧⲟⲩⲭⲟⲕ ⲉⲡⲕⲟⲥⲧ · ⲛ̀ⲟⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁϥⲧⲟⲩ-
ⲭⲟⲕ : ÷ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ ⲛⲉⲧⲃ ⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲟⲟⲩⲥ : ÷
ⲡⲉϩⲁⲙ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ-ⲱ ⲛⲉⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲙⲉⲥⲟⲡⲟⲧⲁⲙⲓⲁ · ⲙⲏ ⲧⲁⲥⲧ-
ⲛⲏⲟⲓⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ-ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ · ⲛⲟⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ · ⲉⲓⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲙⲙⲉ
ⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲱⲟⲩ : ÷ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲟⲩⲭⲟⲓ ⲉⲡⲕⲟⲥⲧ ·
ⲙⲡⲉ-ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲛⲉⲥ · ⲟⲩⲁⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲙⲛⲉϥⲙⲙⲉ
ⲛⲁⲩ ·:· —

ⲡⲉϩⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ-ⲡⲉⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ · ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲛϫⲟⲟⲥ
ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲭⲉ-ⲉⲣⲉ-ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̀ⲥⲟⲧⲟ ⲉⲡⲱⲟⲛ · ⲉⲧⲃⲉ
ⲭⲉ-ⲁϥⲧⲟⲩⲭⲟⲕ ⲉⲡⲕⲟⲥⲧ :· —

ⲛⲉⲭⲉ ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ-ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲧⲁⲉ̄ⲓⲏⲧ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ-
ⲛⲟⲩⲃ · ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲟ · ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲕⲁ ⲛ̄ⲑⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲉ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ · ⲁⲗⲗⲁ
ⲉⲩⲭⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲉ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉ̄ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ · ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲉ̄ⲓⲙⲉ
5 ⲭⲉϫⲧⲁⲉ̄ⲓⲏⲧ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛ̄ⲕⲁ ⲛ̄ⲑⲩ ⲉⲧ-ϩⲓⲭⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁϩ : ÷ | ⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩⲧ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ
ⲉⲛⲉⲓϫⲱⲟⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲓⲏ̄ⲟⲟⲧ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ · ⲡⲣⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲟϩ ·
ⲙⲡⲛⲉⲥⲥⲓⲟⲧ · ⲙⲡⲛⲉⲕⲗⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲓⲣ : ÷ ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ-
ⲟⲧⲛ̄ⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲉ̄ⲧⲟⲧⲭⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲕⲱⲟϩ ÷ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲟⲧ ⲁⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩϩ̄
ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲉⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓⲛⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲭⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ : ÷ ⲭⲉ-ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲃⲣⲁ-
ϩⲁⲙ · ⲙⲛⲁⲧⲉⲕⲣ̄ ϩⲙⲉ ⲛⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ϩⲟⲗⲟⲥ · ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲟⲕ[14]
ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁⲭⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲕⲭⲟⲟϥ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ : ÷ ⲉⲩⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁϥⲧⲁ-
ⲙⲟⲕ[15] ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲧⲉⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ · ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲩ[16] ϩⲱⲟⲛ ⲉ̄ⲛⲁⲩ
ⲉⲧⲙⲧⲉⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲣⲉⲡⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲩⲉ ⲉ̄ⲣⲟϥ ϩⲱⲟⲛ · ⲁⲩⲱ[17]
ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲟⲧ ⲁ-ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ ⲥⲁⲕϥ[18] ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲟⲩⲥ ϩⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲉ̄ · ⲁϥⲡⲱⲣⲡ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲓϫ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁϥϣⲁⲛⲁ ⲉⲥⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ : ÷ ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲁ-ϩⲛⲉⲃⲣⲏⲟⲥ · ⲙⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲣⲟⲧⲃⲁⲓ ϣⲁ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ[19] · : ÷ ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲟⲧ ⲁ-ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϣⲁⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ[20]ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ ⲉⲑⲙⲟ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ · :—
ⲭⲉ-ⲁⲛⲟⲕ-ⲛⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲙⲕⲁ[21] ⲛⲓⲙ : ÷ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲟⲧ
7 ⲁ-ⲡⲥⲱ[22] ⲛⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ ⲉⲣ-ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲛⲟⲉ ⲙⲡⲥⲱ | ⲛⲟⲧⲁⲣⲭⲁⲓⲟⲥ
ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ[23] · ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲡⲉⲟⲟⲧ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲫϣⲁⲭⲉ ⲙⲙⲁϥ ·
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲟⲧ ⲁ-ⲙⲡⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ϩⲉ ⲉⲥⲣⲁⲓ ⲉϫⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁϩ · ⲙⲡⲟⲧⲉ-

[14] The British Museum fragment begins with ⲙⲟⲕ.
[?]
[15] ⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲁ[ⲙ]ⲙⲟⲕ, B.M.
[16] ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ[ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱ]ⲩ, B.M.
[17] [ⲧⲟⲧⲉ] Crum.
[18] [ⲥⲟ]ⲕϥ, B.M.
[19] ⲁⲩⲱ [ⲙ]ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲟⲧ [ⲁϩⲉⲛ]ⲉⲛⲣⲏⲟⲥ [ⲙⲉⲛ]ϣⲛⲥⲣⲟⲧⲃⲁⲓ ⲙⲉⲛϣⲉⲛ[ϩⲟⲧ]ⲙⲛⲉ ϣⲁ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ, B.M.
[20] ⲙⲉⲛ, B.M.
[21] ⲛⲉⲙⲕⲁ, B.M.
[22] ϩⲁ, B.M.
[23] ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ], om., B.M.

ⲥⲙⲟⲩ[24] ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲩⲱⲧ · ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛ ⲭⲙⲙⲟ[25] ⲛⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ · ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ
ⲙ̀ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲫⲩⲁ[26] ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉ̈ϫⲙⲟⲕ ·:— ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩ
ⲁⲩⲱⲱⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲧⲁϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϩⲛ̄[27]ⲟⲩϩⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩ · ⲭⲉ-
-ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ ⲡⲉϣⲃⲏⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲟⲛ̄ⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧ-
ⲃⲏⲏⲧⲛ̄[28] ⲧⲉ-ⲡⲉⲓϣⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ̄ ⲗⲟ[29] ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ϩⲓϫⲱⲛ · ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲛϣⲟⲩ-
ⲥⲟⲩ[30] ⲉ̈ϣⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲕ :— ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲙⲟⲩ
ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ ⲁϥϯ ⲥⲁ · ϩⲓϫⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲱⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ·:÷ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲉⲣⲟϥ[31] ⲛϩⲛ̄-[32]
ⲕⲉⲙⲧⲉⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲛⲁϣⲱⲟⲩ · ⲛⲁⲓ[33] ⲉⲧⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ[34] ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ
ⲛ̀ⲥⲁⲟⲩ · ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲥⲟⲩϥ̀ ⲉⲣⲟϥ :÷

ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁ-ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ ⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲟⲛ[35]
ⲛⲓⲙ · ⲭⲉ-ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϫⲱⲟⲟⲣⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲉⲛ-
ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ · ϫⲓⲥⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟϥ :— ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁ-ⲡⲉⲓϣⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ϣⲟⲟⲡⲉ | ⲡ
ⲉⲫϯ[36]-ⲥⲟⲉⲓⲧ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ-ⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ ⲭⲉ-ⲁ-ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙ[37]ⲛⲁⲗⲟⲥ
ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ[38] ⲛⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ · ⲭⲉ-ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϫⲱⲟⲟⲣⲉ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϫⲓⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ :÷

(*To be continued.*)

[24] ⲉϣⲥⲉⲙⲥⲟⲩ, B.M.
[25] ⲉⲡϩⲟ, B.M.
[26] ⲛⲧⲁ[ϥ . . .], B.M.
[27] ϩⲉⲛ, B.M.
[28] ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧⲉⲛ, B.M.
[29] ⲗⲁ, B.M.
[30] ⲥⲉⲙⲥⲟⲩ, B.M.
[31] ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, B.M.
[32] ⲛϩⲉⲛ, B.M.
[33] ⲛⲁⲓ], om., B.M.
[34] ⲉⲛⲁ[ϩ] . . . ⲉ, B.M.
[35] ⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ, B.M.
[36] ⲁⲧⲱ ⲁⲡⲉ[ⲡ ⲛ]ⲡⲁⲓϣ[ϩ]ⲫ, B.M.
[37] ⲙⲉⲛ, B.M.
[38] ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, B.M., which ends two lines lower at ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱ[ⲧ].

SARGON I, KING OF KISH,

AND

SHAR-GANI-SHARRI, KING OF AKKAD.

By L. W. King, *M.A.*

One of the most important finds recently made at Susa by the *Délégation en Perse* consists of two portions of a great monolith, engraved with sculptures and bearing traces of an inscription of an early Semitic king of Babylonia. The monument has not yet been brought to Europe, but from the description of it published by M. J.-Ét. Gautier[1] it may clearly be regarded as one of the most valuable specimens of early Babylonian sculpture that has yet been recovered. The stone is roughly triangular in shape, the longest side being curved, and on all three sides reliefs are sculptured in two registers. In the upper register are battle scenes and a row of captives, and in the lower are representations of the king and his suite. On the third face of the monolith, to the right of the king in the lower register, is a scene in which vultures are represented feeding on the slain; and on a smaller detached fragment of the stone is a figure, probably that of a god, clubbing the king's enemies, who are caught in a net. The details of the net and the vultures obviously recall the similar scenes on the stele of Eannatum, but the treatment of the birds, and also of the figures in the battle scenes, is said to be far more varied and less conventional than in Eannatum's sculpture. That they are Semitic and not Sumerian work is proved by the Semitic inscription, of which a few phrases of the closing imprecations are still visible. The king, also, is bearded, and is of the Semitic type.

Though the main inscription has unfortunately been hammered out, the king's name has been preserved in a cartouche in front of him, where he is termed "Sharru-gi, the king." Now *Šarru*-gi, in Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian texts, is to be read *Šarru-ukîn*, Sargon,

[1] *Rec. de trav.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 176 ff.

and this is the form under which late tradition has preserved the name of Narâm-Sin's father, the early king of Akkad. Hitherto Sargon, the traditional father of Narâm-Sin, has been identified with Shar-Gani-shar-ali, or, better, Shar-Gani-sharri,[2] the early king of Akkad, whose inscriptions have been recovered at Sippar, Niffer, and Tello, and in whose reign tablets from Tello are dated. The question obviously suggests itself: are we to identify the Sargon of the new monument with Shar-Gani-sharri? M. GAUTIER propounded the question, but did not attempt to answer it.

The first solution of the problem was offered by Père SCHEIL,[3] who is clearly right in regarding Sharru-ukîn of the new monument and Shar-Gani-sharri as different personages. And, since the names Sharru-GI and Narâm-Sin are both mentioned on a tablet found at Tello (R.T.C., No. 83), he concluded that Sharru-ukîn was the father of Narâm-Sin, as represented in the late tradition; Shar-Gani-sharri he would regard as another sovereign of Akkad, of the same dynasty as Sharru-ukîn and Narâm-Sin, and one of their successors. It would be tempting to accept Père SCHEIL's explanation, for it would reconcile the later tradition with the early monuments.

Difficulties in the way of its acceptance have already been pointed out by M. THUREAU-DANGIN.[4] From the occurrence of the proper name Sharru-ukîn-ili, "Sargon is my god," on the obelisk of Manishtusu, he argues that a king bearing the name of Sharru-ukîn, and probably identical with the Sharru-ukîn of the new stele, preceded Manishtusu; similarly, from the occurrence of another proper name, Urumush-ili, "Urumush is my god," on an undated tablet of the same epoch as those of Shar-Gani-sharri and Narâm-Sin, he suggests that Urumush was anterior to Narâm-Sin. Granting these conclusions, if Narâm-Sin had been the son of Sharru-ukîn, as suggested by Père SCHEIL, Urumush would have been separated from Manishtusu by the dynasty of Akkad, a combination that is scarcely probable. Moreover, he pointed out that the context of the passage on the tablet R.T.C., No. 83, though its interpretation is doubtful, does not necessarily imply that Sharru-ukîn and Narâm-Sin were living at the same time; they might have been separated by several generations.

[2] *Cf.* DHORME, *O.L.-Z.*, 1907, col. 230; POEBEL, *Z.A.*, XXI, p. 228, n. 1; and THUREAU-DANGIN, *O.L.-Z.*, 1908, col. 313. Gani is probably a divine name, *cf.* SCHEIL, *Textes Élam.-Sémit.*, I, p. 16, n. 3. It is also possible that URU-MU-UŠ should be read as a Semitic name *Rî-mu-uš*.

[3] *Textes Élam.-Sémit.*, IV, pp. 4 ff. [4] *O.L.-Z.*, 1908, col. 313 ff.

For these reasons he contended that Sharru-ukîn was not the founder of Narâm-Sin's dynasty, but was probably a predecessor of Manishtusu and Urumush. It may be admitted that the grounds on which M. THUREAU-DANGIN based his acute suggestion are not quite conclusive, and in themselves they might perhaps run the risk of being disregarded in favour of the advantages attaching to Père SCHEIL'S arrangement.

That Sharru-ukîn of the new stele was not a king of the dynasty of Akkad, but was a still earlier king of Kish, can, however, be definitely proved by an inscription of his own, which was published in 1900, but has not as yet been identified as his. The inscription is preserved in the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople, and was found by Père SCHEIL at Abû Habba during the excavations he conducted on that site for the Turkish Government in 1892–3. It is numbered S. 3,[5] and a transliteration and translation of it have been given by Père SCHEIL in his *Textes Élamites-Sémitiques*, I (1900), p. 4, n. 1. According to the published transliteration of the text, the first column of the inscription begins :—

1. . . . . GI (?)	1. . . . . GI
2. [*šarru da*]*n - nu*	2. the mighty king,
3. [*šar*] *Kîš*	3. king of Kish,
4. *pa - šiš ili*	4. the *pashishu*-priest of the god (prob. of Shamash, the Sun-god),
5. *pa - te - si* (*ilu*) *En - lil*	5. the patesi of Enlil,
6. *šakkanak* (*ilu*) A-MAL	6. the representative of A-mal,
7. *la - bi - in libitti*, etc.	7. the moulder of bricks, etc.

It will be noticed that the king's name in the first line[6] ends with the sign GI, and I think there can be little doubt that we should restore the name as [*Šarru*]-GI, *i.e.*, *Šarru-ukîn*, and identify him with Sharru-ukîn, the king of the new monolith from Susa.

[5] *Cf.* SCHEIL, *Une saison de fouilles à Sippar*, p. 96.

[6] This would appear to be the first line of the text, according to Père SCHEIL'S transliteration, which marks no gap before it. If there is a gap and l. 1 is not the beginning of the inscription, it is possible that [Sharru]-ukîn's name occurs, not as that of the writer of the inscription, but as the name of his father; that he should be mentioned as his grandfather, or earlier ancestor, is unlikely. But, in any case, the titles *šarru dan-nu šar Kîš* are to be taken as applying to [Sharru]-ukîn, so that the point does not affect the conclusion that Sharru-ukîn was a king of Kish.

Since he claimed the title patesi of Enlil, we may infer that he controlled the sanctuary of Nippur; and one of his foreign conquests is recorded in the second column of the text, of which ll. 3 ff. read: (3) *nap-ḫar um-ma-ni-ia* (4) *a-na še-na* (5) *lu-u a-zu-uz.* (6) *An-ša-an*(KI) (7) *u Šu*(?)-*rí-ḫu-um*(KI) (8) *lu anâr*, "All my troops into two parts I divided, Anshan and Shurikhum[7] I conquered." The text goes on to state that the king brought out the captured king of Anshan and Shurikhum, together with tribute and gifts, apparently on his triumphant return from the campaign. From his conquest of Anshan we may infer that, under Sharru-ukîn, the power of Kish was felt beyond the limits of Babylonia, and it is possible that the battle scenes sculptured on his newly found monument at Susa represent the campaigns described in the text at Constantinople. When the former monument arrives in Paris, it will be possible to tell whether any traces of the inscription upon it correspond with what is preserved of the Constantinople text.[8]

The proof that Sharru-ukîn, the ancient and famous Sargon, was not identical with Shar-Gani-sharri carries with it far-reaching consequences. In late Assyrian and Babylonian tradition Sargon appears as a king of Agade, or Akkad, and the father of Narâm-Sin. It is clear, therefore, that the name of Sargon, king of Kish, has been borrowed for the king of Akkad, whose real name, Shar-Gani-sharri, has disappeared. Are we to imagine that the great achievements, which late tradition ascribed to Sargon of Akkad, were also borrowed, along with his name, from the historical Sargon of Kish? His own inscriptions and date-formulae prove that Shar-Gani-sharri ruled Southern as well as Northern Babylonia, and that he conquered, or, at any rate, defeated the Elamites, the Amurru, the Kutû, and Gutium. It is certain, therefore, that a considerable body of truth underlies the traditions with regard to the extent of his empire. But the possibility exists that some of the achievements of Sargon of Kish were credited to Narâm-Sin's father, and that in Sargon of Agade we have the reflected image of two early kings, who, after

[7] Père SCHEIL reads l. 7 as ŠU (*alu*) *Ḫu-um* (KI), "the forces (*emûḳu*) of the town of Khum." It is preferable, however, to take both the signs ŠU and URU as part of the name.

[8] Another inscription we may perhaps assign to Sargon of Kish is the spear-head, found at Tello, inscribed *Šarru*-[. . . .] *šar Kîš*, "Šarru-[ukîn (?)], king of Kish" (DE SARZEC, *Déc.*, pl. 5 ter, No. 1; THUREAU-DANGIN, *S.A.K.*, pp. 160 f.).

the lapse of many centuries, gradually assumed, in tradition, a single form.

It is not difficult to suggest causes for such a confusion. Both kings were great conquerors; both belonged to the same epoch and were representatives of the same wave of Semitic domination which at this time succeeded in imposing itself on Babylonia from the north: both kings restored the great temple of the Sun-god at Sippar,[9] where Nabonidus discovered the foundation-inscription of one of them; and, finally, both kings bore names which, in part, are not dissimilar.[10] That the confusion may have taken place affords fresh grounds for refusing to accept blindly the late traditions of Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian scribes with regard to the earlier history of their country.

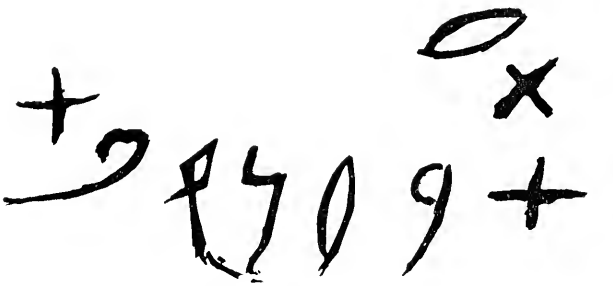
[9] That Sargon of Kish did so may probably be inferred from the finding of the Constantinople text at Sippar, and from the reference it contains to Aa, the Sun-god's consort.

[10] With *Šar-Gani-šarri* we may compare *Šarru*-GI *šarru*, the name and title of Sargon on the new monolith. The use of the unqualified title LUGAL, *šarru*, certainly increases the resemblance. There is no proof that the name *Šarru*-GI, on the new monolith and on the obelisk of Manishtusu, was read as *Šarru-ukîn*, or *Šarru-kînu*, at the time of the kingdom of Kish. For, like *Gani*, GI may have been a divine name as in *Su-mu*-GI, parallel in form to *Su-mu-Ea*, in Manishtusu's text (see SCHEIL, *Textes Élam.-Sémit.*, I, p. 26, n. 1); *cf.* also the names *Bêli*-GI, *Surus*-GI, etc. Thus its rendering as *ukîn* in Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian times may have been a secondary explanation, adopted after the original meaning of the sign had been forgotten.

A PHOENICIAN INSCRIPTION OF B.C. 1500.

By the Rev. C. J. Ball, *M.A.*

Some months ago Mr. C. F. Burney, of St. John's College, Oxford, called my attention to an inscription in Prof. Petrie's *Sinai*, fig. 139, which he strongly suspected was Phoenician, although he could not read it. I saw at once that the first four letters, read from right to left, gave the name of עתתר *'Athtār*, the South Arabian equivalent of Ishtar. Here is the inscription, with the first pair of letters placed above the main line, as they are on the stone:—



On this, Prof. Petrie observes:—"Besides this figure [fig. 138], and parts of others, there is a figure of a sphinx of small size, fig. 141. This has along the upper sides of the base a line of inscription, which contains the same signs as those in fig. 139. On the shoulder is a square containing a dedication to Hathor, 'Mistress of Turquoise,' in ordinary Egyptian hieroglyphs. And between the paws, as on Egyptian sphinxes, is a Horus-name, which is very rough and small, and which seems only to contain the sign of the sickle, *maāt*. We can hardly doubt that this is the Horus-name of Sneferu . . . But it is clearly of local work, and not done by a trained Egyptian sculptor." The discoverer concludes that "common Syrian

workmen, who could not command the skill of an Egyptian sculptor, were familiar with writing in 1500 B.C., and this a writing independent of hieroglyphics and cuneiform. It finally disproves the hypothesis that the Israelites, who came through this region into Egypt and passed back again, could not have used writing."

There are nine characters, all clear except 6 and 7, where there are flaws in the stone. We may read either: (1) עתתר ענתרת *'Athtār 'Antarta*, the second word being the name of Ishtar in the famous Treaty of Rameses II with the Hittites ("Antarta of the land of Kheta"—though this reading of the name is said to be false); or (2) עתתר ענצבת, *i.e.*, perhaps "Ishtar of the ear-rings (?)"; *cf.* Assyr., *anṣabtu* or *inṣabtu*, "ear-ring." The chief interest of the thing, however, lies in the fact that the identity of Hathor with Išḫara-Ištar is proved by the inscription, and that we have here Phoenician writing of a date apparently as early as B.C. 1500.

AN ASSYRIAN INCANTATION AGAINST RHEUMATISM.

By R. Campbell Thompson, *M.A.*

(*Continued from p.* 152.)

Transliteration—*continued.*

K. 2453. Reverse.

(*Pl.* 9.) Col. III.

1. . . . . RA VII-šu ta-tab-bak e-ma ta-tab-ba-[ku] šipta tamannu(nu)
2. ina URUDU.DU.UT.TAG.GA tamaḫaṣ(aṣ) URUDU.DU.UT.TAG.GA ana ku-tal-li-ka ta-na-suk išatti (?)-[ma] ibaluṭ

3. Šiptu ŠE ZA AḪ LI IA MIR ZI ḪAR GIM KUR KAL . . ŠU
4. ZA.ZI.IB ḪA.ZI.IB TA.ZI.IB.BA AN.ZI AN.GI EŠ TE IP TA TI IB.BA
5. AN.ZI AN.GI EŠ TI IP TE IŠ ḪI EN NI E KA SAK TI LA GI BA TU EN

6. Šiptu ŠI ZA AḪ LI MU ZA AḪ LI IM : ZA AḪ LI IM U ME ZA AḪ ME EN
7. SU GIM ḪU UM MA AK KUR KA AŠ TA U TA U ZA AM
8. I GA ZAK TI MU̍ ḪI TI MAḪ : I GA ZAK TI TIL LA ŠA ŠU TE MA
9. IŠ TA RA GA AB IŠ TA RA GA AB TU EN

10. II INIM.INIM.MA SA.GAL.LA.KAM

11. Kikiṭṭu-šu šarta ZA.GIN.NA šarta pišata eštenîš(niš) III DUR teṭimmi III ^{abnu}AN.ŠE.TIR tašakak

12. VII-ta-a-an kaṣir takaṣar e-ma takaṣaru šipta tamannu(nu) ina giš-ši-šu šepi-šu u ki-sal-li-šu tarakas-ma ibalut.

(*Pl.* 10.)

13. Šiptu ta-tab-ḫa kima kakkabâni^{pl} bi-li kima la-'-me : šur-šu-ka li-ba-lu ki-šit-ta-ka li-'-ar

14. kima šu-ut ri-e-ši la a-li-di ni-il-ka li-bal : ki-ma lap-ti lip-zu-u pa-nu-ka

15. kima ir-pi-tu ina šame(e) la i-bur-ru : kima u-la-lu la i-mu-ru ki-bi-is-su

16. kima amelu mitu la e-ti-ḳu bâb balaṭi : kima ti-za-bu la e-ni-ḳu tulat ummi-šu

17. kima zir ḳali la ib-nu-u šurri : ta-at-ta-lak ta-at-tal-lak bi-li iš di il di EN

---

18. Šiptu li-iz-ru-uḫ kima kakkabi lib-li ki-ma na-al-ši : šur-šu-šu li-ta-'-pu ki-šit-ta-šu li-bal

19. kima ḳali pi-ri-'-šu kima zir lap-ti lip-ṣu-u pa-nu-šu : ni-il-šu li-bal kima la a-lit-ti

20. kima u-la-lu la ip-tu-u pa-nu-šu : šiptu ul ia-ut-tu nišû šipat ^{ilu}Ba'u u ^{ilu}Gu-la

21. šipat ^{ilu}Nin-a-ḫa-ḳud-du bêl šipti šu-nu id-du-ma ana-ku aš-ši TU EN

---

22. II INIM . INIM . MA SA . GAL . LA . KAM

---

23. Kikiṭṭu-šu šarta sâmta šarta piṣata ešteniš(niš) teṭimmi VII ^{abnu}ŠU . U . ERI tašakak epir kibis NU . IGI . GAB

24. epir kibis sinništi la alitti epir kibis kalbi ṣalmi zir lap-ti KU . ŠE . SA . A ina šarti sâmti

25. VII lap-pi tal-pap VII kaṣir takaṣar šipta tamannu(nu) -ma tarakas-su-ma ibaluṭ

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26. Šiptu a-ra-aḫ-ḫi ra-ma-ni a-ra-ḫi pag-ri kima kalbi u ^{sal}kalbati šaḫi ^{sal}šaḫiti . . .-bu-u

27. ina ṣêri-šu : kima ^{iṣu}narṭabi ir-ṣi-tu ir-ḫu-u ir-ṣi-tu im-ḫu-ru [zir-šu]

(*Pl.* 11.)

28. lim-im-ḫur ra-ma-ni li-ir-ḫi ra-ma-ni . . . .

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29. INIM . INIM . MA SA . GAL . LA . [KAM]

---

30. Kikiṭṭu-šu VII ḫi-ir-ṣi ša ^{iṣu}eri ešteniš(niš) išid-su-nu išati tu-kab-bab ina šarat nabasi

31. tašakak(ak) VII kaṣir takaṣar e-ma takaṣaru šipta tamannu(nu) tarakas-su-ma ibaluṭ

32. Šiptu bêl ši-pat balaṭi ^{ilu}E-a šar apsi lid-di-ka ta-a-šu ša balaṭi
33. ^{ilu}Marduk maš-maš ilâni ši-pat balaṭi lid-di-ka : . .-li ^{ilu}Gibil li-nu-uḫ ḳab-lum
34. ka-sis-tum lit-ta-ṣi ša zumri-ka EN

35. INIM . INIM . MA SA . GAL . LA . KAM

36. Kikiṭṭu-šu ana lib šamni BUR šipta tamannu(nu) muḳ-ḳal-pi-ti tu-maš-ša-'-šu u šipta tamannu(nu)-ma ibaluṭ

37. šiptu šu-u šum-šu maš-ka-du [ki-nu]-us-su iš-tu kakkabâni^{pl} ša-ma-mi ur-da
38. iṣ-bat ša kal sim-ma-tu [ka]-lu ^{amelu}pagri-šu iṣ-bat giš-ša kin-ṣa ki-sal-la ḳab-la ra-pa-aš-tu u ša-šal-li
39. ^{ilu}Marduk [na-u]-du u mu-du-u kali i-di-šum-ma šiptu ša šu-ṣu-u ka-li-šu
40. ki-ma [ur-ru] ana mu-ši i-zu-zu li-zu-za marṣa ša zumri-šu EN

41. [INIM . INIM] . MA SA . GAL . LA . KAM

(*Pl.* 12.)

42. . . . šum-ma šepi ameli marṣi ša imitti buâni utul immeri ša imitti šum-ma šepi ^{amelu}marṣi
43. [ša šumeli] buâni utul immeri ša šumeli teliḳḳi(ḳi) SIG . RID puḫadi u ^{sal}puḫatti teṭimmi
44. [VII ?]-ta-a-an takaṣar e-ma takaṣaru šipta tamannu(nu) -ma tarakas-su

45. . . . MA GIR . KI . MA ŠE . EN . ŠE . NA MU . RU . UK DU . GU . UR MA UR . GAL . LA . TA
46. . . . . IŠU DU U MU UN DI BU RA LU KA TU EN

47. [INIM . INIM . MA] SA . GAL . LA . KAM

48. . . . . [SIG . RID] puḫadi u ^{sal}puḫatti teṭimmi
49. . . . . kin-ṣi-šu u ki-sal-li-šu tarakas-su

50. . . . . marṣi ḳat ^{ilu}Šamši ḫuzabi tašakkan(an)
51. . . . marṣi KU . GU . GAL (52) . . . . šikaru šur-šum-me karani SUR
53. . . . taṣamid-ma ibaluṭ

54. . . . . erini ^{iṣu}šurmenu (55) . . . . šu-na
. . . . . .

K. 2453.

Col. IV. (*Four lines wanting from the beginning.*)

(*Pl.* 13.)

5. . . . . -tu | (6) . . . . tušabšal(šal)
7. . . . . tapašaš | (8) . . . . ḳat ^{ilu}Šamši
9. . . . . ina URUDU . SIN . DU tar-bak
10. . . . . -ri taṣamid(id)

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11. . . . . -ši ^{iṣu}šurmenu ḳanî ṭâbi ^{rikku}ballukki
12. . . . . I ḳa ki-eš-ta-šu-nu tar kit šamni
13. . . . . -bat SAK . KA . U . KAL ina URUDU . SIN . DU
14. . . . . kišad-su ḫimeti tapašaš(aš)
15. . . . . MULU . TIN . NA tanadi-šu ina ûmi(mi) tušappi(?)
16. . . . . taramuk-šu
17. . . . . kan an-nam teppuš(uš)

---

18. . . . . ina pi gam la pi gam { i-par-ru-ud / i-ṣar-ru-ud } ^{iṣu}erini
19. . . . . tig(?) ^{rikku}ballukki ḳani ṭâbi taḫašal ina šikari
20. . . . . SIS te-li-iḫ kišad-su
21. . . . . ^{iṣu}irši-šu te-ti-en
22. . . . . ša ^{ilu}Šamši
23. . . . . ta-ra-aḫ-ḫa-su

(*Pl.* 14.)

24. . . . . ina ^{iṣu}irši-šu tanadi-šu
25. . . . . siḫli tu-ḳat-tar-šu
26. . . . . [URUDU] . SIN . DU tar-bak
27. . . . . taṣamid(id)

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28. . . . . ina URUDU . SIN . DU
29. . . . . ^{šikaru}u-sa
30. . . . . taṣamid-su
31. . . . . ta-šar-rap
32. . . . . ^{iṣu}šuni
33. . . . . ^{kanu}šalalu
34. . . . . tušappi-šu-ma
35. . . . . tapašas-su-ma
36. . . . . ikkalu^{pl}

37. . . . . ibaluṭ

38. . . . . isu irṣi tum mad

39. . . . . taṣabat-su tapaṭar

40. . . . . .

TRANSLATION—*continued.*

K. 2453. REVERSE. Col. III.

(*Pl.* 9.)

1. [*The water from the* gartarinturra]ra [*cup*] *seven times thou shalt pour out; when thou pourest* (*it*) *out, repeat the incantation; beat* (*it*) *with a bronze tool* (?); *put the bronze tool* (?) *behind thee, let him drink* (?) [*it and*] *he shall recover.*

3. *Incantation:*—[22]

6. *Incantation:*—[22]

10. *Two prayers for the swollen joint.*

11. *Ritual for this:—of grey* (?) *hair* (*and*) *white hair together thou shalt spin three threads* (?); *thread three cornelians* (*thereon*) *and tie seven knots in each; when thou makest the knots, repeat the incantation* (*and*) *bind* (*them*) *on his neck* (?), *his foot, and his hips and he shall recover.*

(*Pl.* 10.)

13. *Incantation:—Thou shinest forth as the stars; go out like a flame; may thy root be carried away, may thy back-part go. Like one in high authority that hath had no child may thy rest be broken, like the turnip may thy face be white; as the cloud in the sky endureth not, as the blind seeth not his steps, as the dead man returneth not through the gate of life, as the babe untimely born sucketh not the breast of its mother, as roast corn cannot give shoots—so thou shalt depart, thou shalt go off . . .*

Incantation.

[22] Unintelligible to me.

18. *Incantation :—Let it rise as a star, may it go out like a light ; may its root be removed,*[23] *may its back-part be carried away. Like roast corn be its shoot (impossible), may its face be white as the turnip, may its rest be broken as one that heareth not, as a blind man that cannot open his face. The incantation is not invented of mankind, it is the incantation of Ba'u and Gula, the incantation of Nin-aha-kuddu, the lord of incantation : it is they who have performed, and it is I who have adopted. Perform the incantation.*

22. *Two prayers for the swollen joint.*

23. *Ritual for this :—Spin a dark and a white hair together, thread seven* šu-u-eri[24] *stones thereon : intertwine dust from the footprint of one unseen, dust from the footprint of a woman that hath not borne children, dust from the footprint of a black dog, turnip-seed (and) flour of roast corn in the dark hair with seven folds, tie seven knots, repeat the incantation, and bind it on him, and he shall recover.*

(*Pl.* 11.)

26. *Incantation :—I cherish thee, O myself, I cherish thee, my body, as the dog the bitch, as the hog the sow : may it be poured forth in its desert ; as the* shaduf *cherisheth the earth (and) the earth receiveth [her seed (and) cherisheth it], may it receive myself, may it cherish myself . . . .*[25]

29. *Prayer for the swollen joint.*

30. *Ritual for this :—Seven cuttings of tamarisk together their lower ends in fire thou shalt char, thread them on scarlet thread, tie seven knots therein (and) when thou tiest (the knots) repeat the incantation ; bind it on him and he will recover.*

32. *Incantation :—May the lord of the incantation of life, Ea, King of the Deep, perform for thee his exorcism of life : may Marduk, priest of the gods, perform for thee the incantation of life ; through* (?) *the Fire-god may (thy) middle be at peace ; may the pain* (?)[26] *go forth from thy body. Incantation.*

[23] نحّ Ettaph. sublatus est.

[24] Possibly a mistake for *šu u-ba*, but this should be *šu-ba-a*, and hence my reading is more probable.

[25] See Pl. IV, ll 9 ff.

[26] *Kasistum*, hitherto unknown.

35. *Prayer for the swollen joint.*

36. *Ritual for this:—Over* bur-*oil repeat the incantation . . . thou shalt anoint him and repeat the incantation and he shall recover.*

37. *Incantation:—This is its name*—maškadu *is its appellation; it hath come down from the stars of heaven; it hath seized with every* (?) *poison his whole body, it hath seized neck* (?), *shins* (?), *hips, broad belly and shoulders. Marduk, who is glorious and wise, knoweth it all, too, and may the incantation which divideth all results* (?) *as between* [*day*] *and night, divide also between the sickness and his body.*[27] *Incantation.*

41. *Prayer for the swollen joint.*

(*Pl.* 12.)

. . . if the leg of the man hurts on its right side, the right thigh of a sheep: if the leg of the man hurts on its [*left side*], *the left thigh of a sheep thou shalt take: spin the hair of a male and female lamb, tie* [*seven*] *knots in each, and where thou tiest* (*them*) *repeat the incantation and bind it on him.*

[*Incantation*]:—[28] . . . . . .

Perform the Incantation.

[*Prayer*] *for the swollen joint.*

The remainder of the texts consist of the broken ends of lines, containing directions for spinning magical threads, etc.

[27] This is repeated on Pl. 4, ll. 15 ff.
[28] Unintelligible to me.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, December 9th, 1908, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

F. Legge, Esq.: "Egyptian Chronology and its Astronomical Foundation."

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-EIGHTH SESSION, 1908.

Seventh Meeting, December 9th, 1908.

H. R. HALL, Esq., *M.A.*,

IN THE CHAIR.

—⁂—

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

From the Author, Dr. O. von Lemm.—"Koptische Miscellen," Parts XLVII–L; *and* "Koptische Studien," Parts LI–LV.

From the Author, W. F. Warren, Esq.—"The Babylonian Universe, newly interpreted."

From the Author, Miss M. A. Murray.—"Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom."

The following Paper was read:—

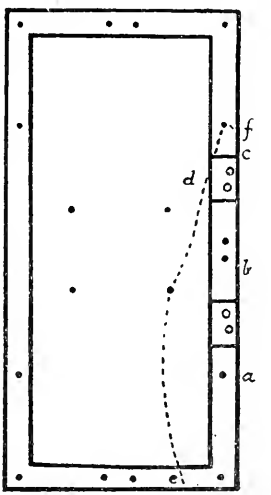
F. LEGGE, Esq.: "Egyptian Chronology and its Astronomical foundation."

Thanks were returned for this communication.

A GREEK DIPTYCH OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

By W. E. Crum.

The fragmentary diptych here to be described is the property of Mr. W. Moir Bryce, of Edinburgh, who bought it at Luxor in 1903, and now kindly permits its publication. The excellent photographs which Mr. Nash has contributed show its general form and (on a somewhat enlarged scale) its palaeographical character. The larger fragment or panel will here be called A, the smaller B. The material is ivory, very much yellowed in A, of a faint brownish-white in B, which almost suggests scorching. The height of a panel is 25·5 cm., width 12 cm., thickness 0·4 or 0·5 cm. Although diptychs, with more than two panels, are not unknown,[1] there is no reason to assume more than the normal number here. The text of B appears to follow quite suitably on that of A, while itself forming the customary conclusion of the whole. The plain border surrounding each panel is 0·8 or 0·9 cm. in width. This border is pierced by a series of small holes, shown on the accompanying sketch of panel A, wherein the right side is reconstructed from the evidence of B. Besides these holes, there are, on the edge of B, three, now broken, inlets (opposite *a*, *b*, *c*), which, being at irregular intervals, I should assume to indicate some supplementary means of joining the panels, found needful at a later time. The surface of the border, at the two pairs of larger holes (at any rate in panel A), is cut down, presumably to admit of affixing hinges. On the broken edge, at *e* in panel A, and at a point in B which would be opposite to *f*, are remnants of such hinges, made of bronze and fastened with



[1] Dippel in Kraus, *RE.* i, 370.

iron pins (now oxidized). I do not feel certain as to the object of the 14 smaller holes in the border; there is not, in the neighbourhood of any of them, a trace of oxidation or verdigris. But the remaining metal hinge in B (opposite to *f*) shows—if indeed now in its proper place—that certain of them served to connect the panels. This, however, could not be the intention of the four small holes pierced in the middle of panel A. Possibly they held some ornamental addition upon the back. But whether they were made prior to the writing of the present text and later on filled in, to give a surface for that when written, or whether, as seems more likely, they are of later origin, and were pierced regardless of the writing, it is hard to decide. At the top of the broken edge of B there are clear signs of oxidation; so too half way down that edge and again at the very bottom. This is evidence of former metal pins, whereby the now lost fragment of this panel was once joined, after breakage, to the extant piece. Among the diptychs published, ours seems, in general form, most to resemble that at Brescia, the ecclesiastical use of which is judged to date from the 8th century.[2] The back of both panels shows an entirely plain surface, with no trace of ornament or writing. A circular stain on the back of A (diameter 10 cm.) indicates that this panel had, in recent times, been put to base uses, serving probably as cover to a jar.

The text now legible is not the original. Unmistakable traces of earlier writing, in a clumsy, slightly ligatured hand, are visible at various points on A[3]; not, however (now), upon B. But these traces are quite undecipherable, and we shall therefore confine ourselves to the later text. The scribe of this has certain idiosyncrasies, but for the most part his hand is not unlike that of the British Museum *Festal Letter*,[4] which dates more probably from the year 672 than 577. His distinguishing features are: the form of ⲁ, which mostly is made in two strokes, ⲁ with ⲟ inserted below it,[5] and which occasionally results in that angular, lapidary form, common on tombstones.[6] But beside

[2] Figured in ROHAULT DE FLEURY, *La Messe*, vi, pl. cdlxxxvi.

[3] *V.* pl. i, opposite l. 14.

[4] *New Palaeogr. Soc.*, pt. iii, pl. 48. *Cf.* GRENFELL and HUNT, *Gk. Pap.* ii, 163.

[5] *Cf. Canons of Athanasius*, ed. RIEDEL and CRUM, plate, Brit. Mus. *Copt. Catal.*, pl. 8, 274, pl. 2, 971.

[6] *Cf.* HALL, *Gk. and Copt. Texts*, pl. 3, CRUM, *Copt. Mon.* (*Cairo Catal.*), nos. 8584, 8590, 8499 etc.

it, we see here the usual, looped form, as in the *Festal Letter*. The ϵ and ϲ are, with few exceptions, marked by a short cross-stroke, appended to the lower hook.[7] So too, κ often has, upon its upper, right-hand point, a similar cross-piece,[8] while its straight and angular limbs are unconnected. As contrasted with the *Festal Letter*, we may further notice: the shortness of the cross-bar in ο; the forms of ⲁ, ⲗ, the apex of which is made in a single, uninterrupted stroke; also the pendent ends to the upper limb of ⲧ. On the whole the palaeographical type is just such as to suggest the date fixed by the internal evidence of the text.

It is the contents of the text which give our diptych its unique character. So far as I can ascertain, there are but very few inscribed ecclesiastical diptychs extant, especially from Eastern Christendom; none showing a liturgical text at all similar to this. For here we find, upon the deacon's tablets, not only the names inscribed of those to be commemorated, but also parts of those preliminary *formulae* of prayer which usually have their place in the office book and in the mouth of the priest. The tablets were, we may suppose, taken by the deacon from the altar at that point in the Mass where we read the words ὁ διάκονος τὰ δίπτυχα,[9] or elsewhere εἴπατε τὰ ὀνόματα, εἴπατε,[10] and read by him while the priest continued his prayer.[11] The form of words here used is characterized (as Mr. BRIGHTMAN has pointed out to me) by the precedence given to the names of the living over those of the dead;[12] the first person named is the reigning patriarch of Alexandria.

And here we must take note of the evidence of a revision which this diptych has undergone. Not only is the text we are describing a palimpsest, but we see, in ll. 1 and 35, that a third hand has been at work. Its script is coarse and the ink, though faded, is quite black, in contrast to the reddish-brown of the other. This third

[7] *Cf.* Brit. Mus. *Copt. Catal.*, pl. S, 171, *Can. Athanasius*, plate.

[8] *Cf. Can. Ath.*, plate, l. 16.

[9] BRIGHTMAN 129, 9.

[10] JUNKER in *Aeg. Zeitschr.* xl, 12, 13, with references.

[11] BRIGHTMAN 331, 3. TUKI, *Missale* ⲢⲔⲤ. Elsewhere the priest is distinctly to *follow*, *e.g.* BAUMSTARK in *Oriens Christ.* i, 21.

[12] Μακαριώτατος of a living bishop (or patriarch), BRIGHTMAN 129, 33, Leyden *MSS. Coptes*, 131, RENAUDOT, *Lit. Or.* (1847) i, 100 (*cf.* μακαριότης, *e.g. Rev. Egypt.* ix, 175); of a deceased, *Aeg. Zeitschr.* xl, 12, Brit. Mus. *Pap.* lxxviii, 35.

scribe either washed out the text of l. 1, or merely ignored it, obliterating it with the name of the actual patriarch.

The patriarch's name is followed as usual by that of the local bishop actually in office. Then come the mentions of the clergy and people, of those making offerings, and those who have done so. The repeated phrase ending with *τὸ εὐχαριστήριον* should imply a preceding verbal clause, such as *πρόσδεξαι ὁ Θεός* . . .[13] The exactly parallel words in the Bohairic liturgy: *Ⲁⲃⲃⲁ* ⲥ̅ⲥ̅ (*ⲉⲛ*) *ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲱ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲉⲅⲁⲗⲟⲡⲟⲗⲉⲱⲥ Ⲁⲗⲉⲝⲁⲛⲇⲣⲉⲓⲁⲥ ⲕⲁⲓ ⲧⲱⲛ ⲟⲣⲑⲟⲇⲟⲝⲱⲛ ⲏⲙⲱⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲱⲛ ⲧⲟ ⲉⲩⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ*,[14] are not easy to fit grammatically into their context, unless *τὸ εὐχ.* refers solely to the immediately before-mentioned reigning patriarch.

The second section (ll. 15 ff.) commemorates, or rather invokes,[15] the Virgin, John Baptist, John the Apostle, Mark Evangelist, Peter, and the rest of the Apostles. Mr. BRIGHTMAN remarks here upon the unwonted presence of the Apostle John and of Peter. As to the former, I would suggest that his addition is an error. For the remnants of a Sa'idic liturgy name this group twice over, and in this self-same context: **ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲟ ⲁⲅ ⲧⲉⲛⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲛ ⲧⲉⲧⲥⲁⲅⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲉⲟⲅⲟⲗⲟⲕⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲓⲱⲥⲁⲛⲛⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲡⲣⲟⲇⲣⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲃⲁⲡⲧⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲛⲛⲥⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲥⲧⲉⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ** etc.,[16] applying the title 'Virgin' to the Baptist.[17] So too does GRENFELL-HUNT, *Gk. Pap.* ii, no. cxiii. As to St. Peter, his traditional connection with Mark may possibly account for his presence, though not indeed for his place after his disciple.

Thereupon follows the usual catalogue of past Alexandrine patriarchs, extending here to Andronicus. We are thus enabled to fix pretty closely the date of our text: it must have been written after the death of Andronicus (623) and before that of Benjamin

[13] BRIGHTMAN 129, 21, 29.

[14] Cairo *Euchologion* **ⲧⲝⲏ** (emended). *Cf.* too Brit. Mus. *Copt. Catal.*, no. 971. Somewhat differently phrased in the deacon's office appended to hymn books, *e.g.*, Brit. Mus. *l.c.*, no. 890, p. 453, Bodl. *Hunt.* 256, **ⲡⲛⲏ**.

[15] BAUMSTARK, *Messe im Morgenland* (1906) 176.

[16] Paris *MS. copte* 129[29] ff. 121, 126 (being pp. 61 and 136 of a MS. which contained several Anaphoras).

[17] *Παρθένος* as epithet of the Baptist, *e.g.* Brit. Mus. *Copt. Cat.*, p. 404*b*, TUKI's *Theotokia*, **ⲥⲓⲅ**. *Cf. Synax.*, 30th Baûnah, '. . . and he drank no wine, neither knew he woman.'

(662), whose name we assume to have occupied l. 1. Subsequently the third scribe, relegating Benjamin, in his turn, to the catalogue of the deceased (l. 35), inserted in l. 1, as we have already observed, the name of Agatho (662–680). We notice moreover that this revising scribe leaves the name of the actual local bishop (ll. 3, 4) untouched. Is this an oversight or does it imply that that bishop survived the accession of Agatho? On this see *below*.

Comparison of the names in this catalogue with those of other lists shows that the forms[18] here are, for the most part, the 'Jacobite,' to be found in the Patriarchal Chronicle and its derivates—*Synaxarium*, liturgical lists such as the present etc.—and differing considerably from the earlier forms preserved by Eusebius. This is especially conspicuous in the cases of ΑΜΙΟΥ (Ἀμίλιος),[19] ΕΥΜΕΝΙΟΥ (Εὐμένης), ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΥ (Μάρκος), ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΥ (Ἡρακλᾶς). The constant genitive termination is due, of course, to the foregoing τὸ εὐχαριστήριον.

The sequel, upon panel B, consists of two sections: one (ll. 41–57) giving the catalogue of the local bishops, the other (ll. 58–65) commemorating, anonymously, the saint—it is noticeable that still only 'martyrs' are intended—proper to the day. Though the panel is blank from l. 65 to the bottom, we cannot be sure that nothing was upon the right-hand fragment, now lost. For it will be observed that the last section (ll. 58–65) is written, not like the first and second (ll. 1–19), continuously, across the whole panel, but in short lines, extending just half way—and, as it happens, just up to the broken edge of this actually preserved fragment. One is thus inclined to wonder whether panel B had not already lost its right side, before the present text was written.

This list of bishops is very perplexing. The actual bishop, at the

[18] The forms were collected by GUTSCHMID, *Kl. Schr.* ii, 422 and 498. For the Patr. Chron., *v.* now EVETTS' edition (*Patr. Or.*). For the Bohairic diptych lists, *v.* DELAPORTE, *Rev. Égypt.* xii, 5 (I have compared several in MS.); for the *Synaxarium*, the editions of BASSET and FORGET. The earliest Bohairic forms are those in the Passion of Peter (HYVERNAT, *Actes* 266, 271, 274). Besides these there are interesting fragments of three Sa'idic diptychs; Brit. Mus. *Catal.* no. 971 (contemporary with ours), *ib.* no. 155 (not much younger) and Berlin *Kopt. Urk.* no. 186 (where for *recto*, read *verso*). This last reaches Mark, 49th patr., *ob.* 819. Note, following him, the mention of Ignatius Θεοφόρος, as in Brit. Mus. no. 514, which is itself a sort of diptych, though difficult to interpret.

[19] On this name, *v.* DE RICCI, *Rev. Archéol.*, 1906, 320.

time of writing, is Pesynthius[20] (ll. 3, 4). It is natural, having regard to the contemporary patriarch, to assume this to be the famous bishop of Coptos, canonized in the calendar upon the 13th of Abib, and belauded for his virtues and miracles in a well-known Encomium.[21] Few Coptic worthies have bequeathed to us so much biographical material as he. Besides the facts to be gathered from his Encomium, we have a considerable collection of the actual letters—fragmentary, it is true—addressed to him on matters of diocesan administration, by clerics and civil officials; and besides these, incidental references in the ostraca, in Abû Ṣâliḥ and elsewhere. Quite recently he has appeared afresh in the interesting Upper Egyptian recension of the *Synaxarium*, utilized by M. BASSET.[22] And further, the British Museum has lately acquired a sermon ascribed to Pesynthius,[23] wherein he is called first **ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡ[ⲓⲥⲅⲏⲟⲓⲟⲥ] [ⲡⲉⲡⲓⲥ]ⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲏⲧⲡⲓⲟⲙ[ⲉ ⲕⲉⲫⲧ]** and, at the end, **ⲁⲡⲁ ⲡ. ⲙⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲏⲧⲥⲏⲧⲉ**, *i.e.* his dwelling place prior to (and perhaps after) his appointment as bishop. If then it is this familiar figure whom we have to see in l. 3, it should follow that the 15 (possibly 16) names in ll. 42–57 are those of his predecessors in the diocese of Coptos. But LE QUIEN[24] is able to record only three bishops here, prior to Pesynthius (Theodore *ca.* 320, Phoebammon in 431, Sabinus in 451). To these a vague addition is made by BASSET'S *Synaxarium*, which mentions a bishop Timothy, of unknown date.[25] We seem then to be here upon a false track; for not

[20] A name properly Theban, though occasionally met in other districts (except Ashmunain). In the bishop's correspondence (*Rec. Egypt.* ix, x) the Hellenized **ⲡⲉⲥⲩⲛⲟⲓⲟⲥ** is the invariable form. In Jémé deeds and ostraca **ⲡⲉⲥⲛⲧⲉ** is commonest, with its variant **ⲡⲉⲥⲩⲛⲧⲉ**. The Boh. Eulogy has **ⲡⲓⲥⲉⲛⲧⲓ, ⲡⲓⲥⲉⲛⲧⲓⲟⲥ**; Mid. Eg. texts, **ⲡⲓⲥⲉⲛϯ, ⲡⲓⲥⲏϯ**. I have noted 31 variant forms. (**ⲡⲓⲥⲩⲛⲟⲥⲟⲥ**, Cairo *Euchelog.* **ⲧⲛⲟ**, looks like an etymological emendation by the editor.) The Arabic has adopted both the popular بسندة (*Synax.*, Abû Ṣâliḥ) and literary بسنتيوس (Paris *MS. Arabe* 150) بمسنتاوس (BASSET, *Synax.* 490); Ethiopic, the latter only.

[21] Ed. AMELINEAU in *Mém. de l'Inst. Egyptien* ii (1889).

[22] BASSET, *l.c.* The narrative wherein he occurs is incomplete and obscure. Shenoute and Constantine recall bishops so named in GRENFELL, *Gk. Pap.* i, nos. lxiii, lxvi, the latter being presumably the well-known writer (Brit. Mus. *Catal.* p. 363, note). *Cf.* also the names in the letter *Rec. Egypt*, ix, 145. Again, Abraham, bishop of Hû-Diospolis, recalls the bishop in the Acts of Manasse (*Mission* iv, 673). If identical, we could thence date these Acts.

[23] Or. 6800. [24] ii, 607. [25] BASSET, *op. cit.*, 497.

one of these names occurs in this diptych. But perhaps our list does not pretend to completeness; it may, for example, begin only after the monophysite schism.[26] If we take 600 as an approximate date for the episcopal consecration of Pesynthius[27] and assign an average of 10 years of office to each of the 15 names in our list, we arrive at 450, the year preceding Chalcedon. And so the absence of LE QUIEN's three might be accounted for. An argument of course for the diocese of Coptos would lie in the 15th and last name, Moses, that being also the name of the author of Pesynthius' Encomium, whom—though this is nowhere distinctly stated—it is usual to take for his successor.[28] But here unfortunately Moses is certainly his immediate predecessor. For had Pesynthius been dead,[29] his name would naturally have appeared in the blank space below that of Moses, and not in l. 3, the "diptych of the living."

Let us then consider the claims of a neighbouring diocese.[30] The second name, Pleinis,[31] is that borne by a contemporary of Athanasius, in the see of Hermonthis,[32] some 35 miles further South. The 6th name, Patermuthius is that of a bishop whose church (or tomb?) stood, in the 8th century, at Jêmé, in the diocese of Hermonthis.[33] The 10th, Ananias, is the name of another bishop of that town, met with thrice in documents of about the year 600.[34] The 13th, Andreas, is that of a bishop of . . ., mentioned upon a

[26] Various other principles of selection are conceivable, which need not involve an unbroken chronological sequence.

[27] He was consecrated by Damianus (578–605), *v. Mém. Inst. Eg.* ii, 368.

[28] *Op. cit.* 417, P. dying says to M., "Do thou take charge of my books, for "thou wilt need them and shalt not escape that heavy burden." This AMÉLINEAU (pp. 266, 309) and A. J. BUTLER (*Arab Conq.* 87) interpret as referred to the episcopacy. The title of the Encomium names M. as bishop of Coptos, but says nothing as to his having succeeded P. immediately.

[29] Tradition put his death before the Arab conquest; see his 'Prophecies,' foretelling the arrival of *Mâmâdîûs* and his people (Paris *MS. Arabe* 150, f. 6 ff.).

[30] Not the adjoining; for according to the list of sees (AMÉLINEAU, *Géogr.* 573), that of Kûs intervened.

[31] Another Theban name, common in the Jêmé documents and ostraka. Means? 'Steel' (forms **ΠΛΑΕΙΝΕ**, **Πλαιν** are found); *cf.* **ΒΕΝΙΠΙ-***Ḥadîd*, and **Φομντ** (Brit. Mus. *Copt. Catal.* p. 449). (NB. PEYRON's **ΠΛΑΕΙΝ** is merely **πάλλιον**; *v.* ROSSI, *Pap.* i, II, 41.)

[32] LE QUIEN ii, 609. The same or? a namesake had been ordained before 328 (ATHANAS., *Hist. Ar.* § 72).

[33] *Aeg. Zeitschr.* xxix, 12, xxvi, 130.

[34] CRUM, *Ostr.* no. 85; referred to as dead in middle of 8th cent., Berlin *P.* 10606 (Jémé).

Jêmé ostracon of about the same date.[35] The 14th, Abraamios, is borne by the bishop of Hermonthis in the Greek will, Brit. Mus *Pap.* lxxvii, who is probably identical with the Abraham, so repeatedly occurring in the Dêr el-Bahri (Jêmé) ostraca, and contemporary with the patriarch Damianus (578–605).[36] But of these Hermonthite bishops, Pleinis must, by his date, be excluded, if we are assuming our catalogue to be solely monophysite. Abandoning that assumption, however, and at the same time increasing the average of years imputed to each bishop, say to 15, we may reach back into the latter half of the 4th century, and so perhaps include him.

Another hypothesis indeed suggests itself, whereby the appearance of Pesynthius of Coptos, in company with the Hermonthite bishops might be reconciled. He was, says his panegyrist,[37] not merely a light "in our poor nome (of Coptos, no doubt), but rather a protector for "all our district" (χώρα). An ostracon, most probably from Dêr el-Bahri (*i.e.* diocese of Hermonthis), refers to him as "bishop of our "bodies and souls";[38] while the writer of another, certainly coming thence, appears to appeal to him in regard to a matter relating to the clergy of Jêmé.[39] Several of those who write letters, asking his help or instructions, come from places at some distance from Coptos. But we cannot be certain as to the diocese in which these lay,[40] and the above citations may suffice to justify the suggestion that the position of Pesynthius, either as bishop of Coptos,[41] or owing to the veneration in which he was held, was somewhat that of a metropolitan among his neighbouring colleagues. If so, his mention, among bishops of Hermonthis, may seem less irregular.

It is unfortunate that internal evidence does not then allow us to fix precisely the *provenance* of Mr. BRYCE'S diptych; but that detracts little from the liturgical value and palaeographical importance of this interesting relic.

[35] CRUM, *op. cit.*, no. 288.

[36] *L.c.*, p. xiii ff., and Brit. Mus. *Copt. Cat.*, p. xx, note.

[37] *Instit. Eg.* ii, 344.

[38] CRUM, *Ostr.* no. 25.

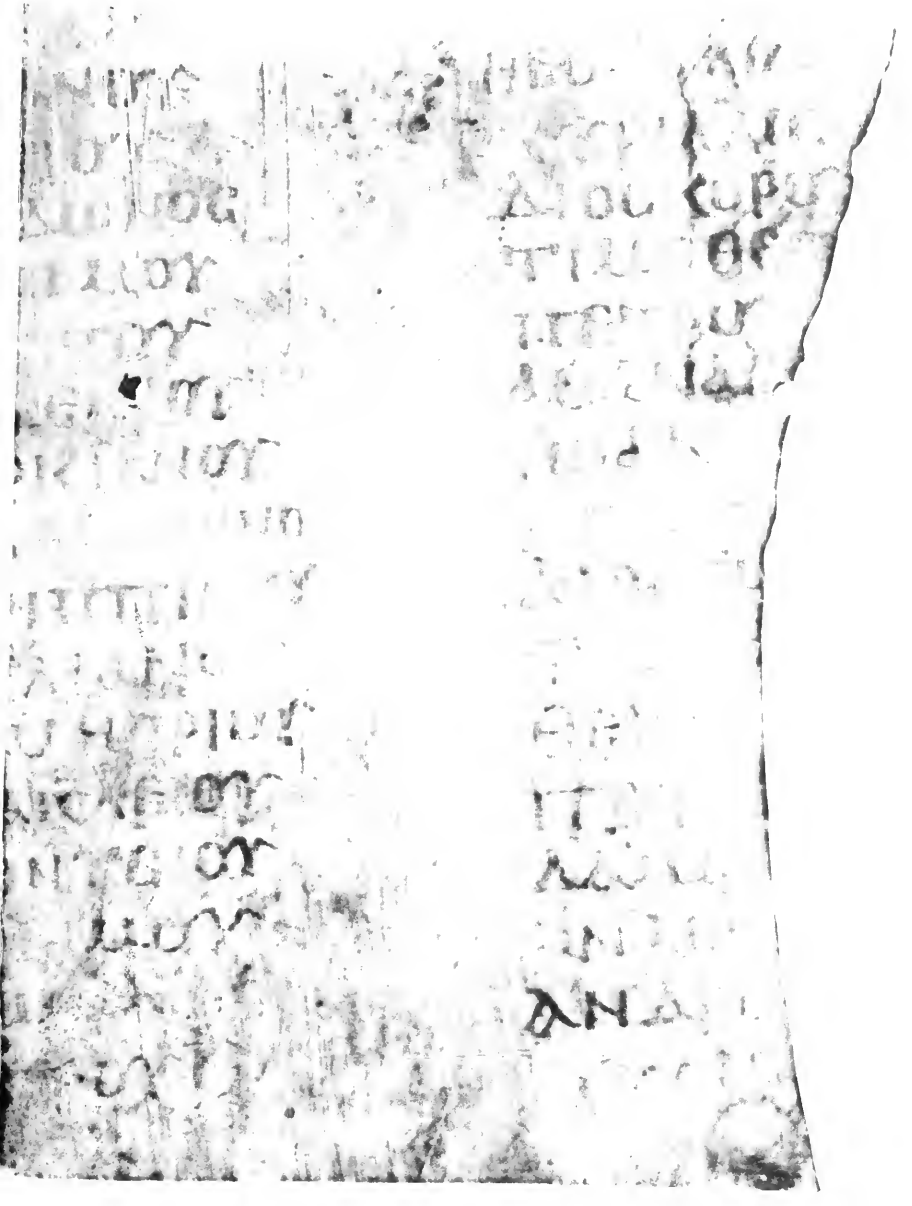
[39] *Op. cit.*, no. 286.

[40] *V.* Letters nos. 1, 2, 5, 11, 19, 37, in *Rec. Egypt.* ix. Neither Kús nor Shenhór (nos. 19, 2) could well be in that of Coptos.

[41] Coptos, at a later period, was termed the metropolis of the second Theban province (*Byz. Z.* ii, 25).

W.L.N.

A GREEK DIPTYCH OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY
In Mr. W. Moir Bryce's Collection.



PART OF THE SCRIPT SLIGHTLY ENLARGED.

PANEL A.

ΑΒΒΑ ΑΥΑΘ[ωπος ? ?

[τοτ] μακαριωτατοτ ημων πατρ[ιαρχ-]

[ου] το ευχαριστηριον : και απα πε-

[ς]τνοιοτ τοτ οσιωτατοτ ημων επισ-

5. κοπου, το ευχαριστηριον : και ὑ-

[π]ερ της σωτηριας κ/ εγστασιας παν-

τος τοτ παρεστωτος εγαρεστατου

καιρου και παντος τοτ φιλο-

χριστου λαου : και ὑπερ σω-

10. τηριας κ/ ὑγιειας των προσηνεγ-

καντων, τοτας κ/ τηςας κ/ προσ-

ηνεγκοντων τα δωρα αυτων εν

τη σημερον ημερα · κ/ παντων τω[ν]

προσφεροντων :

—— —— —— ——

15. της παναγιας ενδοξου θεοτοκο[υ και]

αειπαρθενου μαριας · απα ἰωαν[νου]

βαπτιστου · κ/ απα ἰωαννου παρ[θενου ·]

μαρκου ευαγγελιστου · πετρου [αποστο-]

λου κ/ παντων των αγιων απ[οστολων]

—

20. ανιανου θεοφιλου

μιλιου κυριλλου

κεραμονος διοσκορου

1. What was here, in the original hand, is wholly illegible now.

2. Scarce room for **ΤΟΥ**. Perhaps merely **ΠΑΤΡΟΣ** at end and nothing before **ΤΟ** in 3.

3. **ΑΒΒΑ** possible (*cf.* 61), but less probable.

16. Room for **ΤΟΥ** at end.

17. Room for **Κ/** at end.

19 end. So BRIGHTMAN.

ΠΡΙΜΟΥ
ΙΟΥΣΤΟΥ
25. ΕΥΜΕΝΙΟΥ
ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΥ
ΚΕΛΑΔΙΩΝΟΣ
ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΝΟΥ
ΪΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ
30. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ
ΠΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΥ
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ
ΜΑΞΙΜΟΥ
ΟΕΚΟΝΔ
35. ΠΕΤΡΟΥ
ΑΧΙΛΛ
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΛΟΛΛΑΣΙΟΥ
ΠΕΤΡΟΥ
40. ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΥ

ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟ[Υ]
ΠΕΤΡΟΥ
ΛΟΛΛΑΣΙ[ΟΥ]
ΪΩΑΝΝΟ[Υ]
ΪΩΑΝΝΟ[Υ]
ΔΙΟΣΚΟ[ΡΟΥ]
ΤΙΜΟΘ[ΕΟΥ]
ΟΕΟΔΟ[ΣΙΟΥ]
ΠΕΤΡΟ[Υ]
ΛΑΜΠΑΝ[ΟΥ]
ΑΝΑΣΤ[ΑΣΙΟΥ]
ΑΝΔΡΟΝ[ΙΚΟΥ]
[illegible]

(blank)

PANEL B.

ΕΤΙ Λ[Ε ΚΑΙ . . . . .]
. . . Μ[
ΑΠΟΛΛ[ΩΝΙΟΣ
ΠΑΝΪΝΟ[Υ
45. ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΥ [
ΪΩΑΝΝΟΥ [

41. Calculated on the assumption that lines 41, 42 extended right across the panel.

ΨϵϹϵΝΠΚϢ[

ΠΑΤϵΡΜΟΥ[ΟΙΟΥ

ΪϢΑΝΝΟΥ [

ΠΑΠΝΟΥΟΙΟ[Υ

ΪϵΡΑΚΟϹ [

ΑΝΑΝΙΑ [

ΠϵΤΡΟΥ [

ΜΙΧΑΙΟΥ [

ΑΝΑΡϵΑ [

ΑΒΡΑΑΜΙΟΥ [

ΜϢΥϹΑΙΟΥ [

ϵΤΙ Αϵ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ

ΑΓΙΟΥ ΑΟΛΟΦΟΡΟΥ

Κ/ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟϹ ΑΒΒΑ

ΤΙΝΟϹ : ΟΥ̂ ΤΗΝ

ΜΝΗΜΗΝ ϵΠΙΤϵ-

ΛΟΥΜϵΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ

ϹΗΜϵΡΟΝ ΗΜϵΡΑΝ

— — —

47. I cannot complete this name, so strange in Christian times. ΠΚϢΛΙϹ (ΠϬϢΛ) is hardly likely; *cf.* Σενπκῦλις (SPIEGELBERG, *Eigennamen* no. 287). Forms such as Ψενσενπετεμῖνις (*Ib.*, no. 440), are similar, though here the first *ν* has fallen out. The prefixes Ψεν- and Σεν- again seem to be, in almost all cases, Theban.

57. Something, apparently in the hand of the present scribe, has been effaced between this and 58. Above ϵΤΙ one can clearly read ϢΟ, perhaps ξϢΟ. Further up no trace of anything is recognizable.

LEXICOGRAPHICAL STUDIES.

BY S. LANGDON.

I.

The Root *Šakāku* and its Derivatives.

One of the most difficult problems of Assyrian lexicography is the root שכך concerning which the lexicons offer uncertain information. DELITZSCH gave two roots (*a*) to "rise above," (*b*) "fence about" (?). MUSS-ARNOLT seems to have been unable to classify the meanings, but I infer that he assumes two roots (*a*) "to pierce," (*b*) "harrow": the former is probably based upon ZIMMERN (*Ritual Tafeln*, 113 *η*), where, in two passages, the priest is told to string or thread stones upon a thread [*ina nabāsi dāmi išakkak*, *ina riksi ṭamî išakkak*]. In two other passages cited by ZIMMERN the same construction occurs: IV R., 57*a* 11–13 (= KING, *Magic*, no. 12) 4 *ilāni ḫadûti išten ša* ^{aban} *parutti išten ša ḫuraṣi išten ša* ^{aban} *ukni išten ša* ^{iṣu} *mēsi ṭepuš aban parutti aban ḫuraṣi aban ukni kunukka ina birit ilāni ḫadûti ina ḳî kitî tašakkak*, "four joy-bringing gods thou shalt make, one of alabaster, one of gold, one of lapis-lazuli, and one of *mesu*-wood: a jewel of alabaster, of gold, of lapis-lazuli and a seal[1] among the joy-bringing gods upon a linen thread thou shalt string." IV R., 55*a* 14 (= *Z.A.*, XVI, 186, 34) *ina šipāti ṣalmati tašakkak*. In only one case is a thread (*ḳú*) used, the idea does not fit with *riksu*, "a band," nor *šipāti*, "a woollen garment," so that this meaning is certainly not clear.

DELITZSCH assumes a meaning "to rise above," as certain; for

[1] *Abnu MIS*, which, if intended to correspond to the fourth image above, should rather mean a "trinket of *mesu*-wood."

which the Sumerian is *UD-DU* (= è). Certain is *šikkatu*, = "mountain height," "preëminence," "leadership" (*cf.* in addition to DELITZSCH, 656*b*, MUSS-ARNOLT, 1034*b*, also STRECK in *Babyloniaca*, II, 52 and JENSEN, *K.B.*, VI, 1, 314). *Šikkatūtu*, "preëminence," is evidently a double formation from *šikkatu*. A further proof for the same sense is *sag* = *šakāku* in K., 4196. Yet *šakāku* in the ritual texts above is usually written *UD-DU* with or without a phonetic complement *-ak*. Furthermore, *UD-DU* = *šakāku* in V R., 19, 30 is followed by *šakāku ša abni* and *šakāku ša šikkatim*.

Evidently then *UD-DU* = *šakāku*, "to be preëminent," is the same verb as that used for placing jewels or trinkets upon a thread or woollen cloth; this latter act is expressly intended by *šakāku ša abni*. In *šakāku ša šikkatim* we have probably to assume for *šikkatu* the meaning "sprout," "young stalk" and "the whole" = "to harrow the springing grain sprouts"[2]; the Sumerian ideogram here is *tig-è-sīg-ga*, in which *tig-è* = *šikkatim* and *sīg* = *šakāku*, hence a synonym of *maḫāṣu*.

The meanings "project," "be eminent," "fasten or string jewels to a cloth," and "to harrow land," seem at first impossible of combination into a single root, yet the Arabic شكّ "to bore with a pointed instrument," "to attach oneself to," "cling to," is evidently at the basis of the entire series.[3]

For *šakāku*, "to harrow," the usual Sumerian word is *úr* [MEISSNER, *S.A.I.*, 3829] which occurs in *gán-úr* = *ma-aš-ka-ak-ka-tam*, perhaps = "cultivation," "husbandry," in V RAW., 52*a*, 43.

The piel permansive *šukkuku* in the Amarna Letters is used for "placing jewels in a setting," MUSS-ARNOLT, 1026*b*; MEISSNER, *Supplement*, 93*b*. The verb can therefore mean "fasten stones to the surface of a cloth," or "sew them to the cloth" (?), "string them upon a thread," or "place them in a metal setting." Only one root, however, exists. For additional examples of *šakāku* = "harrow," *v.* Hammurabi Code, 13, 12, and MEISSNER, *Altbaby. Privatrecht*, 77, and for *sakikiš* = "eminently," Sumerian *an-nu*, REISNER, *Sumerisch-Bab.-Hymnen*, 39, 6. A *šikkatu*, "fence," has been entered in the lexicons for *šik*(?)-*kat musarî ušakkak*, HAUPT, *A.S.K.T.*, 73, 5 f.,

[2] Or *šikkatu* = "thorn," "bramble," Heb. שׁוֹךְ, pl. שְׁכִים, *v.* GESENIUS-BUHL, 717. *Cf.* also Aramaic סְכָא, "a thorn," "ploughshare," "spade." [This comparison I owe to Dr. A. COWLEY.]

[3] Aramaic and Hebrew סכך, "be pointed."

provided the text is correct this probably means "he harrowed the brambles of the garden."

Other words which belong doubtfully to this root are *šakku*, *šikku* MUSS-ARNOLT, 1025*b*, and *šikkatu*, 1034*b*, 3, and MEISSNER, *Supplement*, 93. *Šikkatu* is "a box for ointment" and a synonym of *šappatu*, "pot," or "leather bag," both having the ideogram 𒄑𒌨 [*K.B.*, VI, 1, 490], and cf. *šikkat pišša<u>t</u>i* (?), "ointment box," in *K.B.*, VI, 1, 234, 76, also *Babylonian*, II, 116. Direct evidence for *šikkatu* as "ointment box" is the Sumerian *duk-šiš* = (*karpat paššati*) = *šikkatu*, cited after MEISSNER by JENSEN and MUSS-ARNOLT Since *šappatu* was probably a "leather purse," *šikkatu* then was a "leather bottle or bag," and has the determinative *ṣubatu* [*KU*] "a pliable article," in the Sumerian *KU-ṭu-kešda*, BR., 11926, which, as JENSEN (*loc. cit.*) shows, is a synonym of *sunu* (11912) and (*takaltu*) 11914, and in V R., 19*a*, 30–33, *takaltu*[4] follows *šikkatu*. Moreover, 𒄑𒄑𒌨 = *tu-un* = *šaptu* in a list of vessels and articles 83-1-18, 1330, obv. II, 30 [*P.S.B.A.*, 1888, Dec.] there = *sunu šaḳu* (?) a tall *sunu* (?) with which compare *šaptu šaplītu*, BR., 11918. *šaptu* of course = *šappatu* (both loan words) with which compare *ḫuppu* and *ḫuptum*, both = 𒄑𒄑𒌨, 83-1-18, 1330, II, 35 and 27. [The root *šapālu* is used in at least two forms for "a basin," *šapiltum*, II R., 62, no. 3, 59–66, and *šuppulu*, 83-1-18, 1330, II, 36]. For *šikkatu* with a determinative *iṣu*, *v.* IV R., 55*b*, 23, 28 in both cases = "ointment box."

It follows then that *šiktum* with the determinative *ṣubatu* is the same word as *šikkatum* on the analogy of *šappatu*, *šaptu*, etc., which is to be explained also as "ointment bottle or bag." From ointment bottle to ointment is an easy step, hence the phrase *kima buri šikkati* parallel to *kima buri ḫimêti* in Šurpu VII, 90–92, *i.e.*, "like an ointment vase."

Šikku, with the Sumerian value *al-us-sa*, BR., 5763, is "a vessel"

[4] *Takaltu*, "a leather bag" [*HW.*, 320*b*] belongs under the root אכל, "to eat," as is clear from 83-1-18, 1330, obv. II, 28 f., where *tu-un* = *takaltum*, *du-un* = *makaltum*, both words for "dish," "bowl," especially of the bowl used by *barû* priests in hydromancy, GRAY, *Šamaš*, Pl. II, 43; *K.B.*, VI, 1, 372; *Z.A.*, XVII, 190n, 6. *Takaltu*, possibly = "stomach," ZIMMERN, *Beiträge*, 98, 36, KÜCHLER, *Medicine*, 82, but as the *TU* occurs in omens over the liver, BOISSIER, *Choix de Textes*, 64, 14, and according to JASTROW [*Religion*, II, 213] only the liver can be taken into consideration in omens, the meaning "stomach" is doubtful.

(*karpatu*), and of course to be separated from *šikku* "hog" (?) or "mouse" (?) [*K.B.*, VI, 1, 537], DELITZSCH, 657, *S.A.I.*, 394, with MUSS-ARNOLT [and KÜCHLER, *Medicine*, 116]. *Im-kalig-ga* = *susikku*, K. 55, rev. 17, is not to be read *mašak šikku*, and cannot be admitted with MUSS-ARNOLT under this heading. The ideogram *tig-* 𒌋𒆠 = *eṣennū ša karpatu šikki*, BR., 3295, indicates possibly the "neck of a *šikku* bottle." Another Sumerian word is *na-rú-a*, *S.A.I.*, 910, but the context is obscure. *Al-us-sa* occurs in KÜCHLER'S texts, *Taf.* X, 5, where JENSEN'S correction is certain, i.e., *arki-šu šikki ṭabāti išati*, "then he shall drink a bottle of mixed wine." There is then no reason for assuming a meaning *alum* after the Syriac ܫܒܫ with ZIMMERN and KÜCHLER. *Šikku* is certainly the same word as *šikkatu*, "leather bag," "bottle," and especially "ointment bottle or box."

For *šakku*, "a vessel," BR., 6523, MUSS-ARNOLT, 1025, the reading AL^3, 87, 65, is very uncertain, so that the form had better be omitted.

[is]*maškakatu aban šadî*, in *Cuneiform Texts*, VI, 28*a*, 12, I would translate "instrument for piercing or hewing limestone"; for *aban šadî* = "limestone," *v.* KÜCHLER, *Medicine*, 127.

The corrections that must be made under this root are therefore many and compel us to rearrange the entire material of both lexicons. There is no reason for assuming a double root; a connection of *šikku* and *šikkatu* with the Syriac word for *alum* is impossible; a word *šikkatu*, "fence," does not exist. *Šiktum* is the same word (under another form) as *šikkatu*.

The lexicographical formula for these words would then be:—

שׁכך, *šakāku*, "be pointed," "penetrate," "project," "attach jewels to a cloth or string," "harrow." [Sum. *è*, *úr*]. II^1 (permansive *šukkuku*), "set a jewel."

Šikkatu, "leadership," "eminence," "mountain peak," "bramble," "thorn."

Šikkatūtu, "leadership."

**Šikkatu*, "ointment bottle, box, bag." [Sum. *šagan*, (*duk*)-*šéš* (*tug*)-*ṭu-kešda*, *na-rú-a*.]

**Šikku*, idem.

**Šiktum*, idem. [The connection of the last three words with this root is uncertain.]

Maškakkatu, "husbandry," "agriculture" [*gán-úr*].

Maškakatu, "an implement for boring or smoothing stones "[5]

Šakikiš, "eminently." [Sum. *an-nu.*]

Šakkū, "command," to DELITZSCH, 657*a*, and MUSS-ARNOLT, 1025*b*, add *B.A.V.*, 311, 44.

II.

Puṣḳu, IV RAWLINSON, 30*a*, 11.

BÖLLENRÜCHER, *Nergal*, p. 48, argues for a meaning "womb," "lap," since *paṯṯal*, BR., 1157, has also the meaning *purīdu*, "leg." This is denied by JASTROW, *Rel.* I, 479, n. 8. BÖLLENRÜCHER'S explanation is, however, favoured by the facts. JENSEN'S exposition, *K.B.*, VI, 1, 508, whereby he arrives at the meaning "leg" for *purīdu*, is convincing. The root is بَرَدَ, "shiver with cold," from an original meaning "hurry," "hasten," seen in بَرِيدٌ, "messenger." Further, *parādu* is a syn. of *arāḫu*, "to journey," and *galātu*, "be nervous," all of which in Sumerian = *gir*, *S.A.I.*, 192, 175 and 178. On *galātu* and *galādu*, "tremble," see *Babyloniaca*, II, 123. Further, *pirittu* = "fright" (*i.e.*, "trembling"), BR., 8463 and K., 41, III, 1, here Sum. *im-ten*, which has usually the meaning "fear." In the intensive forms *piel* and *šhafel* these roots mean "cause one to hasten," "to frighten"; cf. *urriḫanni*, "they hurried me about," K., 41, II, 23: *uparridanni*, "he hurried me away," K., 41, II, 9. See also *Babyl.*, II, 204. II[2] forms seem to mean "slip away"; cf. *tamit uptarridu*, "an oath slipped away thoughtlessly," K., 4668, 6. Hence *purīdu*, "that which hastens," "leg," and *pīt purīdi*, "to extend the limbs," *i.e.*, "to stride." *Purīdu* also = "fright" as the fem. *pirittu* in *LSS*, I, p. 54, 46, *amēlu ina purīdim u danātim uṣṣi*, "the man will escape from fear and trouble."

[5] מַשְׁבּוּבִית, "shepherd's staff"; in Babylonia used as the name of the "bell sheep," *i.e.*, "the leader," *v.* JASTROW, *Dictionary of the Talmud*, etc., p. 854: most likely a loan word in late Hebrew.

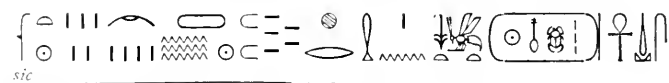
In *C.T.*, XIV, 3, 9, *birit purīdi* = *bu-lu*, followed by *bisṣuru* = *libiššatu*; the meaning of *bisṣuru* = "secret part," is certain, hence a similar meaning is probable for these four words. *parādu*, *HW.*, 538, therefore = "hurry." For other Sumerian words for *parādu* cf. *S.A.I.*, 240, *bur* and 3339 *DU*, here = "cause to go": BR., 2279, *mud*, here perhaps "writhe in child-birth," hence *mud* = *alādu*, "bring forth."

The root *pašāḳu* = פִּשֵּׁק "separate," "spread the legs," hence *pušḳu* [*pirištu* is given as a gloss to *pušḳu* in our text], "womb."

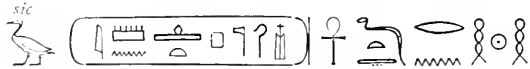
A CONTRACT OF THE FIFTH YEAR OF AMENHOTP IV.

By F. Ll. Griffith.

The collection of Mr. Moir Bryce, of Edinburgh, contains a piece of an Egyptian writing tablet which the owner has permitted me to study and publish. It is of wood, finely stuccoed so as to produce a hard yellowish glazed ivory surface. The fragment measures 14·5 cm. in length and about 2·5 in breadth. Mr. Nash's admirable photographs represent it almost full size, and show the writing on both sides as clearly as the original. The bevelled edge remains at each of the narrow sides, and although the top edge is broken, the beginning of the bevelling is clearly seen; so nothing of importance has been lost there. The fracture is along the grain of the wood. The tablet, when perfect, was doubtless oblong, but it must have been unusually small if the lines of writing were along the length of the tablet; more probably they were written across it. On one side, beginning close to the top, are three lines of hieratic in the style of the end of the XVIIIth dynasty. The text runs:—

1. 

sic



2.

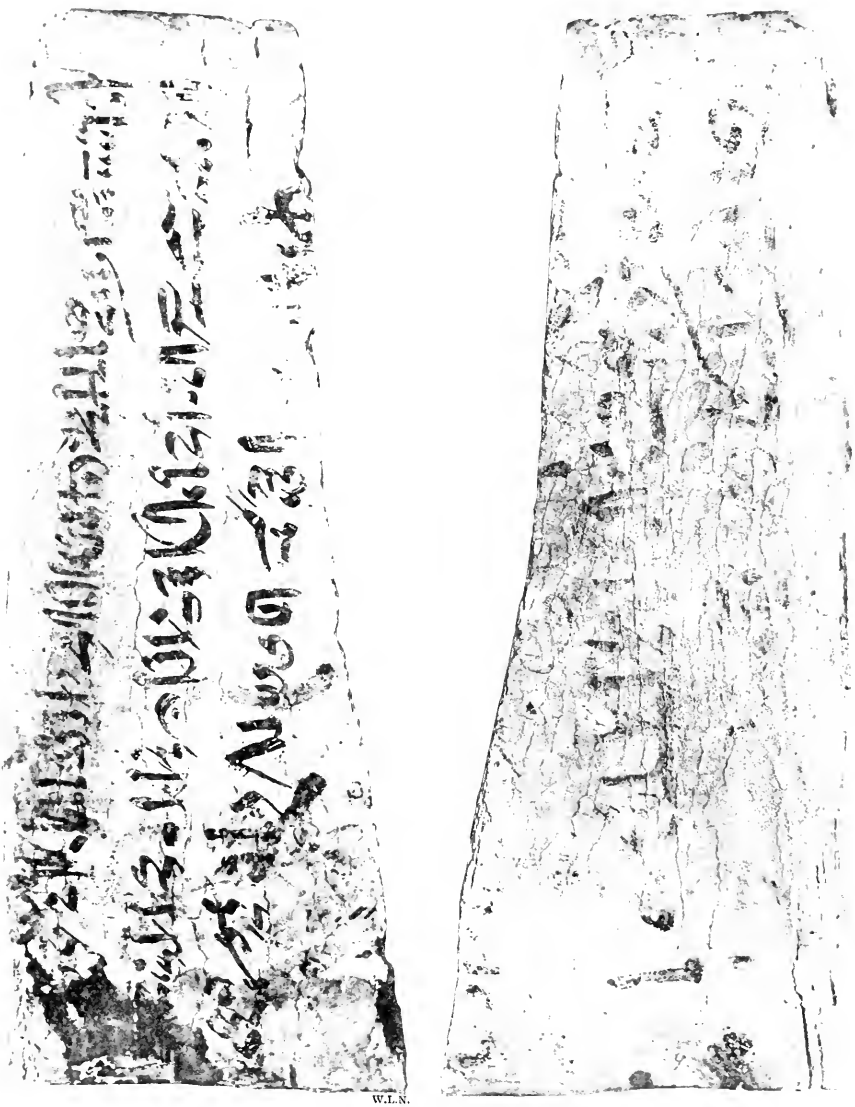
3. . . . .

sic.

l. 1. Year 5, fourth harvest month, day 25, under the Majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Napkhuria L. P. H., Son (of the Sun) Amenhotp, living for ever to eternity.

RECTO.

VERSO.



W.L.N.

A CONTRACT OF THE 5TH YEAR OF AMENHOTEP IV.
In Mr. W. Moir Bryce's Collection.

l. 2. Bargain made by Esse (*Nss*) with her brother the priest of Ammon Kha-mey:—

Given to her (l. 3), ... 10 khetem of silver, for payment for ten days (of service) of the slave Ash-ôkhi (*ʿš-ʾḫ·t*).

The second line ends with , these two signs being prolonged to near the edge: a dark brown stain obscures this part in the photograph, but the signs are quite certain on the original. The beginning of the third line has suffered in the fracture. It is quite possible that other lines followed immediately below, but if so, they must have been shorter, as nothing more is visible.

The form of the second cartouche is rare, having , On = Heliopolis, instead of the usual , Thebes. LEPSIUS gives two examples in his *Königsbuch*, but I have not been able to trace their provenance.

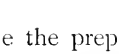
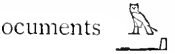
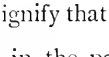
The date is of interest in connection with the history of the religious reform. In *Kahun Papyri*, Pl. XXXVIII, a letter from Apiy to the king, found at Gurob, is dated in the same year, on the 19th day of the third winter month. The present text seems at first sight to be five months later, but this is by no means certain. The years in dates under the XVIIIth dynasty commenced independently of the calendrical New Year, on the anniversaries of the king's coronation. The date of this for Amenhotp IV being quite unknown, it cannot as yet be ascertained which of the two documents is the earlier; it is clear, however, that they cover a good part of the fifth year, being either five or seven months apart, and thus reach to a date far later than the first dedication of Akhetaton (El Amarna) on the 4th (or 13th?) day of the fourth winter month in the year 4 (DAVIES, *El Amarna* V, p. 28). In each the king is named Amenhotp; the god Ptah is mentioned in the Gurob papyrus, and Ammon on the tablet. One other date is known of the king as Amenhotp. A papyrus at Berlin, from Kahun or Gurob (see below), was written in year 4, on the 7th of the second month of inundation, and another papyrus in the same group refers back to the second and third years of Amenhotp. A second dedication was performed at Akhetaton precisely two years after the first (day 13: possibly this was the regnal New Year). The condition of the boundary stelae recording the earlier ceremony is such that it would be difficult to

decide whether the king was named Amenhotp upon them in the first instance: but if that was the case, the name was inevitably altered afterwards to Akhenaton (*ib.* Pl. XXV, l. 7, and Pl. XXXVII). In the sixth year Akhenaton was almost certainly the form originally engraved (*ib.* Pl. XXXIX). An addition was made to some of the stelae in the eighth year.

By Amenhotp's fourth year the reform can have reached only to the promotion of the new monotheistic Sun-god Aton (with cult-features borrowed from the Re-worship of Heliopolis) to a leading position in the hierarchy as sole god of the new Residence or capital. The suppression of Ammon and of the other gods must have been subsequent to the fifth year.

The text following the date on Mr. BRYCE's tablet is well illustrated by a group of four papyri from Kahun or Gurob. Two of them, in the collection of Prof. Petrie, were first published by myself in *Kahun Papyri*, and were given again in an excellent edition by Mr. GARDINER with two more from the Berlin collection (*Aeg. Zeits.* 1906, 27). They range from year 27 of Amenhotp III to year 4 of Amenhotp IV. All concern a certain herdsman named Mosi, and especially his hiring of female slaves. Two are prepaid "Bargains" like the present, and the other two are, respectively, a review of various transactions of this nature, and a decision of the village council in a dispute regarding a similar contract.

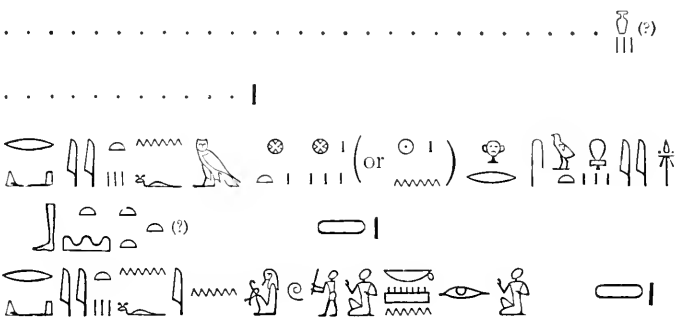
Written contracts of any kind are exceedingly rare and scattered before the XXVth dynasty. This makes the group of "Bargains" for hire of slaves the more remarkable. Mr. GARDINER has drawn attention to the very high prices paid for the hire. A papyrus of the XIIth dynasty also, published in *Kahun Papyri* Pl. XIII, ll. 9–18, begins with the word translated "Bargain" (meaning literally "price"), and records the giving of four Asiatic slaves to two brothers, apparently as their emolument on appointment as priests. It would seem that in early times contracts were seldom made in writing, except in regard to valuable slaves. Mosi's arrangements were in all cases for women slaves, but in one instance it is stated that as the woman—or the weather?—was unfit on two days bargained for, the services of two male slaves for two days each were substituted (this may mean that a penalty of doubling the service was exacted). In the present document the slave is evidently male in name and designation, although the determinative to the name is marked with the spot which should distinguish the feminine.

In the second line the preposition  , translated "with," might possibly signify that the bargain was made "between" Esse and her brother, but in the parallel documents  is the preposition so used, and  joins names of partners. Thus the meaning must be that the bargain was made between Esse and her brother on the one part and some unnamed person on the other. Esse was probably the real owner of the slave; the payment is made to her, but her brother has rights which necessitate his consent to the bargain. So also in Gurob II, 1, the bargain is made with the woman Piehe and her son Mina, but the payment is to her alone.

Mr. GARDINER has shown that in all probability the khetem is $\frac{1}{12}$th of the teben. The services of the slave were thus worth rather under a kite or didrachma of silver per diem. At Gurob a female slave seems to have earned for her master the price of a bull (8 khetem) by four days' service to Mosi (GARDINER, *ib.*, p. 44).

The contract on the tablet is brief enough to be merely a memorandum; possibly, however, some further details and the names of the witnesses followed below the fracture.

On the other side of the tablet four lines are traceable from the end of an account:



The third line I am unable to decipher: the signs printed may help towards the reading of the photograph.

COPTIC SAINTS AND SINNERS

By E. O. Winstedt.

I.

ABRAHAM.

(*Continued from page* 237.)

Coptic Text—*continued.*

ⲁⲗⲗⲟⲥⲟⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲫ ⲡⲉⲛⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲧⲁⲁⲃ ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲁⲧⲉⲓⲁ · ⲓⲕⲁⲗⲟⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲛⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ · ⲓⲛⲛⲭⲧⲉⲕⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲯⲩⲟⲥ ⲙⲙⲁⲛⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ · ⲩⲁⲧⲉⲕⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ : ÷ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲉ-ⲟⲧⲁⲥⲟ ⲛⲥⲟⲛϩ̄ · ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲥⲟ ⲫ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲛⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲧⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲁⲧⲉⲓⲁ : ÷

ⲁⲗⲗⲟⲥⲟⲥ ⲱ̄ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲧⲁⲁⲃ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ · ⲡⲉⲧϯⲯⲩⲭⲉ-ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ-ⲗⲁⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ · ⲥⲓⲉⲡⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ϩⲱ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲟ : :— ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲉ-ⲁ-ⲡⲉϫⲥ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲟⲛϩ̄ ⲧⲓⲣⲉⲛ ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲭⲓⲛⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲯⲩⲟⲟⲩ ⲥⲓϫⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲥ · ϩⲉ-ⲛⲁⲉⲛⲓϯ · ⲁⲧⲱ ⲛⲁⲩⲃⲏⲣ : ÷ ϫⲟⲣⲓⲥ ⲙⲛⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲫϫⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲙⲡⲙ̄ⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲉⲫⲉⲓⲱⲧ · ⲙⲛⲛⲉⲫⲁⲣⲭⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲧⲁⲁⲃ · ⲉⲫϫⲱ
ⲟ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ · ϩⲉ-ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲫⲟⲧⲱⲃ · ϩⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲡⲙⲁ ⲁ | ⲛⲟⲕ ⲉⲫ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ-ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲓ-ⲛⲉ ⲩⲥⲟⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲛⲧⲟ̄ · ϩⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲕⲭⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲉ-ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲣⲉⲥ ⲉⲡⲁ-ⲩⲁϫⲉ · ⲛⲟⲉ ⲥⲱ ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲥⲁⲣⲉⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲕⲩⲁϫⲉ : :— ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ

ⲉⲧⲟⲧⲁⲁⲃ · ⲡⲟⲩⲛⲟϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϫⲩⲁϧⲉ-ⲡⲉ ⲧⲙⲉ · ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ · ⲁⲛϩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉ̄ⲣⲟϥ ÷ ⲧⲧⲁⲃⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲓ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ · ϫⲉ-ⲁⲩϣⲟⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲃⲏⲏⲧ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲉ ·:· — ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲕⲧⲁϩⲙⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ · ⲁⲓⲥⲁⲕⲟⲩ ϩⲁⲣⲟⲓ ϩⲙ̄ⲡⲩⲁϧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁ-ⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ :÷ ⲙⲡⲟⲧⲩⲙⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲗⲗⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲩ · ⲉⲓⲱⲛⲧⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲉⲕ-ϩⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲧⲉ · ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲕϩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉ̄ⲣⲟⲟⲩ ϫⲉ-ⲛⲛⲉ-ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲉ̄ⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ · ⲉⲓⲱⲛⲧⲉⲓ ⲡⲩⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲁⲕⲟ · ⲉⲩϫⲟ ⲱ ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲧⲁⲁⲃ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ · ⲁ-ⲡⲩⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲓⲥⲧⲁ ⲙⲙⲟⲧⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲉⲓⲱⲧ ϫⲉ-ⲁⲧⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ · ⲡⲉⲧⲩⲁⲩⲉ ⲉ̄ⲣⲟⲛ ϣⲟⲟⲛ-ⲡⲉ · ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲙⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲧⲓⲧⲧⲛ̄ ⲉⲡⲉ-ϩⲟⲧⲟ :÷ ϩⲟⲧⲁⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲕⲩⲁⲙⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲧⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ · ⲉⲓⲉ ⲟⲩⲁⲓ ‖ ⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ · ⲡⲟϥ ⲛⲉϩⲟⲣⲥ ϧⲓϫⲱⲕ · ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ-ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲥ [1] ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲧⲟ ⲉ̄ⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ :—

ⲉⲕⲩⲁⲛⲣ ⲟⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲁ ϧⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲁⲛ · ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲧⲁⲁⲃ · ⲕⲁⲛ ϩⲛⲟⲧⲟⲧⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲧⲁⲁⲥ ϧⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁⲛ · ⲕⲁⲛ ϩⲛⲟⲧϫⲟ-ⲟⲩⲙⲉ ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲧⲁⲁϥ ϧⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁⲛ · ⲛⲓⲧⲁⲁϥ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲕ-ⲕⲁⲛⲥⲓⲁ · ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲧⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲛⲧϥ · ⲕⲁⲛ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲁⲧ ϣⲟⲗⲟⲥ · ⲉⲕⲛⲁⲧⲁⲁϥ ϧⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁⲛ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲫⲛⲟⲧ ⲛⲓⲙ ·:÷ ⲕⲁⲛ ϩⲛⲟⲧ-ⲩⲟⲙⲥ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲁⲥ ϧⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲛⲉϩⲛⲕⲉ · ⲙ̄ⲙⲛⲥⲩⲙⲙⲟ · ⲙ̄ⲙⲛⲧⲧⲩⲁⲁⲧ · ⲣⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ ϣⲟⲟⲕ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ · ϫⲉ-ⲁⲧⲟⲧⲱ ⲉⲧⲥⲉⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲧϫⲟⲟⲩⲉ · ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ-ϩⲣⲉϥⲥⲟⲡⲥ-ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧϧⲛⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ :÷ ⲛⲉⲗⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ · ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲉϥⲥⲟⲡⲥ ϣⲟⲟⲧ-ⲛⲉ :÷ ⲛⲉⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲣⲉϥ-ϣⲁⲓ-ⲛⲉ · ϣⲙⲉⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲥⲁⲫⲁⲧ ·:÷ ⲓⲱⲥⲁⲛⲛⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲣ-ⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲣⲉ · ⲉⲑⲙⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ · ϫⲉ-ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛ-ⲡⲩⲣⲉ ⲉⲣ ⲧⲓⲧⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ϩⲉ · ⲟⲛⲧⲟⲥ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩⲟⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲙ̄ϩⲉ :÷ ‖ ⲧⲉⲓⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲧⲁⲗⲁⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲫⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧ [1]
ⲛ̄ⲩⲣⲉ ⲁ-ⲡⲩⲣⲉ ϣⲟⲟⲕ ϫⲁⲣⲓⲍⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲛⲉⲫⲁⲡⲟⲥ-

ⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ : ÷ ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲁⲁϥ ⲁ̅ⲡ̅ⲣ̅ⲡⲉ · ⲡ̅ⲩⲛⲣⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲁⲁϥ ⲁ̅ⲡ̅ⲣ̅ⲡⲉ · ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲕⲱ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ · ⲡⲉϫ̅ⲥ ⲛⲁⲕⲱ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲱⲱϥ : ÷ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲁϥ-ⲕ̅ⲁⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ̅ ⲛⲁϥ · ⲁ-ⲡ̅ⲩⲛⲣⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϥ-ⲕ̅ⲁⲣⲟⲛⲟⲙⲓⲁ̅ ⲛⲁϥ : ÷ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̅ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲧⲛ ⲱ ⲡⲗⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲓ-ⲡⲉϫ̅ⲥ ⲉⲡⲉⲓ̈ⲩⲁϫⲉ ⲉϥⲛⲁϫⲟⲟϥ · ϫⲉ-ⲙⲛⲉⲧⲛ̅-ⲥⲁⲩⲓ̈ · ⲟⲩⲁⲥ ⲙ̅ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̅-ⲃⲁⲃⲱⲟⲩⲧ · ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲣⲭⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ · ⲩⲉⲡ ⲡⲁⲩⲁϫⲉ ⲉⲣⲱⲟⲧⲛ̅ · ⲉⲧⲙⲟⲃⲣⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲉⲧⲛ̅ϩⲧⲧⲩϩ · ⲉⲣⲩⲁⲛ-ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ · ⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛⲉ ⲛ̅ⲥⲛⲏⲧⲧⲛⲧⲧⲛ̅ ⲧⲉⲥⲛ̅ ⲟⲩⲁ̅ ⲥ̅ⲡ̅ⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙⲉⲓ̈ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ̅ⲁⲃ : ÷ ⲉⲩⲱⲟⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ-ⲡⲉ · ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ⲣ̅ⲡⲟⲣϫ̅ⲏ ⲉⲁⲛ̅ⲁⲣⲉⲁⲥ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ : ÷ ⲉⲕⲩⲁⲛϩ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲣⲁⲡⲓ ⲥ̅ⲡ̅ⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̅ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁⲛⲛⲓⲥ ·

[16] ⲙ | [ⲡ]ⲉⲕⲡⲟⲣϫ̅ⲏ ⲉⲓ̈ⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ ⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ :— ⲉⲕⲩⲁⲛⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲥ̅ⲡ̅ⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̅ⲫⲓⲗⲓ̈ⲡⲡⲟⲥ · ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲕⲡⲟⲣϫ̅ⲏ ⲉ̅ⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲃⲁⲣⲟⲟⲗⲟⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲥ · ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ-ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲥⲙ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ-ⲡⲉ :— ⲉⲕⲩⲁⲛⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲥ̅ⲡ̅ⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲟⲙⲁⲥ · ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲕⲡⲟⲣϫ̅ⲏ ⲉ̅ⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲙⲁⲟⲗⲟⲙⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲥ · ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ-ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲓ̈ⲛⲱⲛⲓ̈ⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲧⲉⲧ-ⲥⲛⲧⲉⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲥⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲛ :— ⲉⲕⲩⲁⲛⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲥ̅ⲡ̅ⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲥⲓ̈ⲱⲛ · ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲕⲡⲟⲣϫ̅ⲏ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲓ̈ⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ ⲡ̅ⲩⲛⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲗⲫⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲥ · : — ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲕⲛⲁⲧ ⲉⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ϫⲉ-ⲓⲙⲟⲟ-ⲡⲉ ⲥⲛⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ · ⲁⲧⲱ ϫⲉ-ⲁⲣⲉ-ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲏ-ⲡⲛⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ · ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ̅ⲟⲥⲧⲟⲣⲉⲓ̈ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲁⲛⲛⲓⲥ · ϫⲉ-ⲉϥ-ⲥⲛⲧⲙⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲧⲙⲟⲧ · ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲕⲁ ⲓⲛⲉⲥⲉⲉⲡⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲓ̈ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲱⲧⲛ̅ · ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉ-ⲡⲉⲧϫⲟⲉⲓ̈ⲥ ⲙⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲥⲙⲛ̅ⲧ̄ϥ :— ⲁⲧⲱ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ-ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲓ̈-ϫⲟⲉⲓ̈ⲥ ϫⲁⲣⲓ̈ⲍⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲧⲙⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲃϫⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲩ · ϫⲉ-ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲛⲁⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲥⲱ ⲛⲓⲙⲙⲁⲓ̈ ⲥⲓ̈ϫⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲧⲣⲁⲡⲉⲍⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲣⲟ · : —

TRANSLATION.

[the rulers and the peoples][39] assembled with the God of Abraham. p. 3.
What of Abraham that thou shouldst say: "they assembled with the God of Abraham"? Were there then no men upon the earth at that time save Abraham alone, that thou shouldst honour him in such wise? "Yea," said the prophet, David, "There were many men upon the earth in the time of Abraham; but none knew God as Abraham." For Abraham reproved them and their idols that were not gods; and he ceased not to reprove them, till they were wroth with him and set fire to him. And when they cast Abraham into the fire, (and)[40] the angel of the Lord came straightway to him and saved him from the fire; it did not touch him at all. And his fame went forth in the whole land of Mesopotamia, | that his God saved him p. 4.
from the fire of king Sapor.

And when the king heard the report that Abraham was saved from the fire, (and) he was ashamed to send for him, as he had caused them to set fire to him. And straightway the king assembled twelve rulers of the people, and said to them: "Go to this man Abraham, and learn the truth in all things, how he has been saved from the fire. And again, take with you other mighty men on the way—for I have heard that the nations encircle him—that they take him not away from you before ye know the truth of all these things." And straightway the twelve rulers drew nigh unto him, and the mighty men looked, and they saw the peoples gathered together to our father, Abraham. Said the rulers to him: "Our father, Abraham, where is thy God that saved thee from the fire? That we too may see him | and worship him. And do thou make us a god able like p. 5
thy god to save us from the fire as he saved thee." And straightway Abraham smiled and said unto them: "Ye men of Mesopotamia, it is not my wont to make gods like your gods, nor to worship them at all. This god who saved me from the fire my father never saw nor worshipped." Said the rulers to him: "Our father, Abraham, we have told thee that thy God is more honourable than ours, for he saved thee from the fire." Said Abraham to them: "My God is more honourable than gold and precious stones, and anything of

[39] I supply these words from below, p. 8. The plural of λαός seems to be used for the singular.

[40] Round brackets denote words unnecessarily inserted in the text; square brackets necessary words omitted.

this world. But if ye wish to see my God and to know that he is honourable beyond everything upon the earth, | look ye at these creatures (ζῶον pl.) which God made in the sky, the sun and the moon and the stars and the clouds of the air, that ye may know that he has power to save me from the fire." Straightway the crowds looked at him, saying: "Our father, Abraham, thou art not forty years old. Who taught thee this word which thou hast spoken to us? If thy God taught thee this mystery, we wish too to see a mystery, that he make us too believe on him." And straightway Abraham withdrew to one side apart and stretched out his hands and prayed to God. And thunder and lightning came from the sky, And straightway God spake with Abraham, saying: "I am the God of all things." | And straightway Abraham's face grew bright like the face of an angel of God through the glory of God who spake with him. And straightway the crowds fell upon the ground; they were not able to look in the face of Abraham because of the glory of God which came upon him. And straightway they cried aloud saying with a single voice: "Abraham, friend of God, pray to thy God for us that this horror may depart from us, that we be able to speak with thee." And straightway God blessed our father, Abraham; he gave beauty and grace to him in the presence of everyone. And God revealed to him many other mysteries, the things which would happen to him afterwards: and straightway he hid himself from him, And straightway Abraham cried aloud saying to every one: "The king of all the mighty men of the earth, our God is (?) exalted." And this saying | was spread abroad concerning Abraham: "The rulers and the peoples were gathered together with the God of Abraham, for the king of all the mighty men of the earth, our God is (?) exalted."

For verily, holy prophet, our father, David, (for) what is fair (καλῶς!) is fitting to thee at all times, from thy shepherding of sheep to thy prophesying: for a living life was thy life, just king, our holy father, David.

Verily, our holy fathers the Apostles, it is right that every tongue and every lip voice your glory, for Christ, the life of us all, called you while ye were yet upon the earth, "my brethern and my friends," apart from the great glory he rendered unto you in the presence of his father and the holy angels, saying: "My father, I will that, where I am, | these that are mine may also be there, that they may see the glory which thou hast given to me, for they have kept my word, even as I have kept thy word, holy father. The joy of thy

f., xvii, 24.

word is the truth: and I, with the Apostles, have kept it. I sanctify myself for them, my father, for they have been sanctified in truth. My father, all whom thou didst call, I drew to myself with the word of my mouth. They sought nothing from me save thy name alone, that thou keep them, that none of them perish save the son of perdition."

Our holy fathers the Apostles, if the Son of God commended (*συνιστάναι*) you in the presence of his father [saying], "They loved me," it is right for us too to love you the more. And when thou lovest a martyr or a just | man his consolation[41] is with thee, for p. 10
their consolation is very great in the presence of everyone.

If thou doest an act of charity in the name of these holy Apostles, whether it be a sacrifice thou offerest in their name, or a book thou givest in their name, and thou givest it to the church that they may read it, or anything whatsoever that thou givest in their name in any way: or (in) a feast given in their name to the poor and strangers and needy, rejoice my beloved, they have written thy name in their books, for they are perfect consolers. And the just men and the martyrs are consolers; but these Apostles are judges in the valley of Joel iii
Josaphat. John, the Evangelist, bears witness, saying: "If the Son John v
make you free, verily you shall be free." | This commandment which p. 1
the Father gave to his beloved Son, the Son, too, gave to his holy Apostles. For this reason, whomsoever the Apostles shall make free, the Son of God shall make him free: whomsoever the Apostles shall forgive, Christ will forgive him too, and to whomsoever the Apostles shall give inheritance, the Son of God giveth him inheritance.

But, god-loving people, mark this word which I utter, that ye restrain[42] (?) not yourselves nor act foolishly, but receive my word as [that of] an angel of God for the good of your souls. If a brother or a sister among you call on the name of one of these holy Apostles; if it be Peter, separate him not from Andrew, his brother: if thou givest charity in the name of John, | separate him not from James, p. 1
his brother: if thou givest in the name of Philip, separate him not

[41] The word translated here and later, "consolation," may also mean prayer; and a compound of the same word I have translated "consolers," rather than "offerers of prayer."

[42] The word ⲥⲁϣⲧ (or ⲥⲟϣⲧ) generally means "be under restraint," "be detained," or "detain" (cf. *Koptische Urkunden aus dem K. Mus. zu Berlin* 3, 26; 7, 13); but its meaning is often doubtful (cf. CRUM, *Coptic Ostraka*, p. 16, no. 61, note 4).

from Bartholomew, since they are one invocation: if thou givest in the name of Thomas, separate him not from Matthew, since they share all things in common;[43] if thou givest in the name of Simon, separate him not from James, the son of Alphaeos. Look not to Peter because he is the greatest of the Apostles and has the keys of heaven in his hands, and to John because he is undying, and leave the rest of the Apostles, for it was one love with which their
xxii, Lord loved them, and this same grace did the Lord bestow upon them all, saying to them: "Ye shall eat and drink with me at the table of my kingdom."

Since the publication of the first part of this article, Dr. von LEMM, with his accustomed generosity, has sent me a copy of the Borgian fragment of this life, ZOEGA ccxxii* (not ccxxii, as I inadvertently stated). It contains part of the same text as the Bodleian fragment, beginning at ⲧⲟⲩⲭⲟⲩ (p. 235, l. 2) and ending at ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ (= ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁ-ⲥⲛⲉⲃⲣⲏⲟⲩⲉ, p. 236, l. 14–15): and it cannot, as CRUM suggests, come from the same MS. as the Brit. Mus. fragment, since the two overlap. The fact that three distinct MSS. exist shows that the life must have been fairly popular.

I give a collation of Dr. von LEMM's copy with the text as printed from the Bodleian fragment, marking the readings with the letter N (= Neapolitanus).

235, l. 3, ⲁⲉ] om. N. 4–5, ⲁⲩⲱ-ⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩ] ⲁⲩϫⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲯⲓⲛⲉ, N. (= he sent to him being ashamed). 6, ⲁⲉ] om. N. 8, ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲓⲛⲉ–ⲛⲓⲙ] ⲙⲡⲣⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲓ ⲯⲁⲣⲟⲓ ⲯⲁⲛⲧⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ, N. (= let him not come to me till I know everything). 8–9, ⲉⲡⲕⲱϩⲧ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛϩⲉ] ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛϩⲉ·ϩⲙ ⲡⲕⲱ[ϩ]ⲧ, N. 9, ⲛϩⲉⲛ[ⲕⲉ]ⲣⲱⲙⲉ, N. 11, ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ] ⲛⲧⲉ, N. 14, ⲛϫⲟⲟⲣⲉ, N. 14–15, ⲁⲩⲱ-ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ] ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲁⲗⲟⲉ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩϩ, N. 16, ⲡⲁⲓ] om. N. 17, ⲉⲡⲕⲱϩⲧ · ⲛⲧⲏⲛⲁⲩ, N. ⲛⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩⲱⲧ, N. 18, ⲁⲩⲱ–ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ] ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲏⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ · ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ ϩⲱⲟⲟⲛ, N. (= and let us too see a god who is mighty). 18–19, ⲛⲧⲁⲩ-ⲧⲟⲩⲭⲟⲕ] ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲧⲟⲩⲭⲟⲕ ϩⲱⲟⲟⲕ, N. 19, ⲁⲁⲃⲣⲁϩⲁⲙ]

Lit., "a single κοινωνία it is which is in their midst at a time."

ⲁϥ, N. ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲉ, N. 20, ⲙⲉⲥⲟⲡⲟⲗⲁⲩⲓⲁ, N. 21, ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲉ, N. 23, ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲣⲱ̄ⲩⲉ] ⲙⲡⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩⲧ, N. 25, ⲡⲉⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ] ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ, N. 27, ϫⲉ] ⲡⲁⲓ̈, N.

236, l. 1, ⲛⲁⲩ] om. N. 2, ⲙⲛⲛⲕⲁ-ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ] om. N. 4, ⲉⲧ-ϩⲓϫⲙⲡⲕⲁϩ] ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲓⲉ̈ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ, N. ⲛⲏⲧⲛ] ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ̄ⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩ, N 5, ϫⲱⲟⲛ] ⲥⲱⲛⲧ, N. ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ] ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, N. 6, ⲙⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲟⲩ, N. ⲛⲁⲏⲣ] ⲙⲛ ⲛⲁⲏⲣ, N. 13, ⲥⲟⲕⲥ, N. ⲉⲡⲟⲩⲉ, N. 15, ⲁ-ϩⲛⲉⲃⲣⲏⲟⲉ] ⲛⲧ[ⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩ], N.

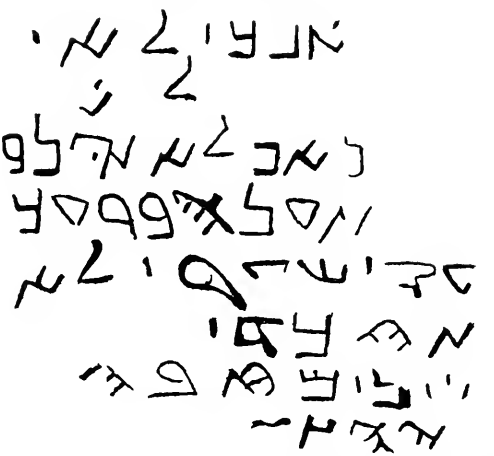
NOTES ON SOME NEW SAMARITAN INSCRIPTIONS.

By H. H. Spoer, *Ph.D.*

The following twelve inscriptions which I have lately had the good fortune to copy at Nablus were found, those with sunk letters for the most part on Mount Ebal, the others among the ruins of houses in and about the town.

The form of the sunk letters is the same as in the inscriptions published by G. Rosen, which he assigns to a period earlier than that of Justinian.[1] Schroeder, arguing from the form of the letters—practically identical with those of the following illustrations with incised characters—concluded that an inscription which he has lately published belongs to the twelfth century.[2] The inscription with similar letters which I here reproduce (Inscription A) was

Inscription A.



found built into the wall of a recently discovered church, obviously Crusading, excavated opposite Jacob's Well. This therefore gives us

[1] *Z.D.M.G.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 620 ff.
[2] *Z.D.P.V.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 251 ff., 1908.

a date at least prior to the Crusades—how much older we have no means to ascertain. Positive evidence for the date of early inscriptions being very rare, this fact is of special epigraphical value. It would be very interesting should an actual date be discovered upon the stone itself, which is still encrusted with plaster which I could not get permission to remove.

An interesting date is found in sunk letters on Inscription 2: *In the year* 2800 *of the dwelling of Israel in the land of Canaan.* According to the Samaritan Chronicle[3] the occupation of Palestine took place in the year 2844 after the Creation, which would give 5644 as the date of this inscription. Our present year, 1908, corresponds with the Samaritan year 6187; the inscription therefore belongs to the year 1365 A.D., having been made 543 years ago. We may therefore infer that the use of sunk letters extends at least into the second half of the fourteenth century.

Inscriptions with raised lettering are younger than the others; those dated belong to the eighteenth century A.D. In regard to some published by SOBERNHEIM,[4] a scholar, un-named, has suggested the twelfth century A.D. On the roll-case of a Samaritan Pentateuch, which I have elsewhere described,[5] the inlaid silver letters are of a form similar to that of raised lettering. The roll-case is dated, *In the year* 930 *of the Beni Ishmael, i.e.* 1538 A.D.

We have, therefore, for the latest dated incised inscription, the year 1365. The lettering of this can hardly be said to differ from that found in the church at Nablus, which again very closely resembles that to which ROSEN assigns a period pre-Justinian.

On the other hand the earliest dated inscription in raised letters (the date, however, is in Arabic) among the following inscriptions, is of the year 1785. The lettering of this is almost identical with those (undated) of SOBERNHEIM, which are assigned to the twelfth century.

We may hence infer the extreme difficulty as yet to be encountered in the dating of Samaritan inscriptions.

Inscriptions in incised letters have the abbreviations usually indicated by two dots. Words are divided in all cases by one dot.

The photographs are taken from squeezes and may have suffered

[3] *Une Nouvelle Chronique Samaritaine*, ed. ADLER and SELIGSOHN, Paris, 1903.

[4] *Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des D.P.V.*, 1902, p. 71.

[5] *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 104 ff.

from the fact that, the squeezes having been made in wet weather, I was obliged to blacken the letters to prevent their obliteration. Some of the stones are much worn.

Inscription 1. (Plate I.)

(?)
ל ה · דא
Exodus xii, 23. [ו]פסח · יהוה · על
הפתח ולא יתן
המשחית לבוא
אל בתיכם לנגף
[א]מן אמן
Deut. xxxi, 8. ויהוה הוא ההלך
לפניך והוא יהיה
עמך : לא ירפך [ולא]
יעזבך לא תירא
ולא תחת אמן אמן
Deut. xxxiii, 29c. [ו]כחישו איביך
לך ואתה על במתם תדרך

The size of the inscription is 14 inches × 15 inches. The last two lines are so badly damaged, that, except ב, no letter can be recognized on this portion of the squeeze; the text is taken from my written copy.

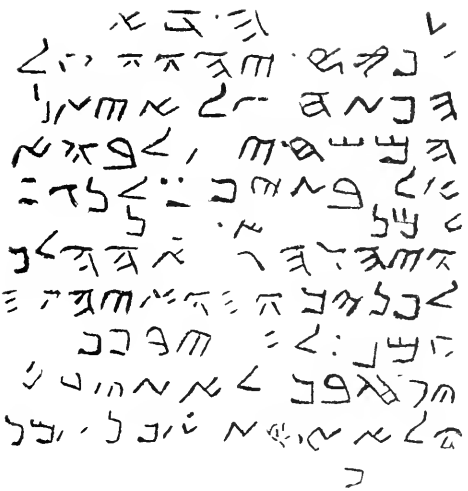
Line 4. MT. writes לבא instead of לבוא.

Line 8. MT. omits ו before הוא.

Line 13. MT. reads במותימו instead of במתם, *cf.* Insc. 8.

Inscription 2. (Plate II.)

Exodus xiii, 11. והיה · כי · יביאך ·
יהוה · אלהיך · אל · ארץ ·
Deut. xxvii, 4. הכן · והיה · בעברכם · את
היר · תקימו · את · האבן ·
האלה · אשר · אנכי · מצ
אתכם · היום · בהרגרי
אמן · בשנת · שנים · אלף
ושמנה · מאות · למושב
ישראל · ארץ · כנען ·
אודה · את · יה ·



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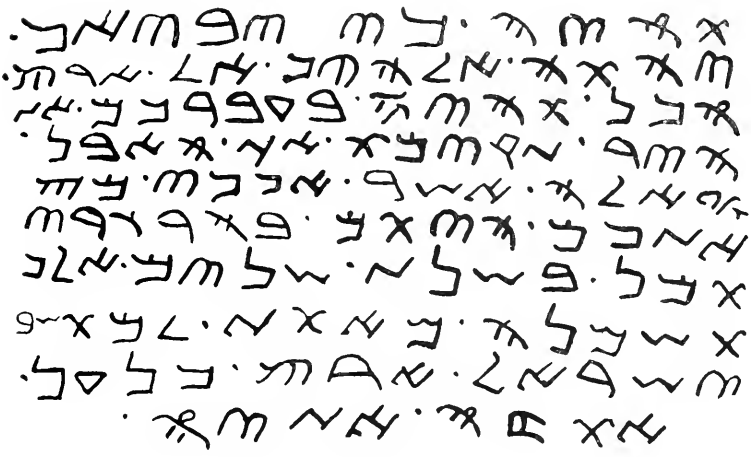

2

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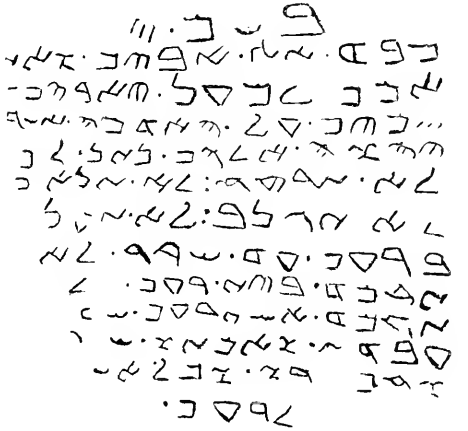


4

The size of the inscription is 18 inches × 12 inches. The letters are sunk.

Line 1. MT. has יבאך instead of יביאך.
Line 2. MT. omits אלהיך.
Line 3. הכן abbrev. for הכנעני.
Line 4. היר abbrev. for הירדן. האבן abbrev. for האבנים.
Line 5. מצ abbrev. for מצוה.
Line 6. MT. has בהר עיבל instead of בהר גריזים = בהרגרי.
Line 9. Workman omitted ב before ארץ.
Line 10. ידה followed by את, *cf.* Jer. xxxiii, 11.

INSCRIPTION 3. (Plate II.)

Exodus xx, 2. אנכי · יהוה · אל
Exodus xx, 3. לא · יהיה · לך · אל
אחרים · על · פני
Exodus xx, 7. לא · תשא · את · שם
יהוה · אלהיך
לשוא · כי · לא · ינ
יהוה · את · אשר · י
את · שמו · לשוא

The size of the inscription is 14½ inches × 18 inches. The letters are sunk.

The last words of lines 1, 2, 6, 7 are abbreviated.

INSCRIPTION 4. (Plate II.)

בשם · י[הוה]

Exodus xx, 12–17. כבד · את · אביך · ואת
אמך · למען · יאריכו[ן]
ימיך · על · האדמה · אשר
יהוה · אלהך · נתן · לך
לא · תרצח: לא · תנאף
לא · תגנב: לא · תענה[
ברעך · עד · שקר: לא
תחמד · בית · רעך · ל[א]
תחמד · אשת רעך · שד[ה]ו
עבדו · ואמתו · שור[ו]
וחמ[ו]רו · וכל · אשר[
לרעך

The size of the inscription is 13 inches × 15 inches. The letters are sunk. It is injured on the left margin.

Line 4. MT. has אלהיך instead of אלהך.

Line 9. In accordance with Deut. v, 18, we have here ישדהו.

Line 10. MT. has וישורו.

Line 11. MT. has וחמרו instead of והמורו.

Inscription 5. (Plate III.)

	לישמה (?) · א
Deut. iv, 31.	כי · אל · רחו[ם
	יהוה אלהינ[ך
	לא · ירפ[נ
	ולא · יישחית[ך
	ולא · יישכח · א[ת
	ברית · אבתי[ך
	אשר נישבע · לה[ם
Deut. xxviii, 6.	ברוך · את[ה
	בבאך : · וברו[ך
	אתה · בצאת[ך
	אמן · אמן

On the margin was the following verse, preserved only on the bottom and on the right-hand side. It begins at the top on the left.

Exodus xii, 23.	[ופסח · יהוה · על · הפתח
	ו[לא · יתן · ה[משחית
	לבוא אל · בתיכם · לנגף ·

The inscription is 15 inches × 9½ inches. The letters are sunk. Ex. xii. 23. MT. לבא instead of לבוא.

Inscription 6. (Plate III.)

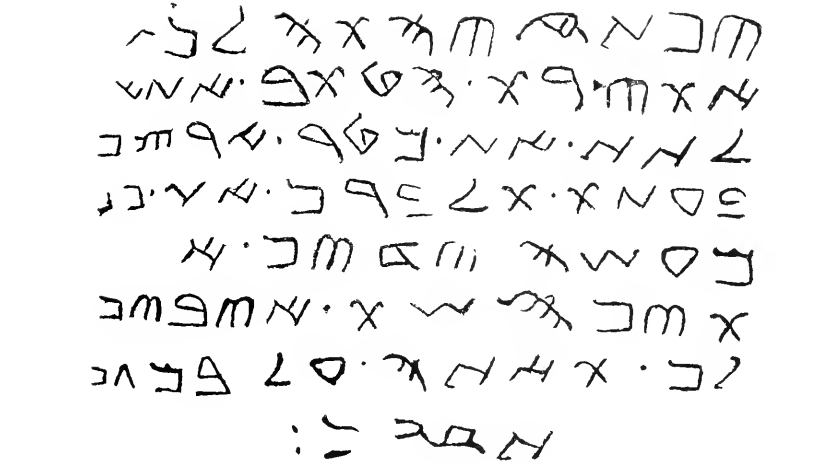
Deut. v, 12*a*.	שמור · את · יום היש[בת
,, v, 14.	ויום · השביעי
Exodus xx, 11*b*.	וינח · ביום · השבי[עי
	על · כן · ברך יהוה את
	יו[ם · ה]שבת · ויקדשהו
	מכת[ב · פי]נחס · בן · אלע
	[ה]כהן · [ל]בנשת האבן :

The inscription is 12½ inches × 21 inches. The letters are sunk. The stone was "written by Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the priest, for a *Keniseh*."

5

7

6



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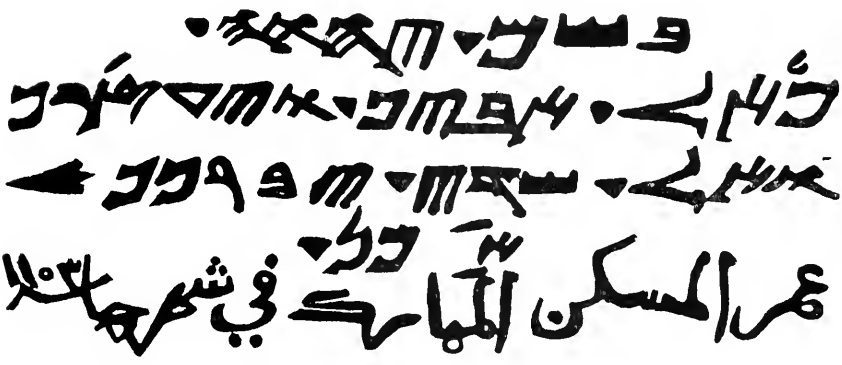


9

The last letters in lines 3 and 4 are much smaller than the others.

אלע abbrev. for אלעזר.

Several individuals named Phinehas, "son of Eleazar," are mentioned in the "Chronicles," who, however, are *high* priests, and are, therefore, not to be identified with the builder of this *Keniseh*.

Inscription 7. (Plate III.)

עַל שֵׁם
אל·ה

Deut. vi, 4–7.

שמע . ישׂראל יה
אל·הינו : יה : אח
ד : ואהבת · את [י]
ה · אלהיך · [ב]זכל : לב
בך [ו]זבכל נפשך [ו]
בכל : מאודך · וה
יו : הדברים · ה
אלה [א]זשר · אנכ[י]
מצבך · היום · על
לבבך [ו]זשננתם
ל[נ]גי[ך] ודברת [ב]
ם · בשבתך · בבית
[ב]זלכתך · בדרך [וב]
שכבך · [ו]זבקמך

The size of the inscription is 12 inches × 6 inches. The letters are sunk. The top is decorated; many dots are used for this purpose, especially in the first three lines.

Line 3. The ה is omitted after the א in ואהבת.

Line 9. מצבך is evidently a mistake for מצוך.

Lines 12, 13. MT. has בביתך ובל׳ instead of בבית בלכתך.

Line 14. MT. has ובקמוך instead of ובקמך.

Inscription 8. (Plate IV.)

Deut. xxviii, 12.

יפתח · יהוה · לך · א
אוצרו · הטוב · את ש
לתת · את · מטר · ארצך
בעתו · ולברך · את · כ
מעשה · ידיך · א

Deut. xxxiii, 29.

כחישו · איביך
לך · ואתה · על במתם
תדרך

The size of the inscription is 19 inches × 12½ inches. The letters are sunk.

The lines are not always perfect. The last word is sometimes abbreviated, or the final letter may be broken from the stone.

The last letter visible in line 2 appears to be a י, although we should expect an ה, the first letter of השמים.

Instead of the dual ידיך in line 5, the MT. has the Singular. There is an א after the ך; the letters following are illegible; we may perhaps conjecture that the word should be אמן, *cf.* Insc. 1, 10.

Line 7. MT. has במותימו instead of במתם, *cf.* Insc. 1.

INSCRIPTION 9. (Plate IV.)

בשם · יהוה ·
Genesis xlix, 25. מאל · אביך · ויעזרך ·
ואל · שדי · יברכך ס
אמן

١١٥٣
سنة
عُمِرَ المسكن المبارك في شهر جمادى

The size of the inscription is 23 inches × 12 inches. The letters are raised.

Line 2. MT. reads מאת instead of מאל.

Line 3. MT. has ואת for ואל, and ו before יברכך.

The date is given in Arabic:—

"This blessed house was built in the month of Jumâda 1153." A.H. Whether the 1st or 2nd month of Jumâda is not stated.

INSCRIPTION 10. (Plate V.)

Exodus xii, 23. ופסח יהו
על · הפתח · ולו[א]
יתן · המשחית
לבוא אל · בת
יבם · לנג[ף]
Numbers vi, 24. יברכך יהוה
[ו]ישמרך אמן

10

11

12

The size of the inscription is 11 inches × 9½ inches. The letters are raised. This inscription, like 12, indicates the purpose for which it was intended.

Line 4. לבוא, MT. לבא; *cf.* Inscr. 1.

Inscription 11. (Plate V.)

בשם · יה : הגד :
Numbers vi, 24. יבר : יה : ויש :
יאיר יה : פ : א : ו ·
ישא · יה : פנ : אל :
ויש : לך : ישל : א :

١١٨٣
في شهر القعدة سنة

The size of the inscription is 11 inches × 11 inches. The letters are raised. This inscription is, in part, identical with the preceding. It may be noted that the abbreviated words are indicated by two dots.

Line 3. MT. has יאֵר instead of יאיר.

Line 5. The letter א may possibly be the abbreviation of אמן: *cf.* Insc. I, V, VIII.

The inscription was made in "the month *el-qa'ade*, in the year 1183." A.H. The complete name of this month is ذو القعدة.

Inscription 12. (Plate V.)

בשם · יהוה · הגדול ·
Numbers vi, 24. יברכך · יהוה · ויש :
Exodus xii, 23. ופסח · יה : על · הפ :

The size of the inscription is 15½ inches × 4½ inches. The letters are raised.

The purpose is indicated in the last line, namely, its insertion into the wall of a house.

The abbreviations are indicated here, as in 11, by two dots.

NOTES ON SOME EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES.

IV.

BY W. L. NASH, *F.S.A.*

(*Where no dimensions are given, the illustration is the full size of the object.*)

PLATE I.

21. One of a pair of ebony wands, made in the form of a human hand and fore-arm. These objects are found crossed on the breast of mummies, beneath the bandages. The lower part represents the *uaz* sceptre (commonly called the "Papyrus" sceptre). This is surmounted by a head of Hathor with a cow's ears, and beyond is a hand with outstretched fingers. Mr. WHYTE thinks these wands were used as castanets in the Temple services. However this may be, it seems probable that they were intended to be magical. The *uaz* sceptre typified renewed youth and virility. Hathor played a very important part in connection with the welfare of the dead. Her cow-headed form may refer to the Cow-fetish, which is of Nubian origin. On the XIth dynasty coffin of Sepa from El Bersheh, now in the Cairo Museum, the goddess Hathor is said to "surround Sepa with the magical protection of life."[1] The magical effect of the hand (or perhaps of the complete wand) may have been to consecrate and to give air—*i.e.*, breath—and water to the deceased.[2] Or it may have afforded protection against dangers in the Other World. In the "*Book of Gates*" the chain with which the great serpent Apep is bound is said to be held fast by the "Hidden-Hand," and twelve of the gods who grasp the chain are called warders of the "sons of the helpless one" (*i.e.*, of Apep), and are said to "keep guard over the deadly chain which is in the Hidden-Hand."[3] Length $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches. *In Mr. E. Towry Whyte's Collection.*

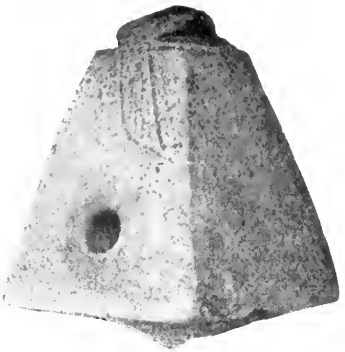
[1] Dr. BUDGE, "*The Egyptian Heaven and Hell*," III, 69.

[2] I am indebted to Dr. BUDGE for these suggestions. Also see his "*Book of the Dead*" (English translation), Chapter CXXV, pp. 374 *ff.*, and his "*The Gods of the Egyptians*," under "Hathor," etc.

[3] Dr. BUDGE, "*The Egyptian Heaven and Hell*," II, 273.

21

22



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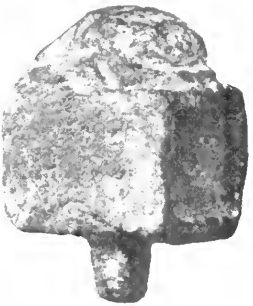

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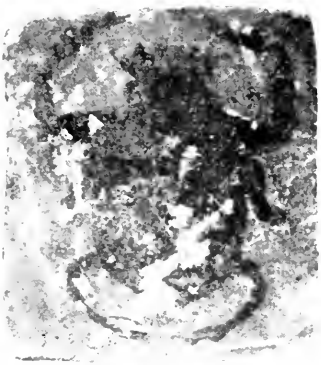

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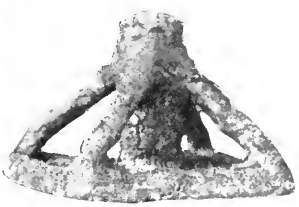

27

22. Another similar wand, made of ivory. It is probably of much later date than the one described above. The arm is curved, and has lost the form of the sceptre, and the representation of the head of Hathor is omitted. But, no doubt, it was intended for the same magical purpose. Many examples of these wands have been found, *e.g.*, one with the cartouche of Queen Aahmes, wife of Thothmes I, in the Turin Museum; others in the British Museum, etc. Length $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches. *In Mr. E. Towry Whyte's Collection.*

PLATE II.

23. A pyramidal lid of a case to hold a mummied scarab, surmounted by the figure of a scarab, the wings of which hang down on either side. Part of the flange which fitted into the receptacle for the scarab remains. What is the purpose of the hole in one side, I do not know. Green glazed faïence.

In Mr. R. H. Blanchard's Collection.

24. An oblong bronze box for holding a mummied scarab, much corroded. On the top is a figure of a scarab. At the bottom of the case is a tang for fixing into a wooden stand.

In Mr. R. H. Blanchard's Collection.

25. The lid of a box to contain a mummied scarab. On it a figure of the beetle is painted in black. $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches square.

In Mr. R. H. Blanchard's Collection.

These boxes for mummied scarabs are more usually found made of wood or bronze than of faïence, and they are by no means common in any material.

26. Part of a sistrum-handle, having on one side ⊙ 𓇋 𓅱 (*Nectanebus II*), "beloved of Anhur," and on the other side his Throne name, nekht-neb-f, "beloved of Mehit."

In the Author's Collection.

27. A bronze Temple-seal, with the inscription "Amen per," the hieroglyphs being pierced. This was probably a seal of the Temple at Karnak, where it was found. It is much corroded.

In Mr. R. H. Blanchard's Collection.

The Anniversary Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, January 13th, 1909, at 4.30 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

Dr. Pinches: "The Goddess Ištar in Assyro-Babylonian Literature."

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