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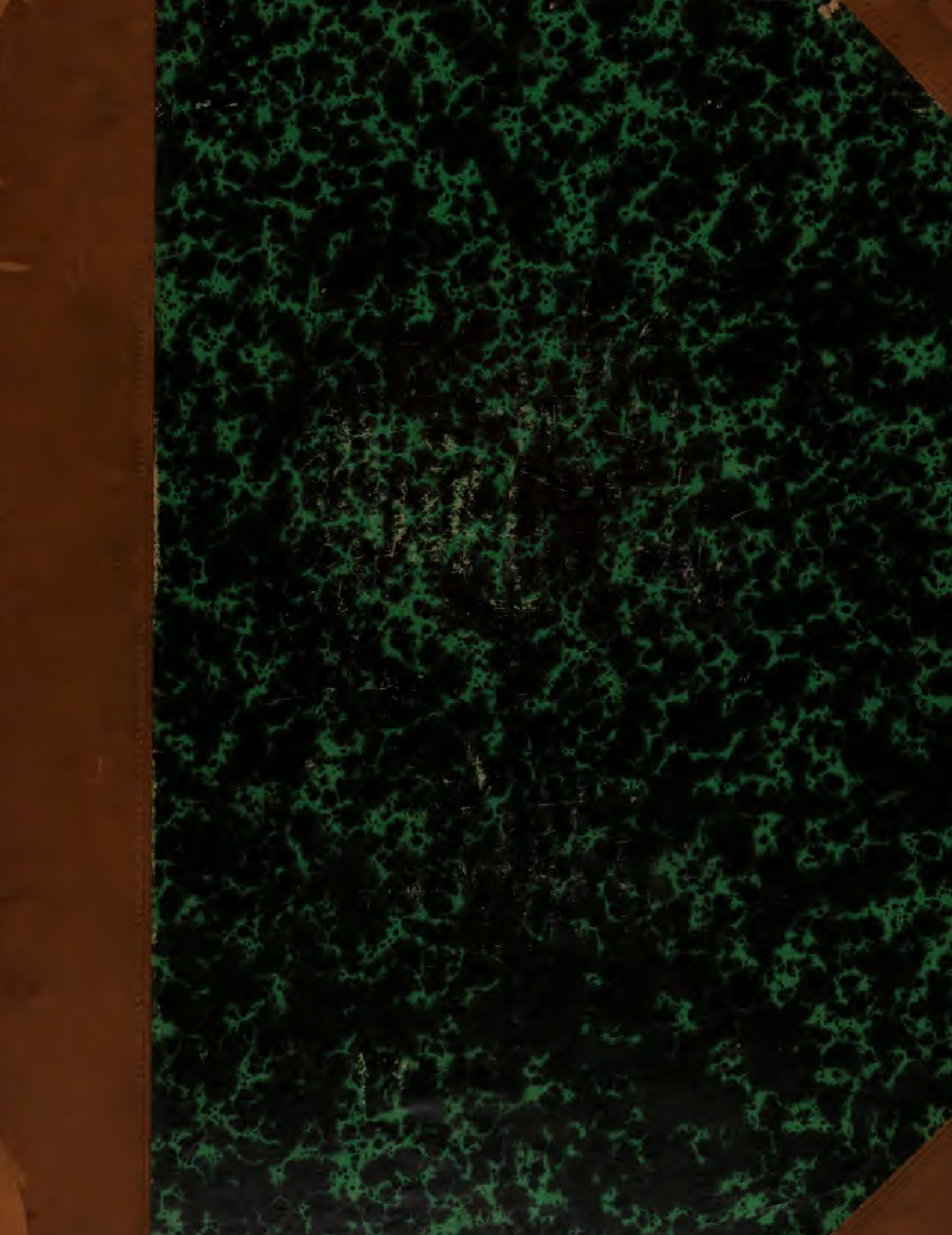
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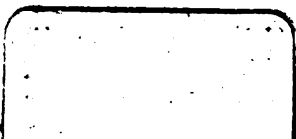
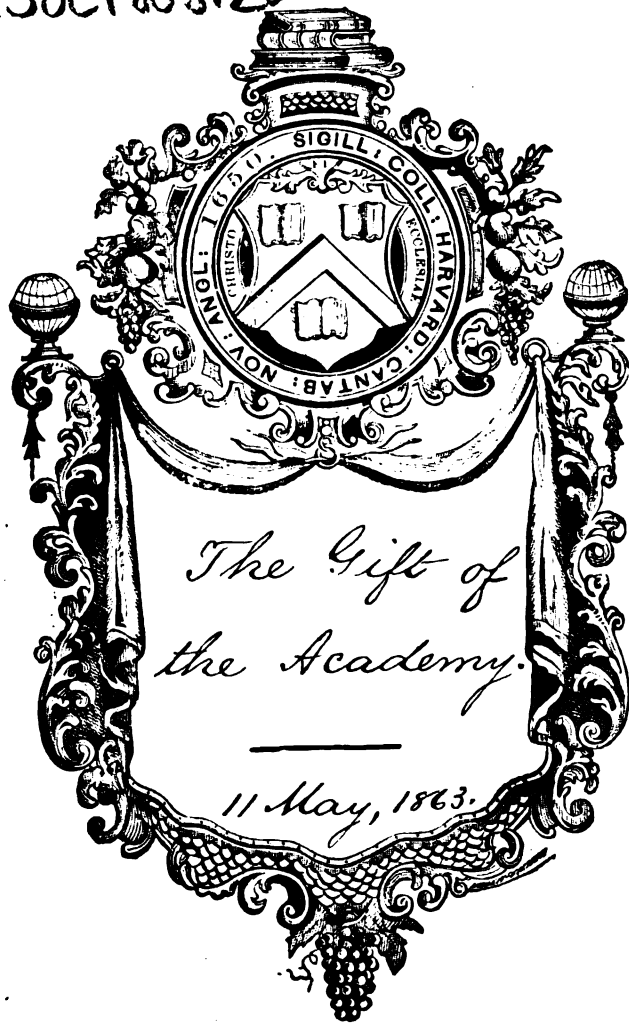
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Bd. June 76













THE 12  
TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

VOLUME XXII.

PART II.—POLITE LITERATURE.



DUBLIN:  
PRINTED BY M. H. GILL,  
PRINTER TO THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.  
SOLD BY HODGES AND SMITH, DUBLIN,  
AND BY T. AND W. BOONE, LONDON.  
MDCCLV.

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1863, May 11.  
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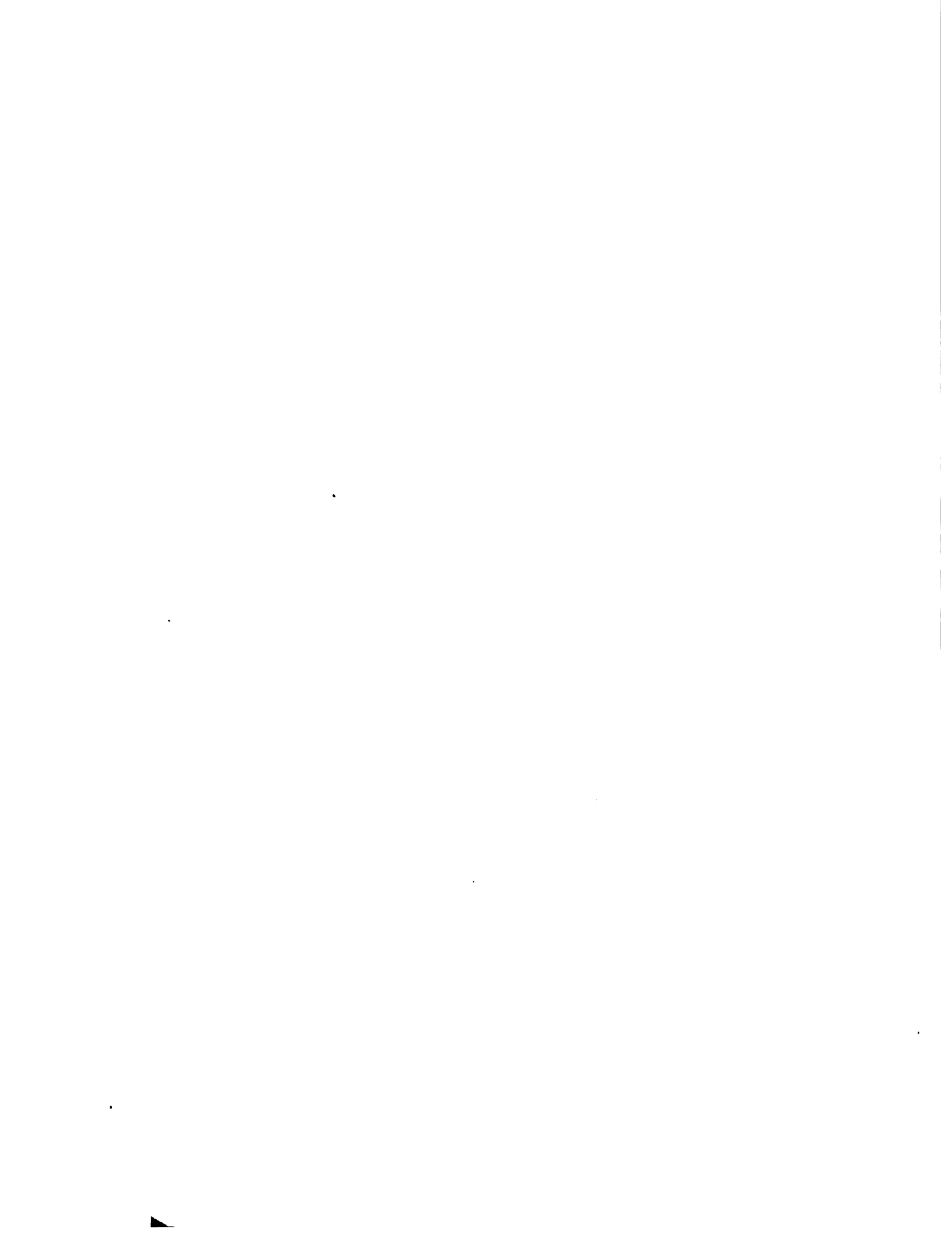
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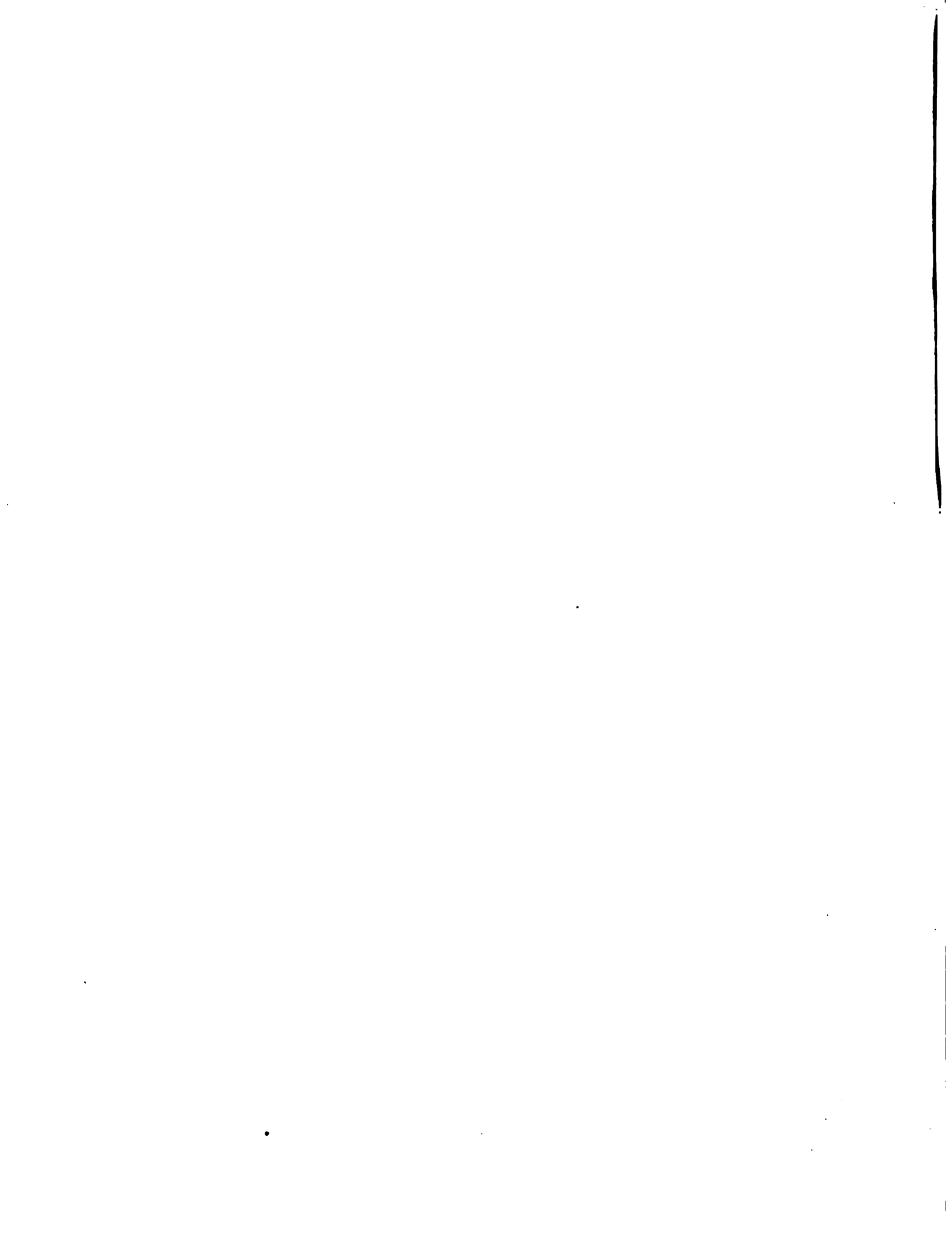
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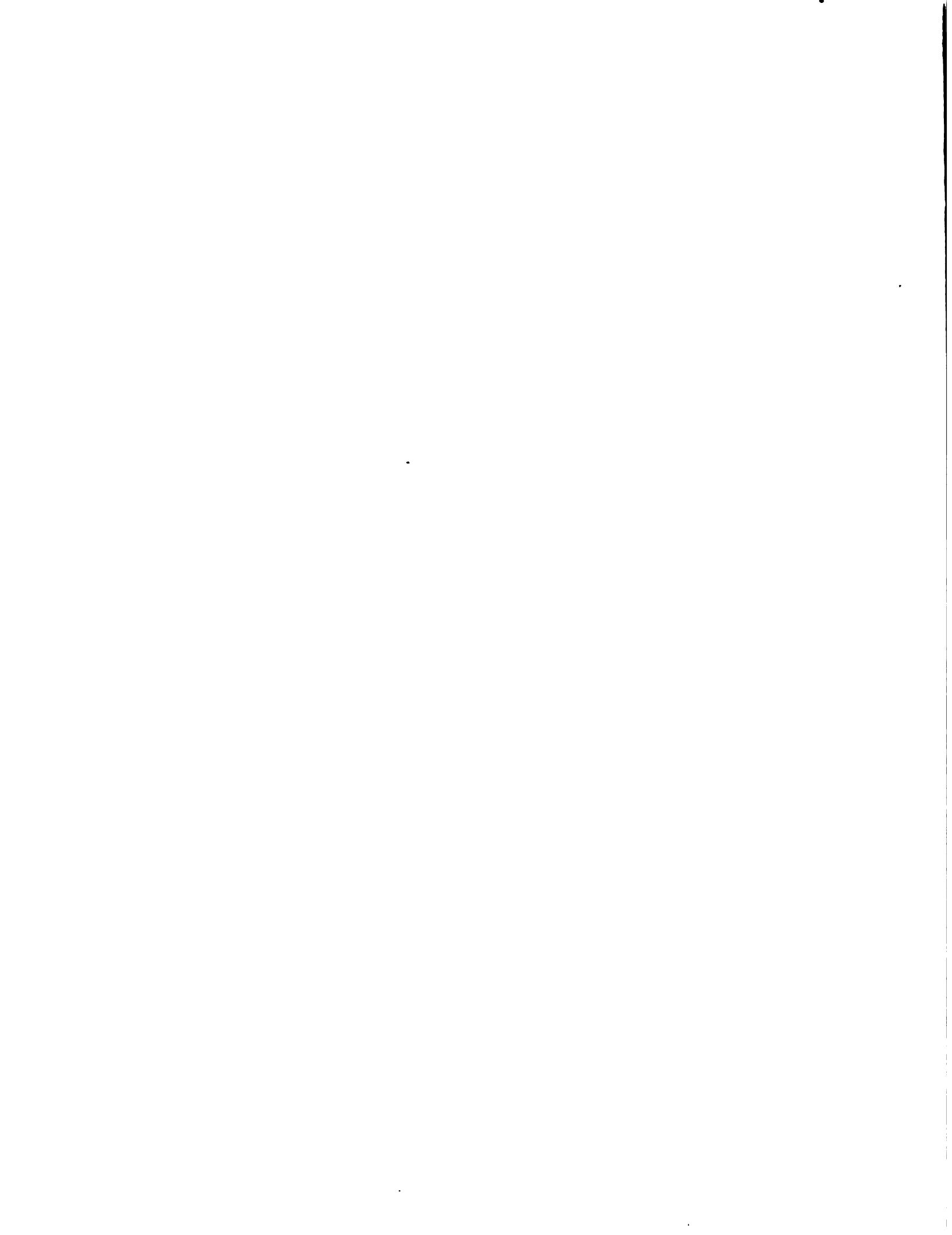
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**POLITE LITERATURE.**

**VOL. XXII.**

*A*





# POLITE LITERATURE.

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I.—*On the Khorsabad Inscriptions.* By the Rev. EDWARD HINCKS, D. D.

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Read June 25, 1849.

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1. **T**HE high honour which the Academy conferred upon me at the close of its last session has naturally made me desirous of presenting to it some additional communication; and as it seems to be the general opinion, that I have been most successful in my attempts to decipher the cuneatic writing, and as more interest seems to be felt with respect to the inscriptions in the buried palaces of Assyria, which have been recently discovered, than in the longer known Egyptian monuments, I choose for the subject of my present paper the Khorsabad inscriptions.

2. The character in which these inscriptions are written resembles that of the third of the trilingual Achæmenian inscriptions; and, as many preformatives, affixes, and prepositions, which occur in these last inscriptions, are found at Khorsabad also, as well as the groups which represent nouns and verbs, the languages must be regarded as closely connected. Whether they differ as dialects of the same language used in different provinces, or as a language will often be found to differ from itself in the course of 200 years; or whether they are rather distinct languages, but resembling one another, as the English and the Dutch of the present day, cannot yet be decided; nor indeed is it easy to determine what degree of difference ought to be regarded as distinguishing languages, and what as distinguishing dialects only. I have shown in a former paper, that the complicated characters used on the Babylonian bricks, and in the great inscription at the India House, correspond to the third Persepolitan

characters in the same manner as our capital letters correspond to the small letters. The arguments, too, which prove the identity, or at least the great resemblance, of the languages of the Khorsabad and Third Achæmenian inscriptions, prove that the language of the Babylonian inscriptions is similarly related to the others. A like agreement in character and language exists between the Khorsabad inscriptions and those from Nimrud and Kouyunjik.

3. When I say that the Third Achæmenian, the Khorsabad, and the Nimrud characters resemble one another, I would be understood to mean that they bear that general resemblance which different forms of the same letter, when printed from different founts, or written by different persons, will be found to bear to one another. Some characters admit a much greater variety than others do; and the Khorsabad sculptors differed from each other more than either the Achæmenian or the Nimrud ones. A comparison of the different inscriptions at Khorsabad, which contain the same text, will show what forms are varieties of the same character. It will generally be found, that some one of these closely resembles either the Third Achæmenian or the Babylonian lapidary form which corresponds to it; and the equivalence of these is verified, and that of others is established, by the observation of words that are common to the two classes of inscriptions.

4. The inscriptions at Van resemble those of Khorsabad and Nimrud in their character, especially the more ancient ones. The later Van inscriptions, in place of one wedge intersecting another, substitute two wedges, one on each side of it. The language, however, of these inscriptions, is not the same; for, though there are many words common to both classes, the preformatives and affixes of the Assyrio-Babylonian inscriptions are not found in those at Van. On the other hand, there are case-endings and personal-endings to the Van nouns and verbs, which clearly indicate that they belong to an Indo-European language.

5. A very large proportion of the characters of the Second Achæmenian inscription, generally called Median, can be identified with Assyrio-Babylonian characters, having nearly the same phonetic values. The resemblance of the forms is, however, much less striking than between the kinds previously named. The language of these inscriptions is of a different family from that of any of the others; but is, I believe, of the Indo-European stock; though it differs

materially from all languages of that stock, which were previously known, and has, *perhaps*, a Tatar element introduced into it.\*

\* The opinion that the language of the Second Achæmenian inscriptions is Tataric, seems to be gaining ground. In the last Annual Report of the Royal Asiatic Society, it is expressed pretty confidently; no doubt on the high authority of Major RAWLINSON. And from this it follows, as a corollary, that this was not the language of the Medes; for all seem agreed that *they* spoke an Indo-European language. If, however, we attend to the precedence given to Media, next to Persia, in all the inscriptions of Darius, and to the peculiar importance attached to it,—it being not only placed first in the list of provinces at Nakshi Rostam, and in the inscription I. at Persepolis, but being distinguished from them, both at Behistun I. 34, 41, and in the Third Achæmenian inscription L of Niebuhr, where we have the expression, “Persia, Media, and the other provinces,”—we can scarcely think that the language of this favoured country would be passed over to admit that of Scythia. It has been suggested, that Darius selected these three languages as specimens of the three different races of men that were included in his empire; but this supposes an amount of ethnological and philological knowledge to be possessed by him, for which it is very difficult to give him credit. How minute a proportion of the population of this country, even in these enlightened days, are aware that the English language differs less from the French or the Irish (all three of these being Indo-European) than it does from the Hebrew or the Turkish! And how inconceivable is it, that a monarch should be guided by this consideration, supposing it possible for it to enter his mind, in preference to those political considerations by which he and all his subjects must be warmly affected! I hold it then to be certain, that the language of the Second Achæmenian inscriptions is Median; and that it is so is the first presumptive proof that it is Indo-European. A consideration, however, of the language itself, confirms this presumptive proof. The view which I take of it is this:—it bears a similar relation to a lost language, probably not very dissimilar from that of the Van inscriptions, which the English bears to the Anglo-Saxon, or the French to the Latin. Distinctions which at one time were marked by inflexions, have come to be marked by detached words. The use of inflexions has not been wholly abandoned, but the number of them in use is comparatively small, and other means of expressing what inflexions originally expressed have been adopted. The language of the Second Persepolitan inscriptions appears to me to be perfectly conformable to this hypothesis. Many of the verbal roots, the verbal inflexions, the pronouns and the particles, are decidedly Indo-European; and if there be some which are not so, the case is the same with all other languages belonging to this great stock, each of which has more or less peculiar to itself. There are some of these peculiarities which have been specified as Tataric or Turkish, and I am not prepared to deny that they are so; but this fact would not be sufficient, in opposition to other evidence, to establish the conclusion, that the main body of the language was not Indo-European. Yet the alleged fact may admit of question. The termination of the passive voice in a guttural consonant is one of these supposed proofs of Tatarism; but if we recollect that a guttural consonant is liable to pass into *y*, we have here no material difference from the termination of the Greek passive. There is, however, no passive verb, as it appears to

6. The first step towards the decipherment of these inscriptions is to determine what are distinct characters, and what are different forms of the same character. In the same manner as A, A, A, a, a, a, differing as they do in appearance from one another, must all be recognised as one character, of which A may be assumed as the type or leading form; so a great variety of different forms, occurring in the different cuneatic inscriptions, may be classed together as modifications of one type. In my paper which was read on the 30th November, 1846,\* I gave a list of seventy-six Third Persepolitan characters, with the corresponding Babylonian lapidary characters. In that list I was in error as respects the identity of the characters numbered 15, 33, 34, 35, and 71. I must observe, however, in justice to myself, that those numbered 35 are equivalent, though not identical; those numbered 15 have the consonantal parts of their values alike, so as to be in some cases interchangeable; and those numbered 34 have the kindred value *vā* or *wā* and *bā*, which are confounded in some of the Babylonian inscriptions; so that in two cases only was I altogether mistaken. In two other instances I gave two Persepolitan forms as corresponding to a lapidary character, when only one of them did so. The first of the Persepolitan characters numbered 45, and the last of those numbered 65, are alone identical with the lapidary characters connected with them. The remaining sixty-nine characters correspond precisely as I then stated them to do. As the blocks from which this table was printed are still available, I will here insert, by way of specimen, an extract from it, containing eight pair of characters, with the equivalent Assyrian forms, and also those used in the Van and Median inscriptions.

me, in the Median inscriptions which have been published, so that I cannot speak confidently on this question. In D. 15, the word *çiyāmac* appears to me to be an adjective of like form to the Greek *ἐπίστυμος*, meaning "visible;" and so in NR. 32, *kāmac* means "what ought to be done;" which Major Rawlinson has shown to be the translation of the corresponding Persian word (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xi. p. 146). The use of postpositions, in place of prepositions, is another supposed Tatarism; but surely it is not more so than the placing the article after the noun in the Scandinavian and Dacian languages. The Latin *verbo tenus*, and the like, to say nothing of *mecum*, &c.; the Umbrian *pupluper*, "for the people," where the Romans would say *pro populo*; and the occasional instances which we meet in Greek, such as *τυραννίδος περί*; show that this is no peculiarity of the Tatar languages.

\* See *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxi.

𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢, 𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢, 𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢, 𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢	„	ta
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𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢, 𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢	„	„	gi
𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢, 𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢	„	bi? "house"
𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢, 𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢	dā
𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢, 𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢	du
𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢, 𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢	as

The forms in the second division are from Khorsabad; those in the third from Van, the older form being placed first, if two were used; those in the fourth are Median. I believe the Median character <𐎧> is not an equivalent to the fourth set of characters in this specimen, but a compound of the two elements *u* and *i*; yet the supposition that it is such an equivalent is not an impossible one. The sounds expressed by *g* and *w* are as closely related as many which are expressed by the same character in different European countries, or even in the same country.

7. In assigning values to the above eight characters, and in transcribing cuneatic characters in this paper generally, I adopt the phonetic alphabet of Messrs. Pitman and Ellis, so far as the consonants are concerned. Accordingly I use *c* and *g* to express the hard sounds of these letters; *k* to express the continuant surd guttural,\* which is not used in English, and *q* the corresponding sonant; *ʃ* and *t̄* to express the sonant and surd sounds of the English *th*; *ç* for *ch*; *f* for *sh*, and *z* for *zh*, or *s* in *measure*: the remaining consonants have their usual English values. Although these characters will not be familiar to many

\* After Mr. Ellis (whose "Essentials of Phonetics" ought to be in the hands of every student of languages), I call such sounds as *f* and *v* *continuant*s, and such as *b* and *p* *explosive*s; but I retain the names *surd* and *sonant* as preferable to his *whispered* and *spoken*; and as much preferable to the *hard* and *soft*, or *sharp* and *flat*, of other phoneticians.



of my readers, and will, in some instances, if the explanation of their values that I have just given be forgotten, suggest sounds different from what I intend to express; I consider it much better to use them than to supply the deficiencies of the English alphabet by Greek letters, the values of many of which would necessarily be conventional, and would, therefore, be likely to be mistaken to a still greater degree than the phonetic characters which I use. It is essential to the correct expression in one character of what is written in another, that each letter used in the transcription should invariably represent one sound; a combination of characters used to represent an elemental sound, such as *th* in the English word *thy*, would be objectionable as a combination, even though it had not the further disadvantage of expressing not only the elemental sound which begins this word, but also the very different one which begins the word *thigh*. The only proper use of this combination is to express the combination of sounds which is heard between the vowels in the words *Chatham, hothouse*. As there are only four vowels in the system of writing of which I am treating,\*

\* In the Etruscan language there were four vowels, *a, e, i, and u*; and it is of importance to observe, that these precisely correspond to the four vowels of the cuneatic inscriptions. In the transcriptions, indeed, of Greek proper names, which are found on the Etruscan mirrors, *e* is sometimes the representative of *η*, as in *Pele* for *Πηλεύς*; but in the inflexions of nouns and verbs it is the equivalent of the first Sanskrit vowel, which I denote by *a*; as *a* is that of the second Sanskrit vowel, *ā*. Thus, where we have the nominative ending in *e*, the genitive ends in the Perugian inscriptions in *esi*, but more generally in *esa*: I have no doubt that the original ending was *esia*. Here we have the old Persian declension, nominative *a*, genitive *ahyā*, almost exactly reproduced; and likewise the Sanskrit nominative *as*, genitive *asya*, except as to the final letter. The Etruscan genitive in *esa* has been imagined to be a feminine termination. As well might the *ου* in *τῆς τοῦ Οὐπίου* be called a feminine termination. The Etruscans used a formula similar to this, but were obliged to omit the article, which they did not possess. In like manner in the Sixth Eugubine Table, line 61, we have **PRESTOTA SERFIA** (*κυρία*) **SERFER MARTIER**, *Prestota Domina Domini Martis*; the word *uxor* being sufficiently implied by the genitive which it governs. In the similar expression which immediately follows this, applied to *Tursa*, we should probably supply *filia*. The genitive might denote either of these, and it is only by its position (before or after the mother's name, which was always in the ablative) that it can be known whether, in the Etruscan monumental inscription of a female, it belongs to her father or her husband. The termination *ei* may be the nominative of a feminine patronymic, formed in imitation of the Homeric one, *Velimnei* from *Velimna*, as *Xpυσηίς* from *Χρυσή*; for it is evident from the mirrors and paintings that the Etruscans were well acquainted with the poems of Homer. I see nothing, however, in the few inscriptions known to me, which excludes the supposition, that this termination was that of the genitive

while the English phonetic alphabet contains twelve, exclusive of diphthongs, and there are at least twelve foreign vowels, including nasals, which require to be distinguished from these, it is plain that much accuracy in the expression of the vowels is out of the question. I have, therefore, thought it best to express the four vowels by the characters  $\bar{a}$ ,  $a$ ,\*  $i$ , and  $u$ ; which may be understood to have at the close of a word the phonetic values of  $q$  or  $e$ , i. e.  $a$  in *alms* or in *all*;  $e$ ,  $u$ , or  $a$  in *idea*;  $\epsilon$ , i. e. *ee* in *feel*; and  $u$ , i. e. *oo* in *fool*. This mode of expressing the vowels, if it be not the best, is in harmony with the prevailing custom among the learned; and I apply it to the First Achæmenian alphabet also, when I have occasion to transcribe words that are written in it. I accordingly use  $\bar{a}$  for the second Sanskrit vowel, of which

of a nominative in  $a$  or  $as$ . Another instance in which  $e$  clearly corresponds to the Sanskrit  $a$ , is in the nominative plural of a theme in  $i$ . We have in the Perugia inscription, l. 21, 22, *tesne rafne cei tesnfteif rafnef*, "the Etruscan land and the Etruscan inhabitants of the land." *Tesne* is etymologically related to the Latin *terra*, originally *terna*; the former is properly the masculine of an adjective signifying "dry," and the latter is the feminine of a similar adjective. It is given by FESTUS as *torrus* (a. s. *tyrre*, Isl. *turr*, Germ. *dürr*), and is derived from *torr-co*, *tos-tum* (Gr. *τέρο-ομαι*, Sans. *trif-yāmi*, M. Goth. root *tars*, Ger. *dörr-en*); the Latin  $\epsilon$  and  $\delta$  both represented the Sanskrit  $a$ , like the Greek  $\epsilon$  and  $o$ ; and they were interchangeable in different modifications of the same root, as *λέγ-ω* and *λόγ-ος*. *Tesnfli* is a derivative from *tesne*, as *caelestis* from *cælum* (the intrusion of the  $r$  into the corresponding Latin word *terrestris*, I must leave to others to explain), and *tesnfteif* is its nominative plural. The Sanskrit ending is *ayas*, easily convertible into *aif*, which is, in fact, the Etruscan form. The nominative plural of the second declension in  $ef$  deserves attention. It is different from any of the many endings of this case which occur in the Indo-European languages (unless indeed the Zend *vispes-ça* be a nominative, which Bopp seems to disbelieve,—see his *Vergl. Gram.*, p. 262, note); but it may be accounted for in the same manner as all the other deviations from the primitive form in  $\bar{a}s$ , by a wish to distinguish the masculine from the feminine, which also terminated in  $\bar{a}s$ . As the nominative singular of the Etruscans did not take the sibilant after the short vowel, it was in *their* power to make this distinction by shortening the vowel in the plural.

\* In arranging these vowels, I adopt the Etruscan rather than the Sanskrit order, placing  $\bar{a}$  before  $a$ , because  $\bar{a}$  seems to be more decidedly different from the other three than any two of these are from each other;  $a$  and  $i$ ,  $i$  and  $u$ , and  $a$  and  $u$ , being all liable to be confounded. In the Etruscan language the distinction between  $a$  and the other three is more strongly marked. Themes in  $a$  admit an  $s$  after them in the nominative singular, which themes in  $e$ ,  $i$ , and  $u$ , never do; and again, the final consonant of the ablative, which must have been originally  $\delta$  or  $t$ , is always  $l$  after  $a$ , and always  $f$  after any of the other vowels.

the Van form is  $\nabla$ . It corresponds to , or ʾ when it terminates a syllable, in which position only I employ it. I use *a* for the first Sanskrit vowel, the Van  $\nabla$ , which generally corresponds to the Greek  $\epsilon$  or  $o$ , and to the Hebrew , or its compounds, or . or .. I also use it to express the shortened or stopped sound of  $\nabla$  when followed by a syllable which loses its vowel (see § 15); it has the sound of the Hebrew ..\* In Median this vowel is scarcely to be distinguished from *i*; and in all the Assyrio-Babylonian varieties of writing, the distinction is very little attended to. By *i* I express the Van  $\nabla$ , answering to the third and fourth Sanskrit vowels; and to . or ʾ when terminating a syllable, to , or . when a consonant terminates the syllable. By *u* I express the Van  $\nabla$ , answering to the fifth and sixth Sanskrit vowels, and to ʾ or , in Hebrew. I may here observe, that in the Van inscriptions it is very common to introduce at pleasure, apparently for the purpose of filling up space, the vowel with which the value of a character terminates, after that character. In Assyrio-Babylonian this is sometimes done, but not near so commonly. In Median it is not done at all.  $\nabla$  and  $\nabla$  equally express *dā* in every variety of writing but the Median. The corresponding Median characters  $\nabla$   $\nabla$  express *dā.ā*, as two syllables. Such a combination, however, as *dā.as* would be pronounced *das* in Median, as well as in the other varieties of writing. In all such cases I use an apostrophe in place of the vowel cut off, writing the first of the preceding forms *d'.ā*, and the last *d'.as*; the point is always used between the transcriptions of two characters. An apostrophe is also used when a character, the value of which is a consonant preceded by *i*, is used (chiefly in Median) for the single consonant; whether it closes a syllable, or combines at the beginning of one with another consonant, as in the name corresponding to *Scudra*, which is  $\nabla$   $\nabla$   $\nabla$   $\nabla$ . 'S.cu.'s.rā for, *Is.cu.îd.rā*. (See also the first note in § 15.) Lastly, an apostrophe will be used for the final *r* or *s* of a syllable, when it is assimilated, as it is liable to be in Median and Assyrian words, to a following consonant. Thus I transcribe  $\nabla$   $\nabla$   $\nabla$  the Median word corresponding to *Gadāra*, by *Qa'.dā.rā*. The initial character is properly *kar* which the Medes did not distinguish from *qar*.



\* It will, perhaps, be objected, that this is a distinct sound from the preceding. I admit that it is so; but I believe the distinction was overlooked by those who used the cuneatic characters. At any rate I have not been able to recognise it.



















(a) I must now say a few words with respect to the course which I have taken in relation to the *phonetic defects* of the cuneatic system of writing. If each cuneatic character had one value only, and if no two characters had the same value, the defects to which I allude would not exist. Unfortunately, however, neither of these is the case. Many characters admit of two or more kindred values, the distinction between which, though obvious to us, would appear not to have been considered by the people who used this mode of writing so great as to require different modes of representing them; and again, some characters appear to have precisely the same values, though much fewer than might be inferred from a mechanical comparison of inscriptions and observance of interchanges.\* With respect to the last-named defect, there can, I think, be no doubt that the proper course is to represent alike characters which appear to have been sounded exactly alike; but with respect to the former it may be doubted whether it be more desirable to give different values to the same character, or to give it one value only, with a warning to the reader, that he may, under certain restrictions, substitute another for it at his pleasure. I have in general adopted this latter course, though in a few instances, which I will specify, I have

\* A consideration of the Eugubine Tables is very useful in showing the fallacy of the inference, that characters which are interchanged with one another must necessarily be equivalent. The beginning of the name of the people is in the Fourth Table, line 2, written both  $\text{v}\mathfrak{m}$  and  $\text{v}\mathfrak{ii}$ , whence the equivalence of  $\mathfrak{i}$  and  $\mathfrak{x}$  might be considered as proved. The terminations of the accusative singular and plural, transcribed in the later Tables by  $\mathfrak{m}$  and  $\mathfrak{r}$ , are liable to be omitted, and might have been regarded as vowels or breathings. The word corresponding to *publicæ* is variously written with  $\mathfrak{x}$  and a character like  $\mathfrak{d}$  for the penultimate letter. This last character is transcribed by  $\mathfrak{s}$ , whence it might be inferred that  $\mathfrak{x}$ , and of course  $\mathfrak{i}$ , had the same value as  $\mathfrak{s}$ . In this case the real state of the case is known, and of course the fallacy of reasoning of this sort is evident.  $\mathfrak{i}$  had two values,  $\mathfrak{i}$  and  $\mathfrak{y}$ ; with the latter value it might supply the place of  $\mathfrak{g}$ , which the alphabet did not contain; or otherwise this deficient character might be supplied by  $\mathfrak{x}$ , that is  $\mathfrak{c}$ ; not that  $\mathfrak{c}$  and  $\mathfrak{y}$  were equivalent, but that either might supply the place of  $\mathfrak{g}$ , which was wanting. The sounds of  $\mathfrak{m}$  and  $\mathfrak{f}$ , and I may add  $\mathfrak{r}$ , were dropped by many of the Eugubians at the end of a word, and were, therefore, frequently omitted in writing. Lastly, the  $\mathfrak{d}$  of the earlier inscriptions invariably represents the Latin  $\mathfrak{c}$  or  $\mathfrak{c}$  before  $\mathfrak{e}$  or  $\mathfrak{i}$ , when some speakers pronounced it either as  $\mathfrak{s}$  or as  $\mathfrak{g}$ , while others gave it its hard sound. Hence the diversity of writing such words as *PACE*, *PASE*, *CERITV*, *SERITV*, &c. The fact then is certain, that no two of the Umbrian characters were *equivalent*, although many were *interchanged*.

felt it necessary to take the former. I will now briefly point out the instances where substitution is allowable. I believe that the Assyrio-Babylonian writing maintains a clear distinction between the four vowels, and also between the corresponding surd and sonant consonants, such as *c* and *g*, *t* and *d*, and the like; except, indeed, at the end of a word, where surd and sonant seem to have been confounded. The distinction is, however, much less clear between the corresponding explodent and continuant consonants, such as *c* and *k*, *t* and *ʔ*, and the like; and again between the guttural (called by Hebrew grammarians palatal),\* and the labial continuants, and the palatal, or guttural, and labial semi-vowels; that is to say, between *k*, *q*, and *y*, and between *f*, *v*, and *w*. Under these circumstances, I have thought it best, when a character admitted, for instance, the consonantal values *c* and *k*, to write it always *c*, allowing this to be sounded *k* at the discretion of the reader; who will, however, do well to attend to the rules for inserting or omitting *dagef lene* in the *beqaʔ cefat* Hebrew letters, and in particular will prefer the continuant sound at the end of a word. On the other hand, when a character admitted the values *k* and *y*, or *q* and *y* (no character admitted all the three values), I write it *k* or *q*, as the case may be, allowing the reader to substitute *y*; and so in like manner, when I write *f* or *v*, the reader may substitute *w*. In some instances I have used *y* and *w* as elements in the values of characters; especially, but not exclusively, in the combinations *ya*, *ay*, *wa*, and *aw*, the first two of which pass into *i*, and the last two into *u*. In that case I have thought it necessary to give the character a double value; writing for instance, for  $\text{𐤏𐤍}$ , sometimes *ya*, and sometimes *i*; for  $\text{𐤏𐤍𐤏}$ , sometimes *ray*, and sometimes *ri*, &c. In some cases where I have used *y* and *w*, the reader may substitute *q* or *k*, and *v* or *f*; but I cannot always with confidence say which. There are two other interchanges of sounds, which are constantly made in these inscriptions, that must appear to a European very singular. There seems to have been no clear distinction made between *l* and *r*, and between *w* and *m*. There were at

\* I call letters like *c* and *g* *guttural*, after the Sanskrit grammarians, and in conformity with general custom; but the vowel *i*, to which they are akin, is more commonly called *palatal*. The name *palatal* is applied by the Indians to *ç* and *j*, and by Mr. ELLIS to *s* and *z*; and here, by the way, I would observe that these last two letters are not *properly* explodents, but are continuants, as much as *f* and *z*. They may, however, for many purposes, be classed with the explodents, bearing much the same relation to *f* and *z*, as *t* and *d* bears to *t* and *d*.

least some characters in which *l* and *r* might be equally sounded ; though others appear to have always expressed one or other ;  was, I believe, always *lu*, and  always *ru*.\* The inconvenience of using the same character to

\* The number of characters containing *r* is unusually great ; and I suspect that a distinction existed, though it seems scarcely possible to recover it, between the slightly trilled and the strongly trilled *r*, such as exists in the Armenian alphabet of the present day, and as existed in the Umbrian of the first five Eugubine Tables. It is curious that the strongly trilled *r*, which is in the sixth and seventh Tables generally represented by the conventional digraph *rs*, corresponds to the Latin *l* rather than *r* ; *puppica*, at the end of the second Table, would be in Latin *publica* ; *DERSICURENT*·vi. 62, would be *deliquerint* ; and so in most other instances, if not in all. The Umbrians had, however, a distinct *l* of their own. The alphabet of the first five Tables is generally known to be taken from the Etruscan, with some slight modifications, and with some additional characters, which latter varied in the different Tables which were inscribed at different periods. The Etruscan alphabet is of great importance in all investigations into ancient writing, because from the ancient table of the twenty letters in their proper order, which has been preserved to us, we know the exact Phœnician or Hebrew letters to which sixteen out of these twenty corresponded ; and because from the strict phonetic propriety which characterizes the Etruscan alphabet, we can be sure of the precise values of almost all its letters. Of the twenty letters, there were four vowels (for the values of which, see note \*, in p. 8), four so-called liquids, and three consonants, of each of the four classes, gutturals, dentals, labials, and sibilants. In each of these classes they had the two continuants and the surd explodent, but not the sonant explodent ; they had, for instance, *p*, *f*, and *v*, but not *b*. The immense importance of this alphabet induces me to give it here. It is unnecessary to give the Etruscan letters ; but I give the corresponding Hebrew ones, and the phonetic values expressed in the manner explained at the beginning of this section : 1.  *ā* ; ,, 2.  *c* ; ,, 3.  *a* ; 4.  *v* ; 5.  *z* ; 6.  *q* ; 7.  *š* (?) ; 8.  *i* ; ,, 9.  *l* ; 10.  *m* ; 11.  *n* ; ,, ,, 12.  *p* ; 13.  *f* ; ,, 14.  *r* ; 15.  *s* ; 16.  *t* ; 17. *u* ; 18.  (?) ; 19. *k* ; 20. *f*. The only doubt which can reasonably exist respects the seventh and eighteenth letters,—which of them is *š*, and which *t*. I have made the former *š* on the ground that, accompanying the three other sonant continuants, it should be one also ; but if it be the letter which occurs in the names which the Romans converted into *Volterra* and *Tanaquil*, it must certainly be *t*. This last is a question of fact, on which I have not sufficient evidence before me. Let it be observed, that a plain circle is the seventh letter ; a circle with its diameter is the eighteenth ; while a circle with a point in the centre may be used by some sculptors for one, and by some for the other. I do not think that it by any means follows that the Phœnician letters had, *all of them*, the values here connected with them. The mistake which the Etruscans made as to the power of *z*, in which they were followed by the Romans, is obvious. But I think we have in this Table evidence, that *z* and *j* were not only related to each other as surd and sonant, but that their values were *ç* and *j* (i. e. *ʃ* and *dz*), rather than *ts*, and either *z* or *dz* ; and also that the value of  was *q* rather than *k*, or at least that it might be either of the two. This is a very important fact ; and the observation of it relieved me from a great difficulty, which

express sounds so different as these appears to me so great, that I have felt it necessary to give more than one value to characters containing these sounds. Thus, I may occasionally employ *lay* and *li*, as well as *ray* and *ri*, for 𐎠𐎡; and for 𐎠𐎢 I will write, according to what appears to me the propriety of each case, *ma*, *wa*, and *u*.


(b) This is the proper place for explaining the use which I sometimes make of Greek letters. I use them to represent values different from their true ones, which were assumed by certain characters under particular circumstances. Thus the Medes and Assyrio-Babylonians seem to have almost invariably rejected the sound of *s*, except in such combinations as *Scudra*, already mentioned; substituting for it *t* before a vowel and *r* before a consonant, or at the end of a word; which *r*, as I before observed, is liable to be assimilated to the following consonants. These substituted values I will express by  $\theta$  and  $\rho$ . Thus, in transcribing the Median transcriptions of the Persian adjective and noun at the beginning of the window inscription of Darius, *Ardastāna ātagina*,\* 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣, I write *qap.dā'.s.rā.nā qath.a'* (or *ap qin.nā*). The initial character in both words is the same, and is properly *qas*. In like manner, I use  $\delta$  under certain circumstances


I felt, when I observed that the names corresponding to גליל and דורון began alike in the inscriptions; that the medial character in the words corresponding to רגל and רדות was the same; and that the beginning of the word corresponding to דודון was what preceded the final character in the Babylonian transcription of *Iataguf*. I recollected then that the Arabic ج (= 2) differs from ح and ح (= 11) only by a diacritical point, and that these two equivalents of the Hebrew letter may have been intended to express its double value, *q* and *k*. The equivalence of *Αγβάτανα* to דודון, and of *galbanum* to דולבכח, occurred to me likewise; and also the obvious connexion of דודון and γαθίω, חח and γάμος. Everything, in short, seems consistent with this observation.

\* That *atagina* is a noun, and that it signified the chamber in which the inscription is found, is quite certain from the corresponding Median word having the determinative prefix of places (see § 19). The conclusion of the sentence, too, which is in both Median and Babylonian very distinctly "in the house of King Darius," is inconsistent with any other interpretation. The only difficulty is in the etymology of the word *atagina*; for the adjective seems clearly to signify "lofty," *alté-stans*. Is it possible that it can signify a "fire-temple;" an *r* before the *g* having been dropped in Persian? An *r* in this place *may be* read in Median. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the Zend, and its kindred languages, to pronounce one way or the other as to this suggested etymology.










8. Without entering on the question, which variety of form is best entitled to be considered as the type, I will in the present paper, writing as I am about the Khorsabad inscriptions, adopt a Khorsabad form, and that which, if as easily expressed in printing as the others, is least likely to be confounded with any other character. One thing to be guarded against in deciphering this writing is the supposition, that the same forms, when they occur in different varieties of writing, must represent the same character. Many instances to the contrary occur. Thus the fifth of the Persepolitan characters, in the preceding short list, is identical in form with a Khorsabad character; but that has a totally different value, viz., *mal* or *wal*. The equivalent Khorsabad characters are very unlike it; but one of them has a great degree of resemblance to the corresponding lapidary character. The Persepolitan character which follows is also used in some of the Khorsabad inscriptions, but with a value essentially different from *dā*. The mistakes into which persons who are not on their guard may be led by these resemblances, will be illustrated by the following reasoning, analogous to that which they will be apt to use. "A certain long character, , is in English manuscript the equivalent of S, and in German manuscript of H; consequently S and H are equivalent characters."

9. Of the eight characters in the preceding list, two have ideographical values assigned to them, in addition to their phonetic values. The third signifies "father," one word for which was *atwa*, in the plural *atwat*, of which this was the initial character. The fifth signifies "house," the word for which was *bit*; and if it had any phonetic value distinct from this, it is most likely that it was *bi*, the commencement of the word. It is, at any rate, certain that , which generally denotes the syllable *bi*, is occasionally used for the word "house," as an equivalent of the character here given.\* Many other phonetic characters express words of which, when written in full, they are the initial

son's *New Cratylus*, p. 124). The modern Greeks pronounce  $\beta$  as *v*, but I question if their ancestors did so. There is, however, no other Greek letter which can, with any propriety, represent that sound.


\* There are sixteen inscriptions on the reverses of the slabs, which contain the same text; BORTA, 164-179. In 164. 22, and ten others we have    *bi.ſi*; in 165. 17, and two others,  only; and in 167. 32, and 170. 22, . The following character begins a line in 172, showing that it commences an independent word.

characters. This may be considered as analogous to our abbreviations, especially to such as are used in shorthand; but it is not improbable that some at least of these characters originally denoted ideas, and thence in process of time the initial sounds in the words which express them. Abbreviations like  $\text{𐎠𐎢}$  for "father" and  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$  for "house," where the character used is a regular phonograph capable of expressing a certain syllable (*at* or *bi* in the above instances), *wherever it occurred*, may be considered as the first class of ideographs.

10. A second class consists of characters like the mixed signs of the Egyptians, which sometimes represent words by themselves, and sometimes with the addition of certain complements; but they are exclusively used in these words. Such is  $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎣}$ , which is sometimes used alone, but more frequently with the complement  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , *bi*, to denote a noun, signifying "territory," or the like. This mixed sign sometimes appears in the very different form  $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎣}$ ; and the corresponding Persepolitan form is  $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎣}$ , which occurs H. 3, 6, 20. In the last of these places, the noun being in the plural,  $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎣}$ , *b'u* is substituted for *bi*. The value of the former part of this word is as yet unknown; but it must terminate with a vowel, because in the India House inscription it is always completed with the character which corresponds to  $\text{𐎠𐎢}$ , *bā*, instead of *bi*. After a syllable terminating with a vowel, another syllable terminating with *any* vowel was liable to lose it, so as to form one syllable with the preceding; and in that case I conceive that the former of the two vowels, if long, was shortened: *bā.bā*, *bā.bi* and *bā.bu*, might, as well as *bā.ba*, represent in all the Assyrio-Babylonian varieties *bab*. In the Van system, this could be represented by the last alone of these four combinations. As it was not imperative to drop the vowel of the second character, there was some ambiguity as to whether it should be dropped or not. This might be avoided, either by the use of characters terminating with a consonant, or by the insertion of vowels, as of *u* after *bu* in the plural form given above. The name of Babylon is occasionally written with the characters *bā.bi.lu.wā*. Sometimes, however, an *i* is inserted after the *bi*; and much oftener it is written with different combinations, the commonest of all, which is invariably used at Khorsabad, and most frequently in the Babylonian documents, being *bab.il.lā.wā*,  $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎢𐎣}$   $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎢𐎣}$   $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎢𐎣}$   $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎠𐎢𐎣}$ . I strongly suspect, that the initial character of this name, which represents a word differing little, if at all, in signification from that above-mentioned, is the equivalent of  $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎣}$  when it stands alone. It,



any of the preceding. It consists of characters, which, having proper phonetic values, with which they may and do enter into the composition of ordinary words, express also ideas, the words denoting which have no phonetic relationship to their ordinary phonetic values. This, it must be admitted, is very puzzling; more especially when the characters enter with their peculiar values into derivative words, or into proper names assumed to be derived from the words ideographically expressed. We should not be justified, however, in refusing to acknowledge a fact, because its admission will render the task of deciphering more difficult than it would be if it had not been the fact. Those who cannot, or will not, see it, must find themselves involved in what they will feel to be insuperable difficulties, when they deal with the characters which admit of ambiguous values. To some persons it may seem the most satisfactory way of explaining this to refer to a parallel instance in our own system of writing. In that system *I* has a determinate value as a letter, with which it enters as an element into many words; but, besides this, it has an ideographic value, and is sometimes read "one," and sometimes "the first;" neither of which words has any connexion with the phonetic value of the letter. The use of ideographs was much greater among the Assyrians than among ourselves, but the principle is one with which we might be familiar, if we did not overlook the instances of its application with which we constantly meet. It appears to me, however, that there are two ways in which the existence of these anomalies may be accounted for. In a few instances the pronunciation may have changed, so that a character which originally denoted the initial sound of the word may have ceased to do so. In other instances the language may have employed synonymous words;\* the ordinary phonetic value may have been de-

\* It is possible, too, that the word from which the phonetic value is derived may be one belonging to a different language. I will, in a subsequent section, produce an instance, in which I believe that the ordinary phonetic value of a character, namely, *pā*, the value of , was adopted from a foreign language. This mode of proceeding may be illustrated by some of the abbreviations used in Irish manuscripts. The Irish letters were at first chiefly used in the copying of Latin texts. In Latin manuscripts, the letter *s* with a peculiar mark, which may be represented by *s'*, was used to express the word *sed*. In course of time the same mark was used in Irish manuscripts to express *akt*, the Irish equivalent of *sed*. And by a further progress, it was used to express this sound, when it no longer signified "but," but was a portion of a word of totally different meaning. Thus, *ts'* was used for *takt*, "to come." See O'DONOVAN'S Irish Grammar, p. 430. Mr. O'DONOVAN gives other similar instances.

rived from one of these, while the other was in most frequent use as the representative of the idea. I will produce what I believe to be instances of both of these.

13. The phonetic value of  $\nabla$  is  $\bar{a}$ , as is abundantly evident. Ideographically, it signified "son," which was also expressed by  $\Xi$  and  $\Xi \nabla \nabla$ . The Babylonian forms of the two last are used to express the filiation of Nebuchadnezzar, as the first is used to express that of Xerxes, of Darius, and of the Assyrian kings: the second is also used in the Third Persepolitan inscription D.; and frequently in the Babylonian contracts published by GROTEFEND. But, besides being used to express the idea "son" before his father's name, the last character is also used to express the middle part of the name of the father of Nebuchadnezzar, that part of this name which alone differs from the name of the son; and in this place the first character is interchanged with it on the bricks. From this it appears that  $\nabla$ , besides its value  $a$ , has a second value, namely, the word signifying "son." Now, the third of the characters given above is composed of the second and of a character with the value  $wat$ , or  $ut$ , which was a plural termination. It is natural to suppose that it properly represented this plural, which was used for the singular, by way of honour, in most cases where gods or kings were spoken of. Yet in the name of the father of the great Nebuchadnezzar, the first and last characters given above must be read as the second, namely, as the singular. The value of this appears for the Median to contain a dental. It occurs between  $c$  and  $ri$  in the name of Bactria. This dental appears to be followed by an  $i$  (not distinguished by the Medes from  $a$ ), because two words, one signifying "I said," and the other "was said," are written, one with this character  $\Xi$ , and the other with  $\nabla$ ,  $ti$ , in a part of the word which appears to be radical; *ab.ti.ri.rā*, "I said," NR. 30; *ab.tir.ri.cā*, "was said," NR. 15.\* The character, being always used before syllables

\* I quite forgot this word, when I stated, in the note in p. 5, that there was no passive verb in the inscriptions that had been published. I was at the time thinking of the Median word corresponding to *tahyāmahya* at Behistun, and regretting that I did not know what it was. It is generally known that the terminations of the present and preterimperfect tenses in the different Indo-European languages show much greater conformity to one type than the aorists and preterperfect. Of similar forms to the above are *farirā*, "I possessed" (N. R. 13); which show that the initial  $a$  in the words before us was not an augment; and *cuřicā*, "has been built" (?), in the eighth line of the Median inscription on the great wall at Persepolis, of which there is no Persian translation.

beginning with *n* or *r*, may be supposed to have terminated with one of those consonants, which indeed were very generally confounded. The Medes also confounded the different dental consonants, so that the exact value of the character cannot be determined from that class of inscriptions. They merely prove that it began with a dental, *without a vowel preceding*; that *a* or *i* followed; and that *n* or *r* probably terminated the word. From an Assyrian name, which I will hereafter explain, it seems to me certain that the initial consonant was *ā*; and I read the whole word *āan*, observing that the Babylonians and Assyrians confounded the *n* and *r*, especially when final, as much as the Medes. The relationship of this to the Hebrew אָן and Chaldean אָן is obvious. Now in Arabic there is an *Elif* prefixed to the corresponding word, اِبْن *ibn*. This suggests the supposition that *āāan* was the original form of the word, and that the way in which אָ came to represent it was by its being the initial character in this original form. This last is, I admit, a supposition only; but I consider it to be absolutely certain, that, besides its value as a phonetic element in words, which was *ā*, אָ was used ideo-

The translation which I have given is WESTERGAARD'S; and it cannot be much astray. In the next line but one, this verb is repeated with the negative particle, which has the effect of displacing the final vowel; *kinna cufic*, "has not been built." Afterwards we have *cufiyā*, "I have built," which is not in the same tense as *farirā*; but the former is, I suppose, the preterperfect, the latter the aorist. Both these tenses occur in one verb; we have *kuttā*, "I have made" (D. 12), and *kuttārā*, "I made" (D. 13). A form analogous to *cufiyā*, namely *liluwā*, "I inscribed," occurs in the Van inscription of Xerxes, l. 24. The third person singular of the preterperfect seems to have terminated in *ā*; that of the aorist in *ā* or rather *ā* (§ 7, a), while the plural terminated in *s*, or probably *ρ*; the vowel before all these terminations being the same as in the first person. Whatever may be thought of the terminations, some at least of the roots are manifestly Indo-European. Such is *du*, whence *dūptā*, "he gave;" *far-irā*, answering to the Persian *āgarbyam*, "I took;" but in other places the verb corresponds to tenses of *darayāmi*, "I possess." The connexion between carrying, taking, and possessing, was more obvious in times of rapine than it is now. For the etymological connexion between the Sanskrit *dhrī*, the equivalent of the last-mentioned Persian verb, and which signifies "to carry" as well as "to possess," and *dhrī*, the known equivalent of φέρω, see BOPP, Gloss. Sans. p. 185. But the most remarkable correspondence is the verb in the text. Though it is translated by the Persian *ātaham*, "I said," it is exclusively used in speaking of the obedience of the subjects of Darius to what he enjoined, commanded, or gave in charge. It is thus the exact equivalent in meaning to ἐπι-τελλω; and is like it a compound verb, consisting of corresponding elements. *Ab*, the first part, is the Sanskrit *abhi*, Gr. ἐπι; and the remainder *tī*, or *tā*, is τελλω (for τελλω, as ἀλλος for αλιος).

graphically, as an element in proper names, with the value *dan*; and, as a word, with this value, and also, according to circumstances, that of the plural *danut*; and, I have reason to suspect, those of the feminine singular and plural also, whatever these were. I may add that it also represented the numeral vii.

14. The phonetic value of  $\overline{\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽}}$ , in Median  $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽}$ , was *kar* or *yar*, the former generally when initial, or after a different vowel than *i*; and the latter after *i*. It occurs with this value in the word  $\overline{\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽}} \overline{\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽}}$  *na.kar*, 𐎠𐎢𐎽, "a stranger;" and in  $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽} \overline{\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽}} \overline{\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽}}$ , *Ba.kar.ru*, the name of the king of Egypt. It is inserted in some copies of an inscription between the two syllables *ri.ri*, while others omit it; compare 18.99 and 12.98. Here it must have the value *yar*. In like manner in Median it occurs as *yar* in  $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽}$ , 'C.sa.yar.fā (or  $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽}$ , 'C.sa.yar.ī.fā; so written to secure the *r* from being assimilated), Xerxes; and as *kar* or *qar* (see § 7 b, the final assimilated, for it can scarcely have been converted into *n*), in *Qa'.dā.rā*, Gandara, and  $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽} \overline{\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽}} \overline{\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽}} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽}$ , *Kar.dā'.c.f'.a'.fā*,\* Artaxerxes. It also, I have heard, begins the name of Cambyses. The initial character in the name of Thatagush is, I believe, not the same as this, but  $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽}$ , *tā*, the Babylonian form of which begins the same name. Now, the ideographic value of this character is certainly "all," and we can have little hesitation in assuming, that the phonetic value was derived from the known Semitic word 𐤀𐤁, which had this signification. Nevertheless, it is certain that a different word, signifying "all," was more generally used by the Assyrio-Babylonian tribes, and that the character before us is very often to be read *nīb*, *nibi*, or *nayabi*. In the Third Persepolitan inscriptions, the word for "all," after a plural noun, is sometimes written in full  $\overline{\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽}} \overline{\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽}} \overline{\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽}}$ , *nay.ab.bi*, as C. 10, 21; at other times a single character is substituted for the first two, viz.,  $\overline{\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽}}$  *nīb*, D. 15, H. 24. In the great inscription at the India House, and the Assyrian inscriptions,  $\overline{\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽}}$  is used, sometimes alone, and sometimes with  $\overline{\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽}}$  for a complement; cf. X. 6. and VIII. 1. It appears, however, that

\* This name is only found on the Venice vase, executed in Egypt in a late age; probably in the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus. The penultimate character has been supposed by WESTERGAARD to be  $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽}$ ; but the wedges are much more numerous. I take it to be the Median form of the Assyrian character  $\overline{\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽}}$  of which the proper value is *az*; and by § 7 b, it may be represented by *ap* or *a'* before a consonant. I have only met with it in this place.

this is to be read *nib*, not *nibi*; because in VII. 50. a different complement is used, viz.,  $\text{𐎠𐎢}$ , *yab* or *ib*; and *bā* is used elsewhere. This is to be explained by supposing, that the singular was *nib*, and the plural *nibi*, or *nibu*. When the character before us is followed by a complement, or when it is preceded by  $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎢}$ , *kin*, i. e. *yin*, it must, I conceive, be read *nib*, or *nibi*; and indeed I should be disposed to give it that value whenever it represents the word "all;" though it is possible that the word *kal* was also in use as a synonyme of this.

15. As the admission of two values, one phonetic and one ideographic, to the same character, must appear extraordinary, I will give a third instance of it, which appears to me unquestionable.  $\text{𐎠}$  has phonetically the value *qi*; when preceded by  $\text{𐎠}$ , it would be natural to read the group *aq*, for the final vowel would be likely to be dropped. Yet it is certain that  $\text{𐎠𐎠}$  is not *aq*, but, according to circumstances, *asib*, "who inhabits," or in the plural *asibut*, "who inhabit." It is distinctly interchanged either with  $\text{𐎠𐎠}$   $\text{𐎠𐎢}$   $\text{𐎠𐎢}$ , *ā.sī.yab* (cf. 8.21, 13.10, with 1.11, 15.11), or with  $\text{𐎠𐎠}$   $\text{𐎠𐎢}$   $\text{𐎠𐎢}$   $\text{𐎠𐎢}$ , *ā.sī.bu.tu*\* (cf. 168.26 with 165.19); the former after a singular, the latter after a plural noun. In like manner  $\text{𐎠𐎠}$   $\text{𐎠𐎢}$  is *ma.s'a.sib*, "a dwelling."† The two values of  $\text{𐎠}$  are, then, as a phonograph, *qi*, and as an ideograph "to dwell," *sib*.

16. It cannot be denied that this double use of characters is a source of great confusion, and that it greatly increases the difficulty of deciphering the Assyrian writing. But if it was really practised, as I consider it quite certain, it must be recognised as a possible source of error, and carefully guarded against. We must, in the case of each character, consider not only what value it had when a phonetic element in a word, but whether it did not also represent a word; and, if so, two new questions arise,—what was the meaning of the word? and how was it pronounced? In many instances certainly, perhaps in the majority, its value as a word did not contain its ordinary phonetic value. I have, I believe, answered these questions correctly as to the three characters last adduced; but as to several others, of which the phonetic value seems to me

\* I use *t'u* as indicating that the proper value of the character is *tu*, but that it is here to be pronounced *t*, according to the rule laid down in § 10.

† Or it may be *wasib*, the initial character representing the first radical  $\text{𐎠}$ ; for it is plain that *wā/ab* was the original root, and not *yā/ab*. It is certain, however, that *w* and *m* were interchanged.



quite certain, I can only say that they were sometimes used as words, but with meanings and sounds that as yet are unknown. Such are  $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎡}$ , *ri*, and  $\text{𐎠𐎢}$ , *tu*, which are adjectives qualifying the noun  $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎡}$ , "property, riches," having distinctive, if not opposite, meanings.\* This last character is, I believe, only used as a word, and I would read it *natta*. The *n* represents the Hebrew *נ*, and the character which properly represents *ta* in the Assyrian inscriptions, has for its Aramæan correspondent generally *la* or *ra*. This word is, then, an apparent equivalent of the Aramæan  $\text{ܠܐܘܢܐ}$ ; differing from it only in its vowels.  $\text{𐎠𐎢}$  is also used for a portion of time, "a half-month," and, with  $\text{𐎠𐎢}$  prefixed (see § 19) for the name of a god, who seems evidently "the moon." See Nos. 23, 25, 56, of the "Oriental Cylinders," edited by Mrs. Cullimore, where the lunar crescent is represented over the god thus called. In the Van inscriptions,  $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎡}$  *na* is sometimes added, constituting a theme, which *may be Tu.na=Lunus*;† but I cannot regard it as certain that the initial character has in this name its ordinary phonetic value; nor can I identify any Semitic adjective with *tun*. I formerly confounded,  $\text{𐎠𐎢}$ , or  $\text{𐎠𐎢}$ , with  $\text{𐎠𐎢}$ , which in the Third Persepolitan inscriptions has the value *par*, or rather *far*. They have not been distinguished as carefully as they should have been by the copyists of these inscriptions; but I am now satisfied that they totally differ in value.

17. Some characters not only represent words by themselves, but in composition with other characters represent other words; the composition respecting the ideas and not the sounds. Thus  $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠𐎢}$ , the first word in most of the Assyrian inscriptions, is compounded of two, which signify "house, great," and which were read, when separate, *bit*, *rab*; but there is no reason to suppose

\* Or, as I have elsewhere suggested,  $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎡}$  may be here a determinative prefix; and the two characters which usually follow it, may be abbreviated names. In that case their probable meanings would be "gold" and "silver." I am not acquainted with any names of these metals which began with the syllables which these characters phonetically represent; but there is an ideographic connexion between "silver" and "the moon."

† The interchange of *t* and *t* with *l* and *r*, in passing from one language to another, has been often noticed; and frequent instances of it are met with in these inscriptions; but as *t* was generally pronounced by the Van people as *f* (see § 7, *b*), which was confounded with *w* and *m*, it may deserve consideration, whether the Van *tun-as* was not cognate with the Greek  $\mu\eta\upsilon\eta$ , M. G. *mena*; A. S. *mona*; our own *moon*; and whether an etymological connexion is not thus established between these words and the Latin *luna*.

that the word made up of these two characters was read *bitrab*. It is probable that it had a sound of its own totally distinct. The meaning was, however, compounded of the meaning of these two. It was "a palace," or "public building." In like manner  $\Xi \blacktriangleright$ , "a daughter," is composed of two characters, which signify "a son,"\* *dan*, and "a woman," or the initial syllable of the word signifying "a woman," which I suspect to be *cā*. I am ignorant how this word should be read; but I think it plain that it was not *dan-ca*, nor *dan-cālat*, supposing this last to be the Assyrian word for "woman." Yet there is great danger of reading ideographic compounds in this erroneous manner; more especially when the ideographic elements are of the kind spoken of in the preceding section, having phonetic as well as ideographic values. The name of a deity, for example, is sometimes written  $\blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright$ , and sometimes  $\blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright \Xi \blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright$ . The values of the two last characters, as phonographs, are certainly *gu*,  $\blacktriangleright$ , and *yab* or *ib*; but I have little doubt that any one would commit a gross error who should consider the value of  $\blacktriangleright$ , and accordingly the name of this deity to be *guyab*, or anything like it. The two characters have ideographic values, as well as phonetic; and they here constitute an ideographic compound, consisting of two words, a title of the deity, or a periphrasis for her name (for I suppose that it was a goddess); while  $\blacktriangleright$  was the real name, or an abbreviation of it. In like manner  $\blacktriangleright \blacktriangleleft \blacktriangleleft$ , the name of another god, is interchanged with  $\blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright \Xi \blacktriangleright$ ; and a person would be very apt to suppose that  $\blacktriangleleft \blacktriangleleft$  was phonetically equivalent to the two characters used in its place. The value of this character is, however, *san*, or *θan*, which was the name of the god; probably the  $\Theta\acute{\omega}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , which Eusebius gives as the first part of the Assyrian name of Sardanapalus, and certainly the first element in the name of Sennacherib; while the two characters which replace it represent *words*; the first being *cin*, or *biat*, "a lord," and the second of value as yet unknown to me.

18. I have said that "lord" was expressed by *cin* or *biat*. Here is another source of difficulty. The same idea may be expressed by two or more words, and the character representing that idea may represent any of these.  $\blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright$  is replaced by  $\blacktriangleleft \blacktriangleright$ , i. e. *ci.n'a*, in both the Babylonian and the Khorsabad inscriptions; and again,  $\blacktriangleleft \blacktriangleright \blacktriangleleft \blacktriangleright$ , i. e. *bi.a.ℓ'a*, replaces it in the barrel inscription pub-

\* Or rather "a child," though it is used by itself for "a son." Sometimes it is used as an adjective in the sense of "small."

lished by GROTEFEND. The latter is clearly  $\text{לעב}$ , with a different vocalization, however, from that of the Masorites; while the former is probably Indo-European, connected with  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$  and the German *herr*; *n* and *r* final are almost always confounded.\* The words for "god" are still more numerous.  $\text{𐤠𐤍}$ , "god," is interchanged with  $\text{𐤠𐤍}$   $\text{𐤠𐤍}$ , *i.lu* (cf. I. 30 and Gr. 1, 11);† and in PORTER'S transcript the same characters occur, where the great inscription has the word "god" repeated to form the plural. Here we should read the word *ilu*. This word for "god" is Aramæan; and this value *il* is that of  $\text{𐤠𐤍}$  in the name of Babylon given in § 10. Again, at the beginning of the name of Nebuchadnezzar in the barrel inscriptions, we have the characters answering to  $\text{𐤠𐤍}$   $\text{𐤠𐤍}$ , and to  $\text{𐤠𐤍}$   $\text{𐤠𐤍}$   $\text{𐤠𐤍}$   $\text{𐤠𐤍}$ , used indifferently for the first element. This requires us to read  $\text{𐤠𐤍}$  in the first of these equivalents, *nab*, the following character being certainly *ic*; in the second,  $\text{𐤠𐤍}$  is a non-phonetic determinative (see below), and the two characters which follow are *nā.bi*. Now,  $\text{𐤠𐤍}$   $\text{𐤠𐤍}$   $\text{𐤠𐤍}$ , *n'.ab*, is the Median word for god, as written in the Second Persepolitan inscriptions. The first two characters are the same as in the Babylonian; the third is *ab*. But, thirdly, in the Assyrian inscriptions,  $\text{𐤠𐤍}$  is repeatedly interchanged with  $\text{𐤠𐤍}$ ; and this last is a compound of  $\text{𐤠}$ , *ad*, and  $\text{𐤠𐤍}$ , *šur*, for the whole of which the former element is used by abbreviation. This word for "god" seems connected with *āhura*, the Persian

\* In fact *l* is used for *n* in this very root; the divided noun "lordship," being  $\text{𐤠𐤍}$   $\text{𐤠𐤍}$ , *ci.lu.š'i*. Both these words signify "lord;" but when  $\text{𐤠𐤍}$  is preceded by  $\text{𐤠}$ , the group must be translated "first;" see § 19 and the note thereon. Sometimes it signifies "first," when alone, and is then interchanged with  $\text{𐤠𐤍}$   $\text{𐤠𐤍}$ , *ā-š'i*, which, of course, had that meaning. More frequently, however, this word is a preposition signifying "over, besides, to," &c., the exact equivalent of the Sansk. *adhi*; and I have met with  $\text{𐤠𐤍}$  representing this preposition. This may be illustrated by the use of the hieroglyphic *head*, which was read *āpi*, and which signified "first," "chief or lord," and "upon;" exactly as the cuneatic character does. It is possible that the two words were etymologically connected; for the Theban *āpi* would be pronounced *ābi* in Lower Egypt; and the Assyrians were very partial to the dental continuants *š* and *t*, preferring them especially to the corresponding labials; while the neighbouring nations generally substituted for these sounds either the labials or *l*, *r*, *n*, or *h*, which latter again passed into *s* or *f*.

† In references such as I. 30, where the first figure is a Roman capital, it denotes a column of the great inscription at the India House; the other figure denotes the line. Gr. and B. denote the barrel inscriptions, in the Babylonian cursive character, published by GROTEFEND and RICH, and the two figures which follow denote the column and line.

word of like meaning, and also with *āhus*, a word used at Van; perhaps, also, with the Hebrew  $\text{אלה}$ . It seems to have been applied peculiarly to "the sun," the various Indo-European names of which,\* as well as the Egyptian *atun*, seem derivable from this root; *ā* passing to *h*, and so to *s*; and *r*, *l*, and *n* final being interchangeable. In the Van inscriptions  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , there formed  $\text{𐎠𐎡𐎢}$ , is represented by a fourth word, written  $\text{𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣}$  in the theme; that is, I believe, *nā.βi*, though the value of  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , as *nā*, is not completely established. In the Van writing *b* is confounded with *w* and *m*, so that this may be a modification of the Median word.†

19. The preceding character for "god," and several others, are used as determinative prefixes to words which are phonetically complete without them. Examples appear in the second of the two forms for *nabic*, in the Median *nab* and the Van *nabi*, all of which have this character prefixed; as has the name *San* in § 17, and many others.  $\text{𐎠}$  is used as a determinative before names of men. This signified "one," and was capable of representing *ānā*,  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$  the two first syllables of the pronoun of the first person, *ā.nā.cu*, or *ā.nā.c'u*, the Hebrew  $\text{אני}$ , or the Coptic and Egyptian  $\text{ⲁⲛⲟⲕ}$ .‡ Both forms are used in the Third Persepolitan, the Babylonian, and the Nimrūd inscriptions. This character also represents *ārā* in the Median representation of

\* We have the Zend *hwarē* (in the vocative); Greek *ἥλιος* and *ἥλιος*; Sanskrit *sūras* and *sūryas*; Latin *sol*; M. Goth. *sunna*, *sunno*, and *sauil*; Lith. *saulė*. While this sheet was passing through the Press, I met with a striking confirmation of the analogies here pointed out. I received, through the kindness of the gentlemen in the Antiquarian Department of the British Museum, a paper impression of the sculptures on the obelisk found by Dr. LAYARD at Nimrūd, and now in the National Collection. In these sculptures Assur (*Ašur*, i. e. "the God," *κατ' ἐξοχήν*), is represented in the air, in front of the king, and over his prostrate enemy, in the same manner as *Āhura Mazda* is represented in front of Darius at Behistun. Each of them is figured with wings, and in a ring; and what is evidently intended for the sun is connected with the Nimrūd deity.

† The value of  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$  as a phonograph is *an*; and accordingly it has been supposed, that *this* was the Babylonian name for "God." Of this, however, I know no proof; and it no more follows from the phonetic value being what it is, than it would follow that *ā* was the Babylonian word for "son," or *ei* the English for "one."

‡ On the Nimrūd obelisk  $\text{𐎠}$  is used for  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , *ā.n'ā*, as a preposition, signifying "to" or "for" (= Heb.  $\text{ל}$ ); and not in the sense of "one," except in compound numerals. "First" is expressed by the ideographic compound  $\text{𐎠𐎡𐎢}$ ; and "one" would probably be expressed by some other compound.

the nominative of the Persian word *ārasahyā*; it being there used both as a determinative, and as this initial element of the word. At Van it has a different value, as signifying "one;" but its use as a determinative is similar.  $\text{𐎠}$  is used as a determinative in Median, being prefixed to words which signified place, as to those which correspond to the Persian *bumif*, "the earth;" *stānam*, "a place;" *witam*, "a house;" *patif*, "a tomb,"\* &c. This character is not used as a determinative in the Assyrio-Babylonian dialects, but in all of these it is used as a preposition denoting properly "at" or "in;" its value is *ad*, and it is not unlikely that this was an old noun signifying "a place." Indeed, there is some reason to think, that, besides having the phonetic value *ad*, it was used ideographically for  $\text{𐎠}$   $\text{𐎠}$ , *in.'ā*, another preposition of like signification, with which it is interchanged in the inscriptions. This is according to § 14. But that  $\text{𐎠}$ , with its proper phonetic value *ad*, sometimes signified "in," appears from two considerations. In the first place, it is interchanged with  $\text{𐎠}$   $\text{𐎠}$ , *az*, the lapidary character answering to which is repeatedly used for  $\text{𐎠}$  in the great inscription at the India House. Again, in this inscription I. 19, we have two characters, *jā.nat*, while in a parallel place many bricks and barrels have the four characters, *jā.n'a.kin.na*; *kinna*† is another preposition repeatedly interchanged with *in*, and it is here clearly interchanged with *ad* also. The use of *jā nat* to express *jan ad* (a participle and preposition, as it would seem), illustrates the total disregard of etymology which characterizes these inscriptions. To approximate to the sound by syllabic characters was all that the writers aimed at.

20. The characters used as determinatives by the Assyrio-Babylonians seem all to have represented words, and they had many of them phonetic values also. Thus  $\text{𐎠}$   $\text{𐎠}$ , † "a city" or "town," was *nir*,  $\text{𐎠}$   $\text{𐎠}$ , in the plural  $\text{𐎠}$   $\text{𐎠}$   $\text{𐎠}$   $\text{𐎠}$ ,

\* I translate the three lines at the close of the inscription on the tomb of Darius, not as a moral sentiment, but as an injunction to the reader not to violate his tomb.

† Perhaps the two prepositions which I have read *i.n'ā* and *kin.na* are radically the same. The word *kin* (Copt.  $\text{𐎠}$ , Gr.  $\epsilon\nu$ , Lat. and M. Goth. *in*) may represent both; see § 7 (a); the gutturals being often prefixed arbitrarily to Assyrio-Babylonian, as well as to Median words. As to the second form, the  $\text{𐎠}$  (or  $\text{𐎠}$ , as it is often found), *na*, may be a complement to the  $\text{𐎠}$   $\text{𐎠}$   $\text{𐎠}$   $\text{𐎠}$ , *kin*, which would thus be *ki* as well as *kin*. This would be similar to what certainly happens in the case of another preposition  $\text{𐎠}$ , *man*, "from" (see § 31).

‡ Also written  $\text{𐎠}$   $\text{𐎠}$ ; in like manner,  $\text{𐎠}$   $\text{𐎠}$  and  $\text{𐎠}$   $\text{𐎠}$ ;  $\text{𐎠}$   $\text{𐎠}$  and  $\text{𐎠}$   $\text{𐎠}$ ;  $\text{𐎠}$   $\text{𐎠}$  and  $\text{𐎠}$   $\text{𐎠}$ ;  $\text{𐎠}$

*nā.ri*; which is interchanged with  $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$ ; and in some words it is used as the syllable *ni*, in the beginning of the word which it represents. This is prefixed as a non-phonetic determinative, not only to proper names of towns, but to words signifying classes of towns, as  $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$   $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$   $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$   $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$  (74. 12), *bi.r'.ā.ṭi*, Heb.  $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$ ;  $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$   $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$   $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$  (75. 9), *nā.gu.(t)*, "strongholds," perhaps connected with Heb.  $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$ . In like manner  $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$ , which by itself signifies "a country," is prefixed as a determinative to names of countries; and it had also a phonetic value, probably *mā* or *wā*; for  $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$   $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$ , *m'.ā.ṭ.i*, is substituted for this word (cf. 47.92, &c., with 53). It occurs as a phonograph in the word signifying "horses," which is also found in the Van inscription, and was probably Indo-European. This begins with  $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$ , which character is sometimes used for the whole word, and also as a determinative prefix to other beasts of burden. The remainder of the word is  $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$   $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$ ; i. e. *mā.rā*, or *wā.rā*; which may be the origin of our "mare," a word which occurs in all the Teutonic and Scandinavian languages, and which is in some of them applied to the species, without distinction of sex. Or we may suppose, that the initial character had the value *as*, or *ac*; which would give *as.wā.r'ā*, or *ac.wā.r'ā*, which might be the plural of another Indo-European word, having the required signification.\*

Other determinative prefixes are  $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$ , "a people," and  $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$ , "a man;" which are prefixed indifferently to words signifying offices and conditions of

and  $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$ ; and many other pairs of characters, are written indifferently. The crossed wedges are probably the most ancient forms, for which wedges in the same directions, that did not intersect, might be substituted whenever the substitution would not confound the character with one essentially different. Thus  $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$  could not be written for  $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$  when the latter stands alone, because it might then be confounded with  $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$  or  $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$ ; but when it is joined to  $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$  in one character, it might be substituted for it. In the last of the pairs given above, the second form has an additional wedge; but several characters admit variations in the number of parallel wedges. See the table in page 7; and compare the different forms of almost all the characters there given.

\* Whatever may be thought of these etymologies, of which I much prefer the former, it is a matter of absolute certainty, that the group here cited signified "horses." On the Nimrūd obelisk it is connected with a well-executed representation of a horse. Another group beginning with this prefix  $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$   $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$   $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$ , *ā.'b. bā*, which in my Paper on the Van inscriptions (Journal Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ix. p. 439) I supposed to signify "elephants," appears from the obelisk to mean "camels."

men; the former is also prefixed to proper names of people, and may thus be interchanged with  $\text{𐤀}$ . The word  $\text{𐤏 𐤍 𐤏 𐤏 𐤏}$ , *pā.q'.ā.ti* 𐤏𐤏𐤏 (Num. ii. 9), "governors" (145. 10), has besides this determinative a second, namely,  $\text{𐤏 𐤏}$ , which by itself signifies "a lord." This is the only instance of two determinatives being prefixed to a word which I have yet met with. In hieroglyphics two are frequently used, and sometimes even three.

The usual prefix to words signifying place is  $\text{𐤏 𐤏}$ , which is applied with great latitude, as in the common word  $\text{𐤏 𐤏 𐤏 𐤏 𐤏}$ , *aqū.jā*, "a possession," Heb. 𐤏𐤏𐤏. Many words have  $\text{𐤏 𐤏 𐤏 𐤏}$  before them; and this may in some instances have been a non-phonetic determinative. It was often, however, there can be no doubt, pronounced as *bit*, which begins so many Hebrew proper names.

21. The character  $\text{𐤏 𐤏}$ , "land," concludes many words, and seems to have been in some instances a non-phonetic determinative, differing from all the others in being placed after the word instead of before it. Two words in 40. 8 conclude with this character; while in other inscriptions it is omitted and  $\text{𐤏 𐤏}$  is prefixed. In these instances it can scarcely be doubted that it was non-phonetic. In other instances the same inference may be drawn from its being sometimes omitted. Thus in the name of Assyria it appears as the final character in the Nakshi-Rustam inscription, and generally at Khorsabad, but not in the more ancient inscriptions from Nimrūd.\* At Khorsabad, too, it is occasionally omitted, as in 3. 2, 165. 1, *et al.* It would seem, however, that some distinction was required between the name of the god and that of the country; and we may, therefore, infer, that the latter was called *mat.ad.šur*, or *ad.šur-wāti*, either the initial  $\text{𐤀}$ , or the final  $\text{𐤏 𐤏}$ , being pronounced *as a word*. I may here add, that the name is not only written with  $\text{𐤏 𐤏 𐤏}$ , *ad.šur*, combined into one character, but with  $\text{𐤏 𐤏 𐤏}$ , *ā.šur*; and to this the determinative  $\text{𐤏 𐤏}$  is sometimes prefixed. I have never seen it written  $\text{𐤀 𐤏 𐤏}$ ; but I should

\* On the Nimrūd obelisk it is sometimes used; as in the twenty-third line of the lower part of the first face. I would here observe, that the eighteen lines at the top of the first face begin the inscription; then come the eighteen at the top of the second, third, and fourth; and then the lower part of the first face followed by the lower parts of the others. The five lines which follow the eighteenth go round the obelisk, and are explanations of the five belts of sculpture over which they respectively stand.

not be surprised to find it so expressed in the Nimrûd inscriptions. In the name of Babylon, given in § 10, it seems as if this character should have its phonetic value *wā*; and it may have had it also in some other words, as  $\text{𐎶 𐎠- 𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎶}$ , *Far.tu.wā*, "Parthia;" for which is substituted in one of the inscriptions  $\text{𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎠}$ , *ā.qa'.ri.a*, Hariwa of the Persian.

22. There is a name which occurs several times in the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar, which concludes with this character. As there is great reason for supposing it to be the name of Jerusalem, it is of peculiar interest; and I will, therefore, analyse it. It is written in all the following ways:

$\text{𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎠}$ , III. 36.

$\text{𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎠}$ , VI. 58.

$\text{𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎠}$ , PORTER'S transcript of III. 36.

$\text{𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎠 𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎠}$ , GROTEFEND'S barrel, the final character being omitted in one place.

The value of  $\text{𐎶}$  is known to be *wa*, while the two first characters of the last form are *bā.ar* or *b'.ar*; *b* and *w* are apt to be confounded. From the interchange of these syllables before  $\text{𐎠𐎶𐎠}$ , it follows that this last must represent a syllable beginning with *r*; which must be *ra* or *ru*, because this character is distinguished from  $\text{𐎠𐎶𐎠}$ , of which the value is known to be *ri*.  $\text{𐎠𐎶}$  is *si*, and  $\text{𐎠𐎶𐎠}$  *ru* or *lu*. These are interchanged with  $\text{𐎠𐎶}$ , of which the ordinary phonetic value is *pā*; but it must in this place represent a word, so as to be equivalent to the two preceding. It might indeed be supposed, that  $\text{𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎠}$  constituted a single character with the value *pā*, as  $\text{𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎠}$  constitutes a single character with the value *ar*; but the third form of the word shows that this is not the case; for  $\text{𐎠𐎶}$ , *lu*, a homophone of  $\text{𐎠𐎶𐎠}$ , is there placed after  $\text{𐎠𐎶}$ , as a complement to it. But as the same characters represent *u* and *wa* or *ma*, it is natural that the same characters should represent syllables terminating in *u* and in *am* or *av*; and this is found to be the case in other instances. We may then read the conclusion of the name either *si.lam*, or, giving a phonetic value to the last character, *si.lu.mā*. This was the word expressing the idea for which  $\text{𐎠𐎶}$  stood, perhaps "peace;" and *pā* may have been the initial sound in the corresponding word



of some other language.\* However this may be, the reading of the latter part of the name appears unquestionable; and as it is exactly that of the name of Jerusalem, and as the consonants of the former part agree also (the Hebrew initial ʾ being well known to represent ʾ in a variety of instances), I do not hesitate to identify the name with that of the Jewish capital. 𐤀 is *wa*, a homophone of ʾ, and 𐤒 𐤓 and 𐤒 𐤓 must be *ru* or *lu*. The whole name is *Wa.ru.si.lu.mā*, or *si.lam*, according as we sound or omit the final ideograph.

23. The plural is sometimes expressed by adding a phonetic termination; but the ideographic sign 𐤀 is sometimes added to the singular, which must be read as this termination, whatever it may be. Instances have been given in §§ 11 and 20, where the plural terminates in *i*, to which 𐤀, *n'a*, is often added after the plural sign. In 2.17 the plural sign terminates a word, which in 8.33 ends in 𐤀 𐤀 𐤀 𐤀 𐤀, *u.ʿi*. Sometimes an ideograph which represents a word is repeated to represent its plural, as 𐤒 𐤓 𐤒 𐤓, for *narin*, "cities." Or, if a complement be used, the ideograph is doubled, and the complement added; as in 𐤀 𐤀 𐤀 𐤀 𐤀, *bā(?)bi*, "territories" (see § 10). When a noun and adjective were both represented by ideographs, the adjective which was placed last was alone doubled; but if the plural sign was added, it would be added to both. Thus "great gods" was expressed by 𐤒 𐤓 𐤀 𐤀, or by 𐤒 𐤓 𐤀 𐤀 𐤀, *ilu*, or *āduru, rabu*. The Assyrian plural terminated in *in*, or *ut*, or *ud*, which latter were used almost indifferently, the consonant being often dropped. The latter of these terminations was by no means a sign of the feminine gender. The Babylonian termination was *at* or *at*, for which we have sometimes *u*.

24. I will now give the analysis of the royal names which occur in the Babylonian inscriptions, and in the monuments of the later Assyrian dynasty that have been hitherto published. I begin with that of Nebuchadnezzar, the builder of the palaces, the ruins of which are in the neighbourhood of Hillah. His own name, and also that of his father, begins with *Nabic*, written in one of the two ways mentioned in § 18. It would seem that this name was pronounced *Nabu*; either through some such process as has converted the Anglo-Saxon *mearg, sorg*, into the English *marrow, sorrow*, or from the sound *c* or *k* being occasionally added to divine names, and yet not always pronounced.

\* Cf. Lat. *pax*, connected with *pango*, = Gr. *πάγωμι*, and Sansk. *paçāmi*.

The conclusions of the two names are alike also. They are sometimes expressed by a single character, for which we have elsewhere  $\text{𐎠𐎡𐎢}$   $\text{𐎠𐎡𐎢}$   $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , *u.gu.war*, or *uḡur*; this is sometimes expressed by  $\text{𐎠𐎡𐎢}$   $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , which fixes the value of the last character as *gur* or *gar*. Between these two elements, the son's name has the following sets of characters used indifferently, viz.:

$\text{𐎠𐎡𐎢}$   $\text{𐎠𐎡}$   $\text{𐎠𐎡}$   $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , *cu.du.war.ray*.\*  
 $\text{𐎠𐎡}$   $\text{𐎠𐎡}$   $\text{𐎠𐎡}$  or  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$  and  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$   $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ .

The first of these forms is purely phonetic, and gives the reading *cuḏurray*, or for the whole name *Nabic-cuḏurray-uchur*. In all the other forms an ideographic element appears. The double character in the second and third, like the plural sign in the instance cited § 20, indicates the termination *ut* or *ud*. This teaches us that  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$  represented a substantive, as well as the syllable *cu*. I am ignorant of its meaning; nor can I say whether it was pronounced *cu* or *cud*, giving for the plural *cud* or *cudut*; the terminal of the latter might, I have reason to think, be assimilated to the following *r*. The last syllable is *ri* or *ray*, as before, or *ru*. The fourth form is still more difficult to explain. I first observe that  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , and its undoubted equivalent  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , which properly signify "of," or "which" (like the Hebrew prefix *ש*, to which they correspond, one of them even in form), are used by abbreviation to express "son of," on two barrels and two gems of Nebuchadnezzar published by GROTEFEND, and also in the Khorsabad reverses. They thus acquire the ideographic value *tan* or *tar* (see § 13); and this must be the value in the present instance.  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , is properly *du*, but is often used for *nu*. This character twice written is found at the end of the names of a city and a tribe in Southern Syria.  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$   $\text{𐎠𐎡}$   $\text{𐎠𐎡}$   $\text{𐎠𐎡}$  (44.17), is *az.du.du*, Azotus  $\text{אזודוד}$ ; but  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$   $\text{𐎠𐎡}$   $\text{𐎠𐎡}$   $\text{𐎠𐎡}$  (145.6), seems to be *lib.nu.n'u*, "Lebanon,"  $\text{לבנון}$ . On the other hand, the Median  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , which corresponds to the Assyrian  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , and to No. 211 in the lapidary list (not to 28 in that list, with which it is identical in form) has properly the value *nu*, but is often used for *du*, as is proved by the use of *dā* in other modifications of words in which this character is found. The fourth form of the

\* The third character is generally represented by a homophone of that here given, to which I have not yet found an Assyrian equivalent, and which cannot be represented by the types.




middle part of the name is thus *šan.nu*; giving for the entire *Nabic-šann'.uḡur*, which is nearer the Hebrew form נבכדנאצר than any of the others. The middle part of the father's name has been already given in § 13, and is equivalent to this last, *šan* or *šar*; and this agrees with the testimony of Ptolemy's canon, that the names of the father and son were alike, or at least that the son was sometimes called by a name identical with that of his father. I will only add, in relation to this name, that the form Nabopolassar, under which it appears in Greek, is probably derived from a dialectic variation. *Nabu* and *Nabic* were different forms of the name of the Babylonian deity which commences it; and *šan*, the second element in the father's name, and in the son's as occasionally written, was, *we know*, dialectically changed into *bar* or *ban* (בר or בן); and considering the affinity of *b* and *p*, as well as of *n* or *r* and *l*, we need not wonder if in other dialects this was replaced by *pol* for *pal*. The Greek σσ, and the Hebrew צ, were certainly used to represent *g*; and indeed I have no doubt, that this was the real value of them both.\*






25. The name of the builder of the south-western palace at Nimrūd consists of three elements, — or —>𐎶, 𐎶, and 𐎶 or —. The value of — is *ad*; and it is here used by abbreviation for —>𐎶, *aḏur*, which is also used itself in other inscriptions. The second element is *kā*, and the third is either the ideograph for *šan* (see § 13), or the abbreviation for *aḏur*. The name is thus, *Aḏur.kā.šan*, or *Aḏur.k.aḏur*. It is that which appears in the canon of Ptolemy as *Assapadivos*, or rather *Isapudivos*; and in the Bible as אסר-חדן. There was a much more ancient king of Assyria who bore this name also. He built the north-western place at Nimrūd.

26. The father of this king built the palace at Kouyunjik, and is commemorated on the tablet at the river Lycus. He is the סנכריב of the Bible, and the Senacharib, or Sinecherim of Alexander Polyhistor.† His Assyrian name begins with —>𐎶<<< 𐎶 𐎶<<<. The first two characters have been explained in

\* See, as to the Hebrew letter, note \* in p. 13.

† I have no means of referring to the Armenian version of Eusebius, in which the fragment of Polyhistor is preserved. CORY writes it in both these ways, and others also, and that of this king's son, Assordanius. In transcribing the names from Greek to Armenian, and again from Armenian to Latin, there is much liability to error, in addition to the ordinary danger of mis-copying proper names.

page 25 as *san* or *θan*; and it appears from the Second Persepolitan inscriptions, that this, or something very like it, was the value of <<<.\* The next character is *kā* and the plural sign converts this to *kāy'i* or *ki*. We have thus *sanki*, or perhaps *sankin*; for the *n*, which is sometimes written after the plural in *i*, was probably supplied in most instances. This seems to have been the name of a deity or deities; whether the plural was used to express actual plurality, or, as in other instances, for mere honour, is uncertain. The remainder of the king's name should then be a *word*, in order that the compound should be significant; and accordingly the single character which remains must express a word. On the strength of the Hebrew and Latin forms, we might assign it *riv* or *rim* as an ideographic value, whatever its value was as a phonetic element; on the principle laid down in § 12, and illustrated in the subsequent sections. I begin with laying down this principle, because I am not sure what the final character in the word really is. BOTTA gives it as , which is a variant of  (Lap. 126), and which has for its phonetic value *su* or *θu*. A variation, however, in the position of a single wedge, will convert this into  (Lap. 180), which has the value of *lu* or *ru*; and, final *u* being often expressed in the same manner as *av* or *am* (see § 22), this is as near the conclusion of the name which we want as we could desire. Now in the copy of a brick inscription from Kouyunjik, published by the Syro-Egyptian Society, after a manuscript of GROTEFEND, the first character is of this last form; and, if I recollect right, it is so in the copperplate in RICH'S Koordistan and Niniveh. There is no doubt that M. BOTTA has altered many characters in his inscriptions, so as to reduce them to what he considers their normal forms. In most places he has done

\* The word "Persian" in the nominative is transcribed by  , *Par. θā*. The last character is of doubtful origin, but its value is certainly *sā* or *tā*. Now <<< is used in its stead in the ablative; i. e. before the postposition *iccāfar*, "by" or "from. It is, therefore, *sā* or *tā*, with something added to prevent the *hiatus*; and, according to all analogy, nothing is so likely to be added as *n*. In the Kouyunjik inscriptions (of many of which I received copies through the kindness of Mr. BIRCH of the British Museum, while this sheet was in the Press), the beginning of this name is very variously written. The ideographic compound given in p. 25, as equivalent to the name, is sometimes substituted for it; the determinative prefix  is sometimes omitted; a homophone of  is sometimes used in its stead, and , *qi* or *ysi*, is used for the plural sign. All these variations express precisely the same combination of sounds.

so correctly, but in some he has obviously blundered; and until I see a facsimile of an inscription belonging to this king or his son, or have the testimony of some person who has examined such an inscription with a view to this question, I must be excused for doubting what the final character really is. *At any rate*, I am persuaded it must be read *rav* or *ram*, or something like it; so as to produce the name which we are accustomed to write Sennacherib.\*

27. The father of this king was the builder of the palace at Khorsabad; and it appears that he was the first of his family who was king of Assyria, or at least that his father was not a king. The name of his father is mentioned on the bricks at Khorsabad, and on the reverses of certain slabs, which were first inscribed, and afterwards turned towards the brick wall behind them, a new inscription being cut on the other side. No titles of royalty are added to the father's name, which was on the slabs simply  $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \leftarrow \text{𐎶} \rightarrow\text{𐎶} \rightarrow\text{𐎶}$ . On the bricks the last character is written  $\rightarrow\text{𐎶}$ . I believe the true reading of this is *Ci.n'u.ab.atur*; but nothing at all like it is preserved in history. The name of the king is variously written. It consists of two parts. The first is  $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \rightarrow\text{𐎶}$ , or  $\leftarrow\leftarrow$ ; all which are used ideographically to express the idea "king." In the word signifying "kingdom" or "reign," which is derived from this, as מלכות from מלך, there is sometimes found one of these characters followed by  $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \leftarrow$ , *u. t'i*, or by the last alone, *t'i*. This indicates that the word terminates in *u*, or at least that it may do so. Now in this word there is often substituted for the initial character  $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \rightarrow\text{𐎶}$ , the last is *lu* or *ru*, and the first is *kin*; and as the last is omissible, the intermediate character must contain a final

\* It is possible, considering the manner in which *t* was interchanged with *r* and *l* (see § 28 and the note thereon), that *both* the characters here mentioned may have been used to express the last syllable, *tav* and *rav* being dialectic variations. In the Kouyunjik inscriptions mentioned in the last note, the name is written with  $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\text{𐎶}$ . On further consideration, I am satisfied that the value of this character was *siv* or *siu*; and that, though the rule given for the pronunciation of *s* as *θ* or *ρ*, in p. 14, is correct as respects the Median language, and probably the Babylonian (at least as it was used at Persepolis), the *Assyrians* pronounced *ρ* in place of *s* when a vowel preceded it, and *θ* when it did not. After nouns ending in *t*, it is used to express the affix "his." Thus,  $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \rightarrow\text{𐎶} \rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\text{𐎶}$ , is "his house," *bit. tiv*; this termination being elsewhere represented by  $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$ , *ti. v'a*. I should add, that in some of the Kouyunjik inscriptions this final character is replaced by  $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \rightarrow\text{𐎶}$ , *ni. b'ā*, given for the name *Sankinib*.

*r* or *l*. It is probably *nir* or *nil*, giving *kin.nil* or *kin.nil.lu* for the word signifying "king." In the window inscription of Darius, the king's name is followed by *kin.nil* and  $\text{𐎠𐎠𐎡}$ , *li* (for *lin*, the plural termination), when other inscriptions have the ideograph for "king." The latter part of the name is sometimes written  $\text{𐎠𐎠𐎡}$ , and sometimes  $\text{𐎠𐎠𐎡}$ . Before I had seen above a few of the Khorsabad inscriptions, and when I was aware of this variation only from BOTTA's statements, I suggested that these names perhaps indicated different kings, in which case I observed the later form would be found on the bricks and on the reverses of the slabs; the former on all the inscriptions visible in front. This is by no means the case; both forms being alike used in all classes of inscriptions. Of course this conjecture falls to the ground, and the two forms of the name must be nearly identical in pronunciation. The value of  $\text{𐎠𐎠𐎡}$  is certainly *ri* or *li*. It occurs in the word *nā.ri*, "cities," which is written with the same characters as here in reverse order, and also begins the word *rigil*, "a foot soldier." The first form of the name is then *kinnil.li.nā*; while the last is *kinnillu.n'u* (see § 24). The distinction between them is just that the first, or more common, ends in *in*, while the second ends in *un*. These two vowels are often confounded.

28. In seeking to identify this king with one recorded in history, I first thought of the Chynilidan of Ptolemy's canon. This was on the supposition that the builder of that palace was a distinct person from the king commemorated in its principal sculptures. On finding that all the inscriptions belonged to one king, it still appeared to me, that the son of Esarchaddon might have borne the same name as his great-grandfather, and that thus the name might be Chynilidan. There is, however, no *d* in the name as it appears in the inscriptions; and the supposition that  $\text{𐎠𐎠𐎡}$ , *li*, could be an abbreviation for *lida*, has no foundation to rest on. It afterwards occurred to me, that the name *Kinzir*, *Χινζίπος* of Ptolemy's canon, might better represent the name before us. The first syllable is as accurate as could be desired. The omission of the second vowel, and the substitution of *r* for *n* at the close of the name, can be no objections. The only difficulty that requires to be explained is the use of  $\zeta$  to represent *l*. Now, however it may be explained, it is a *fact*, that these letters are among those which in passing from one language to another are exchanged. The Greek  $\acute{o}\zeta\omega$ , and the Latin *oleo*, are the same verb diffe-

rently modified; and so are the Greek ζάω (originally, as Bopp has pointed out, ζάω) and the Gothic *liban*. Again, the name which in the Persian inscriptions is written *Uwárazmiya*, is in these inscriptions 𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤 (40.18), *War.al.ái*; the last syllable being pronounced βί or μί in some dialects, as it always is in the Van inscriptions. See § 7 (b). The explanation of this fact lies in the circumstance that both *l* and ζ\* are connected with *d*, *á*, or *t*. The instances of interchanges between each of the former and these last, in the different Indo-European languages, are numerous and well-known. I will add, that the Van 𐎠𐎡𐎢, *áá.wa*, is the Greek λᾶφο, "a people;" and that the Assyrio-Babylonian 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤, *ta.sū.n'a*, "a language" (used in the Third Persepolitan inscriptions with 𐎠, *nu*, for the last character, to translate the last part of the Persian compound *paruzandánam*, "of many languages"), is the Heb. ןשׁל. That the true value of the Assyrian character which begins this word is *ta*, and not *la*, appears from its commencing the word *ta.q'it*, "under,"† Hebrew תחת, and more positively from the use of the corresponding character 𐎠𐎡𐎢 in the Van language. This Van character is in the older Van inscriptions 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣, which again is used in some of the Khorsabad inscriptions as a variant of 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣; so that the correspondence of the two cannot be doubted. It is, then, by no means out of the range of probability, that the name *Kinilin* was in some dialects *Kinitin* or *Kinitir*, from which the transition to *Xivζip* would be easy.

29. It is not, however, sufficient to shew, as I have done, that the *Xivζipos* of the canon is a possible corruption of the name of this king. Before the identity of the two can be admitted, I must also shew that the time at which this king reigned was that at which Chinzirus is placed in the canon; and I

\* I do not lay any stress on the value of ζ; whatever were its proper value, the fact is certain, that it is the representative of δ, especially in connexion with ε; and, therefore, interchangeable with λ, *l*, which was also connected in sound with *d*, *á*, or *t*. I have, however, no doubt that the Hebrew ך and the Greek ζ expressed the sound of the English *j*. This I consider susceptible of demonstration; but it would occupy many pages, and is not essential to my present purpose. I think it probable, too, that the First Persepolitan 𐎠𐎡𐎢 had the same values; 𐎠𐎡𐎢 and 𐎠𐎡𐎢 being *j*, or the French *j*.

† As it is used as an abbreviation for this word, I have chosen it as the most proper word from which to determine its value. It is, however, much more commonly the representative of *la*. See what is said in the Appendix on the peculiar power of the consonant occurring in this and certain other characters.

must account for his name being connected with that of Porus. The statement of the canon is, that Chinzirus and Porus reigned in Babylon sixteen years after the epoch, or in 731 B. C. This statement is in complete harmony with the inscription, and with what we know from other sources of Assyrian customs. I proceed to develop these assertions. And first we know, that it was the custom of the Assyrian kings, when they made foreign conquests, not to incorporate them with their ancient kingdom, but to retain them as subject or dependent kingdoms. Hence the title "king of kings," subsequently borne by the Persian monarchs and their successors. To this corresponded in the Assyrian inscriptions the title  $\sum \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ , *kinnil* (or perhaps *malek*\*) *lib. nu*,† which I should translate "principal king," or "independent king;" the phonetic value of  $\sum \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$  is fixed as *lib* by transcription, if I recollect right, but I have






\* The ideograph for "king,"  $\ll$ , had two phonetic values. In the third Persepolitan inscription it is distinctly *ni*, either alone, or with a consonant that would assimilate with *f*. It is used after the syllable *man* and before *fi* in the Gentile name corresponding to *Hakâmanisiya*. See RICH, Pl. xix, last line (one of the copies of G.), where we have distinctly  $\sum \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \ll \text{𐎶}$ , *m'. an. ni(?) . fi*. In other inscriptions, as M. and NR., the *an* is omitted; while in others  $\sum \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ , *na. yas*, or *nis*, is substituted for  $\ll$ . In the Assyrian inscriptions it is used with the value *man* or *mā* as a substitute for  $\sum \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$  or  $\sum \text{𐎶}$ , the two characters, or single character, which it here follows. These three varieties are all used, when followed by  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ , *n'. āyi*, to express the word *Man. n'. āyi*, "Armenian." (Cf. 146. 3 and 73. 9; also 48. 13 and 40. 15.) It appears to me that this anomaly may be accounted for by supposing that the phonetic value of  $\ll$  is derived from the word *malak*. The *l* is convertible into *n*, as in many other instances; and *ak*, *ay*, and *i* are interchangeable, or at least similarly expressed; just as *am*, *av*, and *u* are; see §§ 22, 26, and note to § 19. *Mani* before another vowel than *i* would be sounded *man*, just as *kinilu* before *i* is sounded *kinil*; see § 27. In both cases the final consonant is repeated before the vowel that follows. The use of this ideograph to express the last syllable of its value, the first being prefixed as a complement, is analogous to what is often met with in hieroglyphic writing. It appears to me, then, that, though  $\ll$  is *ni*, it is only so after *mā* or *man*; and I am, therefore, of opinion, that the city mentioned in the Van inscriptions, which begins with this character, was not Niniveh; the two first characters in it being to be read *man. nu*, not *ni. nu*.








† After one of the names in the Nimrūd inscription, we have  $\sum \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ , *na*, in place of  $\text{𐎶}$ , *nu*; and in connexion with this  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ , *rab. a*, instead of the ordinary *rab. u*. I at first explained this by supposing that the sovereign there named was a queen; but I learn from Mr. BIRCH, that in other copies of the same inscription, *u* is used after this name, while *a* replaces it after others. The two forms appear from this to have been used indifferently. That which ends in *a* seems to have been a dual; and it might have been used, like the plural, as a mark of honour.



lost my reference;\* and this is confirmed by the name of Libanon in § 24. The meaning is ascertained from several passages, in which principal towns are distinguished from towns under them. The former are called  $\text{𐎗𐎠𐎢𐎵} \text{ 𐎠𐎢𐎽}$ , or more fully  $\text{𐎗𐎠𐎢𐎵} \text{ 𐎠𐎢𐎽} \text{ 𐎠𐎢𐎽} \text{ 𐎠𐎢𐎽} \text{ 𐎠𐎢𐎽}$ , *narin libnut* (145.7; 76.1). In the latter passage we have thirteen "principal towns," with twenty-four towns which are under them. In conformity to the custom in which this title originated, we find (2 Kings, xvi. 7) that Ahaz acknowledged himself "the servant and son" of Tiglath-pileser, King of Assyria; that is, he became one of his dependent kings, as Hoshea did to Shalmaneser (2 Kings, xvii. 3). When a kingdom was subdued, a new king was sometimes appointed; thus when Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem, he carried Jeconiah captive, and made his uncle, Zedekiah, his dependent king; and it appears from the Great Inscription at the India House, which was executed at this period of his reign, that he regulated the affairs of Jerusalem, as if it were one of his own cities, though it continued to have a king of its own. In like manner, from the valuable fragment of Assyrian history written by Alexander Polyhistor, and preserved in the Armenian version of Eusebius's Chronicle, we learn that when Sennacherib first took Babylon, he made his brother king of it; after whose reign Acises reigned for thirty days; he was slain by Marodach Baladan, who reigned for six months, when he too was slain, and was succeeded by Elib. In his third year Sennacherib again conquered Babylon, and made his son Asordan their king. It is then just what we should expect would be the case, that if Kinilin conquered Babylon, he would not become the immediate king of the country, but would appoint a dependent king over it. Such I suppose was Porus, whose name is an evident corruption of the name Pul, borne by a former king of Assyria; and who was therefore, in all probability, an Assyrian himself. The canon would very naturally mention the two kings, the lord paramount first, and then the dependent king whom he imposed on the conquered country. Now that Kinilin became ruler of Babylon in the course of his reign is quite evident from the inscriptions. On the reverses, the inscriptions on which were first executed, and then rejected, he makes no

\* It is also used for  $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽}$ , with its ideographic value *lib* (see § 15), after a vowel, when the *f* would be pronounced *r* or *l* (see the note in p. 26). An instance of this occurs 74.7; cf. 70.10.

claim to be sovereign of Babylon; and in the list of deities whom he mentions he does not include Nebo, the peculiar Babylonian deity. In the other inscriptions, however, Nebo is always mentioned among the gods; sometimes in the second place among three, as in 13. 6, and in the pavement inscriptions generally; sometimes in the fourth place among six, as in 153. 16; or in the fifth or sixth among seven, as in the bull inscriptions. The name of Babylon too is introduced immediately after that of Assyria, but with a different word from that which signifies "king" prefixed to it. The commencement of the inscription is "The palace of Kinilin, the great king, the independent king, the king of    - - (?) the king of Assyria, the  , i. e. lord paramount of Babylon, the king of ——." Then follow the names of two countries, each of which had two different names, while a fifth name included the two. This territory was united to Assyria at a remote period, the son of its king having inherited Assyria, in right, I believe, of his mother. Not having yet seen more than a very few of the Nimrud inscriptions, I cannot speak with confidence as to the particulars of this union of the countries. I observe, however, one pair of names, and the joint name in the Nimrud inscriptions, and I suppose that these names had become antiquated, and that the other pair of names were those by which the regions in question were known in the time of Kinilin. It does not follow that he was actually king over them; the title might be retained, as in the case of "England and France," "France and Navarre," and other similar instances in modern European history, when there was no actual sovereignty enjoyed by the titular king.

30. I now come to the chronological branch of the subject. I have to show that 731 B. C. is such a date as might be assigned to the conquest of Babylon by this king, without inconsistency with any known fact. There are two tests of the correctness of this date which we may apply, viz., the date assigned by Manetho to the reign of the contemporary sovereigns of Egypt who are named in the inscriptions at Khorsabad, and the date of the reigns of his son and grandson, as deducible from various sources. I begin with the Egyptian kings. There is mention made in 145. 15 of    , *Ba.kar.r'u*, king of   , *Ma.g'u.ray*, i. e. Bocchoris King of Egypt. In 75. 6 the same name occurs, the latter part being injured, but not so as to create any



twenty-seventh dynasty commenced 527 B. C. Africanus says, that Cambyses reigned six years in Egypt; and this is confirmed by an inscription in the Cosseir Road, first made known by BURTON in his Excerpta Hieroglyphica. Africanus assigns 150 years and six months to the twenty-sixth dynasty; and though he certainly errs as to the lengths of some of the later reigns, it is probable that he is correct as to the total. This would give 677 for the expulsion of the Ethiopians. Africanus allows forty years for the Ethiopian dynasty, and six for Bocchoris, who preceded them, and who would, therefore, have reigned from 723 to 717.

31. Before Bocchoris Africanus places Zit, Zḥr. Now in the Khorsabad inscriptions there is frequent mention made of ḫ ḫḫ ḫḫḫ ḫḫḫ, *Gi. l. ā*, king of ḫ ḫ ḫḫ ḫḫḫ ḫḫḫ, *u.waf*(land); Gita, king of Kush, or Ethiopia, whom I take to be no other than the Zit of Africanus. The softening of the hard *G* to *Z*, especially if this *Z* had the value of *J*, can require no remark. We know that Africanus wrote Σ for the initial character in the Xεόψ of Herodotus, and that in other instances hard sounds were softened by the Greeks of the age of Africanus, and those which preceded and followed it. The mode of reading the name of this country requires more to be said in justification of it. The value of ḫḫḫ is properly *ma* or *man* in the sense of "from."\* It

signify "when." The word before this, which I have given in § 15, and which I formerly supposed to signify "a dwelling," is a verb, "I made to dwell." The inference, then, which I formerly drew from this passage, that Bocchoris was residing out of Egypt, being driven therefrom by the Ethiopians, must now be abandoned.

\* In 74.9, after the name of a single city, we have ḫḫḫ ḫ ḫḫḫ ḫḫḫ, *man . u . ab . bi*, "out of it I brought." In 147.5, after four names of cities, we have ḫḫḫ ḫḫḫ ḫḫḫ ḫḫḫ ḫ ḫḫḫ ḫḫḫ, *man . u . n' u . ab . bi*, "out of them I brought." The variation in the mode of expressing the preposition does not depend on the affix which follows it; for in 147.3 we have *man . u*, "from it," with the *n* expressed. The affix *un* is sometimes expressed by *u . wan*, in place of *u . n' u*, which I mention in order to show how cautious we ought to be in supposing that characters which are interchanged are equivalent. *wan* and *nu*, *war* and *ru*, are interchangeable in certain cases, but by no means so generally. The use of ḫḫḫ in place of ḫ, to express the affix, was long a great source of perplexity to me. I was long under the impression that the former was identical with the Van ḫḫḫ; and I accordingly valued it as *ā*, though I felt it impossible to account for some Babylonian forms on this supposition. In the ancient Nimrūd inscriptions, however, from the characters of which those used at Van are derived, I find that ḫḫḫ is a variant of ḫḫḫ, *nā*. The Van people,

represents this preposition with or without a *na* as its phonetic complement ; and, which is very curious, *with* this phonetic complement, i. e.  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$   $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , or  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$   $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , it is used in this proper name, as well as in that of Egypt already given, to express the simple *ma*, *wa*, or *u*. This is analogous to the use of *danut* to

it appears, confounded *n* with *d*, *t*, as they confounded *m* with *b*, *v*. The value of  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$  being thus left to be determined by Assyrio-Babylonian evidence only, I could have no hesitation in making its final vowel *u*; because it is used to express the third person plural of the verb "to make;" V. 50 and *passim*. The consonant with which it begins, must be that which terminates  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ ; because this is the final character of the same verb in the singular; compare IV. 17. I have hitherto represented this character by *wat*; but see Appendix. In the latter place we have *a. bu. wat*, "I make or made;" in the former we should have for "they made," *ya. bu. tu*. This change involves that of the value of  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , which was equivalent to  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$   $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , cf. 40. 44 and 44. 35. It must, therefore, be *tu. r'u*; and this again requires that  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$  should be valued *primarily* as *at* (although it is often interchanged with  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , which had the value *as*), and  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , as *atur*; the same consonant occurring in all of these. To come now to the affix "his;" it appears to have had two forms, answering to the Hebrew  $\text{𐤍}$  and  $\text{𐤎}$ , both of which were attached to the noun when made to terminate in *i*. The one form was properly expressed by  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , and would give *i-tu*; the other by  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , and would give *i-w*; pronounced as *iv*, or as our final *ew*. The plural "their" was formed by adding to the singular  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , *nu*, or  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , *wan*, either of which, when preceded by *u*, would give *un* (= *u. wan* = *u. n'u*). We should thus have the two forms *i-tun* and *i-un*. The two characters being thus used as equivalents in the affix, it was not unnatural to use one of them instead of the other in other positions; and thus  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$  seems to have acquired the ideographic value *tu*, in addition to its proper value *u* or *wa*. It is possible that it was so used in the transcription given in the text, the nominative of the Persian word being represented in place of the accusative. On the other hand,  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$  is sometimes used when there should be no *t*; as in  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$   $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , 147. 2. *San. u. t'i*, a verbal noun signifying "change." In Hebrew, it would be  $\text{𐤍}$ ; and the introduction of a *t* or *s* before the *u* would be contrary to all analogy. Other inscriptions use  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , which seems more correct. That the masculine affix did not always contain *t* is proved by  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$  being used to express the final *t* of feminines plural, and of such singulars as *bit*, "a house," in addition to the affix. See note in p. 36. While I am on the subject of these affixes, I may as well state, that I find that I have committed an error in representing by  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$  the initial character in the first two forms of the name given in p. 31; I should have used  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , which is interchanged with the two characters *b'ā. ar*, that begin the fourth form, in the Nimrūd inscriptions, precisely as it is here. This was the Third Persepolitan  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , *bar*, used for the first syllable of the name of Persia; which occurs on the Nimrūd obelisk, written with the characters that precisely correspond to those used at Persepolis; and it was also the Median  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , which is used in the same name. This correction certainly greatly diminishes the probability that the name in question was that of Jerusalem.



languages were all written on strict phonetic principles; and who think that a decipherer, who, finding that they were not so, represents them as not being so, may be fairly refuted by ridiculing the phonetic absurdities of the system which he represents as existing. Such persons, however, should look to their own language; and, be it English, French, or German, it will be easy to point out in it absurdities fully as great as any that were committed by the ancient Assyrians. But to return from this digression:—The second character in the name before us is *waf*, the final in “Darius,” for which is often found  $\text{𐎠𐎡𐎢}$ , the initial in “Hystaspes,” which I take to be *wat* or *ut*.\* The use of *U.waf*, to

\* Of these two characters the latter is *us* or *was*; the final *s* being, however, often pronounced as *d* or *r*; the former is *vas*, with a consonant that could not pass into *u*. This confirms the Masoretic punctuation of the name of Darius, which is  $\text{דָּרְיָוֶשׁ}$ , *Dārayāvaf*, according to the notation I employ. The pronunciation is given by Strabo as  $\Delta\rho\rho\iota\eta\kappa\eta\varsigma$ , in which it has been supposed by, I believe, all writers on the subject, that  $\kappa$  is a mistake of a copyist for  $\nu$  or  $\beta$ . The latter is MICHAELIS’s opinion; and it is the more probable of the two. Can it be possible, however, that the  $\kappa$  is correct? There can be no doubt, that in the time of Strabo,  $\kappa\eta$  was pronounced as  $\zeta$ . I have given abundant proof of this in my paper on the Egyptian alphabet. This would give  $\zeta$  for the value of  $\text{𐎠𐎡𐎢}$ ; and as this is resolved into two elements, of which the former is  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , the value of this last would be  $\zeta$ , in place of  $\delta a$ , which I have hitherto made it. This would be a very convenient hypothesis for the reading of the name of a people which follows that of the Tyrians, in the inscription on the altar at Nimrūd; and which consists of this character followed by *du.nā.yi*; but I cannot yet venture to read the word so. Many names of countries occur in these inscriptions, which are not to be found in any ancient writings, and this may be one of them. It occurred to me, that the people here intended might be those inhabiting the  $\text{יִשְׂרָאֵל}$  of the Hebrews; which name is written  $\text{ܝܫܪܐܝܝܠ}$  in the Samaritan, with  $\text{إسرائيل}$  in Arabic, and  $\tau$  in Greek. Or else the name in question may be that of some remote people. That which follows it is the *Hariwa* of the Persian, the ancient Aria, which is given in p. 31, as substituted for the adjoining Parthia. In fact, however, I believe the character here referred to is only found in this name by an error either of the sculptor or copyist. What is really interchanged in it with *was* or *waf*, is  $\text{𐎠𐎡𐎢}$ , *waz*, *z* having the value mentioned in the note in p. 42. Now, as the Ethiopians of Africa could only come in contact with the Assyrians through their being masters of Egypt, and as it seems not to have been the fact that they were masters of it (see note in p. 42), we must look out for some other country as that of *Gūa*. It seems to me not improbable, that we have here the name of Susa, which was in the Persian *uwaja*, or rather, I believe, *waza*. Of the Babylonian name of this country, Major RAWLINSON says (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xi. p. 89), that it had “two distinct forms, one of which may possibly correspond with the Persian *’Uvaj*, but the other is certainly independent.” I should be disposed to read the form which occurs at Nakshi-

express Cush, is strictly in conformity with what we know to have been the practice of the nations who used the cuneatic characters. The initial aspirate or guttural was omitted or prefixed at random, just as *h* is at this day by the Londoners. The last character in the name was probably pronounced as *wati*, It signified "land," and was analogous to the last syllable in "Scotland," or "Angleterre."

32. Now the fact of a king of Cush, or Ethiopia, having any dealings with a king of Assyria, separated as these two countries were by Egypt, proves that Egypt was at this time subject to the Ethiopians. The king of Ethiopia could not have carried on war in Syria, as these inscriptions prove him to have done, unless he was sovereign of Egypt. We must then suppose either that Bocchoris reigned in Egypt as a dependent king under Gita; or, what seems more probable, that he was at this time only titularly king, and living in exile. If this last be the case, or indeed on either supposition, the six years which Africanus assigns to Bocchoris must represent a period when he reigned as actual sovereign

Rustam, *su.wā.cu*, though the initial character is doubtful. Of the Behistun form, I, of course, know nothing. Now it has appeared to me remarkable, that the Gentile name derived from this country introduces after it the character for *cā*, being *u.waz.cā.yi*; which, according to the rule laid down in the Appendix, should be pronounced *Uçcāyi*, with the palatal *s*, which I represent by *ç*; while the name of the country itself would be *Uç* or *Uf*. This Gentile name may be the *Οὔξιοι* of the Greeks; the *ξ* being used for *σκ* or *σχ*, by the same metathesis which substitutes *ζ* in so many words for *σδ* (compare *ξηρός* and *σχερός*; *ξυράω* and *shear*, A. S. *sciran*; Germ. *scheren*, O. H. G. *skerran*). On this subject I pronounce no positive opinion. It may be that BOCHART's hypothesis of an Arabian Cush, of which Zerah was king, may be correct; and that this may have been the country of Gita; but I see difficulties which are scarcely surmountable in the way of admitting this supposition. It would be in favour of the Susa theory, if the final character in the name could be read *kwā*; and this is by no means impossible; for the latter part of the name *Harauwatif* was probably the Assyrio-Babylonian *wāti*, "earth" or "land." Now we have this name expressed by the Greek *Αραχωσία*, and in Zend the Persian *w* is represented by a letter which seems to have the power of *k* (BURNOURF writes it *q*, and BOPP *kh*), and which is etymologically equivalent to the Sanskrit *sv*; originally, therefore, it must have included a *w* in its value. All these are, in fact, the *digamma* of the Greeks; i. e. our own whispered *w*, as heard in "what," "which," &c.; a sound which is unpronounceable by foreigners, who often say *f* in its stead, and whose best attempts do not go beyond *hw*, from which to *kw* the transition is easy. We have only to suppose that the initial sound in  $\text{𐎧}$  (with which the character in question, when used as a phonograph, is interchanged) was *wh*, as heard in the preceding English words; and its passage to *m* on the one hand, and to *hw*, and so to *kw*, on the other, is accounted for.



of Egypt, after the expulsion of the Ethiopians. These would naturally regard him as a rebel; and this would account for his being burned alive by them on their reconquest of Egypt under Sabbaco, at the expiration of his six years' reign. Now as Gita seems to have ruled over Egypt during the whole period of the inscriptions, we may infer that they do not refer to a period later than 723 B. C.; which is quite consistent with the acquisition of Babylon being in 731 B. C.\*

33. An objection may, however, be raised against the foregoing conclusion. It must be admitted, that the duration assigned by Africanus to the twenty-sixth dynasty is shorter than is consistent with the received biblical chronology; because Tirhaka, the last king of the preceding dynasty, appears from the scriptural narrative to have reigned not long subsequent to the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, which is generally reckoned to be 713 B. C. According to Africanus, however, Tirhaka would have reigned from 695 to 677. There are two ways by which the synchronism which it is necessary to establish between the reign of Tirhaka and the middle of the reign of Hezekiah may be produced. The most obvious one, and what has been adopted by, I believe, all previous writers, is to increase the interval between the accession of Tirhaka and that of Necho, Amasis, or Cambyses, any of which may be regarded as an established epoch. This has been done by Eusebius, and all subsequent writers. Eusebius not only extends the duration of the reigns enumerated by Africanus from 150 to 153, 155, or 156 years (the copies vary), but prefixes to these reigns that of "Ammeris, the Ethiopian," to whom he assigns twelve or eighteen years. It is evident that this accomplishes the desired object; but if the name of Ammeris be that of an Egyptian sovereign at all, it is that of queen "Amunerit," who reigned over a part of Egypt during the first three reigns of this dynasty. This is the view taken by LEPsius and BUNSEN. There is no monumental authority for considering her as the predecessor of these kings; and there can be little doubt that to make her such was a device of Eusebius, in order to satisfy a supposed chronological exigency. The means adopted by BUNSEN to attain

\* If, as I now think, Gita was not the king of Ethiopia, but of Susa, or some other Asiatic country, this paragraph is erroneous. In that case, we should rather adopt Eusebius's arrangement of the kings of this period. He omits Zit (of whose existence I find, on inquiry, there is no Egyptian monumental evidence), and gives a reign of forty-four years to Bocchoris.

the same end are something different. He increases the duration of the twenty-sixth dynasty from the 150 years assigned to it by Africanus to 160, which exceeds the longest interval in any of the copies of Eusebius, if the fictitious reign of Ammeris be taken away; and he then adds ten years more to the reign of Tirhaka, in order, as he says, to convert the forty years assigned by Africanus to the Ethiopian dynasty into the fifty assigned to it by Herodotus.\* By these two assumptions he throws back the accession of Tirhaka to 715 B.C., so as to produce the required synchronism; but the assumptions have little or nothing to recommend them. It is, therefore, worth considering, whether the synchronism may not be brought about in a different way, merely by correcting the received biblical chronology.

34. The correction which I propose is, to reduce the reign of Manasseh from fifty-five to twenty-five years, which would substitute 683 or 680 B. C., for 713 or 710 B. C., as the date which falls in the reign of Tirhaka. This would be in perfect agreement with the Egyptian chronology as collected from Africanus. It is also in itself a much more probable reading; for although reigns of fifty-five years have occurred, it must be admitted that they are of very rare occurrence. The fact of the other reading being found in our present copies of both Kings and Chronicles, is not conclusive evidence that it is genuine. The reading "twenty-five" for the age of Hezekiah at the commencement of his reign is found in 2 Chron. xxix. 1, as well as in 2 Kings, xviii. 2; yet it is manifestly an error, for it would make Hezekiah to have been born when his father was only eleven years old. See 2 Kings, xvi. 2. It was the practice of transcribers of the Bible, both of the original and of the versions, to correct what they deemed errors in dates; and when an erroneous reading had once gained currency, the transcribers would soon make it almost universal. Now, the introduction of the erroneous reading in question is easily accounted for by the great resemblance between the numeral letters 𐤁, fifty, and 𐤂, twenty. In the ancient Hebrew characters, these two letters are scarcely to be distinguished. Compare them in the third plate of Gesenius's "Scripturæ Phœnicæ Mo-

\* Herodotus assigns this whole period to the single reign of Sabbacon. The account which he gives of this reign, and of the events which preceded it and followed it, are admitted by all modern writers to be undeserving of the slightest credit. It is astonishing, therefore, that any reliance should be placed on his chronology of the period.

numenta," in the columns marked "Hebræorum in numis," and "Samaritanorum in codd." The third of the four forms of the  $\beth$  which appears in the former column is very easy to be confounded with the  $\daleth$ . It must be admitted that the versions generally do not support this reading; it is, however, found in the Arabic version of Chronicles, which was taken from the Peshito Syrian; and this is evidence that it was once the reading of the latter version, though the transcribers have caused it to disappear from it.


35. It thus appears, that the proposed reading is in itself much the more probable of the two; that there is some little external evidence in its favour; and that, supposing it to be genuine, the origin of the received reading is easily accounted for. It is doubtful, however, whether there is a sufficient exigency to warrant the admission of a reading for which no more than this can be said; inasmuch as the copies of Manetho differ, and an error in *his* numbers is more likely to have occurred. There is, however, Assyrian and Babylonian chronology, as well as Egyptian, by which the two readings can be tested; and seeing that these are still more decisively than the Egyptian in favour of the reading which I have proposed, I can no longer hesitate to adopt it. It appears from Ptolemy's canon, that Assaradinus became king of Babylon in 680 B. C. Now it appears from the narrative in the Kings and Chronicles, that his reign must have commenced at no great interval from Sennacherib's invasion of Judea. The received date of this is 713 B. C. The date which I propose would be 683 B. C. The supposition that the Assaradinus of Ptolemy was a different king from the Esarhaddon of 2 Kings, xix. 37, appears to me utterly untenable; as does the hypothesis, that the Mardoc Empadus of the Canon could be the Merodach Baladan of Isaiah, xxxix. 1. Merodach was the name of a god, like Nebo; and it would be as rational to consider Nabonassar and Nabopolassar and Nabonitus,—or, among the Egyptians, Amenemhe and Amenotp,—to be identical names, as to confound together Merodach-baladan and Merodach-empad. Again, the passage which I have already cited from Polyhistor (§ 29) clearly harmonizes with the Jewish chronology as rectified, while it is altogether inconsistent with it as it now stands. Esarhaddon reigned in Babylon 680 B. C., after an interregnum, as it is called, of eight years. This interregnum comprehended the short reigns mentioned by Polyhistor, viz., the brother of Sennacherib, Acises, Merodach Baladan, and Elibus. The last reigned between

two and three years, and his predecessor six months ; which must, therefore, have been in 683 B. C. The date of Hezekiah's illness is, according to the received chronology, 713 B. C., which would be reduced to 683 by the correction which I propose. The embassy of Merodach Baladan was evidently immediately after this, and would, therefore, according to this reading, fall exactly in the short interval of six months when he reigned.

36. The dates of the accession and death of Sennacherib are fixed by the canon of Ptolemy and the narrative of Polyhistor in the following manner. The reign of Assaradinus terminated in 667 B. C., he having reigned thirteen years in Babylon, reckoning from the death of Elibus, when his father made him king of that province. It appears, however, from Polyhistor, that he only reigned eight years over Assyria, which would give 675 for the death of Sennacherib ; and as Polyhistor says, that this king reigned eighteen years, he must have come to the throne in 693. This is perfectly consistent with his father having taken Babylon in 731 ; more especially as it appears from Scripture, that another Assyrian king, viz., Shalmaneser, who was in all probability a brother of Sennacherib, intervened. The death of Shalmaneser took place very shortly after his having laid siege to Samaria ; and it is worthy of notice, that the sacred historian does not attribute to him the capture of that city (see 2 Kings, xviii. 9, 10, 11). Shalmaneser besieged Samaria ; "the king of Assyria" carried Israel away captive. This king must have been Sennacherib ; and it will be very interesting to see the sculptured representations of this conquest on the walls of the palace of Sennacherib at Kouyunjik, and to read the account of it which no doubt accompanies them. The reign of Shalmaneser was not a very long one ; for, going back to the early part of the reign of Ahaz, we have Tiglath Pileser king of Assyria, who can be no other than the Khorsabad king. All this is in perfect harmony with the inscriptions, so far as the chronology is concerned. I have explained the difference between the names Tiglath Pileser and Chinilin, by supposing that the former was the name which he bore when a private individual ; and the latter the name that he assumed when he became king.

37. Assuming it, then, as settled, that Chinilin was the same as Chinzirus, and that he conquered Babylon in 731, it remains to inquire in what year of his reign over Assyria this is likely to have happened. I observe, in the first place, that it was not later than his fifteenth year. This appears from the fol-

lowing consideration. I must premise, that the principal inscription at Khorsabad is written four times on the walls of the chambers IV., VII., VIII., and X. The first of these copies begins with the column which BOTTA numbers IV. 13 (pl. 99), goes then to IV. 12 (pl. 98), and so on; ending with IV. 14 (pl. 100). The second and fourth copies begin with the columns numbered as first, and proceed in the order of the numbers; the third begins with the column numbered VIII. 9 (pl. 135), which is followed by VIII. 11 (pl. 136), their being no column 10; the columns then proceed in the order of the numbers, that numbered 8 being the last. A comparison of the several copies of this inscription is very useful; but none is perfect, and very often there is only one in tolerable preservation. Now it is stated in this inscription (145. 11), that it records the events of his reign "to the fifteenth year." At this date, then, he was master of Babylon. It is worthy of being noticed, that all the pavement inscriptions are to be referred to this same period. They chiefly consist of extracts from this great inscription; with this remarkable difference, however;—in the great inscriptions (and in some of the smaller pavement inscriptions, as 8, 9, 10, 15, 21), the king speaks of himself; and the verbs and pronouns used are in the first person singular; but in the pavement inscriptions generally, the verbs used in reference to the king are in the third person plural; and the pronouns are those of the third person singular. This is a most important assistance to the decipherer, when once it is recognised;\* but it has led some persons into serious errors; they have assumed, for instance, the equivalence of characters which represent *ā* or *a* and *ya*, or which represent syllables beginning with these preformatives, and terminating with consonants; and they have made similar mistakes as to the affixes, so as to have arrived at the most extraordinary conclusions respecting the interchangeability of cha-

\* Its use in determining the relation of characters beginning with *a* and *ya*, and terminating with the same consonant, is shown in the Appendix. That it may also give the value of characters which include two consonants will appear from the following example. In 2. 17 we have for 3. pl. *yas. x. cā. nu*; and in 15. 19, for 1. s. *as. x.* . I represent by *x* a character which cannot be formed with the types, and the value of which is immaterial to my present purpose. The final character in the 1. s. must contain the consonants *c* and *n* which appear in the plural; and as the vowel of this tense, in verbs which are neither in the causative conjugation, nor defective in the last radical, is generally *u*, I value this character as *cun*.

racters. The bull inscriptions appear to be of somewhat later date than the pavement ones; and are in substance materially different, though they have a good deal of common matter.

38. The inscription on the walls of the chamber II. is unfortunately much mutilated. It contains an enlarged account of the events related in the four inscriptions mentioned in the preceding section, digested into the form of annals. These annals extend to the tenth year at least; the second year is mentioned in col. 3; the fourth and fifth in col. 7; the seventh in col. 9; the eighth in col. 11; and the tenth\* in col. 17. The columns extend to thirty-five; but it is not clear that the numbers begin at the beginning of the inscription. M. BOTTA may have made a similar error here to what he made in the fourth and eighth chambers. Now I think it is pretty certain, that there is no mention of the conquest of Babylon in these annals from the second to the ninth years inclusive. The first year must be rejected also, because only five years are allowed for the joint reign of Chinzirus and Porus; and even admitting that the next king Yugæus or Ilulæus, who is stated to have reigned five years also, was another dependent on Chinilin, this would only allow him ten years' authority over Babylon. But he possessed this authority after his fifteenth year. The tenth year is then the earliest to which the conquest of Babylon can be assigned. On the other hand it appears from 2 Kings, xv. 19, that Pul, who must have been the predecessor of Chinilin, reigned subsequently to the accession of Menahem to the throne of Israel; and consequently the earliest date of the accession of Chinilin which is admissible is the second year of Menahem. This was, according to the received chronology, 771 B. C.; but the correction of thirty years must be applied to this date for excess in the reign of Manasseh. It may be supposed, that the reign of Ahaz is also overrated two years. Hoshea began to reign in the twelfth year of Ahaz, according to 2 Kings, xvii. 1. His first year would then correspond to the twelfth and thirteenth of Ahaz; but it appears from 2 Kings, xviii. 1, that Hezekiah began to reign in his third year; and xviii. 9, that the seventh year of Hoshea corresponded in part

\* The ninth year was mentioned in col. 14, line 8; cf. 120. 8, from which the last portion of the line may be in great measure supplied. The walls of the fifth chamber appear to have contained another series of annals, less extended than those in the second. Unfortunately they are in a still more mutilated condition than the others.

to the fourth of Hezekiah. It would follow from these texts, that the reign of Ahaz was only fourteen years. I believe, however, that this would be an erroneous conclusion. The old characters for 4 and 6, 7 and 1, are by no means easy to be confounded; but those for 2 and 4, 3 and 7, have a good deal of resemblance; so that it is much more likely that "fourteenth" ought to be read in 2 Kings, xvii. 1, in place of "twelfth," than that the number "fourteen" should be substituted for "sixteen" in 2 Kings, xvi. 2; and again 2 Chron. xxviii. 1. The submission of Menahem to Pul was, therefore, in all probability, in 741; and the accession of Chinilin may be placed in the following year; so that his first year would be the eighth year of Nabonassar, beginning 24th February, 740. It may have been a year sooner, but could not, I think, have been any one of these two. Of course, I consider the Pul, who was king of the Babylonians under Chinilin, to have been a different person from the conqueror of Israel. In the following Table I have arranged the kings of Judah, Israel, Assyria, Babylon, and Egypt, in parallel columns, with the date of the accession of each, when known.\* A line is drawn between the reigns when the precise date is known; a row of dots is used in place of it when the date is uncertain. A broad black line indicates a conquest or change of dynasty.

\* The Table has been corrected by adopting the length of the reign of Bocchoris which Eusebius gives; omitting the reign of Zit, which Africanus introduces before it. See notes in pp. 46 and 48. In the names *ch* is used for what I have hitherto expressed by *k*, and *k* interchangeably with *c*; *th*, *sh*, and *ts* are used for *t*, *f*, and *g*. This change of notation was rendered necessary by the printer's having only the italic forms of the new letters. I have also changed the vowel in the last syllable of the name of Athurkadin, bringing it into conformity with that in the Assaradinus of Theon's copy of the canon, and in the Hebrew אֲתֻרְכָּדִין; but I leave it *a* in the Babylonian name Nabudarutahur, as in the Chaldee בִּרְ. To the former change I have been led by observing that the name of the Tigris on the Nimrūd obelisk, the first vowel in which is unquestionably *i*, begins with this syllable; the final *n* being, however, assimilated to the consonant which follows. It is 𐤔𐤓𐤕𐤍, *di'. qila*. The latter character in the name occurs also in 𐤔𐤓𐤕𐤍, *tu'. qila*, "the beginning," 𐤔𐤓𐤕𐤍, the final consonant of the first character being also assimilated. It is to me quite plain, that the above name is that of the Tigris; it and the 𐤔𐤓𐤕𐤍, *ja'. bā*, or Zab, being spoken of as the two rivers, at whose confluence Livga, the modern Nimrūd, was built.

JUDAH.	ISRAEL.	ASSYRIA.	BABYLON.	EGYPT.
Ahaziah, 781.	Zachariah, 744.	Pul.	Nabonassar, 747.	Bocchoris, 761, = Bakarru.
	Menahem, 743.	Chinilin, 740, = Tiglath Pileser. = Chinzirus,	Nadius, 733.	
Jotham, 729.	Pekahiah, 732.		Pekah, 730.	and Porus=Pul, 731.
	Ahaz, 713.	Hoshea, 700.		Yugæus, 726.
Hezekiah, 697.			Captivity of Israel, 691.	Sankiriv, 693, = Sennacherib.
	Manasseh, 668.	Athurkadin = Esarhaddon, 675.		
Amon, 643.			Chineladanus, 647.	Nabucud'rutshur = Nabopolassar, 625 (Nineveh destroyed).
	Josiah, 641.	Nabucud'rutshur = Nebuchadnezzar = Nabocolassar, 606 and 604 (the former date in conjunction with his father.)		
Jehoiakim, 610.			Nabucud'rutshur = Nebuchadnezzar = Nabocolassar, 606 and 604 (the former date in conjunction with his father.)	Nabucud'rutshur = Nebuchadnezzar = Nabocolassar, 606 and 604 (the former date in conjunction with his father.)
	Jehoiakim, 610.	Nabucud'rutshur = Nebuchadnezzar = Nabocolassar, 606 and 604 (the former date in conjunction with his father.)		
Jehoiakim, 610.			Nabucud'rutshur = Nebuchadnezzar = Nabocolassar, 606 and 604 (the former date in conjunction with his father.)	Nabucud'rutshur = Nebuchadnezzar = Nabocolassar, 606 and 604 (the former date in conjunction with his father.)
	Jehoiakim, 610.	Nabucud'rutshur = Nebuchadnezzar = Nabocolassar, 606 and 604 (the former date in conjunction with his father.)		
Jehoiakim, 610.			Nabucud'rutshur = Nebuchadnezzar = Nabocolassar, 606 and 604 (the former date in conjunction with his father.)	Nabucud'rutshur = Nebuchadnezzar = Nabocolassar, 606 and 604 (the former date in conjunction with his father.)
	Jehoiakim, 610.	Nabucud'rutshur = Nebuchadnezzar = Nabocolassar, 606 and 604 (the former date in conjunction with his father.)		
Jehoiakim, 610.			Nabucud'rutshur = Nebuchadnezzar = Nabocolassar, 606 and 604 (the former date in conjunction with his father.)	Nabucud'rutshur = Nebuchadnezzar = Nabocolassar, 606 and 604 (the former date in conjunction with his father.)
	Jehoiakim, 610.	Nabucud'rutshur = Nebuchadnezzar = Nabocolassar, 606 and 604 (the former date in conjunction with his father.)		
Jehoiakim, 610.			Nabucud'rutshur = Nebuchadnezzar = Nabocolassar, 606 and 604 (the former date in conjunction with his father.)	Nabucud'rutshur = Nebuchadnezzar = Nabocolassar, 606 and 604 (the former date in conjunction with his father.)
	Jehoiakim, 610.	Nabucud'rutshur = Nebuchadnezzar = Nabocolassar, 606 and 604 (the former date in conjunction with his father.)		
Jehoiakim, 610.			Nabucud'rutshur = Nebuchadnezzar = Nabocolassar, 606 and 604 (the former date in conjunction with his father.)	Nabucud'rutshur = Nebuchadnezzar = Nabocolassar, 606 and 604 (the former date in conjunction with his father.)
	Jehoiakim, 610.	Nabucud'rutshur = Nebuchadnezzar = Nabocolassar, 606 and 604 (the former date in conjunction with his father.)		



## APPENDIX.\*

39. In the preceding Paper, my main objects were to explain fully the manner in which the ideographic element enters into the Assyrio-Babylonian inscriptions, and to arrange the chronology of the period to which the later inscriptions belong. What I have written on this last branch of my subject being grounded on the reading of the names of the later Assyrian and the Babylonian kings, a knowledge of the phonetic values of certain characters was assumed, as it was also in connexion with the ideographic characters treated of in the beginning of the Paper. Many of these values had been stated in my former Papers, published in Vol. XXI. of the Transactions of the Academy; and in a Paper on the Van inscriptions in Vol. IX. of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. A few of these were corrected in the present Paper, and from the use of a new notation others were varied, more apparently than really. The phonetic values were, however, all given as isolated facts, no attempt being made to exhibit in connexion with one another those which contained the same consonant. It was indeed stated, that there were four vowels; that there was no character denoting a simple consonant, but that characters might represent a consonant with a vowel either preceding or following it; and that there was no distinction between the two first vowels when they commenced a syllable. From this it followed, that each consonant might be contained in the values of seven distinct characters having the forms *Cā, Ca, Ci, Cu, aC, iC, and uC*, where *C* represents any consonant; and it was stated, that the last two would represent also *yaC* and *vaC*. It was not stated, however, how many values *C* might have, and, consequently, how many series like the preceding existed in the language; nor was it stated what characters belong to each series. In the present Appendix I propose to supply these omissions. And first as to the number of series. I think there were *at least* fifteen values of the consonant when initial, which I propose to denote by the following fifteen letters, after which I give the

\* It is proper to state, that the notes to the preceding Paper were for the most part added while it was passing through the Press, in November, December, and January, and that this Appendix was in the hands of the Committee of Publication on 19th January, 1850.

corresponding Sanskrit letters and the Hebrew letters with which they appear also to correspond. It will thus clearly appear, that I consider the syllabary to be of Indo-European origin. The peculiar letters of the Semitic nations had no distinct values. For instance,  $\text{𐤁}$  was not distinguished from  $\text{𐤂}$ , nor  $\text{𐤃}$  from  $\text{𐤄}$ ; nor was there any uniform mode of expressing  $\text{𐤅}$ . Sometimes it was represented by  $g$ , sometimes by  $n$ , and sometimes it was omitted.

I. $c$ क 𐤃, 𐤄.	IX. $p$ प 𐤅.
II. $g$ ग 𐤆, 𐤇, sometimes 𐤈.	X. $b$ ब 𐤉.
III. $ç$ च 𐤊.	XI. $y$ य 𐤋.
IV. $j$ ज 𐤌.	XII. $r$ र 𐤍, sometimes 𐤎.
V. $l$ ल sometimes 𐤏, sometimes 𐤐.	XIII. $v$ व 𐤑, 𐤒.
VI. $t$ त 𐤓, 𐤔.*	XIV. $ç$ श 𐤕.
VII. $d$ द 𐤖.	XV. $s$ स 𐤗.
VIII. $n$ न 𐤘, sometimes 𐤙.	

The Sanskrit aspirates were not represented, being probably not distinguished from the unaspirated letters which precede them; it is probable that the three first nasals were expressed by  $n$ .  $m$ ,  $m$ , was not distinguished from  $v$ ; nor was  $l$ ,  $l$ , distinguished from  $r$ . I am not sure whether the fifteenth series should not be divided into two, one of which should be  $\text{𐤕}$ ,  $\text{𐤖}$ † I have not yet been able to arrange any characters in series corresponding to either  $\text{𐤕}$  or  $\text{𐤖}$ ,  $h$ ; but I think it possible that such may exist.

The characters representing simple syllables containing a consonant fol-

\* The consonant of this series sometimes represents the  $r$  of other languages. Thus *di.yac.tā* (*dictā*), "males," represents 𐤃𐤕, 𐤃𐤕; and the town *si.n'u.gā.tu* (Gentile - *tā.yi*), is the 𐤓𐤕𐤕 of Gen. xiv. 1, the *Σίγγαπα* of Dio, now *سنجر*, Sinjar.

† I rather feel disposed to divide this series into two; making  $\text{𐤕}$ ,  $tā$ , and  $\text{𐤖}$ ,  $tu$ . The consonant of the former is represented by  $\text{𐤕}$ , not  $\text{𐤖}$ , as in *pā.tā.ā.tā*, "provisions," from  $\text{𐤕}$ ; yet it seems nearer to  $s$  than to  $t$ ; and this is clearly distinguished from  $sā$ ,  $çā$ , and  $tā$ . The latter of the above characters (and, of course, the compound character  $\text{𐤕𐤖}$ , see note in p. 44), belongs to the same series as this. On the other hand, I believe, the distinction between the  $\text{𐤕}$  and  $\text{𐤖}$  series cannot be maintained; I have not been able to find any pair of characters, which, differing as to these consonants, agree in the residue of their values.

lowed by a vowel would thus be sixty. A few of these appear to have been wanting; but the number of actual characters of such a form was much greater than this; many characters being phonetically equivalent. I will, however, content myself in this Appendix with giving one character for each combination, to which I will add the number of the corresponding character in Mr. FISHER's catalogue of the characters used in the great inscription at the India-House. As several forms of some of these characters occur in the list, which equally correspond to the Assyrian one, I will in such case give them all.

Of the characters which represent syllables terminating in a consonant, I believe that there were only nine series; I. used under certain circumstances for II.; III. used for IV. and XIV., V.; VI. used for VII., though I believe very rarely; VIII.; IX. used also for X.; XII.; XIII. used for XI.; and XV. which was confounded sometimes with XII. and sometimes with VI., and which appears to have been used for VII. much more commonly than VI. was, The number of characters of this sort would, if complete, be twenty-seven; making with the former series eighty-seven.

40. In future transcriptions I will confine myself to the fifteen consonants and the four vowels that have been enumerated; and will represent each character of the first class by one invariable combination. The reader will only require to bear in mind that *c, g, t, d, p,* and *b,* should be pronounced *k, q, t, d, f,* and *v,\**

\* See p. 7 for the values of the first four of these letters. As some persons have blamed me for making use of the "phonetic" consonants, I will here observe that, when Mr. ELLIS's alphabet was in a very inferior state to what it is at present, it was recommended by Sir JOHN HERSCHEL, in his "Manual of Scientific Inquiry," p. 441, to the voyager or traveller, as containing "a stock of characters prepared to his hand, capable of accomplishing to a considerable extent the object" of taking down the words and phrases of a language that has not been reduced to writing. As his system was laid before the ethnological subsection of the British Association in 1849, and has been since explained in print for their use, it is beyond comparison the best practical method of representing sounds to the eye; and I cannot doubt that it will, in the course of time, be generally used for scientific purposes in connexion with language, whatever may be its fate as a means of reforming the spelling of English. The reader will observe, that in p. 7 a typographical error occurs; *z* being printed instead of *z*, as the new character used to express *zh*, or the penultimate consonant in *vision*. The same error occurs in the two last lines of the note in p. 12, and in the antepenultimate line of the note in p. 13 after *d*. And here, by the way, I may remark, that the last sentence of the former of these notes contains a phonological misstatement. The relation be-

when preceded by a vowel; and that *m* may be used for *v*; *k* or *q* for *y*, but less frequently; and *l* for *r*; and that what *l* properly represents is the cerebral *l* of the Indians, which is apt to be pronounced as a sort of *l* (perhaps the peculiar barred *l* of the Poles), or at least to become *l* in passing into a foreign language. It must be borne in mind, too, that *ç* was generally pronounced *t*, and, it would appear, sometimes *r* after a vowel; that *s* was sometimes sounded *f*; and that *d*, *n*, and *r* were all very apt to be confounded with one another.

With respect to the second class of characters, I write uniformly *yaC* and *vaC* for *iC* and *uC*; *aya* and *iya* should be sounded *i*, the latter possibly being the fourth Sanskrit vowel, and the former the third; and in like manner *ava* and *uva* should be *u*, or *u* and *û*. I use *l*, *t*, *n*, and *r* uniformly for the final consonant of their respective series; but I write *c* and *p* only before *surd*, or rather *whispered*,\* consonants; and *g* and *d* before other consonants and at the end of a word. I write *ç* before a vowel or *r*, before another *ç*, and at the end of a word, *ç* before another whispered consonant, and *j* before any other consonant. I write *y* before another *y*, or before *c* or *g*, which it perhaps converted into *y*, and *v* in all other cases.† Lastly, I generally write *ρ* in place of

tween *s* and *f* is a very different one from that between *t* and *ṭ*; but I was deceived into thinking them the same, by the use of the like combinations *sh* and *th* to express *f* and *t* in the common spelling of English. This is an additional reason to those given in p. 8, for preferring single to double characters as the representatives of all consonants.

\* Mr. ELLIS makes the two following objections to the term "surd," which must be admitted to have some weight; the latter particularly. It is derived from a Latin word which is properly applied to a person incapable of hearing, and only metaphorically to a sound which is scarcely heard; and though it may in this metaphorical manner be properly applied to the Sanskrit letters which are classed as surd mutes, it is not applicable in any sense to the continuants corresponding to these, such as *f* or *ṭ*, nor to the sibilants. To the term "whispered," which Mr. ELLIS would substitute for this, there can be no objection; but a good correlative term is wanting. In his Paper before the British Association he uses "spoken," which is objectionable, as in one sense all letters are so. He has since suggested "voiced," which conveys the required idea, though by a term which is scarcely English.

† See note in p. 42. The influence here attributed to this consonant on a following *c* or *g* seems, on reflexion, a very unlikely one. That the same characters should express *av* and *ay*, and probably *ô* or *ou* and *é*, appears very contrary to our notions of phonetic propriety; and yet it appears to me absolutely certain that such is the fact.

*s*; but I sometimes retain the *s*, and sometimes substitute  $\tau$  or *d*.<sup>\*</sup> If the consonant which terminates a character does not well cohere with that which begins the next, a short vowel may be introduced, as in *ç'ā.at.ā.gu.s'u*, the Third Persepolitan transcription of *tataguf*. Such an introduced vowel may be distinguished by being in a different type. The use of a Greek letter for *s* in the two cases mentioned, is for the purpose of preventing the characters which terminated in a *t* or *r* arising from *s* being confounded with those which properly terminated with these letters. Though I have no doubt that *r*, whether properly terminating a character or arising out of *s*, was liable to be assimilated to the following consonant, I have thought it best to express it always either by *r* or  $\rho$ , as the case may be. In adopting this system of transcription, my great object has been, that a person by inspection of the transcription, might be able to reproduce, *with certainty*, the original cuneatic characters, or such as may be perfectly equivalent to them; for of the existence of homophones, I think no doubt can be entertained, though their number is far less than some writers on the subject have imagined it to be. I have endeavoured also to represent by the transcription what I suppose to have been the pronunciation; but so far only as is consistent with the former object.

41. I should now state the data of which I have made use. Of the nine pairs of the forms *aC* and *yaC*, six have been found at the commencement of the first and third persons of the same verbs, and are thus proved to correspond with each other. The reference after the latter character shows where the two forms of the verb occur. The first and third persons singular of regular verbs, generally terminate with characters of the form *uC*; while the third person plural has the same consonant followed by *u*. In some defective verbs the two former persons end in  $\bar{a}$ , which is changed in the latter into *u*. The terminations








\* I cannot satisfy myself with any uniform system of representing *s* when final; it was, no doubt, *s* before another *s*; and would seem to have been  $\tau$  before a vowel, from the transcription of *Catapatuca* at *Nakahi-Rustam*, which begins with *yas*, and must be written *ya $\tau$ .ap.pā*, &c. But before other consonants than *s*, and especially at the end of a word, it seems impossible to lay down any satisfactory rule for its use. When final it is often to be pronounced *d* and often *r*, as appears from a comparison with Hebrew, and from the changes made when a vowel is added. The word *gi. bid* in 16.4 is plainly  $\text{גִּי בִּיד}$ ; and the final character is elsewhere resolved into *bi. yas*. Other instances of a similar nature might be given.

of nouns are also different, as they are in the absolute state, in construction, or before certain pronominal affixes; and by observing these changes, it can be inferred, that many characters contain the same consonant. The Gentile adjectives derived from names of countries are useful in the same way. These all terminate in  $\text{𐎶 𐎶}$ , *yi*, which must be preceded either by a character terminating in a consonant, or by one which terminates in  $\bar{a}$ . The name of the country generally terminates in a character which represents the same consonant followed by a different vowel. Sometimes, when the name of the country terminates in a consonant, the Gentile adjective inserts a character containing the same consonant followed by  $\bar{a}$  between it and the final *yi*. A relation is thus established between the first and second classes of characters. This relation is likewise observable in the first and third persons of certain defective verbs, answering to the Hebrew defectives in *Pi Nun*, where a character of the form *aC* or *yaC* is followed by one which begins with the same consonant. Thus, the verb in the Achæmenian inscriptions which signifies "may he defend," is  $\text{𐎶 𐎶 𐎶}$ , *yaç.gur*. The last character is a compound one; and has been mentioned in p. 33, as representing in some inscriptions the last syllable of the name of Nebuchadnezzar.\* In the Hebrew this would be  $\text{לָרַ$  for  $\text{לָרַ$ . The optative sense is given to the Babylonian verb by prefixing the particle *la*. In this class of verbs, the simple character  $\text{𐎶}$ ,  $\bar{a}$ , is sometimes used in place of that which expresses it in connexion with the following consonant. Thus, the verb *aç.çi.gā*,  $\text{𐎶 𐎶}$ , signifying "I carried away," which occurs very frequently in the inscriptions, followed by the affixes *su*, "him," or *av.vā* (*ammā*), "them," is written sometimes with  $\bar{a}$ , and sometimes with *aç*, for its initial. It is possible, indeed, that, as in Hebrew, the two roots  $\text{נָסַ$  and  $\text{נָסַ$  were in use. The connexion between some initial and final consonants is established by the arbitrary insertion of certain characters between two others. Thus we have *ray.yar.ray* = *ray.ray*; cf. 12.98 and 18.99.





42. Having thus briefly explained the data of which I have made use in this classification, I proceed to give the characters.

\* It occurs also in *çur.rā.yi*, "Tyrian," on the Nimrûd obelisk; a good instance of what has been just stated respecting the Gentile adjective. It is equivalent to the two characters given hereafter as *çu.var*.

## FIRST, OR C SERIES.






- cā*, . L. 243.  
*ca*,  or . L. 28.\*  
*ci*, wanting; *ca* or *gi* was used for it.  
*cu*, . L. 113.  
*ac*, . L. 40.†  
*yac*, . L. 283, cf. 8. 58, 60, with  
 16. 125, 126.  
*vac*, ? L. 143.

## SECOND, OR G SERIES.


- gā*, . L. 165, 167.  
*ga*, . L. 151.  
*gi*, . L. 31.  
*gu*, . L. 62.

For characters ending in *g*, see C Series.



## THIRD, OR C' SERIES.





- çā*, wanting, its place being supplied  
 sometimes by *cā*, and sometimes  
 by *jā*.  
*ça*, wanting, or not ascertained.  
*çi*, . L. 80.‡  
*çu*, . L. 205.  
*aç*, . L. 214.  
*yaç*, . L. 77, cf. 9.29 and 2.21;  
 153.11 and 16.97.  
*vaç*, . L. 26 and 71 united.





## FOURTH, OR J SERIES.

- jā*, . L. 5.  
*ja, ji, ju*, wanting or unascertained.

For characters ending in *j* see C' Series.

\* In the Appendix, as first sent, the former of these characters was made *ca*, and the latter *ci*; but I find that they are interchanged in the name of Sennacherib at Kouyunjik; and from comparing the modes of forming the same character in different inscriptions, I have no doubt that they are mere variants. On the other hand, , which I formerly supposed to be a variant of , and consequently to have the value *ca*, was a totally distinct character with the value of *bar*; see note in p. 43.

† It is very interesting to compare the Median form of this character  with this and with the two Babylonian forms. It seems plain that the Median is derived directly from the Babylonian lapidary ; or at least that it is not derived from it either through the Assyrian or the cursive Babylonian. The intermediate forms are those used in the inscriptions at Mal Amir (Elymais or Susiana); the language of which seems to differ very slightly from the Median of the time of Darius. In these inscriptions the character before us is formed exactly as in the Median; while the preceding and following are formed as in Assyrian, without the transposition of wedges which has taken place in the Median  and .

‡ In the Appendix, as originally sent, this character was valued as *ba*; see note in p. 42. Since that note was written, I have carefully examined the words in which , L. 69, occurs. I have stated in the note referred to, that it was interchanged with the present character and *ru*; it is also interchanged with the same character and *yar*. Its value must, therefore, be the value of  + *r*. Now I find that in the Table of Variants of the Standard Inscription at Nimrud, as published by the British Museum, l. 28, , *yac.ray*, after *gi*, is replaced by .

FIFTH, OR *L* SERIES.

<i>lā</i> ,	𐎡𐎢.	L. 187, 188, 189.
<i>la</i> ,	𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎣.	L. 26 and 273 united.
<i>li</i> ,	𐎡𐎢𐎣.	L. 13.
<i>lu</i> ,	𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎣.	L. 118, 119, 121-123.*
<i>al</i> ,	𐎡𐎢𐎣.	L. 278, 279. } No Assyrian equi-
<i>yal</i> ,	𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎣.	L. 276, 277? } valents known.
<i>val</i> ,	𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎣.	L. 222.

SIXTH, OR *T* SERIES.

<i>tā</i> ,	𐎡𐎢𐎣.	L. 272.
<i>ta</i> ,	𐎡𐎢𐎣.	L. 275.
<i>ti</i> ,	𐎡𐎢𐎣.	L. 34.
<i>tu</i> ,	𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎣.	L. 26 and 202 united.
<i>at</i> ,	𐎡𐎢𐎣.	L. 204.
<i>yat</i> ,	𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎣.	L. 269.
<i>vat</i> ,		not ascertained.

SEVENTH, OR *D* SERIES.

<i>dā</i> ,	𐎡𐎢𐎣.	L. 268.
<i>da</i> ,		not ascertained.
<i>di</i> ,	𐎡𐎢𐎣.	L. 162.
<i>du</i> ,	𐎡𐎢𐎣.	L. 260, 270.

For characters ending in *d* see *S* Series.

EIGHTH, OR *N* SERIES.

<i>nā</i> ,	𐎡𐎢.	L. 139, 140.
<i>na</i> ,	𐎡𐎢.	L. 192.
<i>ni</i> ,	𐎡𐎢𐎣.	L. 91.
<i>nu</i> ,	𐎡𐎢.	L. 211.
<i>an</i> ,	𐎡𐎢.	L. 287.
<i>yan</i> ,	𐎡𐎢𐎣?	L. 27 rather <i>yin</i> .
<i>van</i> ,	𐎡𐎢𐎣.	L. 256-258.

NINTH, OR *P* SERIES.

<i>pā</i> ,	𐎡𐎢.	L. 44.
<i>pa</i> ,	𐎡𐎢.	L. 37.
<i>pi</i> ,		wanting, <i>pa</i> or <i>bi</i> used in its stead.
<i>pu</i> ,		wanting, <i>pa</i> or <i>bu</i> used in its stead.
<i>ap</i> ,	𐎡𐎢.	L. 79.
<i>yap</i> ,	𐎡𐎢𐎣.	L. 253, 254; cf. 8.55, 5.21.
<i>vap</i> ,	𐎡𐎢.	L. 208, 209.

TENTH, OR *B* SERIES.

<i>bā</i> ,	𐎡𐎢.	L. 111.
<i>ba</i> ,		seems to be wanting, <i>pa</i> used for it. (See note *, p. 62.)
<i>bi</i> ,	𐎡𐎢.	L. 223-225, 233, 234.
<i>bu</i> ,	𐎡𐎢.	L. 59.





For characters ending in *b* see *P* Series.

the Nimrūd form of the character before us. The latter, as I take it, represents the conclusion of the singular of a noun, that of the constructed plural of which is expressed by the former. It follows that the value of the present character begins with *ç*. It occurs also with 𐎡 before it, as the verb "I shut up;" which is naturally deduced from the root 𐎠𐎢; and in the word signifying "guards" (of the palace), *na. çir. ti*, which is evidently from 𐎠𐎢. Taking all this into consideration, along with the name mentioned in the former note, which it is certainly most natural to read *çi. du. nā. yi*, I feel myself compelled to value the two characters under consideration as *çi* and *çir*; and accordingly to read the Babylonian name of Darius as *Dārāyāçir*! Feb. 8, 1850.

\* In some of the Nimrūd inscriptions, this character is used for 𐎡𐎢, i. e. *ānā. cu*, "I."










## ELEVENTH, OR Y SERIES.




- yā*, . L. 249.  
*ya*, . L. 12.  
*yi*, . L. 4 doubled.  
*yu*, . L. 71.



For characters ending in *y* see V Series.

## TWELFTH, OR R SERIES.




- rā*, . L. 94-96, 144-147.  
*ra*, . L. 53.  
*ri*, . L. 52.  
*ru*, . L. 51.  
*ar*, . L. 32 and 73 combined.  
*yar*, . L. 194, see § 14.  
*var*, . L. 251, 252.

## THIRTEENTH, OR V SERIES.

- vā*, . L. 238.  
*va*, . L. 46.  
*vi*, . L. 106-109.  
*vu*, not ascertained.









- av*, . L. 206, 207.  
*yav*, . L. 56, 57; cf. 152.8 and 16.53.  
*vav*, not ascertained.


## FOURTEENTH, OR Ç SERIES.

- çā*, . L. 181.  
*ça*, not ascertained.  
*çi*, ? L. 126.\*  
*çu*, . L. 124.

For characters ending in *ç* see C Series.

## FIFTEENTH, OR S SERIES.

- sa*, . L. 6, 175, 176.  
*sa*,  or . L. 26.  
*si*, . L. 32.  
*su*, . L. ?  
*as*, . L. 45.  
*yas*, . L. 85-87, 89, 90, 184; cf. 8.34 and 2.17.  
*vas*, . L. 262, 264.

I need scarcely say, that there are many phonetic characters, whose values are compounded of those of two or more of the above, in addition to such as are homophones of them. I have perhaps omitted a character in each series, with the value of the form *Crī* or *Cr*. I, however, only know one character, to which I should assign such a value; I mean , which seems to express *f'r*, rather than *par*; so that when followed by a syllable beginning with *r*, it may be transcribed by *f'* singly; as in the word *f'.rā.t'i*, 5.14, "the Euphrates;"

To prevent mistakes, *va* is often added, while the other form of the present character, given in note †, p. 28, is used for *lu*.

\* Often used for *çi* or *çiv*; but in some situations seems clearly a simple *çi*; so *bi* is also used for *bū*, § 9.

and in *lā ya .f'. ru . vaç*, the conclusion of line 35 of the inscription on the tomb of Darius; which I suppose to mean "let him not break into (the tomb)," the verb corresponding to יִפְרוֹץ. Other characters which seem analogous to this, are rather compounds of two of the forms *Cā.ar*, and should be represented by *Car*.

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#### ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

IN the eight months which have elapsed since this Paper was presented to the Academy, I have been making continued progress in the interpretation of these inscriptions; and for the last two months I have had in my hands copies of some very valuable inscriptions from Nimrûd, Kouyunjik, and Mal Amir, being the first part of a collection about to be published by the Trustees of the British Museum. This has naturally led to rectifications of my views on several minor points; while it has confirmed me in the correctness of the great principles advanced in this Paper, and of which I claim to be the discoverer; viz., the almost perfect correspondence of the Median, as well as the Van, phonographs with the Assyrio-Babylonian; the fact of the primitive values of *all* of these being Indo-European syllables, and not Semitic letters; the existence of ideographic characters with various uses, as explained in §§ 9-23; and the consequent possibility of a character being read in two or more ways, according as it was used as a phonograph or an ideograph. In the notes which have been added while the paper was going through the Press, some corrections have been made; and I propose now to give a list of such corrections made in these notes as refer to passages different from those to which they are attached; as well as to add a few other corrections which I have not had an opportunity of making since I discovered their necessity. This list I give in the order of the pages. To this I will add a short specimen of translated Khorsabad text. The characters which occur in the preceding syllabary will not be expressed; but only homophones, compound phonographs, and ideographs.

PAGE 5. An erroneous statement in the note is corrected in the note in p. 20. As to the main question discussed in it, the discovery which I have recently made of the close resemblance between the inscriptions found at Mal Amir in Susiana and the Second Persepolitan (see p. 62), appears to me to furnish a conclusive argument in favour of my views. That the people of Susa should use a character and language almost identical with that of their neighbours the Medes, is only what we might expect; but will any one seriously contend, that Susa was inhabited by Scythians?

Pages 7, 12, 13. Some typographical errors, and one of my own, are corrected in the note in p. 58. As respects the Etruscan alphabet mentioned in the note in p. 13, I have ascertained that the value of the seventh letter was  $\zeta$ , and that of the eighteenth  $\xi$ .

Page 14, line 7 of note, for אהמאא read אהמא.

Page 17. The initial character in *bab.il.rā.vā*, is by no means identical with the mixed sign mentioned in § 10, as suggested at the bottom of the page.

Page 21, line 8. I prefer *din* to *dan*, for reasons given in the note in p. 54.

———, penult. line of note, for *abhi* read *api*.


Page 24. With respect to note \*, see the note in p. 42. The reading *natta* in line 5 is doubtful. The first character in the word seems to have in one connexion the value *nat*; but in other places it is more certainly *qil*, or, as I now write it, *yil*; the remainder of the word is *la*. It is possible, that both the Aramæan word given in p. 24, and 𐤀𐤋, which is nearly identical with it in meaning, may be equivalents of 𐤀𐤋; but if only one of these can be admitted, I incline to the latter.








Page 23, line 17. The meaning given to the cuneatic word in this line is not the right one. See note in p. 42 at the end.

Page 26. I was in error when I resolved the second form of the name Nebo into *Nab.ic*. The value of the latter character is *ac*; and the former is, I believe, never to be valued otherwise than phonetically *an*, and ideographically *il* or *asur*. The arbitrary mode of representing divine names, by combinations of the ideograph for "God" and single characters, of which this is a specimen, is a source of much confusion and uncertainty.

———, first line of note, for *divided* read *derived*.

Page 31. A mistake which I have made as to the initial character of the

two first forms of the name treated of in § 22, is corrected at the end of the note in p. 44. The third form occurs on the Nimrûd obelisk, and in other Nimrûd and Kouyunjik inscriptions; and from these it appears, that the two first characters, as I have given them, ought to be combined into one, and in like manner what I have given as the third and fourth. The two last comprise L. 255, of which the value seems to be *çip* or *çap*. The first is of course *bar* or *barra*. The entire name is *barra.çip.vā*, or *bar.ra.sir.vā*. In the latter form, the *r* is assimilated to the following consonant, which is probably the equivalent of our *wh* (see note in p. 47), from which to *f* (or, when doubled, *p*) the transition is easy. In the inscription on the obelisk, this name follows that of Babylon, as given in p. 17; and it is evident, from the context, that these two places were near together. The observation of this fact was a relief to me; as it was very painful to think, that what was said of this place in the Great Inscription would apply to the Holy City. In Major RAWLINSON'S Paper on the Nimrûd obelisk, as reported in the Literary Gazette of the 26th January, he makes these two places to be Shinar and Borsippa. The former reading is not to be thought of for a moment, the name being clearly *bab.il.rā.vā*; but I have no doubt that the latter name is that of the second town. It seems that Borsippa is mentioned by Strabo as a town in the neighbourhood of Babylon. In support of the view that I have taken of the character , *pā*, having, as a secondary or ideographic value, *sir'u*, I observe that the name of the fifth people whose tribute is represented on the Nimrûd obelisk began with this character; the remainder being *ti.nā.yi*. It seems to me quite evident, that these were the "Shirutana of the sea" of the hieroglyphic inscriptions; that is, as I suppose, the people of Cyprus. I read the cuneatic name *Siru.ti.nā.yi*; and it appears to me, that articles of copper are both named and represented among the tribute. An Assyrian inscription has been found in Cyprus.

Pages 39, 40. The transcription on which I relied for determining the value of  is the following. In the Assyrian inscriptions a very common word is  . In the Great Inscription at the India House, the last character does not occur; but the word    , occurs four times in similar positions to the preceding word; and I have naturally assumed it to be the same. This gives *ray.yab* or *rib* for the value of the character in question. I have since met with a confirmation of this; in the table of variants in the standard inscription at Nimrûd, in the twenty-fifth line, it is interchanged with

𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠, that is *rav. b'i*.<sup>\*</sup> It is also interchanged with *yar. bi* (see X. 12, and compare the Standard Inscription of Nimrūd, l. 29); and in the parallel place on GROTEFEND's barrel we have 𐎠𐎢𐎡, L. 91, in place of *yar*, L. 194. This is important, as shewing that the phonetic value of this last character is not *ni*, as I have made it in the table, but *ri*, or rather *iri*. It will be recollected, that this character followed by *bā* is used for the last element in the name of the Kouyunjik king, which is therefore *rib* or *irib*, not *su*. In confirmation of this value of 𐎠𐎢𐎡, I observe that there is a common verb, which is repeatedly used after "I departed from such a place," and which always has for its object a place. It consists of this character with *ag. ga* before it. I read it *ag. ga. rib*, translate it "I approach," and connect it with the Hebrew root 𐤒𐤓𐤐. The two last characters are the same in a reverse order, which compose the cuneatic name of Nimrūd; and it may suffice to remark, that if this be read *Cal. ah*, we should have for the verb *āg* (or *ac*). *ah. cal*; which will not pass muster. Again, the name *Rib. nā. nā*, as I read it, which occurs more than once in the inscription on the great altar at Nimrūd, must be Lebanon (a variation of the name given in p. 33). This is clear from its connexion with "the great forest," *ā. ab. bā. rabi. ta*; and that the former word means "a forest" is quite plain not only from 𐎠𐎢𐎡, signifying "a forest" in Syriac, but more decisively from the concluding part of the inscription; when the king speaks of his making *abbā*, "forests," followed by *sā*, "of," and that by two nouns which begin with 𐎠𐎢𐎡, the determinative prefix of *wood*.

Page 41. The value of 𐎠𐎢𐎡 is, I feel very confident, *ru*. The vowel *u*, which terminates the name before us in one place, is omitted in the other, which proves that it is inherent in the character. The same character, preceded by *ya. tu*, constitutes the name of a people, which must be 𐎠𐎢𐎡, Ituræa; it is joined in 16. 71-73, with *Gā. ray. li*, Galilee, *Rib. du. d'u*, Lebanon, and *Gā. av. rā. n'u*, Hauran. The copyists of the inscriptions have, however, occasionally confounded this character with 𐎠𐎢𐎡, and perhaps the sculptors may have done the same. The latter is the Third Persepolitan 𐎠𐎢𐎡, L. 154; and its value is *gā* (see remarks on p. 57. II.).

\* The first of these characters = *rā. av* or *rav*; it partakes, accordingly, of all the uncertainty which attaches to its last element. See note †, p. 59. Here the value would seem to be *ré*. It must be remarked, that the vowels in compound phonographs are sometimes varied in a way that those of the regular syllabary never are.

Page 46. The view taken in the note in this page, of the values of  $\text{𐤆𐤍}$  and  $\text{𐤆𐤍𐤀}$ , is corrected in p. 61. Sidon and not Bashan is the country referred to. Major RAWLINSON, in the Paper already cited, identifies the following name with Accar, which is given at this day to the mountainous region north of Beirout. In this he is probably right; though it is curious that precisely the same name should be given at Khorsabad to the very distant *Hariwa*. See p. 31.—After all, I am not sure that Ethiopia was not the country of Gita, as I originally supposed it to be.

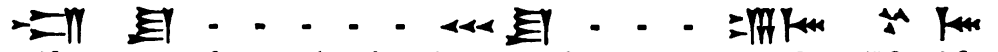
Page 57, II. I am by no means satisfied about the *G* series. In the first place I must observe, that *P* is sometimes represented by characters which belong to it; as in *ag.ga.rib*,  $\text{𐤀𐤂𐤁𐤍}$ , already mentioned. I suspect, however, that another series should be introduced intermediate between the *G* and *Y* series. If so, I should refer to it the characters which now stand as *gā*, *ga*, *gi*, and *yu*; making  $\text{𐤂𐤀}$ , *ga*, instead of *ca*,  $\text{𐤂𐤀𐤍}$ , *gi*,\* and  $\text{𐤂𐤀𐤍}$  *gā*. This last is an ideograph for "an ox," and is sometimes completed by the syllable *av*, and sometimes by *ap*, making up the Indo-European word *gav*. It is also used for the final syllable of *Jā.rā.an.gā*, the name answering to "Zaraca." *Gav* is not the only instance of an ideograph being phonetically connected with an Indo-European value. The same thing happens in the case of *van*, "a man." To the consonant of this new series, the value *q* or *h* might be given; but I have not done this, nor made the change suggested in the note † in p. 57, in the specimens which are subjoined.


Page 62, note. I see that the word "I shut up" begins with *a*, and not, as I have here stated, with  $\bar{a}$ . It must, therefore, come from  $\text{𐤀𐤆𐤍}$  ( $\text{𐤀𐤆𐤍}$ ), which has this meaning as well as  $\text{𐤀𐤆}$ . It is, I believe, an invariable rule, that *a*, when it precedes two radicals at the commencement of the first person, represents  $\text{𐤀𐤆}$ . Other examples are *a.bud*, "I make;" *a.bur*, "I pass;" *a.la*, "I ascend." In passing to the third person  $\bar{a}$  and *a* equally becomes *ya*.

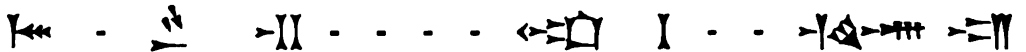
Page 63. The Assyrian form of L. 278, *al*, is  $\text{𐤀𐤌}$ . The value of the character which I have made *ni* is *ri* or *iri*. See remark on p. 40.


\* This is particularly used to express *y*; as in *gi.bid*, "a servant" (Note p. 60), and  $\text{𐤀𐤂𐤀𐤍𐤀𐤌𐤀𐤌𐤀}$ , *Abdistarti*, the name of the king of Sidon contemporary with Sennacherib; written with both *ab.di.yas* and *ab.di.gi.yas* before *tarti*. Cf. B. M. 20, &c. i. 14 and 50.

THE following brief specimens of translations from the Khorsabad inscriptions have been selected with a view to illustrate passages of Holy Scripture, as well as the language of the inscriptions. The deportation of conquered nations by the Assyrians, and the planting of other nations in the cities from which they were removed, is repeatedly mentioned in the Second Book of Kings.


  
<sup>1</sup>Id. <sup>2</sup>su <sup>3</sup>ā . tu <sup>4</sup>ā . n'ā <sup>5</sup>san . u . t'i aq . cā; <sup>6</sup>Id. Id. <sup>6</sup>Id. Id.
   
 city(2) his(1), it to change I give; men of countries



  
<sup>v</sup>ā . ac . ti <sup>7</sup>Id. <sup>8</sup>yā <sup>9</sup>ad <sup>10</sup>Id. <sup>11</sup>va . sa . sib; D. P. su . t'u . bari?
   
 obedient to law(2) my(1) in the place I cause to dwell; subjects(2)

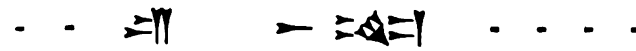

  
 Id. <sup>8</sup>yā D. P. <sup>12</sup>D. P. pā . g'ā . ā . t'i <sup>13</sup>ali <sup>14</sup>su . n'u <sup>15</sup>as . cun; <sup>16</sup>D. P.
   
 my(1) magistrates over them I make;


  
<sup>10</sup>Id. D. P. Kimmil . ri . n'ā <sup>17</sup>va <sup>18</sup>su <sup>19</sup>ab . bi; D. P. cu? <sup>19</sup>D. P. Asur <sup>20</sup>Id.
   
 Kinjiropolis out of it I bring; the will of Assur lord(2)


  
<sup>8</sup>yā <sup>21</sup>ya . n'ā <sup>10</sup>Id. <sup>11</sup>va . sa . sib
   
 my(1) in the place I make to dwell.

I have only room for the following short additional specimen; it illustrates 2 Kings, xix. 32. See also LAYARD'S MONUMENTS, plates 29, 78.


  
<sup>23</sup>sā <sup>22</sup>ma' . d'ā . at . tā . su . n'u <sup>24</sup>yac . lu . u <sup>25</sup>ab . bul
   
 (Certain towns) which their tributes withheld I shot arrows at,


  
<sup>26</sup>ag . gur ad . Id. <sup>27</sup>as . ru . vap.
   
 I made a bank against, I burned.

- <sup>1</sup> A simple ideograph; see p. 28.
- <sup>2</sup> Affix 3 a. m.; see p. 44 note.
- <sup>3</sup> = אֶרְמָ acc. m. a. of pronoun.
- <sup>4</sup> Particle, which forms dative and accusative case; it is used for both at Persepolis.
- <sup>5</sup> See p. 44 in the note. The following, and some other words, I am as yet unable to explain.
- <sup>6</sup> Ideographs with plural sign.
- <sup>7</sup> This word also signifies "a gift;" and it represents, I believe, the אָדָּ of Dan. vii. 25.
- <sup>8</sup> Affix 1 s. Observe that the affix is  $\bar{a}$ ; the  $y$  is euphonic, the noun terminating in  $i$ .
- <sup>9</sup> See p. 28.
- <sup>10</sup> See p. 17.
- <sup>11</sup> For the radical part of this word see p. 23; but the power of the prefixes is there given erroneously;  $sa$  seems to have formed causative verbs, and  $va = \text{ב}$  to have formed the participle. This conjugation is called by Chaldee grammarians *Shaphel*. The present verb is defective, and I therefore give examples of the full participial form. Such are  $va . s' . al . bi . yas$ , "I clothe." R. = שָׁלַב;  $va . s' . ac . la . yal$ , "I complete," R. = כָּלַל. I consider this form to be a participle, because it is the same in the first and the third person. In the plural it is varied;  $lu$ , for instance, being substituted for  $yal$  in this last word; but so we have the adjective  $rab$  in the singular, and  $rabu$  in the plural. It will be seen, from the examples of verbs that I have given, that the Assyrian verb is, like the Hebrew, trilateral, and that the defective verbs follow very closely the Hebrew analogy. From comparing Semitic roots with Egyptian and Indo-European ones, I think it clear (and have elsewhere expressed my opinion to that effect) that the latter were originally biliteral; but I believe the trilateral form to be as well marked in the Assyrian as in any other Semitic language; and while our He-

brew and Arabic lexicons retain it, I think we shall do well to recognise it in Assyrian also.

- <sup>12</sup> See p. 29.
- <sup>13</sup> = עָלִי or עָל.
- <sup>14</sup> Aff. 3 pl.; see p. 44, note.
- <sup>15</sup> *Cun* signifies "to be" in Phœnician as well as in Arabic; and the  $s$  prefixed may convert this into the causative verb "to make;" or *sacan* may have been a simple verb signifying "to make." In the Third Persepolitan Inscriptions, we have *yat. cu. nu*, "they made."
- <sup>16</sup> Several names like this, with names of deities substituted for that of the king, occur in the inscriptions; and this very name was given to the city built at Khorsabad. The second character must not be resolved into  $ta . \bar{a}$ . It is equivalent to the Hebrew אֶרְמָ; but I have no reason to think it was so pronounced.
- <sup>17</sup> See p. 43 and note.
- <sup>18</sup> Seems = אֶרְמָ; the  $ab$  is probably by assimilation for  $as$ . The following word is a difficult one; what is written  $cu$ , or  $cu . r'u$ , seems to have been pronounced  $tar$  in Assyrian names. Probably these words were equivalent. I cannot venture to identify the latter with אֶרְמָ.
- <sup>19</sup> = אֶרְמָ אֶרְמָ,  $as . su . r'u$  (or  $at . tu . r'u$ ; note † p. 57).
- <sup>20</sup> See p. 25, § 18. I read the word *cami*; it is, perhaps, of Scythian origin. In the summer before last, when I first perceived the meaning of this character and its equivalence to אֶרְמָ, I read that word  $\bar{a}du . n'a$  for אֶרְמָ, and afterwards  $du . n'a$ . It was with great reluctance that I abandoned this reading on finding the most convincing proofs that the initial character was  $ca$  (or  $ga$ , see p. 69). In making this correction I should state, that I could not have been influenced by any wish to bring out the name of Sennacherib; as it was not until the present year that I recognised the identity



of the character used in the royal names with that above given. See note \* in p. 62.

<sup>21</sup> See p. 28 and note †.

<sup>22</sup> This particle signifies *who, of*, = ׁ.

<sup>23</sup> See note p. 42. For the use of << to express the first syllable, see note \*, p. 39. *ā* before the affix shews that the noun is plural. The singular would have *i* before this affix. The absolute form, ending in *u*, is given in p. 42. If the distinction between the vowels be rejected, the grammar will be as imperfect as a Hebrew grammar without the points.

<sup>24</sup> The third person plural. I translate all the verbs in this specimen as preterites; in the former as presents. This form of the verb is used without change for both. The root corresponds to נלל or ללל, which has the same meaning. The final character seems phonetically superfluous; but it indicates that the verb is of the class ללל. A similar form, *yab. nu. u*, "they made" (R. = בננ), occurs repeatedly in the Persepolitan inscriptions. That the root of this verb ended in *l* in Babylonian appears from the two forms *ab. nu*, "I make," and *va. b'ā. an. nu*, which has nearly the same meaning. The latter is the Pihel participle. Probably, in the word before us, *u* was sounded twice.

<sup>25</sup> In B. M. 63. 30, the last character of this word is resolved into *bu. val*. The corresponding verb نبل, is used in Arabic with the sense here assigned to it. The last character is also used to express "a year;" it may be of the same origin as "Bul," the name of a Hebrew month; "the annual rainy season." The "moon," אץ, was a semi-lunation; and when the calendar was regulated, fifteen days. The double moon was שנא, *sana*, thirty days,

expressed ideographically by the numeral <<<, or, as the Romans wrote it, xxx. This also expressed the idea of "new" and "change." The different meanings of this word in Hebrew and in Assyrian may have given rise to those mistakes in Chaldean chronology which Eusebius has noticed. The *Sankin* (see p. 35) I take to have been the twelve deities who presided over these double months. It is curious that there were also deities whose names were expressed by אץ, with the numeral xv. In B. M. 20. 5, 6, and elsewhere, we have "the god xv. of Niniveh and the god xv. of Babylon."(?) Niniveh, by the way (*Nasū. vā*), was certainly at or very near Kouyunjik. This appears clearly from the inscriptions found at that place; and from B. M. 15. 35, 41, it is plain that it was on the eastern bank of the Tigris. "From Niniveh I departed;—over the Tigris I passed."

<sup>26</sup> The last character in this word occurs in PORTER's transcript of VI. 51, where the Great Inscription has *gu. var*. I infer that this is the meaning from the passage VI. 62, *ya. n'ā cu. vap. rav u ā. gur. rav ac. gu. var*, "with ditches (אץ) and mounds I encircle (R. = כרר)." The *av* (*am*) seems here and elsewhere (as in the name of Egypt in p. 41, to be read *Ma. g' u. rav*) to be a plural termination; so it is in Phœnician and Himyaritic. The meaning of the following ideograph I can as yet only conjecture; "with the contents," "to the ground," or "to ashes."

<sup>27</sup> The root plainly corresponds to שרר. In parallel passages we have *ac. (אץ) va*. The corresponding Hebrew root would be כרר, which is not in use; but the Aramaean כרר is, and with the same meaning.

*On the Law of spontaneous and voluntary Association. By the Rev. JAMES WILLS.*

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Read June 28, 1847.

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COMPLEX ideas, so far as they are properly the results of any mental process, can be traced to three different kinds of operations, all of which have a common principle, while each has some peculiar difference in its origin and use, such as to require a separate investigation.

First among these are the combinations framed from the habitual recurrence in union, or constant succession, of the same phenomena or ideas. Those I have discussed in my first Paper.

Secondly, those ideas which are the results of accidental combination : these, like the former, are independent of the voluntary powers of mind ; and, like them too, depend directly on the primary modes of perception and apprehension, being communicated through the sense from without.

Lastly, those spontaneous or voluntary associations which have the origin of their combination *within the mind*, though framed from the same common elements.

Of the last-mentioned class, it is at first view perceptible that it must involve a law of combination different from either of the former ; for, while these severally represent some external process, act, or combination, this latter class now to be examined have their origin wholly within the mind, and are not the representations of any external reality. To the actions or objects of the external world, they bear the relation that the fancy picture may bear to the portrait or sketch taken from nature ; the elements of the idea are the same, but the combination different, and, in some important respects, differently obtained. The inventive mind may conceive the idea of a winged griffin as distinctly as it can recall the appearance of a strange man. Of the idea thus formed, not one line of form, or expression, may resemble any thing existent or described

in fiction: yet all the components must still be the familiar simple ideas of sensation and reflection; and a more minute analysis would ascertain that, in its elementary constitution, the very process too is still the same. What then must be the essential difference of this class of associations? Plainly, in the MODE according to which the process of combination has operated. It is a process dependent upon habit,—yet producing ideas formally new. These ideas are not, like the first class, results of repetition; nor, like the second, revivals from observation: yet the materials are the same, and the combinations (considered as ideas) similar.

On strict examination of the most extravagant conception which can be reduced into form by the mind, there can in every instance be traced some primary *law of form*, by which the process of combination will have been controlled and aided. Without this elementary principle, there might be a verbal description, but no idea which could be framed or conveyed, unless by some process wholly different from any here intended. Upon trial it will easily be discovered, that the effort to frame some wholly abnormal or monstrous conception would not be attended with the same common facility as when the idea attempted to be framed is such as to be in a manner referrible to some known or preconceived type,\* standard of form, or law of real or ideal combination. This *typal law* is then the law of the specific process by which ideas of this class are combined. This principle is evidently the most elementary application of the law of analogy—which in its most extended sense, is the most universal law of thought. It is the law of order by which ideas are framed, and from hence in a measure will be found to arise its connexion with the different functions of reason. In this class of applications it is directed by the initial purpose, and variously modified by the habits and constitution of the mind. For illustration, suppose the idea of a house: there is no abstract idea of a house; but there are standards of form, according to which an idea, more or less complex and distinct, will instantaneously obey the purpose of the mind. The type in one mind may be a hut, in another's a palace. One may conceive a vague and indistinct shadow of a fabric; another will give sharpness and symmetry of structure, commodious-

\* It is not necessary that this type should be real; it may belong to a class of fictitious things. It is enough that (in any way) a standard of class has been fixed or attained.

ness of division, and splendour of colouring and design. But this process will have been rendered possible by the habitual conception of a certain law of order, in which known materials, uses, and properties are commonly combined. The general law, or type, thus supplies the normal element of the conception of the mind.

It may give clearness to this statement to observe, that the same law of combination, which in nature or external reality constitutes class, mode of action, or specific existence, and appears to belong to the entire class of habitual combinations explained in the first section, is the same typical law of the mind in the formation of the spontaneous or voluntary class of combinations. To call this type *an idea*, in the *received sense*, would be to re-assert the exploded doctrine of abstract ideas. But I have no hesitation to claim for it the precise place in the intellectual theory which could properly be assigned to the abstract idea. When the same combination of sensible qualities is seen to recur in constant proportions, or to vary with any law of uniform change, this constant or uniformly varying law must have itself, by the common tendency of habit, become a fixed idea, of which the direct sense is that of a law of combination. And if either distinct purpose or casual suggestion should turn the mind towards the main elements of this combination, they may, according to this law of thought, coalesce with the instantaneous action of habit; while the initial impulse of accident or purpose will, by supplying their first element, modify the particular form. And, as in the former classes of associations, in this it becomes unnecessary to consider the components as having any separate existence—the combination executed by a single act is the sole idea.

This process is not, however, limited necessarily to this simple operation of habit. The several processes of the mind variously combine. The combination which may be the result of one process may be supposed to enter as a simple component into the idea framed by a different. All the moral tendencies are similarly subject to the same law of mind; a deep emotion, a prejudice or antipathy, or even a result of pure inference, may become components of the same idea of form, colour, and place. The components of a complex structure of ideal form may be the separate results of operations of different kinds carried on through life; a hundred rules of taste, reason, sentiment, art, may be included in the idea of an instant. All these elements may have become

embodied in a law of structure; and indeed, it may be observed, there is no habitual process to which this condition will not apply.

But it is not necessary to assume that, in the actual uses of this process, the entire operation by which a new idea is completed is confined to the one single act here described. It is enough that a single process can give ideal existence to a single result. The operation under investigation is, like every operation subject to the will, capable of continued action and repetition. The act of invention may consist of several distinct conceptions, or may be improved and extended by many repetitions of the same; or may be completed by further successive additions. The mind may love to dwell upon its own conceptions; and, regarding them as ideas, it is evident that the effect must be, in *kind*, the same as if they had been the results of external circumstance. The castle-builder lives more in the unreal scenery of his imagination than in the world of reality; nor does life offer events, or awaken feelings, that have not their ideal representation among these creations of conceptual power. Whether the mind is set to work by the sober purposes of inventive design, by the random impulse of suggestion, or the idle desire of amusement, the purpose and the typical law of combination supply the two sufficient first elements. From and according to these, the materials will simultaneously, without separate notice or effort, coalesce according to the special knowledge, habits, and character of the mind engaged. Objects remembered, or fancies remembered, will present themselves among these materials, and the successive acts of thought which may alter or extend the result will yet be processes of the same nature.

It is worthy of observation, that in the course of a continuation or successive repetition of this operation, the mind may, as in the business of life, enter into courses of calculation and inquiry, according to the usual laws of these processes, without abandoning its main result. In the effort to conceive a scene of maritime danger or enterprise, some difficulty may arise from the incompleteness of the type; the very part involved in the particular occurrence may be wanting in the thinker's idea of a ship; or some combination of cliff, wind, and wave, may be the feature required; the natural desire for distinctness and accuracy may be so felt as to arrest the course of thought, and the dreamer of storms may find himself reasoning upon physical and mechanical effect and cause.

It may also be in some measure useful to observe, how the habitual errors,

• superstitions, and prejudices, or fallacious impressions of the mind, may combine in this process in a manner which would be prevented by any distinct application of the attention or reason. Thus, for example, the homes of our ancestors, or of ancient ages of history, come upon the mind's eye, inseparably associated with appearances which we fully know to be in reality the marks of decay. If we think of the life of last century, there will arise a character of something past away, but to be excluded from the conception; it is hard to conceive the modern light of day upon those times which history calls the dark ages: in despite of reason, they rise in murky twilight to the conception.

Thus, to sum the foregoing statements, the mind may, by a process of combination dependent upon an habitual *law* of form or agglomeration, frame new ideas. These may vary according to the habits of the mind, but must always be formed according to an ideal type, of which the mind has habitual possession. This type is not necessarily true, it is enough that it is habitual. Neither is there any rule of uniform identity, in virtue of which the ideal standard must be precisely similar in all minds, or in the same mind for different periods. Of these fundamental analogies of thought, some are derived from external realities, and have in different minds that degree of similarity which must result from the sameness or similarity of the origin; some too may be supposed to result from uniform laws of our moral or intellectual nature: and thus it is that, in the extremest excursions of imagination or fancy, there is preserved a common language and general standard of expression and representation. But the mind of every individual is still in possession of numerous accidental types proper to itself, and framed from the common origin of association and expression, by which every act, however complex or peculiar, is susceptible of ideal modification, according to the character of the mind.

On the difference between minds I am not prepared to enter; but there can be no doubt that these differences exist; and that both the kinds and the degrees in which they are subject to observation are very considerable. But they must depend upon somewhat in the elementary nature of the mind; and this is wholly beyond the grasp of human philosophy. All that has been said or written upon the subject can easily be shewn to be gratuitous and unsupported. But it is not difficult to perceive that, through the whole range of the intellectual operations, there is a fundamental prevalence of the same laws of

thought. For this there seems to be some antecedent probability. For as these laws can be actually proved to work over a large compass of operation, and to include so much as I have endeavoured to demonstrate,\* there seems to be a needless complication in assuming the existence of other latent elementary processes, so far as these may be applied without undue refinement. And hence I only follow one of the most approved rules of analogical reasoning, when I observe, that I do not think it necessary to enter into the entire detail of the arguments which I might advance to prove the strict application of the same process of voluntary association, as well to the inventions of pure reason as to the instantaneous combinations of the artist or poet. To facilitate the analysis of these applications, I shall only offer a few remarks to point out the application of the common principle.

A little observation will be sufficient to convince any one who may have agreed in the previous explanations, that in all the constructive operations of thought there must be one law:—the same law of analogy must be the guide of combination. The possible combinations of ideas are infinite, and it is evident that no train or combination could be found for any, even the lightest purpose, unless by the help of some settled rule, however derived. The reasoner has earlier or later, with more or less precision and force, acquired a sense or law of probability. This law may be very remote, or a very near approximation; it may be brought, by a long succession of corrections, to approach the reality; or may, by a clear and luminous conception, in a mind disciplined by the force of its own orderly conceptual action, be struck out at a glance. Some minds habitually think according to probability founded on experiences,—some according to types and standards of form,—some according to moral analogies; but, for all, the same pure elementary principle seems to apply.

These considerations may help to explain, and are illustrated by, some well-marked facts respecting the various known characters of different classes of teachers and writers, and are capable of very extensive practical application. I shall, however, confine myself to so much as may serve to confirm or illustrate what I have hitherto stated.

Among the varied and numerous classes of scientific reasoners, there is to be

\* The attentive reader will perceive that this term here is not used in its logical sense, but rather in that of the anatomy schools.

observed a well-marked distinction between the many who display the most prompt and acute apprehension, vast retention, so as to master with comparative ease all that mind can do, and the very few who shew any considerable power to strike out a new result. And upon a closer inquiry it will even be found in some measure true, that these latter are frequently defective in the quality by which the former are distinguished. Indeed no two classes of thinkers are more different, or more likely to be confounded, by loose observers. One person may devote his life to science, and know all that is known, and possess the most lucid power of exposition, and labour for a long life at elementary works, and not strike out a single gleam of new light: another will hardly have mastered the rudimental elements, when the brain becomes haunted by conceptions, and the intellect attracted into new, unthought-of directions leading to invention.

The same consideration may be applied, though under very different apparent circumstances, in the walk of art and general literature. In the consideration of these it would lead too far were I to explain why the same or similar results may seem to be attained by widely different operations; but this will be in some degree obvious from the following explanation. There is in the nature of things no reason why the same combination which is the result of a spontaneous association, may not be constructed, according to an ascertained rule, by the most detailed process of mere art. In the picture, the poem, or any work of art, such is the frequent occurrence. As the processes of the understanding become more complex, and as active energy seems more to enter into the result, it seems probable, and agrees with experience, to conclude that the power on which they depend must be more subject to greater degrees of inequality in different individuals. And from this it is to be explained, why men of genius in any department of human effort are more rare, as the nature of the produce demands higher and more varied or remote combinations. Thus the wider and more complex combinations of mathematics, whether analytic or synthetic, are the produce of few minds; and, on the other extreme (as it were), the combinations of fancy, or the standard creations of poetic power, are not less rare; while in both, and through the entire intermediate range of art, considerable power is continually exercised in the production of similar though not equal results by a mode of operation which for distinctness



I may call *constructive*. In these the *rules* of art or science take the place of the *standard* of conception, or of the normal law of reason; every distinct component of the result is elaborately sought and selected by the exercise of judgment and the precedent of experience; every part is computed, adapted, or modelled by known standard models. The sculptor may have some celebrated work of art, or some living model, either before his eye or in his memory, and he is stored with rules of form; but he may be wholly without the self-created standard, which is the typical law which the mind has framed for itself out of the same elements.

If it were to be asked, by what means the difference of the two methods here asserted can be ascertained in the result; the test, only perceptible to the most refined criticism, is still decided enough. The higher graces of expression in art depend on refinements of form, niceties of combination, and reaches of conception not susceptible of the coarse measurement of elementary rules, and therefore can be but imperfectly attained by their aid, and when attained, are sure to carry the stamp of imitation. In all such efforts, remove the model and you extinguish the thought; the mind has framed no ideal combination, and there is before it nothing.

This test may derive much practical distinctness from the following consideration. The actual presence to the mind of a distinct conception of any reality,—for clearness I will say of any sensible reality,—has in a very high degree the effect of actual and sensible reality. It bears with it components which belong to the suggestions of memory or actual presence. We may for illustration suppose that a mountain scene is to be painted from fancy. The constructive method will resort to numerous known characters of such scenery; the most approved models of cliff and precipice, and rules of distance and colouring, will supply a sufficient approach to the truth of nature. But one glance at the reality of nature, in its most ordinary dress, will probably shame the best representations that mere art can reach. Now the effect of the other mode would be different; for the type of conception is framed from the habitual observation of *effects*—the very component wanting in every constructive system. And again, the effect of the former is that of *presence*. There is an actual idea (all that presence can give) to be contemplated, retouched, wrought upon by fancy, feeling, or even by the computations of the constructive method.

In the use of language this test can be more distinctly found, and I might take examples from every page of poetry, to apply it. A single image, conveyed in a word, and struck from the writer's mind unconsciously in the heat of composition, may be such as to have required more refined and subtle reasoning and calculations of the rules of adaptation and effect,—more considerations of the shades of feeling, the law of human apprehension, and the suggestive powers of language in its more refined and less direct applications,—than a volume might contain, or than have yet entered into the science of the rhetorician. Yet this feat of conception is executed *currente calamo*, and leaves as little trace of any process as a vessel leaves upon the waters. Now to the reader this quality may be known by a test nearly infallible; for though the effect of distinct conception may chance to be produced by accident, it cannot occur *characteristically*. It is the result of a method which (while in operation), to some considerable extent, excludes the employment of constructive methods; and of which the constant operation will be to work out its effects by the indirect means of suggestion: in reality it is the *effect* that is itself expressed, and not the detail. By the law of association, a feature, a movement, or a circumstance, conveys the *whole* to which it belongs. Now the idea, modified by the purpose, communicates the leading feature so as to give its distinctive character to the combination in which it consists. And thus the effect on the thinker's own mind is instantaneous; his type presents itself dressed, featured, and coloured, in accordance with the specific suggestion of the moment, and he is supplied with expression to combine them so as to place the reader in his own position. He *sees* what the constructive artist calculates, and from the effect of presence the effect of reality is produced; the sentiment is awakened, and his thoughts become infused with the peculiar expression, which nothing but the sense of actual present reality can communicate without the aid of this process. The mind, working by mere art, may accumulate all the terrors of a storm, and combine them with the utmost truth; but they can only *impart information* as to characteristic effect, they will only reach to elaborate commonplace, or too familiar imitation; a single word will give the whole, and bring the sympathies of the reader into the very scene of the poet's thought.

In offering this illustration, I am not sure that it can convey much, without the help of numerous examples, which would prolong this essay beyond its in-

portance. I shall, therefore, add one of a different kind, which may perhaps be more easily applied without the help of instances. Every one must be aware of the intuitive rapidity with which the expressions of the human face are perceived and interpreted, and this by some process in which there is evidently no mixture of inferential reasoning. The precise nature of this process is here immaterial; we have only to consider one of its consequences; for, however acquired, it is an universal type, belonging to most, perhaps to all minds. There is a fine analogy, or law of characteristic expression, in consequence of which every vague line will occasionally convey an instantaneous ideal image of human features. I have already, for another purpose, detailed this operation in the first Essay on this subject, and explained in what manner a casual gleam of expression is suggestive of a combination to which it can be referred.\* This is, however, but a common case of a general law, whereby the partial line suggests a whole, by reference to some typical law, or fixed analogy.

For the sake of clearness, it has been necessary to distinguish the constructive and associatory processes, by marking the opposite characters which exist between them. But though each in its utmost completeness may be considered to belong to minds of very different classes, yet as there is no human mind without every element which belongs to man's nature, so there is in reality no extended operation of the constructive or conceptual kind that must not to some extent involve that of the other. It is only in those higher or more extreme exertions of the moral or intellectual qualities, which seem to indicate some distinct operation as their principal element, that the special process thus developed can be distinctly traced. Some minds, and some products of mind, indicate the result of some one mode of operation, some of another; and thus by attentive observation much may be very clearly ascertained, that is by no means so easily demonstrated. The utmost that can be done in the analysis of mind is a just appeal to the self-observation of others.

And here, before I proceed further, I may apply these considerations to explain an observation of that truly great philosopher, Mr. LOCKE, which has, I think, been somewhat mistaken. I mean his distinction between wit and judgment, by which he describes wit as consisting in a perception of similarities, and judgment of differences in our ideas. The observation was but casual, and

\* Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xix. p. 92.

not the result of a deliberate analysis; but I think it a very remarkable proof of the clear-sighted discrimination which Mr. LOCKE seems to have possessed beyond most known men. The objection which appears to apply to his remark is, that the same observation by which differences or similarities are perceivable, should equally apply to both. Now, first observing, that in Mr. LOCKE's time, the term "wit" was understood in a sense co-extensive with imagination, it will easily appear that the objection is a mere quibble, which confounds two operations in no way related, and which are not coextensive in application. The one being the apprehension of certain analogies, or laws of form and relation; the other a distinct act of observation, applied to special objects, and not arising from any habitual process. The one being a conscious act, the other a habitual process. So far for Mr. LOCKE's intent. It must be admitted in favour of the supposed objection, that, so far as it involves a distinct proposition (but without respect to Mr. LOCKE's meaning), it is perfectly true that the same process of reason equally applies to the observation of similitude and dissimilitude; but the apprehension of analogies cannot be compared with the perception of specific circumstances or characters in the existences of either mind or matter.

It is according to the various modes in which the habit of mind which tends to the exercise of this faculty may be involved with the other habitudes, or other powers or infirmities, that the several orders of intellect may be distinguished. One mind may be exercised in the amusing perversion of the same class of similitudes and relations, which may fill another with solemn or terrific visions. One may dwell in air-built castles, and luxuriate in imaginary bowers; another, not wiser, but exercising a different moral and intellectual tendency under the same law, may fabricate speculations, economical or metaphysical; a third may build on the experience of reality, and, with a cautious regard to truth and experiment, follow out the laws of Being by the light of the same intuitive apprehension. Each individual mind is governed by a constitutional adaptation of its habits of observation and association to its moral tendencies. The poet, alive to the impressions of external things, to all that imparts the deeper impressions of passion or sentiment, looks through nature to gather the profound elements of beauty and power—of love and pity—terror and mystery. The light and social temper flutters among the cultivated fields of public life, and hoards its gall or honey for the world's taste. One powerful mind seems

to range through space and time for the elements of construction; another seems to dwell content in the jingle of a vocabulary, and find an abundant scope for exercise in the reconciliation of discordant syllables.

The application of these remarks to the criticism of poetry and other artistic branches of production is obvious.

The explanation of the manner in which this theory of association may be applied to the theory of moral sentiment is easy to apprehend. It is indeed obvious how every human affection must become an element of the idea with which it is habitually combined, whether it be place, incident, person, or face. But to follow out the subject in its details would require considerable digressions upon the nature of moral sentiment.

In like manner the associative processes subservient to the exercise of reason, already hinted at in the preceding Papers, would lead into further new, and not very easy discussions upon the principles and applications of pure reason.

The subject of dreams, which I have used to illustrate parts of this theory, belongs itself to the class of spontaneous associations. But I have proposed to myself to give this curious subject a separate discussion.

It only remains for me to observe, that this Paper completes the statement of the theory of association at which I have arrived by a method (so far as I am aware) not hitherto applied to the study of the human mind,—the *exclusive* use of observation, experiment, and analysis.

THE  
TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

VOLUME XXII.

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PART IV.—POLITE LITERATURE.



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PRINTER TO THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

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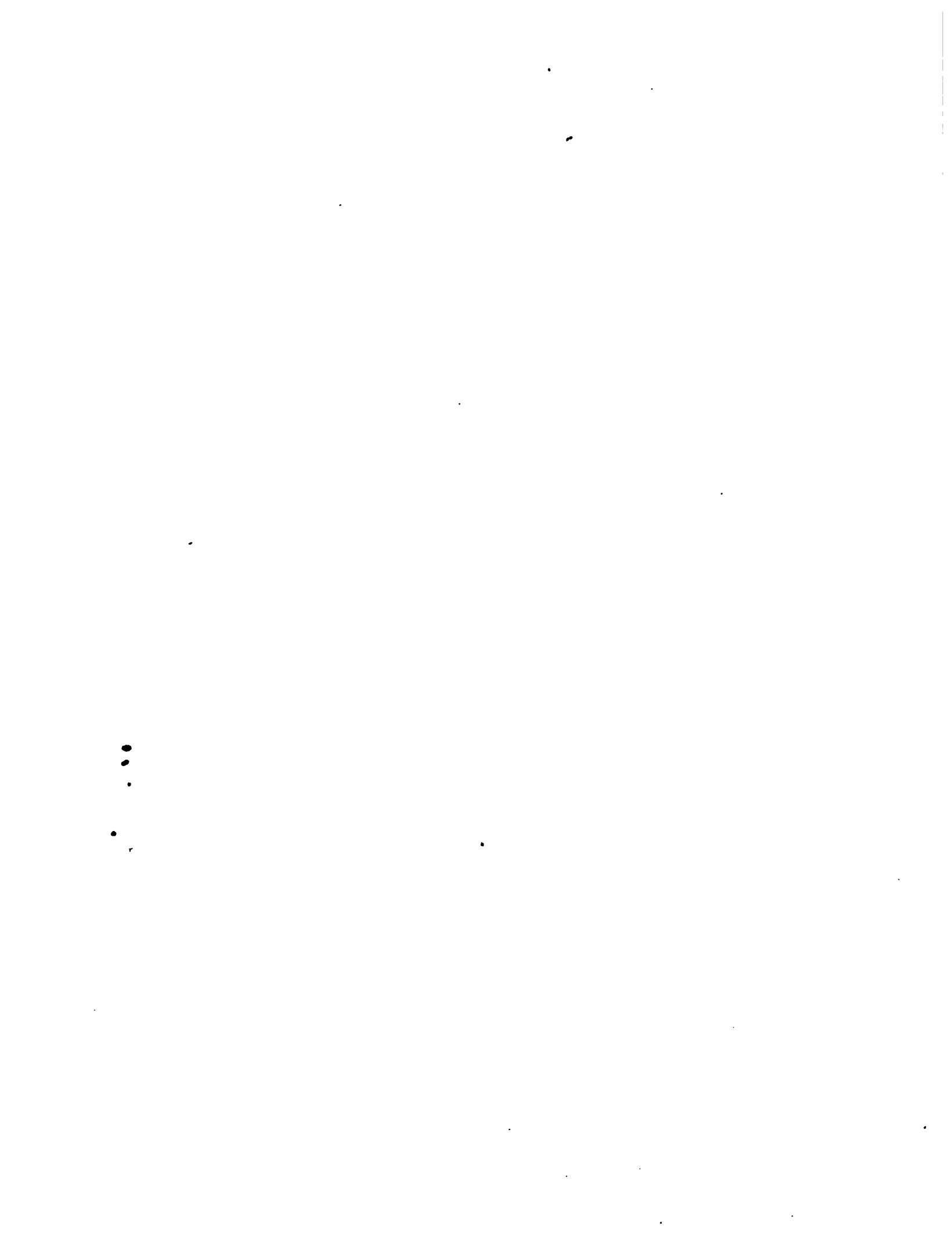
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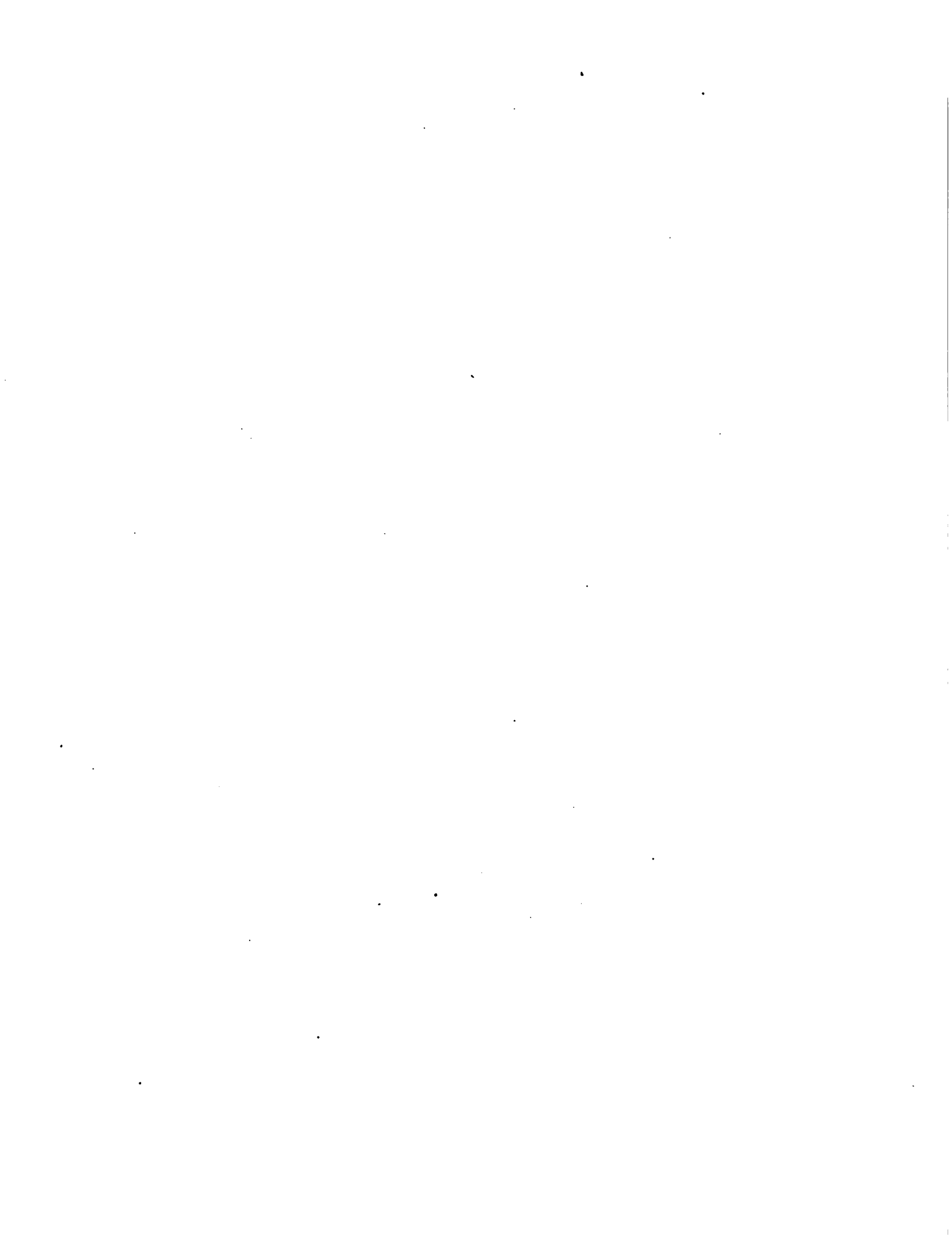


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III.—*Memoir on two large Medallion Busts which are preserved in the Manuscript Room of the Library of Trinity College, Dublin ; as also on two inedited Patmian Inscriptions extracted from the Collection formed by the Author during his Travels through Anatolia and the neighbouring Islands of the Archipelago, in the Years 1840 and 1841.* By JAMES KENNEDY BAILIE, D. D., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, and Lecturer of Greek in the University.

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Read June 12th and 26th, 1851.

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#### SECTION I.

A PECULIAR interest attaches itself, at least in the eyes of the writer of this Memoir, to the first-mentioned of these monuments of antiquity, which mainly has induced him to submit to the Academy certain results of his study of them, partly in a philological point of view, but not less prominently as specimens of Grecian art, elaborated after a primitive and most remarkable type. I particularize the first of these, as the sculptures before us were accompanied by epigraphs explanatory of their subjects ; and, in the instance of one, commemorative of the site whence, doubtless, it had been originally procured. I propose, therefore, to arrange my observations under the following heads : firstly, as I have already intimated, the philological, comprising exegetical and critical remarks on these inscriptions, one of which has reached us in a state of absolute preservation ; whilst the other, I regret to mention, demands the aid of the student versed in such inquiries, to attempt its restoration to an integral form. This has resulted from the disappearance of rather more than one-half of each of its component lines, in consequence of injuries sustained by it at distinct periods.

Of these mutilations, a certain amount was, perhaps, intentional ; whilst others may be presumed to have been the result of carelessness during the pe-

riod of the transit of the marble over sea to its present destination. Fortunately, however, a moiety of the epigraph of no inconsiderable interest has been left intact, adding one more notice to the very few which we had already possessed of the city for which it was originally designed ; and acquainting us, in all likelihood, with the name of the donor.

My second head of inquiry I may term the archæological, as in it I mean to investigate the type or fashion according to which these sculptures have been elaborated. In prosecuting this into its details, I hope to be enabled to demonstrate that it confers upon them a high intrinsic value, as it seems, if I mistake not, to identify them with a class of anaglyphs, of which few or no specimens have reached our time. Here, however, I wish myself to be understood as speaking of sculptures alone, and excluding from consideration all such reliefs as have been wrought in metals after the same type ; for of these I believe that a considerable number are extant.

Such is a very general outline of a rather embarrassing subject, in one section of which, from casualties which cannot now be redressed, I have been compelled to deal largely with probabilities. These words will be better understood hereafter. In the mean time, my entrance into these investigations must be preceded by one remark, which is, that I esteem it but as due to one of our most distinguished associates, and this not merely by his position in our society, but also by his zealous co-operation in every effort to advance the interests of sound learning, to apprise the Members of the Academy, that I but follow in his footsteps. This gentleman, and I feel pleasure in adding, my valued friend, was the first member of the University on record to direct attention to these memorials of classic art, and to disinter them from the obscurity in which they had but too long lain. It was at a meeting of this Society on January 25, 1841, that Dr. Todd, then one of our Vice-Presidents, laid before it all that was known of their history,\* citing at the same time certain critical and topographical notices respecting one of them in particular by the venerable Chaplain of the British Embassy at Constantinople during the latter part of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries ; and accompanying these services with fac-similes of the tituli to which I have referred. These facts I know

\* Vide "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," vol. II. n. 27, pp. 49, ss.

not how to mention without experiencing somewhat of a feeling of contrition for my own supineness during a period when the care of these Keimélia had been intrusted to myself; an error against taste which I can only extenuate by pleading as its cause the almost Cimmerian darkness to which they have been so long consigned, but from which I cherish the hope that awakened regards and academic feeling will ere long interpose to rescue them. I derive, moreover, some degree of consolation from the reflection, that at the very period to which I have adverted, when these monuments were brought before the notice of the Academy, I was engaged in traversing the region which we may term their birth-place, and thus charging my mind with associations which were the fittest preparatives towards my atoning for my former neglect. I have accordingly undertaken my present most agreeable office; one not the less so, because it has been engaged in not merely with the permission, but at the express suggestion, of my learned friend; and have selected the present occasion, the earliest which I could command, to submit to my fellow-academicians, the results of my study of these epigraphs.

I commence with that which has escaped the injuries of time and barbarism, and proceeds as follows:

ΚΛ. ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΙΝΤΗΝΦΙΛΑΝΔΡΟΝ  
ΘΡΕΨΑΘΗΛΥΜΙΤΡΗΣ

Κλ. Λυσιμάχην, τὴν φίλανδρον,  
ὁ θρέψας Θηλυμίτρης,

that is, "Thelymítres, who had been her nurturer, has erected this bust in honour of Claudia Lysimáche, the distinguished for her conjugal affection."

The first remark which suggests itself here is the apparent incompleteness of the construction, the verb of which *Θηλυμίτρης* is the subjective case not being expressed. This is undoubtedly **ΕΤΙΜΗΕ**, or, as it would have been written, in accordance with the almost invariable orthography of the Græco-Roman period, had it been introduced at all, **ΕΤΕΙΜΗΕ**. In tituli, however, of this class, such especially as that now before us, the ellipsis of the verb was accounted rather an elegance of diction than the reverse, as may be abundantly proved. Thus, in a Trallian inscription published in my second volume of

Greek and Græco-Roman tituli,\* we read, Ο . ΔΗΜΟΣ . ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΝ . ΟΥΛΙΑΔΟΥ . ΤΟΥ . ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ . ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ . ΤΗΣ . ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ . ΚΑΙ . ΕΞ . ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΩΝ . ΓΕΓΟΝΟΤΑ, that is, *ἐτίμησε*, "hath paid this tribute of honour to Ménandros, son of Uliádes, etc.," the author meaning thereby the erection of a small fluted column, in the upper part of which a smooth surface had been left, to serve as a tablet for receiving the epigraph.

Another from the Karian site, Aphrodisiás,† proceeds as follows: Η . ΠΑΤΡΙΣ . ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΝ . ΚΑ . ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝ . ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ . ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ . ΚΑΠΕΤΩΛΕΙΝΟΥ . ΥΟΝ . ΚΤΗΣΙΑΝ . ΤΟΝ . ΡΗΤΟΡΑ. Here the honour most probably consisted in the erection of a statue, of the pedestal of which the marble that bore the inscription may have been a fragment.

It is unnecessary to multiply examples of this omission, which, from its repeated occurrence, seems entitled to rank amongst rules of general acceptance. Cases, it is true, of the verb being introduced, occur even in concise tituli, as in the second of the inscriptions which I have published from the marbles of Vûdrûm,‡ the representative of Halikarnassós, commencing with Ο . ΔΗΜΟΣ . ΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΕΝ ; but such will be found, on sufficient examination, to be so restricted in number as to merge in the class of exceptions. It will be observed, therefore, in a subsequent part of this Memoir, that I have adopted the canon now enunciated when effecting my restoration of the mutilated epigraph, to the case of which either of two verbs, of constant use in honorary or votive inscriptions, is appropriate. I here mean *ἀνέθηκε* and *ἀνέστησε*, and refer to occasions when statues, busts, hermæ, or anaglyphs, are mentioned as having been erected in certain places, or presented to certain colleges or communities. The rule most generally adopted in such instances, was to express the image of the personage, whether divine or human, by his or her proper name, and carry on the construction by either introducing or implying one of these verbs.

My next observation on this epigraph regards the lineole which we remark at the outset in a nearly central position above ΚΑ. That this formed the base of an O-méga engraved in the peculiar introverted form which is of such

\* Fascic. Inscriptt. Græc. II. p. 80. n. CVL. b. Comp. p. 163. n. CLXXIX. g.

† Ibid. p. 31. n. LVII. p. Comp. F. III. CCCXII. a. CCCXIV. c. Böckh, Corp. Inscr. II. p. 619. n. 3004.

‡ Fascic. II. p. 70. n. XCIII. b.

frequent occurrence in the tituli of the Græco-Roman era, the upper member whereof has disappeared by attrition of the marble, might seem to have been the opinion of SMITH,\* who, in his letter to Primate MARSH, reads the name for which  $\overline{\text{KA}}$  stands, "Clodia;" for otherwise we must suppose him to have been ignorant of the fact, that these letters, taken by themselves, represent "Claudia" in all tituli wherein they occur. It is true, that in point of fact, the difference between these gentilicial names was more apparent than real;† but yet, as a question of reading, it becomes a matter of importance to determine which is the most entitled to acceptance, and I unhesitatingly decide in favour of the latter. The surface of the stéle presents no indications of any erasure having taken place; and most certainly the lineole, in itself, could have exerted no such power as to convert "Claudia" into "Clodia." But there are two other influences which it may have exercised, and of these I proceed to select the one most appropriate to its present position.

It is certain, that in tituli of the Græco-Roman period, such horizontal lineoles marked the transition of the letters over which they were incised, from being alphabetic signs to becoming the exponents of numerals. One instance of many may be cited as demonstrative of this, selected from a very remarkable epigraph which I copied when in Pérgamos,‡ from a pedestal that once had supported a statue of Hadrian, namely, the clause which supplies the date of

\* Vide Proceedings R. I. A. ut supr., p. 50. † Vide Eckhel, Doctr. Num. Vet. T. v. p. 170. a.

‡ Fascic. i. p. 83. n. XIX. a. ll. 6. s. I may be allowed here to offer a remark as to the value of this inscription, which first appeared in my collection of tituli from the sites of the Apocalyptic Churches. This consists in its precise notice of the Tribunate of Hadrian, the general absence of which from the coins of that Augustus, and other monuments relating to him, has contributed to much uncertainty in the chronology of his reign. Thus Eckhel has remarked, in his Doctr. Num. Vet. vol. vi. p. 481, a. under V. C. 877. P. X. 124. "In Asiam creditur (i. e. Hadrianus) transivisse, et invisisse ejus provincias." The "belief" expressed here amounts nearly to certainty with the evidence of this inscription before us: for we may reasonably assume, that the occasion of Hadrian's presence amongst the Pergamenes was that of the dedication of the statue, from the pedestal of which I copied the inscription, that is, during his seventh tribunate. Now, as the "dies natalis" of his reign was, as Spartianus informs us, the III. Id. August. U. C. 870., and as his tribunitial power was renewed on that day in each subsequent year, it follows that in the year U. C. 877. he concluded his seventh and entered upon his eighth tribunate; therefore, that the earlier part of this year was passed in visiting the eastern provinces of the empire. See Eckhel's chapter "De Tribunitia Potestate" in vol. VIII. pp. 413. a.



inauguration, the seventh tribuneship and third consulate of the Emperor, in the original, ΔΗΜΑΡΧΙΚΗΣ . ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣ . ΤΟ . Ζ̄ . ΥΠΑΤΟΝ . ΤΟ . Γ̄. Nothing, however, can be more evident than that the application of this principle of notation to the case before us is wholly out of the question, so that we are forced to adopt the only alternative which remains, that this lineole was intended to serve as a *σύνδεσμος*, or Band, and thus express the combination of the two letters over which it was engraved in one name, ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑ, the real gentilicium of the female mentioned in the epigraph. In the absence of this precaution, the mistake of assigning her to an entirely different Gens, for example, the Cornelian, might have occurred, and then of reading the lambda so as to tally therewith; for example, ΛΟΥΠΑ. I say, "might have occurred," but with such an array of chances against it, that I cannot but regard the introduction of this band, if such it really were, as an expedient wholly superfluous: and in the same light I view the rather unsightly indentation which appears to the right of the letters we have been considering, and before the Greek name, with the evident intention of keeping each distinct from the other. The eye must have been unpractised indeed to which the absence of such guides could have occasioned any perplexity. In point of fact, their introduction has been the cause of error, one having, as we have seen, led to a mistake in the reading of the Roman name, and the other, the separating mark, having caused the editors of Gudius' Inscriptions, by its remote similarity to the common form of the sigma, to attach it in the shape of that letter to the first two of the epigraph, thus marring a transcript which otherwise would have been faultless.\* It is, however, to be borne in mind, that these are mistakes which no Greek, or well-informed copyist of modern times, could ever have committed. But haste in the first instance has too often degenerated into negligence in the second, and this in its turn ends in the perversion of a third, of which examples without number occur in epigraphic literature, to exercise the sagacity and test the learning of the editors of these ancient records.

I now proceed to offer some remarks on the actual terms of this inscription, namely, the epithet *φιλανθρωπον*, which terminates the first line, and the participle *θρέψας*, which commences the second. The first of these solicits our attention,

\* Vide Proceedings R. I. A. ut supr., p. 50.

and in no less a degree the proper name "Thelymítres," were it only for the subdued feeling of uneasiness which the venerable commentator, from whom Dr. Todd has cited so largely, betrays respecting them.\* His recorded doubts and perplexities, more especially in the instance of the latter, have occasioned me not a little amusement; and the rather, because, to confess the truth, they appear on the face of the monument in a somewhat questionable juxtaposition for the posthumous reputation of both parties, the nurturer as well as the nurtured, as I hope, but with no sinister intent, to make apparent.

Let us first devote a few moments to the name, as the most remarkable and of very rare occurrence, but with this general observation premised, that were proper names or appellatives adopted as criteria of the moral characters of persons of either sex, the result might prove any thing but auspicious to many worthy individuals whose memories have been preserved in the archives of antiquity. We might then presume, to cite an instance, that the benevolent Prefect, whom the gratitude of a Karian city† has immortalized on one of its yet remaining portals, was the slave of the gross passion which his leading name expresses; or that persons so unfortunate in their cognomina, as was the colleague of Scipio Nasica in the consulship,‡ were outcasts from humanity. But, in a graver point of view, the name with which we deal at present appears in itself to merit some attention. It bears the impress of having been in some way connected with the Dionysiac mysteries, and was, perhaps, on this ground, that is, from some sacerdotal connexion with the worship of Diónyssos, introduced at first into the family of the erector of this anaglyph. Its import as an appellation has indeed been stated by SMITH with sufficient correctness, as appears from the expressions which Lucian has attributed to Zeús in answer to his consort's disparaging notice of his son;§ *Καὶ μὴν οὗτός γε ὁ θηλυμίτρης, ὁ ἀβρότερος τῶν γυναικῶν, οὐ μόνον, ᾧ Ἥρα, τὴν Λυδίαν ἐχειρώσατο κ. τ. λ.* He does not attempt to gainsay the most prominent of Hera's charges against Diónyssos, his assumption of the feminine head-dress, which she insists upon as a sin against decorum, but contents himself with palliating it by setting it in contrast to his valorous achievements. Thus again, in another part of his writings,|| the

\* Vide Proceedings R. I. A. ut supr., pp. 50. a.

† Viz. Aphrodisiás. See Fascic. II. p. 17. n. XLVI. c. 7.

‡ Vide Flor. III. 1. 7.

§ Dial. Deor. XVIII. 1.

|| Bacch. 3.

Indians are represented as expressing their unmeasured scorn of their invader, by styling him *θηλυμίτην ἄρχοντα*.<sup>\*</sup> We are not, therefore, in the case before us, to view the epithet abstractedly, as SMITH has done; but in the particular connexion sanctioned by these passages of Lucian, and then as merging into a proper, and it may be, an inherited name, implying a sacerdotal relation, and by consequence, a high social position. That this was, in all probability, the case, will perhaps appear more evident when I proceed to treat of the site from which the sculptures before us were originally procured, as I hope to identify it, and advance sufficient reasons for presuming its addiction to the Dionysiac worship.

I come now to the epithet *Φιλανδρος*. That this was a word of equivocal import there can be no doubt, with the testimony of Plato† before us : *Φιλογύναικές τε εἰσὶ, καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν μοιχῶν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γένους γέγονασι καὶ ὄσαι αἱ γυναῖκες φίλανδροί τε καὶ μοιχεύτριαι ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γένους γίγνονται*, that is, from the Androgynous race, of which Aristophanes is introduced as giving so imaginative a description. Here there can be no question as to the meaning of our epithet, and of its fully accounting for SMITH'S misgivings in its present juxtaposition.

Let us see, however, whether we cannot redress the balance in favour of our Alumna. I find the abstract, *φιλανδρία*, in a Gortynian titulus first published by Ροσοκκε, and recently in a restored form by Βöckh : † **ΑΣΙΑΤΙΚΗΝ . ΒΑΛΕΡΙΟΥ . ΑΣΙΑΤΙΚΟΥ . ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ . κ.τ.λ. ΣΩΦΡΟΣΥΝΗΣ . ΕΝΕΚΑ . ΚΑΙ . ΦΙΛΑΝΔΡΙΑΣ . ΚΑΙ . ΛΟΙΠΗΣ . ΑΡΕΤΗΣ**. Here there can be as little doubt of its purer import; of its expressing *conjugal attachment*, just as *φιλοτεκνία* in the Lyttian titulus which goes before does *maternal*. It enters, accordingly, as an element into the moral character of Asiatica, in consideration of

\* It is to this epithet that Virgil alludes in the contemptuous words which he attributes to Iarbas when speaking of Æneas and his followers; *Æn. iv. 215. ss.* "Et nunc ille Paris cum semi-viro comitatu, Mæonia mentum mitra crinemque madentem Subnixus rapto potitur." A combatant, in like manner, taunts them in *Æneid. ix. 616.* "Et tunicæ manicas, et habent redimicula mitræ."

The classical student may consult on this appellative Lobeck. *ad Phrynich. Eclog. p. 628.* and Creuzer. *Melet. Crit. P. I. 21.*

† Sympos. vol. x. p. 191. d. e. Bipont.

‡ Corp. Inscr. vol. II. p. 429. n. 2587. Ροσοκκε, *Inscr. Ant. P. I. p. 43. n. 1.*

which she had been adjudged the honour of a statue by the Gortynian authorities. Still more germane to our purpose is the titulus of a Parian monument published by Βόσκη,\* from ΣΡΟΝ and others, which states that the most illustrious city of the Parians had erected a statue in honour of Aurelia Leíta, as “a lover of wisdom,” and “eminent for her conjugal, maternal, and patriotic virtues;” expressed in the original, ΤΗΝ . ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΝ . ΚΑΙ . ΦΙΛΑΝΔΡΟΝ . ΚΑΙ . ΦΙΛΟΠΑΙΔΑ . ΚΑΙ . ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΝ .

My zeal in my present cause, and my anxiety to remove from this monument the least semblance of objectionable import, have led to my dwelling somewhat longer on these explanations than the actual necessity of the case might seem to require. I have felt myself, however, constrained to produce these authorities by the remarks of my venerable predecessor in this inquiry, which tend, indirectly at least, to excite suspicions respecting it, not very complimentary to its character. Yet the very reverse is the fact: for it stands before us a record of virtue, and of the estimation in which that attribute was held by one who, from the position which he occupied, was best qualified to appreciate its excellence. This position has been announced in the word which immediately precedes his name, *θρέψας*, on which I have proposed some observations.

The details into which I am now about to enter possess a high degree of interest, as *θρέψας* occurring in this connexion expresses a relationship of a very close and obligatory character known to have subsisted amongst the ancient Greeks, indeed, even at the present day, not quite obsolete amongst the race which claims them as progenitors. The correlative terms which denoted this connexion, were, on the one side, *θρεπτήρ*, *θρέπτειρα*, or, in accordance with the epigraph before us, *θρέψας*, *θρέψασα*; on the other, *θρεπτός*, *θρεπτή*, whence the plural form *θρεπτά*, together with the more comprehensive *θρέμμα*, and its diminutive *θρεμμάτιον*. The Attic forms were different,† but we are at present concerned with those alone which prevailed in Asiatic Greece, in accordance with the dialect of which *θρεπτήρια*, or *θρέπτρα*, expressed the offices which were due by the latter to the former, the nurtured to the nurturer.

Very frequent allusions to all these occur in inscriptions, from which source

\* Corp. etc. n. p. 346. n. 2384.

† Viz. *τροφείς*, *τρόφιμος*, *τροφείον*, κ. τ. λ.

I now proceed to cite a few examples, chiefly selected from those which I have myself transcribed.

In one from the Karian city Aphrodisiás, which I have published in my second volume,\* we observe, as in that now before us, the participle replacing the noun substantive: ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΗ . ΘΕΟΙΣ . ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙΣ . ΤΟ . . . ΕΙ . ΝΧΚΑΙ . ΤΑ . ΑΝΑΛΗΜΜΑΤΑ . ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ . ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ . ΜΟΛΟΣΣΟΣ . κ . τ . λ . ΕΡΓΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗΣΑΝΤΟΣ . ΕΡΜΑ . ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ . ΤΟΥ . ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ . ΚΑΤΑ . ΤΑΣ . ΜΟΛΟΣΣΟΥ . ΤΟΥ . ΘΡΕΨΑΝΤΟΣ . ΑΥΤΟΥ . ΔΙΑΘΗΚΑΣ . Here the natural relationship between uncle and nephew seems to have been merged in the ascititious one between the nurturer and the nurtured, this appearing on the face of the epigraph to have been primarily the cause of the designation of Hermás by the testator Molossós, as the trustee of an important bequest to his fellow-citizens. Again, in a Philadelphian titulus† published in the same volume, we read as follows: ΤΙΒ . [ΚΛ] . Μ[ΑΝΕΙΛΙΟΣ] . ΙΕΡΕΥΣ . ΤΗΣ . [ΘΕΙΟ]ΤΑΤΗΣ . ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ . ΤΗΝ . ΣΩΦΡΟΝ[ΕΣ]ΤΑΤΗΝ . ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ . [ΚΑ]ΤΑ . ΤΑ . ΔΟΞΑΝΤΑ . ΤΗ . ΒΟΥΛΗ . ΠΡΟΝΟΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΥ . ΤΗΣ . ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ . ΤΙΒ . ΚΛ . ΘΑΛΛΟΥ . ΤΟΥ . ΙΔΙΟΥ . ΑΥΤΗΣ . ΘΡΕΠΤΟΥ . Here we are informed of the Alumnus (*θρεπτός*) having been associated with the nearest surviving relative of the female to whom he had owed his nurture, his *θρέπτειρα*, in paying a very high tribute of honour and affection to her memory. Reciprocally, we observe in many tituli distinct mention introduced of kind offices on the part of nurturers towards those who in their tender years had experienced the benefits of their guardianship. Thus, in an Antiphellian inscription,‡ published in my third volume, we read of a certain Euélthon having constructed a sepulchral monument for his own use and that of the immediate members of his family, and accompanying these details with the usual interdict against the intrusion of all other parties whomsoever; but with a special proviso in favour of those whose nurture he had undertaken, his *θρεπτά*, to whom he assigns a distinct compartment in the structure, termed the *Hyposóron*. The words in the original relative to this are, [ΕΝ . ΔΕ]ΤΩ . ΥΠΟΣΟ[ΡΙ]Ω . [ΕΝΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ] . ΚΑΙ . ΤΑ . ΘΡΕΠΤΑ . ΜΟΥ . In

\* Fascic. II. p. 39. n. LXVI. γ.

† Ibid. p. 163. n. CLXXIX. γ.

‡ Fascic. III. p. 33. n. CCLXX. ε.

another inscription\* from the same site, we find a certain Eútychos erecting a similar monument, and introducing restrictions as to its usufruct in words nearly identical with the foregoing. The clause which saves the rights of his Alumni appears thus: **ΙΣ . ΔΕ . ΥΠΟΣ[ΟΡ]ΙΟΝ . ΕΝΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ . ΤΑ . ΘΡΕΠΤΑΡΙΑ . ΜΟΥ.** Farther on in the same volume, a Kyanean titulus† informs us that a lady named Melitiané had engaged in a like undertaking, and then reserved the right of sepulture therein to her Alumna Nánna, co-ordinately with herself, her husband, her daughter, son-in-law, and grandchildren: **ΕΑΥΤΗ . ΚΑΙ . ΑΝΔΡΙ . ΑΥΤΗΣ . ΕΡΜΑΠΙΑ . ΕΥΔΟΞΟΥ . ΚΑΙ . ΓΑΜΒΡΩ . ΚΑΙ . ΕΚΓΟΝΟΙΣ . ΚΑΙ . ΘΡΕΠΤΗ . ΝΑΝΝΗ.**

I conclude my extracts under this head with a Halikarnassian titulus of the same class, which has been published from Διδωτ and others by the learned Βόσκη,‡ but in a form with which he expresses himself as not altogether satisfied: **ΤΟ . ΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝ . ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΝ . ΕΡΜΗΣ . ΚΑΙ . ΘΕΟΔΟΤΗ . ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ . ΜΗ . ΕΞΕΣΤΩ . ΔΕ . ΕΤΕΡΟΝ . ΤΕΘΗΝΑΙ . ΜΗΔΕΝΑ . ΕΙ . ΜΗ . ΕΡΜΗΝ . ΠΑΠΑΝ . ΚΑΙ . ΘΕΟΔΟΤΗΝ . ΚΑΙ . ΕΡΜΗΝ . [ΚΑΙ] . ΤΟ . ΟΝΟΜΑ . ΤΟ . ΕΡΜΗΔΟΣ . ΘΡΕΠΤΟΝ . ΑΥΤΩΝ.** Hermês, the Alumnus of the proprietors of this monument, appears thus to have been placed in the same rank with themselves and their nearest relatives, as to the right of sepulture therein. Now, when we take into consideration the undoubted fact, that no rights or privileges were more jealously guarded than those to the usufruct of a family sepulchre, that the provisions respecting it were duly registered in the proper office in each city, that the aid of the civil power was thus invoked to guarantee its integrity, by the denouncement of pains and penalties against such as intruded into, or violated, it; nay, that special formulæ of malediction, and devotement to the vengeance of the deities of the lower world, were contrived, to arrest the arm of sacrilege when raised to desecrate these sanctuaries of the dead, we are in a condition to estimate the favour which was conferred by such concessions as the foregoing, and consequently the amount of claim which the Alumnus was thought to possess.

Scarcely less demonstrative of the affection which bound these parties together, were the tributes of respect of which we read as occasionally rendered

\* Fascic. III. p. 28. n. CCLXVII. b.

† Ibid. p. 49. n. CCLXXXIII. c.

‡ Corp. Inscr. II. p. 457. n. 2664.

to the nurtured, after their decease, by the guardians of their infancy. These sometimes involved a liberal expenditure, as in the instance of the anaglyph before us, which was unquestionably a posthumous honour; but more especially so, when they were decreed by the municipal authorities of a city, and executed at their private cost by the parties who had sustained that relation towards the deceased; for we may be assured that, under such auspices, no expense would be spared which was necessary to secure the co-operation of high art and consummate ability.

A striking instance of this is afforded by an inscription of Thyáteira, which Böckh has published\* from the transcripts of ΣΠΟΝ, ΣΜΙΤΗ, and others, wherein it is recorded that a female of high rank, Ulpia Marcella, had the honour of a statue decreed to her by the suffrages of the senate and people of that city, the cost having been undertaken by those who had brought her up, namely, Ανδρόνικος and Στρατονίκη. It proceeds thus: ΑΓΑΘΗ . ΤΥΧΗΙ . Η . ΒΟΥΛΗ . ΚΑΙ . Ο . ΔΗΜΟΣ . ΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΑΝ . ΟΥΛΠΙΑΝ . ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΑΝ . κ. τ. λ. ΑΝΑΣΤΗΣΑΝΤΩΝ . ΤΗΝ . ΤΕΙΜΗΝ . ΑΝΔΡΟΝΕΙΚΟΥ . ΤΟΥ . ΑΝΔΡΟΝΕΙΚΟΥ . ΚΑΙ . ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΕΙΚΗΣ . ΤΗΣ . ΜΗΝΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ . ΤΩΝ . ΘΡΕΨΑΝΤΩΝ . ΕΚ . ΤΩΝ . ΙΔΙΩΝ. This casts into the shade even the liberality of our Thelymitres: but not so the following, copied from a marble † fragment which had been built into one of the walls of a Turkish house in Gheyerah, the representative of the ancient Aphrodisiás. This block had probably formed part of a cippus, from which description of sepulchral monument I have transcribed some highly interesting tituli on the same ground, and which had been, like numberless others, so wrought into building material as to preserve the epigraph unmutilated. This I mention with the view of palliating the offence which in innumerable instances has been committed against good taste . . . even by Greeks themselves . . . in employing these records of ancient civilization for what we must regard as sordid and unworthy purposes; and so dismiss a theme on which I might feel tempted to be unseasonably eloquent, to pursue my more immediate subject.

The inscription to which I have alluded harmonized well in its simple and unpretending beauty with the inornate marble on which it had been engraved: ΠΕΤΡΩΝΙΟΣ . ΚΑΙ . ΑΠΦΙΟΝ . ΕΩΤΗΡΙΔΟΣ . ΤΟΥ . ΘΡΕΜΜΑΤΙΟΥ . ΜΝΕΙΑΣ .

\* Corp. Inscr. ii. p. 838. n. 3507.

† Ibid. p. 492. n. 2733.

**XAPIN**, that is, "Petronius and Appium (have erected this, *τοῦτο ἀνέστησαν*), to preserve the memory of their nursling Soteris." I regard the diminutive here used as the exponent of the sentiments of the survivors, just as *παιδίον* and *θυγάτριον* might have been in the corresponding natural relation, and have accordingly rendered it by the word in our language which appears to be its nearest synonym; as is the German "Pflegekind."

From these and numerous other citations which might be adduced, the inference is abundantly clear, that the bond which united the nurturer and the nurtured became in most cases equivalent to one of consanguinity, and that the duties which, in consequence, the latter owed to the former were of proportionally stringent obligation, were in effect filial. Honour, obedience, and should the exigence of the case demand it, provision in declining years, were the duties of the Alumnus. These were, as I have already mentioned, comprehended by the Greeks under the term *θρεπτήρια*, which the accurate Passow explains\* as though contemplating merely the relation between parent and child; "Der Dank oder der Unterhalt den die Kinder als Lohn der in der Jugend empfangenen Pflege und Erziehung den alternden Ältern angedeihn liessen." But, as we have seen, the language of inscriptions widens their application by revealing to us more of the inner life of ancient Greek society. From these we learn that, exclusively of the *τέκνα γνήσια*, or as they are sometimes denominated in tituli, *φυσικά*, as also of the *θερά*,† or *καθ' υιοθεσίαν*, whose rights were strictly defined by law, there were also the *τρόφιμα* or *θρεπτά*, the claims possessed by whom were not the less to be respected because left in a great measure to the influence of those sentiments, to which they originally owed their being, for their recognition. Certain, however, it is, that the charities of domestic life which grow out of natural relationships take such forcible possession of the mind, that we cease to be surprised at their absorbing the poet's contemplation to the exclusion of kindred emotions of a purely conventional origin.

Amongst these, Homer‡ leads the way, who on more than one occasion

\* "Handwört. d. Gr. Spr." B. I. p. 1074. b.

† Heródot. VI. 57. *Καὶ ἦν τις θετὸν παῖδα ποιέσθαι θέλη κ. τ. λ.*

‡ *Iliad* δ'. 477. ss. ρ'. 301. ss. Homer, however, is not destitute of express reference to this



accounts it the saddest consequence of a warrior's premature death, that he has thus been prevented from making the wonted return (*θρέπτρα*) to the authors of his being for the assiduity and solitude with which they had watched over his infancy: and Hesiod, when enumerating the characters of his iron age, reckons it as one of the worst that men would then refuse their aged parents the filial offices (*θρεπτήρια*) due to them.\* Apollónios† comes next in order, who, in a passage of great power and beauty, introduces Alkiméde addressing her son on the eve of his embarkation with his fellow Argonaútai in a paroxysm of grief, and reminding him of the zeal with which he had reciprocated her maternal care; that he had repaid her with every filial office but one, and that that one, the celebration of her obsequies, should have devolved upon him the moment when the mandate of Pelías pronounced his doom:

Αἰθ' ὄφελον κείν' ἡμαρ, ὅτ' ἐξειπόντος ἄκουσα  
 Δειλὴ ἐγὼ Πελῖαιο κακὴν βασιλῆος ἐφετμὴν,  
 Αὐτίκ' ἀπὸ ψυχὴν μεθέμεν, κηδέων τε λαβέσθαι,  
 \*Ὅφρ' αὐτός με τεῆσι φίλαις ταρχύσασο χερσὶ,  
 Τέκνον ἐμόν· τὸ γὰρ οἶον ἔην ἔτι λοιπὸν ἐέλδωρ  
 Ἐκ σέθεν, ἄλλα δὲ πάντα κάλαι θρεπτήρια πέσσω.

The same *θρεπτήρια* is also the word which Sophoklēs‡ makes Polyneikes use at the sight of his sire's abject condition, thus conducting the thought beyond the mere physical aliment to a view more elevated and congenial. Euripides, on the other hand, replaces it with an expression which we may term a poetical exegesis of its sense in that scene of surpassing interest and feeling in his "Iphigéneia in Aulis,"§ where the devoted princess pleads for the reversal of her sire's unnatural sentence by her love for the light of this upper world, and her horror of visiting the realms of darkness; by recapitulating the fond hopes to which he had given expression amidst the mutual endearments of her infancy, in the prospect he cherished of her happiness and

secondary affinity: of which we possess an illustrious example in the words which he attributes to the shade of Pátroklos in *Iliad* ψ'. 82. ss.

\* Oper. et DD. vv. 185. s.

† Argonaut. A'. 278-83.

‡ *Œdip. Colon.* 1263.

§ *Iph. in Aulis.* 1218-30.

her union to a worthy suitor; and then picturing the contrast which will result from his persisting in his inhuman resolve :

Τί δ' ἄρ' ἐγὼ σε πρέσβυν; ἄρ' εἰσδέξομαι  
'Εμῶν φίλαισιν ὑποδοχαῖς δόμων, πατέρ,  
Πόνων τιθηνούς ἀποδιδούσά σοι τροφάς;

These references combined supply us with a vivid representation of the sense entertained by the ancient Greeks of the obligatory character of the duties of which we treat in the primary relations of life; and we possess, as I have endeavoured to demonstrate from their family monuments, clear evidence of its having been the same in kind, if not in degree, in cases, wherein the sole bond which existed was the supplying and receiving nurture. The origin of this sentiment, so prevalent and so wrought into the frame-work of society, unquestionably was, that the office undertaken by such persons as Thelymitres in the titulus before us, involved not merely the supplying of Aliment to their charges, but also of Institution, termed by the Greeks Παιδεία. In this sense we are to understand Xenophôn,\* when he states concerning the hero of his historical romance, Κῦρος δὲ κατέμενε, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐτρέφετο, the last of these words being explained a little farther on; † Καὶ ἦν μὲν ἴσως ὁ Κῦρος πολυλογώτερος, ἅμα μὲν διὰ τὴν παιδείαν κ. τ. λ. Herodian ‡ also attaches the same meaning to this verb when assigning the reason of Commodus having been at the outset of his career so popular with the Romans; 'Επόθουν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀληθεί ψυχῆς διαθέσει ἅτε παρ' αὐτοῖς γεννηθέντα τε καὶ τραφέντα. Still more apposite to our purpose in the choice of expressions is the apostolical precept which is addressed to the fathers of families; § Μὴ παροργίζετε τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκτρέφετε αὐτὰ ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ νοουθεσίᾳ Κυρίου. Here the use of the composite verb can furnish no ground of objection, for the only effect of the preposition can be to add to, not detract from, the force of the signification, just as in the parallel cases of

\* Inst. Cyr. l. 4. 1.

† Ibid. §. 3. Compare, however, the following from Demosth. adv. Neær. Ed. Reisk. p. 1351. 3. 88. 'Ἐπὶ γὰρ ταύτας παιδίσκαε ἐκ μικρῶν παιδίων ἐκτήσατο Νικαρέτη . . . δεινὴ καὶ δυναμένη φύσει μικρῶν παιδίων συνιδεῖν εὐπρεπή, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπισταμένη θρέψαι καὶ παιδεύσαι ἐμπείρως.

‡ Hist. R. l. 7. m. Comp. S. Luke, iv. 16. Maccab. i. 3. 33.

§ Ephes. vi. 4.

Nutrio and Enutrio. This is confirmed by Arrian's using the simple noun *τροφή*, not the compound *ἐκτροφή*, in a remarkable passage,\* which so closely resembles a text in the Epistle to the Hebrews; *Οὐ θέλεις ἤδη, ὡς τὰ παῖδια, ἀπογαλακτισθῆναι, καὶ ἄπτεσθαι στερεᾶς τροφῆς*. By these words *στερεᾶς τροφῆς* the philosopher understood with respect to his ethical system what the Apostle meant to express in relation to his doctrine, each having its first principles, the food of infancy, and each its more recondite dogmas, the nutriment of maturer age.

I might here conclude my observations on this most interesting relation, which presents so attractive a feature in the social economy of the ancient Greeks, were it not that one remains as yet, to suppress all notice of which would be to leave my subject but imperfectly discussed. I speak here of a sentiment of a still higher order, of a yet more sacred character, more elevating in the faith, the trustfulness, and the hope which it inspired, than even the piety which the parent claimed, or the gratitude which was the meed of the nurturer; of the link, in fine, which united the mortal to his unseen guardian, the *Προστατήριος*† and *Ἀποτρόπαιος* of the Greek, the Roman "Tutelar" and "Averruncus." The deity who was selected for this momentous trust was regarded in the light of a nurturer, in the highest sense of the word, as well of communities as of individuals, fostering the infancy and adolescence of the one as well as of the other, protecting both in the hour of peril, and sharing the glories of both in the season of victory. The Homeric poems alone suffice to recall these facts to the memory of all who now hear me, so that farther research would be mere waste of time and incumbrance to my pages.

What then were the external symbols which "bodied forth" the emotions of the nursling of a deity, whether a political community or an individual, in recognition of this union? The reply is manifold. Hecatombs, games, altars, temples, the breathing forms which started at the artist's bidding from the insensate mass; the Olympian Zeús, the Pythian of Rhódos, the virgin Protectress of Athénai, the Knidian Aphrodíte, miracles of genius and artistic skill still unsurpassed, and ever to remain so: such were the thank-offerings of Hellás, expressions of a profound, trustful, and ennobling consciousness; true threp-

\* In Epictet. ii. 7. Comp. Hebr. v. 12.

† Vide Sept. c. Th. 449. s. *προστατηρίας Ἀρτέμιδος εὐνοίας, σὺν ἑ ἄλλοις θεοῖς*.

terial oblations, which man rendered to his celestial guardians as the meed of past nurture and its earnest for the future.

These, however, were costly offerings, and certain amongst them could only be the creations of high art and social progress. But the sentiment which we may term their inner life descended, as we all know, from the earliest ages, when it found its expression in oblations suited to the simplicity of the times, more germane to primordial tastes, or, it may be, more allied to the rites of unadulterated theism. Let us, therefore, recede to the period of the nascent civilization of Greece, and seek amongst its simpler religious observances for some rite, itself the tradition of what was even then antiquity, of a sufficiently generic character to sustain our present view, and sanction the more enlarged conception of the threpterial office to which our remarks have conducted us.

The well-known oblation of the nurture-lock (for so we may translate *πλόκαμος θρεπτήριος*\*) appears to me to be one which satisfies all these conditions, it having been a sacred usage, simple in its character, of extreme antiquity, and of universal observance. A wide field of research here opens before me, into which neither my prescribed limits, nor the incidental nature of this notice, would justify my entering farther, at least, than is requisite to the proper elucidation of my subject. I content myself, therefore, with adverting briefly to a few prominent instances. We find it associated with the ritual observances of the Hindû of Arrian,† the Egyptian of Diódoros,‡ the Syrian of Lucian,§ the German of Tacitus,|| the Gaul of Silius,\*\* and last of all, but meriting for obvious reasons a peculiar notice, of the Nazarite of Moses.†† In all these it is my firm persuasion that we are to recognise a ceremony, not originating in Pagan times, or the offspring of Pagan will-worship, but transmitted from the age of a purer, a patriarchal theism; that a connexion is here, obscurely it may be, but yet intelligibly, hinted between this natural integument of our species, and the rite-worship of a sincerer faith. For it appears to me to the last degree improbable that a usage of world-wide extension, one in which we find

\* Vide Choëphóroi, init.

† Vide Indica, c. 7. fin. Ed. Gronov. 1704. Καὶ κομῆν Ἰνδοῦν τῷ θεῷ, μεταρηφαρέειν τε ἀναδαίξαι, viz. Διόνυσον.

‡ Bibl. H. l. 18.

§ Vide, de Syria dea, 53. 60.

|| Hist. iv. 61. Comp. the note by Lipsius.

\*\* Punic. iv. 200. a.

†† Numbers, c. vi.

representatives of all races consentient, could have attained its ritual eminence in any other way than by its transmission from a common centre of union ; in other words, that the observance commenced at any period comparatively recent, when races had been dispersed, and become segregated from each other by obstacles then insurmountable. It appears to me that no alternative is left us but to ascend to the centre of which I speak ; and the nearer we approach to it the closer is our approximation to the pure theistic creed of our species.

But let us consider the matter of the rite in itself. What element is there in the physical system of man better adapted to symbolize growth and maturation? what, therefore, more appropriate as a dedicatory offering in consideration of the agencies of power and sustentation inherent in the First Cause of all, "in Whom we live, and move, and have our being"? I here speak with reverence, and shelter myself against all imputation of presumption under the shield of the Nazaritic institution. I cannot but think, too, that the argument acquires force by considering the case of the perpetual Nazarite . . . the נָזִיר אֱלֹהִים מִן־הַבְּטָן,\* whom we may perhaps regard as the veritable representative of those who existed under the primeval dispensation. Our concern at present is but with one of this class, the judge and champion of the oppressed Israëlites, whose endowment was the physical attribute of superhuman strength. With what feature of his system was this ostensibly connected? Our great epic poet, himself a theologian, replies, in the words which he attributes to the captive Nazarite :†

" God, when He gave me strength, to shew withal  
How slight the gift was, hung it in my hair ;"

that is, made this manifestation of Himself in my person dependent on my observance of the institutes of my Nazariteship, of which my unshorn locks were the visible mark and sign. I ask, is there nothing in this to awaken our reflection, more especially when it is viewed in connexion with the universally prevalent ethnical ceremony, the perversion in which consisted in men's losing sight of the Original, Whose right the offering was, and consecrating the latter, as endowed with a peculiar sanctity, to an imaginary guardian? Yet, in this as in other instances, has it pleased the Almighty to inwrap and preserve the vitality of

\* Judges, XIII. 5.

† Vid. "Samson Agonistés."

the pure germ of truth even in the aberrations of Gentilism, thus to shadow forth the rite-worship of his primeval manifestation to man: for who can shut his eyes against the consentient testimonies of the heathen writers themselves? One might almost imagine, while reading the lines of Valerius\* in the case of one of his heroes :

“ Tectus et Eurytion, servato colla capillo,  
Quem pater Aonias reducem tondebit ad aras,”

that he witnessed the closing scene of the temporary Nazarite, who, when the period of his vow had expired, was shorn of his hair, which never left the sanctuary of the Most High, but was burnt by the priest on the altar of the peace-offering.†

In effect, I have always been accustomed to regard the Ethnical rite of tonsure as standing in the same relation to a primeval original, as the Ethnical rite of sacrifice to its patriarchal forerunner. No one doubts now of the affinity between the latter, however he may deplore the idolatrous perversions by which the bond was loosened: why then deny the relationship between the former, unless it may be urged, that we possess certain notices of the sacrificial ordinance, of which we are wholly destitute in the instance of the Nazaritic? This might be a valid reason for withholding assent to our proposition, did the two institutions stand upon the same level; but such is far from being the case: the reasons for perpetuating notices of the former of these institutions were so immeasurably more weighty and stringent than any which could originate a mention of the latter, that we cease to desiderate any memorial of it in comparison, and consequently cannot recognise the silence of the inspired record as a satisfactory ground of argument.

These observations, as will doubtless have occurred to many of my auditory, have been ventured with reference to the theory of the profoundly learned author of “*The Ritual Laws of the Hebrews*,” a section of which work is devoted to the rites transplanted into the Mosaic ceremonial from the Gentile nations, the “*Tonsure of the Nazarites*” occupying the fourth place amongst these.‡ As my present is not a theological essay, I have deemed it sufficient

\* Argonaut. l. 378. s.

† Numbers, vi. 18.

‡ De Legibus, etc. III. 6. pp. 693. ss. The same arguments apply also to the view of Michaelis.

barely to notice the objectionable principle which this theory involves in reference to one particular rite, insomuch as it presents a feature of the Ethnic ritual of the Greeks. Yet, ere I conclude my remarks on this head, I cannot refrain from asking one more question; why, had the Hebrews derived it from their Egyptian task-masters, did the same code which regulated the observance of the Nazaritic rite ordain also, in express terms, that the hair should not be nurtured into a "Sisóe,"\* meaning thereby a lock consecrated to Krónos, the Seb of the Egyptian idolater? We perceive here, that a practice with an idolatrous intent was prohibited, which, with certain precautionary restrictions, was recognised by the Nazaritic institutes. One might be disposed to argue from these premises that nothing was more foreign to the intention of the Supreme Legislator, than to ingraft into His ritual an observance borrowed from the apostate Gentiles.

Apart from his theory, however, and with respect to the principle of this rite as practised by heathen peoples, SPENCER observes most truly:† "Apud Ægyptios et alios instituto veteri comparatum erat ut capillos, sub exeuntis pueritiæ tempora, numinibus eorum devoverent; ut munusculo illo deos generationis et augmentationis auctores grati agnoscerent, et iis ipsa capita sua debita et devota sancte profiterentur;" appealing at the same time, in proof of this, to the Scholia of TZÉTZES on Hesiod. These Scholia, which illustrate the Georgic poem of that author, are replete with curious speculation on the subject of the Esoteric meaning of the Ethnical theology, and so conduct us at least one step nearer to the primordial theism of our species, by divesting the Pántheion of the gross and material impersonations of its exoteric phasis. I select one example amongst many, as it bears in some degree on our present subject.

Hesiod has included in his characteristics of his second age the following:‡

*οὐδ' ἀθανάτους θεραπεύειν  
ἠθέλον, οὐδ' ἔρδειν μακάρων ἱεροῖς ἐπὶ βωμοῖς.*

On which passage TZÉTZES has offered us this exégesis:§ "Men were reluctant to worship the gods, as being spiritual powers, in temples or on altars.

\* Vide Leviticus, XIX. 27. LXX. Spencer. de Legg. H. p. 694.

† Ibid. III. 6. §. 1. p. 696.

‡ Opp. et DD. vv. 134. a.

§ Ed. Gaisf. Hesiod. tom. III. p. 106.

They consigned them, therefore, to the mind" (meaning thereby, the worship of the intelligence). "Their proper altar was the region of the head, that is, the rational principle, agreeably with what Euripides says: 'Persuasion hath no other temple but Reason, and her altar is in the nature' (that is, the rational nature) 'of man.'" Divest this comment of its polytheism, and what a dignity its concluding words add to the simple and expressive rite which we are now discussing; the sustentation of our physical nature being lost sight of in comparison with the gift of our intellectual.

Having touched upon the perversion (for such, in accordance with my view, I must term it) of this ceremony in countries which were the cradles of the civilization of our species, I return to Hellás, the germs of whose social and religious polity were transplanted from Central Asia, the shores of the Mediterranean, and the country of Dánaos, Ínachos, and Kékrops. The same result accordingly took place there, with no counteracting influence to avert it, and idolatry pursued its course unmolested. A Tutelary was selected, the obligation of a vow to him contracted, and at the appointed season the lock which had been "nurtured" for the occasion of the solemnity was offered as an *εὐχαριστήριον*, an oblation of gratitude for his protecting and nurturing care.\* Who this guardian might be seemed to have been left to choice, or some mythical association. Thus, to adduce a few instances, the citizen of Agýrion selected Iólaos,† the associate of Heraklês; the Athenian, in imitation of Theseús,‡ made choice of Apóllon, the *Κουροτρόφος* and *ἀποτρόπαιος*, the impersonation of the Luminary, life-giving and life-restoring. Again, we find Spercheiós, an enchorial god, marked out by Achilleús as the recipient of his offering, he being a representative of another element, so necessary to the growth and maturation of living things;§ for which reason indeed the choice in such cases generally devolved upon river-gods and fountain-tutelaries. Ínachos, the mythical founder of Árgos, is represented by Aischýlos as selected by Oréstes,

\* Compare on this and what follows, Pitisc. "Antiqq." vol. I. pp. 517. a.

† Vid. Diódor. iv. 24.

‡ Plutarch in Theseo, v. init.

§ Vide Eustáth. in Iliad, ψ' 140. p. 1403. Ed. Basil. 1560. Ἔθος ἦν τρέφειν κόμην τοὺς νέους μέχρι καὶ ἀκμῆς· εἶτα κείρειν αὐτήν ἐγγυρῖοις ποταμοῖς. ἐποιοῦν δὲ οὕτω, τιμῶντες τὸ καλὸν ἕδος τρέφειμον γὰρ φασί, καὶ συστατικὸν ἐστὶ τοῦ ζῆν. See also the Scholiast on Píndar. Pyth. iv. 145. s.



in the opening scene of one of his dramas,\* where he describes him as approaching the grave of his sire, and depositing thereupon, as on an altar, his votive and mourning oblations.

These examples may suffice to prove the firm hold which this rite had obtained of the Greek mind during the heroic age, the traditions of which open a department of research so surpassingly interesting to the historian and archæologist. Scarcely less interesting are the records which (to speak so) embody these traditions; which bring us into contact with them, endued with a sensible and living form, by their commemoration of actors, their names and circumstances, and frequently the emotions which they experienced. I refer here to inscriptions; those especially of the latter days of Greece, which prove incontestably the retention, in all its simplicity, of this solemnity of the *πλόκαμος θρεπτήριος*, and on no occasion more tenaciously adhered to, or with profounder feeling, than when it was the thank-offering for the restoration of a beloved object, in renovated health and vigour, to the domestic circle. Then it was that Asklepiós and the deified abstraction Hygieia, regarded in the light of true *θρεπτήρες*, were presented by the parent with the charisterial oblation of the first-shorn locks of his recovered child. They had become his Tutelaries, and accordingly were adjudged the Tutelary's honour.

I shall trespass on my auditory with but two instances of this observance, tituli of Páros, which Βόσκη has published from various sources; one † announcing the mere fact of the offering, and for that very reason perhaps not the less interesting: the second ‡ expressed in more ambitious language, but valuable on account of its greater precision. The former proceeds thus: ΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΟΣ . ΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΟΥ . ΥΠΕΡ . ΤΟΥ . ΠΑΙΔΙΟΥ . ΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΟΥ . ΤΗΝ . ΠΑΙΔΙΚΗΝ . ΤΡΙΧΑ . ΥΓΙΑ . ΚΑΙ . ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΩ . The latter: ΤΗΝ . ΠΡΩΤΟΤΜΗΤΟΝ . ΤΡΙΧΑ . ΤΗΝ . ΕΦΗΒΙΗΝ . ΚΕΙΡΑΣ . ΕΘΗΚΕ . ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΕΙΚΟΣ . ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΟΥ . ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΩ . ΥΓΕΙΑ . ΤΕ . ΔΩΡΟΝ . ΑΥΤΟΣ . ΥΠΕΡ . ΤΟΥ . ΥΟΥ . ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΕΙΚΟΥ . ΧΑΡΙΝ .

\* Choëphóroi, 7. s.

† Corp. Inscr. vol. II. p. 349. n. 2391.

‡ Ibid. n. 2392. As illustrative of this, compare Pausanias on the statue of Hygieia in the Asklepieion of Titane: Οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἴδοις ῥαδίως, οὕτω περιέχουσιν αὐτὸ κόμαι τε γυναικῶν, αἱ κείρονται τῇ θεῷ.

I here conclude my exégesis of this highly interesting record, which has extended to greater length than I had at first any reason to contemplate. My learned audience must, however, have perceived ere this, that a briefer notice would have failed of doing justice to its contents, each particular word of which suggests considerations external to their boundary-line on this marble. Nothing could have been easier than to have dismissed them with notices co-extensive with this limit; but then I must have denied myself the satisfaction of having fulfilled the trust so disinterestedly reposed in me by my excellent friend in the manner and to the extent which alone could have responded to his wishes. From the course which I have pursued hitherto, and purpose to continue, it must have appeared that this imposes upon me the two-fold duty of rectifying misconceptions and of replacing them with sounder views; the former of which were the unavoidable results, in part of epistolary haste, but mainly of unmaturing study, and the want of those advantages which an enlarged experience in epigraphic literature alone can supply. SMITH wrote at a period when this had scarcely emerged from its infancy, and therefore he could not be expected to have anticipated its riper growth: yet to him the merit belongs of having effected much, in the comparatively limited circle to which he confined himself, in advancing it to that growth; for after his time, and doubtless influenced by his example, commenced the memorable labours of CHISHULL, SHEARD, and POCOCKE. But more than this; his name can never be mentioned without honour by the Christian traveller, as the first successful explorer of a region which, to the end of time, cannot fail of awakening the profoundest sympathies of the Christian's heart.\*

## SECTION II.

I NOW proceed to the consideration of the associate marble, which, for distinction's sake, I shall take leave to term, from the noun, either proper or ethnic, with which its epigraph concludes, "the sculpture of Attikós;" premising

\* Vide ARUNDELL'S "Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia," etc., published in 1828. This writer commences his volume with a brief account of the labours of his predecessors in this range of discovery, beginning with SMITH, who entered upon his journey in April, 1671. Its result was the identification of the sites of Thyáteira and Laodikeia: pp. 1-4.

that the difficulties and doubts which now beset me lead to my calculating largely on the indulgence of my audience. To the untoward circumstances which have originated these I have already alluded, in the commencement of this Memoir, namely, the injuries which, in common with the anaglyph it was designed to illustrate, this titulus has sustained. It will be observed that, in consequence of these mishaps, considerable portions of its two component lines have disappeared, rather more, perhaps, than one-half of each. It is true, we are enabled in some degree to redress this, by the aid of the "Inscriptiones Antiquæ" of GUDIUS,\* in which the first line, as it appears in our marble, has been augmented in the beginning by five letters, the second remaining still in the exact condition in which it had left Smýrna; a consolation, doubtless, when the distance of that port from our shores a century and a half since is considered; yet one of a negative kind. The pity is, that fortune did not reverse its favours, or, to speak more correctly, perhaps, ill-will its injuries, the restitution of the second line in its present state being a task of much greater difficulty than that of the first would have been, even supposing it not to have had the benefit of VAN DER HOORST'S supplement: for the self-same research which has served to identify the "New City of the Myesians," would unquestionably have restored it even on the data supplied by the epigraph in its present condition.

These concurrent authorities sanction our reading this epigraph as follows:

..... ΤΗΝΝΕΑΝΜΥΗΣΙΩΝΠΟΛΙΝ  
 ..... ΤΙΑΣ < ΑΤΤΙΚΟΣ

that is, "the New City of the Myesians - - - - - Attikós." The five letters, ΤΗΝΝΕ, which commence the first line have now disappeared from the marble, an injury which in all probability took place during its transit from Smýrna.†

It now remains that we address ourselves to the task of supplying these lacunæ in some satisfactory way, and this involves a somewhat extensive field of research: for, in the first place it will be necessary to define within the limits of probability the character of the inscription, and, as a consequence from

\* See the notices of this collection given by Dr. TODD in the Proceedings R. I. A. ubi supr. pp. 49. s.

† The reader is referred to the close of the present Section of this Memoir for a statement of the reasons which have led me to suppose that the injuries sustained by this anaglyph and its inscription, antecedently to the period of VAN DER HOORST'S copying it, had been intentional.

this, the Intention of the donor: secondly, whether he was a Greek or a Roman, or ethnically allied to both these: in the third place, we are to assign its true geographical position to the town here denominated "The New City of the Myesians:" then, lastly, to determine from these results to what Original the anaglyph before us is, in all likelihood, to be referred; an investigation in no small degree perplexing, as the titulus in its present state supplies us with no data which we can reckon as positively certain, and thus we have to seek her either in the realm of Myth, or in the Religious associations of the community here mentioned, or in that Community itself politically considered; or, finally, in a combination of one or other of these with some actual Historical personage. Supposing, however, all these difficulties to be surmounted, we are bound to give expression to our final result in the current epigraphic idiom of the territory from which the monument originally came.

From this summary no candid auditory will be at a loss to appreciate the extreme difficulty, one almost amounting to an impossibility, of combining all these investigations in a single indisputable result, since, as I have already observed, the present condition of the epigraph presents most formidable obstacles to our establishing anything with absolute certainty respecting the first, second, and fourth of these heads of inquiry. All that I can hope to accomplish is, to traverse, as far as my resources will enable me, the area of investigation, to view the problem which presents itself for solution under its varying aspects, and, in default of my satisfying you with certainties, offer you at least probabilities, each resting on its own peculiar ground of acceptance. Exclusively of this, I hope, by identifying the city whose name has been here so fortunately preserved, to perform a service to geography and numismatics; and by investigating the Archetype, in accordance with which both these anaglyphs have been elaborated, to vindicate their claim to a more than common antiquarian interest.

I now proceed with my several heads of research, reserving to myself the order of their consideration. Our first question is, What may we presume to have been the intention of the donor of this anaglyph from the yet extant notices of his epigraph? My answer is, that my persuasion, on a first inspection of both, was, and still continues to be, that he presented the monument as a *Χαριστήριον*, a term which the Greeks employed to denote a Thank-offering, in

the instance of a deity, a Thank-gift, when communities or individuals were concerned. Of these distinct species of *charistéria* it may be proper to adduce a few examples, as a critical insight into the style and spirit of the *tituli* which accompanied them may benefit me very much in my succeeding remarks.

I select my first example from the collection of Lycian inscriptions which forms part of the third volume I have published. The marble which bore it had been a votive altar, therefore a true *Donarium*, or Thank-offering, dedicated to *Hermês Propylaios*, whom we may presume to have been an especial object of adoration to the dedicator from the position which he occupied. It proceeds thus: \* ΣΩΣΙΚΛΗΣ . ΝΙΚΑΓΟΡΑ . ΣΑΜΙΟΣ . ΕΠΙΣΤ[ΑΤ]ΗΣΑΣ . ΕΝ . ΤΗΙ . ΚΑΣΤΑΒΙ . ΚΑΙ . ΕΠΙ . ΤΟΥ . ΠΥΡΓΟΥ . ΕΝ . ΜΕΓΙΣΤΑΙ . ΕΡΜΑΙ . ΠΡΟΠΥΛΑΙΩΙ . ΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ .

In the following, a Sarmatian *titulus* "ex ora *Hylææ*," as localized by Böckh, † on the authority of Blaramberg, who found it inscribed on a marble *stèle* beneath an epigraph, in the same way as the inscription before us, we perceive the fuller and more expressive term adopted: ΑΜΕΡΙΜΝΟΣ . ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟ[Υ] . [ΥΠΕΡ . ΥΓΙΕΙΑΣ] . ΚΑΙ . ΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ . ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΗ[ΡΙΟΝ] . Here the name of the recipient is not mentioned; but we may presume with confidence that the convalescent *Amérimnos* had dedicated his *charisterial* offering to *Achilleús*, who, under his deified aspect, was the Tutelary of the district.

We may now cite an example of the use of this term in the second of the above-mentioned significations, "Thank-gift," or "Memorial of grateful remembrance." This is supplied by the following *titulus*, copied from a pedestal which had originally supported a statue of *Heraklês* in the *Gymnásion* of *Mýlasa*, and published in my second volume of *Inscriptions*: ‡ ΠΑΠΙΑΣ . Β . ΤΟΥ . ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ . Ο . ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ . ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ . ΑΡΧΩΝΗΣ . ΞΥΣΤΟΥ . ΤΟ . Β . ΤΟΝ . ΗΡΑΚΛΕΑ . ΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ . ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ . ΤΗ . ΣΥΝΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ . I may here anticipate a remark suggested by this *titulus*, which will be found serviceable in the course of my restorations. This is twofold: firstly, the metonymical use of τὸν Ἡρακλέα to express the donation, τὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἄγαλμα, and secondly, the defining its precise character, in other words, the intent of the

\* Vide Fascic. III. p. 57. n. 883. a.

† Corp. Inscr. II. p. 144. n. 2096. a.

‡ Fascic. II. p. 80. n. 571. c.

donor, by a term placed in apposition (*ἐπεξήγησις*) with Ἡρακλέα, namely, *Χαριστήριον*. The correct translation, therefore, is: "This statue (or bust) of Heraklēs, a thank-gift." There occur, however, instances in which one of these, either the term denoting the gift or offering, or that which denotes its character, is left out, when sufficiently obvious to the spectator. Thus, in the Sarmatian titulus lately cited, Amérimnos does not tell us that his charistérion was the anaglyph which that epigraph accompanied, this, doubtless, in its original state, having been sufficiently plain; and the same holds good in a titulus of Κνίδος, which also occurs in my second volume: \* ΣΑΡΑΠΙΔΙ . ΙΣΙΔΙ . ΘΕΟΙΣ . ΠΑΣΙ . ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΘΕΙΣ . ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΑΣ . ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΥΣ . ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΑΝ. Here, as the thank-offering, a votive altar, spoke for itself, ΤΟΝ . ΒΩΜΟΝ has been omitted as wholly superfluous. It is worthy of remark, also, that in this titulus the term *εὐχαριστία*, which expresses the sentiment, replaces the more usual *χαριστήριον*, which denotes the quality, nearly in the same way that *χάρις* did in the last of the Parian inscriptions cited at the close of my former section.

These authorities prove the occasional omission of the first member of the apposition: that of the second can be as easily demonstrated. For example; a titulus from Χάνθος, published in my third volume,† proceeds thus: ΑΙΩΝ . ΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΟΥ . ΤΟΥ . ΑΙΩΝΟΣ . ΞΑΝΘΙΟΣ . ΑΝΕΓΓΗΛΑ . ΤΟΝ . ΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑ . ΕΚ . ΤΩΝ . ΙΔΙΩΝ . ΤΗ . ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ. Here the very mention of Aíon's native city (*πατρίς*) as the recipient of his offering, proves its charisterial import; the omission, therefore, falls upon this, and *ἀνδριάντα* alone is retained, that is, the term which expresses the Matter of the offering.

This titulus suggests a question of some importance when viewed in connexion with the main end of the present inquiry, the identification of the sculpture of Attikós. We read in it *τὸν ἀνδριάντα*, but this conveys no information to the inquirer who now asks, What original did this statue represent? The subject was, doubtless, well known to the Xanthian community, as a decree of the municipal authorities had sanctioned the erection of the statue, but this was not sufficient to give it a more general publicity, or convey precise information to a succeeding age. That it was not an impersonation of the State itself is most evident, for then the expression would have been ΤΟ . ΑΓΑΛΜΑ.

\* Ibid. p. 67. n. LXXXIX. a.

† Fascic. III. p. 107. n. CCCXX. i.

This proves incontestably that the authors of epigraphs did not at all times think it necessary to be absolutely, or I might say, prospectively determinate in their language. Our Thelymítres acted, we know, on the contrary principle, but who can assure us that the donor of the anaglyph at present before us was at all more considerate than the Xanthian?

The full meaning of the doubt which is here intimated will be better understood when I arrive at the first stage of my proposed restorations. I content myself, therefore, for the present with briefly adverting to it, in order to resume the course of my investigation relative to tituli of the charisterial type, or rather, in the position we now occupy, to the instruction which we may glean from those already cited, as the intelligence of my audience quite supersedes the necessity of my adding to their number with a view to any further exemplification of either their spirit or their expression. That there existed a studied harmony between both these and the offerings which they illustrated cannot for a moment be questioned, and therefore as little that the characteristics of either are the mirror in which we may best view the lineaments of the other.

To apply this, let us examine in what degree the sculpture of Attikós tends to inspire the belief that to the charisterial class it is to be assigned in preference to any other. The first object to which I would direct attention as characteristic, particularly by contrast with the associate sculpture, is the style in which the head-dress has been elaborated. Its approximation to the type generally known by the name of "the Faustina," which in its turn appears to have originated in the well-known "Kórymbos" of the Greeks, can hardly be questioned: and thus we are supplied with some ground of conjecture as to the rank of the female whom we may conclude to have been present to the mind of the sculptor. Agreeably to this, all other details to which it was requisite to devote attention seem to have been closely studied and elaborately carried out, so as to entitle this Protomé in an especial sense to the encomium bestowed upon both by the Editor of *GUDRUS*, "*Imagines adfabre sculptæ.*" My sole occasion of regret is, that in the prosecution of these details, the artist has introduced no accessories of the emblematical kind, as such would have been most important aids towards our identifying the anaglyph with exactness: but none such appear; and this, perhaps, is satisfactorily explained by his having been limited to a Protomé, especially one in relief. Even in medals it is very

rarely that we perceive the heads or half-lengths of the obverses accompanied by types, these having been reserved, in the great majority of cases, for the reverses. Yet, notwithstanding our inability to prove anything in this way, I think we may safely conclude that we possess in this sculpture either an impersonation of a deity, or a representation of a female of such elevated rank as to entitle her, by the recognized usage of her times, to bear the name and titles of one, and accordingly to become the recipient of the honour due to such as Prostátis or Archegétis, or as in any way the representative of a State. Now, these tributes of honour were in numberless instances true Charistéria; grateful acknowledgments of benefits conferred either directly or indirectly by the personages thus honoured.

To place this in a clearer light, I proceed to cite from epigraphs both of coins and medals a few examples of the honour of life-deification conferred upon the immediate female relatives of the Augusti.

The immediate members of the Augustine family shared, as it was natural to expect from the great popularity of their illustrious Head, very largely in this tribute of respect. To commence with Livia Drusilla: coins of Méthymna and Klazomené exhibit her effigies with the general title of **ΘΕΑ . ΛΙΒΙΑ**,\* and another, also Greek, but not appropriated, styles her **ΙΟΥ . ΘΕΑ . ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ**.† In a fourth she impersonates Héra, as we are informed by the epigraph **ΛΙΒΙΑΝ . ΗΡΑΝ**;‡ and in a fifth Deméter, under the title **ΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΟΣ**.§ A coin with her effigies, ascribed to Éphesos, and bearing the legend **ΑΡΤ . ΣΕΒΑ**,|| a record of the gratitude of the city, even at the expense of the virgin honours of its Tutelary, is mentioned by **ΕΚΚΗΛ**. Again: Julia, the daughter of Augustus by Scribonia, has her title to life-deification established by a coin, possibly one of *Novum Pium*, which exhibits the legend, **ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝ . ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΗΝ**;\*\* and his niece Antonia, who was also the daughter of his rival the Triumvir, is denominated **ΘΕΑ**.

\* Vide Eckhel, *Doctr. N. V.* tom. VI. p. 148. a.

† Ibid. p. 152. b.

‡ Ibid. p. 148. a.

§ Ibid. p. 153. a. 168. b. *Καρποφόρος* means *Δημήτηρ*, i. e. Ceres. Thus in a *titulus* of *Κύμη* (*Böckh*, II. p. 852. n. 3528.), **ΘΕΑΣ . ΑΙΟΛΙΔΟΣ . ΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΑΣ . ΑΓΡΙΠΠΕΙΝΑΣ**, viz. the elder, consort of Germanicus.

|| Viz. *Ἄρτεμις Σεβαστή*. Eckhel, ubi supra, p. 152. b.

\*\* Ibid. p. 168. a. *ΕΚΚΗΛ* attributes this coin to *Smýrna* or *Pérgamos*.



**ΚΑΙ. ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΙ** C in a titulus of the same place, which I have published in my second volume of Inscriptions.\* The name of her daughter Livia also occurs in the same, with the adjuncts, **ΘΕΑ C . ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΗC . ΑΝΧΕΙCΙΑΔΟC**; and from other sources we learn that even a higher distinction was conferred on one of her daughters-in-law, the notorious Valeria Messalina, namely, the impersonation of Héra. Thus, in one of the proconsular coins of Bithynia we meet the epigraph, **ΜΕCΣCΑΛΕΙΝΑ . CΕΒΑCΤΗ . ΝΕΑ . ΗΡΑ** †

Passing now to the times of Hadrian and the Antonini, including under these last the family of Septimius Severus, we observe the Augusta Sabina addressed by the inhabitants of Eleusis under the title, **Η . ΝΕΩΤΕΡΑ . ΘΕΟC**, ‡ which is still more explicitly stated in an inscription of Mégara, **CΑΒΕΙΝΑΝ . ΒΑCΙΛΙCΣΑΝ . CΕΒΑCΤΗΝ . ΝΕΑΝ . ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑ**. § The first of these occurs in a titulus wherein mention is made of her altar; and the second, if we are to credit SPON, was copied from a zophóros, which might seem to imply that a temple had been dedicated to her as impersonating Deméter. We have some reason to conclude that the same impersonation was subsequently accorded to Annia Faustina, || and still more for asserting in behalf of Julia Domna, that the citizens of Lámpsakos conferred upon her the twofold honour of representing both Hestia and Deméter; for the titulus in one of the Oxford marbles\*\* commencing **ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝ . CΕΒΑCΤΗΝ . ΕCΤΙΑΝ . ΝΕΑΝ . ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑ**, unquestionably relates to her, and not to Livia Drusilla.

I conclude this series with Fulvia Plautilla, the ill-starred consort of Caracalla, a head of whom appears on a coin †† of the Karian city Álinda, accompanied by the epigraph **ΠΛΑΥΤΙΛΛΑ . ΝΕΑ . ΘΕΑ . ΗΡΑ**, and whose family-

\* Vide Fascic. II. p. 197. n. CCVI. a.

† Eckhel. T. II. p. 402. a.

‡ Böckh, C. I. I. p. 458. n. 435.

§ Ibid. p. 566. n. 1073. This cult of the people of Mégara is illustrated by Pausanias, I. 40. 5. and 44. 4.

|| Vide Inscr. Triop. Herod. II. vv. 6. 48. and Fiorill. not. in loc.

\*\* Böckh, tom. II. p. 909. n. 3642.

†† This remarkable coin, which we shall have occasion to notice more particularly hereafter, has been described by HARM in his "Tesoro Britannico," vol. II. p. 246. and figured in tab. XVI. n. 4. The reverse exhibits Caracalla under the type of Heraklés, which is illustrated by the passage in Spartianus (Carac. v. fin.); "Exegit apros frequenter: contra leonem etiam stetit: quo etiam missis ad amicos litteris gloriatus est; seque ad Herculis virtutem accessisse jactavit."

name and imperial title I found merged in the similar ascription **NEA . HPA . ΠΩΜΑΙΑ** in a titulus which I have published in my second volume from the site of the Phrygian *Lákina*.\* To this, as meriting especial notice, I shall have occasion to refer in the course of the present section.

There can hardly exist a doubt of the conclusion which we are to draw from this review. In every instance here cited of respect paid to a member of the Augustine family, we cannot but infer from what we know of the relations which subsisted between it and the Grecian communities, that a sense of benefits conferred must necessarily have been the ruling motive. Then, the reign of Hadrian was one continued series of favours lavished on the Greek name. His successors, the Antonini, were scarcely less distinguished by their predilections towards their subjects of Greece; and the memorials to which I have referred in the cases of the Augustæ, Domna and Plautilla, one the decree of a municipal body, and the other a record of patriotism on the part of a tried and faithful Greek official, attest the same in behalf of the family of Septimius Severus.

Let us now strengthen these evidences by attending to what remains of the epigraph before us. I esteem myself warranted in presuming that the introduction of the name of the Myesian city into its first line affords us strong grounds for the conclusion that the framer thereof had been actuated by some public principle; in other words, that it was not a merely private friendship or personal sentiment which he wished to place on record, as was the case with Thelymítres, but a matter, possibly an event, of public concern. What other could this have been but some act or series of acts of beneficence towards the Myesian community? Or, supposing even a personal motive, why particularize the State, unless his benefactress had been associated, directly or indirectly, with its weal also? I have conceived, moreover, that the four letters which commence the second line of this fragment form the two concluding syllables of a word precisely expressive of the charisterial import; but on this I refrain from insisting at present, as by doing so I should very reasonably expose myself to the imputation of conducting my argument in a vicious circle. The utmost length, therefore, I shall proceed now, is to assume, on the ground of my preceding notices, the high probability of this monument having been a Charistérion; from which

\* Fascic. II. p. 248. n. CCXLIII. a.

position I shall direct my views towards ascertaining to what extent the components of its epigraph, together with other co-ordinate evidences, sustain my assumption.

Agreeably to this method of proceeding, the next observation which I shall offer regards the construction. We find the fourth case used in designating the city, not the third; **ΝΕΑΝ . ΠΟΛΙΝ**, not **ΝΕΑΙ . ΠΟΛΕΙ**. This, as it is certain that the verb, whether expressed or understood, was **ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ**, proves either of two things, namely, that we are to receive **ΝΕΑΝ . ΠΟΛΙΝ** in a purely local sense, or, without any direct reference to place at all, in a meaning strictly exegetical.

My third observation, which is but an extension of the foregoing, relates to the construction of the sentence which constitutes what we may term the Formula of Gift or Oblation. When complete, it includes the following: a specification of either of these, as the circumstance may require, in the fourth case; of the deity or community to whom it is presented, in the third; of the place for which it is destined, in the fourth, constructed with the preposition *εις*, and the verb, sometimes *ἀνέστησε*, more frequently *ἀνέθηκε*. The tituli which I have lately cited contain partial illustrations of this rule; but the following from Heródotos\* exemplify it more fully: *Ἐπεθύμησε γὰρ Ῥοδῶπις μνημῖον ἐωυτῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταλέπεσθαι, ποίημα ποιησαμένη τοῦτο, τὸ μὴ τυγχάνει ἄλλῃ ἐξευρημένον καὶ ἀνακείμενον ἐν ἱρῶ, τοῦτο ἀναθεῖναι ἐς Δελφοὺς μνημόσυνον ἐωυτῆς. Again: Ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἀναθήματα ὁ Ἄμασις εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα· τοῦτο μὲν, ἐς Κυρήνην ἄγαλμα ἐπίχρυσον Ἀθηναίης, καὶ εἰκόνα ἐωυτοῦ γραφῆ εἰκασμένην τοῦτο δὲ, τῇ ἐν Λίνδῳ Ἀθηναίῃ δύο τε ἀγάλματα λίθινα κ. τ. λ.*

We now perceive the reason why **ΕΙΣ** must be restored to the inscription before us, when **ΝΕΑΝ . ΠΟΛΙΝ** is supposed to stand for the place which it signifies, and why it would be improper to introduce it when the latter is merely an exégesis of the thing offered.

I now proceed to my fourth subject of consideration, that is, **ΑΤΤΙΚΟΣ**, which concludes the fragment. Does it acquaint us with the name of the writer, and the donor of this sculpture, or are we to elicit this name from the four letters which go before and receive *Ἀττικός* in its Ethnical sense, that is,

\* Vide II. 135. m. 182. init.

as denoting his country, Attiká? SMITH was inclined at first to adopt the second of these meanings, but subsequently, as appears from the Postscript of his letter to Primate MARSH, rejected this hypothesis; whether for valid reasons or the contrary, it may be requisite to examine. The following is his statement:—“The setter-up of this monument was, I suppose, a Greeke of Attica, and the word preceding it may be the name of the tribe or δῆμος to which hee belonged.” It may be quite possible, however, to concede the first of these suppositions without subscribing to the second, which can be proved to be quite untenable. In the first place the fragment ΤΙΑΣ, which commences the second line, could not possibly represent the genitive final of any of the Athenian Φυλαί, which, in every instance but one, is ἴδος, and with equal certainty, we cannot reproduce from it the first case of the Ethnic of any of the Attic Δῆμοι. It might appear from SMITH’S Postscript, that he had abandoned this view from his inability to surmount the difficulty here noticed; for his words are:—“I begun soone to doubt of my conjecture about Atticus, as if it had been a patronymic, and the name of the tribe or δῆμος of Attica prefixed.” But then, his proper course would have been, not to have exchanged it for one equally untenable, but asked the question, Is it at all necessary to suppose that the fragment above-mentioned had any connexion with territorial or social distributions, or impossible that Ἀττικός could be the Ethnic of Ἀττικά without a concurrent mention of these? So far from it, that the very contrary holds good; the presence of the latter, as affording the more special designation, would render the former, as the more general, wholly superfluous. But my venerable predecessor in this inquiry has committed another oversight. He has confounded circumstances so different as those of a citizen of Attiká in his own country and in a foreign one, when proceeding on the hypothesis that a designation which was requisite for certain purposes of state-policy in the one should also be adopted in the other. Exclusively of this, he has failed of defining with correctness the order in which the Demotic and Phyletic designations of the citizen were placed relatively to his name. Every one conversant with this subject is aware that the institution of the Δῆμοι, and their subordination to this or that particular Φυλή in certain groups subserved to social order in general,

\* Proceedings R. I. A. ubi supr. p. 51.

and specially, to the prevention of offences, whether against property or the person. Here the circumstantial character of the Athenian identifications in all matters of municipal concern, forensic questions, testamentary provisions, contracts public or private, and generally, in all legal instruments. The name of each party concerned in their validation, the name of his father, in some cases that of his Phylé, and always that of his Dêmos, followed in regular succession when a complete identification was judged expedient: but in cases such as the present, when no such necessity existed, nay, when the observance of such technicalities would be quite out of place and at variance with the style of the epigraph itself, I can see no reason why it should have been adopted. Nor was it, in point of fact, as can be proved by an example, familiar, doubtless, to many here present. Pausanias\* has preserved the inscription that was engraved beneath the feet of the Olympian statue, in which the illustrious sculptor described himself as Φειδίας Χαρμίδου υἱὸς Ἀθηναῖος. Here we have no mention made of his Phylé; and that the paternal name might have been left out without contravention of usage is most certain, as nearly every page in any collection of inscriptions testifies, and even the Athenian lists themselves, in which this formality was not always rigidly observed. We may presume, therefore, that in retaining it the exile consulted his private feelings.

This argument acquires still more force when the forms of the character now before us are taken into consideration. They evidently belong to a Græco-Roman age, and that not an early one; probably of the Antonini, including their immediate successors. To this question it is my intention to revert hereafter. In the mean time I hope I may presume on its having been satisfactorily proved, that SMITH discarded his first hypothesis somewhat too hastily, and consequently that, for all he has advanced to the contrary, the concluding noun of this epigraph may have been an Ethnic, informing us that the donor of the anaglyph was a Greek of Attiká. But then, prior to our admission of this, certain difficulties remain to be surmounted. It is clear, in the first place, that he must have occupied some eminent social position to entitle him in any way to be the donor of this sculpture to the community mentioned in the epigraph. This being the case, what conceivable necessity could exist for introducing any

\* Vide v. 10. 2.

Ethnical designation, when a sufficient one was supplied by his own social station? It could only serve to incumber a record of other notices far more imperative, for which there was already but too little space on the stéle. Again: supposing even that he chose to be described by an Ethnic, why should Attikós be the one selected? Had he been a native of Athens, we may be quite sure that he would have described himself as *Ἀθηναῖος*, and if not, that he would either have dispensed with any Ethnical denomination, or adopted, according to the usage in his own country, that of his *Dêmos*, with the certainty that it would have been perfectly intelligible to the Myesian community, or any other in *Ionía*, quite as much so as to his own countrymen. But the Ethnic *Ἀττικός*, as designative of a native of Attiká, I may confidently affirm that I never yet have observed in any titulus of Asiatic Greece. I grant that "Atticus" was in common use amongst the Romans in the Gentilitial sense: nay, that *Ἀττικός* occurs as a designative Ethnic in Xenophôn, Lucian, and other writers, is certain: but I take my stand at present on the proprieties of epigraphic Greek in the region with which we are now concerned, and to these I conceive that it is quite opposed. The Ethnic designations, which alone are consistent therewith, are such as are formed from cities, not territories, at least in a majority of instances so large as to entitle me to propound it as a general rule. Thus, we never find an Ionian described as *Ἴωνικός*, or a Karian as *Κάρ*, or a Phrygian as *Φρύξ*, but all styled according to their respective cities or *πατρίδες*: if *Ἐφέσος*, *Ἐφέσιος*, if *Ἥλικαρνασσός*, *Ἀλικαρνασσεύς*, if *Λαοδίκεια*, *Λαοδικεύς*, and so in all other cases. This, I repeat, was the general practice; so general as to convince me that an Attic belonging, for example, to the *Dêmos* "Marathón" would have preferred describing himself in such an epigraph as the present by the Ethnic *Μαραθώνιος*, to employing *Ἀττικός* for that purpose: that is, he would have chosen the more special designation, and the one more in accordance with the epigraphic idiom of the country.

We are now conducted to the final difficulty which is to be surmounted ere we receive Attikós in its Ethnical meaning. This is, what we may term the Analogy of these Monuments: for both have been executed after precisely the same type of art, and even the dispositions in their epigraphs, so far as the defective state of one of them enables us to judge, are as nearly as possible identical. I except, of course, the local element introduced into the epigraph of Attikós,

and left out in that of Thelymítres: but that this does not disturb the analogy of which I speak is quite evident from our previous observations, as some such notice in the first of these originated in a necessity which we can hardly suppose to have existed in the latter. It will be remembered, moreover, that I made use of this as a cogent argument in behalf of the sculpture of Attikós having been a Municipal monument, and probably, therefore, of Historical importance.

It cannot, however, be denied, that at least one remarkable congruity is obvious, that is, in each concluding with a personal designation; and that others, not less worthy of notice, will exhibit themselves in the course of this discussion, I feel myself in a condition to promise; insomuch that, in all such components as are prescribed by a general formula, these two epigraphs will be found to run parallel to each other.

The inference which I have drawn from these analogies is, that both anaglyphs had originally been transported to Smýrna from the same site by the members of some Greek family who had migrated to that emporium, their selection of them having been, in all likelihood, determined by such obvious resemblances. Now, it is only extending the analogy here noticed, the sensible one, a step further, to argue that as "Thelymítres," the last component of the perfect epigraph, is unquestionably not to be understood in its Epithetic sense, so likewise we are not to receive Attikós, holding as it does the same position in the fragment before us, in its Ethnic: in other words, that the Onomastic import of the one having been placed beyond all doubt, we are to conclude the same of its co-ordinate. This reasoning, it is true, may appear to some who hear me to carry with it but little weight, yet it forces itself upon one who has studied these monuments in their style of art and their subordinate details so minutely, as to entitle his views respecting them to a reasonable share of consideration. We should bear in mind, also, that this argument is not to be received abstractedly, but as a link in a chain of proof, connected with and corroborating those already advanced.

I pause here to reply to an objection which may possibly be urged against this hypothesis. It may be said, that I am bound not to limit my analogy, but to take it in its full extent; and that this involves the inference, that Attikós was a name essentially Greek, as there is no doubt of that having been the case in the instance of Thelymítres. The briefest answer which I can return to this,

is, that indisputably it was, and not one due to the Romans; the "Atticus" of the latter being but a Greek Ethnic transformed into a cognomen, or, in certain cases, a Greek name Latinized. In proof of this I shall confine myself to inscriptions, and refer, in the first place, to the Municipal Lists of Athens, in which the name repeatedly occurs under such circumstances as to leave no room for doubting the purely Greek descent of those who bore it. Thus we observe in one\* of those catalogues, **ΑΤΤΙΚΟΣ . ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥ** and **ΑΤΤΙΚΟΣ . ΙΚΕΛΟΥ**; in another,† **ΑΤΤΙΚΟΣ . ΕΥΟΔΟΥ**; in a third,‡ **ΑΤΤΙΚΟΣ . ΞΕΝΟΦ.**, that is, **Ξενοφώντος**; and in a fourth,§ **ΑΤΤΙΚΟΣ . ΕΥΔΟΞΟΥ**.

I now pass to Asiatic Hellás, and cite from the number of tituli which I collected there one from Thyáteira,|| which contains this very name, applied to a member of a certain family, in juxtaposition with others bearing names purely Greek. It proceeds thus: **ΑΥΡ . ΜΑΤΡΙΑ . ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΞΕ . ΤΟΝ . ΟΡΘΟ ΣΤΑΤΗΝ . ΕΑΥΤΗ . ΚΑΙ . ΤΩ . ΥΩ . ΑΤΤΙΚΩ . ΚΑΙ . ΤΗ . ΘΥΓΑΤΡΙ . ΝΕΙΚΗ . ΚΑΙ . ΛΑΤΥΠΩ . ΚΑΙ . ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗ**. The names here mentioned, "Matría," "Neike," "Látupos," "Asklepiádes," are confessedly Greek; so therefore was "Attikós;" and by these the Græco-Roman matron chose to designate her relatives, having provided sufficiently for the recognition of the family status, by recording her own Gentilicium. In this respect, therefore, and proceeding on the hypothesis that our 'Αττικός is also Onomastic, we recognise an important difference between its circumstances and those of the same name in the Thyatirene inscription, in its appearing unaccompanied by any intimation of the ancestral position of its bearer. Now, as it is abundantly clear that no Roman Gentilicium could be formed from the fragment which immediately precedes it, conjointly with any other combination of letters that it is possible to imagine, I deem myself authorized to advance a step farther and affirm, that our 'Αττικός indicates not only Greek, but also unmixed Greek descent: in other words, that the individual mentioned in this epigraph was not, like his isonyme of Thyáteira, a Græco-Roman. This will more fully appear from the following considerations: Whenever a person of Greek\*\* descent stood connected with Rome by hereditary right, or became so by adoption (*υιοθεσία*), Manumission (*ἀπελευθέρωσις*), or any other recognized Legal act, it was the established custom to prefix to

\* Böckh, C. I. I. p. 381. n. 275. vv. 56. 61.

† Ibid. p. 405. n. 303. l. 18.

‡ Fascic. I. p. 64. n. xiv. e. Comp. Fascic. II. pp. 175. s.

† Ibid. p. 386. n. 277. v. 27.

§ Ibid. p. 448. n. 399. l. 12.

\*\* Vide POSTSCRIPT, p. 187.



his Hellenic name both the Prænomen (τὸ Προωνύμιον) and the Nomen (τὸ Ὄνομα), or at least the latter, of the particular Roman who had originated that connexion. This is so well known as scarcely to require proof; least of all to the student in epigraphic literature, to whom it is an elementary fact. I proceed, however, as is my wont, to cite a few examples in confirmation of what I have stated, limiting myself to the name with which we are at present more immediately concerned.

I select the first of these from CHANDLER,\* who copied it from a marble in the temple of Zeús Olympios at Athens, in the epigraph of which we read at the close; ΕΠΙ . ΙΕΡΕΩΣ . ΤΙ . ΚΛ . ΑΤΤΙΚΟΥ. This notice refers to the father of the still more celebrated Heródes, of both whom I shall soon have occasion to treat more particularly. We observe here his full Roman designation given, that is, the prænomen "Tiberius," and the nomen "Claudius," a formality which might appear to have been determined in part by the special importance of the occasion, and partly, it may be, by the taste of the individual commemorated, or his representative.

Another example is supplied by a sepulchral titulus which Böckh† has published from the traveller FOURMONT . . . the same person who has acquired so unenviable a distinction in this department of Greek literature. We possess here an additional instance of an Imperial nomen and prænomen: ΑΡΤΕΜΩ . Τ . ΦΛ . ΑΤΤΙΚΟΥ . ΜΕΙΛΗΣΙΑ, that is, Τίτου Φλαουίου, thus pointing distinctly for its limit of age to the epoch of the first Flavian family.

That the introduction of the Prænomen was not, however, as I have already stated, a necessity, appears from the next example which I shall offer; an excerpt from an Athenian catalogue which has been published by Böckh‡ from Ροσοκκε and the traveller above-mentioned. In this we observe only the Nomen recited, yet the individual commemorated, being the grandson of the aforesaid Tiberius Claudius Attikós, was assuredly entitled to the complete designation. The entry respecting him appears thus: ΚΗΡΥΞ . ΒΟΥΛΗΣ . ΚΑΙ . ΔΗΜΟΥ . ΚΛ . ΑΤΤΙΚΟΣ. Here ΤΙ, that is, Τιβέριος, has been left out as unnecessary under the circumstances, and ΚΛ, or Κλαύδιος, has been retained as the exponent of the "Gens" to which the members of the family were affiliated. It may be proper also to remark, in consideration of the high rank it

\* Inscr. P. II. p. 57. n. 43.

† Corp. Inscr. T. I. p. 507. n. 696.

‡ Ibid. I. p. 418. s. n. 353. Col. III. 7. s.

held, and to obviate any misconception which might arise from the title *Κήρυξ* in the excerpt, that the bearer of it appears here amongst the Archons as an **AICEITOC** (*αείσθερος*), that is, a citizen who, in consideration of his public services, was entitled to daily entertainment in the Prytaneton.\*

The inference which I would draw from this enumeration, proving as it does a scrupulous tenacity of Roman distinctions, is very unfavourable to the supposition of our *Attikós* having been a Greek-Roman. But some one may say: It is quite possible to sustain this hypothesis even on the data afforded by the epigraph in its present state. As Greeks had frequently double names, for instance, "Aristoklès Molossós," in one of the tituli cited from Aphrodisiás,† might not our *Attikós* have been known also by another, the final syllables of which we possess in the fragment **ΤΙΑΣ**, and might not this have been preceded in its turn by an abbreviated Roman name and, perhaps, fore-name? What therefore, prevents our supposing that the stéle presented, in its perfect state, some such reading as the following; **ΤΙ . ΚΑ . ΑΡΙΣΤΙΑΣ . ΑΤΤΙΚΟΣ**?

The perfect reasonableness of this, in the abstract, cannot be questioned, but to its application under present circumstances, the chasm which intervenes between **ΤΙΑΣ** and **ΑΤΤΙΚΟΣ** appears fatal. In the epigraph of Thelymitres, it is true, we find one between **ΚΑ** and **ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΗ**, but this arose from the complexity of the name, which was Greek-Roman. It was to separate the latter element, more especially as it was given in an abridged form, from its associate, that the Choristic sign was introduced: but an instance has never yet occurred to me of two Greek names belonging to the same individual being disunited after this fashion in any marble or trustworthy manuscript that I have ever seen. The general practice in cases where it was judged proper to divide them was, to interpose between them a detail of the ancestral status of the individual, or when this was dispensed with, its place was supplied with *ὁ καί*, or, *ὁ καὶ καλούμενος*, or, omitting the conjunction, *ὁ καλούμενος*.‡

\* Thus Plato describes Sokrátes as addressing his judges: *Εἰ οὖν δεῖ με κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἀξίας τιμᾶσθαι, τούτου τιμῶμαι, τῆς ἐν Πρυτανείῳ σιτήσεως.* Apol. Sokr. p. 36. e. In allusion to these words Cicero observes; "Qui honos apud Græcos maximus habetur." De Orat. l. 54.

† Supr. p. 94.

‡ Thus in the titulus of *Mýlassa* cited above, p. 110, we find, *Παπίας ὁ καλούμενος Διογένης.* Comp. my Fascic. II. p. 124. n. CLII. n.

What, then, was intended by the mark of separation which the engraver has so distinctly inserted between **ΑΤΤΙΚΟΣ** on the stéle? Evidently this; to bring out the name of the donor in sufficient prominence, and, so to express myself, relief, by interrupting the transition to it from the prescribed details of all such epigraphs; and, co-ordinately with this, to indicate the ellipsis which had become in these compositions a species of canon. Just so it is in the associate epigraph, which ends with the name of the donor as it had begun with that of the subject of the anaglyph, and whose mark of separation is supplied by the interval between the two lines. Let us suppose, however, that instead of **ΘΕΡΕΨΑΣ**, another very usual formula had been adopted, namely, *μνείας χάριν*, the chances are that the engraver would have bequeathed to us the following, **ΜΝΕΙΑΧΑΡΙΝ . ΘΗΛΥΜΙΤΡΗ.**

It follows from this view, that we must resort to some other mode of restoring its lost syllables to **ΤΙΑΣ** than that mentioned above: to such I shall shortly have occasion to direct the attention of my audience.

I now pass from the consideration of *Αττικός*, with reference to its import in the inscription, to a discussion which concerns the individual whom it designated, respecting whose identity SMITH has proposed a very remarkable hypothesis. It will be recollected that he had subsided into the conviction, that its true sense is the Onomastic, at which point, if he had paused, I should have had nothing further to impugn: but he ventured a step beyond that, and beguiled, perhaps, by the hope of connecting this marble with an illustrious name, hastened to the conclusion, that its donor was one of the two celebrated personages whom I have recently had occasion to mention, Tiberius Claudius Attikós, the father, and Tiberius Claudius Attikós Heródes, the son.\* It is true, that at the conclusion of his Postscript he has hinted a change of opinion on this point also; but as he has advanced no reasons for either forming or abandoning it, it may not be improper to test its soundness more satisfactorily, were it only for the historical interest with which the discussion will be sure to invest our subject. The fixed chronological position, moreover, which this monument would assume by the verification of SMITH'S conjecture, is a circumstance which I cannot regard but with some feeling of satisfaction, as I have

\* Vid. Proceedings, ubi supr. p. 62.

myself arrived at the conclusion, on evidence to be stated more explicitly hereafter, that he erred not widely from the truth in referring it, in a general way, to a date included within the periods of Hadrian and his immediate successors.

It is evident from the manner in which SMITH expresses himself on this subject, that he had at first hesitated in his choice, as he commences with a detail of some of the prominent incidents in the lives of both Attikoí; but farther on, for reasons which he does not explain, he appears to have narrowed his choice by overruling the claims of Heródes. His words are: "But I thinke to the father, rather than the son, the Atticus in the inscription is to bee ascribed." As, however, the grounds of argument which I mean to propose apply equally to both, I have forborne to avail myself of this restriction; feeling also persuaded, that the more extended investigation will prove the more satisfactory to my audience. There are other grounds, indeed, on which I might take my stand for abridging this discussion, which are, the grave difficulties that beset the advocate of any such identifications at the very threshold of his argument. He must proceed, in effect, on the probability of two distinguished Greek-Roman functionaries, one of whom was admitted even to the honour of the consulship,\* sanctioning the suppression on a public monument, firstly of their Roman names; secondly, of their paternal; thirdly, of their ethnic; and fourthly, of all mention of the particular commission with which either stood charged at the period when it was erected. The extreme improbability of all this is so obvious, even from my recent details on the subject of Græco-Roman designations, that I might, perhaps, be warranted in dismissing these identifications as incongruous, and not entitled to farther notice. Yet, as I feel it incumbent on me to pursue the system which I have hitherto observed, namely, of sustaining whatever views I entertain by authentic proofs, I must solicit attention for a few moments, which I shall employ in exposing still more clearly the improbability to which I have referred. Here I trust that I shall obtain credit for my being duly influenced by the maxim of the ancient satirist;† understood, however, in its better sense:

" Scire est nescire, nisi id me  
Scire alius scierit."

\* Viz. in conjunction with Bellicius Torquatus, U. C. 896., the sixth year of Antoninus Pius.

† Lucillius. See the Vet. Gloss. on Persius, l. 27.

I proceed, therefore, to examine in relation to this question the evidence supplied by marbles, as it fortunately so happens that epigraphic notices respecting the Attikoi of Hadrian and the Antonini have reached our times, which will materially aid us in forming our judgments.

I commence with the senior Attikós, whom we have already seen commemorated and described in an inscription which the traveller CHANDLER copied in the Athenian Olympieion.\* The terms of this description, besides being in accordance with the usual formula, were exceedingly appropriate to the circumstances under which they were inscribed on the marble, this having been the pedestal of a statue erected in honour of his Imperial Patron. As already remarked by me, his full Roman designation has been given. I observe now in addition, that the formulæ of subscription ΕΠΙ κ. τ. λ. was that which appertained to the Ερόνυμοι, and that thus the year in which the statue had been inaugurated was defined.

The next titulus† which I shall cite was in its spirit and intent a counterpart of the foregoing, and concludes, with an unimportant difference, in the same manner. It claims, however, a more special consideration, by reason of the style by which the individual is described in it, to whom the State he represented had confided the execution of an important trust. The authorities of Thásos had deputed him, in quality of their Legate to Athens.... very probably during one of Hadrian's visits there.... with instructions to pay the Emperor the very signal compliment with which the titulus acquaints us. This it does in the following terms: ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ . ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ . ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ . ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΝ . ΘΑΣΙΟΙ . ΔΙΑ . ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΟΥ . ΚΑΙ . ΤΕΧΝΕΙΤΟΥ . ΞΕΝΟΦΑΝΤΟΥ . ΤΟΥ . ΧΑΡΗΤΟΣ . ΕΠΙ . ΙΕΡΕΩΣ . ΚΑ . ΑΤΤΙΚΟΥ. The Claudius Attikós mentioned here in the clause of subscription was the same person with the Ερόνυμος of the preceding titulus; but his Prænomen is in the present instance left out as non-essential, that is, serving no purpose as a distinctive appellation. We observe also that Xenóphantos, the sculptor of the statue in Hadrian's honour, is described as Legate (Πρεσβευτής) and Artist (Τεχνεΐτης), his Official and Professional titles. It is proper that we should bear in mind this instance ... one of a multitude which we might adduce ... of the scrupulous observance by the Greeks of official phraseology.

\* Vide supra, p. 122.

† Chandler, Inscr. P. II. n. 41. p. 57.

I now pass to the notices which we possess relative to Heródes, the son. A record of him has been published by CHANDLER,\* acquainting us with the erection of a statue in his honour by the Athenian phylé Antiochís, in the following terms: ΤΟΝ . ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑ . ΤΩΝ . ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ . ΤΙΒ . ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΝ . ΑΤΤΙΚΟΝ . ΗΡΩΔΗΝ . ΜΑΡΑΘΩΝΙΟΝ . Η . ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΣ . ΦΥΛΗ . ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ. Here his full name and his Demotic constitute his description, whilst the following, which FOURMONT † copied from an altar that Heródes had dedicated to Athéne, or, as he somewhat pompously wrote it, “Athenaía,” designates him by the last of these, preceded by his Greek agnomen (*ἐπωνόμιον*), and the Greek paternal, as usual, in the second case; ΗΡΩΔΗΣ . ΑΤΤΙΚΟΥ . ΜΑΡΑΘΩΝΙΟΣ. This was an Athenian monument, and therefore we may conjecture that the choice of the Greek components may be accounted for by the relation in which the goddess for whom the offering was designed stood towards Athens; so that the taste of the rhetorician may have suggested the briefer formulæ in preference to the more prolix, *Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ἀττικὸς Ἀττικοῦ Ἡρώδης Μαραθώνιος*, the ostentation of which would have less consisted with the sacredness of a votive.

We may observe here, incidentally, that this completer form of description explains at once the order which has been adopted in the Epitaph cited by Philóstratos: ‡

Ἀττικοῦ Ἡρώδης Μαραθώνιος, οὗ τάδε πάντα  
Κεῖται τῷδε τάφῳ, πάντοθεν εὐδόκιμος.

The writer has not inverted here the legitimate sequence of the proper names in order, as might be supposed, to satisfy the exigencies of the Hexameter, but merely retrenched the first half of the full designation, as given above.

An observation by SMITH may also be noticed here: § “This Atticus ----- was the father of *Herodes Atticus*, as hee is commonly called by the Roman writers, as if it were the name of the familye: whereas it should bee more properly *Herodes Attici*, viz., *filius*, etc.” This requires correction; the Roman designation was solely an inversion of the proper order of the Greek names, Ἀττικὸς Ἡρώδης, or perhaps the “Atticus” therein was an Ethnic, and

\* Inscr. P. II. n. 40.

‡ P. 566. Edit. Olear. 1709.

† Ap. Böckh. C. I. I. p. 473. n. 490.

§ Proceedings R. I. A., ubi supra.

intended to convey the sense of "Herodes ille Atticus," as Statius\* speaks of Pheidias, "Atticus Elæi senior," etc.

To return to our immediate subject. The records of the Attikoí given above have all been transcribed from Athenian monuments: but it may be proper, in order to complete this evidence, to produce a few notices concerning Heródes from those of the Asiatic Greeks, amongst whom he is known to have held high official rank. The sites of Éphesos, Smyrna, and, perhaps, Alexándreia Troás, supply us with these. A fragment of a pedestal which had once supported a statue erected in his honour is still visible amongst the ruins of the aqueduct that form so conspicuous a feature underneath the hill of the Ephesian Akrópolis. It bears the inscription ΚΛ. ΑΤΤΙΚΟΝ. ΗΡΩΔΗΝ,† which in all probability had been preceded by ΤΙ (Τιβέριον) in the perfect state of the marble. A record of him has also been preserved in a mutilated Smyrnæan titulus, of which ΣΜΙΤΗ ‡ has given us about one-half in his Survey of the Apocalyptic Churches, the portion that relates to Heródes appearing as follows; ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ. ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ. ΗΡΩ - - - -, that is, 'Ηρώδου, which we may presume to have been followed in the perfect marble by one or more titles, for, immediately after the blank space, we read, ΚΑΙ. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΦΑΝΤΟΥ. ΚΑΙ - - - - - ΘΕΑΣ. ΡΩΜΗΣ, the void space here having very probably contained ΙΕΡΕΩΣ in connexion with what immediately follows. A few observations may here be acceptable, in consideration of the historical interest of this titulus, which unquestionably contained in its more perfect state a notice of the extraordinary magistracy that had been conferred upon Heródes by the Emperor Hadrian. This was, the Presidency of the Autonomous cities of the proconsular Asia, to which Philóstratos§ has referred in the following passage: "Ἦρχε μὲν γὰρ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐλευθέρων πόλεων ὁ Ἡρώδης. According to this view Böckh has restored the first six lines as follows: "Ἐδοξεν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἐλ-

\* Silv. i. l. 102.

† Vide Böckh, C. I. ii. p. 611. n. 2978.

‡ Notit. Sept. As. Eccles. pp. 56. s. Compare Böckh, ii. p. 731. n. 3187.

§ P. 548. Ed. Olear. 1709. Comp. Dobson. Oratt. Attic. vol. iv. p. 565. not. 4. This mission of Heródes was similar to that of Maximus, to whom we find Plinius Secundus addressing one of his letters (Epist. viii. 24.) on the subject of the conduct of his government, viz. the regulation ("ordinatio") of the Free Cities of Achaía. Accordingly, the jurisdiction which appertained to it was subordinate to that of the Proconsul.

λησιν\* (the Greeks of the free states) -- Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Ἡρώδου --- καὶ σεβαστοφάντου, καὶ --- ἱερέως θεᾶς Ῥώμης, καὶ θεοῦ Καίσαρος (Hadrian) -- Διὸς πατρῶου, Αὐτοκράτορος, Ἀρχιερέως Μεγίστου, Πατὴρ τῆς Πατρίδος κ. τ. λ. Here, before Τιβερίου there most certainly existed some notice of Heródes in his official capacity, by virtue of which he must be supposed to have presided in the Convention of the Representatives of the States. His other titles, which are extant in the inscription, corresponded to this: for example; Σεβαστοφάντης, one of the highest sacerdotal dignity, and second only to the Pontificate, which was the prerogative of the Cæsars. Böckh explains the meaning of this term by comparing it with Ἱεροφάντης: "Σεβαστοφάντης est ut Ἱεροφάντης." We know that the priests of this order amongst the Egyptians and Greeks were the "Antistites Sacrorum," interpreters of all that related to the Rites and Ceremonies of their religious systems:† and consequently the Sebastophants stood in the same relation during the Græco-Roman times to the deified Augusti.

The memorial of Heródes which has been preserved at Alexándreia Troás, was first published by Ροσοκκε,‡ but in a form so exceedingly imperfect as to baffle the experience and sagacity of Böckh in his attempt at restoring it. The first two lines appear thus: Ι. ΚΥ. . . ΟΝ = ΤΙΚ . . . . ΤΙΚΟΝ, which he has proposed to read, ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΝ . ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΝ . ΑΤΤΙΚΟΝ, thus inverting the positions of the Roman names, an inobservance of order scarcely compatible with the fidelity of a public monument. Perhaps, therefore, the better course would be to confine our attempt to the second line, which contains all the requisite elements, so far as it goes, correctly represented, and read this as follows; ΤΙ . ΚΛ . ΑΤΤΙΚΟΝ, which we are at liberty to suppose had been followed by ΗΡΩΔΗΝ. If now we pass to the eleventh and twelfth lines, we read thus: ΧΙΕΡΕ . . . ΕΑΣΟΛΥΜ = ΙΑΔΟΣΛ . . . ΟΝΗΡΩΛ, and these may be probably restored to ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑ . ΘΕΑΣ . ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΔΟΣ . ΚΛ . ΑΤ ΤΙΚΟΝ . ΗΡΩΔΗΝ. These restorations consist with the statement of Philóstratos respecting the kind offices of Heródes on behalf of the citizens of Troás: ‡ ἰδὼν δὲ τὴν Τρωάδα βαλανείων τε πονηρῶς ἔχουσαν κ. τ. λ. ἐπέστειλεν Ἀδριανῶ, τῷ

\* Vide Tertullian. adv. Marcion. i. 13. On the office of the Ἱεροφάντης amongst the Athenians, see Potter, ii. ch. 20. under the head ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙΑ.

† Inscr. Ant. i. 3. p. 40. n. 1. Böckh, tom. ii. p. 873. n. 3579.

‡ Ubi supra, p. 548.



*αὐτοκράτορι, μὴ περιῦδειν πόλιν ἀρχαίαν καὶ εὐθάλαττον κ. τ. λ.*, which was followed by the construction of an aqueduct, during the progress of which he was largely aided by his father from his private funds. Perhaps the first of the above-cited lines of Ροσοκκε's fragment may admit of a restoration illustrating this fact, namely **ΤΙ . ΚΑ . ΑΤΤΙΚΟΝ**.

It appears to me that these citations respecting the Attikoί of Hadrian and his successors dispose satisfactorily of SMITH'S proposed identifications, whether we regard them simply as Græco-Roman, or include also a consideration of their official rank. Had it been the elder Attikós who was the donor of this anaglyph, I feel confident that he would not have failed to describe himself in his capacity of Imperial Commissioner to the Autonomous cities of Asia, and the same may be predicated of Heródes, in his quality of their President. Thus we have seen the Thasian Legate, Xenóphantos, described in a titulus lately cited\* in his twofold capacity of Ambassador and Artist; and in a Thyatirene monument,† which I adduce in evidence on account of one of the names with which it concludes, I find recorded an honour awarded to a successful pancratiast by the youths of certain gymnásia, on the occasion of a certain solemnity, the whole concluding with a formal notice of the person who had been chosen to preside, in the following terms: **ΥΠΟ . ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗΝ . ΑΥΡ . ΑΤΤΙΚΟΝ . ΖΩΣΙΜΟΥ**. Now, it is difficult to conceive that officials of the Augusti of such conspicuous rank as the Attikoί would be less conscious of the opportunities they possessed of proclaiming their distinctions than the Legate of an Ægean community, or an agonistic president in a provincial city, even though the titulus of Smýrna so recently cited did not supply us with a direct proof of the reverse.

SMITH'S final conjecture relates to the fragment **ΤΙΑΣ** in the commencement of the second line, and is but an extension of the hypotheses which we have just now been examining. His words are, after his ascription of the **ΑΤΤΙΚΟΣ** before us to the father of Heródes, † "how hee comes to be called 'Hippitias' or 'Hippotias,' if that be his prenomen, or whether 'Hippatias,' or whatever it should be, be the proper name of the person who put up the monument, and Atticus of his country, I have not time nor leisure to enquire."

\* Supr. p. 126.

† Vide Böckh, T. II. 836. n. 3503.

‡ Proceedings R. I. A., ubi supra.

Two suppositions are here ventured; the first, that the father of Heródes was named "Hippitias Attikós," which is quite inconsistent with the evidence of marbles; and the second, that **ΑΤΤΙΚΟΣ** is an Ethnic noun. This acceptation has been examined at such length already, that it is unnecessary for me to make it the subject of any further observations. It will be recollected also, that to receive **ΑΤΤΙΚΟΣ** in its legitimate sense, the Onomastic, and at the same time suppose that **ΤΙΑΣ** had formed, in the perfect state of the epigraph, a part of any Greek proper name, would be equivalent to the admission of two contradictory propositions. It remains, therefore, that I should propose some other less exceptionable mode of recovering the word of which this fragment was the termination, and that the intent of the donor of this anaglyph enables me to effect this I entertain no doubt.

I have already expressed my belief, in the earlier part of this section, that the marble before us was a Charisterial offering,\* a public tribute of honour suggested by feelings of gratitude. The Sentiment, therefore, or *Εὐχαριστία*, which, in one of the examples that I cited from marbles,† replaces, as a synonym, the more usual *Εὐχαριστήριον*, at once suggests itself for our adoption. Accordingly, I venture to propose *Εὐχαριστίας*. But this, in its turn, demands another supplement to stand in regimen with it, a requirement which would be at once satisfied by either *ἔνεκεν* or *χάριν*, agreeably with the common formulæ, were it not for the almost invariable practice observed in tituli of placing these after, not before, the noun with which they are constructed. This obstacle being insurmountable, I next sought a term which might serve the double purpose of governing *εὐχαριστίας*, and standing as an Appositive to the Predicate case of the subjoined verb *ἀνέθηκε*; and such a one immediately suggested itself in *Μνημεῖον*, the application of which by Heródotos, in a passage that I formerly cited from him,‡ appears perfectly germane to the case before us. I felt myself, however, on reflection, constrained to reject this also, in consequence of its almost universal meaning in epigraphic Greek, "sepulchral monument." I then made choice of its synonym *Ἐπίμνημα*, on finding it exempt from any such restriction in its use, and thus completed the second line in a form which, without any farther advocacy on my part, I may leave to plead its own cause.

\* Vide pp. 109. ss.

† Supr. p. 111.

‡ Supr. p. 116.

I cannot, however, refrain from strengthening my position by the following citation from a Teïan inscription, in which the self-same expression that I have selected occurs in a lacuna restored by the learned Böckh: \* *Ἴνα εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον ὑπομνήματα* ("memorials") *ἢ Κράτωνί τε τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας, καὶ τῇ Συνόδῳ τῆς εὐχαριστίας.*

We have now advanced a very considerable length of way towards unravelling the intricacies of our inquiry. The sole remaining difficulty with which we have now to contend is what we may term the Appropriation of this anaglyph; in other words, the specific Predicate of *ἀνέθηκε*. But firstly, as conducive to clearness, let us for a moment review the steps by which we have arrived at our present position.

Our primary object was to ascertain the class of this monument with reference to the motive of its donor: and we have brought forward reasons founded on trustworthy data for considering it as an "Eucharistérion," that is, an Offering or Gift expressive of grateful sentiments.† We then found that **NEAN . ΠΟΛΙΝ**, in the first line of the epigraph, admits of two very distinct senses, one of which requires the presence of the preposition **ΕΙΣ** before it, whilst the other connects it as an Appositive with the predicate noun of *ἀνέθηκε*; as also, that the last of these may be either expressed or understood.‡ We then considered **ΑΤΤΙΚΟΣ**, which closes the second line, in reference to the rival probabilities of its having been used there in its Onomastical or Ethnical import, and arrived at the conclusion, that so strong a presumption exists in favour of the former of these that the latter must yield place to it as a basis of restoration.§ Under this head were included the two following results: the first, that **ΑΤΤΙΚΟΣ** appeared singly on the stéle, and unconnected with any Name or Fore-name: || the second, that the individual who bore it, and who presented the anaglyph, was not known to history as identified with either of the Attikoí who rose to such eminence under the auspices of Hadrian and the Antonini.\*\*

We now combine these results with the restorations of the second line which have been just now proposed: we represent also the Predicate case of *ἀνέθηκε*

\* C. I. n. p. 655. n. 3067. ll. 31. 34.

† Supr. pp. 88. 111. 116.

\*\* Supr. pp. 124. ss.

§ Supr. pp. 116. ss.

† Supr. pp. 109. ss.

|| Supr. pp. 123. s.

by τὸ ἄγαλμα in accordance with the ΤΟΝ . ΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑ of the Xanthian inscription cited in the course of this section,\* and offer the following as synopses of the present state of our knowledge respecting the epigraph before us :

- a. Τὸ Ἄγαλμα εἰς τὴν νέαν Μυησίων πόλιν,    b. Τὸ Ἄγαλμα, τὴν νέαν Μυησίων πόλιν,  
'Υπόμνημα τῆς εὐχαριστίας' Ἀττικός.    'Υπόμνημα εὐχαριστίας' Ἀττικός.

We have thus succeeded in narrowing by one-half the area of uncertainty, and by this mean disembarassing essentially the remainder of our inquiry. The double form of restoration here proposed results from the doubt which as yet exists respecting the sense in which ΝΕΑΝ.ΠΟΛΙΝ is to be received: and had that in the case of ΑΤΤΙΚΟΣ remained unremoved, we should have had, for each of these, two distinct forms, thus incumbering the future discussion with four distinct resultants.

I now address myself to the consideration of my fourth general head of inquiry, as stated in the commencement of this Section;† in other words, to the defining the substitute with which we are to replace the indeterminate Ἄγαλμα in the first of the forms of restoration as specified above. It is quite obvious that a determinate answer to this question will exhibit itself in a determinate resultant, either merging in the second form, or superseding it altogether. Should such success attend our investigation, our position with regard to the anaglyph before us would resemble that which we occupy in relation to its associate; in a degree, at least; for the evidence of our possessing in the latter what the *Εἰκὼν γραπτὴ* was in the sister art is precise, and what may be termed, in a certain sense, ocular, as the epigraph containing the information has reached us in its original state; whereas, no amount of research could ever effect the same for the sculpture of Attikós, because we are precluded from ever rising above the level of probabilities by the condition in which its epigraph has descended to us. I speak, however, now in a strictly logical sense: as I hope, ere I conclude, to make it appear that the probabilities at our disposal are so materially enhanced by coincidences as to claim our assent on all reasonable grounds of evidence.

It will be recollected that I have already expressed a decided opinion,

\* Supr. p. 111.

† Supr. p. 109.

stating at the same time my reasons for having formed it, that the sculpture of Attikós was a public monument,\* and consequently, that the individual represented therein must have been one who stood upon a higher level than the Lysimáche of its associate. We must, therefore, search for her either in the religion of the Myesian state, as its Tutelary, or in Myth, as its Foundress, or in Allegory, as the Impersonation of the Community, or in the person of some actual historical individual, who was enabled from her position to influence its weal. I can form no conception of any Archetype having been present to the sculptor's mind which may not be referred to one or other of these. I now proceed to discuss their several pretensions to our acceptance with reference (for a reason which will shortly appear) to the Ionian confederation in particular, and hope by this method to limit very considerably the extent of our uncertainty, supposing even the worst, that I fail of influencing more decidedly your convictions.

I commence, in the order stated above, with Tutelaries; a most comprehensive and interesting class of representations on the monuments of antiquity, more especially the Numismatic, to which, as in general the most accessible, and offering the amplest illustrations of my subject, I propose to confine my attention.

Every student in this department is familiar with the effigies of Pallás, and her concomitant symbols, the Owl and Olive, on the coins of the city of Kékrops: and, to come nearer to our present site, that of the Myesian town, with the goddess so frequently associated in tutelary care with the Sipylene Mother, the winged Neméseis, on the coins of Smýrna: † with the Ártemis Polýmastos, attended in her character of Huntress by the Stag, and in that of Archegétis or chief Foundress, by the Bee, on the coins of Éphesos: ‡ with the Consort of Zeús and her symbolical bird, or in her capacity of Pronuba (*νυμφεύτρια*), as designated by the Lunar crescent, on those of Sámos: § with the effigies of Heraklês, the Tutelary of Erythraí, on the coins of that city, and his accessories, the Hide of the Nemeian lion, the Club, the Bow, and the Quiver: || with the Ártemis Leukophryené of the Mæandrian Magnesia.\*\* Thus Lébedos had

\* Supr. p. 511. Comp. pp. 112. ss.

† Ibid. p. 512. b.

‡ Ibid. pp. 522. a. Comp. Pausan. vii. 5. 3.

† Vide Eckhel, T. ii. pp. 548. a.

§ Ibid. pp. 568. a.

\*\* Ibid. pp. 525. ss.

its Pallás, and so also Priéne: and it is scarcely necessary to add, that Téos owed its rank as a sacred and inviolable site to the tutelary guardianship of Diónysos.\*

These are records of the honours paid to divine Prostátai which every numismatist's cabinet meriting the title exhibits in abundance: and sculptures still extant in museums contribute their testimony. Even a cursory perusal of that invaluable relic of antiquity, the Hellenic tour of Pausanías, suffices to prove what an exhaustless field the mythical associations of this class disclosed to the artist; how profusely these creations of his genius were scattered over that once favoured territory; with how generous an enthusiasm its inhabitants vied with each other in consecrating his labours to what they esteemed to be their holiest and most dignified employment.

This review cannot be better concluded than with a remark which will be found hereafter eminently useful in the prosecution of our argument. This is, that in consequence of either close neighbourhood or amicable relations (*ὁμόνοια*), it was frequently the custom of cities to interchange their Tutelaries. Thus Kolophón might seem to have adopted the Prostátas of Kláros into certain of its Autonomous coins, which exhibit the legend ΠΥΘΙΟΣ on their obverses, whilst in others the peculiar type of the Ephesian Ártemis appears. † Miletos, on the same principle, might seem to have borrowed the Samian type of the Nymphéútria, ‡ and Sámos itself to have introduced into its coins of Homónoia the Alexandrian type of the veiled Ísis. § Thus also Metrópolis appropriated the Ephesian, || and the people of Erythraí that which was so distinctive of Chíos, the Sphínx, in the coins which commemorated their mutual concord.\*\*

As a state, however, may be represented not only in the person of its Tutelary as symbolizing its sustentative energy and the religious element in its economy, but also in that of its Founder (*κτίστης*), as impersonating its nascent civilization, I have recognised the claim of this alternative to consideration; the rather so, as I entertain little doubt of my being enabled to prove satisfactorily, that we now stand on Ionian ground; and it is certain, both from the

\* Vide Eckhel, pp. 524. 530. b. 531. s. 533. a. 536. b. 563. a.

† Ibid. p. 512.

‡ Ibid. p. 525. a.

§ Ibid. p. 570. b.

|| Ibid. p. 529. b.

\*\* Ibid. pp. 523. b. 566. b.

authority of contemporary writers and their own monuments, that it was a characteristic of the Ionian mind, not to term it a weakness, to trace the origins of their cities to fabulous times and the agencies of mythical personages. It is thus that we find Éphesos, Erythraí, Téos, Klazomené, Smýrna, Phokaía, claiming Amazons as the Foundresses of their respective communities: \* nor, indeed, did the Ionians stand alone in their pretensions: as we find the States of Kýme, Mýrhina, Témnos, and Trípolis, in the contiguous territories of Aiolís and Karía, asserting a like origin.†

\* Vide Eckhel, pp. 510. b. 516. b. 523. b. 534. a. 544. 563.

† Ibid. pp. 492. b. 496. a. 497. a. 593. b.

The mention of this community of the Amazons is almost universal amongst ancient authors. Strabo speaks of them several times; ex. gr. in their proper seat, xi. 8., in Mysia, xii. 8., in Ionía, xiv. 1. Stéphanos, in their locality near the Thermódon, in Aiolís, and Ionía: Pausanías distinctly states the persuasion that they were the first foundresses of the temple of the Ephesian Ártemia, and the dedicators of her statue: Diódoros has given a summary of their history from their origin to their decline, in ii. 44. ss. So also Justin, ii. 4., with whose narrative the reader may compare Heródotos, iv. 110. ss.; Orosius, i. 15.; Eustáthios in Dionýs. Perieget. 828.; and Ammianus, xxii. 8. Pliny, v. 31. 4, 7., ascribes to Amazons the foundation of Ephesos and Smýrna: with respect to the former, Tacitus, in Annal. iii. 61., repeats the same tradition with Pausanías mentioned above; and Mela's words are, under the head "Ionía," in l. 17., "Ibi Ephesus, et Dianæ clarissimum templum, quod Amazones, Asia potitæ, consecrassæ traduntur."

These authorities, which might be increased beyond any reasonable limits, induce a belief that the existence of the Amazonian state was something more than a myth. Strabo, indeed, was a sceptic in this particular, and Eustáthios repeats his words in one of his notes on *Iliad. á. Περι δὲ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων τὰ αὐτὰ λέγεται, καὶ νῦν, καὶ πάλαι, τερατώδη τ' ὄντα, καὶ πιστεῦν πόρρω. Τίς γὰρ ἂν πιστεύσειεν, ὡς γυναικῶν στρατὸς, ἢ πόλις, ἢ ἔθνος συσταίη ἂν ποτε χωρὶς ἀνδρῶν; κ. τ. λ.* Whether the sentence in Hippokrátes, which immediately follows the one cited in p. 141. offers a plausible answer to this, I leave it to my readers to judge: *μάχονται τοῖς πολεμίοις ἕως ἂν παρθέναι εἴωσι. Οὐκ ἀποπαρθενεύονται δὲ μέχρις ἂν τῶν πολεμίων τρεῖς ἀποκτείνωσι.* Plato, at least, expresses his belief in the existence of these female warriors, in the person of one of the speakers in his Treatise "De Legibus," vii. pp. 804. e. s. *Οἶδα ὅτι μυριάδες ἀναρίθμητοι γυναικῶν εἰσι τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόντον, ἃς Σαυρομάτιδας καλοῦσιν, αἷς οὐχ ἴππων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόξων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅπλων κοινωνία καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἴση προστεταγμένη ἴσως ἀσκεῖται.*

That fiction has, however, been superadded to truth in these details, I entertain no doubt. Thus we meet very generally with the "exsecta mamma" of Virgil (*Æneid. l.*) in the accounts given of Amazonian customs. The origin of this most probably was to impart an air of plausibility to the favourite Greek etymon for Ἀμαζών, than which nothing could be more preposterous. May we not rather regard it as separable into the components *άμα, ζων*, which so nearly represent the

Now, all this may have been founded on something real, or, as the dispassionate critic in such questions may be disposed to conclude, on pure vanity; but the determination of the matter, even granting it to be possible, is by no means necessary on the present occasion, as all we are concerned with is the fact that the persuasion had fixed itself deeply in the mind; had become, in effect, a Faith, and had, accordingly, found its expression in the traditions and monuments of the Asiatic Greeks.

I may be permitted to state a fact within my own experience, which attests the permanence of this conviction even to the present day. It occurred to me whilst in Smýrna, the only one of those cities which can be said to have retained even the shadow of its ancient grandeur. During one of my walks within the precincts of Págos and its Akrópolis, a colossal bust, which had been stationed in a recess to the right of the western portal, at a considerable elevation, attracted my attention. I saw at once, from the pure white colour and fine grain of the marble, still more from the vestiges of artistic skill which yet remained upon it, that I confronted a relic of better days, when Smýrna was still a Neocore, and its citizens the Princes of Asia. But how identify it? The epigraph, if one ever existed, had wholly disappeared from its base. Yet the Smyrnæan of the present day feels, as I very soon learned, at no loss for a solution of this mystery. He recognises, in the full assurance of a traditionary faith, the effigies of the Amazonian foundress of the ancient city still occupying the position which the brother-in-law of Aléxios had assigned her, as though to keep "watch and ward" over her ancient dominion with a Tutelary's care.

Such are my grounds for entertaining this hypothesis in reference to the Ionian city from whence this anaglyph came. It must, however, be confessed, that the scanty notices which we possess with regard to it afford us no data whatsoever for presuming that its Myesian founders had adopted this pretension of their other Ionian compatriots. The evidence supplied by its one or two coins, which will shortly pass under our review, does not bear upon the subject; neither do those ancient geographers who have noticed either the Myesian site,

Persian *همه زن*, words that doubtless existed in the ancient Zend, and express the "purely feminine" character of the community? This, perhaps, is preferable also to the Majyar origin of the term, which WESSELING cites in one of his notes on Diódoros II. 45. from Otrokoksi.



or the more recent city, introduce any allusion to any myth of the kind. Thus, the probability of its having obtained credence amongst the Myesians rests on analogy alone, yet one which itself reposes on so broad a basis as to entitle an hypothesis built upon it to somewhat more than an incidental notice.

From considering this sculpture as the representative of the Myesian state in a sense in which the Religious element appears prominent, as also in its rudimentary condition, as symbolized by a supposed mythical Foundress, I proceed now to view it as embodying the attributes of a community, the polity of which has been fully matured. This, it will be recollected, was the third of the hypotheses enumerated above as entitled to our consideration, and my reason for allowing it a place will appear from the following review of the coins of the Ionian confederacy, selected with reference to this practice.

ECKHEL has headed this list with a Græco-Roman coin of Apollonia, on the obverse side of which appears an impersonation of the Roman Senate, as clearly defined by the epigraph accompanying it, **ΙΕΡΑ . CYNKΛΗΤΟC**.\* The reverse exhibits a female head, attended by no definite attribute, but which, by a parity of reasoning, I conceive myself authorized to regard as personifying the community, it being accompanied by the Ethnic **ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΕΩΝ**. In a similar coin of Klazomené,† the same evidence of political subjection meets us on the obverse, but this is balanced on the reverse by the type of "the standing Fortune," attended by an epigraph, the components of which are the Ethnic and the name of the Eponymous magistrate. Here a distinction is to be noticed. This type, received in connexion with the Ethnic, forms the legend, **ΤΥΧΗ . ΚΛΑΖΟΜΕΝΙΩΝ**, and thus is to be understood as symbolizing the State's prosperity; but no sculpture of it could ever be taken as representing the Community in the same sense with the juvenile head just noticed on the coin of Apollonia; that is, we could not with propriety say, 'Η Τύχη, ἡ τῶν Κλαζομενίων πόλις, whereas, in the former, Τὸ ἄγαλμα, ἡ τῶν Ἀπολλωνιέων πόλις would be perfectly intelligible. We are enabled indeed to exemplify this from the Klazomenian coins themselves, two autonomes of the city having been included by ECKHEL in his enumeration,‡ each presenting a female head on its obverse, unaccompanied, it is true, with any epigraph, but not easily referrible to any

\* Vide Eckhel. T. II. p. 509. a.

† Ibid. p. 511. a.

‡ Ibid. p. 510. b.

subject excepting that which the reverses indicate, the Klazomenian community itself. This seems more especially manifest in one of the impersonations, the head of which is circled by the laurel wreath, the emblem of victorious energy.

Kolophón,\* in like manner, exhibits the female head with the legend transferred to the reverse: and so also Miletos.† The obverses here are without legends (*ἀνεπίγραφα*); but the same may be observed in the case of the Apóllon Didymeús in all the autonomes enumerated by ECKHEL. I refer also to the same class of type-representatives the three laureated female heads which he leaves undescribed amongst the autonomes of Smýrna.‡

The islands of Ionia offer but little in illustration of this usage. In the coins of Homónoia, of Chíos, and Erythraí,§ we observe two entirely different type-representatives chosen by the former; one, in accordance with the general custom, the female head, with the epigraph ΔΗΜΟC.ΧΙΩΝ on the same area, the other, the winged Sphínx, which is her constant symbol on her coins of every age. The representative of Erythraí in both is the same, namely, Heraklès the Archegétes. The autonome which PELLERIN has attributed to Ikaría,|| with the female head on its obverse, is in all likelihood an illustration: but this ascription of the coin seems involved in doubt. Pátmos reckons amongst its coins an autonome, with a youth's head encircled with an ivy-wreath,\*\* which accords very well with the Dióte on the reverse. This also appears to exemplify the usage of which I treat.

On the whole it seems abundantly established, notwithstanding that there appear certain remarkable deviations from it, as has been instanced just now by the Chians choosing the Sphínx to symbolize their State, the presence of which in all their coins, of whatever age, precludes the supposition that it had been due to the ascendancy of the Lagídai. Yet, that it was of Egyptian origin no one can doubt who considers the relation in which it stood to the Pharaohs.††

\* Vide Eckhel, p. 511. b.

† Ibid. p. 530. b.

‡ Ibid. pp. 539. 545. a. Compare his remarks on the opinions of MEAD and WISE respecting the first two of these coins in pp. 550. s.

§ Ibid. pp. 523. s.

|| Ibid. p. 567. b.

\*\* Ibid.

†† Vide Sir Gardiner Wilkinson's Work on the Ancient Egyptians, vol. v. pp. 200. ss.

Again, that the Erythræans chose to be represented on the same occasion by their Tutelary might be accounted for, by supposing that the religion of the State was more or less concerned in the forming and ratifying such alliances.

Other examples, however, occur. The people of Smýrna is represented in a coin of Homónoia between it and the Asians of Lydíá by its Amazonian foundress, whilst the latter are impersonated by a turret-crowned female figure, probably selected under the influence of a similar mythical belief.\* Again, the Phokæans are described in one of their autonomes,† probably a coin of Homónoia like the preceding, under the person of their mythical Amazón, associated with Cybéle, who, on the other hand, impersonates the State of Metrópolis. But these are exceptional cases, for which it is by no means difficult to offer very plausible reasons. They cannot, therefore, be justly regarded as affecting the essential truth of our conclusion, that it was a very general practice amongst the Ionians to symbolize their several communities by juvenile heads of either sex, the manifest intent having been to picture to the eye the youth of those communities; in other words, their season of active energy, their prime; the period intervening between a crude civilization and the decline of all influence and power.

The important question which we are now called upon to answer is, Are we to receive the sculpture of Attikós as an example of this usage? In other words, Are we to adopt the second form of restoration of its epigraph which I have proposed, in preference to the first? The following is my reply.

I esteem it as most certain, that priority of reception is due to it as compared with the hypothesis of the anaglyph's representing a supposed mythical Foundress of the Myesian city: for this involves a twofold assumption; firstly, that the citizens of that State had participated in the traditionary belief of their countrymen; secondly, that supposing even the truth of this, the occasion was such as to sanction a departure from the more general form of symbolization. Now of this occasion we know absolutely nothing, nor did the epigraph, I am persuaded, in its original state, convey any information on the subject. I shall, therefore, address myself to the first of these assumptions, as quite sufficient of itself to guide us out of this labyrinth.

\* Vide Eckhel, vol. ii. p. 562. a.

† Ibid. p. 534.

I have already observed, that Analogy is the only ground on which we can rest this attribution of an Amazón-foundress to the Myesian town, and therefore, that my entertaining the hypothesis at all was merely subsidiary to the fuller development of my argument. It is most evident, however, that an assumption which is founded on mere Analogy can never sustain a competition with one which is based upon a fact, and that fact a recognised artistic rule. This I state in the general: but now let us examine what I may term the Mythical hypothesis on its own merits, descending to details; for in these it is plain that we must hearken to the dictation of Analogy, if we allow ourselves to be guided by it in the principle.

The details to which I refer here are those of the effigies of mythical Foundresses, with which the medals of the Ionian confederation, as well as of others which I have added to the list, acquaint us, a review of which appears to be decisive of the question, so far, at least, as numismatic evidence extends. We observe the characteristics of these effigies to vary according to the type which the artist was required to follow. This appears to have been twofold. If the Amazón was to be represented in her capacity of Foundress, she then became a Pyrgophóros; the diadem which encircled her head was an emblem of the military defences with which she guarded her infant State. But she was also a member of a warlike community; in which light she makes her appearance as an Hoplophóros; she wields the battle-axe, and the turreted crown is replaced with the helmet. This, however, is the rarer type, the medals of Téos alone of all the Ionic states exhibiting it; and none of those of Aiolís. The type of the Karian Trípolis introduces another warlike element, the Horse, one of very infrequent occurrence, and singularly illustrative of the passage in Hippokrátes\* relative to the Amazons: *Τουτέων αἱ γυναῖκες ἰππάζονται τε καὶ τοξέουσι καὶ ἀκοντίζουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων.*

My conclusion from these data is that, unless we are to slight the evidence of medals and coins as expositors of archaic symbols, we must disallow the claims of a mythical Foundress to be considered as impersonated in this anaglyph.

\* Vide Hippokrát. "De ær. aq. et loc." cited by Stephanus under the head "Amazones" in "Dict. Hist." p. 86. b. Lloyd. 1693.

I now proceed to examine the comparative pretensions of the first and third hypotheses, that is, whether we are to regard this sculpture as representing a Tutelary, or as symbolizing the Myesian community. A definite reply to this question would enable us to dispense with one of our forms of restoration, and thus advance us an important step towards our proposed end. But I labour at present under the disadvantage of not being as yet in a position to bring forward the full evidence which I regard myself as possessing in behalf of the first of these alternatives, until I submit a few details with which it is materially connected, not the least important of which is the identification of the city commemorated in the epigraph. In the mean time it may be urged in its favour, that the occasions on which divine Prostátai were made the subjects of such offerings as the present so very much outnumber those on which communities were selected for that purpose, that even a simple calculation of chances would go far in deciding the question. The position which they occupied, as the chief objects of worship, and the vehicles of the profoundest sympathies, was so elevated, that they occasionally supplanted, as we have seen,\* the allegorical types even in their own proper sphere. We may also, with more immediate reference to the sculpture before us, ask this question: supposing it Charisterial, is it not self-evident that the sentiment which suggested it as such would be more adequately expressed by adopting as its subject the higher impersonation, that is, the Representative of the Religion of the community, than by selecting the lower, namely, the community itself?

So far the claims of the Tutelary might appear to have been paramount; but whether they were recognised on the present occasion must remain an open question until we can form some probable opinion with reference to the inquiry, on which of the female deities who bore sway in Ionía as Prostátides we are at present to fix our regards. It is probable that we may then find the fourth of the alternatives which have been proposed for our consideration most eminently entitled to it, as conducting to a remarkable coincidence, and, through it, to a ready solution of our somewhat perplexing enigma. From henceforth, therefore, my first hypothesis, the Tutelary, and my last, the Historical, go hand-in-hand, as I propose to establish a fact with reference to the former,

\* Vide *supr.* pp. 139. a.

which will so harmonize with an undoubted fact in the case of the latter, that it will enable me to blend the two together, and thus avail myself of their united aid to elicit a definite result. The circumstances which have led to this fusion of hypotheses, which appear at first sight so independent of each other, may be generally explained, and my reasons at the same time assigned for superadding the last of the series. With this intent I observe, that we are now conversant with an era in the annals of the Hellenic states very different from the Autonomous. In all public monuments, including the Numismatic, the effigies of the dominant powers had, during the Græco-Roman period, supplanted in a great measure the indigenous types; and of this altered state of things the anaglyph before us may prove a witness.... a lone representative amongst us of that countless array which, during the ascendancy of Imperial Rome, crowded the edifices of Greece from the temples of its gods to the private abodes of its aristocracy. It will be remembered that I have already hazarded a conjecture, which its external characteristics are such as to render in the highest degree probable, that it was intended as a tribute of respect to a female of illustrious station.\* This persuasion was forced upon me by the very first sight which I had of it; I mean, a sight improved and disciplined by a large experience in this department of study. Subsequent meditation and research led me by a gradual progress, a faithful delineation of which has been presented in the pages of this Memoir, to individualize this first impression in the person of a member of an Imperial family, which can be easily proved to have stood high in the estimation of the Hellenic communities, as well by its acts of kind consideration, as by the paramount influence which had been secured to it in consequence of the energy and prosperous career of its Founder. It is evident, that the probability of this identification is materially enhanced by showing that the personage here alluded to had been designated in such a way by the Hellenic states in their public monuments, whether from grateful remembrances or unworthy adulation it matters little at present, as to become directly associated with their religious sympathies in the actual person of a goddess whom, above all, our Tutelary hypothesis would suggest; for thus we have two probabilities, each resting on its peculiar ground, that is, the proba-

\* Supr. pp. 112. ss. 133. a.

bility of the Tutelary hypothesis, and that of the Historical, both converging to an identical result, and bound up together, so to express myself, in the same person through the instrumentality of a common name.

I proceed now to submit the course of argument by which I establish all this, first premising the order that I mean to observe. I place foremost my identification of the city styled in the epigraph *ἡ νέα Μυησίων πόλις*, as a point of the highest importance, and which occupied the third place in my general classification of Heads of inquiry at the commencement of this Section. I then address myself to the fourth general Head, namely, the identification of this anaglyph, to effect which I ascertain, in the first place, what particular deity the Myesian city had either adopted as its Tutelary, or at least might be expected to have venerated as such in virtue of its political connexion. I then define from the evidence supplied by the epigraph itself, so far as is possible, the limit of its age. I remark, in the third place, certain characteristics of the sculpture which tend to confirm this inference, as well as lead us, "primâ facie," to conclude that an individual of exalted rank had been its immediate subject. Lastly, I identify this subject with a well-known historical personage, stating at the same time my reasons for selecting her in particular, and conclude with submitting my final restoration of the epigraph.

SMITH has proposed an identification of the Myesian city, which he might appear to have regarded with some degree of complacency, for he writes concerning it, in his Letter to Primate MABSH, as follows, after referring to a notice by Stéphanos concerning the old Ionian city "Myés:"\* "Whether Myes be here meant by *νέα πόλις*, then newly erected into a city, or some other city built by the inhabitants of the former, forced to remove to a more convenient and healthier place, the defect in the beginning, owing to the injury of time after so many ages, will not suffer us to know now, (or?) who it was that did honour to this 'new city' by setting up this monument-----. If it be the same with Mytis, *Μυοῦς*, as is very likely, then it is certain that it was a maritime city of Ionia, not farre from the river Mæander. . . . . of w<sup>e</sup> wee have several accounts given by Strabo, Pausanias, and Pliny, not to mention other authors, both Greeke and Latine."

I observe with respect to this, that we are concerned at present with *νέα*

\* Vide Proceedings R. I. A., ubi supra, p. 51.

*Μυησίων πόλις*, not *Μυησίων πόλις*; that it is the former, not the latter, that we are required to identify with some known geographical site. That the Ionian city "Mytus" cannot be that site is very clear, not only from the discrepancy between the Ethnical names, *Μυούσιος* and *Μυήσιος*, but also because it had ceased to exist as a separate state, probably long before the New City of the Myesians was built. The expressions of Pausanias, when writing concerning the Ionic migration to the maritime tracts of Western Asia, appear to be confirmatory of this :\* *Μυούντος δὲ οἱ οἰκήτορες ἐπὶ τύχη τοιαύτῃ ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν. Κατὰ τὴν Μυουσίαν χώραν θαλάσσης κόλπος ἐσεύχεν οὐ μέγας· τοῦτον λίμνην ὁ ποταμὸς ἐποίησεν ὁ Μαϊάνδρος, ἀποτεμόμενος τὸν ἔσπλον τῇ ἰλίῳ· ὡς δὲ ἐνόστησε τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ οὐκ ἔτι ἦν θάλασσα, κώνωπε ἀπειροὶ πλῆθος ἐγίγνοντο ἐκ τῆς λίμνης, ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠνάγκασαν ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν. ἀπεχώρησαν δὲ ἐς Μίλητον Μυούσιοι, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀγώγυμα καὶ τῶν θεῶν φερόμενοι τὰ ἀγάλματα.* This incorporation of the Myusians with the people of Miletos is quite decisive as to the value of SMITH'S conjecture.

Equally untenable is one which, during the first stage of my inquiry, I had formed respecting this site : that we are to look for it in *Μύα*, an island in the Ceramic gulf,† and probably a dependency of Halikarnassós; that our anaglyph, therefore, is of Karian origin. A little reflection, however, convinced me that this supposition could not be entertained; for, not to insist on the extreme insignificance of the place, and its being even questionable whether any town entitled to the designation "Pólis" existed therein at all, the form of the Ethnic, *Μυήσιος*, disagrees with the general Karian type, according to which we should have expected either *Μυεύς* or *Μυηνός*, as in the instances of *Μύλασα*, *Λάβρανδα*, etc.

I then addressed myself to Stéphanos, the geographer first referred to by SMITH, but whom he appears to have laid aside, after having been conducted to the very threshold of the truth. He writes thus :‡ *Μύης Μύητος, ὡς Φάγρης Φάγρητος, πόλις Ἰωνική Ἐκαταῖος Ἀσίας· Τὸ Ἐθνικὸν, Μυήσιος, ὡς Φαγρήσιος.* Here we have the name of the parent city, together with the precise Ethnic which occurs in our epigraph; but this is not sufficient. The clause merely informs us that *Μύης* was the same with *ἡ Μυησίων πόλις*, but leaves us in the dark as to *ἡ νέα Μυησίων πόλις*. The former of these, however, having been an Ionian city, the probable inference is, that the latter was one also; accord-

\* Pausan. vii. 2. 7.

† Plin. v. 36. 3.

‡ "De Urbibus," p. 567. a. Ed. Berkel. 1694.



ingly, I had recourse to Strabo, in whose enumeration of the cities of that territory I perceived the following notice, which immediately appeared to me to supply the information required: \* *Εἶτα Νεάπολις, ἢ πρότερον μὲν ἦν Ἐφεσίων, νῦν δὲ Σαμίων, διαλλαξαμένων πρὸς τὸ Μαραθήσιον, τὸ ἐγγυτέρω πρὸς τὸ ἀπωτέρω.* It occurred to me that this clause solved the whole difficulty, as nothing was more usual than for Greek authors, when mentioning cities of this name, to disjoin the Abstract from the Concrete, and then allow the latter its separate inflexion. Thus Heródotos, speaking of the Ægyptian Neápolis, has the following sentence: † *Ἔστι δὲ Χέμμυς, πόλις μεγάλη Νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ ἐγγὺς Νέης Πόλιος.* Again: ‡ *Στρατιὴν παρελάμβανε ἐκ Ποτιδαίης, καὶ Ἀφύτιος, καὶ Νέης Πόλιος,* that is, of Neápolis of Palléne. Thukydídes adopts the same separate inflexion; as for example, when mentioning Neápolis of Zeugitana: § *Παραπλεύσαντες ἐς Νέαν Πόλιν, Καρχηδονιακὸν ἐμπόριον.* So also Diódoros: || *Καὶ πρώτην μὲν ἔλων Νέαν Πόλιν κατὰ κράτος κ. τ. λ.,* in which passage the somewhat too literal version by Rhodomanus should be replaced with "Neapolim."

The inference which results from combining these authorities appears to me to be quite certain; that *τὴν Νέαν Μυησίων Πόλιν* and *Νεάπολιν τῶν Μυησίων* are designations identical in the reference. We are now, therefore, in a condition to improve our former version, "the New City of the Myesians," by substituting in its place, "Neápolis of the Myesians." Another deduction is, that our Neápolis must have been one and the same with the Ionian Neápolis of Strabo, as Stéphanos has informed us, on the authority of Hekataíos, that Mýes was a city of that region. These are important results, and will be found eminently serviceable in advancing us to the close of our inquiry.

With respect to this ancient city, the forerunner of our Neápolis, we know nothing beyond its mere geographical position. I esteem it, therefore, quite unnecessary to offer any remarks on SMITH'S conjectures as to the relation in which our Neápolis stood to it, farther than this: that Mýes may have been

\* Strab. xiv. 1. p. 173. Tauchn. In the edition by FALCONER (T. II. p. 916. 15.) the words after *Σαμίων* have been introduced, informing us that the exchange of Neápolis for Marathésion was one of mutual convenience. The site of the latter is unquestionably the modern Scala Nuova; not Neápolis, as had been generally taken for granted before LEAKE'S time. See his "Diary," p. 261. as also BöCKH, Lemma to Inscr. 3022.

† Heródot. II. 91. init.

§ B. P. VII. 50.

‡ Ibid. VII. 123. init.

|| Bibl. H. XX. 17.

overturned in one of those convulsions of nature which we know to have devastated at different times the cities of Western Asia, that lay within and contiguous to the range of the Katakekauméne; and that it may have risen again from its ruins under the name of "Neápolis of the Myesians." It appears strange to me, unless we suppose some such identity, that Strabo should have omitted all mention of Mýes, and Stéphanos of Neápolis, in their respective catalogues of the Ionian cities. We may be allowed, moreover, to cite an analogous case, which countenances, so far as it goes, this presumption, namely, that of the Karian Stratonikeia, which, after its total overthrow by a catastrophe of this kind during the reign of Hadrian, and its reconstruction under the auspices of the Emperor, had its name altered to "Hadrianópolis of the Stratonikeians."

This identification of our Myesian city conducts me to the department of Numismatics to which, as may be recollected, I proposed the rendering a slight service by ascertaining the true import of the words *τὴν νέαν Μυησίων πόλιν*. My meaning was, that Strabo is not our only available authority for the recognition of a Neápolis amongst the Ionic cities, but that I felt confident of our possessing a record of at least two coins, which also attest this fact. Yet, how much involved in doubt this testimony has been may be conceived from ECKHEL'S total omission of this site from his Recensus of the Ionic towns in the body of his elaborate work. I trust, however to make it appear that the learned Numismatist either overlooked altogether, or took, at least, but a too partial view of, the evidence in this instance, having been perhaps misled by his want of acquaintance with any Keimélia referrible to the Ionian Neápolis.

In proof of this, I refer in the first place to ECKHEL'S account of Makedonian coins, under the head "Neápolis," where mention will be observed of an autonome, the obverse of which exhibits a head of Diónysos, accompanied by a Thýrsos in the rear, whilst the reverse is characterised by a Bótrys, with the epigraph **ΝΕΑΠΟ**.\* This coin ECKHEL has assigned, but not without hesitation, to Makedonía, for the following very insufficient reason: "Quia Bacchus in Macedonia et Thracia prævalet." It may, however, in all fairness be asked, Does not the self-same reason hold good in favour of Ionía? Do not the

\* Eckhel, ubi supr. II. p. 72. b.

coins of Lébedos and Téos, to mention these in particular, proclaim this, the latter of which was the chosen seat of the Dionysiac worship? Nay, one of its autonomes mentioned by ECKHEL himself, presents on both its obverse and reverse the identical reliefs which characterise this so-called Makedonian coin.\* It appears to me that he ought, on every account, to have allowed our Neápolis the benefit of his indecision; the rather so, as COMBE, who had preceded him, and to whom he refers, classes this coin under the head of the Karian Neápolis in his descriptive catalogue of the Hunterian collection.† He has, it is true, assigned no reason for this attribution, and therefore ECKHEL may possibly have regarded it in the light of a vague conjecture; which probably it was, resulting in part from ignorance of our Neápolis as an archæological site, and partly, it may be, from his choosing as his guides such catalogues as those of Pliny and Mela, wherein the Karian Neápolis finds a place,‡ but all mention of the Ionian has been omitted.

I now pass to the second of those coins, from SESTINI'S ascription of which to our site ECKHEL has withheld his assent, precisely as he has done in the case which I have just considered.§ Its age is that of Trebonianus, and the type on the reverse is that of the "Standing Fortune," accompanied by the epigraph ΝΕΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ. We possess, on behalf of the appropriation of this coin to the Ionian Neápolis, precisely the same analogy as before: for we find an Imperial coin of Lébedos of the age of Caracalla, which has been described and figured by ECKHEL himself,|| minted after an exactly corresponding type, with the legend ΛΕΒΕΔΙΩΝ. It is plain that the "Fortuna stans" in each of these is the ideagraphic synonyme of ΤΥΧΗ, thus forming with the Ethnic nouns, ΤΥΧΗ . ΝΕΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, ΤΥΧΗ . ΛΕΒΕΔΙΩΝ, and they may be compared with the autonomous ΤΥΧΗ . CΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ, which serves as the *exégesis* of the similar type in the coins of Smýrna.\*\* I may add ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ . ΤΥΧΗ in certain of those of Éphesos.††

\* See the coins of Lébedos and Téos referred to here, in Eckhel, II. 524. b. 563. a.

† Id. in T. II. 72. b. VIII. Addend. p. 32. a.

‡ Vide Plin. v. 29. 5. Mel. I. 16. p. 25. Bip. Comp. Ptolem. v. 2.

§ Ubi supra, from Sestini's "Lettere e Dissertazioni Numismatiche," etc. v. p. 25.

|| Vide "Num. Anecdote" p. 204. Tab. XII. n. 7.

\*\* "Doctrin. N. V." T. II. p. 545. b.

†† Ibid. p. 516. b.

Let us now, independently of these striking analogies, which favour so much our attribution of this coin to our Neápolis, take into account the information which we have from SESTINI; that he procured it in Smýrna, once the depository of the marbles before us, and at all times, as I have already observed, the chief point of egress for the "lauta supellex" of the interior to the western world; that, moreover, the only cities of that name which could with any show of probability advance rival claims to the ascription of this coin are those of Makedonía and Karía; that the first of these might seem to be excluded by its remote and transmarine position, and the latter by the blank attached to its name in the records of archæology, unless we listen to the unsustained conjecture of the illustrator of the Hunterian cabinet: still more, that we now see the Ionian city brought tangibly before us in its alliance with Art, and so far rescued from its former obscurity: little doubt, methinks, can remain as to the alternative we should adopt in this question.

It is due, however, to the truthfulness of this essay, to admit what may appear to some to be a weak point in this evidence, which is, that I confess my inability to account for the absence of ΜΥΗΣΙΩΝ from these coins; at least, to explain it to my entire satisfaction. We see it in the epigraph of the sculpture; and it may very reasonably be asked, Why is it not present in the former, if they really belonged to the Ionian site? I found, as I have already mentioned, the Karian city Stratonikeia described in a remarkable titulus, which I copied during my tour through Lydiá,\* as 'Αδριανόπολις τῶν Στρατονεικέων, and subsequently recognised it under the same appellation in two of its Imperial coins.† That the coins before us should not exhibit parallel designations, such as *Νεαπολιτῶν Μυησίων*, seems strange; insomuch that I feel confident that, had ECKHEL been cognizant of this variance between the coins and our epigraph, he would have used it as an unanswerable argument against SESTINI.

It may be urged, however, that the circumstances of the two cases were so different as to detract considerably from the force of such reasoning. When the Stratonikeians, actuated by a commendable sense of gratitude, adopted for their city a new and Imperial name, they would naturally feel disinclined at

\* "Fascic. Inscr. Gr." i. p. 120. n. xxxv.

† Vide Eckh. D. N. V. n. p. 591. a. Num. Anecd. p. 210. Tab. xii. n. 15.

the same time to suppress all mention of their older and Royal one ; and therefore it is, that we find them studiously combining both in all their public monuments of a certain period. But so far as we possess the means of judging, we may presume that the Ionian Neapolitans could act on no such principle. " Neápolis," it is true, sounds very differently from " Mýes," yet, in the matter of association, not so much so as " Hadrianópolis" from " Stratoníkeia," the very designation " New City" being at once and necessarily suggestive of the Parent town, which had preceded it in the order of time. We may reasonably suppose, therefore, that they refrained from any Direct notices of their origin in their Numismatic records, reserving it for their other public monuments, such as that now before us. I say advisedly, Direct notices, for such as are of an Indirect or Suggestive kind, that is, Hints or Intimations sufficiently obvious to their compatriots of Ionia, may be presumed, on the ground of Analogy, to have existed on their coins. We may conjecture, for instance, that the notice of the Dionysiac worship, in the *Autonome* cited above, may have been intended as a memorial of the more ancient Mýes ; and, on the same principle, we may view the type which SESTINI'S coin exhibits on its reverse as representing in allegory the re-erection of the latter under happier auspices in the form of Neápolis. In other words : these effigies, interpreted as Ideographs, may possibly have served as notices of the particular cult and improved fortunes of Mýes. Truth, however, compels me to acknowledge, that the scanty materials at our disposal, consisting of a short sentence from one geographer, an equally brief and incidental notice from another, and two coins of disputed attribution, supply us with very inadequate grounds of speculation.

I proceed now to the discussions subordinated above to my fourth general head ; in the first of which I proposed to inquire, what deity our *Néa πόλις* was the likeliest to have for its Tutelary ; or, at least, what deity came powerfully recommended to Attikós as the subject of his anaglyph in her quality of Exponent of a pre-eminent Cult. An answer to either of these questions, as definite as circumstances will allow, is an essential pre-requisite to the end which I hold in view.

As to the first, it is quite clear that we possess no conclusive evidence. It is true, that one of the coins just now examined, the *Autonome*, presents the head of Diónysos ; but who can argue from this, that he had occupied the rank

of a Tutelary in Neápolis, or against the presumption that it may be sufficiently explained by the prevalence of the Dionysiac worship in the neighbouring cities of Ionía, Lébedos, and Téos, the communities of that region having been accustomed to reciprocate with each other their numismatic types and effigies?\*

I betake myself, therefore, to the alternative of the quasi-tutelary, in the hope of dealing more satisfactorily with the question in this form, which is less embarrassing in proportion as it is less restricted. It possesses also the advantage of enabling us to repeat our use of the important notice respecting Neápolis, which has been lately cited from Strabo.† This has acquainted us with two facts: the first, which has already been made available . . . that there existed in Ionía a town of that name; another, which is now to be pressed into our service, that "this Neápolis had been formerly a dependency of Éphesos, but belonged to the Samians at present," that is, at the time of the geographer's inditing the clause, which was during the reign of Tiberius.

The importance of this notice to us, in the present stage of our inquiry, consists in its informing us, that Neápolis held the rank of a dependency; for let us suppose it cancelled, or, what is equivalent, that either the writer had stopped short after the words, *Εἶτα Νεάπολις*, or that, as not infrequently happens, a lacuna had replaced the notice which he has added; what should we now have had to guide us? We should have regarded Neápolis as an independent city, and had nothing to aid us in determining its Cult but the uncertain evidence of a single coin, and the vague analogies of the other Ionian states. Whereas, the contrary being now known to have been the case, and we being cognizant of the Primary cults of Éphesos and Sámos, our choice is naturally directed towards two, that is to say, of the *Ártemis Polýmastos* and the *Héra*, either *Eileithyia* or *Nympheútria*, corresponding to the Roman "Lucina" and "Pronuba."

Here I may observe, in order to guard against any misconception, that I am quite conscious of its by no means following as a thing of course, that the Tutelary cult of the dominant city, and of the subordinate, should prove identical; nor, as is clear from what has been said, is it at all necessary that we should suppose it in the present case. All I ask to be conceded to me is, that the chief divinity of the former, represented in such a sculpture as the present,

\* See instances of this above, p. 135.

† See above, p. 146.

must always have proved acceptable in the latter, as cementing municipal alliance by a fusion thereof with religious sympathies. It now remains, therefore, that we should estimate the respective claims of the above-mentioned deities to impersonation, by pre-eminence, in a Charisterial monument erected in Neápolis, at the period when this sculpture was executed.

That the Multimammia would have occupied a secondary rank on the present occasion appears probable from the fact, that for a long period of time the connexion between Éphesos and Neápolis, as dominant and subordinate, had ceased; and that, in point of fact, she has not been chosen is evident from the absence of her personal accessory types, implied in her epithet of *πολύμαστος*. We direct, therefore, our attention to the Nymphéútria, as having the weight of certainty on her side in comparison with the Éphesian Prostátis, and of the highest probability, as regards any other. Should this be conceded, we shall find it resulting in a singular coincidence, but one at which I must arrive by pursuing the same course of implicative argument that has conducted me to my present position.

The coincidence to which I allude, expressed in general terms, is this: from the probable date of the anaglyph before us, and certain characteristics observable in it, I consider myself entitled to infer, that its immediate subject was an Augusta, who had during her lifetime been deified under the name of the very goddess whose tutelary claims we have been led to regard as paramount in the locality of Neápolis; and the final result at which I arrive is, that Attikós, in the true spirit of a Greek, had taken occasion to pay his court to his Imperial mistress, and gratify at the same time his religious predilections, by offering a Charistérian which was the exponent of the latter under the semblance of the former. The details into which I am about to enter, as confirmatory of this persuasion, will occupy the remaining heads of my argument, and close this section of my memoir.

These particular heads relate to the Age of the sculpture, the Rank of the female represented by it, and her Identification. I now propose to discuss the first of these, chiefly from evidence supplied by the epigraph, partly furnished by the anaglyph itself.

It is at all times a matter of extreme difficulty to pronounce as to the age of an inscription, during the Græco-Roman period, from the forms of its

characters, as nothing can be conceived more capricious, in certain instances, indeed, more fantastical, than the liberties which the engravers of those days allowed themselves in this department of their art. The utmost we can effect in the great majority of cases is to assign probable limits: but it happens often, unfortunately, that these limits comprise intervals of time so lengthened as to render them practically useless as chronological aids. For example: we take an inscription which contains a letter that we may deem characteristic, and to which we may be enabled to assign a limit in antecedence: we then observe its progress, and perhaps find it disappearing at a certain epoch, during which it is replaced with another form more or less similar: we then pass on, and observe, it may be, the last of these giving place, in its turn, perhaps to its immediate predecessor, and subsequently resuming its hold of the epigraphic alphabet. Here the alternations with which we have to deal are in no slight degree embarrassing; to exemplify which I descend to the particular cases of the Sigma in the epigraph of Thelymítres, and the O-méga in that of Attikós, these appearing to be, respectively, their most distinctive characters.

I have observed the former of these in tituli so early in the Imperial times as the reign of Claudius;\* then, in the time of Septimius Severus, gradually rounding off its angular extremities so as to assume the shape of the Roman C,† and subsequently, in the age of Constantius the Second, between whom and Claudius there intervened a period of little less than three centuries, resuming its ascendancy in its pristine form;‡ then abdicating it permanently in the succeeding reigns. In a similar way, we meet the angular O-méga, as it appears in the epigraph of Attikós, in the age of Hadrian;§ then opening out its base angles so as to assume the cursive form with which we are so familiar, in that of Severus,|| and afterwards re-appearing in the time of the first Leo,\*\* more than three hundred years after the first-mentioned epoch.

The only expedient which is left to the epigraphist under circumstances so embarrassing is, to summon to his aid, if possible, some concomitant letter, the dates of which may serve to counteract the fluctuations of its associate, and thus enable him in some degree to steady his chronological balance.

\* Vide Fascic. III. p. 310. n. CDXIV. a.

† Ibid. p. 17. n. XLVI. c.

‡ Fascic. II. p. 248. n. CCXLIII.

† Fascic. II. p. 248. n. CCXLIII.

§ Vide Böckh. C. I. T. I. p. 473. n. 490.

\*\* Fascic. I. p. 45. n. VIII.



To apply this to the case immediately before us, I select the *Sigma*. As I have mentioned, all forms of this letter began gradually to disappear from *tituli* in the time of Severus, with the exception of one, namely, the semi-circular type, with which, however, the present character maintained a struggle for ascendancy. The testimony, therefore, which it affords coincides with that of the *O-méga* in defining this reign as the later limit of the epigraph, as at no future period have I observed them to be contemporaneous. Indeed, subsequently to this period, I have seldom or never observed the *Sigma* in its re-entrant form. Accordingly, I circumscribe the age of this epigraph within the limits defined by the reigns of Hadrian and Septimius Severus.

Ere I pass from this subject, it may be proper that I should advert to another ground of conjecture as to the age of a Græco-Roman *titulus*, which may occasionally be found useful, particularly in classifications according to the order of time. This supposes, however, that it exhibits a Roman designation, comprising, at least, a *Nomen* referrible to some one of the *Augusti*. By this we are directed, "*primâ facie*," to the time of that particular Emperor; but in reality, the only safe use we can make of it is, to rest in that period as a *Limit*, of which alone it is the exponent. For example: we may reasonably presume that the sculpture of *Thelymitres* had not been executed prior to the age of Tiberius; but any opinion more precise it is impossible to pronounce, for the obvious reason, that the Roman name of *Lysimâche* may have descended to her from an ancestor, but in what degree removed we are wholly ignorant. This will be better understood by our citing a Greek-Roman name of higher mark, such as that of the Orator *Herôdes*. Had we been destitute of all notice respecting him, with the exception of what is implied in his Roman designation, *Tiberius Claudius*, how grave an error should we commit by assigning him, on the ground thereof, to the time of the *Successor of Augustus*! We know, however, that it had descended to him, and may with reason conclude that it first came into his family from some official connexion with the Emperor Tiberius.

To return to the epigraph of *Attikós*: as no Roman name appears in this in its present condition, and reasons have been alleged for concluding that none had existed previously to its defacement, we are destitute of any aid from that source. Let us try, however, whether we cannot compensate this defici-

ency by some remarkable characteristic in the anaglyph itself. This conducts us to the third ground of argument on which I rely as preliminary to its identification.

The mode in which the Hair has been arranged constitutes, if I mistake not, the characteristic to which I allude. It is well known to all who are conversant with the numismatic records of the Augustæ, or who have had opportunities of studying the ascertained sculptures of them which are extant, that these monuments present, in all cases, evidences of most elaborate coiffure. Indeed, the amount of labour bestowed on most of the Imperial female heads appears to have been such as to render hopeless all rivalry on the part of the coiffeurs of modern times. All their dexterity of manipulation it casts wholly into the shade. This, even as a general characteristic, every one must observe: but when a Type was to be carried out, or an emblematical accessory to be represented, as was sometimes the case when they had to deal with heads, the fair owners of which had anticipated their posthumous apotheóseis . . . then it was that their superiority became most transcendent.

Let none present imagine for a moment, that I am now wilfully transgressing the bounds of sober sense, or forgetting the gravity which becomes the archæologist, while descanting on this part of my subject. Still, should I have erred, I hope for pardon of my error, were it but in consideration of this memorial of classic art which has enshrined such features in a casket so elaborately wrought. This accessory alone stamps it with a value of which little conception has been hitherto formed, to aid which the following notices may perhaps be of use.

I have already expressed my belief that the Archetype of this head-dress, as well as of that denominated "the Faustina," was the Greek "Kórymbos,"\* which consisted, in its simpler form, in such a treatment of the hair-welt as gave it a spiral form, and then carried it up to the crown, where it was confined by a bodkin or hair-pin.† It seems, however, to have been susceptible of numberless

\* Supr. p. 112.

† Vid. Passow, 1. p. 1329. b. in *Κόρυμβος*: "wie *κρωβύλος*, ein geflochtner Haarbüschel oder Haarzopf, der spiralförmig aufgewickelt, und auf der Scheitel mit einer Haarnadel befestigt ward, vorzugsweis eine Haartracht der Jungfrauen, da der ähnliche Haarbausch bey den Jünglingen *Κρωβύλος* hiess:" citing at the same time Winckelm. "Gesch. d. Kunst." 5. 1. 14. and "Tratt. prelim." 4. 66.

Hesýchios defines it, *εἶδος τῆς ἐμπλοκῆς ἣ ἐστὶν ἀνηνεγμένη ἀπὸ μέσου τοῦ μετώπου ἐπὶ τῆν*

varieties, all more or less superadding to the ancient model. Thus the coiffure of Galeria Faustina, the most graceful, perhaps of its kind carried out the antique type by a separation of the entire weft into weftlets or distinct tresses, each of which, when braided into the spiral form, was brought in its order to the back of the head, and then drawn up to the crown, the whole being apparently kept together by a band winding round it from the base of the head to the vertex. The concluding process appears to have been the braiding the ends of the weftlets into separate plaits, so as to form a single, sometimes a double rosette, and then confining each to its place, as was done with the upper tuft of the *Kórymbos*.

The disposition of the weftlets in our anaglyph seems to have been still more elaborate. The process appears to have been as follows: the whole weft was first drawn in distinct bands to the rear of the head, and then separated into divisions, of which one was employed in forming a rosette behind, whilst the remainder was drawn from thence in double braids to a central point in the forehead, so as to cover the space which had been left exposed by the former operation, and then folded up. This process being effected for both sides of the head, resulted in those symmetrical involutions observable in front, which resemble so much a certain well-known fossil type as to suggest the idea that, on this particular occasion, an esoteric meaning was intended to be conveyed. All here present are conversant with the subject of this allusion; the symbol

*κορυφήν*: and with reference to this type, Herakleides of Póntos is introduced by Athénaios (XII. p. 512. c.) thus expressing himself concerning the older Athenians: *κορύμβου δ' αναδύμενοι τῶν τριχῶν χρυσοῦς τέττιγας περὶ τὸ μέτωπον καὶ τὰς κόμας ἐφόρουν*. These *τέττιγες* were adopted as symbolical of their vaunted title of *αὐτόχθονες*, and are mentioned by Thukyðides in a passage where he defines the corresponding *κρωβύλος* of the males, I. 6. *χρυσῶν τεττίγων ἐν ἔρσει κρωβύλον ἀναδοσμένοι τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τριχῶν*. These words the Scholiast (Thukyd. Bipont. T. v. p. 308.) explains thus: *ἐν ἔρσει, ἢ ἐν εἰσέρσει, ἢ ἐν πλοκῇ. κρωβύλος δὲ ἔστιν εἶδος πλέγματος τῶν τριχῶν ἀπὸ ἀκατέρων εἰς ὄξυ ἀπολήγον. ἑκαλείτο δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν, κρωβύλος τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν, κόρυμβος τῶν δὲ παιδῶν, σκορπίος*. It is evident that Virgil had this mode of coiffure present to his thought when so briefly describing the head-dress of his Sidonian princess, *Æneid. iv. 138*. "Crines nodantur in aurum:" and equally so that the "Tutulus" of Varro (*De L. L. vi. T. I. p. 90. Bipont.*), specimens of which, more or less ornate, appear in the coiffures of the Augustæ, had its origin in the Korymboid type. His words are: "Id Tutulus appellatur ab eo, quod matres familias crines convolutos ad verticem capitis . . . dicunt Tutulos." See WASSER'S note on the foregoing passage of Thukyðides, Ed. Bipont. T. I. p. 298.

of the Ἄμμων κεραός of the Greeks, that is, the Amûn-Neph\* of their Egyptian masters in mythological lore. Whether the former were correct in identifying Amûn with their Zeus, the consort-brother of Héra, is at present a question of little moment.†

There appear, therefore, to be certain characteristics in which these head-dresses agree, and others in which they differ. They agree in the general Korymboid type, and the general mode of carrying it out: but in the order in which the bands of hair are disposed, so as to reach the summit of the head, as also in their disposition when confined there, they differ. These, however, are merely matters of detail, whilst their essential sameness is so manifest, that I hesitate not to assign to this sculpture, even on the ground of the coiffure which it represents, a date in contiguity to that of the Antonini, Pius and Marcus Aurelius. That it does not actually belong to their period I am convinced; firstly, from my inability to trace in it the slightest resemblance to features so familiar to me as are those of the Augustæ of the Antoninian family; secondly, and chiefly, because we possess no evidence whatsoever of the deification during life of either Galeria, or Annia,‡ Faustina, or of the consorts of Commodus and Aurelius Verus. Both these reasons, however, concur in directing our attention to Fulvia Plautilla, the junior Augusta of the Septimian family, as answering in the completest manner all the exigencies of our problem. The proof of this, which will conduct us at once to the final

\* Basmur. Δεοῦν-Νίβι, figures of whom I found sculptured in the temple at Tchone-myris in the Óasis "El Khardjah." Hence the Greek Ἀμυνήβις in an inscription of that place: Fascic. III. p. 362. n. CDXXI. a.

† Vide Wilkinson, ubi supr. vol. iv. p. 268.

‡ Vide Böckh, C. I. L. p. 45. b., and p. 458. on n. 435. 6., where he observes, "In Triopio Herodis Attici Ceres nova fuit Faustina ut videtur minor." This attribution must, however, be received with some caution, as recent investigations have led me to conclude, not only that Regilla had deceased in the lifetime of the junior Faustina, but also, that her claim to the impersonation of Deó (Ceres) in the Inscr. Triop. II. vv. 6. 48. cannot be sustained by collateral evidence. The reader will, therefore, correct the statement respecting Annia Faustina in p. 114. supr., as to her deification during life, under the designations νεωτέρα θεός in Böckh's Eleusinian inscription, and Δηώ νέη in the Triopeian; and is referred to the commentary of FRANZ on v. 6. of the latter, in Corp. Inscr. T. III. pp. 921-3.

The determination of this question, however, either the one way or the other, in no wise affects my argument on the present occasion.

restoration of the epigraph, forms my last head of discussion, and will conclude the present section.

The tributes of honour which were accorded by the Hellenic states to the members of the Imperial family, of which Septimius Severus was the head, were the results, perhaps, in part of the wise policy acted upon by them after the series of auspicious events which marked the outset of their career. Towards the Greek name, in particular, they seem to have adopted one of conciliation, which must have been the more grateful in proportion as it was unexpected, the East having declared in favour of Pescennius Niger, and the sanguinary battles, which terminated his rivalry with his life, having been fought on the fields of Kyzikos, Nikaia, and Issos. These successes of Severus were followed in due course by the prosperous issue of his contest with Albinus, and his Parthian victories, which resulted in the establishment of his rule; yet we read of no severities practised against the Greek cities, with the single exception of Byzantium. This forbearance doubtless arose from prudential motives on the part of Severus, when he advanced on his memorable expedition against the Parthians, and was unwilling to leave disaffection in his rear. We possess, indeed, evidence of his anxiety to provide against such feelings in a fragment of an Ephesian inscription,\* which singularly confirms the account given by Spartianus† of the unrelenting cruelty with which, even during the acmé of his contest with the Parthians, he pursued the remnant of the Pescennian party, who appear to be styled therein Παιδες τῶν ἀνοσίμων.

The Greeks, therefore, with these vindictive proceedings before their eyes, were terrified, perhaps, rather than allured into their manifestations of regard towards the Augustus and the members of his family. The result, however, was the same, for they were lavished with no sparing hand. I have observed them in all quarters of Asiatic Greece, the region with which we are now concerned, and certain of them bearing unequivocal testimony to the policy of conciliation which had been adopted. Galatia, Bithynia, Mysia, Lydia, Karia, Phrygia, Pisidia, contribute each its quota, a full share falling to the lot of the Augusta Julia Domna. In one of Lampsakos, for example, she has a statue

\* Vide Böckh. T. II. p. 608. n. 2971.

† Viz. "Inter hæc Pescennianas reliquias, Plautiano auctore, persequabatur, ita ut nonnullos etiam ex amicis suis, quasi vitæ suæ insidiatores, appeteret." In Severo, c. xv.

decreed to her, represented as invested with the twofold attributes of goddessship, under the names of Hestía and Deméter. The titulus, to which I have already referred,\* proceeds thus: **ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝ . ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝ . ΕΣΤΙΑΝ . ΝΕΑΝ . ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑ . Η . ΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑ**, and the cost of the honour is stated to have been borne by a certain Dionýsios, **ΥΠΕΡ . ΤΗΣ . ΕΙΣ . ΤΟΥΣ . ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥΣ . ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ**, that is, “in consideration of the Piety which is due from him to the Crowns,” the Insignia that he wore as “Stephanephóros of the universal Augustan family.” In another titulus, one of Nikomédeia,† a votive altar is dedicated to her; and a third, of Laodíkeia,‡ records an offering of the same class.

Caracalla also has been allotted his due proportion of honours; sometimes, as in the case of Domna, in conjunction with Severus; at other times, and in coins, with Geta, but chiefly alone. Thus, in a titulus of Euméneia,§ he has a statue decreed to him by the Senate and People, under the appellations, **ΤΟΝ . ΙΔΙΟΝ . ΘΕΟΝ . ΚΑΙ . ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ**. In a similar spirit, either of grateful sentiment or conciliation, the Ephesians style him and his brother, in one of their Neocorate coins,|| **ΝΕΟΙ . ΗΛΙΟΙ**, “orientia sidera;” a constellation which, doubtless, they made the object of especial worship: and in another, exhibiting the effigy of Caracalla, the following type appears on the Reverse; four temples, respectively, of Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla, and Geta, explained by the accompanying epigraph, **ΔΟΓΜΑΤΙ . ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΥ . ΟΥΤΟΙ . ΝΑΟΙ**, a type and legend germane, in a special sense, to their vaunted prerogative of a fourfold Neocorate.\*\*

It were a useless expenditure of time, nor indeed is it necessary to my purpose, to submit all the proofs which I have collected of the deference††

\* *Supra*, p. 114. † Böckh, C. I. II. p. 967. n. 3771. ‡ *Ibid.* (Franz.) III. p. 41. n. 3940.

§ *Ibid.* p. 19. n. 3884.

|| Eckhel, T. II. p. 520. a.

\*\* That is, if we receive KHELL's solution of the Temples (see Eckhel, II. p. 517. b.) grounded on Tacit. Annal. III. 61. viz. that they represented those dedicated to Ártemis, Díónysos, Heraklês, and Apóllon. But it appears to me that even this can be reconciled to VALLANT's interpretation of the type, by supposing that these deities were severally represented by Domna, Severus, Caracalla, and Geta. We have seen Livia Drusilla styled “Ártemis” in an Ephesian coin, cited above, p. 113., and it is certain that Caracalla was figured under the person of Heraklês. See note (††), p. 114.

†† A stronger term might be used in reference to the tituli which recorded the adoption of Severus into the Antoninian family. Böckh has published one of Miletos (C. I. II. p. 561. n. 2878.), in which he is styled Son of Marcus Aurelius, Grandson of Pius, Great Grandson of Hadrian, etc., to which

accorded to the members of this family, both singly and conjointly, by the Greek states. My end is sufficiently attained by merely stating as a fact, that scarcely a city of any note in the whole compass of the Western Asia is without its memorials of a forward zeal in their cause. Statues were decreed, divine honours paid, temples erected, and games instituted, in commemoration either of the substantial benefits or the considerate forbearance, which the Hellenic provinces experienced, as a return for their ill-advised partizanship, during his season of trial and embarrassment, from Septimius Severus.\*

I return to the Augusta, with whom I am more immediately concerned, whose semblance I have been led to attribute to the anaglyph before us. She also had her share in those ascriptions of honour, but her name does not appear so frequently as those of her Imperial relatives in extant monuments. We have seen her, as well as Domna, invested, even during her brief and inauspicious career as Augusta, with the insignia of deification; and the records which I have cited were, doubtless, accompanied with many such memorials as I consider the present one to be; but the exceeding rarity of their occurrence now is sufficiently explained by the mournful events which so suddenly terminated her prosperity. The sole records of the honour which more immediately concerns us at present, her impersonation of the Samian tutelary, that have as yet come under my observation, are a Phrygian inscription and a Karian coin. I have already ad-

a titulus cited by ECKHEL from GRUTER, in his *Doctr. N.V.* VII. p. 173. b. adds the title *DIVI. COMMODI. FRATER*. But an inscription copied by CHANDLER from a pedestal of a statue of Commodus, on the site of the Phokian Ámbryssos, casts these, and such like, into the shade, it representing Severus as "the Brother of Commodus" during the lifetime of the latter. This was effected, as there is every reason to infer from the appearance of the marble, by erasing the original epigraph, and replacing it with another more in conformity with the pretensions of the reigning emperor. See Böckh, vol. I. p. 852. n. 1736.

\* The following tituli demonstrative of this appear in the part of BöCKH's work which relates to Asiatic Greece:—Ánkyra supplies one in honour of Caracalla, vol. III. (Franz) p. 93. n. 4046. Nikomédeia, one in that of Julia Domna, II. p. 967. n. 3771. Lámpsakos, another, cited above in p. 114. Éphesos, one in that of Caracalla, Bö. II. p. 609. n. 2973.; in that of Severus and Domna, one, n. 2972. Smyrna contributes one to Severus, II. p. 727. n. 3177.; another to Caracalla, p. 727. n. 3179. Sárdeia, one to Severus, II. p. 813. n. 3458. Thyáteira, one to Caracalla, II. p. 825. n. 3484. Euménia, another to the same, III. p. 19. n. 3884. Sebasté, a third, III. p. 17. n. 3871. Afion Qárah Hissár, one to Severus, III. p. 18. n. 3788. Sagalassós, one to Severus and Caracalla, III. p. 186. n. 4371. The titulus of Azanó, III. p. 10. n. 3837., probably originated from Severus himself.

verted (with a citation of the epigraph of the latter) to these in a former part of this section.\*

I now address myself, according to my promise, more particularly to the Inscription, which I consider myself as having been the first to publish in a correct form. It proceeded from a Greek of eminent station, and commemorated an important bequest to his fellow-citizens. The part thereof most interesting to us at present is the Preamble, consisting of a precatory formule on behalf "of the Universal House of the Augusti, the Sacred Senate, and the People of the Romans:" ΑΓΑΘΗ . ΤΥΧΗ . ΥΠΕΡ . ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ . ΚΑΙ . ΝΕΙΚΗΣ . ΚΑΙ . ΑΙΩΝΙΟΥ . ΔΙΑΜΟΝΗΣ . ΤΩΝ . ΔΕΣΠΟΤΩΝ . ΚΑΙ . ΑΝΕΙΚΗΤΩΝ . ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΩΝ . ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ . ΣΕΠΤΙΜΙΟΥ . ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟΥ . ΚΑΙ . ΜΑΡΚΟΥ . ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥ . ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΥ . ΚΑΙ . ΠΟΠΛΙΟΥ . ΣΕΠΤΙΜΙΟΥ . ΓΕΤΑΣ . ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ . ΚΑΙ . ΝΕΑΣ . ΗΡΑΣ . ΡΩΜΑΙΑΣ . ΚΑΙ . ΣΥΝΠΑΝΤΟΣ . ΟΙΚΟΥ . ΤΩΝ . ΣΕΒΑΚΤΩΝ. κ. τ. λ. I here direct attention more particularly to the manner in which the Consort of Caracalla has been designated: not by her family name, which has been wholly suppressed, but by that under which she had been deified as, by eminence, "the New Héra." It might appear that in this attribution there was something remarkable . . . something more special and emphatic than ordinary . . . intended to be conveyed; and the more so, as this merging both ΠΛΑΥΤΙΑΛΛΑ and ΣΕΒΑΚΤΗ in her goddess-title stands in marked contrast to the complete enumerations which go before.

The inference which results from these premises seems to be inevitable. Let us now, for the sake of clearness, take a review of them . . . the several gradations by which we have advanced to our present position.

We have found, in the first place, by examining the Tutelary hypothesis on its own merits, that this anaglyph represented either a Prostátis, or a deity equivalent to such, in the Myesian city. Our second step was, to identify her, on grounds equally probable, with the goddess Héra, by proving that this city was none other than the Ionian Neápolis, and thus establishing its territorial connexion with Sámos. Our third was, to show from certain distinctive elementary forms in the epigraph, that the age of the sculpture was, in all probability, that of Septimius Severus. Our fourth was, to produce additional confirmation of the correctness of this date, from the coiffure delineated

\* Vide *supr.* pp. 114. s.



in the anaglyph; as also to deduce the further inference, that its immediate subject had been an Augusta. I now, in the fifth place, draw my conclusion that, by reason of her investiture with the Heræan attributes, which at once placed her in the Tutelary rank that I had shown before to be pre-eminently entitled to consideration in this argument, the only Augusta whom we can regard as satisfying the conditions of our problem is the daughter-in-law of Septimius Severus.

Such has been the course of my argument, in the prosecution of which I have shut out all appeal to lineamental evidence, or that which might have resulted from a comparison of the anaglyph with numismatic effigies. I may state here my reasons for this exclusion. Experience has taught me, in the first place, how very deceptive such comparisons are, as well as the inferences to which, but too frequently, they conduct; how much their availableness depends on the skill of the artist, on his fidelity, as also on the opportunities which he possessed of acquainting himself with authentic resemblances. These, it is clear, most materially affect the truth of any identifications, more especially in cases where the only standard to which we can resort is the evidence of coins or medals: for it is at all times very difficult to pronounce as to the subjects of such anaglyphs as the present from numismatic forms, which are always expressed in Katagraph, or, as we term it, Profile. In proportion, therefore, to this difficulty would be the chances of error in placing this sculpture in the rank of a true Eikón on the basis of any such comparison.

I would not, however, be understood as wholly rejecting it, but as desirous of working out my conclusion, in the first instance, solely by a mental process, and until I had arrived at that, of postponing the mechanical; for so I may term an identification which eye-sight alone effects. No sooner, therefore, had I accomplished the former of these, and exhausted at every step the evidences at my disposal, than I ventured the dangerous experiment of applying the test of numismatic proof; and here again I beg to acknowledge the prompt and zealous co-operation which I have experienced from my immediate predecessor in this inquiry. In consequence of my cabinet not numbering amongst its Imperial coins any memorial of Plautilla, I requested that Gentleman to supply the deficiency from that of the University, and this, accordingly, he did with all the scrupulous exactness which every one who hears me will have anticipated.

The letter which he addressed to me in answer to my application, contained accurate iconographs of four coins of Plautilla,\* two of which were evidently contemporaneous with our anaglyph, and alone possess any value as suitable standards of comparison on the present occasion. The others were minted at a later period: but no two aspects can be conceived more different than Plautilla's when she entered the family of Severus, and Plautilla's, when horror-stricken at the murder of her sire, and deposed from the station which she had so dearly purchased.

The general contour of the features in the earlier coins resembles that in our anaglyph quite as closely as could reasonably be expected, when it is considered, that the former had issued from the Imperial mint, whilst the latter was elaborated in the studio of a provincial artist. The Coiffure has evidently been modelled after the same general type which is discernible in the "Faustina," and that of our sculpture. The whole hair-*weft* has been separated into distinct bands or *weftlets*, as in these; then each is made to assume a spiral form, and brought in its order to the back of the head, where it is folded up in regular succession, the result being a single rosette. The adoption of the two-fold involution represented in the anaglyph, which, as I have remarked,† was perhaps intended to carry out a symbolical type with exclusive reference to the Heræan impersonation, has caused the difference between the two head-dresses, that represented in the coin, and that of the sculpture.

I have now little more to add, excepting a few words on the mutilation of the epigraph, which my individual experience may possibly render of some weight in the general argument, or which may at least prove interesting. It is my fixed opinion, that the primary mischief done to this marble . . . that, I mean, which was observable ere it left Smýrna . . . was of ancient, not modern, date, and the result of design, not of accident, carelessness, or the natural progress of decay. I do not, however, as some might be disposed to do, attribute it to the Christians of its original locality, or regard it as the expression of their enmity to the Septimian family, but to Caracalla's deeply-rooted aversion to his consort and her father Plautianus, which led, in a brief period after her nup-

\* These coins are numbered 879. 880. 881. 882. in the Catalogue which has been published by the Rev. John A. Malet, F. T. C. D., p. 69.

† Vide *supr.* pp. 156. s.



vestigation of the probable date, and this he could only prosecute in the manner already detailed, and with a similar result, namely, that it ranged between the periods of Hadrian and Septimius Severus. His next step would be, to seek amongst the Augustæ of that interval (for to such the type of the coiffure would at once limit the observer of whom I speak) for some individual, one whom circumstances had rendered so obnoxious as to expose her to the contumely of having her name and titles erased from a public monument; and, as we have seen, it would not be long ere he made his selection. It would naturally devolve upon the Consort of Caracalla, a memorial of whom we may be certain that the vindictive temper of her husband would not have suffered, so far as he could prevent it, to remain.\* The identification of the anaglyph having been thus established, its Charisterial nature would follow as a legitimate consequence, leading to the restoration of the second line of its epigraph; and the Heræan impersonation, so peculiarly appropriate to the locality, a Samian town, would complete the first.

My reason for preferring to this the course of argument which I have adopted in the memoir is, that I could indulge no reasonable hope of so fully impressing my audience with my own conviction that this epigraph had been intentionally mutilated, as to make it the basis of my identification of the sculpture: for thus, the very groundwork of my reasoning would, in the eyes of most, have partaken of the weakness of an hypothesis.

I conclude this section with my final restoration of the epigraph, which I effect by substituting for the word *Ἀγαλμα*, in the first of my previous forms,†

\* The following may, perhaps, be regarded as a striking example of this. It is well known that sculptured memorials of Plautilla are exceedingly rare, which proportionately enhances the value of those that remain to us. One has been preserved in the Royal Collection of the Glyptothek in Munich, numbered 212., which the learned compiler of the descriptive catalogue of its treasures, Professor LUDWIG SCHORN, has noticed, under the heading "Femme Romaine," in the following terms: "On a donné à ce buste d'un travail non achevé et très endommagé le nom de Faustine cadette; cependant on aurait plus de raison pour le croire le buste de Plautille, épouse de Caracalla. Vid. Mongez, Icon. Rom. 49." This ascription fully explains the appearances here noted: the artist had not time to finish his task ere Plautilla's career terminated, and then his "Idol" was consigned "to the moles and the bats."

† Vide supra, p. 133.

the goddess-name by which I have demonstrated that Plautilla was known amongst the Hellenic states: this gives us the following:

ΤΗΝΝΕΑΝΗΡΑΝΕΙΣΤΗΝΝΕΑΝΜΥΗΣΙΩΝΠΟΛΙΝ  
ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑΤΗΣΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΑΣ < ΑΤΤΙΚΟΣ

Τὴν Νέαν Ἡραν, εἰς τὴν Νέαν Μυησίων Πόλιν,  
'Υπόμνημα τῆς εὐχαριστίας· Ἀττικός.

Attikós hath presented this bust of the New Héra, a memorial  
Of gratitude, to be erected in Neápolis of the Myesians.

SECTION III.

I proceed now to the division of my general subject, which I have termed the Archæological, as referring to the ancient artistic type, or, as we denominate it, fashion, in accordance wherewith these sculptures have been elaborated. With this end in view, I shall venture to extend my remarks beyond the bounds which alone might, at first sight, appear to be necessary; but for this I am quite certain that I shall have my claim to indulgence recognised by the auditory I address, aware, as it must be, of the close relationship which subsists between the zographic and glyptic modes of delineating external forms. Colour and its shades effect in one what Relief accomplishes in the other, but necessarily limited by its own inherent simplicity to a particular category of results; a truth of which the ancients appear to have been quite conscious, when they resorted, as in certain cases we have ocular evidence and the testimony of their writers to prove that they did, to the combination of colours with the pure lineaments of sculpture, to effect by this mean a fusion of the ideal and the actual; an approximation of the former to the familiar objects of sense, or in other words, of every-day life. Such meretricious adjuncts, by summoning which to its aid the glyptic art impairs its proper and essential dignity, the modern schools have, with excellent taste, discarded, judging aright that Relief, considered as the exponent of anatomical and geometrical proportions, is quite adequate in the hands of the accomplished artist to effect its own purposes.

The Greeks had several terms to express pictorial and sculptural results: Ἄγαλμα, and its diminutive, Ἀγαλμάτιον, Ἀνδριάς, Εἰκών, Ξόανον, Πίναξ, Τύπος. To all these Appellatives were frequently subjoined, in order to the designating the nature of the material which was employed, or the class of art to which the work belonged. Thus we meet with Ἄγαλμα μαρμάρινον, or λίθινον; Εἰκὼν μαρμαρίνη, or λαϊνέη; γραπτὴ, or γραπτὴ ἔνσπλος, or γραπτὴ ἐν ὄπλοις ἐπιχρῦσοις, or lastly, γραπτὴ τελεία, which we find sometimes expressed, πίναξ τέλειος.

In order to the correct appreciation of these terms, I beg to offer a few remarks, commencing with the first, Ἄγαλμα. The primitive import of this has been stated by Hesýchios, Πάν ἐφ' ᾧ τις ἀγάλλεται, and so also the author of the Etymologicum Magnum, καλλώπισμα, following Homer in a well-known passage;\* and Heródotos,† writing of the Issedones; Τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ψιλώσαντες καὶ ἐκκαθήραντες καταχρυσουοῦσι· καὶ ἔπειτα ἅτε ἀγάλματι χρέωνται, that is, “as an ornament in which they pride themselves.” But much the most frequent sense of ἄγαλμα in this author is ξόανον, which was applied distinctively to express “a statue of a god:” in accordance with which we read, Τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Διὸς,‡ and τοῦ Πανός:§ Ἄγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος κεχρυσωμένον: || Ἐν δὲ τῷ περιβλημένῳ τόπῳ νηὸς τε ἐνὶ καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνέστηκε Περσέος,\*\* namely, of a demigod. The Attic writers, however, apply it by no means exclusively to the designating statues of the objects of their worship, but, as Heródotos†† in certain cases shares this, its peculiar meaning, with Ἀνδριάς, so the former very frequently express by it sculptured Human forms. This latitude of signification occurs very often in Tituli, including another extension of it on the authority of Pausanías, namely, to anaglyptic sculpture.

Ἀνδριάς, in its proper import, means a statue of a human form; but is sometimes, as has been already remarked, used to express one of a deity, only, however, as delineated under the semblance of that form. This, its primary and most general import, that is, a representation of the human form, led to a farther expansion of its meaning, as appears from a passage in Plato's “Republic:” †† Ὅσπερ οὖν ἂν εἰ ἡμᾶς ἀνδρῖᾶντας γράφοντας προσελθὼν ἂν τις εἴψεγε,

\* Iliad, Ὀ. 144.

† Vide iv. 26.

‡ p. 42.

§ p. 46.

|| vi. 118.

\*\* p. 91.

†† vi. 118. fin. Perhaps also, i. 183. p. m.

‡‡ De Republ. iv. p. 420. e.

λέγων ὅτι οὐ τοῖς καλλίστοις τοῦ ζώου τὰ κάλλιστα φάρμακα προστίθεν. Here *ἀνδριάντας γράφοντας* unquestionably should not be rendered "painting statues," which was only an occasional resource of the sculptor, but "painting pictures of the human form," in the perfect delineation of which Colours are always requisite.

The next term to which I shall address myself is *Εἰκών*, which offers a very wide field for illustration. Agreeably to its Etymon, it signifies Representation, Resemblance, Image, and consequently embraces both Painting and Sculpture in their largest acceptations, whether in whole or half-length, in the perfect statue or statuette, the bust or the herma, of whatever material, including also Anaglyphs in every gradation of relief. It was usual, however, to define these several references of the term by qualifying appellatives, as we have already intimated, and shall demonstrate more fully in the course of these observations. One remark may be made, in passing: that the conception of similitude inherent in *εἰκών* originated the adverbial use of its fourth case, corresponding to the Latin "Instar," an instance of which we meet in the verse of a Memnonian titulus\* commencing, ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC . ΕΩΟΥ . ΕΙΚΟΝΑ, that is, κατ' εἰκόνα, "after the similitude."

That *Εἰκών*, by itself, was used to express pictorial representation is evident from a passage in Lucian,† wherein it is determined to this meaning, apart from any other: *Τοιαύτη σοι καὶ αὐτή, Λυκίνε, ἀνακείσθω ἢ εἰκόν.* Thus also, in a titulus of the Karian Aphrodisiás, which I have published in my second volume of Inscriptions,‡ we read: ANATEΘΗΝΑΙ . ΔΕ . ΑΥΤΟΥ . ΕΙΚΟΝΑΣ, namely, "portraits," a sense evidently fixed by the corresponding passages in the two inscriptions which follow, wherein epithets are added determinative of the sense. To these we shall shortly have occasion to refer.

Again, that *Εἰκὼν*, taken singly, may signify a statue is evident from its application by Heródotos when speaking of the Egyptian priests: § *Ἀρχιερεῖν γὰρ ἕκαστος αὐτόθι ἴσταται ἐπὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ζόης εἰκόνα ἑωυτοῦ* and still more expressly in the following: || *Τὴν μάλιστα στέρεας τῶν γυναικῶν Δαρεῖος, εἰκὼ χρυσῆν σφυρήλατον ἐποιήσατο*, that is, "a statue of malleated gold." So also De-

\* Fascic. III. p. 266. n. CCCLXXXIV. 4., to the illustrations in my note on which add the following from Herodian. I. 9. v. fin. καὶ νομίματα ἐκόμισαν ἐκτετυπωμένα τὴν ἐκείνου εἰκόνα.

† Vide "Imagines," xviii.

§ Vide II. 143.

‡ Fascic. II. p. 25. n. LII. 9.

|| VII. 69. fin.

mosthénes :\* Σπάσαι δὲ καὶ εἰκόνας τρεῖς ἑνδεκαπήχεις ἐν τῷ Βοσπορίῳ, στεφανούμενον τὸν δᾶμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπὸ τῷ δάμῳ τῶν Βυζαντίων καὶ Περιωθίων. Lucian may also be cited in confirmation of this : † Εἰλατίωνι τὰν εἰκόνα ὁ Δᾶμος εἶ ὀρχησαμένῃ τὰν μάχαν.

Lastly, that *Εἰκών*, similarly placed, may signify a resemblance expressed in Relief, is apparent from the use made of it by three of the Evangelists in their passages respecting the incident of the tribute-money. ‡ The Imperial effigy, it is true, is in these denominated *εἰκών*, precisely as we apply the term to the anaglyph of Thelymítres, without reference in either case to the process of elaboration, but simply to the result, namely, a likeness. Otherwise we should imagine some such adjuncts to it as *ἐνκεχαραγμένη* in the first, and *ἀνάγλυπτος* in the second of these instances.

This leads me to exemplify the use of *Εἰκὼν* accompanied by certain determinative epithets, some of which I have already enumerated. We meet, in the first place, *Εἰκὼν γραπτῆ*, or, as it is sometimes expressed, *ἐν γραφαῖς*. This signifies a Portrait. Thus Herodianós, in a passage relative to Caracalla : § εἶθ' ὅπου δὲ καὶ χλεύης εἶδομεν ἀξίας εἰκόνας ἐν γραφαῖς κ. τ. λ. ; and Heródotos, in a clause cited in the preceding section : || *Εἰκόνα ἐωτοῦ γραφῆ εἰκασμένην*, sc. *ἀνέθηκε*. Again ; in the Didymeian titulus which Böckh\*\* has published from WALPOLE, we read : **ΚΑΙ.ΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΑΝ.ΕΙΚΟΝΙ.ΓΡΑΠΤΗΙ.ΕΠΙΧΡΥΣΩΙ.** The first of these epithets defines the Class of art, the second, the Style ; that is, it was a likeness of Ithyklês, the individual to whom the honour had been accorded, painted on a gold-ground, and most probably, because most usually, on a board of circular or oval form, the Greek term for which was Ὀπλον, corresponding to the Roman "Clupeum." There can be no manner of doubt respecting the truth of this interpretation, when epigraphs are considered in which more than one of the terms of art previously enumerated are used ; for

\* Orat. de Corona, p. 256. 11. Comp. Leptin. p. 478. 4. † Lysias, Fr. LXXVIII. Aristotél, Rhetoric. II. 28.

‡ Vide Saltat. XIV.

§ Vide S. Matth. XXII. 20. et cet. Lucian has the following passage in his "Pseudómantis," XVIII. : *Γραφαί τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ, καὶ εἰκόνες, καὶ ξόανα, τὰ μὲν ἐκ χαλκοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀργύρου εἰκασμένα.* The class of these *εἰκόνες* is more fully explained in c. LVIII. by the words *νόμισμα καινὸν ἐγκεχαραγμένον.*

§ H. R. IV. 8.

|| Supra, p. 116.

\*\* C. I. II. p. 561. n. 2879. 8.



then we become possessed of a clue to guide us to the meaning of each, in consequence of one standing in either absolute or implied antithesis to another. I have, therefore, regarded it as wholly unnecessary to enter into a detailed notice of the arguments by which the truth, in the various aspects of this question, has been elicited,\* as a connected view of the authorities to which I now proceed to appeal will be amply sufficient to establish it on satisfactory grounds.

Such authorities are the following. I have published three Tituli copied at Aphrodisiás,† in which posthumous honours were decreed by the municipal authorities of that city to each of three youths, the sons of a certain Kallías, of whom he had been successively bereaved. These honours were, *Εἰκόνας γραπταὶ ἐν ὄπλοις ἐπιχρύσοις*, *Ἀγάλματα*, and *Ἀνδριάντες*. Precisely the same with these are the tributes of respect mentioned in another titulus from the same site, as having been rendered to the memory of a certain Mýon by his surviving parent, with the sole exception of the limiting appellation *γραφτῶν* being left out; the part of the epigraph with which we are concerned proceeding thus: ‡ **ΕΙΚΟΝΩΝ . ΤΕ . ΕΝ . ΟΠΛΟΙΣ . ΕΠΙΧΡΥΣΟΙΣ . ΑΝΑΘΕΣΕΣΙΝ . ΚΑΙ . ΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΩΝ . ΚΑΙ . ΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΩΝ**. This, however, was an omission of no moment, as the introduction of the words *ἐν ὄπλοις ἐπιχρύσοις* sufficiently indicates both the Department and the Style of these *εἰκόνας*; that they were pictorial resemblances, and executed on a gold-ground.

It may fairly be assumed in all these cases, that the terms of art which are employed cannot, with any reason, be esteemed synonymous; in other words, we must regard the *εἰκόνας γραπταὶ* as quite distinct in meaning from the *ἀγάλματα*, and both these from the *ἀνδριάντες*. Now, it will hardly be contended that the last of these expressed any products of art but Statues, in accordance with the almost universal acceptance of the term. The direct consequence of this is, that *ἀγάλματα*, as never applied to Pictorial art, must have meant *Anaglyphs*; and this, moreover, is a sense which, as I have stated before, Pausanías sanctions.§ We have thus the two classes of the department of Sculpture re-

\* Vide Böckh's, in his C. I. II. pp. 662. ss. on n. 3068. B. I. 27.

† Vide Fascic. II. pp. 25. ss. nn. LII. LIII. LIV.

‡ Böckh, II. p. 513. n. 2771. Col. I. II. 10. ss.

§ Supra, p. 167. Comp. Siebelis. Præfat. ad Pausan. T. I. p. xlii.

presented in these tituli by expressions appropriate to each; whence it follows, by just inference, that the *εἰκόνας γραπταί* must have been the representatives of that of Painting; and this is, moreover, conformable to the constantly occurring designation thereof, by *γραφῆ*, as well as of the artist by *γραφεὺς*. In illustration of this I may cite a clause from the description given by Pausanias of the throne of the Olympian Zeus: \* 'Ο δὲ Θρόνος ποικίλος μὲν χρυσῷ καὶ λίθοις, ποικίλος δὲ καὶ ἔβενῳ καὶ ἔλεφαντι· ἔστι καὶ ζῶα τε ἐπ' αὐτοῦ γραφῆ μεμιμημένα, καὶ ἀγάλματα ἔστιν εἰργασμένα. The meaning of Ζῶα here is, "living forms," whether of gods, men, or animals, with pictorial representations of which the Throne was decorated; and Ἀγάλματα has been interpreted as corresponding to the Roman "Sigilla," that is, Statuettes, such as those which are enumerated farther on. † I see no reason, however, to prevent our supposing that εἰργασμένα may here signify ἀνάγλυπτα, and that the artistic results denominated ἀγάλματα εἰργασμένα may have corresponded to our "Medallions."

Additional evidence of this being the correct meaning of *Εἰκὼν γραπτῆ* is supplied by the important Teian inscription respecting the ephēbarch Aischrion which Böckh has published, amongst others, from the Sherard Papers in the British Museum; wherein we have a rather full enumeration of these terms of art, accompanied in each case with an explanatory concrete. It proceeds thus: ‡ ΟΙ . ΕΦΗΒΟΙ . ΚΑΙ . ΟΙ . ΝΕΟΙ . ΚΑΙ . ΟΙ . ΜΕΤΕΧΟΝΤΕΣ . ΤΟΥ . ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΟΥ . ΑΙΣΧΡΙΩΝΑ . ΜΕΛΕΑΓΡΟΥ . ΕΦΗΒΑΡΧΗΣΑΝΤΑ . ΚΑΛΩΣ . ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩ . ΧΡΥΣΩ . ΚΑΙ . ΕΙΚΟΝΙ . ΓΡΑΠΤΗ . ΚΑΙ . ΕΙΚΟΝΙ . ΓΡΑΠΤΗ . ΤΕΛΕΙΑ . ΚΑΙ . ΕΙΚΟΝΙ . ΧΑΛΚΗ . ΚΑΙ . ΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΙ . ΜΑΡΜΑΡΙΝΩ . ΚΑΙ . ΕΙΚΟΝΙ . ΧΡΥΣΗ. Here we perceive a sixfold honour accorded to the Chief of the youths, with the last five particulars of which we are at present concerned. These I translate in their order: "a half-length portrait, a full-length portrait, a bust in bronze, a marble bust in anaglyph, a bust in gold;" to prove which, I proceed on the assumption, that the artistic terms in this enumeration are severally distinct, that is, the *Εἰκὼν γραπτῆ* from the *Εἰκὼν γραπτῆ τελεία*: these again from the *Εἰκόνας χαλκή* and *χρυσή*, and the Ἀγάλμα μαρμαρίνον from all. The learned epigraphist above mentioned has, it is true, decided that the last of these signifies "a marble statue;" § but

\* Vide v. 11. 2.

† Comp. Böckh, II. p. 663. b.

‡ C. I. II. p. 673. n. 3085.

§ Id. p. 663. a. Böckh's argument is, that it would be unworthy of a municipal body to offer

this can only be a matter of opinion, inasmuch as we have already seen that Anaglyphs are often styled Ἀγάλματα; and what there is, in consequence, to prevent our supposing that this class of high art had its representative in the foregoing detail, that accordingly, Ἀγάλμα μαρμάρινον may have been a Bust in relief, of a style of execution similar to that of the University sculptures, it is difficult to conceive. The Εἰκόνες mentioned in the third and fifth places may have been Statues in their respective metals, or Protomaί, as I have chosen to understand the passage, or Hermaί, all these being consistent with the general meaning of Εἰκόν. Unless, therefore, we exclude the pictorial department from being represented on this occasion, which seems scarcely reasonable, we have no alternative but to regard its right as respected in the presence of the Εἰκόνες γραπταί: the first of these signifying "a half-length portrait," painted, doubtless, in the customary style on an oval or circular shield with a gold-ground (ἐν ὄπλῳ ἐπιχρῦσῳ), and the second, the τελεία, expressing one of "a full-length."

That I am correct in this position, namely, that the addition of τελεία converts the Εἰκὼν γραπτὴ into "a full-length," will hardly be questioned in the presence of the following passage from Herodianός.\* His words are, when writing of Elagabalus on a certain occasion: Εἰκόνα μεγίστην γράψας παντὸς ἑαυτοῦ οἴος προῖόν τε καὶ ἱερουργῶν ἐφαίνετο, that is, "a Portrait of amplest dimensions, of his whole person." What more intelligible exégesis we could have of Εἰκὼν γραπτὴ τελεία, as well as of its synonym, Πίναξ τέλειος,† than is afforded by this passage of the historian, I find it difficult to imagine. The same holds good in the instance of another remarkable Teian inscription,‡ wherein certain honours are mentioned as having been decreed by a certain College (τὸ Κοινὸν τῶν συναγωγιστῶν) to a distinguished Benefactor named Kráton, one of which was, ΑΝΑΘΕΙΝΑΙ . ΔΕ . ΑΥΤΟΥ . ΚΑΙ . ΕΙΚΟΝΑ . ΕΝ . ΤΩΙ . ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΩΙ .

a mere anaglyph: to which I reply, hardly more so than to accept one from an individual to be set up in a conspicuous position in the city subjected to its control, as was unquestionably the case with the sculpture of Attikós. Supr. pp. 115. a. 131. ss.

\* H. R. v. 5. m.

† See the passage in the "Life of Lykúrgos," by the Pseudo-Plutarch, cited by Βόσκη in C. I. II. p. 664. a.

‡ C. I. II. p. 661. n. 3068. B. l. 27.

**ΓΡΑΠΤΗΝ . ΤΕΛΕΙΑΝ.** This we must also conclude to have been a Portrait of life-size, and to be susceptible of the same illustration, otherwise the addition of *τελείαν*, as of *τελεία* in the former instance, would have been absolutely nugatory.

Some may urge, it is true, against the applicability of the clause in Herodianós as a basis of illustration, the apparent emphasis of *μεγίστην*, which might seem to imply that the "whole length" he mentions had been one of supernatural dimensions: in other words, that the Portrait of the Augustus expressed the Ideal so familiar to the Egyptians, who were accustomed to symbolize the indomitable energy and prowess of their victorious rulers through the medium of painting or sculptures far exceeding the life-size. I submit, however, that this supposition is scarcely reconcilable with the concluding words, *οἷος προΐών*, etc.: "Such as he was wonted to appear when coming forth to offer sacrifice." Nothing superior to the life-size seems fairly to be deducible from *μεγίστην*, when taken in connexion with these expressions, which serve to explain *παντός ἑαυτοῦ*, just as the latter, in its turn, is exegetical of *μεγίστην*.

My auditory will have remarked, that these *Εἰκόνας* are sometimes termed briefly *ἔνοπλοι*, at other times *γραπταὶ ἐν ὄπλοις*, but generally, more at length, *γραπταὶ ἐν ὄπλοις ἐπιχρύσοις*. With respect to these designations I may premise, for the sake of clearness, and as introductory to my farther observations, that I conceive them to be allied to each other as Genus and Species. The first I regard as comprehending under its more general form of expression both Painting and Sculpture; the last two as restricted to Painting alone by the concrete *γραπταί*. I esteem it the more necessary to state this, as the whole three have been treated by no mean authority, but in my opinion somewhat precipitately, as strictly synonymous; an assumption which would effectually exclude the anaglyphs before us from being ranked, as I conceive they have a full right to be, under the generic title of *εἰκόνας ἔνοπλοι*, and as such entitled to be considered as representatives of an Archaic style of art.

I now proceed to explain the import, and trace the history, of these *ὄπλα*, from the earliest notices of them which we possess: secondly, I shall submit my reasons for extending the designation, *εἰκόνας ἔνοπλοι*, so as to comprehend the department of sculpture: thirdly, I propose to connect them with, by showing that they were the precursors of, the Medallion style: lastly, I shall

state my reasons for considering such anaglyphs as those before us to be true exponents of the primitive type of art. Should I blend with these topics such illustrative references to the kindred department as may occasionally suggest themselves, it will be solely in pursuance of the method with which I commenced; one resulting from the extreme difficulty of disuniting considerations of the "Glyptá" and the "Graptá" in any discussions of this nature.

The descriptive concrete *ἔνοπλος*, that is, *ἐν ὄπλῳ*, signifies "in a shield," the word having been borrowed from military phraseology, in which *ὄπλον* was a general term including every article of warlike equipment, and its plural *ὄπλα* expressed defensive armour in particular, namely, the Cuirass or the Shield. I now speak with reference to the use made of these terms by Herodotus,\* himself an Asiatic Greek: but we shall find the singular also employed in tituli to express the derivative artistic meaning with which we are now more immediately concerned.

In the case of Portraits, the material employed in preparing these Shields appears to have been wood, always, as I conceive, overlaid with gold; and hence the epithet *ἐπίχρυσος* in the more complete designation. On this ground the artist laid his colours, and traced his resemblances. A memorial of this kind was, as we have seen, essentially honorary: decreed by governing bodies, or communities, as testimonies of the esteem in which citizens of eminence were held; and sometimes suspended from the walls of public edifices, such as Temples, Gymnásia, Basiliká, or the like, so as to be viewed at all times; sometimes deposited in apartments, called from them *ὄπλοθήκαι*, the "Armaria" of the Romans, whence they were drawn out and exhibited on occasions of solemnity.†

These *ὄπλα* were known to the people last mentioned under the corresponding appellations "Clypei," or "Clupea;" whence the forms painted, or expressed in relief upon them, were termed "clypeatæ imagines;" a designation which seems to have been nothing else but a literal version of *εἰκόνας ἔνοπλοι*. I have here used the words "expressed in relief" with reference to these Clupea, and proleptically; with what intent, and how authorized, I now proceed to explain.

We find their origin in Roman times traced by Plinius as far back as the

\* Vide iv. 23. fin. ix. 63. fin. Comp. Schweigh. Lexic. H. T. ii. p. 152. b.

† Böckh, i. p. 172. n. 125. 6.

age of Appius Claudius, the founder of the illustrious "Gens Claudia." He expresses himself thus :\* "Suorum clypeos in sacro vel publico privatim dicare primus instituit, ut reperio, Appius Claudius, qui consul cum Servilio fuit anno urbis cclix. Posuit enim in Bellonæ æde majores suos; placuitque in excelso spectari et titulos honorum legi." That the "imagines," or semblances on these "clypei," were expressed in Relief, might be inferred from the account which he continues to give of them in the next section, as well as from the étymon that he assigns to the term itself: for he attributes the next dedication of "clypei" to Marcus Æmilius, in the year of the City dclxxi., and then adds: "Id quoque Martio exemplo: scutis enim, qualibus apud Trojam pugnatum, continebantur imagines; unde et nomen habuere clypeorum." This passage can convey no other meaning but the following: that the "scutum" which presented an "Imago" on its surface was termed, for that reason, a "clypeus," that is, it was known by a designation which, from its étymon, would have been absurd, had not the "Imago" been an Anaglyph. "But," some one may say, "this étymon may have only existed in our author's fancy; I pause, therefore, ere I admit a conclusion which pre-supposes its truth." To this I reply, that, supposing even "Clypeus" not to be formed from γλυπτός, the comparison of the shields dedicated by Æmilius with those which had been used during the Ilian war, is amply sufficient to place them beyond the limits of the Graptá, with a recollection present to our minds so vivid as that of the shield of Achilleús.

So far, therefore, as we have proceeded, we have found reason to class the Roman "imagines clypeatæ," or "in clypeis," under the head of Reliefs. In later ages we find them principally ranked under Portraiture, and briefly designated "clypei;" or, if expressed in sculpture, carried out in the Medallion style. The former, however, strictly corresponding to the εἰκόνες γραπταί of the Greeks, gradually usurped the position of supremacy, as presenting in most cases a more attainable result. For example; Macrobius† mentions one, a half-length portrait of Quintus Cicero; not, it is true, in an artistic spirit, but for the sake of

\* Vide xxxv. 3. 1.

† Saturnal. II. 3. "Nec Q. Ciceroni fratri circa similem mordacitatem pepercit: nam cum in ea provincia, quam ille rexerat, vidisset clypeatam imaginem ejus, ingentibus lineamentis usque ad pectus ex more pictam, (erat autem Quintus ipse stature parvæ,) ait, 'Frater meus dimidius major est quam totus.'"

recording a witticism of his illustrious relative, the Orator, at his expense. Trebellius,\* also mentions a "clypeus aureus" in honour of the Emperor Claudius, and Suetonius† speaks of a similar mark of distinction conferred upon Caligula. A fourth instance may be cited from Capitolinus,‡ who informs us, that to the honours which were rendered to the memory of Hadrian, his adopted son and successor added the dedication of "a most magnificent shield."

These examples relate to such "clypei" as were termed by the Greeks *εἰκόνες γραπταὶ ἐν ὄπλοις ἐπιχρύσοις*. We learn, however, from a characteristic anecdote concerning the well-known Pontius Pilatus, which Philon has recorded, that there existed "clypei" to which the first part of this designation was inappropriate. He writes, that this governor, wishing on a certain occasion to gratify his hatred of the Jewish nation, under the pretence of doing honour to his master, caused shields overlaid with gold to be dedicated with all the customary solemnities within the precincts of Herodes' palace: but deeming it expedient to qualify the insult, lest he should shock overmuch the religious principles of the Jews, he left out the Imperial effigy, contenting himself with introducing merely words explanatory of the purport of the offering, and his own name as the dedicator.§

To return: it may, perhaps, be reasonably concluded from the account which has been given of the "imagines clypeatæ," a designation in such evident proximity to the Greek *εἰκόνες ἐνοπλοῖ*, that the latter also included sculptural as well as pictorial resemblances. I am aware, that in drawing this inference, I am at issue with the learned Böckh, who would limit the Greek expression to its designation of Portraits, regarding it as merely an abridged

\* In Claudio, III. "Illi clypeus aureus, vel ut grammatici loquuntur, clupeum aureum, senatus totius judicio in Romana curia collocatum est; ut etiam nunc videtur expressa thorace vultus ejus imago."

† In Caligula, XVI. sub f. "Quas ob res inter reliquos honores decretus est ei clypeus aureus, quem quotannis certo die collegia sacerdotum in Capitolium ferrent, Senatu prosequente, etc."

‡ In Pio, v. "Clypeum Hadriano magnificentissimum posuit, et sacerdotes instituit."

§ Phil. Jud. Ed. Mangey, vol. II. p. 591. a. Οὗτος (scil. Πιλάτος) οὐκ ἐπὶ τιμῇ Τιβερίου μάλλον, ἢ ἕνεκα τοῦ λυπεῖσθαι τὸ πλῆθος, ἀνατίθειεν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἱερὸπολιν (sc. Hierosolyma, τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν in S. Matth. XXVII. 53.) Ἡρώδου βασιλείῳ ἐπιχρύσουσι ἀσπίδας, μήτε μορφὴν ἔχούσας, μήτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων, ἔξω τινὸς ἐπιγραφῆς ἀναγκαίας, ἢ δύο ταῦτα ἐμῆναι, τὸν τε ἀναθέντα, καὶ ὑπὲρ οὗ ἢ ἀνάθεσις.

form for *εἰκόνες γραπταὶ ἐν ὄπλοις ἐπιχρῶσις*.<sup>\*</sup> It may, however, be asked: if we thus set bounds to the Greek technic, why not also to the Roman, unless we choose to grant a richer nomenclature to the people who received than to that which conferred the gift of art? The answer is clear: because we should have to surmount the express testimony of Plinius, whose "clypeated images" embrace both departments of art. But exclusively of this; as we have seen that the designation *εἰκόνες* is so general as to include all types of the Glyptic as well as of the Graptic art, why not enlarge correspondently the domain of the *ἔνοπλοι*, so as to comprise not merely the *εἰκόνες γραπταί*, but also those which we may term *γλυπταί*, *ἀνάγλυπτοι*, or *ἐξεργασμένοι*? The truth is, that in consequence of the vagueness of the Greek technology in the department of sculpture . . . one, however, more apparent than real,† as we shall shortly see . . . a large amount of gratuitous assertion has characterized the language of archaeologists in dealing with its artistic terms.

A clause from one of the inscriptions of Κύμη, which Böckh himself has cited,‡ may serve to exemplify this: ΟΝΤΕΘΗΝ (*ἀνατεθῆναι*). ΔΕ . ΑΥΤΩ . ΚΑΙ . ΕΙΚΟΝΑΣ . ΓΡΑΠΤΑΝ . ΤΕ . ΕΝ . ΟΠΛΩ . ΕΝΧΡΥΣΩ . ΚΑΙ . ΧΑΛΚΙΑΝ . ΚΑΤΤΑ . ΑΥΤΑ (*ἑσαύτως*). ΔΕ . ΚΑΙ . ΜΑΡΜΑΡΙΑΝ . ΚΑΙ . ΧΡΥΣΙΑΝ . ΕΝ . ΤΩ . ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΩ . We perceive here the *εἰκὼν γράπτα* distinguished from the *χαλκία*, *μαρμαρία*, and *χρυσία*; the former as a portrait, from the latter, as either statues or busts (*προτομαί*), and, if these, executed either in their complete proportions or in anaglyph. Böckh has espoused, in opposition to Völkel, the first of these alternatives, but we may ask, on what grounds that we can at all deem certain? *Εἰκὼν* may signify, as has been shown, a Resemblance in Relief; why then withhold that legitimate acceptation here, or object to our even supposing that all the three were, like the Portrait, *ἔνοπλοι*? For aught we know,

\* Vide Böckh, C. I. II. p. 126. n. 2059. 40., and the note in p. 128. a.

† The Greeks appear to have been sufficiently precise when the occasion demanded it. Thus, in a Rheneian epitaph (Böckh, II. p. 248. n. 2321.), a stèle presenting an anaglyph precisely similar to those referred to towards the close of this Section, pp. 183. s., is styled *γλυπτή*. The epigraph underneath, it is true, is in metre: but we may be certain, that the epithet would not have been added, had it been contrary to propriety to have used it.

‡ Vide C. I. II. p. 664. b. The whole inscription has been given in p. 849.



or any archæologist can satisfactorily prove, the *εἰκὼν μαρμαρία* may have been of the precise type of art which appears before us in the University sculptures; just as we have conjectured of the *ἄγαλμα μαρμάρινον* in a Teian inscription cited above,\* and of the *ἀγάλματα* which are mentioned in those of Aphrodisiás.†

One thing is, however, abundantly clear, whatever may be thought of these conjectures, which is, that the "clypeated images" had a position within the domain of sculpture as well as of painting. Had it been usual with the Greek artists to attach, in all cases, specific designations in the instance of the former, as it was in that of the latter; to term, for example, a work of art such as those before us, *εἰκὼν γλυπτὴ ἔνοπλος*, or, *ἄγαλμα ἔνοπλον*, in the same way that a half-length in Painting was distinguished as *εἰκὼν γραπτὴ ἔνοπλος*, or, *ἐν ὄπλῳ ἐπιχρῶσα*, more correctness at the present day would have been the result, and a considerable amount of controversy saved. This, however, we cannot suppose that the authors of the several epigraphs esteemed in any wise necessary, as, without doubt, the notices which they did introduce were amply sufficient for their purposes, the terms of art being more critically understood with the works of art present to serve as their illustrations. There may be some weight also in the following observations: that as Sculpture, or the processes allied thereto, were in all probability the primitive modes employed of expressing forms, no qualifying adjunct would, in its case, be considered necessary; whereas Painting would require such, being in its first stages the exception, and not the rule.

I conclude this Head with repeating, that I attach much importance to the denominations which I have cited above from Suetonius, Plinius, Macrobius, and others, as aids towards our forming just conceptions in this matter. We have "Clypei" or "Clupea," "Imagines in Clypeis," and "Imagines Clypeatæ," corresponding respectively to *ὄπλα*, *εἰκόνας ἐν ὄπλοις*, and *εἰκόνας ἔνοπλοις*. The first of those, "Clypei," was merely an abbreviated form for the last two, which I have not observed paralleled by a corresponding use of *ὄπλα*, excepting as forming a part of the compound *ὄπλοθήκη*, which means "a repository of the shields," that is, of the Portraits painted on such. The case is different with

\* Supr. p. 171.

† Supr. p. 170.

respect to the second and third denominations, as illustrating the last of which I may cite an Olbian titulus that Böckh has edited in his second volume;\* a decree in favour of an individual named Theoklês, one of the clauses of which appears as follows: **ΑΝΑΤΕΘΗΝΑΙ . ΑΥΤΟΥ . ΕΙΚΟΝΑ . ΕΝΟΠΛΟΝ . ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑ . ΕΝ . ΤΩ . ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΩ.** Here the learned epigraphist lays it down as certain, that the correct version of *εικόνα ἔνοπλον* is “*tabulam pictam*,” notwithstanding the absence of the almost invariable concrete *γραπτήν*. This may be true; yet it appears a somewhat arbitrary assumption, with the above-cited passage of Plinius † before us, in which the co-ordinate expression “*Imagines in scutis*” most unquestionably relates to the glyptic art. Would it not be preferable, instead of imposing dicta, to avail ourselves of an authority ready to our hands, and interpret *εικόνα ἔνοπλον*, “*imaginem in scuto*;” in modern language, “a medallion anaglyph”? That our authority is Roman creates no manner of difficulty when it is considered that Plinius treats of a department in the arts which his countrymen of Rome cultivated only at second-hand, as indeed every other type of high art: for it must not be forgotten, that the Greeks redressed the balance which indicated their political inferiority by their unapproachable eminence in all pursuits which confer his essential dignity on man; that,

“*Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes  
Intulit agresti Latio.*” ‡

I am now conducted to the third head of this inquiry, namely, the true origin of those beautiful forms of which decorative architecture has so profusely availed itself: I speak of the embossed effigies on circular or oval areas with which all are acquainted; and not of these alone, but also of coins and medals, the obverses of which exhibit Heads or Protomai. I esteem it as certain, at least in the highest degree probable, that the precursors of these in the order of artistic sequence were the very *εἰκόνες ἔνοπλοι*, or “*imagines clypeatæ*” of which we have just been treating; and therefore it is, that I have retained the designation “*Large Medallion Busts*,” from the heading prefixed by Dr. Todd to his Notices respecting the University sculptures in the Proceedings

\* Supr. p. 177. note (\*)

† Supr. p. 176.

‡ Horat. Epist. l. 1. 156. a.

of the Academy. We are, however, to guard against the oversight of receiving this Title as with absolute correctness designative of the class of sculpture to which they belong. Existing, as this type did, from the era of nascent art, when no numismatist can suppose that Medals were thought of, much less Medallions, it is evidently, in an archæological sense, correct that it should replace, as a denomination, one which strictly is expressive of a class of its descendants. Medallion is, as all know, the Italian "Medaglione," the French "Médailon:" therefore, to use the term without due caution, as characterizing the anaglyphs before us, might contribute to the inversion of a genealogy in the arts. This caution consists in our understanding it as applied, without reference to the order of time, in a purely descriptive sense; as an artistic term which every one comprehends, and free from the pedantry which would unquestionably attach itself to the more correct nomenclature of Macrobius, or the Greek tituli.

This observation acquires additional force by considering that, in all probability, the "clypeated images," like the present anaglyphs, presented full fronts. I believe this to have been the succession in art; firstly, to represent the lineaments in full; then, in profile, or side-face. A remarkable passage of Plato goes far in establishing this, namely, the progress of the glyptic art from the direct front of the *εἰκὼν ἔνοπλος* to the side-face of the Medals or Medallions. He writes thus: \* *Φόβος οὖν ἔνεστιν, εἰ μὴ κόσμιοι ᾤμεν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, ὅπως μὴ καὶ αὐθις διασχισθησόμεθα, καὶ περιῖμεν ἔχοντες, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν ταῖς στήλαις, καταγραφὴν ἐκτετυπωμένοι, διαπερισμένοι κατὰ τὰς ρίνας γεγονότες, ὥσπερ λίσκαι.* The penalty of which the speaker is here so apprehensive, and which he foreshadows by so intelligible a comparison, seems very evidently to mark the art-sequence to which I have adverted.

If now we comprehend under the term *στήλαι*, which the Philosopher has used to express the Tablets on which his Profiles (*κατάγραπτα*) were sculptured, tablets of every form which it was customary to employ, we come at once to the class of "clypeated reliefs." These do not lose their essential character by a diminution of their size, or a change of the material in which they are elaborated. They may be in Gold, Silver, or Bronze, and may vary from any con-

\* Sympos. p. 193. a.

ceivable dimensions to the minutest, yet assert their claim to the title of works in clypeated relief (ἔνοπλα) just as fairly as those before us; a claim, however, which I cannot but hold to be of comparatively recent date, were it for no other reason than the improved artistic skill which was requisite to the proper artistic delineation of the Katagraph.

I am now conducted to my fourth head, which will terminate my remarks on these interesting sculptures: but before I proceed to this, and thus close my memoir, I pause for a moment to revert to the *Εἰκόνες γραπταὶ ἔνοπλοι*, and examine how it has fared with them in the progress of high art.

The perishable nature of the materials employed in works of this kind has denied them the same longevity which has fallen to the lot of their kindred, the "Glyptá;" yet we still have a glimpse of them in their descendants, and those a numerous train: for to what other originals is it possible to assign the rounded areas and gold-grounds which characterized so long the Byzantine school of art? From the Capital of the Eastern Empire they travelled westwards; and how long they retained possession of the field ere the age of amelioration arrived is clearly proved by the still extant specimens of mediæval art which we possess, and the more elaborate productions of the German schools from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century. Whether the employment of this ornature amongst ourselves, either in the frames of our pictures, or along their inner margins, or in those elliptical bands which I have sometimes observed in glazings of a date not very remote from present times, argues a compromise between traditionary predilections and an improved taste, I submit to more competent judges to decide: but of this I am certain, that the tenacity with which I have remarked the humble Greek artist still clinging to the use of the board and the barbaric gilding of his progenitors, has more than once recalled me, in the birth-soil of our European art, to the *Εἰκόνες γραπταὶ ἐν ὄπλοις ἐπιχρύσοις* of the ancient Temples and Basiliká.

To return from this short digression. I conceive that at this stage of our inquiry a very few words will be sufficient to prove the closeness of the bond which unites the University Sculptures to those clypeated reliefs of which I have submitted the history. My auditory will please to observe that, in order to form a correct judgment, we are to lose sight altogether, in an archæological sense, of the rectangular stéle which incloses in each case the proper stéle of

the anaglyph. There are, in effect, two stélai in both these monuments; the Primary, or Proper, being that from which the busts immediately protrude; the Secondary, or Subordinate, that which extends beyond the former, and subserved to purposes merely mechanical. Of this, in forming our conclusion as to the Type, or Fashion, of art, we are to take no account whatsoever, its purpose having solely been to attach the anaglyph to the wall in a permanent position, as also to provide space for the introduction of a sufficient epigraph, comprising at least the following notices: the Original whom the sculpture was intended to represent; the Motive which actuated the donor; his Name, and the Position for which it was destined. All this, it is manifest, could not have been effected within the boundary of the inner area unless by violating laws which no sculptor could disregard.

Other advantages were, moreover, secured by the artist resorting to this precaution; to appreciate which it is proper that we should bear in mind the difference between the destinations of such monuments as those before us, and the *εἰκόνας γραπταί*, as already explained. The latter were, in the great majority of cases, deposited in *Ἡπολοθήκαι*, from which they were drawn out solely on extraordinary occasions, and then suspended from walls in places of public resort (*ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τόποις*\*): the *γλυπταί*, on the contrary, were destined to a permanent position in such places, and required accordingly the addition of some mean of support; such also as might contribute to the due effect of each, by obviating all chances of its coming into juxtaposition with discordant surfaces, or of any distortion resulting from a careless determination of their levels.

Such being the relations of these Stélai, it only remains that I should direct the attention of my audience, in each anaglyph, to the innermost one, the area of which has been defined by a circular boundary, as that alone which characterises it as a Type of art. † It requires but ocular evidence to prove to us that it corresponds, as nearly as was permitted by the conditions which the sculptor had to satisfy, to the descriptions which have descended to us of the Clypeates of remote antiquity. Had it not been the intention of the artist to have worked after such a model, nothing could have been easier than to have dispensed altogether with these boundary-lines; or to have selected a sufficient

\* Vide Fascic. II. n. LII. 9.

† Vide supra, p. 169. 175. ss.

space in the upper section of his square stéle of an oblong form, wherein groups appropriate to his subject might have been disposed, and then have thrown up his partition lines in such styles, plain or ornate, as might appear most in unison with them. A multitude of such types are now present to my mind, which have passed under my review in different Glyptothékai, that of Athens more particularly; to none of which, however, has he directed his attention. He has selected an Archetype, one of the simplest and most chaste which antiquity presented, and of that Archetype the least complicated form; single Protomai, unaccompanied in either case by accessories derived from actual life, or mythological emblems. Yet the sculpture of Thelymítres afforded him an excellent opportunity of following a totally distinct and very usual artistic model. That it was a posthumous honour, and erected *μνήμης χάριν* by one whom the epigraph testifies to have stood towards the deceased Lysimáche in a close and dear relation, I have elsewhere expressed my conviction. The very style of the inscription induces this belief, and yet more, the aspect of the still youthful countenance in which indisposition so evidently lingers, and the outer garment (*χλαρίς*) drawn closely round the person, as though to protect it even from the atmosphere of Ionía. Now, such monumental sculptures were generally executed in accordance with an uniform type, namely, the representation of the valedictory scene before death; and why this was abandoned on the present occasion appears to be best explained by our supposing that the ancient type was regarded as giving more prominence to the features of the beloved object, as well as better adapted to recall to the remembrance of survivors some incident before her decease. It certainly admitted of a change in the customary form of the epigraph so as to adapt it to the intention of Thelymítres: for had the sculpture carried out the more generally received idea, we should have seen it accompanied by some such formule as the following: ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑ . ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΗ . ΓΥΝΗ . (τοῦ δέινος) . ΧΡΗΣΤΗ . (or ΦΙΛΑΝΔΡΕ) . ΧΑΙΡΕ.

A very striking example of this style of monument occurs in an elaborately executed relief which came under my observation whilst sojourning near Smýrna. The anaglyph extended along the upper section of the stéle, and comprised figures of the deceased, in a sitting posture, and of the immediate members of her family, grouped before her in the attitude of taking their last farewell. The principal figure, most probably her husband, is the spokesman

on the solemn occasion, and with his right hand locked in hers, is supposed to have gone through the mournful ceremony in the words of the epigraph inscribed underneath: ΓΩΛΛΑ. ΤΕΤΤΗΙΑ. ΓΥΝΗ. ΔΕΚΕΡΔΩΝΟΣ. ΧΡΗΣΤΗ. ΧΑΙΡΕ. This has been published in my first volume of Inscriptions,\* and another, precisely corresponding to it, which I copied at Philadelphia.† For other examples I may refer more particularly to the very ample collection of the monumental tituli of Smýrna, which the learned Böckh has published in his second volume.

I now view these sculptures conjointly, and with the evidence before us of the identity of the Models after which they have been executed, the identity also of their Styles of elaboration, as well as of the modes in which their explanatory epigraphs have been disposed, I arrive at the conclusion that they were contemporary works of art, and not only this, but that they issued from the studio of the same artist. That their age was the same may be reasonably inferred from evidence which their inscriptions themselves supply; for the very same argument which directs us to the era of Severus for the age of the sculpture of Attikós points also to the same in the case of that of Thelymítres. The only element in which they differ is the Sigma, this being rectangular in the one, and of the common re-entrant form in the other; but that these were contemporary in the time of Severus is most certain, as then more especially it was that the transition from the angular to the circular form of that character took place which terminated finally in the establishment of the latter. This criterion, therefore, adds its weight to the former; but we can advance no farther in the instance of the sculpture of Thelymítres, as its epigraph contains no allusion to guide us beyond the mere Proper names, and these afford us no manner of aid, as, exclusively of the present, no Ionian epigraph hitherto published supplies any information respecting either. This research, however, has not been without its use, inasmuch as it adds strength, by enabling us to argue "a remotione partium," to our former presumption, that this anaglyph, as well as that of Attikós, had originally belonged to the Ionian Neápolis.

Such are the views to which I have been conducted by the fullest consideration in my power to devote to this most interesting investigation. I now,

\* Fascic. I. p. 109. n. XXIX. d.

† Ibid. p. 39. n. VII. d.

therefore, conclude; but not without a word of apology to Gentlemen who may, perhaps, form part of my auditory, the representatives in our Society of a high and ennobling art, if I have rashly intruded into technical details of which they alone can be competent judges. Errors, however, or oversights in such, by no means affect the soundness of the Principle which, on mature thought and a certain amount of experience as an observer, I have adopted. In this persuasion, I submit these anaglyphs to the consideration of Archæologists in general, but in an especial sense to that of their learned Trustees, as works of high art, and types of its excellency in an age which precluded its abasement; as comprising notices of peculiar antiquarian interest, and one of them, of historical and geographical; finally, as presenting us with artistic models which hold a middle place between the perished memorials of a remote antiquity and the exquisite medallion forms which a more recent antiquity has bequeathed us. As such, I recommend them to the notice which is eminently their due, in the hope that, at no distant period, I shall behold them restored in some sort to their pristine state, or occupying at least the position to which they are entitled as mementos of Ionian art.\*

\* I cannot take my leave of the highly interesting discussions which form the subject of the preceding sections without apprizing my reader that SMITH and the editors of Gudius have not been the only scholars who have paid attention to the epigraphs of the University sculptures. I have very lately, and not until these sheets were prepared for press, discovered them amongst the Smyrnæan tituli of the learned Böckh, whose pages I had been turning over for an entirely different purpose. I cannot but acknowledge that the discovery occasioned me a certain degree of surprise, as Neápolis finds no place in his Recensus of the Ionian sites; not even in the fourth Section of his Lydian inscriptions, which he has devoted to "Smyrna cum Hyrcanis, Magnesia ad Sipylum, Phocæa."

Our epigraphs will be found in the "Corpus Inscriptionum," Tom. II. p. 778. n. 3346., with the following Lêmma prefixed: "Smyrnæ in domo Zachariæ Græci duæ imagines muliebres affabre sculptæ et bene servatæ erant, quarum alteri titulus *A*, alteri *B* appositus. Una ed. Hessel. Append. ad Præf. Inscr. Gud. c. 13. minusculis Egmond et Heyman Itin. Tom. I. p. 79. divisio tamen utroque titulo, Pocock. Inscr. ant. P. I. 3. 4. p. 38. n. 2. et 3. ex schedis alienis. Horstianæ" (I presume the same VAN DER HOORST whom Dr. TODD has mentioned) "schedæ exhibent ut Hesselius: habeo etiam ex Sherardianis, p. 75. ex quibus liquet utrumque titulum esse in eodem lapide."

This is followed by tit. *A*, or that of Thelymítres, which Böckh commences with reading  $\overline{\Omega\Lambda}$ , and expands accordingly into  $\overline{\text{K}\Omega\Delta\text{I}\text{AN}}$ . The uncouth choristic mark which follows, he re-



## POSTSCRIPT.

*Page 114, note (||).*—The deification of the younger Faustina has been here sustained on the presumption, that certain lines of the second Triopeian inscription, which FIORILLO has published amongst his remains of the Orator Heródes,\* refer to her; an opinion sanctioned by the authorities not only of FIORILLO himself, but also of VISCONTI, EICHSTÄDT, JACOBS, and BöCKH.† Maturer consideration, however, has, since I composed this note and the sentence in the context on which it is a commentary, induced me to alter this opinion in favour of that of FRANZ, the learned continuator of the “Corpus Inscriptionum,” who has published both Triopeian inscriptions in his third Fasciculus, and has given his readers a condensed statement of the arguments by which HEYSE has substantiated the views of ARNALDUS, namely, that the sixth and forty-eighth lines of the second refer to Galeria Faustina, not to her daughter.‡

In effect, the first of these passages (which, in the titulus itself, proceeds as follows; ΘΕΑΙ . ΔΕ . ΜΙΝ . ΟΥΡΑΝΙΩΝΑ[Ι] . ΤΙΟΥΣΙΝ . ΔΗΩ . ΤΕ . ΝΕΗ . ΔΗΩ . ΤΕ . ΠΑΛΑΙΗ), implies the welcome given to the statue of Regilla into the Triopeian fane by two deities, the new and the old Ceres (Δηώ), both of whom are termed “Celestial,” from which the inference is clear, that the former must have become entitled to this appellation antecedently to that reception. Now, as we are certain from the forty-eighth verse, ΤΟΥΤΟ . ΔΕ . ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΗΙ .

ceives as “siglum decurtatis vocibus addi solitum quaecunque.” He then, in tit. *B.*, or that of Attikós, reads ΜΥΗΣΙΗΝ.

No restoration of this epigraph has been proposed by BöCKH: on the contrary, he seems to have regarded it as hopeless; for he adds, “Hæc intelligi nequeunt.” He concludes with identifying τὴν νέαν Μυησίην πόλιν, as has been done under one of the heads of my Second Section, with Neápolis of Ionia.

The reader will perceive from the foregoing statement, that the labours of the learned German have been such as by no means to supersede the exertions of a successor in this inquiry.

\* Vide Dobson's “Oratores Attici,” Tom. iv. pp. 555. ss.

† Ibid. p. 604. not. 4., p. 624. not. 1. Franz, C. I. Tom. III. n. 6280. B. 6. p. 921. Col. b.

‡ Ibid. p. 922. Vide supr. p. 157. note (‡).

**ΚΕΧΑΡΙCΜΕΝΟΝ . ΗCΤΑΙ . ΑΓΑΛΜΑ**, that this "New Ceres" must have been a "Faustina," we are constrained to select the consort of Pius, as her daughter had survived Annia Regilla by several years. It is true, that of the exact date of the latter's decease we possess no certain evidence, but satisfactory reasons have been given by FRANZ for referring that event to the last year of Antoninus Pius, that is, U. C. 914. A. D. 161., in which he has corrected the statement of HEYSE, who had assigned 917. 164. as a proximate date. We know, moreover, that the date in the instance of Galeria Faustina was 894. 141., and in that of Annia, 929. 176.\*

The inference to which these considerations lead us is fully borne out by the testimony of Medals, in which the first of these Augustæ is represented under the similitude of Ceres,† whereas (as was most natural), the goddess-effigies of the latter were those of the *Κόρη*, or Proserpina.‡

These remarks are added solely with a view to accuracy of statement, but not as in any wise affecting the argument which I have prosecuted in the section to which they refer. This, on the contrary, has its force rather enhanced by any fact which serves to prove that the consort of Caracalla stood alone in the attribution to her, during her life-time, by the Greek communities, of a goddess-name so peculiarly appropriate to the circumstances of the Ionian Neápolis. Alone, I mean, amongst the Augustæ of her age.

·*Page 121, note (\*\*).*—This clause refers to the "Jus Civitatis," and the necessity of those entitled to such being enrolled in the Censors' books under a specific Gentilitial designation. It is limited, moreover, to the cases of the "Græci et Exteri;" for the "Socii et Fœderati," who possessed, in common with the Romans, such designations of their own, were accustomed to preserve them unchanged. The example of Cornelius Balbus, a native of Gades, in defence of whose right, conferred by Pompeius Magnus, Cicero pleaded so eloquently, may be cited in proof of this: for we do not find that in consequence of this act he assumed the Gentilitial name of his benefactor: on the contrary, he preserved his

\* ECKHEL dates this event a year earlier, making the numbers 928. 175. Doctr. N.V. Tom. VII. p. 76. a.

† Comp. Vaillant, Num. Imp. Rom. T. II. p. 167. Eckhel, ubi supra, p. 38. b.

‡ Vide Mionnet, Descr. des Med., etc., T. II. p. 542. n. 192. Supplem. T. v. p. 326. n. 279.

designation as a citizen of a federated state unaltered.\* But the case of Theophanes the Mitylenæan was different. He also was a friend of the same illustrious commander, to whom he had rendered signal service as the historian of his achievements; and he had his reward in being declared by Pompeius, in full military assembly, a Roman citizen.† Accordingly we find, that he assumed the Nomen "Pompeius," which, as we learn from Tacitus‡ and Strabo, became permanent in his family.

My next instance is familiar to all; that of the Antiochian Greek, whose name has been immortalized by Cicero, and who bore the Nomen "Licinius," which appertained to the eminent Roman§ to whom he owed his distinction: and the same Cicero has informed us of Demétrios Mégas, on whom the "Jus Civitatis" had been conferred by Cæsar at the instance of Dolabella; "qua in re," adds the Orator, "ego interfui. Itaque nunc P. Cornelius vocatur,"|| both which had appertained to his son-in-law.

The cases also of the Greeks whom Verres had, by an abuse of his privilege, raised to the position of Roman citizens, the better to qualify them for acting as his instruments in his system of spoliation, may be cited, as Cicero has not failed to use them as the ground of one of his most stinging invectives against their employer: "Ingerebat iste Artemidorum Cornelium medicum, Valerium præconem, Tlepolemum pictorem, et ejusmodi recuperatores: quorum civis Romanus nemo erat, sed Græci sacrilegi, jam pridem improbi, repente Cornelii,"\*\* thus crowning his epithets with the Gentilicium of his enemy.

The last example which I shall adduce approaches more nearly to the time with which we have been hitherto conversant. It is that of an Attic of the dêmos Kephulé, on whom the "Jus Civitatis" had been conferred by Commodus, as a titulus informs us which ΡΥΣΚΙΟΥ †† has cited as follows: ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ . ΚΑΙ . ΚΟΡΗΙ . Η . ΙΕΡΑ . ΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑ . Μ . ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝ . ΛΙΘΟΦΟΡΟΝ . ΠΡΟΣΔΕ

\* Vide Orat. pro Balbo, passim.

† Comp. Orat. pro Archia, x., pro Balbo, xxv. Epist. ad Attic. II. 5., VIII. 7. Strabo. XIII. 2 .

‡ Annal. vi. 18. fin. See the passage in Strabo referred to in the foregoing note.

§ Viz. Crassus. Vide Le Clerc's "Indica. ad Cicer." in Lemaire's Edition, pp. 541. 570.

|| Epist. ad Divv. XIII. 36.

\*\* Orat. in Verrem. II. 3. 28. Ed. Lemaire, 1827.

†† Vide Animadvv. in Tacit. p. 335. Comp. Fabretti. Inscriptt. Antiq. Explic. p. 439.

ΚΤΟΝ . ΠΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ . ΚΕΦΑΛΗΘΕΝ . ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΣΑΝΤΑ . ΠΡΟΙΚΑ . ΤΙΜΗ  
ΘΕΝΤΑ . ΔΕ . ΥΠΟ . ΘΕΟΥ . ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΥ . ΤΗΙ . ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ . ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΙ  
κ. τ. ἐξ. Here no doubt can be entertained of the Roman designation of Πρόσ-  
dektos having been synchronous with the distinction conferred upon him by  
the Augustus to whom we know that it appertained; and as little, that the  
name and fore-name of the family of the Marathonian Attikoi, of whom so fre-  
quent mention has been made in the second section, originated in a similar way,  
that is, from the nomination of an ancestor to the rank of Roman citizenship by  
the successor of Augustus; or, perhaps, to speak more correctly, by the son of  
the elder Drusus, who succeeded Caligula.\*

I might illustrate this usage by citing examples, in addition to the foregoing,  
without limit, but confine myself to two, in consideration of the rank of the per-  
sonages concerned. The first is, that of Rhœmetálkes I., the Thracian king, who  
is designated **C. IVLIVS** in a titulus which FABRETTI has published,† whence  
**IVLIA . TYNDARIS**, his daughter. The second refers to Agrippa I., the grand-  
son of Heródes Magnus, who, in one of SPON's inscriptions cited by the same  
FABRETTI,‡ is denominated **ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ**, and also his daughter Berenike, **ΙΟΥΛΙΑ**.  
These designations clearly point to the source from which the honour of citizen-  
ship was, in each case, derived. We may safely attribute the boon to Augustus.

*Page 136, note (†).*—In connexion with this note, the reader is recommended  
to consult PIERRE PETIT's work, entitled, "*Traité Historique sur les Amazones,*"  
à Leide, 1718. This writer has warmly espoused the affirmative side of the  
question, viz., that the accounts given us by Heródotos, etc., respecting this  
singular community, contain authentic history. I may refer, more particularly, to  
chapters VI. and VIII., as also to those which treat of the cities that either histo-  
rians and geographers, or medals, particularize as founded by Amazons, namely,  
XXX.—XXXVI.

As to the origin of the name "Amazón," he has contented himself with a  
few brief notices of the Greek étyma in chapters XIV., XXII., to which no scholar  
now attributes any weight.

\* Vide supra, p. 154. The designation of the former of these Augusti in coins ceased to be  
"Tiberius Claudius" in the year U. C. 757., whereas the latter is always so styled. Vide Eckhel,  
vi. pp. 184. a. and 235. ss.

† Ubi supra.

‡ Vide p. 440. This will be found given in a more correct form by Böckh, Tom. I. n. 361. p. 431.

## SECTION IV. a.

I HAVE selected for notice on the present occasion two inscriptions from the island of Pátmos, neither of which has as yet, so far as I have been enabled to learn, found a place in any published collection of Greek tituli. Even the very comprehensive and elaborate work by BöCKH contains no mention of them, nor indeed of any epigraphic memorial, properly so styled, of Pátmos, his only two inscriptions from thence being sepulchral, of the briefest and most ordinary kind, and wholly destitute of any ethnical denomination.\* Such, it will be observed, is not the case with those to which I am about to solicit the attention of my auditory; for the notices in both are essentially Patmian, and transport the reader at once to Patmian ground. In their condition, it is true, they appear to some disadvantage, as compared with the jejune epitaphs of CLARKE, the marbles from which they have been copied having sustained injuries so grievous as almost to set at nought the perspicuity of the decipherer, be he ever so experienced or acute. I have not, however, permitted myself to be deterred by considerations of this kind, and have accordingly judged it proper to allow them, were it only for the solemn associations which are connected with this site, a foremost position amongst the insular Ionian† inscriptions which I collected during my travels, few or none whereof have as yet been presented to the learned public.

The titulus with which I commence includes, beside the euphemic formulas at the beginning and end, fourteen lines in the Elegiac verse, evidently the composition of a writer who had attained no slight proficiency in the employment of the poetic language. The dialect which he has selected is, as might naturally be anticipated, the Ionic; his theme, "The eulogy of Pátmos," embodied in a series of mythical notices respecting Ártemis, as connected with whom we observe it to be designated in the seventh verse "the isle of the Letoíás." The first four verses commemorate her selection of Kydalíme, the daughter of Glaukías, to officiate as her priestess, to whom she confided the guardianship of the sacred fire, as also the performance of duties connected with her sacrificial

\* Corp. Inscr. T. II. p. 217. nn. 2261. s. from Clarke, *Travels*, vol. III. pp. 372. s. 4to. edit.

† I follow here БСКНЪЛ's classification in his *Doctr. N. V.* vol. II. p. 567. a.

rites. In the fifth and sixth she is recorded as having befriended and nursed Áres; to which succeeds the mention of his nurture during his age of puberty, the praise whereof is awarded to Pátmos. The commemoration of this leads to a notice, in the seventh and eighth verses, of the mythical origin ascribed to the island, namely, that it had emerged by the power of Ártemis from the depths of the sea, in which it had originally lain.

This statement will, doubtless, appear to the geological reader of some interest; more particularly when the vicinity of Asia Minor, so celebrated as a seat of volcanic phenomena, is considered: yet a philosopher of this class will not be slow of perceiving how unlikely it was to have been founded in traditional notices.

The remainder of the composition adds some other incidents to the number of those with which classical readers have been so long familiar in the *Orestea*; the semi-fabulous narratives of the fortunes of Oréstes. The fugitive *Matricide* is described, in the ninth and tenth lines, as having founded in Pátmos an *Eri-nyeion*, or temple dedicated to the worship of the *Erinyes*, from whose vengeance, consequent on the perpetration of his unnatural crime, he had so grievously suffered. The result of this act of piety is recorded in the eleventh and twelfth lines, namely, his having experienced the kind and hospitable regards of the Father of *Glaukias*, acting in obedience to the will of the Skythian Ártemis, which probably had been communicated to him by the exile himself. The *titulus* then concludes with an account of the hero's crossing the *Ikarian sea*, and consummating his former act of devotion by celebrating the *Órgia*, that is, the rites of the *Erinyes*, with all the requisite solemnities.

It appears from this analysis of our epigraph, that the *Orestea* current in Pátmos agreed with the dramatic narrative of Euripides in an essential point, namely, the agency of the Tauric Ártemis. Classical readers are aware that this constitutes the distinctive feature of his "*Iphigéneia amongst the Tauroi*," as compared with the *Eumenides* of his predecessor, wherein the decision of the Court of the *Areiopagos* is made final. The former carries on the action still farther by his representing some of the *Erinyes*, who were dissatisfied with the proceedings, as still continuing their persecution of the culprit; which obliged him to have recourse once more to the Delphic oracle. This forms the ground-

work of the drama of Euripides. A voice issues from the Delphic Tripod, warning him to repair to the Tauric Artemision, and abstract from its shrine the Image of the goddess, by depositing which in Athênai he could only hope to be finally liberated from his tormentors. The hero himself relates the issue of his appeal:\*

Ἐντεῦθεν αὐδὴν τρίποδος ἐκ χρυσοῦ λακῶν  
Φοῖβός μ' ἔπεμψε δεῦρο, διοπετές λαβεῖν  
" Ἀγαλμ', Ἀθηνῶν τ' ἐγκαθάρουσαι χθονί.

We learn from the poet, at the close of his drama, that this injunction was obeyed, and that the result of the attempt was successful. It remains that I should explain the manner in which I connect it with the epigraph now before us.

I suppose that the principal actors in the drama had taken Pátmos in their course homewards, and that Oréstes, with the Image in his possession, and directed by the same counsel which had commissioned the sire of Glaukias to administer relief to him, proceeded on his arrival to the performance of the duty mentioned in the ninth verse: that this was followed by a partial alleviation of his torments; that his crossing the Ikarian sea had reference to his executing the commands of Apóllon respecting the Image, preliminary to his final reconciliation to the avenging goddesses, and that this result is implied in the concluding verse.

Such is the view which I have been led to form after repeated studies of the titulus before us. The details to which I now proceed will sufficiently prove the difficulty of extricating a clear and consistent sense throughout, more especially from the part which relates to Oréstes, the entire of which had sustained injuries so grave as to appear to me at first sight to preclude all attempts at restoration.

This marble had, in all probability, served as a pedestal to a statue of Ártemis. It lay in the vicinity of the church of St. John (τοῦ ἁγίου Θεολόγου), and consequently of the grotto in which, as tradition asserts, he wrote the Apokalypse. It seems by no means improbable, that the Erinýes had a sanc-

\* Iphigén. in Taur. 976. ss.

tuary there in the earlier times of Ethnical superstition ; nay, that it is the identical site to which the composer of these lines has alluded when recording the piety of their victim in the ninth, thirteenth, and fourteenth lines : for the classical student is well aware how usual it was amongst the ancient Greeks to appropriate natural grottoes to the rite-worship of these imaginary impersonations of their mythology. It is equally true, however, that *Ártemis* had her grottoes also, as a silvan goddess and chaste queen of the nymphs ; and it may be, that this marble attests the existence, at a former period, of a temple dedicated to her worship in our present locality . . . an *Artemisión* of the Patmians.

All this is, however, pure conjecture, which has the epigraph before us alone to rest upon for any probability which may attach to it ; for in information relating to the myths of *Pátmos* antiquity is to the last degree jejune ; a fact which stamps these verses with a proportionably higher degree of interest, and the only fact, independently of the merits of the composition, which does so, as it can advance no claim to a very high order of antiquity. The quaint outlines and occasional colligations of its letters bespeak for it a Græco-Roman origin, but yet one prior to the age of *Septimius Severus*. Were I to hazard a conjecture as to its comparative date, I should pronounce it to be co-ordinate in age, as it certainly appears to have been in intent, with the *Ephesian tituli* which I had the honour to submit some years since, on my return from the East, to the notice of the Academy ;\* and that one of these, at least, was not prior to the time of *Hadrian* I feel confident. The style, moreover, of the composition, and the forms of certain letters, unite in proving that its date precedes, as I have already mentioned, the reign of *Severus*. We cannot, therefore, err very far from the truth in attributing it to the period of the *Antonini*.

As to the intent of this composition, I may safely reiterate the opinion which I advanced before in the instance of the *Ephesian tituli*,† namely, that it was an effort on the part of some literary *Demétrios* to prop up the fabric of *Gentilism*, which was fast tottering to its fall beneath the mild, but earnest, aggression of the primitive missionaries of our Faith : and if this be so, he has

\* Vide *Transactions*, etc., vol. xix., P. 2. pp. 122. ss.

† *Ibid.* p. 126.



unquestionably proved himself to have been a master of his "craft," by an appeal so awakening to long-cherished associations.

I proceed now to offer such critical and explanatory remarks as I have deemed requisite to the elucidation of this epigraph, firstly, exhibiting it as nearly as possible in the form which it presented on the monument, and then in what I conceive to have been its original state, as expressed in the subjoined literal version. I have reserved the Greek supplements for their proper places as headings to the appended Notes, in which I shall lay before the reader the successive stages of my transcriptions from the marbles, and then cite authorities on behalf not only of the restorations which I have effected, but also of the author's choice of poetical expressions.

### ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ

ΑΥΤΗΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΗΛΑΦΗΒΟΛΟΣΑΡΗΤΕΙΡΑΝ  
 ΘΗΚΑΤΟΚΥΔ.Λ.ΜΗ.ΓΛΑΥΚΙΕΘΟΥΓΑΤΡΑ  
 ΠΥΡΦΟΡΟΝΕΝ.Α.ΠΑΤΗΡΙΗΠΑΡΑΒΟΜΙΑΡΕΣΑΙ  
 ΣΠΑΙΡΟΝΤΙΔΑΙΓΩΝΕΝΒΡΥΑΚΑΛΛΙΘΥΤΩΝ  
 ΑΡΕΙΔ-ΤΕΦ...ΗΝΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΗΔΕΤΙΘΗΗ  
 ΕΞΕΙ-ΣΔΗΒΗ.ΕΚΤΡΟΦΟΣΕΣΤΙΠΑΤΗΟΣ  
 ΝΗΣΣΟΣΑΝΥ...ΤΑΤΗΛΗΤ-ΑΔΟΣΗΠΤΡΟΒΕΒΗΚΕ  
 ΙΙΕΝΘΕΣΙΝ-Η...ΙΣΤ...ΝΑΡΥΟΜΕΝΗΙ  
 ΕΡΙΗ...ΔΙΘ...ΝΑΛΗΙΟΣΕΙΣΕΝΟΡΕΣΤΗΣ  
 ΣΤ.Μ...ΦΥΓΕΗΣΜΗΤΡΟΦΟΝΟΥΜΑΝΙΗΣ  
 ΔΕΙ.....ΠΑΤΗΡΣΟΦΟΥΗΤΗΡΟΣ  
 ΓΛΑΥΚΙΕ...ΙΣΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣΣΚΥΘΙΗΣ  
 ΑΠΤΑΙ ΟΟΥΠΛΩΣ.ΚΑΡΟΥΔΥΣΧΕΙΜΕΡΟΙΔΜΑ  
 ΟΡΠΑΘΑΛ.....ΩΣΘΕΜΙΣΗΓΛΑΙΣΕΝ  
 ΕΥΤΥΧΩΣ

- “The Huntress-Virgin by her own act constituted  
Kydálime, the daughter of Glaukías, her priestess,  
With the charge of her sacrificial fire, to offer in the Patmian land her altar-victims,  
And the younglings of duly sacrificed goats writhing in the death-pang.
- 5 To Áres, moreover, was Ártēmis a friend and nurse;  
But to Pátmos is due the nurture of his succeeding youth;  
Isle most arid of the daughter of Letó, by whose agency, amidst the marine depths,  
Drawing it forth it originally emerged to light.  
Here it was that Oréstes, destitute wanderer, founded a shrine to the Erinýes,
- 10 What time he fled the maddening sting of his matricidal frenzy;  
And here, that the Sire of the skilled physician Glaukías administered to his need,  
In compliance with the behests of the Skythian Ártēmis:  
And here, in due time, after his navigating the tempestuous surge of the Ikarian main,  
That, bearing the olive-branch, he solemnized the rites of the Erinýes with befitting  
pomp.”

My auditory will be at no loss, with the aid of the foregoing details, to estimate the value of this fragmentary memorial of Pátmos. It is replete, as I have already observed, with traditional information from the commencement to the end; apprizing us of what we should in vain search for in the standard remains of Hellenic literature, whether European or Asiatic. The prevalence of the Artemisiac worship in Pátmos, and then the more distinctly expressed relation which subsisted between this island and the object of its worship, suggest a favourable comparison with the far-famed Dêlos, the sacred territory of her *Ὁμογάστριος*. The singular retrospect which is presented to us of the epoch when Pátmos, emerging from the abyss of waters by the might of its Tutelary, first saw the light, continues the parallel; for Dêlos also claimed a like origin through the instrumentality of Poseidôn.\* The right which is then asserted in favour of the isle, one doubtless perpetuated in the heroic legends of its citizens, to be considered as the scene of the reconciliation of the royal fugitive to his avenging persecutors, appears rival of the pretensions of Trœzén, † Áke, ‡ and even Delphoi. § All these, so circumstantially detailed as to present the aspect of historical facts, are unexpected additions to our store of Hellenic

\* Vid. infra, p. 204. note (§) Postscript, and p. 205. note (†).

† Pausan. II. 31. 7, 11.

‡ Ibid. VIII. 34. 2.

§ Eumenídes, 64. 473. ss.

myths, and serve to enhance our regret that more such legendary notices have not rewarded the labours of the traveller and the classical archæologist.

I proceed now to my critical and exegetical notices, in my arrangement of which I shall be directed by the periods of the epigraph, which severally commence with the first, fifth, and ninth verses.

Αὐτὴ Παρθενικὴ ἑλαφηβόλος ἀρήτειραν  
 Θήκατο Κυδαλίμην, Γλαυκίῳ θυγάτρα,  
 Πυρφόρον, ἐν γαίῃ Πατνίῃ παραβώμια ῥέξαι,  
 Σπαίροντ' ἠδ' αἰγῶν ἔνβρυα καλλιθύτων.

1. Αὐτὴ κ. τ. ἐξ. My first copy of this line was, ΑΥΤΗΠΑΡΘΕΝΙ\_ΗΕΛΑΦΗΡΑ\_ΣΑΡΗΤΕΙΑΝ; my second, ΑΥΗΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΗΕΛΑΦΗΒ\_ΟΛ\_ΣΑΡΗΤΕ\_ΡΑΝ. The use of Παρθενικὴ for Παρθένος was frequent amongst the poets: but, properly speaking, it was the feminine of Παρθενικός with κόρη subauded. Compare the following passages: Homer, Πιῆς: \* Παρθενικαὶ τε καὶ ἠΐθεοι, ἀταλὰ φρονέοντες. Odysse. : † Παρθενικαὶ τ' ἀταλαὶ νεοπενθέα θυμὸν ἔχουσαι. Hymn. : ‡ Παρθενικαὶ τε χοροῖς εὐανθέσιν εὐφρονι θυμῷ Παίζουσαι σκαίρουσι. Euripides: § Πᾶσαι δὲ παρ' ἧραν Μέλλουσι παρθενικαὶ στείχειν. Theókr. : || Παρθενικαὶ θάλλοντα κόμαις ὑάκινθον ἔχοισαι.

The epithet ἑλαφηβόλος is sanctioned by Homer, Hymn. : \*\* " Ἀρτεμιν αἰεῖδω χρυσηλάκατον, κελαδεινήν, Παρθένον αἰδοίην, ἑλαφηβόλον, ἰοχέαιραν. Πιῆς: †† " Ὡι ῥά θ' ὑπὸ σκύμνους ἑλαφηβόλος ἀρπάσῃ ἀνήρ. Also by Sophoklēs: ‡‡ Βοᾶτε τὰν ὁμόσπορον Ἀρτεμιν ὀρτυγίαν, ἑλαφηβόλον. Its synonym from κτείνω appears in Euripides: §§ " Ἐνθα τὰς ἑλαφοκτόνου Θεᾶς ἀμφίπολον κούραν Παῖδ' ἀγαμμενονίαν λατρεύω. Another in Pausanias, ||| where he observes of the people of Elis; ἑλαφιαίαν δ' ἐκάλουν οἱ Ἠλεῖοι τὴν Ἀρτεμιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐλάφων (ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν) τῇ θήρᾳ. The Eleians, however, accounted differently for this epithet.

From ἑλαφηβόλος were formed ἑλαφηβολία, ἑλαφηβόλια, and the name of the ninth month of the Athenian year, ἑλαφηβολιών. Thus in Kallimachos

\* σ. 567.

† ν. 39.

‡ Δ. 14.

§ Eléctra. 173. α.

|| Eidýll. xviii. 2.

\*\* KZ. 1. α.

†† σ. 319.

‡‡ Trachin. 214. αα.

§§ Iphig. in Taur. 1120. αα.

|| vi. 22. δ. ββ.

we read,\* *Μηδ' ἐλαφηβολίην μηδ' εὐστοχίην ἐριδαίνειν*. Plutarch acquaints us with the origin of the *Ἐλαφηβόλια*, a Phokian festival in honour of *Ἄρτεμις ἐλαφηβόλος*, in the following clause: † *Ἐορτήν δ' ἐκ πασῶν μεγίστην τὰ Ἐλαφηβόλια μέχρι νῦν τῇ Ἀρτέμει τῆς νίκης ἐκείνης ἐν Ὑαμπόλιδι τελοῦσιν*. A similar observance originated the name of the Attic month.

*Ἀρήτειρα* is the feminine noun corresponding to *Ἀρητήρ*, of which *Ἀπολόνιος* furnishes an example: ‡ *τῷ δὲ ξύμβλητο γεραιῇ Ἰφιάς, Ἀρτέμιδος πολιηόχου ἀρήτειρα*.

2. *Κυδαλίμην*. First copy: **ΟΝΚΑΤΟΚΥΕΙΗ – ΑΜΗ – ΓΜΚΤΕΩ**; second, **ΘΗΚΑΤΟΚΥΔ – – – – ΜΥΚΙΕΩ**. In my first restored form I had inserted *Κυδίππην* as the proper name in consequence of its appearing in connexion with the Artemisiac worship in these parts of Greece in *Kallimachos*, § *Aristainetos*, || and *Ovid*,\*\* to whom the loves of *Kydippe* and the youth *Akóntios* have supplied materials of highly-wrought description. My final transcript, however, exhibits *Κυδαλίμην*, which I have retained as, on the whole, more in accordance with the marble. I have met the name elsewhere.

3. *Πυρφόρον*. First copy: **ΠΙΡΦΟΡΟΝΕΙΠΑΝΤ – ΗΗΚΑΙΑΡΝΙΑΡΕΞΙ**: second: – **ΡΦΟΡΟΝΕΙΠΑΝΤΙΠΙΗΠΑΡΑΒΟΝΙΑΡΕΞΑΙ**: third: – **ΥΑΡΦΟΡΟΝΗ ΝΑΠΑΤΝΙΗΠΑΡΑΒΟΜΙΑΡΕΞΑΙ**. The central portion of this verse had been exceedingly injured: but *Πατνίη* having been elicited from the marble, *ἐν γαίῃ* followed of course.

*Kydalíme* appears to have combined in her own person the distinct offices of *πυρφόρος*, guardian of the sacrificial fire, and *παραβωμία*, attendant on the altar. We find these classed separately in *Lucian*: †† *Ἱρέες δὲ αὐτοῖσι πολλοὶ ἀποδεδέχεται: τῶν οἱ μὲν τὰ ἱρήϊα σφάζουσι, οἱ δὲ σπονδὴν φορέουσι, ἄλλοι δὲ πυρφόροι καλέονται, καὶ ἄλλοι παραβώμιοι*.

The *Pyrrhóros* in the Spartan state was a person of very high consideration. ‡‡ His presence was indispensable in all expeditions of the King, and his person was accounted sacrosanct; insomuch, that the expression *εἶδει δὲ*

\* π. 262.

† De mulier. virtut. iii. fin.

‡ Argonaut. A'. 311. s.

§ Tom. i. pp. 305. ss. Edit. Spanh.

|| Epist. l. 10. p. 22. Ed. Abresch.

\*\* Heroïd. Epp. xx. xxi.

†† De Syria dea, XLII.

‡‡ Vid. Xenoph. De rep. Laced. xiii. 2.

μηδὲ πυρφόρον περιγενέσθαι\* was synonymous with the total discomfiture and rout of an army.

Again; we find it applied to Deméter, who is termed πυρφόρος,† but in a different, namely, a mythical sense.

Ibid. 'Ρέξαι. That is, *ιερά*, the Latin "sacra facere." The readers of Homer and Hesiod may derive abundant illustration of this expression from their writings.‡ We may cite, however, on account of the word with which it is immediately accompanied, the verse from the *Análekta*;§ 'Ρέξει καλλιθυτῶν κάπρον ὄρειονόμον. Here καλλιθυτέω corresponds in meaning to καλλιερέω,|| the Latin "lito," "perlito." So also καλλίθυτος, from which comes the epithet at the close of the next verse, καλλιθύτων, unless we prefer to render it agreeably to its meaning, "sacrificed in due form." Thus the victims offered by Aineias\*\* were καλλίθυτα, of whom it is said, "Centum lanigeras mactabat rite bidentes." Hence the βωμοί were termed καλλίθυτοι to which such offerings were consigned,‡‡ supposing this reading to be sanctioned by the passage in question.

4. Σπαίροντ' ἠδ' αἰγῶν κ. τ. ἐξ. First copy; – ΠΑΙΡΟΝΤΗΛΙΓΩΚΕΝΙΠΥΡΑ ΚΑΜΘΥΤΩΝ: second; – ΠΑΙΡΟΝΤΗΝΤΩΝ – – ΠΥΡΑΚΑΛΛΘΥΤΩΝ: third; ΣΠΑΙΡΟΝΤΗΝΑΙΓΩΝΕΝΒΡΥΑΚΑΜΙΘΥΤΩΝ.

The verb σπαίρω is Homeric,‡‡ as also is its euphonic synonym ἀσπαίρω, which the Attic dialect received. I cite the following passage from Euripides, as illustrative of the present: §§ "Ἐλαφος γὰρ ἀσπαίρουσ' ἔκειτ' ἐπὶ χθονὶ 'Ἴδειν μεγίστη, διαπρεπῆς τε τὴν θέαν, Ἥς αἵματι βωμὸς ἐραίνεται ἄρδην τῆς θεοῦ.

"Ἐμβρυα (here written ἔνβρυα) means νεογνά. Thus we read in the *Odysseia*:||| 'Εξόμενος δ' ἤμελγεν οἷς καὶ μηκάδας αἰγας, Πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν, καὶ ὑπ' ἔμβρυον

\* Heródot. viii. 6. See Wesseling's note.

† Euripíd. *Supplic.* 271.

‡ Comp. *Iliád.* κ'. 292. *Theogon.* 417.

§ *Tom.* ii. 224.

|| Comp. Xenoph. *de rep. Laced.* xiii. 2. s. Demosth. *adv. Makártat.* p. 1072. l. 17. Heródot. vi. 76. *Theókr. Eidóll.* v. 148.

\*\* *Aeneid.* vii. 93.

‡‡ Thus Passow, B. I. p. 1165. b. "καλλίθυτοι βωμοί, Altar, der schöne Opfergaben empfängt, auf dem schöne opfer dargebracht werden." The same exégesis is given also in ΣΤΕΡΗΑΝΟΥ, who refers to Euripides as his authority, but this is incorrect. For "Euripid." read "Epigr." Vide "Postscript."

‡‡ *Iliád.* ν'. 571. See (for ἀσπαίρω) γ'. 293.

§§ *Iphig. in Aul.* 1587. ss.

|| *Vid.* κ'. 245. s.

*ἦκεν ἐκάστη.* This immolation of goats and their young to *Ártemis*, which we know to have been customary also amongst the Athenians, we may suppose to have originated in the impersonation which entitled her to be addressed by the poet as τὸ λαμπρὸν εἰλίσσουσ' ἐν εὐφρόνῃ φάος.\* So also, perhaps, the myth of *Arkadía*, which *Virgil* has borrowed from the *Georgiká* of *Níkandros*.† *PASSOW* adverts to the language of the *Mysteries* with respect to *Ártemis* in the following words: "Spätere Dichter haben ihren Mythos sehr mannigfach behandelt, und ihn besonders mit den mystischen und nächtlichen Göttinnen, *Selene*, *Hekate*, *Eileithyia* u. a. in Verbindung gebracht."‡ It is highly probable, that the autonomous coins of *Sámos*,§ which present on their obverses the head of the goddess *Méne*|| with the accompanying "lunula," afford an example of this "union;" and that we are to explain in the same way the epithet *ἀμφίπυρος*, attributed to *Ártemis* in a passage cited above from the *Trachiníai*,\*\* which we may collect from the *Scholiast*†† to have proceeded from the *Mysteries*.

5. "Αρεῖ δέ τε φίλη ἦν" Ἀρτεμις, ἣδὲ τιθήνη  
 'Εξέλης δ' ἦβης ἔκτροφός ἐστι Πάτνος·  
 Νῆσσοσ ἀνδροτάτη Λητωάδος, ἣ προβέβηκε  
 Βένθεσιν εἰναλίσις τὸ πρὶν ἀρνομένη.

5. "Αρεῖ. First copy; **ΝΑΡΕΙΔΕΤΕΙΦΗΝΑΡΗΠ\_Σ**: second; **ΑΡΙΔΕΤΙΦΗ**: third; **ΑΡΕΙΔΕΤ\_...Η**. The remainder of the line was sufficiently plain.

I have given above the result of my study of this verse, which the very imperfect notices that remained on the marble rendered it extremely difficult to decipher. It assigns to "Ares a Nurse and a Nurturer very different from those which the standard authorities have given to him: but it must be owned, that the *πολιόχορος*, the *ἵπποσόα*, the *λοχέαира*, the goddess "with the armour and belt of gold," †† was selected with great judgment to fulfil this important duty.

\* *Iphig.* in *Aul.* 1570. Vide "Postscript."

† Vid. *Georgik.* III. 391. ss. *Macrob. Saturnal.* v. 22.

‡ *Ubi* supr. p. 325. b.

§ *Eckhel, Doctr. etc.* vol. II. pp. 568. a.

|| We find this deity identified with *Selene* in the *Homeric Hymn*, ΔB. 1.

\*\* Vide p. 196.

†† *Viz., Παρ' ὅσον ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶ δαδουχεῖ.* T. I. Ed. *Brunck.* Lond. p. 295.

‡‡ *Kallimach. Hým.* III. 110. s. "Ἀρτεμι παρθενίη, τιτυοκτόνε, χρύσεια μὲν τοι Ἔντεα καὶ ζώνη.

What were the claims of Pátmos to be intrusted with the threpterial office, independently of its connexion with the Τιθήνη, I know not. I conclude, however, that we are to understand it in the same sense with the Naxian myth concerning Díónysos,\* and that of the Eleians with respect to Ártemis herself.†

6. 'Εξείης. My copies of the first hemistich were; 1. ΕΚΕΙΕΗΣΒΗΙ. 2. ΕΚΓΕΙΤΗΣΒΗΙ, 3. ΕΚΤΕΙ...ΤΗΣΒΗ... My last was quite distinct.

I submit the choice of two restorations of this word, which had been rendered almost illegible from the condition of the marble, viz., 'Εξήης τῆς ἡβῆς, and 'Εξείης δ' ἡβῆς. The construction of the adverb, which expresses succession in time as well as place, may be either absolute, or with ἡβῆς, according to the rule of Phavorinus:‡ 'Εξῆς γενικῇ συντάσσεται. Λουκιανός· ἐξῆς τριῶν ἡμερῶν. The alternative which I have preferred in each of these cases will be seen from my version and restored form.

Ibid. \*Εκτροφος. This word is unusual, but quite admissible; being formed from τροφός, as ἐκτροφή (of no infrequent occurrence§) from τροφή. We observe τροφός not only in cases wherein we might naturally expect it, but also where we might have anticipated the Attic form, τροφεύς.||

Ibid. Πάτμος, not Πάτμος, as in the third verse, Πατνίη. This mode of writing the name and ethnic supplies a strong argument on behalf of the age which I have assigned to the epigraph before us: as it proves at least its having been composed during the Imperial times. Otherwise, we should unquestionably have had the μ in both. We remark, accordingly, a continuation of the more recent form in the Neo-Hellenic Πάτμο (or Πάτιμο), the final consonant being, as usual, retrenched.

7. Νῆσος, in all my transcripts, instead of Νήσος, which also indicates the comparative recency of this titulus. Thus we have observed 'Ασκληπιός written 'Ασσκληπιός in an inscription which I have cited at the close of my first section.\*\*

\* Viz. as brought up by three of its nymphs. Hence Nákos is styled by Solinus, in Polyhist. c. xi. " hospita Libero Patri." Pausanias mentions a similar legend concerning him current amongst the people of Brasíai: iii. 34. 3.

† Vid. Pausan. cit. supr. p. 196.

‡ Vid. Schleusner, in Lexic. N. T. voc. ἐξῆς. Bos, Ellipa. Græc. p. 440. fin.

§ Ex. gr. ἐκτροφαὶ καλαί, in Eurip. Danaë, Fr. vi. 5.

|| Vid. Euripíd. Eléktr. 409. Herakl. Fur. 45.

\*\* Supr. p. 106.

The epithet which accompanied Νῆσος was copied by me successively ΑΙΑΥ . . . ΡΙΤΗ and ΑΙΑΥ . . . ΤΑΤΗ, the last of which was evidently ANY . . . ΤΑΤΗ in its original state, from which the advance to the restoration ANYΔΡΟΤΑΤΗ is immediate. Truth sanctioned this appellation, which, I confess, appeared to me rather strange and illaudatory in a composition intended as eulogistic of Πάτμος: but its author could not disguise facts, with the scene of drought and barrenness present to his view, which exist in my own recollection; suggesting the spot in the Roman times as adapted to the purposes of a penal settlement, and in modern, presenting little more than a single oasis to redeem it from the imputation of absolute sterility. As a poet, also, he may have judged that the physical contrast might serve to enhance the mythical glories of his isle. He must have known, moreover, that Euripides\* has applied the same epithet to the far-famed seat of the Ægyptian god whom the Greeks identified with their Ζεύς: 'ΑΛΛ' οὐδὲ ναυκληρίαν Ἔσθ' ὅποι τις αἴας Στείλας ἢ Λυκίας Εἴτ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνύδρους Ἀμμωνίδας ἔδρας Δυστάνου παραλύσαι Ψυχάν. A parallel, therefore, may have been implied here in the same spirit in which we shall shortly see another hinted with Δῆλος.

Ibid. *Λητωάδος*. 1. **ΝΑΔΟΣΗΣΤΡΟΒΕΡΗΚΕ**: 2. **ΙΗΔΟΠΡΟΒΕΒΗΚΕ**: 3. **ΜΗΤΞΑΔΟΣΠΡΟΒΕΒΗΚΕ**. From these the amount of defacement sustained by the monument will be readily inferred.

The metronymics of Ἄρτεμις were, *Λητωῖα*, *Λητωῖς*, *Λητωῖάς*, as in Kallimach. *Hým. Artém.* † Οὐνεκα θυγατέρας Λητωῖδι πέμπεν ἀμορβούς, and Τεύξατε· καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ Λητωῖάς, ὥσπερ Ἀπόλλων. The form used by our poet was unquestionably the last of these, with the Ιῶτα merging in the Ο-μέγα as a subscript, forming *Λητωῖάς*. Thus we find *Λητωῖα* assuming the form *Λητώα* in Sophoklés: ‡ Κάκ' τοῦδε μηνίσασα Λητώα κόρη.

*Λητωάδος* appeared to have been followed by two letters which my first copy exhibits as ΗΣ, that is, ἦς, "before whom it advanced," to wit, "emerged." I regard ΗΙ, however, as far preferable, with the meaning which I have assigned to it in my version, "through whom," that is, by whose intervention, or agency. Thus Hesiod. § *τρηχίνα δέ τοι παρελάνω Ἔς κήυκα ἄνακτα· ὁ γὰρ δυνάμει τε καὶ*

\* Alkest. 112. ss.

‡ Eléktr. 570.

† III. 45. 83.

§ Scut. Herc. 353. ss.



*αἰδοῖ Τρηχίνος προβέβηκε*, that is, "by" (or "through") "his prowess and modest deportment." The superiority of this restoration will appear more evident from what is stated in the next verse.

8. *Βένθεσιν*. My copies were: 1. **ΙΕΝΔΕΞΙΝ**: 2. **ΙΕΝΘΕΞΙΝ**. The restoration which I have offered may, therefore, be considered as abundantly certain. Then followed: 1. . . . **ΙΣΡΑ** . . . . . **ΝΑΡΥΟΜΕΝΗΙ**: 2. **ΑΝ** . . . **ΗΣΕΔ**  
. . . . . **ΝΑΡΥΟΜΕΝΗΓ**.

*Βένθος* was the poetic form of *Βάθος*, as *Πένθος* of *Πάθος*. *Εσχ. Πᾶσαι, ὅσαι κατὰ βένθος ἄλός Νηρηίδες ἦσαν.\* 'Αθάνατος Πρωτεύς Αἰγύπτιος, ὃς τε θαλάσσης Πάσης βένθεα οἶδε.†* *Θοαῖσι μὲν ναυσὶ πόρον Πανοαὶ κατὰ βένθος ἄλιον Ἰθύνοισι.‡* The last of these passages suggest, as a fitting restoration here, *εἰναλίσι*, evidence of which to a certain extent appears in my second copy: *εχ. Μόναν δὴ μ' ἄχαιοὶ κομίζου=σι σέθεν ἀπ' ὀμμάτων Κνανεάν ἐπὶ ναῦν Εἰναλαιοὶ πλάταις.§* The true supplement, however, may be *Ἰκαρίσι*, in agreement with our present locality: thus we read in the last verse but one, *ρόον Ἰκαρίου*.

The last hemistich has occasioned me no small perplexity. The verb *ἀρύω*, and its middle, *ἀρύομαι*, always imply motion upwards;|| unlike its derivative "haurio," which is sometimes used in the sense of "sorbeo."\*\* Accordingly, the true reading cannot be *ἀρυομένη*, for this we should necessarily connect with the subject of *προβέβηκε*, that is, *Πάτος*. It remains, therefore, that we adopt either of two restorations, agreeably to *ἦς* or *ἦ* in the preceding verse, namely, *ἀρυομένης* or *ἀρυομένη*: and this, moreover, appears to agree better with the marble, which presented traces of a letter after the **Η**.

The restitution of the word which immediately preceded this can hardly be defined with certainty; but I conclude from the evidence of the copies, that the choice lies between *πρόσθεν* and *τὸ πρὶν*. The first of these being an

\* Πιάδ. σ'. 38.

† *Odyss. δ'. 385. s.*

‡ *Euripid. Belleroph. Fr. xx. 2. ss.*

§ *Id. Troad. 1099. ss.*

|| *Ex. gr. Hesiod. Opp. et DD. 548. \*Ος τε ἀρυσάμενος ποταμῶν ἀπὸ ἀεναόντων. Arat. Diosem. 14. s. 'Ἡὲ τέων ἄλλων οἷ τ' ὠκεανοῦ ἀρύνονται Ἀστέρες ἀμφιλύκη, οἷ τε πρώτης ἐτι νυκτός.*

\*\* *Ex. c. Cicer. Philipp. xl. 5. init. "Quid eum non sorbere animo, quid non haurire cogitatione, cujus sanguinem non bibere censetis?" Ovid. Fast. III. 600. "Puppis, et, expositis omnibus, hausta perit."*

adverb both of time and place,\* may be constructed prepositionally with ἦς-----ἀρνομένης, “in presence of whom drawing it forth,” or independently, as τὸ πρίν. I have already stated, however, that I think ἦ and ἀρνομένη entitled to our preference, and accordingly, I have rendered the passage and restored it with reference to this reading alone.

It is evident from the age in which the author of these lines wrote, that we must seek the explanation of this remarkable passage from some other source than the science of these latter times, insular or continental formations by the upheaving of the terrestrial crust having been then neither understood nor appreciated. We must, therefore, resort to the writer’s language and etymology, not forgetting the impulse of the Greek mind to appropriate to its own vehicle of thought the origins of all designations, whether ethnical, local, or personal, however primarily they may have been unconnected with it. A striking instance of this we have had occasion recently to notice in the instance of the Amazonian community.† That of the Egyptian Ámmon is another case in point, whom a Greek (not Plútarchos) was found hardy enough to hint to have been so named, because his temple stood “beneath the sand-heaps;”‡ Δεοῦν being thus a derivative of ἄμμος!

To come nearer to our present site. It is abundantly evident, that in the territorial designations of Western Asia, and the adjacent islands of the Ægean, which have survived the march of Hellenic conquest, we behold imprinted in legible characters the primitive ascendancy of their nomade rulers. These it was the constant endeavour of the Greeks to efface, partly by adopting, and then disguising them under the inflexions peculiar to their own vernacular; in some cases, by replacing them with its synonyms. I cite two examples illustrative of each of these artifices. Every one is familiar with the term Τύραννος, and knows that it is classical Greek. But the inscriptions of Μαιονία reveal to us the fact, that it primarily existed in the language of that country,§ and

\* Ex. c. *Iliád.* α'. 250. α. Τῷ δ' ἤδη δύο μὲν γυνεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων Ἐφθιάθ', οἳ οἱ πρόσθεν ἄμα τρέφον, ἧδ' ἐγένοντο. η'. 224. Τὸ πρόσθε στέρνοιο φέρων Τελαμώνιος Δίας.

† Vide note (†), p. 136. *supr.*

‡ Comp. Eustáthios on Dionýs. *Perieget.* Καὶ τέμενος Λίβυκοῖο θεοῦ ψαμάθῃ ὑπὸ πολλῇ, cited in *Stephan. Dict. Hist.* p. 91. a.

§ Comp. *Fascic. Inscr. Gr.* II. p. 145. n. CLXIII. b.

accordingly we trace it in the Ethnic of its ancient Italian colony, written by the Greeks *Τυρρήνός*. In effect, it was itself an Ethnical appellation, identical, when divested of its Hellenic termination, with the Persian, that is, the Zendic, *توراني*, signifying a native of *توران*, the vast tract of the Asiatic continent, whence issued the early conquerors and princes of the western world.\*

I now submit an instance of the second mode, namely, the introduction of a synonymous name. The Greek immigrants into Lykia found its principal river denominated from the colour of the bed over which its waters flowed, "the yellow" (*زراب*), and by degrees superseded the ancient name by exchanging it for their own *Ξανθος*. This their illustrious geographer has had the candour to acknowledge, by informing us of the vernacular name, clothed, however, in a Greek dress, *Σίρβα*.†

I state these facts as preliminary to my observations respecting our present locality. I feel convinced, that *Πάτμος*, however it may be disguised under its Hellenic form, is a name traceable to a Shemitic root... one designative of a product for which both it and other islands of the *Ægæan* were, and still are, remarkable. I allude to the Terebinthaceæ of botanists, a family which was known to the inhabitants of Syria and Arabia under the respective names of *שִׁטָּה* and *بطم*, and from which the latter people would naturally denominate our island as *جزيرة البطم*. Consistently with this we find the words in the Apokalypse, † *ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ καλουμένῃ Πάτμῳ* expressed in the Arabic version, *في جزيرة يقال لها بطمس*, wherein *بطم* has been preserved, the only change which has been made consisting in the addition of the *Sin* to impart to it the Greek form. The inference from this is, that "*Bátmos*," not "*Pátmos*," is the correct mode of writing the name, and we may be certain, that a Greek who was aware of it would not fail to take advantage of the approximation of the former to the allied nouns *βαθμός*‡ and *βάθος* to construct a myth of the island's having

\* Amongst the Persian historians *ایران* and *توران* are the designations which comprehend all the higher Asia, with the exception of India and China. Vide Richardson's Dictionary, p. 313. b.

† Vide XIV. 3. *Ὁ Ξανθος ποταμός, ὃν Σίρβην ἐκάλουσιν οἱ πρότερον*. It appears evident from this, that *Σίρβα* was the Hellenic euphone for *زراب*, formed by suppressing the final letter.

‡ Ch. I. v. 9.

§ In reference to this word, which, like *ἀρνομένη*, implies ascent, it may be remarked, that *Pátmos* was not infrequently written *Páthmos*. Thus LEMAIRE remarks on Plin. IV. 23. 3. in note 28.,

been originally submerged in the abyss, from which it was eventually drawn forth by the power of a deity. He might not, it is true, be cognizant of the real *étymon*; but even supposing he were, a true Greek would care very little for that, when the credit of his vernacular was concerned.

There can be little doubt of the names of Rhódos and Dêlos, concerning which myths analogous to this of Pátmos have been invented,\* being referrible to a like source: but into further discussions of this kind my limits forbid my entering. The only remark which it is now necessary to offer is, that the author of these lines seems to have been actuated by a desire to assert in all particulars the same amount of claim to mythical renown on behalf of Pátmos which had been conceded to other islands better known to the mythist and the historian. If to Dêlos belonged the honour of being the chosen seat of the worship of the son of Letó, Pátmos could assert a like connexion with her daughter: if Poseidôn could chain the errant member of the Kykládes to the rock,† and give it a place in his domain, so had the virgin-goddess rescued the entombed Ionian isle from the abyss.

“Vet. apud Dalecamp. Pathmos.” Was the close resemblance of this to *βαθμός* the origin of the myth, or was the latter, already existing, the source of the former, in order to approximate it to a presumed *étymon*? Vide “Postscript.”

\* Comp. Stephan. Dict. etc. p. 854. a. “Nomen ejus” (i. e. Rhódos) “quod attinet, ita Grammatici: *παρὰ τὸ πολλὸν ῥόδον αὐτόθι δονεῖσθαι, πρὶν φανῆναι τὴν νῆσον.*” Hemst. ad Lucian. Dial. Marin. x. “Rhodum quoque, cujus et Philo eandem ob causam meminerat, olim infra fluctus depressam *ἀναφανῆναι ὕστερον ξηρανθείσαν* Heraclides ait.” Concerning Dêlos, see Lucian. in loc. cit. Strabo, x. 5. Kallímach. H. ad Dêl. Æneid. iii. 73. ss. Thebaid. i. 702. Petron. Fragm. vi. p. 225. Bip.

Bochart has derived the name Rhódos from the Aramæan *רֹדֹס*, supposing an aphæresis of the first letter. This word (Buxtorf. Lexic. p. 238.) signified “a serpent;” and certainly the agreement of this with one of its ancient names, *Ῥοδιόσσα* (Strab. xiv. 2.), appears singular. Hesýchios has explained this, *διὰ τὸ πλήθος τῶν ὄφειν*, in corroboration of which we may cite a passage from Diódoros (v. 58. p. m.), *τῆς Ῥοδίας γῆς ἀνεΐσθη ὄφεις ὑπερμεγέθει κ. τ. εἰς*. The same author informs us also, that the Rhodian cult of Poseidôn originated with *Κάδμος*, which tradition implies a very early connexion between it and the Phœnicians, and thus favours the etymology here stated. Its perversion may, as in the instance of Pátmos, have originated the myth of its emersion from the deep.

† Pindar. in Strab. x. 5. p. 387. Tauch. *Δὴ τότε τέσσαρες ὄρθαι Πρέμων ἀπύρουσαν χθονίων,*  
\**Ἄν δ' ἐπὶ κραναῆ σχίθον Πέτρα δδαμαντοπέδιλοι Κίονες.*

'Ενθάδ' Ἐρινύσ' ἔδεθλον ἀλήϊος εἶσεν Ὀρέστης,  
 10 Οἴστρημ' ὡς φύγεν ἧς μητροφόνου μανίης·  
 Ἐνδείην δ' οἱ ἄμυνε πατήρ σοφοῦ ἱητήρος  
 Γλαυκίω, βουλαῖς Ἀρτέμιδος Σκυθίης·  
 Κατὰ ῥόου πλὴς Ἰκαρίου δυσχείμερον οἶδμα  
 Ὀργια θαλλοφορῶν, ὡς θέμις, ἠγλαΐσεν.

9. 'Ενθάδ' κ. τ. ἐξ. I copied here: 1. . . . ΤΕΡΙΝ . . . . . ΡΙΟΡΝ,  
 2. . . . . ΓΗΝ . . . . . ΝΘΕΝ, from which it is easy to infer the condition of the marble, which presented scarcely a trace of the first hemistich. Such was also the case in each of the two succeeding lines.

I regard it, however, as past doubt, from the vestige ΕΡΙΝ, that mention of the *σεμναὶ θεαί* had occurred in this verse, as also of a fane dedicated to them by Oréstes, from the introduction of εἶσεν towards its close. There remained of ἔδεθλον but three elements and part of a fourth: as a restoration, therefore, although highly probable, it is by no means so certain. I cite, however, the following on its behalf. Pausan.\* Καλοῦσι δὲ Ἐρινῦν οἱ Θελπούσιοι τὴν θεὸν (viz. Δήμητρα). ὁμολογεῖ δὲ σφισι καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ἐπιστρατεῖαν Ἀργείων ποιήσας ἐς Θήβας· καὶ οἱ τὸ ἔπος ἔχει· Δήμητρος τόθι φασὶν Ἐρινύον εἶναι ἔδεθλον. Kallimach: † Σπάρτη τοι, Καρνείε, τό γε πρῶτιστον ἔδεθλον. Thus also we read in a titulus from Philai, published in my third volume; ‡ Στάλα ἐνεστάλωσεν, εἴς εἰς τότε νάσω ἔδεθλον Πᾶς ὁ μολῶν ὑμνῆ τὸν χθονὸς ὀλβοδόταν.

Ibid. Ἀλήϊος. This was very indistinct, but is unquestionably the true reading. My first transcripts were; 1. ΑΙΙΙΙΙ°Σ: 2. . . . ΗΙΟΣ: 3. ΑΝΗΙ°Σ. The Homeric student will be at no loss for assigning to it its proper meaning, viz., ἐνδείης. Ex. gr. Οὐ κεν ἀλήϊος εἴη ἀνὴρ ᾧ τόσσα γένοιτο. §

Ibid. Εἶσεν. That is, ἴδρυνε. This, and the following proper name, were quite distinct on the monument.

From the obsolete ἔζω came the following: εἶσα, εἰσάμην, εἶσομαι, εἶμαι. The following are examples of the use of the middle aorist in the sense now before us. Theogn.: || Ἄρτεμι θηροφόνῃ, θύγατερ διὸς, ἦν ἀγαμέμνων Εἶσαθ', ὄτ'

\* VIII. 25. 3.

† Hým. II. 72.

‡ Fascic. III. p. 187. n. CCCXIX. c. Comp. Lykóphron. 987.

§ Iliád. ε'. 125, 267.

|| Sentent. 12. s. Ed. Gaisford.

ἐς Τροίην ἔπλεε νησιῖ θοαῖς. Heródot. :\* Τῷ δὲ Λυκούργῳ τελευτήσαντι ἱρὸν εἰσάμενοι σέβονται μεγάλως.

10. Οἴστρημ' ὤς. My first copies of this line were: 1. ----- ΦΥΓΕΝ  
 \_ ΜΕΤΡΟΦΟΝ \_ ΜΑΝΙΗΣ: 2. --- ΣΙΤ ----- ΕΠΙΣΙΗΤΟΦΟΝΟΥ: 3. --  
 Σ --- Μ --- ΦΥΓΕΝΗΣΜΗΤΡΟΦΟΝ ΥΜΑΝΙΗΣ.

My first attempt to restore this verse was; Σειστός, ὄτ' ἔκφυγεν ἧς μητροφόνου μανίης, in accordance with Ovid's line concerning Oréstes: † "Exactus furiis venerat ipse suis." I esteem that, however, which I have given above, as on every account preferable, as well from the traces still extant on the marble, as from the more graphical delineation it presents of the degree of mental torture under which the fugitive laboured. Compare the following: Aischýl.: ‡ Ἐλελεῦ, ἔλελεῦ, ὑπό μ' αὐ σφάκελος Καὶ φρενοπληγεῖς μανίαι θάλπους', Οἴστρου δ' ἄρδεις χρίει μ' ἄπυρος. Sophokl.: § Οἴμοι μάλ' αὐθις ὄδον εἰσέδν μ' ἄμα Κέντρων τε τῶνδ' οἴστρημα, καὶ μνήμη κακῶν. Euripíd.: || Ἴδρυσαι βρέτας, Ἐπώνυμον τῆς ταυρικῆς, πόνων τε σῶν, Οὗς ἐξεμόχθεις περιπολῶν καθ' ἑλλάδα Οἴστροις ἐρινύων. Also with the expression μητροφόνου μανίης, the verse in Euripides in allusion to the same Oréstes: \*\* Εἴπερ γε κηλὶς ἔβαλέ νιν μητροκτόνος.

11. Ἐνδείην δ' οἱ ἄμυνε. My copies of this hemistich were: 1. --- ΔΕΙ  
 ----- ΙΑΤΗΣΟΦΟΥΙΗ \_ ΠΡΟΣ: 2. --- ΔΕΙ ----- ΙΑΙΗΙΣΟΦΟΥΙΗ  
 ΤΗΡΟΣ: 3. ----- Ε ----- ΤΑΠΗΡ κ. τ. λ. The exceeding indistinctness of all the elements in the first hemistich deprive any attempt at restoration, which can be made, of all claim to acceptance on the ground of certainty. The same may be observed of the letters ΔΕΙ, though appearing in two of my copies: this may have been ΑΣΙ, and therefore one of my first restorations was Ἰασιν δ' οἱ ἔνευκε. I then tried, Ἦρκεσε δ' ἐνδείην, but this advanced ΔΕΙ farther into the verse than appeared to be sanctioned by the monument. I accordingly substituted for it Ἐνδείην δ' οἱ ἄμυνε.

The supplement Ἰασιν is, considered in itself, unexceptionable, as the following from Sophoklés †† proves: Πόθεν δ' ἂν εὔροις τῶν ἐμῶν σὺ πημάτων Ἀρηξιν,

\* L 66. init. Εἶσεν occurs in Πιιάδ. β'. 549. Καὶ δ' ἐν Ἀθήνησ' εἶσεν, ἐφ' ἐνὶ πτόνι νηψ̄.

† Trist. iv. 4. 70.

‡ Prometh. 877. sa.

§ Oidíp. R. 1317. s.

|| Iphig. in Taur. 1453. sa. Comp. Jacobs, Anthol. Palat. ix. 354., xl. 387.

\*\* Iphig. in Taur. 1200.

†† Eléktra, 876. s.

οἷς ἴασιν οὐκ ἔνεστ' ἰδεῖν; it comes recommended also by the view which the author of these lines evidently appears to have taken of the symptoms of the hero's malady, namely, that it was a derangement of the nervous system resulting from his consciousness of guilt, and therefore to be treated with medicaments suited to the case. On the other hand, ἐνδείην seems more in harmony with ἀλήϊος in the ninth verse, and may be susceptible, moreover, of a meaning peculiarly applicable to the condition of Oréstes, whom Ovid\* had before designated "egentem mentis." I need scarcely add, that the restoration which I have adopted is strictly Homeric: for example; † εἶποτε δ' αὐτε Χρειῶ ἐμείω γένηται ἀεικέα λογὸν ἀμῦναι Τοῖς ἄλλοις.

Ibid. Σοφοῦ. Thus in the Epigr. : † Ἦλθε δὲ καλλίγυντος ὁ κῶϊος, ὁ πλατυλέσχης, Τῆς παιωνίδος πληθόμενος σοφίης.

12. Γλαυκίω, βουλαῖς. My first copy was, ΙΑΜΥΡΕ° - - - - ΝΕ : 2. ΙΑΛΥΚΕ - - - - ΙΣ : 3. ΓΛΑΥΚΙ° - - - - ΙΣ. The second hemistich was sufficiently plain. The restoration βουλαῖς appears to me to be certain.

The connexion which is here intimated as having subsisted between the family of this Glaukías, and Ártemis, leaves no doubt upon my mind of his being the same individual whose daughter is mentioned in the second verse as having been constituted her priestess by the goddess herself.

Ibid. Σκυθίης. This Ethnic is important, as it implies, so far as it goes, the writer's adoption of the dramatic narrative of Eurípides: for Σκυθίης here means Ταυρικῆς, as Ártemis is styled by Pausanias: § Καί τοι διαμεμένηκεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τηλικούτο ὄνομα τῇ Ταυρικῇ θεῷ. He had before mentioned, Τούτοις δὲ Ἡρόδοτος ὁμολογοῦντα ἔγραψεν, Ταύρους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ θύειν Παρθένῳ (i. e. to Ártemis) τοὺς ναυαγούς. Agreeably to this we read in Ovid: || "Quæque colunt Scythicæ regnum nemorale Dianæ;" and in Lucan,\*\* "Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ."

13. Κατα ρόου πλῶς κ. τ. ἐξ. This verse has occasioned me more trouble than any in the entire composition, in consequence of the injuries which the first hemistich had sustained. The following were the results of my successive tran-

\* Trist. II. 395.

† Iliád. ε'. 340. α.

‡ Viz. by Agathías. Vide Antholog. II. 22. 19. 5. α. Ed. Ald. 1550. Brunck. III. 58.

§ III. 16. 6., I. 43. 1.

|| Metamorph. XIV. 331.

\*\* I. 441.

scriptions: 1. ΔΙΙΑΙΥΤΑΔΙΙΑΙΧΕΙΜΕΡΟΝΙΔΗ: 2. \_ΑΙΤΑΙΟΥΤΛ \_Σ \_ \_ \_  
 ΣΑΡ \_ΟΥΔΥΣΧΕΙΜΕΡΟΝΟΙΔΑ: 3. \_ΛΗΑΙΟΥΠΛΟΣ \_ \_ \_ Ρ \_ΟΥΔΥΣΧΕΙΜΕΡΟΝΟΙ  
 ΔΗΑ. The final result has, as usual, been expressed in the engraved form.

Κῆτα is the well-known Krâsis for καὶ εἶτα, and corresponds accurately to its present position: but I own that I could have wished the sanction of the marble to κάπι, that is, καὶ ἐπί, for thus we should have had the Homeric ἐπιπλῶς expressed in Tmêsis, presenting the construction ἐπιπλῶς οἶδμα, agreeably to the line,\* "Ἦγαγε Σιδονίηθεν ἐπιπλῶς εὐρέα πόντον. But this, as is evident from the copies, I could not introduce, and so have been constrained to adopt the simple participle. As it is, we recognise in πλῶς οἶδμα the construction in the verse,† Ὡ ξείνοι, τίνες ἐστέ; πόθεν πλεῖθ' ὑγρά κέλευθα.

Οἶδμα is the undoubted restoration in the second hemistich. Thus in the Homeric Hymn: † "Ἡ εἰς οἶδμ' ἄλιον πολυῶχθον αὐτὶς ὀρούσει. Euripid.: § Τύριον οἶδμα λιπούσ' ἔβαν. Again: || αἵματος δ' ἀπορροαὶ Ἐς οἶδμ' ἐσηκόντιζον οὔρια ξένω. So also δυσχείμερον: Hom.\*\* Οἱ περὶ Δωδώνην δυσχείμερον οἰκί' ἔθεντο. Eurip.: †† Οὐτ' ἐν πνοαῖσι χείματος δυσχείμερον.

14. Ὀργια κ. τ. ἐξ. 1. \_ΡΤΕΑ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ ΣΘΕΜΙΣΗΓΔΑΙΣΕΝ.  
 2. \_ΡΠΑΘΑΛ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ ΣΘΕΜΙΣΗΓΛΑΙΣΕΝ. A third transcript gave me ΟΡΓΙΑΘΑΛ, and then ΩΣ before ΘΕΜΙΣ.

The word Ὀργια merits a particular notice. SERVIVS †† has defined it thus: "Orgia apud Græcos omnia sunt sacra, ut apud Latinos Cærimoniæ." PASSOW §§ more explicitly: "geheime, religiose Gebräuche; geheimer Gottesdienst, zu dem nur der besonders Eingeweihte Zutritt hatte, ganz gleichbedeutend mit μυστήρια."

The étymon generally proposed is ὀργή, "frenzied excitement," which answers well to the circumstances of the Dionysiac worship: but the application of the term to these was a more recent extension of its meaning. SERVIVS adds ὄρος. GESNER ||| suggests ἀπὸ τοῦ εἶργειν, which its affinity to μυστήρια renders highly probable: but he should have added a citation from the Scholiast on

\* Iliad. ζ'. 291.

† Odys. γ'. 71.

‡ In Apoll. I. 417.

§ Phoiniss. 202.

|| Hélène, 1687. s.

\*\* Iliad. β'. 750.

†† Kresphónt. Fr. XIII. 4.

‡‡ Not. in Æneid. IV. 302.

§§ Griech. Wörterb. B. II. p. 361. b.

||| Vid. not. in Lucian. Philópatr. x. vol. IX. p. 515. Bipont.



Apollónios: \* \* Ὀργια, τὰ μυστήρια· παρὰ τὸ εἶργειν τοὺς ἀμύητους αὐτῶν, adding another, ἢ τὰ ἐν ὀργάσι γινόμενα, viz., in the sacred grounds of Deméter and Persephónē, between Athênai and Mégara.† But why not deduce it from ἔρδω, a verb of sacred import, with a preterite ἔοργα? The accurate Passow, indeed, seems to incline to this; for he proposes ἔργον in the course of his exégesis of this term.

The following citations may serve to illustrate it in its several applications. Heródotos uses it to express the Mysteries of the Achaian Deméter: † και δὴ και Ἀχαιῆς Δήμητρος ἱρόν τε και ὄργια. In the Hymn to Deméter§ it denotes the Eleusinian rites: \* Ὀργια δ' αὐτῇ ἐγὼν ὑποθήσομαι, ὡς ἂν ἔπειτα Εὐαγέως ἔρδοντες ἐμὸν νόον ἰλάσκοισθε. Again: || Δρημοσύνην θ' ἱερῶν, και ἐπέφραδεν ὄργια πάσῃ Σεμνά, τὰ τ' οὐκῶς ἔστι παρεξέμεν, οὔτε πυθέσθαι, Οὔτ' ἀχέειν. The Mysteries of the Kábeiroi, deities worshipped by the Pelasgoí of Lémnos and Samothráke, are so designated by Heródotos: \*\* Ὅστις δὲ τὰ Καβείρων ὄργια μεμύηται, τὰ Σαμοθρήικες ἐπιτελέουσι παραλαβόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν, οὔτος ἄνηρ οἶδε τὸ λέγω. The rites of the worship of Kybéle also, by Euripides: †† Τὰ τε ματρὸς μεγάλας ὄργια Κυβέλας θεμετεύων.

We now proceed to consider it as designative of the rites of the Dionysiac cult. Bp. MALTBY †† has cited, in illustration of this, a fragment of the Edonoí of Aischýlos; but seems to have been misled by BOTHE's restoration of the second line. The sentence in Strabo§§ wherein it occurs establishes beyond doubt the reading, ὄργανα, not ὄργια. The latter, however, occurs in the following lines of the same poet: ||| Φιλοθύτων δέ τοι πόλεος ὀργίων Μνήστορες ἔστε μοι, which most certainly refer to the Dionysiac worship, an institution of Kádmos himself.\*\*\* The same specific attribution occurs in the introductory lines of the

\* In Argonaut. A'. 920.

† Ruhnken. in Tim. p. 195. Passow in voc. ὀργιάς, B. II. p. 361. a.

‡ v. 61. extr.

§ v. 274.

|| v. 476.

\*\* II. 51. m.

†† Bákchai, 78. a.

‡‡ Lexic. p. 624. a.

§§ x. 3. Τῆς μὲν οὖν Κότυος τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἠδωνοῖς Αἰσχόλος μέμνηται, και τῶν παρὰ αὐτὴν ὀργάνων.

Hence Dindorf, in Fragm. p. 6. a. Σεμνά Κότυς ἐν τοῖς ἠδωνοῖς Ὅρει ὄργαν' ἔχοντες κ. τ. ἐξ., a manifest improvement on Σεμναῖς κοίταισιν ἐν ἠδωνοῖς Ὅργιά τιν' ἀνόργι' ἀγορτες, as given by Dr. MALTBY.

|| Sept. c. Theb. 180. Dind.

\*\*\* Vide Schütz in loc. and Blomf. Glossar. v. 164.

*Bákchai*,\* the speaker being the god himself: *Τοιγάρ νιν αὐτὰς ἐκ δόμων οἴστρησ' ἐγὼ Μανίαισ' ὄρος δ' οἰκοῦσι, παράσκοποι φρενῶν· Σκευήν τ' ἔχειν ἠνάγκασ' ὄργιων ἐμῶν.* So also in Theókritos,† describing the fate of Pentheús: *Αὐτονόα πράτα νιν ἀνέκραγε δεινὸν ἰδοῖσα, Σὺν δ' ἐτάραξε ποσὶν μανιώδεος ὄργια βákχω, 'Εξαπίνας ἐπιόισα.* Finally, Herodianós expresses the advice given by Mæssa to Elagabalus, in the following words:‡ *Εἰποῦσα αὐτῷ κεχαρισμένα, ὡς ἄρα χρῆ ἐκείνον μὲν τῇ ἱερωσύνῃ καὶ θρησκείᾳ σχολάζειν τοῦ θεοῦ, βακχεῖαισιν καὶ ὄργιοις τοῖς τε θείοις ἔργοις ἀνακείμενον.*

This term finds occasionally an extension of its meaning, and, apart from any ritual which presupposes initiation on the part of those concerned in it. Thus Sophoklès: § *Ὅπως δὲ σεμνῶν ὄργιων ἔδαλετο Φλόξ αἱματηρά,* speaking of sacrificial rites in honour of Zeus. Elsewhere|| his Augur styles the mangled remains of the birds of prey which had perished by each other's violence, not by the ordinary ceremonial of sacrifice, *φθίνοντ' ἀσήμεων ὄργιων μαντεύματα.*

Again; magical incantations amongst the ancients were always accompanied by certain secret rites, which were supposed to enhance their effect. It is with reference to these that Lucian thus expresses himself in one of his Dialogues:\*\* *'Αλλ' οὐκ ἐγίνωσκες τὴν ἐπωδὴν καὶ τὰ ὄργια,* Kritías meaning thereby, that Triep'hôn was not duly qualified to perform the feat which he professed himself able to accomplish.

Ibid. *Θαλλοφορῶν.* I regard this restoration as certain, and read it *περισπωμένως*, Oréstes being represented as approaching the Erinýes in quality of a Supplicant, in token of which it was requisite that he should bear the *γλαυκᾶς θαλλὸν ἱρὸν ἐλαίας*,†† which was the emblem of the peace and reconciliation for which he sued. Thus the Aíthra of Eurípides:‡‡ *'Ες τὰσδε γὰρ βλέψασ' ἐπηξάμην τὰδε Γραῦς, αἰ λιποῦσαι δώματ' ἀργείας χθονὸς 'Ικτῆρι θαλλῷ προσπίτνουσ' ἐμὸν γόνυ, Πάθος παθοῦσαι δεινόν.* On another occasion his suppliants§§ are sup-

\* VV. 32. ss.

† Eidyll. xxvi. 12. ss.

‡ v. 7. init. Hence the use of the term in Latin: ex. c. Ovid. *Metam.* iv. 1. s. "At non Alcithoe Minyias orgia censet Accipienda dei." Virg. *Aeneid.* iv. 301. ss. "qualis commotis excita sacris Thyias, ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho Orgia."

§ Trachiniai, 765. s.

|| Antigónē, 1013.

\*\* Philópatris, x.

†† Iphigén. in Taur. 1101.

‡‡ Supplic. 8. ss.

§§ Herakleldai, 517. s.

posed to be addressed; *Τί δευρ' ἀφίκεσθ' ἰκεσίοισι σὺν κλάδοις Αὐτοὶ φιλοψυχούντες.* This Sophoklēs expresses, *Ἰκτηρίοις κλάδοισιν ἐξεστεμμένοι.\** We read indeed a description of Oréstes himself as a *θαλλοφόρος* by the Pythiās in Aischýlos; † *ἐλαίας ὑψιγέννητον κλάδον, Λήνει μεγίστῳ σωφρόνως ἐστεμμένος, Ἄργῆτι μαλλῶ.*

The Latin poets contain many allusions to this rite. Thus Virgil: † “*Optime Grajugenum, cui me fortuna precari Et vitta comptos voluit prætere ramos.*” It explains also the epithet of Statius§ in the line, “*Vittatæ laurus, et supplicis arbor olivæ.*”

Ibid. *Ὡς θέμις, ἠγλαΐσεν.* That is, *ὡς θέμις ἦν ἀγλαΐσαι*, or *ἐκτελέσαι*, as in Hesiodos, || *Ἐκτελέσαι μέγα ἔργον, ὃ οἱ δίοθεν θέμις ἦεν.* The expression *ὡς θέμις* corresponds to the *ἦ θέμις* of the same poet in the following passage: \*\* *οὐδ' ἀθανάτους θεραπεύειν ἠθέλον, οὐδ' ἔρδειν μακάρων ἱεροῖς ἐπὶ βωμοῖς, Ἥι θέμις ἀνθρώποισι κατ' ἤθεα, νίζ., καθὰ θέμις καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. ††* Also, to Homer's *ἦ θέμις ἐστί*, “*prout fas,*” or “*consuetudo, est.*” ††

The verb *ἠγλαΐσεν* answers to the Latin “*ornavit:*” ex. gr. “*ornare con-*

\* Oidíp. R. 3.

† Eumenides, 43. ss. On the use of these *θαλλοί* in precatory ceremonies, see Potter, *Archæolog. Græc. Lib. II. c. 5. pp. 280. ss.* Edit. Dunbar.

We find them used also during the celebration of the Panathénaias of the Athenians, of which a detailed account is given in the same work, c. 20. pp. 479. ss. The *θαλλοφόροι* in these were persons of both sexes advanced in life, the *Γραῦς* mentioned by Dikáiarchos, and the *Γέροντες*, styled *Καλοί*, by Xenophón in his *Sympoa. iv. 17.* To these Aristophanes alludes in his *Vespæ, 540. ss.* *Οὐκέτι πρεσβυτῶν ὄχλος Χρήσιμοι ἐστ' οὐδ' ἀκαρῆ Σκωπτόμενοι δ' ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, Θαλλοφόροι καλούμεθ', ἀντωμοσῶν κελύφη.*

See the Scholiast on this passage, who cites the authority of Dikáiarchos above-mentioned, *ἐν τῷ Παναθηναϊκῷ*, as also of Xenophón, and Philochóros (in his *Ἀθῆν.*, as conjectured by Christianus in his note in l.)

‡ *Æneid. viii. 127. s.* The remarkable coin of the Gens *Æmilia*, which represents on the obverse *Arétas*, the King of Arabia Petraia, in the attitude of a suppliant, and extending the olive-branch, from which depend the vittæ, offers an excellent numismatic illustration of this passage of Virgil. Vid. Eckhel, *Doctr. N. V. T. v. pp. 131. s.*

§ *Thebaid, xii. 492.*

|| *Scut. Herc. 22.*

\*\* *Opp. et DD. 134. ss.*

†† Vide Tzétz. in *Poet. Min. Græc. T. iii. p. 107.* Edit. Gaisford.

‡‡ Ex. gr. *Iliás, β'. 73. Πρῶτα δ' ἐγὼν ἔπειν πειρήσομαι, ἦ θέμις ἐστί. ε'. 32. s. Ἄτρεϊδη, σοὶ πρῶτα μαχήσομαι ἀφραδέοντι, Ἥι θέμις ἐστίν, ἄναξ, ἀγορῆ.*

vivium," "to lay out a banquet with splendour."\* Such also is its meaning in Theókr. † Ταὶ δὲ μελάμφυλλοι δάφναι τιν, πόθιε παιάν' Δελφίς ἐπεὶ πέτρα τοῦτό τοι ἀγλαΐσει, "Since the Delphian rock hath given to this" (τὸ κείμενον) "its ornament" (i. e. its luxuriance) "for thee." In the passive: Píndar. ‡ Ἀγλαΐζεται δὲ καὶ Μουσικᾶς ἐν ἁώτῳ, "He" (Hieron) "is graced also with musical accomplishments." Agreeably to this we find ἀγλαΐη with the meaning attached to it, Beauty, Comeliness: as in Hom. § Ἀγλαΐην γὰρ ἔμοιγε θεοὶ, τοὶ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν, Ὀλεσαν. The words are those of Penelópe.

Hence came the very usual signification of the middle verb, "to rejoice," "feel pleasure," "experience satisfaction," in any possession considered as ornamental. Thus Hom. : || ἀλλά σέ φημι διαμπερές ἀγλαΐεῖσθαι, "but I promise to you alone the pleasure of being their owner from henceforth."

My concluding remark is on the composite form ἀπηγλαΐσεν, which I have found occurring in a fragment of an elegiac distich at the end of a Parian inscription published by Böckh from Σπον and others, with the usual exégesis.\*\* It records a decree of the Parian community in honour of a female named Aurelia Leíta, the wife of a certain Marcus Aurelius Faustus; and the lines in metre appear thus:

..... ΔΙΑΤΗΝΑΡΙCΤΟΤΟΚΕΙΑΝΑΚΟΙΤΙΝ  
 ..... ΟCΑΠΗΓΛΑΙCΕΝ

As the learned editor above-mentioned has offered no restoration of this, I feel myself at liberty to propose one. I premise a few remarks: the first relating to the evident omission by the copyists of the syllable after ΤΗΝ in the first line. This, I conclude, happened in consequence of its resembling ΤΗΝ in the forms of its characters, the casualty having often happened, under such

\* Vid. Cicer. vi. Verr. c. 20.

† Epigr. l. 3. s.

‡ Olymp. l. 22. s.

§ Odys. σ'. 179. s.

|| Πιάς, κ'. 331. Add to these examples the passage in Simonides, Περὶ γυναικῶν, σσxxx. 67. ss. Gaisf. Καλὸν μὲν ὄν θέημα τοιαύτη γυνή' Ἄλλοισι' τῷ δ' ἔχοντι γίγνεται κακόν· Ἦν μὴ τις ἢ τύραννος, ἢ σκηπτούχοι ἢ, Ὅστις τοιούτοις θυμὸν ἀγλαΐζεται.

\*\* Corp. Inscriptt. T. II. p. 346. n. 2384. 9.

circumstances, to myself: I therefore propose ΠΑΝ.\* I consider, moreover, ΦΑΥΚΤΟC to be a very probable restoration in the commencement of the second line, as ΑΚΟΙΤΙΝ precedes in the first; that is, that the husband had added these lines himself, through a desire of contributing to the honour decreed to the wife. We may, therefore, suppose that the distich originally appeared in some such form as this:

*Τοῦτο γέρας, διὰ τὴν παναριστοτόκειαν ἄκοιτιν,  
Μνησθεὶς τῆς ἀρετῆς Φαῦστος ἀπηγλάϊσεν.*

This honorary memorial, for the sake of his wife, the mother of an all-pre-eminent offspring, Faustus, remembering her worth, hath decorated.

It appears sufficiently plain from the foregoing details that the composition now before us might have claimed, had it escaped the injuries of time and barbarism, no inferior position amongst the contributions to the Greek Anthologia, which have at different times engaged the attention of scholars of the highest eminence. As it is, most unfortunately, the marks which the finger of time has impressed on the monument have been so deeply graven, that for any epigraphist to profess to restore it letter by letter to its original state, could scarcely be deemed other than a presumptuous self-confidence. To compensate this, however, we possess throughout indications more or less clear of all such components as it would be next to impossible to reproduce had they been utterly effaced; and these are found to supply most valuable hints in relation not merely to the author's scope, but suggestive also of the identical expressions which he had selected. To turn these to their proper account, it is true, presupposes in the decipherer a certain degree of sagacity disciplined in the school of experience, the rarity of which endowment must constitute my plea, should my deductions fail of commanding the assent of my readers.

\* The compound *πανάριστος* occurs in Hesiod. Opp. et DD. 291. *Οὔτος μὲν πανάριστος, δε αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσει*. In defence of the triple compound which I have introduced here, I may appeal to Homer, *Iliás*, *σ'*. 54. *ὦ μοι ἐγὼ δαίλη, ᾧ μοι δυσαριστοτόκεια*.

POSTSCRIPT.

Page 198, note (††).—The epigram here referred to, and which, doubtless, supplied Passow with this exégesis, must have been that by Philippos, published in the Aldine “Anthologia,”\* and more recently in the *Análekta* of BRUNCK.† In the former it concludes thus: Σοὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ βωμῶν ἀτμὸν λιβάνοιο φίλιππος ῥέξει καλλιθύτων, ταῦρον ὀρειονόμον, agreeably to which the *Lexikón* by Konstantinos notices the epithet alone, without seeming to recognise the existence of the verb. This is proved by the following extract:‡ “Καλλιθύτων βωμῶν in Epigra. altarium in quibus immolatur seu litatur pulchris et splendidis victimis.” The inadvertence which I have corrected in this note consisted in the incautious substitution of “Eurip.” in the place of “Epigr.”

It will be seen from the citation, given in the context, of the concluding line of this epigram, which has been taken from the *Análekta*, that two important alterations have been made in it by BRUNCK; the first consisting in a change of the accentuation of *καλλιθύτων*, which he reads *περισπωμένως*, thus converting it into a participle; and the second, in replacing the Aldine reading, *ταῦρον*, with *κάπρον*. I conclude that the former of these alterations had been suggested by the asyndetous construction which necessarily resulted from making both *ἀτμὸν* and *κάπρον* predicate cases of the same verb *ρέξει*, a syntactical inconvenience, however, if it can justly be styled so, which appears to me scarcely to warrant the rejection of the older accentuation, more particularly now that we possess in our Patmian epigram indubitable proof of the use of *καλλίθυτος*.

The extract which I have given in this note from PASSOW contains no reference to authority farther than what may be surmised from his mention of *βωμός*, and this suggests a belief that he had in view the above-mentioned epigram by Philippos. If such be the fact, and the authority cited by him under the head *καλλιθυτέω*, viz., “Phil. Th. ep. 47. 6.,” be this identical epigram, we

\* Vide VI. 10. 1. Ed. Venet. 1550.

† Vol. II. p. 224.

‡ Vol. II. p. 18. b. Ed. 1592.

have a new canon, under the head of "contradictory propositions," added to Logic.

Bishop MALTBY has been more circumspect, as no mention whatever of our epithet occurs in his excellent edition of MORELL'S *Lexikón*. *Καλλιθυτίω* alone is recognised.

*Page 199, note (\*)*.—This custom of sacrificing goats in honour of *Ártemis* is particularly mentioned in an epigram by Theodorídes: \* *Καί σοι ἐπιφρέξει γόργος χιμάριοιο νομαίης Αἶμα, καὶ ὠραίους ἄρνas ἐπὶ προθύροις, viz., 'Αρτέμιδος*. In the case before us, the account which the accomplished traveller CLARKE has given of the Fauna of Pátmos† sufficiently explains the use of the former of these animals in the sacred rites of its tutelary.

*Page 204, note (§)*.—I have already observed, that it would be hazardous to trace the origin of the myth embodied in the seventh and eighth lines to the geological knowledge current in the Græco-Roman period;‡ and consequently that we are to resort for a solution of its existence to some such etymological perversion as we know with certainty to have obtained in the instance of Rhódos. In the cases both of this island and Pátmos, we have found reason to believe, that the true étyma of their names were Aramæan terms expressive of local characteristics;§ but that the Greek lost sight of this during his Hellenizing process, claimed the results of that process as indigenous appellations, and then constructed myths in unison with his imaginary themes.

Thus also he elaborated the name of the central island of his *Kykládes*, and then tasked his ingenuity to account for its origin. This led to his invention of a species of legend, viz., of Poseidôn having intervened with his might to confer upon it, before a wandering and instable tract, a fixed and "conspicuous" position.|| Another version of this myth assigns the agency to Apóllon.\*\*

It is certain, however, that the Aramaic dialect, one which we cannot but suppose to have been either identical with, or closely allied to, the language of

\* Anthol. Ald. iv. p. 201. n. 3. 3. a. In Brunck, ii. 42.

† Travels, etc. vol. III. p. 371. 4to. edit.

§ Supr. p. 204.

\*\* Vide *Æneid*. III. 76. ss., and Serv. in loco.

‡ Vide supra. pp. 191. 203.

|| Supr. p. 205.

the early navigators of the Mediterranean, furnishes a singularly descriptive word when understood with reference to their circumstances, the Hellenization of which also conducts at once to  $\Delta\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ . I mean  $\text{לִיָּדָה}$ , fem.  $\text{לִיָּדָה}$ , signifying "fearful," "formidable," whence  $\text{לִיָּדָה}$ , of which  $\text{לִיָּדָה}$  is a synonym, "terror," or "affright;"\* all which were excellently adapted to express the feelings of the explorer of the  $\text{\AA}$ egæan, more especially whilst steering his course through the group of islands of which  $\text{D}\acute{\epsilon}\text{l}\omicron\text{s}$  is the centre, the theme of the poet's salutary warning : †

" Interfusa nitentes  
Vites æquora cycladas."

Accordingly, the perils of the mariner through those cliff-bound guardians of their domain would at once suggest so appropriate a designation of the point from which they diverged.

These remarks are intended as supplementary to a preceding paragraph in this section, where I waived the discussion by reason of its interference with my more immediate subject. ‡ I have now only to add, that the learned BOCHART has long since proposed the same *étymon*, but on a different ground, namely, that of  $\text{D}\acute{\epsilon}\text{l}\omicron\text{s}$  having been the chosen seat of the Apollinean cult. § This may be probable, on supposition of that worship having been introduced by the Phœnician navigators themselves, whose  $\text{H}\epsilon\text{r}\text{a}\text{k}\text{l}\acute{\epsilon}\text{s}$  I conceive to have been the prototype of the Greek  $\text{A}\rho\acute{o}\lambda\lambda\omicron\text{n}$ , with the title and attributes of the  $\text{בְּעַל־שָׁמַיִם}$  : but of this we possess no such evidence as we have of their importing the worship of  $\text{P}\text{o}\text{s}\text{e}\text{i}\text{d}\acute{o}\text{n}$  into  $\text{R}\acute{\eta}\text{o}\text{s}$ . ||

To return to  $\text{P}\acute{\alpha}\text{t}\text{m}\text{o}\text{s}$ . I have stated, at perhaps greater length than the occasion might seem to warrant, my views as to the origin of the persuasion to which we owe the seventh and eighth verses of our epigram. It may happen, however, after all, that scientific readers may attribute to them a profounder meaning, than the classical student would be disposed to allow them, under the influence of impressions similar to those of CLARKE, whose introductory notices relating to the geology of this island are singularly germane to our pre-

\* Buxtorf. *Lex. Chald. et Syr.* pp. 112. 116.

‡ *Supr.* p. 205.

|| *Vide supra*, p. 205. note (\*).

† *Horat. Carm.* i. 14. 19. s.

§ *Cit. in Stephan. ubi supra*, p. 395. b.



sent subject: "Soon after coming to anchor, the author landed, with a view of examining the cliffs; as the ports of the island have the appearance of craters, and substances resembling lava are common among the fragments of its rocks. The monastery of St. John is situated upon the highest verge of a crater of this description; and the harbour of La Scala owes its origin to another. Perhaps there is not a spot in the Archipelago with more of the semblance of a volcanic origin than Patmos. The cliffs exhibit no form of regular strata, but one immense bed of a porous black rock, in which are numerous nuclei of a white colour, as large as a pullet's egg, in the form of crosses. . . . . all of them intersecting crystals of *feld-spar*, imbedded in decomposing *trap*."\*

The question then resolves itself into this: Are we to suppose that the science of the second century of our era had been such as to qualify an observer, however intelligent, to speculate on the events of a strictly geological epoch, as suggested by such phænomena? A more protracted discussion of this subject may be avoided by the following references, which will acquaint the reader with the views of the ancients on its scientific aspect. Herakleides, in Excerpt. de Polit. p. 455., already cited, supra, p. 205, n. (\*), states the fact simply with respect to Rhódos. Plinius, however, in Nat. Hist. II. 88. s., and Marcellinus, in Reb. Gest. XVII. 7. sub. fin., more ambitiously, but with a copious infusion of mythical references in their respective catalogues, a critical investigation of which would extend this essay very far beyond its prescribed limits.

The fine passage in Píndar. Olymp. VII. 100–28. Φαντὶ δ' ἀνθρώπων παλαιαὶ Πήσιες, κ. τ. ἐξ, is, of course, merely the statement of a poet, but merits a notice here, as, in all probability, the ground-work of our author's lines respecting the origin of his Pátmos.

#### SECTION IV. b.

The Titulus next in order, and which, with the foregoing, comprises my whole collection of memorials of ancient Pátmos, was copied from a marble in the Convent that stands in the centre of the town. It has sustained more

\* Travels, ubi supra, pp. 369. a.

damage than even its predecessor; of twenty three lines, which alone it was possible to trace, the fifth having altogether disappeared from the monument, and one-half at least of the remainder retaining but a few letters or isolated words to render the decipherer any assistance. Fortunately, however, sufficient has on the whole been left to acquaint us with the specific object held in view, accompanied also with the name of the individual, of certain honours awarded to whom the document was a record. It is referrible, moreover, to a class of inscriptions, the language of which was, in a principal degree, framed after a technical model; so that, provided the peculiarities of any particular member thereof were tolerably preserved, a competent acquaintance with the municipal phraseology suited to its case enables the decipherer to supply, with a reasonable chance of accuracy, whatever deficiencies the marble may present in its technical details. By pursuing this method, and availing myself of a large collection of tituli, both edited and in manuscript, from the islands of the Ægæan, I am of opinion, that it is in my power to submit a very probable restoration of the whole, with the exception, in certain instances, of Names and Numerals, which no ingenuity could hope to divine.

The collection of tituli to which I have alluded as already published is that of the learned Βόσκη: those which I have mentioned as inedited comprise a large number in my own possession, the fruits of personal research, which it is my anxious desire at some future period to submit to the members of the Academy.

The general tenor of the epigraph before us is to evince the gratitude of the inhabitants of Pátmos, and the other islands of the Ikarian sea, towards an individual named Chrysókomos, in return for his various acts of kindness and liberality towards their community. This was evinced by their decreeing him a crown of gold and a portrait (*είκόνα γραπτήν*) of himself, exclusively of other honours, commensurate to his alacrity in their service.

This being premised, I proceed to submit, in the first place, my transcript of what remained on the monument, then a translation of it in accordance with the form to which I have ventured to restore it, and lastly, that form itself in the minuscule character, accompanied by the proofs of my several restorations.

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 ΟΚΟΜΟΣ . ΑΙΤΟΛ ----- ΕΔΟΞΕΤΩΙΚΟΙ  
 ΤΩΝ . . . . . ΑΔΑΙΚ . . . . . ΜΕΝ . . . . . ΗΣ . Ω  
 ΤΩΝ -----  
 5 ΤΟΥ . Ι . Π . . . . ΙΟ -----  
 -----  
 Ο . . . . . ΚΑΘΙΔΙΑΝΕΚΑΣΤΩΙ ΕΑΥΤΟΝΕΥ . . . . . ΗΝ  
 ΠΑΡΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΝ . . . ΑΠΟΤΗΣ . . . . . ΓΗΣΑ  
 ΧΜΑΣ ----- ΕΛΛΗΝΑΣΑΡΧ  
 10 ΟΝ ----- ΪΑΥΤΑ  
 Δ . . . . . Ο . Α . . . . . ΕΚ . . . . . Ω . . . . . ΓΑΣΤΑΙ  
 ΧΡΥΣΟΚΟΜΟΣ -----  
 ΣΥΜ . . . . . Μ . . . . . ΕΙ . . . . .  
 ΝΕΙΤΑΙΝΥΝ . . . ΠΗΓΓΕΛΤΑΙΕΡΜΗΝΤ . . Ν . . . . . ΠΑΤΜΙ  
 15 ΑΝΑΘΗΣΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΡΑΧΜΑΣ ΔΙΑΚΟΣΙΑΣ ΔΩ  
 ΩΣ ΕΚ ΔΑΝΕΙΣ ΟΝΤΑ . . . ΕΠΗΓΓΕΛΤ  
 ΕΚΤΩΝΙ ΔΙΩΝΤΑΣ ΤΕΘΥΣΙΑΣ  
 ΙΑΣΜΑΤΑ ΥΠΟΔΕΧΕΣΘΑΙ ΔΕ ΔΟΧΘΑΙ  
 ΜΕΝ . . . . . ΝΕ . . . . . ΕΧΕΙ . Δ . . . . . ΕΠΟΥ  
 20 ΑΣΚΑΙ ΑΡΜ . . ΟΜΕΝ . ΣΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΣ ΑΙ Δ  
 ΙΣΤΕΦ . Ν . . ΑΠΟΧΡΥ  
 Ν . . ΚΑ . . . . . ΟΝΙ ΓΡΑΠΤΗΙΑΤΕ  
 ΥΜΟΝΗΜ . . . . . Ν . . Ε . . . . . ΕΡΓΩΙ  
 ΗΓΗΜΑ . . . . . ΑΝΑΓ -

- " During the Monarchship of . . . . . in the month . . . . . ,  
 Pursuant to the motion of Chrysókomos and Tolmídes; it hath seemed good  
 To the general council of the islanders of the Ikarian Hellás met in assembly:  
 Whereas we have been cognizant of Chrysókomos, son of . . . . . tos  
 5 Approving himself undeviatingly, and on all occasions, benevolently disposed  
 Both towards the states of the islanders in general, and towards their citizens  
 Individually, as manifested by his acts of beneficence to each:  
 As also, of his having provided out of his private resources  
 . . . . . drachmaí on the occasion of his officiating as  
 10 Voluntary epimenian legate to the Héllenes, our rulers:



I wish it to be understood, however, that in adopting *Ἐπι Μονάρχου* as a heading to the titulus before us, I intend merely to express the fact, that all such documents commenced with a mention of their respective Eponymes. That the Patmian magistrate who bore that title was styled a *Μόναρχος*, I am not in a condition to prove, unless on the assumption that the *Κοινὸν παρακτίων* of the Κοϊαν titulus was the same body with the *Κ. τῶν καθ' Ἑλλάδα Ἰκαρίαν* of that before us: but this it would be rash to assert; firstly, because it is generally agreed, that *Κὼς* did not lie within the limits of the Ikarian sea; and secondly, because of the essential difference of the two denominations; *παρακτίοι* expressing a position along the coast, namely, of that part of Asia Minor contiguous to which the islands of the *Κοινόν* lay. These *Κοινά*, in effect, seem to have been councils of Representatives, chiefly, if not wholly, convened for religious purposes: and it appears, therefore, natural to conclude, that several had existed, each regulated by the circumstances of cult and geographical position. Thus we possess undoubted evidence of one having existed amongst the *Kykládes*, the place of whose meeting was *Tênos*, as we find it mentioned under the name of *τὸ Κοινὸν τῶν νησιωτῶν* in a Psephism of that place, which *Βόσκη* has edited from *VILLOISON*.\* The members of this council of confederated islands, termed *Συνεδροί*, are represented in this document as decreeing honours to a certain benefactor named *Τίμον*, amongst which we observe the following: *ΚΑΛΕΣΑΙ . ΑΥΤΟΝ . ΕΠΙ . ΤΑ . ΙΕΡΑ . ΚΑΙ . ΘΥΣΙΑΝ . ΠΑΣΑΝ . ΗΝ . ΣΥΝΤΕΛΟΥΣΙΝ . ΟΙ . ΣΥΝΕΔΡΟΙ . ΤΟΙΣ . ΘΕΟΙΣ . ΥΠΕΡ . ΤΥΧΗΣ . ΚΑΙ . ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ . ΤΩΝ . ΝΗΣΙΩΤΩΝ*. To this body, therefore, very probably, belonged the appointment of the *Theoroi* of the islands each year, to attend the celebration of its anniversary solemnity in *Dêlos*. Hence we find, in a Psephism of the same *Tênos* published by *Βόσκη* from *OSANN* and others,† a certain *Ammónios* receiving due honour from the Tenian authorities for his having undertaken the office of *Θεαροδόκος* of the confederated states.

The same amount of evidence is now afforded us by this Patmian inscription of a *Κοινόν* having existed within the precincts of the Ikarian sea, that is, a Con-

\* Corp. Inscr. T. II. p. 255. n. 2334. ll. 21. ss. Böckh's restoration.

† Ibid. p. 250. n. 2329. ll. 8. s.

vention of representatives from the islands of the Ionian confederacy within its limits, to attend to its religious concerns. As I have intimated already, I regard this council as wholly distinct from the one with which the Koïan titulus acquaints us as including representatives from those islands alone of the Doric Sporádes which were παράκτιαι, or contiguous to the Asiatic coast. What the particular cult was to the care of which the attention of the members of the Koïan κοινόν was addressed, appears sufficiently obvious: we may reasonably presume it to have been that of Zeus, from the repeated occurrence of the name of that deity in the epigraph:\* and in the same way we may infer from the fourteenth line of the Patmian, in which we recognise ΕΡΜΗΝ, that the Hermaian solemnities particularly engaged the consideration of the Ikarian Κοινόν.

According to this view of the subject, connected with the impossibility of determining under present circumstances the precise title of the Patmian Eponyme, we can only supply ΕΠΙ . ΜΟΝΑΡΧΟΥ, "dicis causa," or, as we now stand on Ionian ground, replace it with one of the eponymes of Ionía; for example, the Ephesian ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ, or the Teïan ΙΕΡΕΩΣ.

The restorations in the second line are certain, with the exception of ΤΟΛΜΙΔΗΣ, of which only the first syllable remained. ΕΙΠΑΝ, the Roman "dixerunt," or "retulerunt," was the expression used in almost every instance, with reference to the originators of any motion in these Κοινά. Thus we find in the Koïan titulus, ΧΑΡΜΙΠΠΟΣ . ΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΥ . ΚΑΙ . ΦΙΛΟΣΤΟΣ . ΦΙΛΟΣΤΟΥ . ΕΙΠΑΝ. This clause, it is true, comes after the words ΕΔΟΞΕ . ΤΩΙ . ΚΟΙΝΩΙ, etc., in that titulus; and it might, therefore, be expected, that I should be guided by its analogy whilst supplying the lacunæ in the fourth and fifth lines of the Patmian. But the clear traces which the marble presented of the names Chrysókomos and Tolmídes before ΕΔΟΞΕΝ were obstacles to my adopting this order which I could not surmount. As they could not have been Eponymes . . . . otherwise we should have had ΧΡΥΣΟΚΟΜΟΥ, and this exclusively of the difficulty of accounting for a double Eponyme . . . . we can regard them in no other light than as the proposers of the Psephism. Independ-

\* Viz., in the eleventh, twelfth, and twenty-ninth lines. See the close of this section, where this inscription has been given in full, with the requisite elucidations.

dently of these considerations, we possess evidence, in documents of this kind, of the order εἶπαν – ἔδοξε – δεδόχθαι being frequently observed; as in the Carthian inscriptions edited by Böckh,\* 'Ἡρακλείδης εἶπεν' ἔδοξε τῇ Βουλῇ καὶ τῷ Δῆμῳ κ. τ. λ. Again: 'Ἐσχατίων εἶπε' ἔδοξε, etc. Σωσίνοκος Ἰσονίκου εἶπεν' ἔδοξε, etc. It appears, moreover, from the first two of these, that it was not contrary to usage to dispense with adding the paternal names of the movers, as we see has been done on the present occasion.

The third line occasioned me considerable perplexity in the commencement, but only there, as I feel reasonably certain of the supplements I have introduced towards the close. The corresponding passage of the Κοῖαν titulus appears thus: ΤΩΝ . ΣΥΜΠΟΡΕΥΟΜΕΝΩΝ . ΠΑΡΑΚ - - - - - ΤΩΝ. This gave me the important supplement ΣΥΜΠΟΡΕΥΟΜΕΝΩΝ, of which the only trace on the marble was the penultimate syllable. ΝΗΣΙΩΤΩΝ also may be reckoned as certain; but I found it impracticable to deal so with ΠΑΡΑΚΤΙΩΝ, which, consequently, I rejected as foreign to our inscription, substituting another form of restoration, which appears in singular accordance with the few letters that could at all be discerned.

The sole difficulty here is the denomination 'Ἑλλὰς Ἰκαρία, as applied to the islands represented in the Κοινόν: but this may very easily be removed by considering with what tenaciousness the ancient Greeks held to their common ethnic, Hellenes. Agreeably to this, we find it in the ninth line attributed by the framer of the Psephism to the citizens of the state which was dominant, at the epoch when it passed the Κοινόν, in this quarter of the Ægean. In this view, to designate it as 'Ἑλλὰς Ἰκαρία was but to proclaim their consanguinity with their rulers. We may here, however, read Ἰκαρίων, without any material alteration in the sense.

'Ἐπειδὴ ἐγνωρίσαμεν Χρυσόκομον τοῦ ••••••••

5    του διὰ παντὸς εὖνουν ὄντα διατελοῦντα,  
καὶ κατὰ κοινὸν ταῖς τῶν νησιωτῶν πόλεσι, τοῖς τε  
πολίταις καθ' ἰδίαν, ἐκάστῳ ἑαυτὸν εὐεργέτην  
παρεχόμενον, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας χορηγήσαντα δρα-  
χμὰς •••••••• γενόμενον πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἄρχ-

\* Corp. Inscr. T. II. pp. 282. 284. nn. 2352. 2353. 2356.

- 10 οντας ἡμῖν αὐτεπάγγελον ἐπιμήνιον· ταῦτα μὲν  
εἰδότες, ὅσα δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ ἐξείργασται  
Χρυσόκομος τοῦ \* \* \* \* \* του, καὶ ὅτι πλείονα  
συμφέροντα ἡμῖν εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα χρόνον ὑπ-  
ισχνεῖται· νῦν δὲ ἐπήγγελται Ἐρμῆν τῇ νήσῳ Πατμῆ  
15 ἀναθήσειν, καὶ δραχμὰς διακοσίας δώσειν,  
ὡς ἐκδανείζοντα· καὶ ἐπήγγελται παρὰ ταῦτα  
ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τὰς τε θυσίας καὶ τὰ θυσ-  
ιάσματα ὑποδέχεσθαι·

It will be seen from the uncial titulus, that in the fourth, fifth, and sixth lines, the characters had been almost wholly effaced from the monument. The supplements, therefore, which I have adopted, have been selected in conformity to analogous inscriptions. The syllable ΤΟΥ, which commences the fifth line, was undoubtedly the final one of the paternal name in the second case, which name, therefore, we must suppose to have ended in ΤΟΣ, as ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ, ΦΙΛΟΣΤΟΣ, or the like. Lastly, from ΠΑΡΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΝ, with which the eighth line begins, we infer that the verb ἐγνωρίσαμεν, or one of similar import, came after ἐπειδή. These observations being premised, I offer the following citations, which will acquaint the reader with the phraseology usually employed in such cases as the present.

I take my first example from a Teïan inscription which BöCKH has edited from ΜΑΙΓΤΑΙΡΕ, CLARKE, and others: \* ΕΠΕΙΔΗ . ΚΡΑΤΩΝ . ΙΩΤΙΧΟΥ . ΚΑΛΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΣ . ΑΥΛΗΤΗΣ . ΕΥΝΟΥΣ . ΩΝ . ΔΙΑΤΕΛΕΙ . ΤΩΙ . ΚΟΙΝΩΙ . ΤΩΝ . ΣΥΝΑΓΩΝΙΣΤΩΝ . ΚΑΙ . ΛΕΓΩΝ . ΚΑΙ . ΠΡΑΤΤΩΝ . ΑΙΕΙ . ΤΑ . ΣΥΜΦΕΡΟΝΤΑ . ΤΟΙΣ . ΣΥΝΑΓΩΝΙΣΤΑΙΣ κ. τ. ἐξ. My second † relates to the same individual: ΕΠΕΙΔΗ . Ο . ΙΕΡΕΥΣ . ΤΗΣ . ΣΥΝΟΔΟΥ . ΚΡΑΤΩΝ . ΙΩΤΙΧΟΥ . ΕΝ . ΤΕ . ΤΩΙ . ΙΗΝ . ΠΟΛΛΑΣ . ΚΑΙ . ΜΕΓΑΛΑΣ . ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΕΙΣ . ΕΠΟΙΕΙΤΟ . ΤΗΣ . ΠΡΟΣ . ΤΟΥΣ . ΑΤΤΑΛΙΣΤΑΣ . ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ . ΚΑΙ . ΚΑΤ' . ΙΔΙΑΝ . ΥΠΕΡ . ΕΚΑΣΤΟΥ . ΚΑΙ . ΚΑΤΑ . ΚΟΙΝΟΝ . ΤΩΝ . ΥΦ' . ΕΑΥΤΟΥ . ΣΥΝΗΓΜΕΝΩΝ κ. τ. ἐξ.

7. Καθ' ἰδίαν. Elsewhere, as in the Teïan inscription last cited, κατ' ἰδίαν.

\* Corp. Inscr. T. II. p. 661. n. 3068. 1. ss.

† Ibid. p. 666. n. 3069. 2. ss.



The aspiration of *διος* arose very probably from its having had the Digamma prefixed in the Æolic dialect.\*

8. *Παρεχόμενον*. That is, *διατελοῦντα* (l. 5.) *παρεχόμενον*. Thus in a Delian inscription edited by Böckh from ΜΑΙΤΤΑΙΡΕ : † ΚΑΙ . ΧΡΕΙΑΣ . ΔΙΑΤΕΛΕΙ . ΠΑΡΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΣ . ΔΗΛΙΩΝ . ΤΟΙΣ . ΕΝΤΥΓΧΑΝΟΥΣΙΝ . ΑΥΤΩΙ . ΚΑΙ . ΚΟΙΝΗΙ . ΚΑΙ . ΙΔΙΑΙ.

*Ibid.* *Χορηγήσαντα*. My first restoration here was ΔΑΠΑΝΗΣΑΝΤΑ, but I altered it to its present form, as agreeing better with the traces on the marble. It is also abundantly authorized : as by the Teian inscription which Böckh has edited from CHANDLER : ‡ ΟΥΔΕΜΙΑΝ . ΑΝΕΝΕΓΚΑΝΤΕΣ . ΤΩΙ . ΚΟΙΝΩΙ . ΔΑΠΑΝΗΝ . ΑΛΛ' . ΕΚ . ΤΩΝ . ΙΔΙΩΝ . ΓΑΝΤΑ . ΧΟΡΗΓΗΣΑΝΤΕΣ . ΑΦΕΙΔΩΣ . ΕΣ . ΤΑΣ . ΘΥΣΙΑΣ . ΓΑΣΑΣ . ΤΑΣ . ΣΥΝΤΕΛΟΥΜΕΝΑΣ . ΥΠΟ . ΤΗΣ . ΕΧΙΝΟΥ . ΣΥΜΜΟΡΙΑΣ . ΤΟΙΣ . ΤΕ . ΘΕΟΙΣ . ΚΑΙ . ΤΟΙΣ . ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΙΣ. Thus Demosthènes : § Οὐ μόνον αὐτοὶ προθύμως συμπολεμήσουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέα τῶν Περσῶν χρήματα χορηγεῖν ἡμῖν προτρέφονται. Also Polybios : || τὸ δὲ Κελτῶν πλῆθος τὸ τὰ πεδία κατοικοῦν, συνεστηκὸς ταῖς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐλπίσι, δαψιλῶς μὲν ἐχορήγει τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις, wherein we perceive the construction altered.

9. \**Ἕλληνας*. Who these Hellenes were there is some difficulty in determining in the present condition of the epigraph. It is probable, however, that the Athenians are meant, whose generals had terminated the war that had raged between the Samians and Milesians about some lands near Priène, and subjected Sámos to the Athenian rule. This happened at the close of the eighty-fourth Olympiad, at which period it was likely that Pátmos and the other islands of the Ikarian sea shared the fate of the Samians.\*\*

It appears from the uncial copy of this inscription, that of the ninth and tenth lines only twenty-one letters were discernible on the marble, that is, less than one-third of the total number which we may reasonably conclude to have

\* Compare Böckh, C. I. T. II. p. 277. n. 2347. c. l. 8. and his note on n. 2329. l. 7.

† *Ibid.* p. 223. n. 2267. ll. 7. ss.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 654. n. 3066. ll. 10. ss.

§ *Contr. Epist. Philipp.* p. 153. ll. 26. ss.

|| *Hist.* III. 68. 8.

\*\* Vide Böckh's Commentary on the Samian titulus, containing the answer of Lysimachos, King of Thráke, to the Samians, on the subject of certain disputed lands near Priène, *Corp. Inscr.* T. II. p. 214. n. 2254.

been inscribed on the monument in its original state. I cannot, therefore, be expected to vouch for the entire accuracy of my supplements: but that they claim attention is manifest from the corresponding clause in the Κοϊαν epigraph, to which I have already referred as one of my guides in this discussion. It is quite clear, that the expenditure of his private funds by Chrysókomos, which entitled him to so much gratitude, must have been directed to some important object connected with the business of the Κοινόν, the superintendence and due regulation of certain religious solemnities, probably the Hermaic. Consequently, I can conceive no supplements more proper to be introduced here than such as relate to the conveying authentic information (ἐπαγγελία) of the acts of the Κοινόν to the ruling powers, whose sanction may be presumed to have been necessary in order to their being carried into execution.

When this commission was undertaken voluntarily, the individual intrusted with it appears to have been styled *αὐτεπάγγελος*, and in this case he must be presumed to have charged himself with the outlay attendant on the performance of its duties, otherwise there would have been little or no merit in its acceptance. By supposing, then, Chrysókomos to have acted so, an hypothesis with which the supplement *χορηγήσαντα* is in exact accordance, we invest him with an important claim to the gratitude of the Patmian community, and similar in its degree to that of a Thyateirene patriot, whom a section of his fellow-citizens honoured with a statue as, amongst other services, *πρεσβεύσαντα πρὸς τὸν Αὐτοκράτορα προίκα, καὶ κατορθωσάμενον τὰ μέγιστα τῇ πατρίδι.\**

The following is the clause in the Κοϊαν epigraph to which I have referred as sanctioning the preceding supplements: **ΕΠΕΙΔΗ . ΝΙΚΑΓΟΡΑΣ . ΘΕΥΔΩΡΟΥ . ΚΑΙ . ΛΥΚΑΙΘΟΣ . ΛΕΥΚΙΠΠΟΥ . ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΙ . ΕΓΙΜΗΝΙΟΙ . ΑΥΤΕΠΑΓΓΕΛΟΙ . ΤΑ . ΤΕ . ΙΕΡΑ . ΕΞΕΘΥΣΑΝΤΟ . - ΙΙ . ΚΑΙ . ΑΝΕΝΕΩΣΑΝΤΟ . ΤΑΝ . ΟΥΣΙΑΝ . ΤΟΥ . ΔΙΟΣ. κ. τ. ἐξ.** These expressions place in a very clear light what was the special business of the Κοινά and their ἐπάγγελοι, namely, sacred concerns; particularly when compared with the fourteenth and following lines of the titulus now before us; *νῦν δὲ ἐπήγγελλται, κ. τ. λ.*

11. *Ἐξείργασται.* There can be little doubt of the correctness of this res-

\* Vid. BÖCKH's Corp. Inscr. T. II. p. 852. n. 3496. 9. a., and FABRETTI's titulus cited supra, pp. 188. a. BÖCKH has edited this from SPON and WHEELER in C. I. T. I. p. 448.

toration. Ἐξεργάζεσθαι means "to accomplish;" as in Lucian: \* *Εἰ δὲ καὶ Φειδίας ἢ Πολύκλειτος γένοιτο, καὶ θαυμαστὰ πολλὰ ἐξεργάσαιτο.* Again: † Ὅρατς, ὅπως ῥαδίως ἄμα καὶ ποιητικῶς ἐξεργασάμεθα. Diódor.: *Καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν κεραυνοσκοπίαν μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐξεργάσαντο.* The simple perfect occurs, in the active sense in which it is here used in the compound form, in a passage from S. Kýrillos, cited by Hemsterhuis, ‡ where Sokrátēs is said *εἰργάσθαι σὺν τῷ πατρὶ τὴν λιθοτομίαν.* Compare Thukydidēs: § *Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑμεῖς, μελετῶντες αὐτὸ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν, ἐξείργασθέ πω,* that is, *τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης.* Instances, however, are not wanting of its passive sense; for example, Heródot.: || *Τὸ μὲν δὴ ἔργον ἐξείργασται μοι, κ. τ. λ.*

The supplements in the two following verses have been suggested by the verb which closes the period, ὑπισχνεῖται, whereof traces so clear remained as at once to suggest its restoration. Συμφέροντα is a word of most frequent occurrence in Psephisms; as in the first of the inscriptions from Téos cited above, \*\* *πράττων αἰεὶ τὰ συμφέροντα τοῖς συναγωνισταῖς*

14. Ἐπήγγελται. This perfect, like ἐξείργασται in the eleventh line, admits of both an active and passive construction. It is active here, as in two of the sacred Epistles: "Ὅτι ὁ ἐπήγγελται δυνατός ἐστι καὶ ποιῆσαι, †† and, *Νῦν δὲ ἐπήγγελται, λέγων* "Ἐπι ἅπαξ ἐγὼ σείω οὐ μόνον τὴν γῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν. †† In the following it is passive: "Ἀχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ τὸ σπέρμα ᾧ ἐπήγγελται. §§ It implies the binding oneself by a voluntary engagement: whence ἐπαγγελία, "freewilliges Versprechen," in PASSOW. Thus Demosth.: |||| *Τοῦ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐμπλέοντος ἐναντιωθέντος, καὶ τοῖς ναύταις μισθοῦς, εἰ διασώσαιεν τὴν ναῦν, μεγάλους ἐπήγγελλόμενου.*

The reading ΕΡΜΗΝ in this line was very distinct on the marble, and agrees precisely with ΑΝΑΘΗΣΕΙΝ in the following, which is the verb most usually employed in the cases of such offerings, as has been stated in a former section of this memoir, wherein I have also explained the meaning of Ἐρμῆν (and the like) in its present connexion. \*\*\* ΠΑΤΜΗΙ was also clearly defined, but not

\* In Somn. 9. fin.

† In Contempl. 4. fin.

‡ Commentar. in Soma. 12. l. 5.

§ l. 142.

|| III. 65. m.

\*\* P. 225.

†† Romans, c. IV. v. 21.

‡‡ Hebrews, c. XII. v. 26.

§§ Galatians, c. III. v. 19.

|||| Orat. adv. Zenóthemín, p. 884. ll. 10. ss.

\*\*\* Supr. pp. 110. 116. 166.

so the intermediate letters which appear in my copy, **T - NEΞE . .** I regard it, however, as certain, that the psephism exhibited **THINHΣΩI**, the fifth and sixth letters of which are constantly mistaken in worn monuments, even by experienced transcribers, for **E** and **Ξ** respectively. The reverse also holds good; and the same may be said of **B, E, I, K, Σ**. An **Ω** bisected vertically often assumes the appearance of **E, E**, etc., as the perplexed traveller often finds when the merely mechanical part of his task is completed.

16. *Ὡς ἐκδανείζοντα*, that is, “with the understanding that the money was not to bear interest.” That such was properly the meaning of *δανείζω, ἐκδανείζω*, Saumaise\* has abundantly proved, and after him Suicer and Schleusner. When the compact between parties was to the contrary effect, it was usual to add *ἐπιτόκῳ*. Hence the gloss of Hesychios: *Δανείζει· μεταδίδοι, τοῖς ἐνδέεσι κτηρῶ*. The words of Theophylaktos† are very precise: *Δάνεισμα δὲ οὐ τὸ σὺν-τόκῳ λέγει, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀπλῶς χρῆσιν· ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ χωρὶς τόκου ἐδάνειζον·* the command being, *Ἐὰν δὲ ἀργύριον ἐκδανείσης, τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ πενιχρῷ παρὰ σοὶ --- οὐκ ἐπιθήσεις αὐτῷ τόκον.*‡ Thus S. Luke: § *Οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἁμαρτωλοῖς δανείζουσιν ἵνα ἀπολάβωσι τὰ ἴσα*, that is, *ἀτόκως*, the precise sum lent, and no more. In just the same way a “loan” amongst us bears no interest, unless it be so understood on delivering it, and the usual legal formalities be observed.

It thus appears that the merit of Chrysókomos consisted in his placing a certain sum at the disposal of the *Κοινόν* free of interest. This we may parallel with the liberality of Timon the Syrakusian, towards the islanders of the *Kykládes*, which is made the subject of commendation in the Tenian psephism already referred to,|| namely, his facilitating on their behalf the exchange of Attic money into Rhodian, and thus protecting them against the rapacity of the extortioners of those days. The titulus proceeds as follows in Böckh's minuscule: \*\* *Τῶν πωλούντων ὑπὲρ ἑκατὸν δραχμῶν τοῦ Ῥοδίου ἀργυρίου οὐκ ἔλαττον ἀπαιτούντων ἑκατὸν καὶ πέντε δραχμῶν - - - - - βουλόμενος ἐν πᾶσιν εὐχαριστεῖν, οὐκ ἐπράξατο οὐδένα κόλλυβον τῷ ἀργυρίῳ τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ προσεδέξατο αὐτὸ ἀκολλύ-*

\* In *libr. de Usuris*, referred to by Suicer in his *Thesaur. Ecclesiast.* T. I. p. 822., and by Schleusner in *Lexic. Nov. Test.* on the verb *δανείζω*. Compare the *Critica Sacra*, pp. 68. a.

† Comment. on S. Matth. c. v. v. 42.

‡ Exod. c. xxii. v. 25.

§ C. vi. v. 34.

|| Vid. *supr.* p. 222.

\*\* Vv. 4. aa.

βιστον, καὶ περιποίησε τοῖς νησιώταις· in our language, making them a present of five per centum by exchanging at par.

17. *Θυσίας καὶ θυσιάσματα.* The first of these words expresses the solemnities which accompanied the sacrifices . . . the *Feriae* . . . and the second, the victims which were offered. Thus Lucian : \* Πάντα ταῦτα ἔργα φασὶν εἶναι τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος μεμψιμοιρούσης ὅτι μὴ παρελήφθη πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰνέως, that is, as appears from what follows, τὰ ἱερεία, τὴν ἑορτήν. That *θυσίασμα* means the offering itself, or the matter of the sacrifice, is plain from its being the version adopted by the LXX. for Πῶ and Πῶ in the Pentateuch : † Οὐ σφάζεις ἐπὶ ζύμη αἷμα θυσιασμάτων μου. *Θυσίασμα τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐστὶ.*

Δεδόχθαι Χρυσόκο-

- μον μὲν ἐπαιέσαι, παρέχειν δὲ αὐτῷ τιμὰς προπού-  
 20 σας καὶ ἀρμοζομένας· στεφανῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν  
 τῷ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἱερῷ στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ χρυ-  
 σῶν δέκα, καὶ εἰκόνι γραπτῇ, ἅτε ἄνδρα σκουδαῖον καὶ  
 πρόθυμον ἡμῖν γενόμενον ἐν τε ἔργῳ καὶ  
 ἡγήματι. Οἱ Ταμίαι ἀναγραφάντων τόδε τὸ  
 25 ψήφισμα εἰς τὴν στήλην λιθίνην, καὶ ἀναθέντων  
 παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ· τὸ δὲ ἀνά-  
 λωμα εἰς τὴν στήλην τελεσάντων οἱ Ταμίαι.

18. *Δεδόχθαι, κ. τ. ἐξ.* Thus the Koian titulus : ΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙ . ΝΙΚΑΓΟΡΑΜ . ΜΕΝ . ΚΑΙ . ΛΥΚΑΙΘΟΝ . ΕΓΓΑΙΝΕΣΑΙ . κ. τ. ἐξ. ΚΑΙ . ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΣΑΙ . ΑΥΤΟΣ . ΑΠΟ . ΧΡΥΣΩΝ . ΔΕΚΑ. Here we perceive the ellipsis of ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩ, as in a fragment of Lycúrgos given by Phótiος : ‡ Λυκούργος φησιν· Ἄλλὰ μὴν καὶ Καλλισθένην ἑκατὸν μναῖς ἐστεφανώσατε, meaning thereby, στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ ἑκατὸν μνῶν.

I have introduced a supplement into the commencement of the twenty-first

\* De Sacrific. 1.

† Comp. Exod. xxxiv. 25., xxix. 18. Cod. Alexandrin. LXX.

‡ Bibl. c. 396. s. BECKER has given this fragment from Harpokration, under the Oration Περὶ Διοικήσεως, n. IH.

line, for which I have no authority excepting the mention of Hermês in the fourteenth, as an object of religious veneration to Chrysókomos and the Patmians. It was, moreover, usual to perform the ceremony of crowning distinguished persons in a temple or a theatre, and during the celebration of some public anniversary solemnity. Thus in a Tenian inscription of DODWELL and others, which Böckh has edited,\* we read : ΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙ . ΤΗΙ . ΒΟΥΛΗΙ . ΚΑΙ . ΤΩΙ . ΔΗΜΩΙ . ΕΠΑΙΝΕΣΑΙ . ΤΕ . ΑΥΤΟΝ . ΚΑΙ . ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΣΑΙ . ΘΑΛΛΟΥ . ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΙ . ΕΝ . ΤΩΙ . ΙΕΡΩΙ . ΤΩΙ . ΤΟΥ . ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΟΣ . ΚΑΙ . ΤΗΣ . ΑΜΦΙΤΡΙΤΗΣ . A Teian psephism, edited by the same from CHANDLER, proceeds as follows: † ΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙ . ΤΗΙ . ΕΧΙΝΟΥ . ΣΥΜΜΟΡΙΑΙ . ΕΠΑΙΝΕΣΑΙ . ΕΛΛΑΝΙΚΟΝ . ΖΩΙΛΟΥ . κ . τ . λ . ΚΑΙ . ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΣΑΙ . ΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ . ΑΥΤΩΝ . ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΙ . ΘΑΛΛΟΥ . ΑΡΕΤΗΣ . ΕΝΕΚΕΝ . ΚΑΙ . ΦΙΛΟΔΟΣΙΑΣ . ΗΣ . Ε ΧΟΝΤΕΣ . ΔΙΑΤΕΛΟΥΣΙΝ . ΕΙΣ . ΤΟ . ΚΟΙΝΟΝ . ΤΗΣ . ΣΥΜΜΟΡΙΑΣ . ΚΑΙ . ΑΝΑΓΓΕΙΛΑΙ . ΑΥΤΟΝ . ΤΟΝ . ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΝ . ΤΟΙΣ . ΛΕΥΚΑΘΕΟΙΣ . ΜΕΤΑ . ΤΑΣ . ΣΠΟΝΔΑΣ . ΕΝ . ΗΙ . ΑΓΓΙΝΗΤΑΙ . ΗΜΕΡΑΙ . Η . ΣΥΜΜΟΡΙΑ . Theatres were, as I have mentioned, very usual localities assigned to such purposes: accordingly we find, in three inscriptions of Tênos, which appear in Böckh's collection from MÜLLER, DUBOIS, OSANN, ROSE, etc., ‡ the proclamation of crowns decreed to certain individuals by the municipal authorities made by the Árchon Stephanephóros, ΕΝ . ΤΩΙ . ΘΕΑΤΡΩΙ . ΠΟΣΙΔΕΙΩΝ . ΚΑΙ . ΔΙΟ ΝΥΣΙΩΝ . ΤΩΙ . ΑΓΩΝΙ . ΤΩΝ . ΤΡΑΓΩΙΔΩΝ . So also in a passage of Demosthénes§ we read : 'Ὡς ἄρα δεῖ στεφανῶσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανία χρυσῶ

\* Corp. Inscr. T. II. p. 250. n. 2329. ll. 10. ss.

† Ibid. p. 654. n. 3066. ll. 18. ss.

‡ Ibid. p. 252. n. 2330., p. 254. n. 2333., p. 255. n. 2334.

§ Orat. de Corona, p. 243. 14. ss. Reisk. We find here simply χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ, which were accompanied sometimes with the mention of the precise amount, as, ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἐξήκοντα, in the crown decreed to the Senate and People of the Athenians by certain towns of the Chersónesos, in the same Oration, p. 256. 23. ss. So also in the Rhodian titulus (Böckh, II. p. 392<sup>r</sup>. n. 2525. 76. ss.); στεφανωθείς ἐπ' ἀρετῆ χρυσῆ στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ χρυσῶν δέκα, κ. τ. λ. Agreeably to this, we might propose, in addition to the modes of restoration of lines 20–21. about to be mentioned, the following: στεφανῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς Ἑρμαίοις χρυσῆ στεφάνῳ, etc.

The expression ἀπὸ χρυσῶν is elliptical, στατήρων being understood. The money value of the crown ἀπὸ χρ. δ. was therefore 200 drachmaí, if the Attic statér be meant; if that of Kyzikos, 280. Comp. Eckhel, Doctr. N. V. T. I. Proleg. Gen. pp. xli. ss. Böckh. Staatsh. d. Ath. I. p. 22.

στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεύσαι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, Διονυσίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις, τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς, κ. τ. ἐξ. This, we know, was made use of by Aischines as one of his articles of impeachment on that memorable occasion.

I have stated that such was the usual formality observed in giving effect to psephisms of this class: but instances of omission frequently occur, if not of the actual performance of the ceremony and its notification in public, at least of their being provided for in the body of the Psephism. The Koian titulus, to which I have so frequently referred, affords an example of this, its words being simply, **ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΣΑΙ . ΑΥΤΟΣ . ΑΓΟ . ΧΡΥΣΩΝ . ΔΕΚΑ**. Perhaps the publicity implied in the twenty-fourth and following lines was reckoned by the members of the *Κοῖον* sufficient for all purposes.

There can be little doubt, however, of this formality having been duly observed in the instance of Chrysókomos; for the lacuna between **ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΣΑΙ** in the twentieth line and **ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΙ** in the following had unquestionably been occupied by a mention of the occasion on which the honour was to be conferred. Of this only one letter has remained, conveying no manner of intimation as to the proper supplement to be introduced. I am, therefore, compelled to resort to conjecture, and to propose either **ΕΝ . ΤΗΙ . ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ . ΕΟΡΤΗΙ .**, on the ground of the coins of Pátmos indicating some addiction on the part of its inhabitants to the Dionysiac cult, or the supplement which I have ventured in the minuscule, in consequence of **ΕΡΜΗΝ** appearing in the fourteenth line;\* for which reason I have also introduced into the penultimate line **ΠΑΡΑ . ΤΟΝ . ΒΩΜΟΝ . ΤΟΥ . ΕΡΜΟΥ**. It appears to me, that the chances of correct restitution are considerably enhanced by adhering to this last, as Hermês might seem to have been the especial object of religious veneration to the *Κοῖον*, otherwise why assign his regard of that deity as one of the chief merits of Chrysókomos?

24. *Οἱ Ταμίαι*, κ. τ. ἐξ. The marble retained of the entire clause from this to the end of the titulus but four letters, which appear in my copy under the form **ΑΝΔΕ** -, a manifest distortion of the first five letters of **ΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΩΝ**. I have, therefore, given a conjectural restoration of it, selecting my Koian inscription as its basis, but replacing **ΤΟΥ . ΔΙΟΣ** in its

\* Vid. preceding note.

twenty-ninth line, for the reason which I have just now stated, with **ΤΟΥ ΕΡΜΟΥ**. There can be little doubt of the period, in the form now proposed, exhibiting substantially the same type of expression which originally appeared on the monument, as is sufficiently proved by a comparison of its analogues. Thus in a Keian titulus (of Karthaía) which Böckh has edited after Bröndsted,\* and retaining, of its final clause, only the fragment **ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣΓΟΛΕΑΝ**, he has restored in minuscule as follows: 'Αναγράψαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα πρὸς τῷ νεῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα τὸ γεγόμενον δοῦναι τὸν ταμίαν. The Tenian psephism† of the Κοινόν of the Kykládes is much more verbose, directing its being engraved, set up (or as we say, posted) in two different localities, a copy to be taken of each and sent to Délos, and the cost both of the Stéilai and the Crown to be defrayed by the Tamías out of certain revenues. The wording of the first, second, and fourth of these is essentially the same with that of the analogous clause in the inscription of Kós.

Having availed myself so frequently of this remarkable document, which has long slumbered in my portfolio, I feel that I could not perform a more acceptable service to my fellow-academicians in general, and more especially to those of the number whom I now behold around me, than by concluding this memoir with a recital of it in its integrity. It was copied from a marble in Antimachía . . . doubtless the identical stéle with mention of which it concludes . . . and most fortunately has passed through the ordeal of time and vandalism without sustaining any graver injury than it is possible for the scholar to redress. Its age appears to be that of the palmy days of Hellás, antecedent to the ascendancy of Makedonía, and probably coætaneous with the Pátmian psephism, to the elucidation of which it has so materially contributed.

\* Corp. Inscr. T. II. p. 285. n. 2357. 10. ss.

† Supr. p. 222.



<p>ΕΓΙΜΟΝΑΡΧΟΥΝΙΚΟΦΡΟΝΟΣΜΗΝ  ΑΡΤΕΜΙΤΙΟΥΕΔΟΞΕΤΩΙΚΟΙΝΩΙ  ΤΩΝΣΥΜΠΟΡΕΥΟΜΕΝΩΝΓΑΡΑΚ  ΗΣ...ΑΝΧΑΡΜΙΓΓΟΣΓΑΡΜΕΝΙΣ  5 ΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΣΤΟΣΦΙΛΟΣΤΟΥΚΑΙΛΥΚ  ΘΟΣΓΑΡΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΥΕΙΓΑΝΕΓΕΙ  ΔΗΝΙΚΑΓΟΡΑΣΘΕΥΔΡΟΥΚΑ  ΛΥΚΑΙΘΟΣΛΕΥΚΙΓΓΟΥΓΕΝΟΜ  ΝΟΙΕΓΙΜΗΝΙΟΙΑΥΤΕΓΑΓΓΕ  10 ΛΟΙΤΑΤΕΙΕΡΑΞΕΘΥΣΑΝΤΟ  ΙΙΚΑΙΑΝΕΝΕΩΣΑΝΤΟΤΑΝΟΥ  ΣΙΑΝΤΟΥΔΙΟΣΚΑΙΤΑΝΥΓΟΔΟΧ  ΕΡΟΗΣΑΝΤΟΤΩΝΔΑΜΟΤΑΝΚΑΙ  ΤΩΝΑΛΛΩΝΓΑΝΤΩΝΑΞΙΩΣΤΩΝ  15 ΘΕΩΝΣΓΟΥΔΑΣΚΑΙΓΡΟΘΥΜΙΑΣ  ΟΥΘΕΝΕΛΛΕΙΓΟΝΤΕΣΟΓΩΣΟΥΝΚΑ  ΟΙΜΕΤΑΤΑΥΘΑΙΡΟΥΜΕΝΟΙΕΓΙΜΗΝΙΟΙΑ  Λ..ΓΡΟΘΥΜΟΤΕΡΟΣΑΥΤΟΣΓΑΡΕ  ΤΑΙΕΙΔΟΤΕΣΤΑΝΤΩΝΔΑΜΟΤΑΝ  20 ΝΟΙΑΝΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙΝΙΚΑΓΟΡΑΜΜΕ  ΚΑΙΛΥΚΑΙΘΟΝΕΓΑΙΝΕΣΑΙΕΓΙΤ  ΤΑΙΑΙΡΕΣΕΙΚΑΙΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΙΑ. Ε  ΧΟΝΤΙΓΟΤΙΤΟΣΘΕΟΣΚΑΙΤΟΣ  ΑΜΟΤΑΣΚΑΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΣΑΙ  25 ΤΟΣΑΓΟΧΡΥΣΩΝΔΕΚΑΤΟΙ  ΤΑΜΙΑΙΑΓΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΩΝΤΟΔΕ  ΙΣΜΑΕΣΣΤΑΛΑΝΛΙΘΙΝΑΝ  ΑΝΑΘΕΝΤΩΝΓΑΡΑΤΟΝΒΩΜΟ  ΤΟΥΔΙΟΣΤΟΔΕΑΝΑΛΩΜΑΓ  30 ΝΟΜΕΝΟΝΕΣΤΑΝ. ΤΑΛΑΝΤΕ  ΣΑΝΤΩΝΤΟΙΤΑΜΙΑΙ</p>	<p><i>Ἐπὶ Μονάρχου Νικόφρονος· μηνὸς Ἄρτεμιτίου·</i> Ἐδοξε τῷ Κοινῷ τῶν συμπορευομένων παρακτίων νησιωτῶν· Χάρμιππος Παρμενίσκου καὶ Φίλοστος Φιλόστου, καὶ Λύκαιθος Παρμενίσκου εἶπαν· Ἐπειδὴ Νικαγόρας Θευδώρου, καὶ Λύκαιθος Λευκίππου, γενόμενοι ἐπιμήνιοι αὐτεπάγγελτοι, τὰ τε ἱερὰ ἐξεθύσαντο τῷ Διῷ, καὶ ἀνευέωσαντο τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Διὸς, καὶ τὴν ὑποδοχὰν ἐποίησαντο τῶν δαμοτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἀξίως τῶν θεῶν, σπουδᾶς καὶ προθυμίας οὐθὲν ἐλλείποντες. ὅπως οὖν καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦθ' αἰρούμενοι ἐπιμήνιοι ἄγγελοι προθυμότερος αὐτὸς παρέχωνται, εἰδότες τὴν τῶν δαμοτῶν εὐνοίαν· Δεδόχθαι Νικαγόρα μὲν καὶ Λύκαιθον ἐπαινεῖσαι ἐπὶ τε τῇ αἰρέσει καὶ εὐσεβείᾳ ἃς ἔχοντι ποτὶ τὸς θεὸς καὶ τὸς δαμότας, καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸς ἀπὸ χρυσῶν δέκα. Τοὶ Ταμίαι ἀγγραψάντων τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐς στάλαν λιθίναν, καὶ ἀναθέντων παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Διὸς· τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα γενόμενον ἐς τὴν στάλαν τελεσάντων τοὶ Ταμίαι.</p>	<p>5  10  15  20  25  30</p>
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- “ During the Monarchship of Nikóphron: in the month Artemítios.  
 It hath seemed good to the Community of the islanders, adjoining the coast,  
 Assembled in council, on the motion of Chármippos, son of Parmenískos,  
 5 And Philóstos, son of Philóstos, and Lýkaithos, son of Parmenískos:  
 Whereas Nikagóras,\* son of Theúdoros, and Lýkaithos, son of Leúkippos, have,  
 Whilst discharging the duties of voluntary epimenian† legates, in addition  
 10 To solemnizing the expiatory offerings in honour of Zeús,‡ repaired also  
 The estate of the god, and have provided hospitable reception§ on behalf  
 Of the burghers, and all other individuals, in a style|| becoming the dignity  
 15 Of the gods, lacking in no respect a proper assiduity and zeal: to the end  
 That such persons as may hereafter be elected to discharge the office of  
 Epimenian legates may address themselves to their duties with the greater  
 Alacrity, from the consciousness that by so acting they will insure  
 20 The goodwill of the burghers; Be it decreed, to accord our praises to  
 Nikagóras and Lýkaithos, in return for the devotedness and piety  
 With which they are actuated towards the gods and the burghers; as also  
 25 To crown them to the amount of ten golden statéres.  
 The Treasury-Clerks are desired to have this present Decree engraven on  
 A tablet of stone, and set up alongside the altar of Zeús. The Treasury-Clerks  
 Are directed, moreover, to defray the amount expended upon the tablet.”

\* The occurrence of this name here seems to decide a question with respect to a lection on one of the Imperial coins of Kós by VAILLANT, as to which ECKHEL hesitates in Doctr. N. V. T. II. p. 601. b.

† “ Epimenian,” that is, whose duties related to the *ιερά ἐπιμήνια* of Zeús, who appears to have been the Tutelary of the Κοινόν. ‘Επιμήνια· τὰ καθ’ ἕκαστον μῆνα θνόμενα. Harpokrat. in Orat. Lykúrg. Περὶ ἱερείας, in Fragm. Becker. n. IA. ‘Επιμήνια ἐπιτελέουσι, Heródot. viii. 41. l. 10. on which see Valckenár’s note. Also, Brunck on Sophokl. Elékt. 280. s. *μηλοσφαγεῖ θεοῖσιν ἔμμην’ ἱερά τοῖς σωτηρίοις.* Vide supra, pp. 220. 227.

‡ Διᾶ, “to Zeús.” A most certain restoration, and in accordance with numismatic evidence. Vide Eckhel on the coins of Kós, ubi supra, pp. 600. s.

§ “ Hospitable reception,” *ὑποδοχάν.* Iph. in Aul. 1218. s. ἄρ’ εἰσδέξομαι Ἐμῶν φιλαίωιν ὑποδοχαῖς δόμων, πατέρ; Heródot. vii. 119. Κτήνεα εἰσέτεσκον ἐς ὑποδοχὰς τοῦ στρατοῦ. Vid. Böckh. Corp. Inscr. II. n. 2525. b. 49. s.

|| “ In a style, etc.,” *ἀξίως, τ. θ.* Thus in Fascic. Inscr. II. p. 134. n. CLVI. 6. *καταξίως τῷ θεῷ προέστακαν.*

## SECTION V.

THE preceding sections have been composed with a reference, as much as possible exclusive, to the heading of the Memoir in its several divisions, with a single exception, if that can with propriety be termed one which resulted from the exigencies of so interesting and important a member as the metrical inscription from Pátmos. The seventh and eighth lines of this remarkable composition involved, in order to their completer elucidation, an inquiry into the probable cause of their having been inserted, and this I have endeavoured to trace by the aid of language alone, thus inverting the process of the Hellenic writers, who appear to have argued *to* it, and not *from* it, while pursuing speculations which may well be termed mythical, as having had no connexion with any historical or scientific records. Accordingly, I have expressed my conviction, that the suggestive origin of those lines was the homophony of the name Pátmos (written also Páthimos), with βαθμός:\* as also, that the Delian myth was the offspring of the Hellenic metamórphosis of its Aramæan name.† To these it is now my opinion that Rhódos, concerning which a similar belief was prevalent, may be added: I therefore reserve it for a fresh consideration in the course of this section, in which I also hope to make it at least probable that the sacred island of the Ægæan, the centre of the Kykladie group, admits such a thematic basis of its name as places it in the same category. This may seem to imply an abandonment of the étyma which, in the foregoing section, I had adopted from BOCHART, and, in effect, it is so in the case of Rhódos:‡ in that of Délos, I have replaced the first-mentioned theme with one which is strictly synonymous in one of its meanings, and in another, accounts for the Hellenic myth.

From all this it will be seen, that my faith in the Aramaïc origin of the larger number of the insular names of the Ægæan is implicit, and consequently that I hold the classical to be either versions of those that preceded them, or transformations into homophones invested with the Hellenic characteristics by

\* Supra, p. 204.

† Supra, p. 216. a.

‡ Supra, p. 205. note (\*).

means of grammatical contrivances in which the Greek language is so rich, namely, Krásis or Elision, Prósthesis, Epénthesis, Paragogé, or their opposites. Abundant illustrations of these will be adduced in the course of the present section, which may, perhaps, be attended with their due influence on the mind of the candid and unprejudiced scholar. Such an one . . . and there are, in the present state of glossology, many such to be found . . . will agree with me in thinking, that neither learning nor ingenuity could be engaged in any less profitable task than that of the school of VAN LENNEP; in searching, I mean, for the themes of Greek words exclusively in the Greek itself; involving as it does the supposition, that a language which, by presenting numberless affinities in its least complex forms to so many more ancient than itself, distinctly proclaims the amount of its obligation to them, could ever be brought to shake off its dependence by a change in its chronological position. In other words, to become a primeval, or parent language, like that of the dialects of the Keltic races, or the precursor of the Zend and its cognates, or the Shemitic and Khamic tongues in their aboriginal form. The absurdity of supposing this is manifest; more particularly to one who, in the progress of his studies, with every prejudice operating on behalf of the self-origination (ancient moralists would term it *αὐτάρκεια*) of the incomparable language of Hellás, has been unable to close his eyes against facts; nay, more than these, against the expedients to which the disciples of VAN LENNEP are forced to have recourse in the invention of roots. Two examples may suffice: the verb *σκήπτω* is proposed, and its "stirps," or radical verb, is pronounced to be *σάω*, with the meaning "cavo" or "incurvo," although *𐤑𐤒𐤑* is at hand to assert its claim.\* So also *ἄρδην* (that is, *αρδ-δην*, with the first letter of the adverbial suffix elided) is traced to *ἄρω*,† meaning "in altum tollo," with the primitive (and probably Pelasgic) *αρῶ* in actual existence to claim its right.‡

To these an ample catalogue of other examples might be added, were this the proper occasion on which to enlarge, in any proportion to its merits,

\* Vide Scheid. in Lennep. p. 971. b. Ed. Lond. Scapul. 1820.

† Comp. Passow, H. wört. etc., p. 312. b. Scheid, ubi supra, in voc. *ἄρω*, p. 895. c.

‡ Does not this root present itself in such words as Arduus, Ardea (see Georgic. I. 364.), and perhaps Ardea, Ardor? The "Silva Arduenna" in Cæsar's Bell. Gallic. v. 3., affords very probably an example of the same.

on a subject of so much interest to archæologists. This, however, it is not; and it has been introduced by me solely as prefatory to my subsequent details on the origins ("stirpes") of the geographical and ethnical designations of an area of our globe which we are taught by the concurrent testimonies of Language and Tradition to regard as almost the exclusive domain of the Phœnikian navigators. I trust that the remarks, within these limits, to which I now proceed, will be found to justify my asserting, that opinions like the following, carry with them, particularly in the present state of our knowledge respecting the affiliation of known dialects, little or no weight: "Minime placet derivatio nominis proprii Græcorum e fonte Arabico aut Hebræo. Est lingua Græca toto cælo ab orientalibus nostris diversa: ut mirandum sit, viros eruditissimos, hac literarum luce, talibus delectari posse."\* The confusion in this sentence is remarkable. Is it not quite possible for two languages to stand apart from each other in a constructional sense, and yet to approximate very observably to a greater or less degree in an elementary?

I now return to my more immediate subject, a more ample development of the principle insisted upon in those clauses of the foregoing section, wherein the étyma assigned by BOCHART† to the names Pátmos, Délos, and Rhódos have been adopted; but in the case of the second of these, for a reason in which I differ from that learned etymologist. The principle to which I refer has been stated by me to be, a knowledge, that we may now regard as certain, of the Aramaïc dialect having been "either identical with, or closely allied to, the language of the early navigators of the Mediterranean." I have now to observe, that this expression, "Aramaïc," is to be understood in a general sense. Properly speaking, there were two dialects comprehended under this name; the eastern Aramæan, which, combined with the learned language of the Jews,

\* Vide Scheid, ubi supra, voc. "Ομηρος, p. 950. a.

† Vide "Geographia Sacra," in which these have been considered in the following order: Rhódos, Lib. i. cap. 7. col. 369. a. Pátmos, cap. 8. col. 381. Délos, cap. 14. col. 406. Edit. Lugdun. Batav. 1712.

As the volumes of this author are now somewhat rare, I have adapted my future references for the most part to the pages of the *Dictionarium Historicum*, etc., edited by NICHOLAS LLOYD, Geneva, 1693, which will be found to contain within convenient limits a full account of his geographical étyma.

namely, the Hebrew of their recognised canon, constituted in the Apostolic age the popular or Palæstinian, and the western or Syriac.\* It is manifest, however, that we may, in the age with which we are now conversant, legitimately take a wider range in our search for our geographical étyma; so wide indeed, as to include not only the Chaldaïc, but also that other most important member of the Shemitic family, the Arabic, as it is natural to suppose that at so early a period the bond of connexion between these several dialects was far more closely drawn than at a subsequent, when their several characteristics became so distinctly marked as to render classification of them necessary.

There can, methinks, exist no reasonable doubt of the assertion ventured in this clause of the memoir, when the success which has attended the labour undertaken long since by BOCHART, and since his time followed up by PETIT, GÆSENIUS, and other philologists,† in illustration of the passages in the "Pœnulus" by Plautus, which are written in the Punic and Punico-Lybic dialects,‡ is considered. It has resulted from the successive researches of those eminent linguists, that these invaluable fragments of a literature, doomed to extinction by the same destiny which had foreshadowed the Daughter's ruin by the downfall of the Mother, may now be regarded as brought within the pale of actual knowledge. How has this been effected? By slow and cautious steps; a strict adherence to the data which a carefully considered text supplies; and determining the mutual relations of the elements of that text, mainly by the evidence which the Plautine version itself affords, but always consistently with the general laws of the Aramaïc type modified by special syntactical peculiarities. The same suc-

\* Vide Preface by WAIT to HUG's Introduction, etc., p. lxxviii.

† The first-named of these scholars followed BOCHART in his investigation of the passage here referred to, the result of which will be found in LEMAIRE's Plautus (by NAUDET), vol. III. pp. 73. s., extracted from PETIT's "Miscellanea," II. 2. The reader will find an account of GÆSENIUS's labours in a learned and elaborate Memoir on the same subject, published in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. XVIII. P. Lit. pp. 3-64., by the Reverend JAMES HAMILTON, A. M., of Trinity College, Dublin. This was in the year 1835. Subsequently, in 1847, the work of M. JUDAS, "Étude Démonstrative de la langue Phénicienne et de la langue Libyque," made its appearance, in which the ingenious author has traversed the same ground with Professor GÆSENIUS, and added much valuable and highly interesting matter on the subject of the Phœnikian and Phœniko-Libyan syntactical peculiarities. This is a volume of very great merit and research.

‡ Vide Act. v. Scen. 1. 2. 3.

cess seems to have attended the same course of investigation when applied to other fragments of the dialect of Phœnikía, which have survived the destroyer, Time;\* so that, by the aid of an enlightened philology, definite results have now replaced the vague intimations of the Hellenic writers, with which scholars of a former age were forced to content themselves. Such was that of Diódoros† when adverting to the Phœnikians as the chief traders and colonists of the remotest times: "Making continual voyages in a commercial spirit, they founded many settlements along the maritime territory of Libýa, and not a few in the western quarters of Europe." How gratifying is it to the reader of this passage to be now enabled to trace their course of navigation from Týros, their point of egress, to the Kassiterides of Britain, with that eloquent commentary on the historian's words laid open before him at every step,—the geographical names which we learn from antiquity.

To place this in a clearer light, we will suppose him to be carried back in idea to the age when the merchant-princes of Phœnikía monopolized the commerce of the western world, and had, in the view of facilitating the details of their traffic, established commercial depôts throughout the Mediterranean; nay, impelled by the adventurous spirit which is the surest harbinger of successful enterprise, had navigated the Atlantic to the extreme points of the then known world,‡ regions now the pride, but then the reproach of civilization. We will imagine him at Týros, embarked in one of those "argosies" which were destined to the Kassiterides of Britain, but with all the secrecy of mercantile jealousy;§ and now on the open sea: Kýpros, perhaps, is visited, and so also Kréte . . . but to these points of his course we shall soon advert more particularly. Sikeliá, the island of the grape (Σηλίδα, βότρυς,) is to come next, but

\* Ex. gr. the bilingual tituli (nn. 859. 894. in the "Corpus Inscriptionum") of which Böckh has given the explanations by AKERBLAD and GESSENIUS.

† B. H. v. 20. πρ. Φοίνικες ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων συνεχῶς πλείοντες κατ' ἐμπορίαν πολλὰς μὲν κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην ἀποικίας ἐποιήσαντο, οὐκ ὀλίγας δὲ καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐν τοῖς πρὸς δύσειν κεκλιμένοις μέρεσι κ. τ. ἐξ. Compare the account which Heródotos has given of their circumnavigation of Africa in iv. 42.

‡ Compare Diódoros, ubi supra, c. 22. Strab. III. 5. fin.

§ Strab. l. c. Πρώτερον μὲν οὖν Φοίνικες μόνοι τὴν ἐμπορίαν ἐστελλον ταύτην ἐκ τῶν Γαδαυρων, κρύπτοντες ἅπασιν τὸν πλοῦν. The course of transit to Týros is fully stated by Diódoros, ubi supra, and in c. 28. fin. where he recurs to the subject.

perhaps in one of those storms which assail the mariner so suddenly in the *Ægean* he is forced to take shelter in the haven of Melite (מלית, ἡ καταφυγή τῶν ἐμπορῶν\*). Leaving this, we may suppose the vessel turned towards the African coast, and, having escaped the perils of the *Sýrtis*, anchored in the port of Leptis (לבית, לבת), another "Homestead" of the Tyrian mariner. † *Karthago*, the renowned Neápolis (Καρχηδών, ארתח ארתך †) of Týros, solicits his attention next; whence we may conceive him directing his course to the port of Syrakúsai, the city of Syrakó (Συρακῶν, δυσωδία), of the autumnal exhalations of which, and their pernicious consequences, the historian has left us a record. §

The coast of Hispania now opens before him, and we may suppose our voyager on his course thither, first veering to the right to touch at the Sardinian Káralis (ארתח ארתך), and then entering the harbour of Palma, in the greater Balearis (באל ירה ||). Leaving this, he visits in succession the commercial stations along the southern coast of Iberia (ארתח ארתך, γῆς πέρας), first, Hasdrubal's colony, the Neápolis of *Karthago*: then Málaka (Μάλακα, ἡ τῶν ταρχεμπορῶν\*\*); *Karteia*, sacred to the Mélékartos (Μελκάρτης) of Týros, whose once formidable columns, the *Symplegádes* of the *Gaditane* strait, *Abyle* (Ἀβύλα, ΑΦΕ-ΛΑΚΡ ††) and *Kálpe*,

\* Diodor. v. 12. med.

† Bochart. Geogr. Sacr. pp. 526. s. Lucan. ix. 948. s. "Proxima Leptis erat, cujus statione quieta Exegere hiemem, nimbis flammisque carentem."

‡ Boch. ubi supr. Lib. I. c. 35. The name *Καρχηδών* arose from the Sicilian change of the Θ(Γ) into X, as Salmasius has remarked: ad Solin. p. 332. Thus for ὄρνιθος, ἰθμα, were said ὄρνιχος, ἰχμα. Vid. Matthiæ, Gr. Gr. § 29.

§ Comp. Diódor. xiii. 114. fin. xiv. 70. s. Liv. xxv. 26.

|| Strab. iii. 5. p. Καλοῦσι δὲ Βαλεαρίδας . . . . Σφενδονῆσαι ἄριστοι λέγονται καὶ τοῦτ' ἦσκησαν, ὡς φασὶ διαφερόντως, ἐξότου Φοίνικες κάτεσχον τὰς νήσους. This is equivalent to saying, that the name was of Phœnikian origin.

\*\* A name taken from what appears to have been their chief branch of commerce. Comp. Strabo, iii. 4.

†† Viz. contracted from ἈΦΕ ἸΠΙΛΑΚΡ, "the summit of the extremity," or "land's end;" a designation suggestive of the geographical position of *Abýla*.

This étymon is very much favoured by Strabo's expressions respecting it: Ἐνίοι δὲ στήλας ἐπέλαβον τὴν Κάλπην καὶ τὴν Ἀβύλακα, τὸ ἀντικείμενον ὄρος τῆς Λιβύης. iii. 5. It was therefore known as Ἀβύλυξ, or *Αβυλυκε*, a remarkable approximation to the Egyptian compound given



"over against it" (רַפְּלָה, \* ΚΗΛΠΗ?), are left behind, and the vessel, emerging into the broad Atlantic, is steered direct for its winter-quarter, the insulated

above, when it is considered that no two letters were more frequently interchanged than the Koptic Ϡ, φ. See Peyron, *Lexic. Kopt.* p. 19.

BOCHART has not been very successful in his search for the Punic étymon to which Avienus refers in his "Ora Maritima," v. 145., "namque Abylam vocant Gens Punicorum mons quod altus Barbaro est, Id est, Latino." Why, moreover, overlook the claim of the Egyptians to being the originators of this name, when we know, at least from the testimony of Heródotos, that Africa was first circumnavigated at the instance of one of their sovereigns? Vide note (†), p. 240. supra, and the next one to this.

\* That is, "over against," "e regione:" a designation accurately descriptive of its position with respect to the corresponding headland on the opposite coast. BOCHART has had recourse to the Arabic, relying on the description of Avienus (Ora Marit. 348. s.), "Calpeque rursum in Græcia species cavi Teretisque (ab?) usu nuncupatur urcei:" also on Mela, whose native place, Tingentera, lay in the vicinity (cp. De situ orb. II. 6. fin. Notit. Literar. in Edit. Bipont. pp. ix. s.). Hence the Greek Κάλη, Hesych. ὑδρία, "a waterpot," "pitcher," as the étymon of which BOCHART proposes מַבְּלָה, a supposed Phœnikian term from the Arabic مَبْل (مَبْل?), "a truncated earthenware vessel." But why not from מַבְּלָה, a "denudation," or "peeling off," from the action on the surface of the rock which IMBRIE has described in his Memoir on Gibraltar: vide Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, vol. iv.: or from מַבְּלָה, "sculptum," "cavatum;" Mela's words being, "Is mirum in modum concavus, ab ea parte qua spectat occasum, medium fere latus aperit?" IMBRIE has also noticed the hollows in the surface, which he attributes to the action of water in the geological period when it was a sea-bed.

To none of these Shemitic themes, however, would I be disposed to assign the origin of the name Kálpe. I think it may, with much greater probability, be traced to the external features of the mountain, which have rendered it so valuable an acquisition to the British empire. It presents to Spain the appearance of a conical rock, nearly 1400 feet in perpendicular height, and separated from it only by a narrow isthmus not more than 200 paces in length. On the east, west, and south, it is washed by the Mediterranean, and precludes ascent to its summits or the intervening connecting ridge by its natural obstacles of abrupt slopes and precipices down its several sides. As a whole, therefore, it is, in the truest sense of the word, "a Barrier" (κλειθρον), abutting on the water, and "closing out" all approach by it to the main land.

These observations explain my reason for venturing to add the Koptic étymon in the context. ΚΗΛΙ, or ΚΗΛΛΙ, is the synonyme of κλειθρον, ΔΠΕ, ΔΦΕ, or ΔΠΗ, of κορυφή. What then can be conceived more probable than that an Egyptian mariner, in the earlier age of discovery, would term this remarkable promontory, in his own vernacular, ΚΗΛΙ ΠΔΠΗ, which would then become a geographical name in its contracted form ΚΗΛΔΠΗ, or ΚΗΛΠΗ, ΚΔΛΠΗ?

I have ventured to propose this theme, as also that in the instance of Abyla, taken from the

Tartessian Gades (גדיס, Γάδειρα\*). Thence it proceeds to its final destination, touching perhaps at Olisippo, the city of "the pleasant bay" (אלין עבא). We will suppose that the helmsman, on his approaching the Kassiterides, to avoid the dangers of their navigation, steers direct for the haven of Voliba (בלי בלכא), a name which expresses well the mariner's depression of spirit after a voyage so perilous and protracted.

Koptic (which I consider as, notwithstanding its present mixed aspect, a very safe guide to the earlier Pharaonic language (vid. Peyron. Prefatt. ad Gramm. et Lexic. Copt.),) from a persuasion long since taken up by me, that in matters relating to geographical nomenclature, indeed general etymology, a much too exclusive regard has been addressed to the Shemitic dialects. It seems to have been forgotten, that the people of Egypt had ever existed at all, or if this were considered, that it had a language; for not only have Hellenic words and names been traced to those rival dialects, but many have been deduced from them which might reasonably appear to have belonged, *de facto*, to Egypt itself. I may refer to the instances of Ámmon, Ósiria, Sárapis, etc., which severally have been traced to Hebrew themes by the ingenious scholarship of VOSSIUS, FULLER, and their imitators. This has always appeared to me a very narrow view of the subject, exclusively of its being unjust to the Egyptians, to deprive them of all right to be considered as having influenced the formation of dialects so many ages junior to their own, and of peoples either at no great distance from them, or in their immediate neighbourhood. In the case of chorographical nomenclature this might appear especially unreasonable, as it appears on record that they possessed the means and the power of exerting a direct influence on this at very early periods. Diódoros reports their current tradition: Οἱ δὲ οὖν Αἰγύπτιοι φασὶ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀποικίας πλείστας ἐξ Αἰγύπτου κατὰ πᾶσαν διασπαρῆναι τὴν οἰκουμένην (B. H. i. 28. pr.), the colonies led by Dánaos and Kékrops, to speak of Greece alone, being instances. We are then informed that Sésostris, now generally identified with Remeses II., had a powerful fleet both in the Arabian Gulf, and, with a view of controlling the Phœnikians, on the Mediterranean, by which he became master of a large portion of the Kykládes (ibid. 55.); τὴν λοιπὴν Ἀσίαν ἄπασαν ἐπήκοον ἐποίησατο, καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων τὰς πλείστας. These events belong to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries before our era (Wilkins. 18th Dyn. vol. I. pp. 47. s.). Passing on to the Ethiopian, or twenty-fifth dynasty, in the seventh and eighth centuries, we find Tehrak, the Tirhakah of Kings, II. 19. 9., and Teárchon of Strabo, penetrating like Sésostris into Europe, and extending his conquests to the Columns of Heraklês (Strab. xv. 1. pr.). Finally, about a century after, we read of the circumnavigation of Africa under the auspices of Nekós (Heród. iv. 42.), the Necho of Scripture (Chronicl. ii. 35. 20. s.), a fact which abundantly proves that the nautical zeal of the Egyptians had not expired.

\* Comp. Avienus, ubi supra, 267. ss. "Gaddir hic est oppidum: Nam Punicorum lingua conceptum locum Gaddir vocabat." Voss. Anal. I. 12. p. 425.

† Ἀψυχος, "exanimis." If I be not mistaken, the ancient duchy of Cornwall retains other vestiges, exclusively of this, of the footsteps of the Phœnikian mariners on its soil. It may be that Belerium (Βελέρμιον of Diódoros (v. 22. pr.)) represents in a classical form the Aramaic בעל ארמי,

I have selected these examples, from a vast array which might be produced, of the influence exerted by a most remarkable people during its ascendancy, one doubtless not limited solely to the imposition of geographical names, but extending also to matters of social concern, the arts which adorn, and the institutions which humanize, communities. The Phœnikians were, in effect, the pioneers of their age in civilization. Actuated as they were by the restless and excursive spirit which is ever the characteristic of a nation devoted to commerce, they fulfilled their mission as instruments under the control of the Arbiter of events, more especially when their state encountered so rude a shock from the aggression of the heaven-directed Joshua, in dispensing intelligence at least, however unaccompanied by a still higher gift, amongst the rude tribes of the west.

I return now to the point from which I had set out, to place before the reader of these pages a few more instances of this commercial ubiquity which, for a period so lengthened, seemed to have been the prerogative of the Canaanitish adventurers. I shall confine myself to a very few; including, however, the most remarkable of the insular groups of the Ægean, to the early intercourse between many of which and the Phœnikians the Hellenic writers bear ample testimony. How far the report of these witnesses is in unison with geographical designations, I propose, within the limits now stated, to inquire, following, it is true, the track of the profoundly learned BOCHART, as marked out in his "Geographia Sacra," but not treading in his footsteps; or, to express myself less metaphorically, with no servile adherence to his thematic dicta, as the course of my investigation will demonstrate. Here, however, I wish to be understood as referring to the subordinate details of his great work: for in the

from the primitive implement used by the miners of those times in working their lodes: and it appears to be certain, that the "Herculis Promontorium" of the Roman times, now "Hartland Point," was a relic of the Phœnikian, perhaps *רמשת מלוקרד*, imposed in honour of the tutelary deity of Týros, whose memorials have accompanied us in our course in Malite, Sardó, and along the African coast.

BOCHART discovers also in the name *Kassiterides* an intimation of the presence of the Phœnikians in Cornubia, as he derives it from *קסמיר* or *קיסמיר*, because the former occurs in the Targum by Jonathan, and the latter in that of Jerusalem, as a synonyme of *בדיל* in the Book of Numbers, xxxi. 22. This only shows how unsafe it is to trust to such guides in questions like the present, as the above are but Aramaized forms of *κασσίτερος*. Vide *Geogr. Sacr.* l. 39.

scepticism to which it owed its origin, I mean a profound distrust of the tenableness, in cases without number, of the Greek geographical themes, I largely share; in common, I believe, with most scholars who have tempered their Hellenic enthusiasm by recognising the claims of the dialects of the East.

In such inquiries as the present, I have always esteemed this to be the most philosophical course to pursue, and my reason is, independently of the requirements of the present age, characterized as it is by those large views which have resulted in the creation of a new and splendid science, that the pervading spirit of autochthonism with which illustrious Hellás was so inspired, that it conducted to a series of the most astounding events which the page of history records, had its shadows as well as its lights, as its primary impulse was to envelop in a Kimmerian darkness whatever seemed to run counter to its vain-glorious pretensions. The necessary consequence of this was, that her poets had recourse to myths, summoned into existence mythical personages, and led the way in the Hellenization of proper names, which had been unquestionably imposed by her aboriginal founders, the colonists of Egypt and the East, in the hope of their appropriating all, Language, Arts, Religion, Civilization, solely and exclusively to their beloved father-land.

This I believe to be a true statement of the habitude of thought engendered by a very noble principle, but a very narrow-sighted aspiration. It becomes, therefore, the task of the philologist to redress the balance which has been so disturbed, and hold it even between conflicting claims, so far as can be done in these instances; that of the Greek, whose choicest literature lies open before him, and that of the Tyrian colonist, whose monuments time and social catastrophe have obliterated. But this is not all. He must not forget that a third claimant also remains to be satisfied, of whom, strange to say, no account whatever has been taken in investigations such as the present. The immigrant from Egypt, I mean the Pharaonic Egypt, extending from the Ægæan to the Erythræan sea,\* steps in to assert the right of his dialect to be included in our estimate. We know that the aboriginal colonists of the Argive and the Attic territories issued from that region; why then overlook the claim of their ver-

\* See the article on Kýpros, *infra*, § xiv.

nacular, essentially the Koptic which has survived to our time,\* to be entitled to consideration in any attempt to trace the étyma of the Ægæan islands? Yet it has never, to my knowledge, been entertained: nay, philologists have, until of late times, been accustomed to refer even the names of primeval Mitsraim itself to Shemitic origins, † with no less injustice to the Shemitic dialects themselves than to the language into whose place they have been intruded.

The distinctive features, therefore, of the present section consist in the substitution of new themes of most of the geographical names selected for consideration in place of those which BOCHART has proposed, and in the introduction of the Khamic element as a basis of etymology. I have judged it, however, the wisest course, in an initiatory essay such as the present, to confine the last of these to a limited area, allowing the Phœnikian, with but few exceptions, undisturbed possession of its former domain as far north as I proceed, that is, to the verge of the HellésPontos. I state it, however, as my impression, that an extension of this inquiry might result in countenancing a suspicion, if not confirming a belief, that many other such names should be included in the Koptic Onomastikón.

I now proceed to the application of the foregoing remarks to a select number of the Hellenic names occurring in the Ægæan, within the limits of the Propontis and the Libyan sea, and commence with Lémnos. I wish it to be understood previously, that the principle which has guided me in my investigations of their themes has been, in all possible cases, based upon the authenticated characteristics of each island, more especially such as are the most obvious, and, therefore, the likeliest to influence the earlier navigators in their construction of the insular nomenclature. It is, moreover, but justice to myself to add, that I traverse this beautiful region with peculiar advantages, from my being enabled not only to test in many instances the accuracy of geographers' and travellers' notices from my personal experience, but also to supply deficiencies in these wherever such occur.

\* Peyron, *Gramm. Copt. Præfat.* pp. ix. a. *Lexic. Copt.* pp. xi. a. Of its use in the study of Hieroglyphics, see Mr. Sharp's "Rudiments, etc.," p. 2., and Peyron, *ubi supra*.

† Vide *supra*, note (\*), p. 242. Thus FULLER derived "Ámmon," that is, the Greek form of Διόνυσος, from 𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤍, "incaluit"! Ex uno disce omnia.

I. LĒMNOS. The étymon which BOCHART\* has proposed in this case is the Arabic "lama nahs" (لآم نهس), the first of which means "curing a wound," the second, "a wound inflicted by biting." His reason for thus travelling beyond his Phœnikian limits was the reputation which the "Lemnia terra" had acquired for its healing and antidotal properties.† I am not prepared to receive this as satisfactory, and, therefore, am disposed to prefer לִמְנוֹן in its sense "nutritiv," a theme which not only possesses the advantage of keeping us within bounds which should not be transgressed unless in cases of exigency, but also accords well with the character of the island for productiveness. Hence Ovid's eulogy: "Dos tibi Lemnos erit, terra ingeniosa colenti,"‡ that is, repaying by its fruitfulness the toil of the husbandman: one to which Homer implicitly bears his testimony when describing the Lemnian prince as the bearer of so large a supply of the produce of the island to the army encamped before Ílion.§ Hence its epithet ἀμπελόεσσα.

Adopting, therefore, the above-mentioned root, and combining its Benoni-Kal with the definite article and prefix לְ, we form לִמְנוֹןָ, "ad nutrientem," or "nutritium," τὸν θρεπτήηρα, from which the immediate resultant is Λῆμνος, by Krâsis of its medial vowels, and attaching the case-sign of the second declension. That nothing was more usual amongst the Phœnikians than designations of this kind, by mean of the inseparable prefix, will be more fully demonstrated when we come to treat of Lésbos. It has already made its appearance in the instance of another maritime name, Léptis.||

II. TÉNEDOS. The origin of this name, as assigned by BOCHART,\*\* is based on the testimony of Plútarchos, who has commemorated the earthenware of Ténédos in the following passage: Τῆν δὲ τράπεζαν ἢ καλὴ Αἰλῆς, ἢ Τένεδος, ἀντικοσμήσει τοῖς κεραμεοῖς, καθαρωτέροις οὖσι τῶν ἀργυρῶν.†† Now, as we find argillaceous clay of a red colour to be designated in Hebrew by the word תַּמְדָּן, the Aramaic נַמְדָּן, the synonyme of this, namely, דַּמְדָּן יִשׁ, "terra

\* Vide Diction. Histor. p. 579. a.

† On the virtues of the σφραγίς Λημνία see Galen. De Medicam. Simplic. in libr. ix. Μίλτος Λημνίς in Theriak. Nikandr. p. 63. Holsten. ad Stephan. Byz. p. 189. a.

‡ Heroïd. Epist. vi. 117.

§ Vide Iliád. η'. 467.

|| Supra, p. 241.

\*\* Vide Dict. Histor. p. 963. a.

†† De vitando ære alieno, ii. This passage has been cited by the Scholiast on the "Clouds" of Aristophánes, v. 1178. Ed. Dindorf.

rubra," has appeared to BOCHART to be a very appropriate theme of the name under consideration.

The question, however, suggests itself, Was the cause here assigned of sufficient importance to lead to the effect, the imposition of a permanent geographical designation; at least, of equal importance with the known characteristic of the island, the fertility of its soil, still evidenced by the extent of its vineyards and the quality of their produce? I should reply in the negative, and prefer, therefore, an étymon analogous to that just now proposed in the case of Lémnos, the Aramaïc ܠܡܢܘܫ, "terra fructus" "fructuosa;" remarking, moreover, the singular accordance of the name thus understood with the "Kálydna" of Strabo:\* for ὑδνῆς, the primary sense of which is "humid," means in its secondary, "imparting nurture." In effect, the latter of these appellations might appear to have been neither more nor less than the Hellenic version of the former, which has retained its hold of the insular nomenclature.

The Greek traditionary theme was Τέννου ἔδος, † a compound, like many others of the same class, evidently formed from the name of which it was believed to explain the origin.

III. LÉSBOS. I resolve this name thus, Λε-σβ-ος, and consider the first member as the representative of the prefix ܠ, and the second as the equivalent of שבוע or שבועא, that is, both together as the Hellenic transmutation of לשבועא, supposed to have undergone retrenchment of its last two letters. This change to לשב (perhaps, in its vocalized form, לרשב) we may conceive to have originated with the Phœnikians themselves: at least, we possess evidence of this application of the apokopé having been usual amongst the Aramaïc writers of more recent times; as for example, אפלוזינך שב שנין, and ופלה עמיה בנינה תוב שיב שנין. ‡ The case-affix had then only to be subjoined,

\* In XIII. 1. p. med. Καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Τέννον Κάλυδνάν τινες εἶπον, ἄλλοι δὲ Λεύκοφρον. Comp. Q. Smyrn. Posthomer. IB. 452. νήσοιο κατὰ πτόχας, ἣν τε Καλύδνην Λαοὶ κικλήσκουσιν. "A Tenedo," Æneid. II. 203.

† Vide Strab. supr. Diódor. v. 83. pr. Stéphan. p. 703. Pausan. x. 14. 2.

‡ Vide Targ. Jonath. in Genes. xxix. 18. 30. Apokopé was very usual amongst the Hebrew writers in certain cases which are noted by LEE, Grammar, Lect. III. art. 78-83. That with which we deal at present is evidently one in which considerably more latitude in the application of this licence may be expected. See POSTSCRIPT, infra p. 268.

the termination of the second declension, and Λέσβος resulted, the meaning being, with reference to the Aramaic name, "to the seventh," that is, in magnitude: the general opinion of the earlier geographers having been, that Lésbos ranked in this order amongst the islands of the Ægean sea. For example, a passage in Strabo now lies before me, in which he quotes the authority of a previous writer: "Ὁν (that is, of the Γυμνησίου νήσοι, or Balearic group) τὴν μείζω φησὶ Τίμαιος μεγίστην εἶναι μετὰ τὰς ἑπτὰ, Σαρδῶν, Σικελίαν, Κύπρον, Κρήτην, Εὐβοίαν, Κύρρον, Λέσβον.\*" He expresses, it is true, his dissent from this, but, as WESSELING has correctly remarked,† all that we are concerned with is, what was the universal persuasion of the more ancient geographers; and that this was as has been already stated remains on record, however their respective catalogues may vary. ‡

The use of the inseparable prefix, moreover, is in exact conformity to the Phœnikian idiom in the matter of geographical designations, of which the most cursory survey of the African territory contiguous to the Mediterranean affords numerous examples. Thus we observe, in their Latinized form, "Ad cisternas," "Ad oleastrum," "Ad sex insulas," etc., perhaps the versions of לְבִירִין, לְשֵׁת אִין, לְזִיתָא מְדַבְרָא. Many other names, however, have escaped this transformation, as, for instance, the head-land of Sikeliá which lay nearest to the African coast, Lilybaion. There can be little doubt of the close adherence of this form of the name to the Phœnikian, which unquestionably was לְלִבְאִין, composed of the inseparable prefix and the Aramaic לְבִאִין, "leones," but signifying in the compound "Libyæ."§ Now, concerning this promontory Strabo writes thus: Τρίτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ προσεχὴς τῇ Λιβύῃ, βλέκουσα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἅμα καὶ τὴν χειμερινὴν δύσιν, Λιλύβαιον.|| It is, perhaps, unreasonable to suppose that the illustrious geographer was ignorant of the identity in sense of the first part of this clause, and of the name with which it concludes.

\* Vide xiv. 2. p. init.

† Not. in Diódor. Edit. Bipont. Tom. III. p. 569.

‡ Ex. c. Apuleius, Ed. Bip. p. 254., has the following passage: "Ipsarum vero insularum, quæ sunt in nostro mari dignæ memoratu, Trinacria est, Eubœa, Cyprus atque Sardinia, Creta, Peloponnesus, Lebos." Compare Diódoros as referred to in the preceding note, viz., v. 17. pr., and Nikólaos of Damaskós in libr. III., cited by BOCHART, G. S. I. Art. "Lesbos."

§ Cp. Agatheméres as cited in the Dict. Hist. p. 586. b. Λιβύῃ ἔφ' Ἑλλήνων ἦν ἄγνωστοι πάντων ἀπὸ δὲ ἔθνων ἐπισήμου φοινικίως ἀνομάσθησαν Λέοντες.

|| Lib. vi. 2. init.



I may observe here, that I entertain little doubt of certain designations which are familiar to Levantine travellers, having originated from this idiom of a remote antiquity. I cite a few examples: the Othomans name their capital "Stanbol" (استانبول), that is, *is τὰν (εἰς τὴν) Πόλιν*: Lémnos has become "Stalimene" (استاليمينه), *is τὰν Λήμνον*: Còs, "Stanko" (استانكو), *is τὰν Κῶ*: and Astypálaia, "Stampalaia" (استامपालيا), *is τὰν Πάλαιαν*.\*

IV. ΕὐβΟΙΑ. This name was unquestionably of Hellenic origin; but I doubt not my being enabled to prove that it corresponds with a singular exactness to the primitive Phœnikian designation of the island. It expresses a territory "well stocked with oxen," or "well adapted to the breeding such," in conformity to which, as will shortly appear, we find its inhabitants called by the Greeks of earlier times "Abantes," and the island itself denominated "Abantis." With this Strabo acquaints us: *Οὐ μόνον δὲ Μάκρως ἐκλήθη ἡ νῆσος, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀβαντίς. Εὐβόϊαν γοῦν εἰπὼν ὁ Ποιητής, τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτῆς Εὐβόεας οὐδέποτε εἶρηκεν, ἀλλ' Ἀβαντας αἰεί.* † He proceeds then to account for this on the authority of Aristotéles: *Φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης ἐξ Ἀβας τῆς Φωικῆς Θράκας ὀρμηθέντας ἐποικῆσαι τὴν νῆσον, καὶ ἐπονομάσαι Ἀβαντας τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτήν.* He then states the opinions of other authorities, that the people were termed "Ábantes," from the name of a Hero, and the region "Εὐβοία," from that of a Heroïne, or that the latter of these names traced its origin to the *βοὸς αὐλή*, a cavern on the side next to the Ægæan, in which Ió gave birth to Ἐραφῶς (ἔραφω). ‡ This account has at least the merit of bringing the name into contact with its true étymon as stated above, but involves it, in the true Hellenic spirit, in the fascinating obscurity of the mýthos.

I proceed now to interrogate the language of Phœnikía, and find in the root **𐤔𐤍𐤁** a very satisfactory origin of both these designations. Its meaning is "sag-navit," and it appears in connexion with oxen in the well-known text, § . . . . **𐤔𐤍𐤁 𐤍𐤕𐤍**, as also in that where its derivative **𐤔𐤍𐤁**, "a manger," is found. || The Aramaïc plural of its Benoni Kal is **𐤔𐤍𐤁𐤍**, signifying, with reference to

\* It only remains to be noticed, that the Hellenic origin of the name Lésbos was that of one of its early colonists who succeeded Makaréús. Dióдор. v. 81. med.

† Lib. x. l. pr. The passages in Homer to which Strabo refers are, *Iliás*, β'. 536. 541. s.

‡ Vide Heródot. ii. 163. fin. *Ὁ δὲ Ἀπὶς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν ἔστι Ἐραφῶς.*

§ Proverbs, xv. 17.

|| Ibid. xiv. 4.

cattle, "stall-feeders;" the counterpart to which, according to the Greek inflexion of "Αβας, was "Αβαρres.

According to this view, the ancient Ethnic harmonizes well with the more recent territorial name, or rather, the latter and its obsolete predecessor, "Abantis," may be said in effect to signify one and the same thing. But it appears to me that we may extend this congruity still further; for we have only to suppose the name by which this island was known to the Phœnikians to have been אבאס אבאס, or one analogous to it, to arrive at a compound which, when divested of its Shemitic termination, so far resembles η Εὐβοῖς in sound as to warrant the supposition, that its elements assumed that form in the usual process of Hellenization; that thus, in fine, Εὐβοια and Εὐβοεῖς replaced the ancient 'Αβαρῖς and "Αβαρres. This coincidence of sound and import ceases, however, to excite surprise when we come to consider the probability of both these designations, that is, Εὐβοια and Abantis, being referrible to the same root. The word βοῦς, which is the theme of the former, seems identical with אבוס, supposing an apharesis of its first radical, than which, as has been observed already, nothing was more usual in the construction of derivative forms: but this אבוס is precisely the Pahúl Concrete of אבאס, which we have selected as the root of Abantis.

I have now merely to observe, that the merit of the attribution of the theme אבוס, in the present instance, belongs to BOCHART,\* from whom I have not hesitated to adopt it under the conviction of its extreme probability. The reader will, however, perceive, that the view which has now been suggested extends its application to both the names, the ancient and the more recent, of the island under consideration. We possess in it, moreover, in addition to some others already noticed, a striking illustration of the appropriative spirit which regulated to such an extent the geographical nomenclature of the Greeks.

V. CHÍOS. I profess myself quite dissatisfied with the Aramaic étymon which BOCHART† has assigned to this name, availing himself of a legend preserved by Ailianós‡ relating to a dragon which frequented the vicinity of mount Pelinnaíos, and occasioned much trouble to the inhabitants of the island.

\* Geogr. Sacr. Lib. I. cited in the Dict. Hist. p. 2. b.

† Ibid. p. 326. b.

‡ De Animal. XVI. 39.

He therefore has proposed  $\aleph\eta\eta$ ,\* "serpens," with synkopé of the second radical.

I am disposed, on the ground of numismatic evidence, to doubt very much its relation to any theme of this class; for so constantly is the type of the "Sphinx alatus" impressed on the coins of Chíos, from the earliest autonomes to the latest of the Imperial times, that it may, in a measure, be regarded as its peculiar property; "Chiorum fere proprius," as ECKHEL observes, subjoining that "hujus causa typi hactenus ignoratur."†

In the absence, however, of any historical or legendary evidence, we may with perfect safety assign its adoption to intercourse with Egypt of a date long anterior to the dynasty of the Lagidai; so early indeed, as to countenance a belief that the Egyptians had formed settlements in this island in the ante-historical times of Hellás. We know that the Sphinx was one of the most sacred symbols of Egypt, an emblematical impersonation of the king, and as such associated with the "dii majores" Nef (Νεφ) and Re (Ρη), Amân (Ἀμάν), Khem (Χημ), Phthah (Πτᾶθ), and Osiris (Ὀσίρις), in which capacity rows of them were very frequently placed before temples on either side of the drómoi (approaches to the exterior gates), as though to imply the close connexion which subsisted between the Head of the state and its Tutelary deities.‡

But farther than this: we have the testimony of the same coins§ to the fact of Diónysos having been connected with Apóllon in the religious system of the Chians, the former of which deities was reckoned by the Greeks their representative of Ósiris, and the latter of his son Hôros (Ξωρ).|| The only mem-

\* The western Aramaic is identical with this, viz.,  $\aleph\eta\eta$ .

† Doctr. Num. Vet. Tom. II. pp. 564. a.

‡ The explanation of this symbol is stated by S. Clemens of Alexándreia, in the fifth book of his Strómata, to be "the union of vigour and intelligence," ἀλεῆς τε αὐτὴ μετὰ συνέσεως. P. 567. A. Ed. Sylburg. 1641. Accordingly it symbolizes "the mundane harmony," τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ἁρμονίαν. P. 571. A. In a preceding passage he informs us, that they were set up before temples in order to express the mysterious character of their (the Egyptians') theology: πρὸ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰς σφίγγας ἰδρόονται ὡς αἰνιγματώδους τοῦ περὶ Θεοῦ λόγου καὶ ἀσαφοῦς ὄντος. P. 561. c. The expressions of Plútarchos are almost precisely the same. Vide Is. et Osir. Tom. II. p. 354. B. a. Ed. Xyland. 1620.

Compare with these Sir G. WILKINSON, in vols. III. p. 23., IV. 416., V. 200. a.

§ Eckhel, ubi supra, p. 565. b.

|| Comp. Plútarch. Is. et Osir. 13. 37. Diódor. I. 25. Macrob. in Saturnal. I. 21. Wilkinson, ubi supra, IV. p. 348.

ber, therefore, of the triad which was worshipped at Philai now wanting, is Isis (Ἥσις), and her we can supply from a Chian titulus which Böckh\* has edited from SPON and FABBETTI. I transcribe the portion of this which is most material at present, as elucidating and, so far as it goes, confirming what has been stated respecting the Egyptian colonization of Chios: ΘΡΑΣΕΑΣ . ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ . ΥΠΕΡ . ΕΑΥΤΟΥ . ΚΑΙ . ΤΩΝ . ΤΕΚΝΩΝ . ΚΑΙ . ΤΗΣ . ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ . κ. τ. ἐξ. ΙΣΙΔΙ . ΣΕΡΑΠΙΔΙ . ΑΝΟΥΒΙΔΙ . ΑΡΠΟΚΡΑΤΕΙ . ΘΕ ΟΙΣ . ΣΥΝΝΑΟΙΣ . ΚΑΙ . ΣΥΝΒΩΜΟΙΣ . ΕΥΧΗΝ. The deity here mentioned under the name of Sérapis, that is, Ουσιρραπι, merely represented Ósirís under a new character, as having undergone a change of existence, and become the judge of Amenti (Δαιεϊτ) or Hádes. † Ánubis was the coadjutor of Hôros in weighing the merits of the departed in the presence of Sárapis, ‡ and Harpokrátes, the infant Hôros, whom Ísis bore to Ósirís after his death, or change of existence. § The epithet *συμβώμοις*, with which the titulus concludes, affords a remarkable illustration of the above-mentioned Chian type of the common altar between Diónysos and Apóllon.

The inference which I would deduce from all this is, that Chios had its idol-system by direct colonization from Egypt, in the same way that Athênai had its Tutelary, the Neïth of Sáis, || and thus became an κῆπιον, “a house (or home) of Neïth,” or πᾶπιον, “sacred to Neïth.” Let us now suppose that Chios stood in the same relation to Ósirís, or the triad of contemplar deities of whom he was the first in rank, it would be denominated πᾶουσιρι, or, substituting his title χοις, or χοεϊς, “Dominus,” πᾶπχοεϊς. This would be the

\* Corp. Inscriptt. Tom. II. p. 208. n. 2230. FABBETTI acknowledges his having had it from SPON: Inscr. Antiq. Cap. VI. n. 183. p. 493.

Such tituli as this are only valuable as evidence when taken connectedly with authentic records of an unquestionably prior date, inasmuch as Chios does not stand alone in the possession of such memorials of the cult of Egyptian deities. Moreover, the very mention of Sérapis in an inscription, proves that it could not have preceded the time of Sotér. Cp. Plútarch. Is. et Osir. § 28. Fascic. Inscriptt. Tom. III. n. CDXIX. b. 6., and the note, p. 358. Wilkinson, IV. pp. 360. ss.

† Plútarch. Is. et Osir. ubi supra: Βέλτιον δὲ τὸν Ὀσίριν εἰς ταυτὸ συνάγειν τῷ Διονύσῳ, τῷ Ὀσίριδι τὸν Σάραπιν, ὅτε τὴν φύσιν μετέβαλε, ταύτης τυχόντι τῆς προσηγορίας. Cp. Diódoros and Wilkinson, ubi supra.

‡ Wilkinson, IV. p. 401.

§ Plútarch. ubi supra, § 19. fin. § 68. med.

|| Cp. Pláton in Timaios, p. 21. e. Diódor. I. 28.

complete designation; but we may conceive the process of Hellenization dispensing with both the definite and possessive articles, and retaining only  $\chi\omicron\iota\varsigma$ , which would at once give  $\chi\iota\omicron\varsigma$  by a transposition of its vowels, and a change of the "Djandja" into "Chi," still very usual in the Koptic orthography.\*

Having incidentally alluded to Athênai, I may take occasion here to observe, that the origin of this name also has been ascribed to its Tutelary deity, the Saïtic Neïth;† an opinion in which I entirely concur; but, as I conceive that it has neither attracted sufficient consideration, nor been placed upon its proper basis, I may be allowed to pause for a few moments to ascertain how far it enlists probability on its side.

I take it for granted that none will question the reasonableness of supposing, as I have already done, that Kékrops would regard, perhaps designate, his newly founded city as an  $\mu\tilde{\iota}\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\tau}\tilde{\iota}\mu\tilde{\epsilon}$ , precisely as his countrymen denominated one of their cities  $\mu\tilde{\iota}\tilde{\theta}\tilde{\rho}\tilde{\mu}\tilde{\iota}$ , "mansion of Threbi." Now, as we are certain that the last of these had received the form  $\Delta\theta\rho\mu\iota$ ‡ from the Egyptians themselves, we feel warranted in supposing by analogy that the former would be written and pronounced  $\Delta\tau\mu\epsilon$ , a designation essentially the same with the  $\text{Παρθενών}$  of the ancient Athenians, the sole difference between them consisting in the substitution of  $\text{Παρθένος}$ , the Title, for  $\text{Ἥκηθε}$ , that is 'Αθηνά, the Name. One signifies literally "the chamber of the Virgin;" the other, "the abode of Neïth." Scholars are aware that in the sacred language of the Athenians, 'Η  $\text{Παρθένος}$  was synonymous with 'Αθηνά, precisely as 'Η  $\text{Κόρη}$  was with  $\text{Περσεφόνη}$ :§ and the following considerations may tend to induce a belief that 'Αθηνά was purely a modification of  $\text{Ἥκηθε}$ .

If we are to attach any credit to the accounts which were current amongst the Athenians themselves respecting the ante-historical times of their state, we must believe that the dynasty of their Founder expired with his own life, as the next occupant of the throne was wholly unconnected with him, at least by birth.|| A few generations then elapsed, during which, what with changes in the

\* Peyron, Lexic. Copt. p. 375. b.

† Vide Wilkinson, ubi supra, l. p. 47. note §, iv. p. 284.

‡ Fascic. III. Ind. Copt. p. 399. a.

§ Vide supra, p. 188.

|| Viz.  $\text{Κραναός}$ ; from whom the citizens of the Kekropian state were denominated  $\text{Κραναοί}$ , as they had before been styled  $\text{Κεκροπίδαι}$ , from their founder ( $\text{ἀρχηγός, κτίστης}$ ) Kékrops, and after-

succession, and perhaps the immigration of new races, the remembrance of the Saitic colonization becomes gradually more and more faint, until at last it merges

wards Erechtheidai from Erechtheús, Theseídai from Theseús, and Kodrídai from Kódros. Comp. Heródot. viii. 44. Stéphan. in Athênai, p. 44. Complete lists of all these dynasties will be found in Eusébios, Can. Chronic. pp. 361. ss. Edit. Scaliger. 1658., and in Pausanías, by comparing i. 2. 3. 5. 17. 19., ii. 18., iii. 18., vii. 25., x. 25.

With these, however, I am not at present concerned; farther at least than regards the development of language. Heródotos informs us (ubi supra, and i. 56.) that the Athenians were of Pelasgic descent, the Lakedaimonians of Hellenic, and expresses it as his opinion, that the former forsook their primitive language (*μετέμυθον τὴν γλῶσσαν*) on their entering the Hellenic family. He then speculates on the subject of this aboriginal dialect, the Pelasgic, from the analogy of that of the people of Krestôn, but concludes with confessing candidly, *ἤν τινα δὲ γλῶσσαν ἴεσαν οἱ Πελασγοί, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἶπαι*. (ubi supra, 57).

It is greatly to be regretted that the illustrious historian did not prosecute this research further, as he flourished during a period when it might have been pursued under peculiarly favourable circumstances. He might, by following up his inquiry, have bequeathed us a solution of a problem of the highest moment in glossology, namely, to what extent the affiliated dialects of those nomadic tribes of the Japhethic race who "divided the isles," that is, the maritime regions of the western hemisphere, amongst them, were severally effective in originating those of Western Asia and the European continent. At least, he might have supplied most important information respecting two of the number, the primitive Pelasgic and Hellenic. I say, most important, because I regard these languages, in themselves distinct specific types, as the parents severally of the two great families, which with the Slavonic divide Europe between them, the Keltic and the Germanic.

The first we know to a certainty to have been the vernacular of a large portion of the territory which was in course of time occupied afterwards by the Hellenic races: but it must of necessity have been greatly modified by the intrusions at distinct periods of the Egyptian and Phœnikian colonists. The natural effect of these immigrations would be, in the case of the Athenians, the formation of a composite dialect, with a predominance in favour of the Egyptian element, more particularly if we are to attach any credit to the assertion of the people of Egypt, namely, that not only Kékrops, but also Kranaós, Erechtheús, and Pétes belonged to them, insomuch that an unbroken succession of Egyptian dynasties ruled Attiká, until the sovereignty passed to Mélanthos, the father of Kódros. Comp. Diódoros, i. 28. a.

It is likely that about this time the Hellenic element entered into the Athenian language, and that thus the foundation of the Ionico-Hellenic was laid, to be so widely diffused in the course of time by the migrations of the Kodrídai headed by Neileús.

I may here take occasion to recur to my former observations on the injury caused to Ethnology by those who would discountenance any attempt to trace affinities between the Greek and the Oriental tongues: for thus, supposing what can hardly be questioned, that the Héllenes and the Pelasgoí were distinct branches of the Japhethic family, they would deprive us of the

into oblivion, in consequence of the growing spirit of autochthonism, which invested every true-born Athenian with the dignity of being the offspring of his native soil. The better to countenance this persuasion, the order of tradition itself was reversed: Sáis, instead of being accounted the Parent, became the Daughter,\*

most lucid commentary attainable under our present circumstances, on statements respecting the ante-historical times of Greece, of which therefore Tradition is the sole voucher. I remark, however, that the denomination "Héllenic," as defined by the sober-minded historian (Thukydíd. l. 3.), has been of rather an injurious tendency, it being confined to a geographical space far too circumscribed in its dimensions to be in any degree commensurate to its importance in a glossal sense. But the ethnic "Pelasgic" is not so; and this it owes to its greater vagueness of application, its far less straitened geographical limits, a circumstance which invests it with its proper ethnological dignity: for I have always been accustomed to reckon it a generic (possibly a sub-generic) name for the vast variety of dialects which glossologists seem disposed to term Keltic, throughout the southern regions of Europe, that is, Greece, Italy, Spain, France, and penetrating northwards to the British isles. But to denominate from a spot like Hellás . . . I here speak of the Phthiotic Hellás . . . a language whose affinities we can trace from the Mediterranean to the shores of the Baltic, has always appeared to me preposterous.

To descend now to our chief concern at present: I conceive that to the Pelasgic, primarily, then to the Khamic, imported into Attiká and the Pelopónnesos, and subsequently to the Phœnikian type of the Shemitic tongues, our classical Hellenic owes its radical terms; that to these were superadded, in process of time, large contributions from the primitive, or Indo-Hellenic, but particularly its system of inflexions, at first, as might appear from the oldest specimens which we possess of those closely allied types, the Doric and Æolic, crude and inartificial, but moulded afterwards by the potent influence of a higher physical existence into the forms of the smooth and flowing Ionic.

According to this view, which has been adopted in conformity to the current traditional history of Greece, the classical Hellenic owes to the archaic dialect of the same name its very remarkable affinity to the Sanskrit; for I conceive that both these last were sub-genera, branching out from a still older language, which was also the parent of the ancient Persian, the Medo-Persic, and their derivatives, so far as my personal research has extended, the ante-hellenic dialects of western Asia. I have, therefore, taken the liberty of distinguishing the archaic language of Hellás by the title "Indo-Hellenic," feeling persuaded, that in this I shall have the concurrence of those eminent scholars who have devoted attention to the structural formation of the Greek. With regard to its more fundamental connexion with the Pelasgic, the most ancient representatives of which were the dialects of Central Italy, I solicit the attention of those distinguished philologists who have of late years earned such well-merited applause by their researches, not less patriotic than they have proved successful, into our Ibero-Keltic literature.

\* Cp. Díodor. v. 57. med. and Wesseling's note on l. 28. 6.

Kékrops himself an "Autóchthon,"\* and Neïth lost her indigenous characteristics† of the flower-topped sceptre, and the crown of the Lower Egypt, to become symbolized by the Olive and attended by the Owl, the tree and bird of Attiká. It only remained to bind her still more closely to Hellás by assigning her an Hellenic name, but, from a religious scruple, such an one as might still retain her primitive appellation in the form, so to speak, of a root. This may be conceived to have been effected in the following manner.

Scholars versed in Hellenic palæography are aware, that during the transition of the Greek language from its rudimentary, or more Oriental, form, a mode of writing was adopted conformable to the course of oxen when ploughing, *βουστροφηδόν*,‡ which was, in effect, a species of compromise between the Eastern fashion of writing from right to left, and what was regarded by the Hállenes as the practice of happier omen,§ the adopting the contrary direction. In this way we may suppose the name of our Tutelary, when occurring in one of the regressive (right-left) lines of a Bustrophedón, with the Hellenic termination, to have been written ΑΘΨΑΥ. The next process, as I conceive, and a very obvious one, would be to reverse the position of each letter in this so as to give it the form ΑΨΑΘΨ:‖ then it only remained to superadd the feminine termination so as to constitute it a new name. In the progress of time, when the long vowel-forms were introduced, the third letter of this would disappear, or rather be absorbed into the Êta, and the result would be the name as it appears

\* Vide Apollódor. III. 14. 1. *Κέκροψ αὐτόχθων* ---- *τὴν πρότερον λεγομένην Ἀκτὴν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Κεκροπίαν ὠνόμασεν.*

† Wilkinson, vol. iv. pp. 284. a. Engravings of this deity, with her several characteristic emblems, have been given in the supplementary volume, Plate 28.

‡ Pausanias has described this style of writing, when commencing his description of the "Chest of Kýpselos," in v. 17. 3., and concludes with likening it to the course of the racer in the *δίαιλος*. We are told also, that the laws of Sólon (*δέξωες*) were written in this manner, by Harpokratíon and Suidas. See also Phótiος in Lexik. p. 237.

ВѢСН has several examples in C. Inscr. I. nn. 1. 8. 22. 23. etc.

§ Vide Thiersch's "Grammar," Introduction, § 10.

‖ I have introduced these characters, the oldest specimens of the Greek palæography extant, chiefly for the purpose of affording my readers some idea of its archaic forms. It is impossible not to be struck with the Phœniko-Samaritan aspect of the first, fourth, and last letters, when reversed: no slight corroboration of the origin of the Hellenic letters as assigned by tradition. See the Alphabets given from medals by ECKHEL, in his "Doctr. Num. V." III. p. 404.



in Homer, ΑΘΗΝΗ, or ΑΘΗΝΑ, from which the name of the city would be formed, just as ΘΗΒΑΙ had originated from ΘΑΒΑ.\*

All this was necessarily the work of time, but proved in the end very effective in accomplishing its object, which was, to invest with the grandeur of the Mythos the nascent condition of the Athenian state, and thus bar all access to the popular convictions against the plain and homely truth. This, it is true, was a boon to the proud and vainglorious citizen; to be spared the wound to his self-love of being taught that the emblem of his Tutelary had received its first nurture from the soil of an Egyptian town.

To return to our Ionian island, to the colonization of which also it might appear from the unquestionable evidence of its medals, that Egypt had primarily contributed . . . I have only to add to the étymon of its name proposed above another resting on a basis wholly distinct. I here mean the aspect which it presents to the navigator, before whose view the heights of Pelinnatos render it one of the most conspicuous objects in the Ægæan. I might cite authorities in support of this, but the vivid impression which the outline of this beautiful island has left on my memory, first when sailing from Constantinople to Smýrna, and afterwards through the straits to Sýros, disinclines me to resort to such vouchers. † I conclude, therefore, with suggesting that the Koptic root χιϛϛ, written also Ϝιϛι, and signifying "to raise up," "exalt," supplies a theme very applicable to this case, in its derivative forms χιϛϛ, χιϛι, or Ϝιϛι, "Height," "Loftiness," or with the participial prefix, ετχοϛϛ, ετϜοϛι, "elevated." These last would of course, in the process of Hellenization, sustain an apharesis of the prefix syllable, and the remainder would, as in the case of χοϛιϛ, or Ϝϛ, Ϝοϛιϛ, at once supply *Χίος*.

BOCHART ‡ has derived the name of the most conspicuous object in the island, Mount Pelinnatos, from the Dragon mentioned in the beginning of this article, resolving it into the Aramæan elements שׁלִיִּן נַחֲשׁ, "stupendus serpens." This adoption of a legendary theme seems to me by no means to satisfy the requirements of a permanent chorographical designation, which would rather be selected in conformity to some permanent characteristic of the object or place to be designated. Now precisely such an one, in the case of Pelinnatos, is the

\* Vide Fascic. III. Ind. Copt. p. 401.

† Vide p. 259. notes (\*) and (†).

‡ In Dict. Histor. nom. "Pelinnus," p. 758. b.

brilliant appearance of its peak when the sun has newly risen, or, as I have witnessed it, just before his descent : and I am much mistaken if the fragments of a Koptic appellation correspondent to this aspect of the mountain cannot be detected in its Hellenic. These I proceed to trace, but previously observe, that the orthography of this name varies exceedingly, and that this very circumstance is an advantage on the side of the etymist in pursuing his investigation. It appears in Strabo thus ; τὸ Πελιναῖον ὄρος ὑψηλότατον τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ.\* In Dionysios ; Καὶ Χίος ἡλιβάτου Πελληναίου ὑπὸ πέζαν.† His commentator, Eustathios, writes it Παλιναῖον. Hesychios has Πελλιναῖος, ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Χίῳ ; and Stéphanos, Πελληναῖον, ὄρος Χίου,‡ agreeing with the Periegetés. The Scholiast on Píndaros§ writes it Πελιναῖον ; Plinius, “ Pellensæus.”||

This being premised, I adopt, as my basis, with apokopé of the Hellenic termination, Πελιναί, and divide it into what appear to me to have been its separate members, thus, Π'-ελι-ναί. I have marked the first with apóstrophos at the beginning and end, to show that I conceive it to have been the representative of &πε, signifying “ cacumen.” The last, ναί, I regard as identical with the Koptic π̄νι, precisely as Αἰ-γυπτος represented amongst the Greeks π̄νι π̄κεπτο, the definite article and case-prefix being suppressed in the transformation. This π̄νι I conceive to have been the origin of the Hellenic αἶα, or γαῖα, with the digammic aspiration. I come now to the intermediate member, ελι, or ελην, which I hold to be the representative of ειελελ, or ιελελ, “ brightness,” “ effulgence,” supposing an apharesis of its first syllable and an assimilation of the second Lau to Ni on account of this letter immediately following. These changes, which unquestionably violate no rule of thematic combination, result in the compound Πελεπ̄νι, the abbreviated form of Τ&πε π̄ιελελ π̄νι, “ the resplendent peak of the country,” and through it in the Hellenic from which I set out, or the variations thereof, Πελιναῖος, Πελληναῖος, etc., mentioned above.

The most direct mode of removing any dissatisfaction with the extent of these changes is to cite a recognised example, for instance, Τέντυρα. This town was so denominated from being the chief seat in Egypt of the cult of Athor. The Koptic form of its name, in the Thebaïc dialect, was Τεπτωρε, thema-

\* Lib. xiv. l. in “ Chios.”

† Vs. 535.

‡ P. 634.

§ Not. in Pyth. x. 7.

| V. 38. 1.

tically,  $\text{Τηῖβρωρ}$ , which itself becomes, by the substitution of the components of  $\text{βρωρ}$ ,  $\text{Τηῖτῖβρωρ}$ . Let us now remark the changes effected in this result, in order to the production of  $\text{Τεπτωρε}$ : firstly,  $\kappa$  is replaced with  $\epsilon$ ; then follows a synkopé of  $\kappa\iota\pi$ ; thirdly,  $\text{τρ}$  is converted into  $\theta$  (in the Memphite form  $\text{Τεπῶρι}$ ); and lastly, the plural termination  $\epsilon$  is added, which the Greeks represented by their above-mentioned form  $\text{Τέντυρα}$ .\*

VI.  $\text{Σάμος}$ . There can be no doubt entertained of the Shemitic origin of this name, as the Greeks themselves confess that wherever it occurs it is constantly accompanied with the circumstance of Height, or commanding position. Let us take, in the first instance, Samothráke, which (to cite Diódoros)  $\text{ἐνίοι φασιν τὸ παλαιὸν Σάμον ὀνομασθῆναι}$ ,† and this not because it was a colony of the Ionian  $\text{Σάμος}$ , but because  $\text{πιθανώτεροί εἰσιν οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σάμου καλεῖσθαι τὰ ὕψη φήσαντες εὐρῆσθαι τοῦτο τοῦνομα τὴν νῆσον}$ .‡ That such a cause existed in the instance of Samothráke he proves by Homer having introduced Poseidón as selecting it for his point of observation during the conflicts of the contending hosts in the  $\text{Πιάς}$ .§

Secondly, that the Ionian  $\text{Σάμος}$  was entitled on this ground to its designation is likewise demonstrable from Strabo:  $\text{Μέρος δέ τι καὶ εἰς τὸ ὄρος ἀνέχει τὸ ὑπερκείμενον}$ .|| The conspicuousness of this high land from the sea-level sufficiently accounts for its name, as characteristic of loftiness. So also, thirdly, in the case of the Eleian  $\text{Σάμος}$ :  $\text{Τὸ μὲν οὖν Σαμικόν ἐστιν ἔρμα· πρότερον δὲ καὶ πάλαι Σάμος προσαγορευομένη διὰ τὸ ὕψος ἴσως, ἐπεὶ δὲ Σάμου ἐκάλουν τὰ ὕψη}$ ,\*\* in accordance with what he had before stated with respect to the Thracian.

The  $\text{Σάμος}$  which has been mentioned by Homer in his review of the Armies,†† as also in the  $\text{Odysseía}$ ,‡‡ and is proved by Strabo to have been the ancient name of Kephallenía,§§ is entitled to the same geographical distinction: for Strabo's description of this island is,  $\text{μακρὰ ἀνήκουσα πρὸς εὐρον, ὀρεινὴ· μέγιστον δ' ὄρος ἐν αὐτῇ Αἶνος}$ .||| .

From what precedes I coincide with BOCHART\*\*\* in his inference, that

\* Fascic. Inscr. Græc. Tom. III. p. 406. a.

† V. 47. init.

‡ Strabo, x. 2.

§ Vide v. 10. sa.

|| XIV. 1. Comp. Clarke's Travels, vol. III. p. 365. 4to. Edition.

\*\* VIII. 3.

†† β'. 634.

‡‡ δ'. 671. 845.

§§ x. 2.

||| Ibid.

\*\*\* Dict. Histor. p. 872. b.

*σάμος* is referrible to the same root with the Hebrew *שָׁמַיִם*, its Aramaic form *שָׁמַיָא*, and the Arabic *سمايا* or *سماوات*, and *سَامِي*. That root was perhaps the adverb *שׁ* used in a demonstrative or emphatic sense.

VII. ΠΆΤΜΟΣ. I resume the consideration of this name for the purpose of submitting to my readers certain results with regard to it at which I have lately arrived. When I adopted the étymon proposed by BOCHART,\* with a very decided expression of my conviction of its truth, my attention had not been directed to the probability of Khamic themes entering so largely as I am now convinced they do into the Hellenic designations throughout the Ægean. At least, I had allowed them a very circumscribed range, one more immediately in the vicinity of Egypt itself, that is, not extending beyond Kréte and Kýpros. I soon, however, found reason, on extending my researches, to push forward these landmarks; for having proceeded to interpret the names of other islands much more remote by means of Koptic combinations, I became more and more confirmed in my opinion, that the Ægyptians of the Pharaonic ages, while pursuing the march of conquest and colonization over these regions, had impressed on those names memorials of both their language and superstition. †

In the instance now before us, the first Koptic theme which occurred to me was suggested by the name "Palmosa," attributed to Pátmos by Sophianus. ‡ This must necessarily have originated in what we may denominate an arbustal feature of the island, precisely as Virgil has termed his Sicilian town "palmosa Selinus;" § and it is obviously open to conjecture, in the absence of any express authority on its behalf, that "Palmosa," as a geographical name, may have been a version of an ancient Hellenic one, Φοινικῆ or Φοινίκηα. Be this as it may, it is impossible to overlook its exact correspondence to the Koptic *ΒΑ-ΤΑΛΟΥ*, or in the Memphitic form *ΒΑΙ-ΘΑΛΟΥ*, the first element of which signifies "Palma," and the second "Insula." Hence arose the different modifications stated in the former section of the Memoir || relative to this island, the Hellenic Πάτμος, perhaps written also Πάθμος, and the Helleno-Arabic *بظمس*, according as the Thebaic or Memphitic dialects were used as archetypes, or a mixture of both these. We perceive also how immediately the last of these

\* Supra, p. 204.

‡ Dict. Histor. p. 755. a.

† Comp. supr. pp. 245. a., 254. note (l).

§ Æneis, iii. 705.

|| P. 204. and note (§), ibid.

forms led to *βαθμός*, and through this to the legend embodied in the seventh and eighth verses of our Patmian inscription.

I now direct attention to the physical aspect of the island, as described by the accomplished traveller whose expressions have been already cited at length,\* and for the faithfulness of which I can vouch. The phenomena which attracted his notice,—the charred aspect of the cliffs, and the different vents of volcanic action, are too obvious to escape the observation of even the most cursory spectator; to which we may add, that possibly the forces now slumbering may have exhibited to the eyes of the Egyptian, during the primitive age of which we now treat, unquestionable proofs of their energy. Hence he would naturally style the volcanic areas as *Βη-τᾶρο* (fully expressed, *Βη ἡ-τᾶρο*) “sepulcra incendii,” equivalent to “volcanic graves:” or a designation embracing the whole island might be found in *Πα-τᾶρο*, meaning literally, “devoted to conflagration.”

VIII. *DĒLOS*. This island I hold to be the indisputable property of the Phœnikians, so far at least as its name is concerned; and I esteem it as probable, that the Hellenic cult of Apóllon and Ártemis, the principal seat of which was Dēlos, originated in the Phœnikian, of Astarte (*עשתרת*) and Melikarthos† (*מלך קרתא*). I have, therefore, no more material observation to offer respecting the étymon which I have already adopted‡ than this, that I think its synonyme *אחלד* accounts equally well for the geographical designation “Dēlos,” and better for the myth in relation to the island which we owe to the invention of the Greeks. The reason is; because its root *חלד* not only signifies “to dread,” “to be affrighted,” “to terrify,” but also “to draw forth,” “raise up,” being thus in one of its senses a synonyme of *חלד*, itself very probably the theme of *Ἀντλέω*. The mythologists, as is well known, ascribed the name *Δῆλος* to the event of the island’s having ceased its subsultory movements, and become fixed to a certain position; but we now perceive that the myth was a superfluous exercise of the imagination, inasmuch as the Pehl concrete *חלד*, in its meaning “upraised,” furnished a sufficient explanation: not, however, satisfactory to the original Hellenizers, who wished, while affixing the name, to keep its Aramæan original out of sight.

\* *Supra*, p. 218.

† *Euseb. Præp. Ev.* p. 38. A. C.

‡ *Supra*, p. 217.

Strabo writes concerning Dêlos: "Ἐνδοξον δ' ἐποίησαν αὐτὴν αἱ περιουκίδες νῆσοι καλούμεναι Κυκλάδες,\* which we find in a versified form in Dionýsios, Δῆλον ἐκυκλώσαντο, καὶ οὐνομα Κυκλάδες εἰσί.† The words of Mela are an echo of this: "Quia in orbem jacent Cyclades dictæ."‡ Those of Solinus are more precise and conformable to the fact: "Cycladas autumant inde dictas, quia, licet spatiis longioribus a Delo projectæ, in orbem tamen circa Delum sitæ sunt."§ The truth is, that Sýros, respect being had to its position alone, had a much better right to be denominated the central island, or, so to speak, the Nucleus, of the assemblage, from which I infer, that this honour had been conceded to Dêlos in consequence of its distinction as the chosen seat of peculiar religious observances, of which the cult of the Letoïdai in the Hellenic times was merely a continuation.

This, however, supposes that the early navigators of the Ægean were influenced in their selection of Dêlos, a spot in itself so insignificant, for this honour, by religious motives. It would, perhaps, be stating the case more correctly to say, that the convenience of its position for mercantile transactions, added to its possession of a good rendezvous for shipping, were their primary inducements. On this Strabo writes: 'Ἐκεῖσε μετεχώρησαν οἱ ἔμποροι, καὶ τῆς ἀτελείας τοῦ ἱεροῦ προκαλουμένης αὐτοῦς, καὶ τῆς εὐκαιρίας τοῦ λιμένος· ἐν καλῷ γὰρ κεῖται τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν πλέουσιν· ἢ δὲ πανήγυρις ἐμπορικόν τι πρᾶγμά ἐστιν.|| Now, what was advantageous in the Roman times had been equally so in the Phœnikian; and this I conceive to have led primarily to the distinguished position amongst the Kykladic islands ever afterwards maintained by Dêlos, that enterprising people having made it a settlement, and with a view of promoting its prosperity, granted it immunities founded on a religious basis. Hence the ἀτέλεια to which Strabo refers as so attractive to the merchants of his age.

The Tyrian and Sidonian mariners possessed, doubtless, their charts of so important an area as the Ægean: it could not have escaped their observation how its islands were grouped. Of these the most interesting, in a commercial

\* x. 5. Dêl.

† Descr. Orb. v. 125. So Kallimachos, iv. 198. a. Σὺ δ' Εὐβοίῃθε κατῆσαι Κυκλάδας ὀψομένη περιηγίας.

‡ Lib. ii. post med.

§ Polyhist. xi. 17.

|| Lib. x. 5. ubi supr. extr.

point of view, was that assemblage which lay nearest to the European coast, bounded by Ándros, Kéos, Mêlos, Náxos, and Mýkonos. The outlying islands from Théra to Ténédos\* were scattered in no definite order over the expanse of the Ægæan. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose, that they were the first to separate these groups, and impose on each designations appropriate to its form, that is, that they would style the compact Kykladic system in some such way as אִי גִלְגֵּל, with reference to their orbicular outline, and the Sporadic, as אִי פִזְרִין, from their irregular grouping. These denominations would of course be adopted from the arbiters of geographical nomenclature, and when the Greeks replaced the Phœnikians, Hellenized, that is, אִי גִלְגֵּל, or rather its Syriac form אִי גִלְגֵּל † would furnish them with *Κυκλάς*, *Κυκλάδες*, and פִזְרִין or אִי פִזְרִין, by transposition of the first two radicals † and conversion of the first Yód into Vaú, § אִי פִזְרִין, with *Σποράδες*. ||

IX. AMORGÓS. I concur with Böckh\*\* in deriving the name of this island from *ἀμόργη*, and the question becomes, in what sense we are to receive it, whether as signifying a plant yielding a purple dye for which Amorgós was especially celebrated, or the colouring matter itself. Eustáthios †† explains it *Πορφύρα κατὰ γλῶσσαν*, which is hardly consistent with the words of another commentator, †† 'Αμόργη, εἶδος βοτάνης πορφυρᾶς, namely, of the plant in ques-

\* Stéphan. De Urb. p. 703. *Τένεδος, νῆσος τῶν Σποράδων, ὡς Ἐκαταῖος ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῃ.*

† Cp. Buxtorf. in *Lexic. Chald.* in voc. אִי גִלְגֵּל, pp. 90. a.

‡ Vide Lee's "Grammar," Lect. III. Art. 38.

§ Ibid. Art. 86.

|| It is clear that what has here been stated as to the origins of *Κυκλάς* and *Σποράδες* applies to their respective allied forms. The one series, beginning with *κύκλος*, find their ultimate theme in אִי גִלְגֵּל, and the other, through *σείρω*, in אִי פִזְרִין with metáthesis of its first radicals. I have chosen to commence with the concretes, in the text, as being at present concerned with them alone, and wishing also to exhibit their analogy to the Aramaic forms "in statu emphatico."

\*\* Staatahaush. d. Athen. vol. I. p. 141.

†† Vide Scholiast. Aristophan. *Lysistrat.* v. 140. *Κέν τὰς χιτωνίας τὰς ἀμοργίνας.* These *χιτωνία* received their distinctive name from their having been manufactured from the fibre of the *ἀμοργίς*, a species of fine flax (*λινοκαλάμη*, perhaps a *Býssos*) which grew on the island, and had its name from it. The *ἀμόργη* was principally used in dyeing this. See the *Lysistráte*, 736. ss., and Berkel. in *Stephan.* p. 120. note 21.

‡‡ Vide Scholiast. Aristoph. ubi supra.

It may be interesting to remark, that the Amorgiotes make use at present of the Archil, or

tion. There is no way of reconciling these discrepancies unless by supposing that, in popular language, the plant and its product were known by the same name: yet even this does not decide to which of them it was first applied. The probability, however, is that the latter . . . the marketable commodity . . . was earliest styled so; in corroboration of which we may cite the instance of "Amurca," the Latin form of Ἀμόργη, which certainly is never found with the signification "plant" attached to it.

Receiving it, therefore, in this sense, we can easily trace it to a Phœnikian origin. Whether ἀμόργη means "the watery refuse of the olive," or "the dregs of the oil extracted from it," or "a purple dye,"\* it is properly referred as an Hellenic transformation, in the first instance, to ἀμέργω† as its theme. This verb means "to extract by pressure," and is separable into the two parts, the intensive α, and μέργω, the form in which it exists in Latin, evidently referrible to the root מרג, "to use force," "impel." The Prefix is analogous to the Heëmantic נ, a property of which, when used in this way, is to enhance the meaning of the word thus augmented.‡ My reasoning, therefore, is, that the Phœnikians denominated by a term (probably נאמורגא) formed Heëmantically from the Aramæan מרג, the purple extract which, doubtless, constituted a valuable article of their commerce, and from it gave the island its name; then subsequently that the Greeks followed this succession in their ἀμέργω, ἀμόργη, and ἀμοργός.

Let us now take the other sense in which ἀμόργη seems to have been used, namely, εἶδος βοτάνης. This might also, from the process to which it was subjected, have been derived from מרג, but not so naturally as ἀμόργη, the dye. I therefore select a different root, that is, מרגא, signifying "textuit," to which I

Lichen Roccella, to colour their textures. This grows in great perfection on the rocks of their island, and is most probably the very plant now under consideration, with which, in all likelihood, the φύκος θαλάσσιον of Théophrastos and Dioskurides may also be identical.

\* Passow makes no mention of this, but notices the first two in his "Handwört. d. Gr. Sprach." i. p. 112. a.

† Vide A Lennep. "Origines," etc., edit. Scheid. p. 900. in Londin. Scapul. 1820. Passow. ubi supra. Both these lexicographers notice co-ordinately with ἀμέργω its cognates ἀμέλγω, mulgeo, which are equally referrible to an Aramæan root, מרגא.

‡ Vide Lee's "Hebrew Grammar," Lect. VII. Art. 165. 2, 7.



find subordinated the Aramaic term כַּנְנִינָא with the meaning "purple." With this I connect כַּנְנָא, and thus form a compound very likely to be used, in the spirit of the Oriental metaphor, to designate the plant from which the dye was procured, namely, כַּנְנִינָא־כַּנְנָא, "mater purpuræ." In the process of Hellenizing this, we may conceive the Serviles to have been rejected in order to form ἀμόργη, and it is difficult to overlook the resemblance of the whole to ἀμόργωσ.\*

BOCHAERT arrives at his conclusion respecting the theme of Amorgós at once, by uniting כַּנְנָא to the Benoni Péhal of כַּנְנָא, thus obtaining כַּנְנָא־כַּנְנָא, "Mater textorum," as the Phœnikian designation of the island.† The advantage of the preceding views is, that they deduce the name from a natural phenomenon: to which I may add, that the first is recommended by its superior simplicity.

X. PHOLÉGANDROS. The great uncertainty as to the orthography of this name renders it a matter of some difficulty to assign any étymon to it which will apply to all cases. Thus Strabo writes it Φολέγανδρος; Ptolemaïos, Φλόκανδρος; Stéphanos, Φολέγανδρος; Hesýchios, Φλέγανδρος; Plinius, "Phalegandros."‡ Πολύκανδρος, which the Greeks of the present day have retained, appears to have been a variation of much more recent date than any of the preceding.

Hesýchios describes it, in the passage referred to above, as a desert island, νήσος ἐρήμη; and Antípatros, apostrophizing the Kykládes, classes it with Síphnos: Σίφνον ἐμμήμασθε, καὶ αἰχμηρὰν φολέγανδρον Τλήμονες, ἀρχαίην δ' ἄλῆσατ' ἀγλαίην,§ that is, squalid from its drought and barrenness. Nor is Áratos more complimentary: ὦ Λητοῖ, σὺ μενεῖς γε σιδηρεῖη φολεγάνδρω Δειλή, ἣ γύαρον παρελεύσεται αὐτίχ' ὁμοίην; a passage cited by Strabo in his notice of Gýaros,|| and to which he had referred a little before, Φολέγανδρος, ἣν Ἄρατος σιδηρεῖην ὀνομάζει διὰ τὴν τραχύτητα. To mariners it remains to the present day one of the most inhospitable localities in the Archipelago, it being wholly unprovided with any harbour, or place of secure refuge for shipping.

There seems, therefore, to have been a general and well-grounded consent

\* Vide Stéphan. Byz. ubi supra. Τὸ δὲ ἀμόργινος χιτῶν χρώματος ἴδιον. Etymol. Magn. Ἄμóργινος χιτωνίακος παρὰ τὸ ἀμόργην, ὃ ἐστὶν εἶδος χρώματος ὁμοίω βόσση.

† Vide Geogr. Sacra, Lib. I. in Dict. Histor. p. 93. a.

‡ In M. S. Dalecamp.

§ See this epigram of Antípatros, cited at length in Holsten. ad Stéphan. pp. 347. a.

|| Lib. x. 5.

on the part of all writers who have mentioned Pholégandros as to its physical aspect and condition: consequently we may with safety select this as a basis in any inquiry relative to its étymon: not, however, to the neglect of its geographical position, as it may be said to form, in conjunction with Astypálaia, the side-columns of the vestibule of the Kykladic group to navigators coming from the south. I propose, moreover, for reasons already assigned, not to limit myself to Aramaïc themes, as BOCHART has done, but to interrogate also the Koptic, leaving it to the judgment of the reader versed in such inquiries to decide on which is most entitled to acceptance.

To commence with the former. I separate the name, as written by Strabo and Stéphanos, thus, Φολεγα-νδ-ρος, and find the divisions severally corresponding to the following Aramaïc compound, פִּלְכָא נְדִירָא, wherein I suppose that the intermediate member had dropped its final letters during the process of its combination with the extremes so as to form a name. This I have marked by the apóstrophos in the Greek form. The result of the combination is פִּלְכָא נְדִירָא, which for brevity's sake would be subjected to a second apokopé, that is, of its Aramaïc final, and thus be reduced to a form very nearly identical with the Hellenic. The designation corresponds also with exactness to the picture of the island drawn by the Greeks themselves, as also to its position at the entrance to the Kykládes to a voyager from the south. That position is expressed by נְדִירָא or פִּלְכָא, and נְדִירָא פִּלְכָא means "regio ista detestanda," or, in the more emphatic language of the poet, "illætabilis ora."\*

The Hellenic name may, however, be resolved in another way, and differing from the former only by the retraction of the Rhô. This gives us Φολεγα-νδρ-ος, of which the Aramaëan interpretation is פִּלְכָא נְדִירָא, "regio voti," or פִּלְכָא נְדִירָא, "regio votorum." By these I understand the "vows," or "votive offerings," which were customary on the part of mariners in circumstances of distress or peril, and the danger of navigating the Sporadic sea in the vicinity of the iron-bound coast of our island to be thus appropriately expressed.

The reader will perceive that I have limited myself in proposing this choice of themes to words purely Aramaïc and of known authority: I therefore claim a preference in their favour to the étymon which BOCHART has offered,

\* *Æneis*, III. 707.

פֶּלֶךְ-נוֹנְדְרִי,\* that is, as translated by him, "tractus lapidosus." There can be no doubt of this explanation of the origin of Φολέγανδρος possessing the advantages of being descriptive of its natural aspect, as well as of its exhibiting a very remarkable approximation in sound: but I demur to the recognising his concrete as being entitled to enter into a Phœnikian combination. There existed, it is true, an Aramæan root, גַּנַּד, whence the Chaldaïc form in Pâhel, גַּנְגַּר, signifying "volvit," "devolvit," as is proved by a passage in the Targum of Onkelos, † פִּימָא דְבִירָא מֵעַל יַת־אֲבָנָא מֵעַל דְּבִירָא †, and to this, perhaps, the appellation selected by BOCHART was subordinated: but it appears to have been a word of purely Rabbinical invention; and agreeably to this, the only authority which he has cited in its behalf is that of the Talmud of Jerusalem. ‡

I proceed now to investigate the probability of this name being resolvable into Koptic, that is, Egyptian, elements, preparatory to which a few observations are requisite. The first is, that I hold myself at liberty to assume as my basis whichever of the varieties I have recounted above may appear to me most analogous to the language with which I deal at present: secondly, that as the sound of the Hellenic Déltá was unknown to the Egyptian alphabet, I may be permitted to assume that the Greeks would, when it suited their process of Hellenization, represent a Taû of that alphabet by their own Déltá; § and thirdly, that they would not hesitate to promote the same end by metáthesis, elision, or any of the expedients conformable to their own grammatical rules, and this independently of the changes required for the affixing their own peculiar terminations.

Consistently with the first of these premises I assume the Ptolemæan name, Φιλόκανδρος, as my standard, and divide it thus, Φιλοκ-αν-δρος. A Koptic ori-

\* Geogr. Sacr. I. cited in Dict. Histor., p. 790. a.

† Viz. of Genes. xxix. 8. The Targums of Jonathan Ben Uziel and Jerusalem employ the more classical וַיִּגְלַגְלוּן.

‡ Vide בבבא מציעא, fol. 80. 1. מֵי אֲרַמְעָא מְזוּקָתָא בְּנוֹדְרִי, cited by Buxtorf in his Lexic. Chald. Talm. Rabbin. p. 456. Ed. Basil. 1639.

§ A singular custom of the Koptic scribes may be mentioned in reference to this, which was, to replace the Tau with the Delta in certain Greek words which they introduced into their context: ex. gr. θέατρον, Ἀρτεμις, have been written by them in Acts, xix. 24. 29. 31. ΘΕΔΔΡΟΝ, ΔΡΔΔΔΙC. See Peyron. Lexic. Coptic. p. 28. b.

ginal of the first at once presents itself in  $\pi\lambda\alpha\kappa\rho$ , which signifies "the end," "the summit," and was, by general consent, the theme of the name "Philai," by which the Greeks denominated the sacred isle of Isis on the confines of Upper Egypt.\* Next to  $\Phi\iota\lambda\alpha\kappa$  follows  $\alpha\nu$ , which I conceive to have represented the inseparable genitive prefix  $\bar{\alpha}$  or  $\bar{\eta}$ .  $\Delta\rho\alpha\varsigma$  remains, the first letter of which I regard as a necessity resulting from the Hellenization of the original word, and, therefore, I write it  $\tau\rho\alpha\varsigma$ , consistently with the second of my postulates. My next step is, to select a term commencing with Tau, the signification of which may be correlative to that of  $\pi\lambda\alpha\kappa\rho$ , already stated, and also, in conjunction with this, fitted to express some known condition or characteristic of the island: for example, as  $\sigma\iota\delta\eta\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta$ . Pursuing this research, I find that  $\tau\omega\rho\iota$  is such a word: its general signification is "instrumentum ferreum," whether edged or cusped, to the last of which meanings the term  $\lambda\alpha\kappa\rho$ , in its sense "fastigium," is appropriate. I think it likely, however, that  $\tau\omega\rho\iota$  in this connexion may have been susceptible of the abstract sense "ferreum," so that  $\pi\lambda\alpha\kappa\rho\ \bar{\eta}\tau\omega\rho\iota$  may be correctly rendered "fastigium" (or "extremitas") "ferri," that is "ferreum," "ferrea:"† and if so, it would present a remarkable analogy to the  $\sigma\iota\delta\eta\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta$   $\Phi\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\nu\delta\rho\alpha\varsigma$  of Aratos. It is evident also, that  $\pi\lambda\alpha\kappa\rho$  may express either the geographical position of the island as the western boundary of the Sporades, or its physical outline.

Still, it may be asked, how are we to account for a transformation apparently so strange as that of  $\tau\omega\rho\iota$  into  $\delta\rho\alpha\varsigma$ ? My answer is, by the exigencies of the Hellenizing process, which demanded the elimination of the first vowel, and the replacement of the last with the general insular termination. The best reply, however, is the citation of a case in point, and the first which occurs to me is that of  $\Sigma\epsilon\beta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ . We know that the Coptic form, whereof that was the Greek transmutation, was  $\chi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\pi\omicron\tau\tau\iota$ , ‡ that is,  $\chi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\pi\omicron\tau\tau\iota$ , and let us mark the successive changes effected in it: the first and third letters are replaced severally with a sibilant and a cognate labial: the syllable  $\epsilon\nu$  is then introduced, but not ar-

\* Vide Fascic. Inscript. III. pp. 401. a., 404. b., Ind. Coptic.

† Comp. Peyron. Gr. Copt. cap. IX. p. 41. "Nonne Hebræi dicunt  $\omega\gamma\eta\eta\ \eta\eta\omega\lambda$ , 'lingua sanctitatis' pro 'lingua sancta'? Ita Copti 'corona ferri, auri, æris,' pro 'ferrea, aurea, ærea.' Iidem etiam scribunt  $\omicron\ \bar{\pi}\pi\omicron\tau\delta$ , 'esse auri,' pro 'aureum,' uti nos 'esser d'oro,' etc." •

‡ Fascic. Inscript. III. Ind. Copt. p. 408. b.

bitrarily, for I regard it as the representative of the genitive prefix which the Hellenizer seems to have supplied. The fourth step was the elimination of the *o*, and the last, that of the *Iauta* to make room for the Hellenic final.

It only remains for me now to suggest two other themes which are susceptible of Hellenization by a more obvious, though not more analogical process, namely, *πιλακρ* ἦτε *ρωστω* and *πιλακρ* ἦτε *ρο*, the first signifying "extremitas sollicitudinis," or "ægrimonix;" the second, "extremitas portæ," or "aditus." *Πιλακρ* is here taken in the same sense which it bears as the étymon of *Phl'ai*, namely, its geographical. *Ρωστω* expresses the emotion which the very aspect of *Pholégandros* seems to have excited, and *ρο* its position in the adit to the *Kykládes*.

XI. *ΑΝΆΡΗΕ*. The origin of the name of this Sporade has been assigned by *Apollónios* to the interposition of *Phoibos* on behalf of the distressed *Argonaútai*. Their chief had addressed a prayer to the god,\* the answer to which the poet records: *Τοῖσι δέ τις σκοράδων βαιή ἀπὸ τόφρ' ἐφαάνθη Νήσος ἰδεῖν, ὀλίγης ἰππουρίδος ἀντία νήσου*, † subjoining afterwards that the mariners who had found shelter in it named it *Ανάφη* . . . *Ἀνάφην δέ τε λισσάδα νήσον Ἴσικον, ὃ δὴ φοῖβός μιν ἀτυχομένοις ἀνέφηνε*. ‡

For this tradition of the Muse the merely philosophical writer§ has accounted by the ascent of *Ανάφη* from the abyss during one of nature's paroxysms, never imagining that in the case before us, any more than he did in those of *Dêlos*, *Pátmos*, and *Rhódos*, the myth had been invented as an explanation of the presumed Hellenic étymon. *BOCHART* has entitled himself to our thanks for having been amongst the first to discard these anilities. In the case of *Ανάφη*|| he has availed himself of the passage in *Apollónios*, in which he describes the grateful *Argonaútai* as dedicating an enclosed piece of ground (*τέμενος*) together with an altar, *ἄλσει ἐνὶ σκιερῷ*, to *Apóllon*, styled *Αἰγλήτης*,\*\* to draw the conclusion that the Phœnikians had denominated the island from *Ἰσικον*,

\* Vide "*Argonautiká*," Δ'. 1701. ss.

† Ibid. 1711. s. Orph. 1754. ss. *Phótiος*, Tmem. 168. *Stéphan. Urb.* pp. 128. s.

‡ Ubi supra, 1717. s.

§ Comp. *Plin.* ii. 89. l. *Ammian. R. G.* xvii. 7. sub. fin. Vide supra, p. 218.

|| *Geogr. Sacr.* l. 15. *Cp. Dict. Hist.* p. 100.

\*\* Vide *Argonaut.* ubi supra, 1714. ss. *Strab. Lib. x.* 5. init. *Cónon ap. Phot.* κlix.

“leafy,” or “overspread with foliage,” implying thereby that such was its condition when they first became acquainted with it. If so, Anáphe must have presented a very different aspect from its present.

I prefer, however, the theme which rests on no such mythical basis. This island possesses a permanent and very remarkable feature, namely, the precipitous rock in its southern quarter, which has attracted the attention of such travellers as have landed on its shore. Hence it was that the marble was procured of which the temple of the Aiglétes was constructed, an act of idolatry which the Anaphiote of modern times has redressed by erecting on its summit a shrine dedicated to their Patron “lady of the reed,” the Panaghía Kalamíne.

I therefore view the name in reference to this natural object, and class Anáphe amongst the islands of the Ægæan whose designations have preserved a memorial of their primitive connexion with Egypt. 'Ανάφη resolves itself at once into κη ἰτάφε, or, as it was sometimes written, κη ἰάπη,\* almost precisely as we have seen the Græco-Ægyptian Ἀθριβίς expressing κη ἰθρηδι. † Consequently, I would translate the former, “mansio cacuminis,” or, “the island of the peak.”

XII. ΡΗΔΟΣ. The testimonies of ancient writers are so consentient on the subject of Serpents having in early times infested this island in such numbers as to render it nearly uninhabitable, that I am inclined to regard BOCHART'S étymon of its name as amongst the most trust-worthy he has proposed. ‡ It appears to me, however, to fail in one important respect, which is, that neither on its own showing, nor on that of its supposed Hellenic derivative, does it afford any explanation of the myth which obtained such credence amongst the Greeks, and has been briefly stated by Herakleídes in the following words: 'Ρόδον τὴν νῆσον τὸ παλαιὸν κεκρύφθαι λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης· ἀναφανῆναι δὲ ὕστερον ξηρανθείσαν. § Such has not been the case with the names Δῆλος and Πάτμος, as has been abundantly proved; || and to these we have added that of 'Ανάφη in the foregoing article.

\* Basmurice: Peyron. Lexic. Copt. p. 10. a.

† Fascic. III. p. 399. Ind. Copt.

‡ Vide Geogr. Sacr. Lib. I. 7. Col. 369. Supra. p. 205. not. (\*).

§ Excerpt. de Politt. p. 455. Compare Píndar, Olymp. VII. 103. sa. cited below in the “General Postscript,” viz. to page 202. line 11.

|| Vide Artt. VII. VIII. Comp. pp. 204. 217. a.

I now, therefore, propose the root ךך, which satisfies this condition. Its meaning is "descendit," and its Heëmantic noun ךךׁ signifies "a declivity," or "sloping ground." This gives us by the apharesis of its Heëmantic letter, and metáthesis of the Vau, each allowable on principles of grammar,\* ךך, and this when Hellenized, 'Pódos, a name, therefore, which properly signifies, a territory descending, or sloping down. Now, this is precisely the appearance which Rhódos presents to the voyager steering towards it in the track of the ancient Phœnikian or Ægyptian trader, that is, in the direction of the port of Líndos. The summit of the Madonna, the highest point of Artamiri,† the ancient Atábyris, rises in the centre, and from thence the land slopes down to the coast on either side with such regularity of outline as to form the two sides of a triangle, of which the base is a line running from north to south, and commencing with the town of Rhódos. This whole extent, when viewed at a sufficient distance, so strikes the beholder as to warrant a belief that it would suggest a name for the island in the Phœnikian times, in other words, that 'Pódos has been formed in the manner stated above, or from ךך, the Pá hul of ךך, in the sense "declivis." The signification, moreover, of ךך itself would be suggestive of the myth of Píndaros‡ and Herakléides, for Rhódos could not "descend" without being "immersed" in the abyss.

XIII. KRÉTE. Arguments of a very cogent nature have been adduced by the learned CALMET§ in support of his opinion, that the Caphtor mentioned in several texts of Scripture was identical with this island. If so, the Caphtorim must have been a colony from Egypt, as it is expressly stated, that Mitsraim was their immediate progenitor: "Mitsraim begat Caphtorim," || that is, the community\*\* so denominated from the place of their settlement descended in a

\* Vide Lee's Grammar, Lect. III. Art. 88. VIII. 178. 7.

† Or "Attamiri," an evident corruption of the ancient 'Ατάβυρις, Strab. XIV. 2. med. In some old editions of Diódoros 'Αταμύρου and 'Αταμυρίου appear instead of 'Αταβύρου and 'Αταβυρίου. Vide v. 59. Ed. Bip.: and Stéphanos has 'Αραβύρια ὄρη, Urb. p. 480.

‡ See above, p. 218.

§ Vide "Dictionary, etc.," vol. I. Art. Caphtor.

|| Genesis, x. 14.

\*\* That the name Caphtorim is to be received in this sense is certain from its position: for those which it accompanies were doubtless the Ethnic of the several families, amongst which Egypt, the

direct line from this son of Kham. Such being the announcement, it may prove interesting to inquire whether the testimony of Language harmonize with that of the Sacred Record.

If we are to allow any weight to Etymology as a witness, we must conclude that the Koptítai of Upper Egypt were amongst the foremost in passing the boundaries of their territory, and seeking intercourse with foreigners, for nothing is more certain than that the name Αἰγυπτος was that by which the Biblical Mitsraïm was known to the Greeks from the earliest period of their history, that is, a direct Hellenization of the Koptic *μηῖκεπτο, μηῖκεπτ*, "Home" (or "Land") "of Koptós."\* We can hardly, therefore, be regarded as straining the point of etymology overmuch, when we trace in the Shemitic *כפרתור* a memorial of the same Koptós, either in its Thebaïc form *κεβτω*, or its Memphite *κεπτ* which the Arab writers have retained in their *كبي*. We find, moreover, a Koptic term signifying Rest, Repose, *ωπε*, and thus analogous to *ορωε, οταρε* (the Greek *ᾠασις*), a Habitation, a Place of Rest. Let us now combine these elements in the name *κεπτωπε*, and we exhibit, as nearly as the Hebrew combinations permit, the Biblical *כפרתור*.

Such I conceive to have been, if not the Protonyme of this island, at least entitled to rank as an aboriginal designation. But the question here arises: How are we to account for the supplantation of this name by that with which the present article has been headed? The answer to this will, if I mistake not, satisfactorily prove the intruder to have been of Shemitic descent.

We may, perhaps, conclude, without any undue pressure upon the sacred text, from the longevity of the Patriarchs, and the rapidity with which the peopling the earth advanced during the Patriarchal times, that the migration from Upper Egypt hinted above took place in the persons of one sole branch of Mitsraïm's family, and during his lifetime. Let us now attend to what we learn

territory of Mitsraïm, was partitioned. The designation *Pathrusîm*, for example, points instantly to that section of the Thebaïs which the Egyptians termed *Παθουρι*, or *Πατοϋρη*, and the Hebrew writers *פּתרוּם*. Vide Ezek. xxix. 14. Fascic. Inscr. iii. pp. 182. 404. 406. The *Casluhîm* also, mentioned as the progenitors of the Philistîm, have been placed by JONATHAN BEN UZIEL in the Pentápolis, that is, the Kyrenaïc territory, and by the Jerusalem Targum in that of Pentáschoinos, between Pelusium and Mount Casius. The former I think the more probable.

\* Vide Fascic. Inscriptt. iii. Ind. Copt. p. 402. a. supra, p. 259.



from the same source respecting the Philistim, namely, that they were his descendants in the generation succeeding that of the Caphtorim.\* If, now, we connect with this what the prophet Amos † states with regard to them, namely, that they came out of Caphtor, the conclusion follows, that they abandoned the territory of the Casluhim, and joined their kinsmen, who had colonized Caphtor in the second generation, during that which immediately followed it. Hence we find them styled by the prophet Jeremiah, "the residue of the isle of Caphtor," שארית אי כפתור ‡

When we next read of them, they are settled in Palestine : והעים הישבים והעמים בהוצרים עד עזה כפתרים היצאים מכפתור השמידם וישבו תחתם § the 'Avim mentioned here having been descended from a son of Canaan. || In this, their new settlement, they appear to have been known by the ethnic כרתים, as is proved by such expressions as על-הכרתי, והכרתי, ונגב הכרתי, etc., in the historical books of the Old Testament,\*\* combined with two from the prophets Ezekiel and Zephaniah, to be cited shortly.

The meaning of this term, as an appellative, seems to have corresponded to the Latin "alienigenæ;" and it may be suspected that David's expression to Ittai, who, together with the rest of the Gittites, had resolved to share his fortunes on the occasion of Absalom's unnatural rebellion, admits of a reference to this sense, at least remotely, and in accordance with the well-known position of the Philistim in the country; for there appears to have been a considerable degree of emphasis in his words when he advised his follower to withdraw; "For thou art a stranger!" †† כי נכרי אתה" and this, not only as a member of my body-guard, but also as an allophyle, כרתי. The texts from Zephaniah and Ezekiel referred to above, taken in connexion with the versions of them in the Septuagint, will be found strongly confirmative of this view.

I pass, in the mean time, to the notice of another signification attached to this ethnic . . . one, however, not involved in its proper and etymological sense,

\* CALMET'S oversight in his statement respecting this succession (vol. I. art. Caphtorim), is at once corrected by a reference to the original, ואת כפתרים, which is rightly translated in our authorized version.

† Ch. ix. 7.

‡ XLVII. 4.

§ Deuteronomy, II. 23.

|| Genesis, x. 17.

\*\* Viz. Samuel, I. 30. 14., II. 8. 18., Kings, I. 1. 38., Chron. I. 18. 17.

†† Samuel, II. 15. 19.

but assigned to it in consequence of the peculiar military accomplishment of the Philistim . . . which is, "sagittarii," men skilled in archery. Thus we find כרתים represented more than once in the Targums by אִשְׁתִּיק,\* and correspondently in the Syriac by ܐܠܡܐ.† This, as I may incidentally remark, corroborates the identification of Caphtor which has been given in the commencement of the present article, so far as it extends; but I would not proceed the length of supposing with BOCHART,‡ that the ethnic כרתים had been applied by the Phœnikians to the people of Kréte, in consequence of their rivalling the Palæstinian Krethîm in their use of the bow. I conceive that the reason of this application lay deeper, that is, in the cognizance, which the Phœnikians cannot but have possessed, of the true origin of the latter, and that nothing was more natural than that they should extend to the parent country a designation with which they were so familiar at home. It unquestionably arose from some such persuasion as this, in other words, a belief in the identity of Kréte with the Biblical Kaphtor, that the Greek Interpreters have translated the two passages in Ezekiel and Zephaniah, to which I have already referred, in the following manner: § LXX. 'Ιδού ἐγὼ ἐκτείνω τὴν χεῖρά μου ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀλλοφύλους, καὶ ἐξολοθρεύσω τοὺς Κρήτας. יהוה על פלשתים והכרתי את כרתים כנגן ארץ פלשתים. || LXX. Οὐαὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὸ σχοίνισμα τῆς θαλάσσης, πάροιχοι Κρητῶν, λόγος Κυρίου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς Χαναάν, γῆ Ἀλλοφύλων. This text is immediately followed by the words; ¶ LXX. Καὶ ἔσται Κρήτη νομὴ ποιμνίων. והיתה חבל הים נות כרת רעים.\*\*

It is evident from the construction of parallels, that the Ἀλλόφυλοι and the Κρήτες here mentioned were one and the same people, the name of whose territory was Κρήτη.†† The first of these versions is sufficiently warranted and explained by the texts already cited from Deuteronomy and the prophets

\* Vide Samuel, II. 8. 18. Kings, I. 1. 38. † Vide Kings, I. 1. 38. Chron. I. 18. 17.

‡ Geogr. Sacra, I. 15. med. Cp. Dict. Histor. p. 370. a.

§ Ezek. xxv. 16.

|| Zephan. II. 5.

\*\* Ibid. v. 6.

†† Schleusner explains this, "Regio Palæstinæ orientalis: כְּרִית, fossuræ." Lexic. V. T. II. p. 316. h. It is quite clear, however, that Κρήτη in the last of the above texts of Zephaniah answers to the words חבל הים, viz., the line of coast occupied by the Philistines, in the first rendered τὸ σχοίνισμα τῆς θαλάσσης: as also, that כְּרִית and כְּרִיתים belonged to quite different roots, the former to כָּרַת, and the latter to כָּרַת.

Jeremiah and Amos, respecting the settlement of the Philistim in Palestine; and it may not, perhaps, be reckoned as overstraining the testimony of etymology beyond its legitimate bounds, to suppose that the ethnic כרתים had been assigned to them as a memorial of their allophylous origin, in other words, of their having been immigrants into that country, this having been necessarily preceded by their "severing" their connexion with their original territory, and followed by their "exterminating" the 'Avim. Now, both these meanings are evidently germane to the root-signification of כרתים, which is subordinated to כרת, "to cut off," or "away." Again: how are we to account for the Greek Translators having selected *Κρήτες* as the ethnic in their language best answering to כרתים, and *Κρήτη* as a version of חבל הים, the line (*σχαίνισμα*) of coast occupied by them in Palestine? All are familiar with these designations, and know that they belonged to the Ægean island: and it appears to me inexplicable, that they should have adopted them here in preference to *Χερεθαῖοι* and *Χερέθ* (or *γῆ Χερεθαίων*), as they before used *Χερταῖοι*, *Ἰεβουσαῖοι*, and the like, had it not been that they regarded that island as the point of departure of the Philistim for their new settlement in the territory of which they afterwards originated the name.\*

\* The primitive seat of this remarkable people I place with their progenitors, the Casluhim, in the Pentápolis of the African coast, the distance of which from the Kriumétopon of Kréte did not exceed a thousand stadia, or about two days' sail (Strabo, xvii. 3., Plin. iv. 20. 4.). The shortness of this interval would naturally induce emigration on the part of the Philistim, who would join their kinsmen, the colonists from Upper Egypt, for supposing whom to have been already settled in the island I have stated my reasons. These tribes I regard as having constituted the aboriginal population mentioned by Heródotos: *τῆν γὰρ Κρήτην εἶχον τὸ παλαιὸν πᾶσαν Βάρβαροι*, that is, peoples distinct from the Hellenic race (i. 173. init.).

The Philistim appear, in process of time, to have been "brought out of Caphtor," that is, to have been dissociated from the Caphtorim, and conducted to the territory occupied by the Canaanite 'Avim. During these changes of locality, however, it is natural to suppose that they would retain their inherited superstitions, institutions, and arms, in all which, so far as we possess the means of comparison, we trace a marked resemblance to those of the inhabitants of Kréte. For example; an analogy has been perceived between the Idæan Zeús, to the nurture of whose infancy Bees were fabled to have contributed so largely of their stores (Diódor. v. 70.), and the idol of the Ekronites, בעל זבוב; and both may have had a common origin, namely, the use of the Bee as a territorial symbol by the ancient Egyptians. It is possible, however, that the latter may have meant the same thing with the *Zeús 'Απόμνιος* of the Eleians mentioned by Pausanías (v. 14.). But we

XIV. ΚΥΠΡΟΣ. Heródotos writes as follows respecting the colonization of this island: Τουρέων (that is, Κυπρίων) δὲ τοσάδε ἔθνεά ἐστι· οἱ μὲν, ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ Ἀθηνέων· οἱ δὲ, ἀπὸ Ἀρκαδίας· οἱ δὲ, ἀπὸ Κύθνου· οἱ δὲ, ἀπὸ Φοινίκης· οἱ δὲ,

can hardly be mistaken in the following: the expertness of the Philistim in the use of the bow, which, as we have seen, caused their name of פִּלְסְטִימִים to be synonymous with the Rabbinical פִּלְשְׁתִּי, reminds the classical reader of the weapon of Górtyna, Knosós, Áptera, and Kydonía (Pausan. i. 29., iv. 8. 20.); and both are connected in the memory of the Egyptian archæologist with that potent arm of the military service which contributed so essentially to the victorious progress of the conquerors amongst the Pharaohs. (Wilkinson, vol. i. pp. 304. ss.)

Let us now direct our attention to the Kretan institutions; for these, as detailed by Pláton, who has commenced with them in his great work "of Laws" (p. 624., etc.), also by Aristotéles (De Republ. ii. 10.), and Strabo (x. 4.), furnish the most conclusive argument on behalf of the Egyptian colonization of this island, so congenial do we find them to the spirit of that people, and so evidently did they originate from some dominant mind, which had received its training in the Egyptian school of polity; or rather, perhaps, from a series of such minds recorded in mythical lore under the appellations of Dáktyloi, Priests of the Kretan Ísis, and Kurêtes, whose successive efforts to civilize and refine resulted in that system which a fabulous antiquity has attributed to Mínos. It is related of this legislator, that he retired for nine years to the cave of his sire Zeús, in a spirit emulative of the fame of Rhadámantys, and at the expiration of that period returned with a Digest of ordinances, which he enforced on the ground of his having received them from the god himself (Odys. τ'. 178. a.; Pláton, Mínos, p. 319. b.; Strab. ubi supra). What proof could we have more evident than this, that the Lawgiver of Kréte was, like the Heraklès of antiquity, a combination in one person of many individuals, or perhaps more truly, the Impersonation of that divine principle of Justice and Truth, which the courts of judicature in ancient Egypt presented under a twofold emblem (Wilkinson, vol. ii. p. 27.), and the Hellenic mythist could only make clear by embodying it in an individual.

His fabled predecessor Rhadámantys had also claimed a divine origin for the laws which he introduced into his rude community, and he also had his reward: for as Mínos, the Impersonation of the אֱלֹהֵי הַיְשׁוּבָה, the principle of "Divine Truth," received after death honours approaching to divine, so was Rhadámantys associated with him, though in an inferior grade, as ΠΡΕΨΤΕΡΟΣ ΔΙΑΔΙΚΑΣΤΗΣ, "Judge of Hádes." Even Aiakós, the myth-created Hero of the Æginetans, whom in one sense we may regard as purely of Greek invention, may be referred thematically to an Egyptian origin, as "Mansion of the Dead," or "Increment of the Grave," ΗΙ ΠΙΚΩΣ, or ΔΙΔΩ ΠΙΚΩΣ; and if so, we possess a remarkable analogy to the Egyptian triad of Ósirís, Hóros, and Ánubis. (Plútarch. De Isid. etc. xxviii.; Wilkinson, vol. iv. pp. 363. 401. 441. s.).

The very general consent of the ancient Paraphrasts and Translators in identifying Kaphtor with Kappadokia seems to have originated in nothing more convincing than the similarity in sound between כַּפְתָר and Καππαδο. Are we then to lay no stress on the approximation of Aptéras, one of the names in the list of Kretan monarchs (Euséb. Chron. p. 77.) to אֲפֶרַס, or of the Kretan

ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας· ὡς αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι λέγουσι\*. Stéphanos† informs us as to the origin of its name, according to the opinions which were current amongst the Greeks, deriving it ἀπὸ Κύπρου τῆς θυγατρὸς Κινύρου, ἢ ἀπὸ φυομένου ἄνθους κύπρου. Ἄστυνομος δέ φησι, Κρύπτον κεκλήσθαι διὰ τὸ κρύπτεσθαι πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης· εἶτα Κύπρος. He then proceeds to recount the names by which it had been known at successive periods: ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Κεραστis, ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλὰ ἄκρα ἔχειν· καὶ Κεραστίας, καὶ Ἀμαθουσία, καὶ Μηϊονίς, καὶ Σφήκεια, καὶ Ἀκαμαντίς. From these authorities we derive some valuable hints on the subject of the ethnology of Κύπρος, certain of which I now proceed to investigate.

There can be no question but that the Æthiopians and the Phœnikians were the most ancient colonizers of this island, the former of whom inhabited the division of Egypt which lay between the Nile and the Arabian gulf, and was included, during the Makedonian and Roman periods, in the jurisdiction of the Thebárches, or Governor of the Thebaïs, † a territory then extending to the southern limits of the present Sennaar.

It follows, therefore, that in any attempt to settle the etymology of the Kyprian names, we should allow the Egyptian element its due share of consideration. Let us, then, examine to what extent it is possible to bring this, firstly, in the case of the island itself, into harmony with two of the themes which have been noticed in the first of the passages cited above from Stéphanos.

I commence with the shrub Κύπροςξ (ἄνθος κύπρου), in the Arabic الحنّاء, the "Lawsonia inermis" of the Linnæan system. It appears also to have been the plant understood in Scripture by the name כפר or כופר,|| which, accordingly, BOCHART\*\* has selected, and added to his list of evidences of the preva-

city Ἄπτερα (Stéphan. p. 150.) to כפרר; or lastly, on Μινώα, also the name of a Kretan town, having been the ancient designation of ΠΛΩΣ, the chief stronghold of the Palæstinian Krethim? (Stéphan. pp. 256. 562.).

\* VII. 90. fin.

† De Urbb. pp. 492. a. Comp. Konstantin. Porphyrogénnet. De Themat. I. Th. 15.

‡ Comp. Fascic. III. p. 177. n. CCCLVII. a.

§ Vide Plin. XII. 51. fin. "Optimum habetur ex Canopica in ripis Nili nata: Secundum Ascalone Judææ: Tertium Cypro insula, odoris suavitare." Hence the line in the Hymn to Aphrodite, v. 66. Σείατ' ἐπὶ τροίην, προλιποῦσ' ἐνώδεα κύπρον.

|| Vide "Canticles," I. 14., IV. 13.

\*\* Geogr. Sacr. I. in Dict. Hist. Steph. p. 383. a.

lence of the Phœnikian element in the Hellenic proper names. It happens, however, that the Koptic term for the shrub is also  $\kappa\omicron\tau\tau\epsilon\rho$ , and to which, each being so exactly the counterpart of the other, the palm of antiquity is to be adjudged, who can decide? If the latter have been formed from the Greek, as the learned  $\text{Ρ}\epsilon\gamma\rho\omicron\text{N}$ \* appears to intimate, how are we to account for its identity with the Hebrew designation, unless we are to suppose that in copying a name from one language its framers adopted the standard of another? To this may be added the difficulty of assuming that the Egyptians possessed no independent term in their primeval language for a plant so well known to them † and appreciated from the remotest times.

I now pass to the next theme mentioned by Stéphanos, that is,  $\alpha\pi\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\rho\upsilon\text{-}\pi\tau\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ , the very statement of which leads to the conclusion that it had been warranted by the presence of a  $\text{T}\alpha\upsilon$  in the earlier Hellenic name; in effect, that it was written  $\text{Κ}\rho\upsilon\pi\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , as the authority cited by Stéphanos informs us. We will suppose now what is by no means improbable, that this  $\text{Κ}\rho\upsilon\pi\tau\omicron\varsigma$  had been the result of a Hellenizing process, the object of which was to appropriate the name of the island to a Hellenic theme, and that this consisted in removing the  $\text{R}\eta\delta$  from its proper and original place; for it is certain that  $\kappa\epsilon\pi\text{-}\tau\omicron\rho\omicron$  (that is,  $\pi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\ \pi\upsilon\rho\omicron$ ) supplies a geographical designation accurately descriptive of the position of  $\text{Κ}\acute{\upsilon}\pi\rho\varsigma$  with respect to Egypt, as  $\text{P}\omicron$  means “porta,” “janua;” also, “caput.” This would become  $\kappa\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\rho\omicron$ , or  $\kappa\tau\upsilon\pi\tau\omicron\rho\omicron$ , from which the Hellenic  $\text{κ}\rho\upsilon\pi\tau\omicron\varsigma$  would arise, and by eliminating the  $\text{T}\alpha\upsilon$ ,  $\text{κ}\acute{\upsilon}\pi\rho\varsigma$ .

This view of the étymon of  $\text{Κ}\acute{\upsilon}\pi\rho\varsigma$  possesses the advantage of establishing a remarkable analogy between it and  $\text{K}\alpha\text{p}\text{h}\text{t}\text{o}\text{r}$  ( $\text{כפרתור}$ ,  $\pi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\tau\ \pi\upsilon\omega\rho\epsilon\iota$ , or  $\pi\upsilon\omega\rho\epsilon\iota$ ), ‡ so that it might appear that the colonization of both these islands by

\* Vide Lexic. Copt. p. 69. a. In p. 271. a.  $\chi\omicron\tau\tau\epsilon\rho$  is stated from KIRCHER to have been the Koptic term for the fruit produced by this plant.

† Compare the testimony of Plinius cited above, who assigns the first rank in excellence amongst the different growths of this shrub to that of  $\text{Κ}\acute{\alpha}\text{n}\text{o}\text{b}\text{o}\varsigma$ . Note (§), p. 278.

‡ I have here, as in other places, given the components of the name in full: but it is manifest that during the process of effecting their combinations, inorganic adjuncts, such as Articles and Prefixes (sometimes even an organic letter, as here  $\epsilon\iota$ , see p. 273.), would be eliminated either in whole or in part, according as it suited the requirements of the language into which the composite

adventurers from Upper Egypt had been simultaneous. If so, the Biblical Caphtorm would either be identical with or included under the ethnic of Heródotos, *Αιβίορες*.

I now proceed to consider certain other geographical names connected with the island before us, of which, as I wish to shorten these remarks, I shall select two of the most ancient, Páphos and Amathûs; occurring also in quarters most likely to be visited by mariners from the south. The Páphos to which I here refer is the old city (*Παλαίπαφος*), termed so to distinguish it from the new (*Νεάπαφος*), which was situated on the coast to the west of the former, and distant sixty stadia.\* The circumstances of their positions were very different: the new Páphos lay on a creek near the shore, little above the sea-level, whereas the old town had been built on an eminence ten stadia removed from it: hence the description by Strabo, *ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ἰδρυμένη*, and the epithet "celsa" applied to it by Virgil.† It seems, therefore, by no means improbable, that Egyptian founders of the city would designate it by a name expressive of its local position, this appearing sufficiently remarkable to attract notice. They would accordingly style it *φαιουαφε* or *φαιαφε*, namely, as "appertaining to," that is, "founded upon, an eminence," or, with the Thebaïc possessive-form, *παιαφε*,‡ the transition of which to *Πάφος* would be immediate.

Should it be objected here, that I am now extending the meaning of the possessive prefix beyond its due bounds, notwithstanding the occurrence of such expressions as *ἰθουκ φαιαφῖ ἰθουφῖ*,§ in accordance with which *παιαφε*, or by a fusion of separate dialects, *παιαφαι*, *παιαφε*, may be legitimately rendered *ὁ τοῦ ὑψους*, some such term as *παιαφαιουφῖ* being subauded to authorize the use of the masculine prefix . . . should this, I repeat, be objected to, I am prepared to offer an alternative, which appears moreover to be recommended to our acceptance by a rather singular coincidence.

The geographer Stéphanos informs us, under his heading 'ΕΡΥΘΡΑ' that,

was to be introduced. Thus, in the present case, both the possessive and the definite articles are supposed to have been excluded in the reduction of the simples to the Onomastic *רררר*.

\* Strabo, xiv. 6. in Cypro.

† *Æneis*, x. 51.

‡ My meaning here is, that for the sake of euphony, the first Phi in the Memphitic form *φαιαφε* would be converted into Pi in the transition to *Πάφος*, i. e., the Thebaïc prefix-form adopted.

§ Vide Peyron, *Lexic. Copt.* p. 163. b. Gr. cap. v. § 3.

ἔστι καὶ Κύπρου ἄλλη (that is, another Erythrá), ἢ νῦν Πάφος,\* he meaning thereby ἢ νέα Πάφος: but the distinction here is of little moment, as we are only discussing the subject of names. The question immediately suggests itself, Whence arose the succession of Páphos to Erythrá as a designation of the same town? I am disposed to think, that the answer to this lies deeper than has been imagined by the ordinary Hellenic etymologist. Referring to what I have already stated with respect to the Αἰθίοπες who, according to the Kyprian tradition, had contributed their share to the early colonization of this island, I have now merely to remind my readers, that the boundary of that people's country on its eastern side, the Ἐρυθρὰ Θάλαττα of the Greeks, was denominated in their language Φιοεε Ἰγυαρι.† I assume it, moreover, as highly probable, because natural, that these aboriginal settlers would feel anxious to preserve some memorial of their native land, and consequently, that the designation οἰρωεε φαφιοεε, in the case of the immigrant, and πιεεεἰγυωπι φαφιοεε, in that of the settlement, would be those by which each respectively would be known. We will now suppose these to be Hellenized, and is it not manifest that ἀποικος πάφιος would represent the first; τὸ κτίσμα πάφιον, the second; and that, the Ethnic once formed, the transition to the name, Πάφος, would follow as a matter of course?

It remains, however, that we should account for the name Ἐρυθρά, which, we are told, was the prior designation; and this presents no great difficulty. I am persuaded, that it resulted from a desire of a more complete Hellenization than was obtained by merely modifying the Egyptian name; that the Greek, therefore, instead of Φιοεε Ἰγυαρι, selected his own vernacular translation of it, Ἡ Ἐρυθρὰ Θάλαττα,‡ the first member of which he chose as the representative of πιεεεἰγυωπι (or πιονε) παφιοεε, and then formed its regular ethnic Ἐρυθραῖος, equivalent to οἰρωεεε παφιοεε as given above. Antiquity, however, in process of time re-asserted its rights, for the name Páphos, which contains the elements of the true Egyptian, is as old as the days of Homer,§ and is traceable even in the barbaric form of its modern representative, while Erythrá is known only to the page of the geographer.

\* De Urb. p. 354.

† Vide Fascic. Inscript. III. Ind. Copt. p. 407. b.

‡ Ibid. p. 177. n. occlvii. a. 8. s.

§ Odys. 9. 363. Hymn. IV. 59.



I proceed now to offer some remarks on the name Amathûs. It is so well known that the worship of Aphrodite in this city and its territory dated from the earliest antiquity, that it becomes unnecessary for me to incumber my page with many citations in proof of it. I content myself, therefore, with transcribing one from Pausanias: "Ἔστι δὲ Ἀμαθοῦς ἐν Κύπρῳ πόλις Ἀδώνιδος ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν ἐστιν ἀρχαιότατον.\*"

I esteem it as highly probable, that this cult of the citizens of Amathûs had descended to them from the Thebaïc colonists, whom we may reasonably suppose to have introduced into their new settlement the rites of Athór (Θεωρ) along with those of the worship of Ósiris (Ὀσῖρις), to whose consort and sister Ísis (Ἥσε) she bore so close a resemblance; † as she is known to have been the Tutelary deity of the western, or Libyan, district of the Thebaïs, extending as far as Hermonthís, ‡ as also to have been a Contemplar in each of the triads worshipped at Téntytra, § Apollinópolis Magna, Ómbos, and Abunkís. It follows as a consequence from this, that they would in all likelihood denominate it from that goddess of their mythology, "The Possession of Athór," Πισσεργί (or Πισσεργτε) ἡθεωρ, expressed onomastically Θεεργεωρ or Θεεωρ. The Phœnikian representative of this would be 𐤓𐤌𐤕𐤓, if we may conclude from the analogy of 𐤓𐤌𐤕𐤓, which occurs in several texts of Scripture || as the Hebrew equivalent of Θεωρ, the district of the Thebaïs above mentioned, or the Hermonthite nome; and the transition from thence to the Hellenic Ἀμαθοῦς would only imply the exclusion of its fourth letter, for the sake of euphony.

Again: the supposition which I have ventured accounts not only for the name Amathûs, but also for the Cult of which the district was the chosen seat during the Hellenic ascendancy; for the Greeks always reckoned their Aphrodite as identical with the Egyptian Athór. Many proofs of this could be pro-

\* Lib. ix. 41. 2. Comp. Stéphan. pp. 112. s. Ovid. Am. iii. 15. 15. Catull. xxvi. 14. lxxviii. 51.

† Compare Wilkinson, vol. iv. pp. 381. s., 386. s. Plútarch. de Iside, etc., lvi. A similar approximation of the Kyprian Aphrodite to Deméter has been noticed and illustrated by CLARKE: Travels, vol. ii. p. 317. 4to. Ed.

‡ Viz. the district Θεωρ. See p. 272. note (\*\*).

§ Vide Wilkinson, ubi supra, pp. 231. 389. ss.

|| Isaiah, xl. 11. Jerem. xlii. 1. 16. Ezekiel, xxix. 14., xxx. 14.

duced; but I content myself with referring to one in which I may be regarded as personally interested;\* I mean the inscription in front of the Prónaos of the temple at Denderah. This fane had been dedicated to a triad of deities, amongst whom, as appears by its existing sculptures, Athór was the most eminent in rank (*ἡ κυριωτάτη*†), and therefore gave it its name; a circumstance which the dedicatory titulus expresses, ΑΦΡ[ΟΔΕ]ΙΤΗΙ . ΘΕΑΙ . ΜΕΓΙΣΤΗΙ . ΚΑΙ . ΤΟΙΣ . ΓΥΝΝΑΟΙΣ . ΘΕΟΙΣ, in exact accordance with the testimony of Strabo. ‡

This view of the origin of the Hellenic cult serves, moreover, to throw light on the expressions of Stéphanos under the head ΑΜΑΘΟΥΣ: Ἀμαθοῦς πόλις Κύπρου ἀρχαιοτάτη, ἐν ἣ Ἀδωνις Ὀσιρις ἐτιμᾶτο, ὃν, Αἰγύπτιον ὄντα, Κύπριοι καὶ Φοίνικες ἰδιοποιοῦνται.§ To understand this, it is necessary to premise that the attributes of Ísis and Athór so resembled each other in many respects, that the Greeks fell into the error of confounding them, although in reality quite distinct members of the Egyptian Pántheon: hence such expositions as the following: Ἡ δ' Ἰσις ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ Μοῦθ,|| καὶ πάλιν Ἀθυρι\*\* καὶ Μεθύερ†† προσ-αγορεύεται. This entitles us, therefore, to suppose that the rites which the Egyptian immigrants had really introduced were those of Ísis, and that the Greeks, in process of time, substituted for these solemnities the worship of Aphrodíte. It would follow as a matter of course, from their intimate connexion, that the former would be accompanied by her consort Ósirís, and thus a way would be prepared for that appropriation of the Egyptian cult to which Stéphanos bears his testimony. I am inclined, moreover, to think that the

\* Vide Fascic. Inscript. III. p. 216. n. CCCLXV. b.

† Vide Fascic. Inscr. III. p. 172. note (e).

‡ Lib. XVII. 1. Τιμῶσι δὲ Ἀφροδίτην κ. τ. λ. viz. the Tentyrites.

§ De Urb. p. 112.

|| Plútarch. De Iside, etc. LVI. fin. Comp. Wilkinson, IV. pp. 382. 384. This eponyme was most probably a contraction of *ΜΕΤΗ ΠΟΤΩ*†, "Mother of the Earth's fruits," analogous to Δημήτηρ. See p. 282. note (†), supra.

\*\* Otherwise Ἀθύρ, (Fascic. Inscr. III. p. 242. n. CCCLXXIV. i. 8. p. 406. a. Ind. Copt.) = Δεωρ, contracted from *ΗΙ ἸΤΕ ΖΩΡ*, *οἶκος Ὀρον* in Plútarch. ubi supra. Vide Fascic. Inscr. III. p. 217. not. (z).

†† Viz. *ΔΕΕΖ ΔΕΩΡ* (Ἀθυρι) ερ, expressive of the Act of Replenishing Athýr, or, as Plútarchos intimates, *Τὸ τρίτον σύνθετόν ἐστιν ἐκ τε τοῦ πλήρους καὶ τοῦ αἰτίου*. Ubi supra.

expression "Αδωνις "Οσιρις means nothing more than 'Αδωνόσιρις,\* which the Phœnikians would very probably write 𐤀𐤃𐤆𐤍 𐤀𐤓𐤌𐤓, agreeably to the Egyptian 𐤀𐤚 𐤀𐤓𐤌𐤓, where 𐤀𐤚, that is, 𐤀𐤚𐤀𐤚 or 𐤀𐤚𐤀𐤚, signifies Lord, than which title of Ósirís none is more frequent on the monuments of Egypt.†

If now we revert to the list of names of Κύπρος which has been given above from Stéphanos, we may possibly obtain some glimpse of an étymon of Amathûs, which may have been in popular acceptation amongst the Hellenic races, with whom the advent of the descendants of Kûsh and Mitsraim had become a legend enveloped in the darkest haze of antiquity. We may reasonably suppose that the latter would bring over with them, amongst other memorials of their country, those ideographical delineations with which the learned have become so familiar, and with none more than the types of the insect genera. I select for the present occasion one of these, the Bee with expanded wings, which Hieroglyphists consider to have been a territorial symbol.‡ I suppose, moreover, that the Greeks of whom I now speak had received it as designative, either individually or collectively, of their Egyptian predecessors, under the form of another Hymenópteros, for which the hieroglyphical representation of the Bee might, at least popularly, be taken, namely, the Wasp. It would immediately result from this misconception, that the Individual, the Community to which he belonged, and the Territory which it occupied, would severally receive the names Σφήξ, Σφήκες, and Σφήκεια. An inquiring Greek would then apply his ingenuity in tracing etymologies, for which his countrymen were at all times so remarkable, and elicit from 'Αμαθούς a corroboration of this belief; for its Egyptian components would at once be concluded to have been 𐤀𐤚𐤀𐤚, signifying "Vespæ," and 𐤀𐤚𐤀𐤚𐤀𐤚, "Congregatio," "Multitudo," these being elements into which it would appear "prima facie" to resolve itself.

I feel persuaded that it was by some such process as this, that the Kyprian Greeks arrived at the *geographical truth* enunciated by the Scholiast on Lyκόφρον: § 'Η Κύπρος πρότερον Σφήκεια ἐκαλεῖτο ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνοικησάντων ἐκεῖσε ἀνδρῶν, οἱ ἐκαλοῦντο Σφήκες. This is not the only instance on record of a specious etymology conducting to an imaginary conclusion.

\* Vide Berkel. in Stéphan. p. 112. not. 30.

† Wilkinson, vol. iv. p. 320. Comp. Art. v. supra, pp. 253. a.

‡ Vide Sharpe's "Rudiments of a Vocabulary of Egyptian Hieroglyphics," Nos. 417. 421.

§ V. 447. Οἱ πάντε που Σφήκειαν εἰς Κερασίδα.

## POSTSCRIPT.

*Page 236, heading, "SECTION V."*—I had intended at first to denominate this Section "Supplementary," but on reflection substituted the above form, in order to preserve the continuity of the numbering, as well as to mark the connexion of its subject-matter with the etymological theory developed in part in the Section which goes before.\* I say "in part," because the discussion of the Koptic themes, which forms so conspicuous a feature in this one, has not received any attention in the Fourth for a reason which may as well be candidly owned . . . my unconsciousness of their applicability co-ordinately with the better known and more generally recognised Phœnikian. My admission of the new element has been, in effect, of a comparatively recent date, and in some degree fortuitous, it having resulted from the course of my Koptic studies undertaken for a wholly different purpose, namely, the determination of étyma exclusively Egyptian.

*Page 241, line 15.*—*היא עברא*. This means literally "the region beyond," and the Greek synonymes annexed have been so arranged as to represent the analogy of each to its corresponding Shemitic word, that is, of *γη* (*aia Faia?* *γαία*) to *א*, Aram. *א*, and of *πέρας* to *עברא*, with aphæresis of the *ע*. That the emphatic form *היא* is admissible here is clear from *היא* in a passage of Ezekiel.† It might, however, be written as above, *א*, in stricter conformity to the Aramaic usage: and so also in page 251, line 8, where *היא אבסין* may be otherwise written *א אבסין*.

*Page 242, line 17.*—BOCHART has not given the Arabic form here, and, therefore, when composing this note, I wrote *غلف*?, as doubting its correctness in the present case. I have since found my suspicion to be well founded, and that very probably *جلف*, signifying "olla," was the term which he intended to represent by *גלף*.

*Page 243, line 2.*—*עלין עבא*. This is BOCHART's étymon, which the reader will please to alter to *עלין עבא*, "exultabundus (that is 'lætus') sinus."

*Page 248, note (§).*—BOCHART has treated of this étymon in a manner which

\* Supra, pp. 203–205. 216–218.

† Ch. xxvi. v. 18.

has exposed him to the disingenuous criticism of the author of the article *LÉSBOS* in the "Ancient Universal History,"\* who keeps wholly out of sight the use which he has made of the inseparable prefix, and represents him as deducing the name from "Esbuith."† This *ex parte* statement would have been obviated by a little less complexity in his details: for all that is requisite in such cases as these is to obtain thematic forms which comprise the consonantal equivalents of the Hellenic names. The result of laying too much stress on a presumed identity in vocalization would, in many instances, be found embarrassing, and in all useless, as this would be regulated during the Hellenizing process by its own special laws. In this point of view BOCHART derived no manner of advantage from his form *לדִּשְׁבוּת*, as the case-affix of the Hellenic name would be determined by considerations wholly independent of the penultimate *Vau*, supposed to have been vocalized.

Page 251, line 8.—*הָאֵי אֲבֹסִין*. See the remark above on page 241, line 15.

Page 277, line 28.—"For as *Mínos*, etc." The expressions of Pláton might seem to imply, that he was cognizant of the true import of this name, for he defines Law to be the Invention of Truth, and attributes its origin (*αἰτίαν*) to the Deity.‡ That such was not the case, however, is clear from his details relative to *Mínos*, which proves that he regarded him as having really existed, conformably to the legends of his country, which connected his memory with the myth of the *Minótauros*, and aspersed it accordingly in no measured degree.§

A fate somewhat similar appears to me to have attended the aboriginal founders of the Kretan civilization, the Priests of *Kybéle*. It is remarkable, that the very region in which these have been located by the Hellenic writers,||

\* Vol. III. p. 203., folio edit.

† It is to be remarked here, that BOCHART sets out with the Feminine form *הַלְשִׁבֵּית*, appearing to forget that *אי*, "insula," to which it refers, is a masculine noun. It may be, however, that he designed its immediate reference to *עיר*, "urbs."

The advantage of selecting the Aramaic form *לְשִׁבֵּית* is, that it at once supplies the meaning "septimus," and this independently of its being the more appropriate one on the present occasion in a dialectal sense.

‡ Cp. *Mínos*, p. 315. a. De Legibus, p. 624. a.

§ *Mínos*, p. 318. a.

|| Diódor. v. 64.

is that of the Ἀπτεραῖοι, that is, if we are to allow any weight to homophony, of the כַּפְתָּרִים,\* as also that the arts which they are said to have introduced amongst the rude tribes of Kréte† were those in which the ancient Egyptians are known to have excelled. Their identification by Pausanias,‡ moreover, with the Kurétes, whom Diódoros§ classes separately, is worthy of attention, inasmuch as it suggests an inquiry how it came to pass, that names so dissimilar as Δάκτυλοι and Κουρήτες had been attributed to one and the same community. The following solution of this difficulty may perhaps attract consideration.

I would assign to the first of these an Egyptian origin; to the second a Phœnikian, or Shemitic. I conceive Δάκτυλοι to have been due to the depreciating spirit which characterized the Greek when dealing with the myths of Barbarians whom he stigmatized as (γόγγας) Jugglers or Sorcerers,|| influenced by which, he would translate the title ῥωμμε κελεπιπ, “homines cordati,” as though the last of these words were ἵκελοπιπ, “digiti,” that is, δακτύλου (ἀτίτου). We thus perceive how a paronomastic version may have supplanted the correct and eulogistic one, and obtain an insight into the meaning of Δάκτυλοι, which appeared so enigmatical to the Hellenic writers themselves.\*\*

As to the Ethnic Κουρήτες, I regard it as the Greek form of כּוּרְתִים, in the same way that Ἄβαντες was of אִבְנֵי,†† and as radically identical with Κρήτες, כִּרְתִים.

#### GENERAL POSTSCRIPT.

Page 117, line 11.—The reader will perceive that the instance here referred to is that of the phylé Demetriás, one of the two which were added to the ancient ones of Kleisthénés, in the decline of the Athenian republic.‡‡ It

\* Supra, p. 276. note (\*) fin.

† Diódor. v. 64. a.

‡ v. 7. 4.

§ Ubi supra, c. 65.

|| Diódor. ubi supra.

\*\* Comp. Strab. x. 3. fin. Diódor. Pausan. ubi supra. The alternative which I have adopted of travelling beyond the Hellenic in this emergency is abundantly sanctioned by Strabo's words: Ἄλλοι δ' ἄλλων μυθεύουσιν, ἀπόροι ἄπορα συνάπτουτες.

‡‡ Supra, pp. 250. a.

‡‡ Vide Plútarch. Demétr. xi. fin. Καὶ ταῖς φυλαῖς δύοπροσέθεσαν, Δημητριάδα καὶ Ἀντιγονίδα· καὶ τὴν Βουλὴν τῶν πεντακοσίων πρῶτον, ἑξακοσίων ἐποίησαν. This addition was made in honour

was scarcely necessary, however, that I should have noted it as an exceptional case, as the denomination, like that of Antigonís, was but transient, being speedily replaced with that of Attalís.

Page 118, line 6.—“ And always that of his Δῆμος,” that is, as expressed by its Ethnical appellation. Thus Σφήττιος, which appears at the close of the titulus cited from FABRETTI,\* means a citizen of the dêmos Sphettós, subordinated to the phylé Akamantís.

Page 119.—The statements in this page, lines 8 and 25, have been somewhat too absolutely expressed, as the use of the Demotic ethnic in such a case would be contingent on the political relations subsisting between Athens and the place in which its citizen might happen to be sojourning. If it were a foreign state independent on Athens, his natural designation would be Ἀθηναῖος, to which, though not born in the capital, he would be entitled through his Phylé; but if the contrary, he would describe himself, as at home, by his Dêmos.† It is evident, however, that this qualification of my statements adds to the force of my argument against the Ethnical meaning of Ἀττικός in the inscription.

Page 141. note (\*).—The period which contains this passage from Hippokratés proceeds as follows: Ἐν δὲ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἔστιν ἔθνος Σκυθικόν, ὃ περι τὴν λίμνην οἰκεῖ τὴν Μαιώτιν διαφέρον τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν ἄλλων, Σαυρομάται καλεῦνται. Τοντέων αἱ γυναῖκες κ. τ. ἐξ. Καὶ μάχονται τοῖς πολεμίοις ἕως ἂν παρθένοι ἐῶσιν. οὐκ ἀποκαρθενεύονται δὲ μέχρις ἂν τῶν πολεμίων τρεῖς ἀποκτείνωσι. καὶ οὐ πρότερον συνοικέουσιν ἢ περ τὰ ἱερὰ θύουσαι τῷ ἐν νόμῳ.‡

Page 195, line 30.—“ Appears rival, etc.” Add to these myths that of the Kilikian Ámanos noticed by Stéphanos: Ἱστοροῦσι, τὸν Ὀρέστην ἀπὸ Ταύρων σὺν Ἰφίγενείᾳ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν κομίσαντα τῆς μανίας λῦσιν εὐρεῖν.§

Page 200, note (\*).—This myth of the Naxians has been noticed by Diódoros as follows: Μυθολογοῦσι δὲ Νάξιοι περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου, φάσκοντες παρ' αὐτοῖς

of Demétrios Poliorketés, the liberator of the Athenians, and his father: but their grateful sense of the benefit expired with the prosperity of the benefactor; for, as Stéphanos informs us, ὕστερον (μετωνόμασαν) Ἀτταλίδα καὶ Πτολεμαῖδα, διὰ τῶν ἐπωνύμων εὐεργετηθέντες βασιλέων. P. 218. Ed. Berkel. Compare under ΑΓΝΟΥΣ, p. 24., and ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΕΙΣ, p. 149.

\* Supra, p. 188.

† See Böckh's notes in his Corp. Inscr. Tom. II. nn. 2151. 2156. 2227.

‡ Vide Sect. III. p. 291. Ed. Genev. 1657.

§ De Urbb. pp. 112. s.

τραφήναι τὸν θεὸν (sc. Διόνυσον), καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν νῆσον αὐτῷ γεγονέναι προσφι-  
λειστάτην, καὶ ὑπὸ τινῶν Διονυσιάδα καλεῖσθαι. τὸν γὰρ Δία, κατὰ τὸν παραδεδο-  
μένον μῦθον, τότε κεραυνωθείσης Σεμέλης πρὸ τοῦ τεκεῖν, τὸ βρέφος λαβόντα, καὶ  
ἐβράψαντα εἰς τὸν μηρὸν, ὡς ὁ τέλειος τῆς γενέσεως χρόνος ἦλθε, βουλόμενον λαβεῖν  
τὴν Ἥραν, ἐξελεῖν τὸ βρέφος ἐν τῇ νῦν Νάξῳ, καὶ δοῦναι τρέφειν ταῖς ἐγχωρίοις  
νύμφαις Φιλίᾳ καὶ Κορωνίδι καὶ Κλείδι.\*

Page 202, line 11.—Εἰναλίους. Compare the following passage from Pín-  
daros: Φαντὶ δ' ἀνθρώπων παλαιαὶ Ῥήσιες, οὐπω, ὅτε Χθόνα δατέοντο ζεὺς τε καὶ  
ἀθάνατοι Φανερὰν ἐν πελάγει Ῥόδον ἔμμεν ποντίῳ. Ἄλμυροῖς δ' ἐν βένθεσιν νᾶσον  
κεκρύφθαι.†

Page 203, note (‡).—After "Dionýs. Perieget." add v. 212.

TRANSACTIONS, Vol. XXI Part I. pp. 21. s.

I have concluded the present to be as appropriate an occasion as I could select to lay before the Academy a few observations on another Ionian record namely, the Teïan fragment, a discussion of which occupies some space in the last of my Memoirs that has appeared amongst our Transactions.‡ I have stated in the Postscript which has been appended to it, that certain investigations, subsequent to the time at which it had been read in the hearing of the Academy, induced me to cancel the supplements I had proposed in my version § of the fragment as then restored; and I concluded my notices respecting it, which at that time could only be general, with expressing a hope of being permitted, at some future period, to submit a more satisfactory statement of the result of the researches connected with it in which I was then engaged. || That opportunity has now arrived, and I hasten to devote it to the performance of my promise.

The fragment in question has proved to be one of a very remarkable character: nothing less, in all probability, than the missing reply of the Polyrre-  
nians of Kréte to the application of the Senate and People of the Teïans on the subject of the sacrosanct prerogatives of their city, soil, and peculiar cult. I term it "missing," as, in the collection of documents relating to these claims of

\* B. H. v. 52. init.

‡ Vol. XXI P. 1. pp. 11. ss.

† Olymp. vii. 100. ss. Cp. supra, p. 271. note (§).

§ Ibid. pp. 21. s.

|| Ibid. p. 80.



Téos, which was first given to the public by EDMOND CHISHULL,\* from the papers of SHERARD and LISLE, all that we find of it are two lines, and fragments of two more. The collection to which I allude comprises the decrees of the following peoples: the Romans, the Aitolians, and various communities of Kréte, namely, the Eleuthernaian, the Istronian, the Sybritian, the Faxian, the Rhaukian, the Arkadian, the Knosian, the Polyrrhenian, the Kydonian, the Lappaian, the Priansian, and the Latian. Amongst these, but very short fragments appear of the Polyrrhenian, Kydonian, Lappaian, and Priansian psephisms in CHISHULL'S collection, and that of his editor BÖCKH: but now, unless I am greatly mistaken, we may be said to possess the first of these in its integrity, and nearly the whole of the second.

I am at present concerned more particularly with the Polyrrhenian. We know already from CHISHULL'S fragment of it, † that the names of the ambassadors whom the Teïans had sent to Polyrrhénion were Apollódotos and Kolótas, and it happens that these are the very names which we find distinctly mentioned in our fragment. We observe, also, clear indications therein of an order to have the psephism engraved, and deposited in the temple of the Delphian Apóllon, a clause which no other titulus of this kind yet published contains: and, in addition to all this, we find the Polyrrhenians, at the close, mentioned in express terms as acknowledging the consanguinity of one of the Teïan ambassadors, most probably Kolótas, with their community. This, however, is not all. I have found, on examination, that no single psephism which has been hitherto published supplies the integral restoration of this fragment, but that it is necessary to combine the extant tituli of five distinct cities, the Istronian, ‡ the Sybritian, § the Arkadian, || the Polyrrhenian, and the Latian,\*\* to accomplish this end. The following is the order in which I have made these available: I commenced with the fragment of the Polyrrhenian in CHISHULL, which gave me four lines: I then passed to the Latian, three lines of which brought me on to the seventh: the Istronian and Sybritian jointly completed seven

\* *Antiquitates Asiaticæ*, pp. 102–122. *Comp. Böckh. Corp. Inscip. vol. II. pp. 631–643. nn. 3045–3058.*

† *Ubi supr. p. 121. Böckh. ubi supr. p. 642. n. 3054.*

‡ *Chishull, p. 110. Böckh, n. 3048.*

§ *Chishull, p. 113. Böckh. n. 3049.*

|| *Chishull, p. 118. Böckh, n. 3052.*

\*\* *Chishull, p. 122. Böckh. n. 3058.*

lines more, and part of an eighth, thus carrying me on to the fifteenth line, to perfect which, and make out the sixteenth, I again had recourse to the Latian. The restoration of two additional lines was then effected by means of the Istronian and the Arkadian. Finally, the fragment itself, and it alone, was adequate to the reproduction of the last three lines, with which the psephism terminated.

It thus appears, that a variety of published psephisms is requisite to a satisfactory restoration of the technical language of this mutilated document; as also, that it contains elements which are foreign to all of them. It follows from this, that it could only have been a portion of some one of those Kretan psephisms of which, as already stated, we possess a few of the initial lines in CHISHULL'S work; and the fortunate preservation of ΓΟ . . ΡΡΗΝΙΩΝ in its concluding line necessarily limits our option to the first of these, which I have employed the first also in my process of restoration. I esteem myself, therefore, entitled to the recognition of the learned, as having been the first to reproduce this ancient record in an un mutilated form.

Such of my readers as desire to inspect the fragment in the original, together with my restorations thereof in a continuous series, will find both in my published collection of Teian inscriptions.\* The rules of our Society forbid my giving them a place here; I therefore content myself with subjoining a translation of the minuscule Greek, with which I wish the conjectural version submitted on a former occasion to the Academy,† to be replaced.

“ The Kósmoi and City of the Polyrrenians to the People and Senate  
Of the Teians, greeting. Having received the Decree passed by you, with which  
You intrusted your ambassadors, Apollódotos and Kolótas, to bear to us,  
We grant both the sacred attribution, which you desire, to Diónysos,  
5 And to your territory its prerogative of being accounted holy and inviolate:  
And to all which remain appertaining to you we shall unite in guaranteeing  
Their due consideration and respect, without evasion, or pretext to the contrary,  
To the utmost of our ability: and should any of the Polyrrenians act with injustice

\* Vide Fascic. II. pp. 127. s. n. CLIV. a. The reader is referred also to pp. 133. s. n. CLVI. c., which I conceive to be the missing Kydonian psephism, relative to the same subject. Of this only one line had appeared before. Vide Chishull, p. 122. Böckh, p. 642. n. 3055.

† “ Transactions” ubi supra, pp. 21. s.

- Towards any one of the Teians, or of any sojourners in Téos, in either a public
- 10 Or a private capacity, in contravention of the Decree passed in relation to  
Its inviolability by the City of the Polyrrenians, let it be allowable  
To any individual amongst the Teians, or of the sojourners in Téos, to come hither  
And make seizure of whatever he may have carried off, whether persons or effects;  
And let the Kósmoi who may then be in authority compel the holders thereof
- 15 To make restitution of the same, without incurring any liability for so doing  
To penalty or legal process. We will that the Registrars of the City cause this  
Decree to be engraven, and lodged in the Temple of the Delphian Apóllon:  
Moreover, that hospitable entertainment be given, as provided by the laws,  
To the Embassadors: as also, that Apollódotos, son of Astyánax, and Kolótas,  
20 Son of Hekatónymos, who in his own person is connected also by descent  
With the City of the Polyrrenians, be accounted its Proxenic representatives.\*

\* Προξένος. Public officers appointed by one state within the territories of another, towards which it stood in relations of amity, to receive and befriend such of its citizens as had occasion to visit the latter. They corresponded, but in an honorary sense, to our modern "Consuls." Vide Heródot. VI. 57., VIII. 136. 143., and Valckenär's note on the first of these passages.

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CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

Page 97. line 1., after τοῦτο read or, ταύτην τὴν στήλην.—Ibid. 6., for synonym read synonyme. So also in pages 172. 22., 196. 22., 198. 19., 203. 25.—Page 118. line 2., for Here read Hence.—119. 13., for Gentilitial read Ethnical.—124. 2., for between read before.—134. 23., for goddess read goddesses.—141. note (\*), for ær read ær.—146. 18., for the read their.—157. note (‡), line 4., for her read the latter's.—178. 19., for observations read observation.—189. 5., for they read it.—194. 9., for marbles read marble.—201. 1., for Νῆσος read Νῆσος.—207. 13., for οὐδὸν read οὐδὸν.—208. 28., for Κᾶρα read Κᾶρα.—224. 27., *dele τοῦ*. So also in 225. 3.—225. 1., for ἡμῖν read ἡμῶν.—233. 3., after expression insert with that.—237. 33., for Ardea read Ardeo.—243. 2., for פִּלְמֵא read פִּלְמֵא.—273. 15., for combine read unite.—277. 16., for Ísis read Netpe.—243. 17. s., add the following foot-note:

The hypothesis here ventured naturally induces the inquiry, how far it is consistent with the geographical name Amathús, and this I have left open to the consideration of the Koptíc student, as being a process which involves no great difficulty. For, assuming the settlement to have been primarily a ΠᾶΙΣΣΕ ("sacred to Ísis"), that is, Thebaice, ΔΕΙΔΩΤΕΨΗΣΣΕ = ΔΕΙΔΩΤΗΣΣΕ ("Strength, or Possession, of Ísis"), it is obvious that the law of Hellenic euphony would convert the first member of this compound into ἀμαθ, by a transposition of the aspirate and the fol-

lowing tenuis, so as to become  $\tau\theta = \theta$  (Peyron, Gramm. Copt. pp. 18. 30.), and that of composition would subjoin the discrete  $\sigma$ , thus replacing  $\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\tau\epsilon$  or  $\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\tau$  with  $\alpha\mu\alpha\theta-\sigma$ . We may then suppose the Genitive prefix to be retained,  $\bar{\eta} = \epsilon\nu$ , and we obtain  $\lambda\mu\alpha\theta-\sigma-\epsilon\nu = \lambda\mu\alpha\theta\sigma\upsilon\nu$ , by affixing to which the medial of HCE, which is also a case-sign of the imparisyllabic declension, we arrive at  $\lambda\mu\alpha\theta\sigma\upsilon\nu\sigma$ : or we may conceive it to have been rejected; in which case the interposed  $\sigma$  would combine with the  $\eta$  ( $\epsilon$  in the earlier Greek) so as to form  $\sigma\upsilon$ , and thus conduct us to  $\lambda\mu\alpha\theta\sigma\upsilon\sigma$ . The retention, however, of the prefix possesses the advantage of leading us to the more archaic form, the analogy of which is proved by the oblique cases of  $\lambda\mu\alpha\theta\sigma\upsilon\sigma$ , viz.,  $\lambda\mu\alpha\theta\sigma\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , etc.

The intelligent reader will thus perceive, that the combination of the Thebaic form,  $\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\tau\epsilon$ , possesses this advantage over that of the Memphitic adopted in page 282., that it applies equally well, whether we suppose the cult of Athór to have been primarily introduced, or assume that it had supplanted the Isiac worship; the only difference consisting in this, that, in the first of these cases, the elimination of the aspirate from the leading member of the compound is necessary in order to our obtaining the desired result, namely,  $\lambda\mu\alpha\theta\sigma\upsilon\sigma$ . That this, however, is as much in accordance with the laws of euphony as the above-mentioned transposition of  $\lambda\tau$ , so as to form  $\theta$ , cannot but be obvious to any scholar who investigates the process for himself.

A few words, in conclusion, on the subject of the étymon which I have conjectured at the close of this section to have been adopted, or, very probably, feigned, in the instance of Amathús, and which may be viewed in connexion with that intimated above (p. 287.), as the ground of the appellation Dáktyloi, attributed by the Greeks to the priests of Rhéa, their representative of Netpe. I have termed these étyma "paronomastic;" but whether they resulted from ignorance of the true themes, or a desire to appropriate the course of social progress to the Hellenic name, or, when this was out of the question, to deal with the titles of its earlier originators in a depreciating spirit,—it is difficult now to decide. This much, however, is certain, that it is hardly possible to overlook the exact correspondence of the results—the denominations  $\Delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\upsilon\lambda\omicron\iota$  and  $\Sigma\phi\acute{\eta}\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$ —with the sentiments respecting them entertained by the Greeks.

Of this spirit there existed several phases which it is not difficult to detect. One exhibited itself in the adoption of true versions, of which  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$  replacing  $\Sigma\acute{\iota}\rho\beta\alpha$  (p. 204.), and  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\upsilon\delta\upsilon\alpha$  representing  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$  (p. 248.), have been adduced as specimens. Another had its expression in the invention of apocryphal themes, such as  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\nu\upsilon\sigma$  for the same  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$  (p. 248.), and  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\beta\omicron\varsigma$ , the name of Menélaos' helmsman (Strabo, xvii. 1.), for the emporium so called (=  $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , Fascic. Inscr. iii. Ind. Copt., p. 401.), which the Koptick student resolves at once into its true elements,  $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota$ , "terra,"  $\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , "aurum," an appropriate designation of a rich and flourishing sea-port. A third evidenced itself in the transformation of the Barbaric nomenclature into the Hellenic, as in the instances of  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\nu\omicron\varsigma$  (p. 247.),  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\beta\omicron\varsigma$  (p. 248.), etc.; and this was found occasionally to preserve the leading idea of the original; for example,  $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\beta\omicron\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\beta\omicron\iota\alpha$  (p. 251). Lastly, the transition from these to the invention of Paronomastic themes presents us with a fourth, and at the same time with some curious instances of either strange misconception or perverted ingenuity. In either case, the lesson which it conveys is instructive to the ethnologist.

THE Engravings in front of this page represent the Anaglyphs, the consideration of which and their accompanying inscriptions has occupied the first three sections of the preceding Memoir, in the condition in which they appear at present. The linear dimensions of the respective marbles are as follow :

No. I.

A Clypeate Bust of Claudia Lysimáche, presented by Thelymítres.  
pp. 87.-107., 166.-189.

Exterior, or Rectangular Stéle, 2' 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ " by 2' 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ ".  
Interior, or Circular do., 2' 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ ".  
Exterior Height of the Moulding of do., 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ ".  
Interior do. of do. of do., 3".  
Length of the Epigraph, 2' 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".  
Height of the Letters, 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ ".  
Depression of the Exterior Stéle below the Moulding, 4 $\frac{5}{8}$ ".

No. II.

A Clypeate Bust of "The New, or Young, Héra" (Fulvia Plautilla), presented to the Ionian Neápolis by Attikós. pp. 107.-189.

Exterior, or Rectangular Stéle, 2' 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ " by 2' 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".  
Interior, or Circular do. 2' 4".  
Exterior Height of the Moulding of do., 3 $\frac{5}{8}$ ".  
Interior do. of do. of do., 4".  
Length of the fragment of the Epigraph extant, 1' 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ ".  
Height of the Letters, 2".  
Depression of the Exterior Stéle below the Moulding, 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ ".









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The Engravings have been executed on a scale of one-tenth of the original.

IV.—*On the Assyrio-Babylonian Phonetic Characters.* By the Rev. EDWARD HINCKS, D. D.

Read May 24, 1852.

1. MY paper of the 25th June, 1849, was chiefly occupied with the ideographic element that enters into the Assyrio-Babylonian inscriptions, and with the chronology of the period to which the later inscriptions belong. As to the former point, I consider the views which I put forward to be in the main correct. I was certainly in error as to a few matters of detail. The latter part of the eleventh section is altogether erroneous; the characters there supposed to represent combinations of words being in reality the compound syllables *shin* and *kin*. Into this mistake I was led by a false identification of an Assyrian character and a portion of another with two Second-Persepolitan characters of which the values were known. The Mal Amir inscriptions, of which I received copies from the British Museum, while the last sheets of my paper were going through the press, enabled me to see the error of these identifications, by presenting to me more ancient forms of the Second-Persepolitan characters;\* and I became aware of this mistake almost as soon as the copies of my paper were in circulation. In a lithograph dated the 29th July, 1850, and immediately circulated at the meeting of the British Association, the true values were as-

\* I supposed that  = Second-Persepolitan  = *wa*; but it corresponds to Second-Persepolitan , of which the Mal Amir form is , and the value *ki*. The Assyrian character has also, and very frequently, the ideographic value, "the earth;" but in the combinations of my § 11, it is a phonograph. Again, I supposed that , the *first part* of the character , corresponded to the Second-Persepolitan  = *in*; but the Mal Amir form of this last is , which is identical with the *whole* of the Babylonian cursive character which corresponds to the above Assyrian one.

signed to the characters in question. Into a few minor errors I was betrayed by a false identification of certain geographical names with others which closely resembled them. *Numak*, for instance, I supposed to be *Dumah*, whereas it represents *Eluma*, *Elymais*, or *Susa*; and I read the word *marrat* (the salt or bitter waters, or the sea, from the root מרר) as *farrat*, the Euphrates. These mistakes led to others, which Colonel RAWLINSON has pointed out in his Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions. I must observe, however, in justice to myself, that the Colonel admits, in p. 79, that my reading of the name Babylon is correct, contrary to his previous statements in pp. 36, 37; and that, after strenuously contending against my readings of the names Sankerib and Assurkhadon, in this publication, he has within the last few months found himself compelled to embrace my views as to these two kings. As to the name of the father of Sankerib, we were both in error. It is neither *Khinilin*, as I made it, nor *Arkotsin*, as he supposed, but *Sargon*, as M. LOWENSTERN had long since asserted it to be, though not in connexion with any other correct statement. This correction, the necessity of which my lithograph shows that I had seen in July, 1850, obliges me to identify the period when this king possessed Babylon (which he certainly did not do at the commencement of his reign, nor till long after it) with the first interregnum of the Canon, instead of with the reign of Chinzirus and Porus. In other respects I adhere to the chronological views maintained in my paper.\*

2. I now propose to consider the phonetic element in the Assyrio-Babylonian inscriptions at greater length than I have hitherto done; correcting those mistakes which I made in the Appendix to my former paper, adding the homophones which I there omitted, and giving additional details and proofs. The greater part of what I have now to say was known to me at the time of the publication of my lithograph in July, 1850; and I at that time exhibited to the Ethnological Subsection of the British Association a large sheet, containing a very full syllabary. Having neither leisure nor opportunity to pursue the investigation as I could wish, I should probably have left it in the hands of those to whom public patronage has assigned it, if I did not entertain the most complete conviction, that other labourers in the field have assumed false principles

\* See Appendix.

as true, and that they are pursuing a method which can never lead to accurate knowledge. I wish, therefore, before I finally quit the field, to point out the mode of proceeding which must sooner or later be adopted.

3. It has been assumed by all other investigators, that the mode of writing used in the Assyrio-Babylonian inscriptions was contrived with a view to represent the words of the language of those inscriptions. This language is unquestionably of the family commonly called the Semitic; and it is therefore taken for granted, that the characters used in the inscriptions represent Semitic letters. I can have no doubt whatever that this is a mistake; and moreover, that it is one of so serious a nature as to render it impossible for those who labour under it to attain any accurate knowledge of the grammar of the language. I am myself fully satisfied, and I hope in the present paper to satisfy all who will take the trouble to follow my arguments, that the characters *all* represent syllables, and that they were originally intended to represent a non-Semitic language. Instead of the vowels being unrepresented, or only represented by points, as in all Semitic writing that was first applied to a Semitic language, we have in the cuneatic inscriptions every vowel definitely expressed. The Semitic language appears in the inscriptions in a disguise similar to what the Maltese does in Roman letters, or the Punic in the well-known passage of Plautus.

4. Again, it has been taken for granted, that the only method of ascertaining the value of the characters is the analysis of known proper names. It appears to me, however, that, the characters representing what I have just stated that they do, this method can only lead to approximate, as distinguished from accurate, knowledge. The way by which I have sought to obtain accurate knowledge is by analyzing verbs and nouns, especially such as have three radicals, of which none is liable to be omitted or altered. I assume two principles: first, that the characters which occur in different inflexions of the same root, if they be not the same, must contain the same consonant differently combined with a vowel; secondly, that characters which occur in the same situation, in like forms of different roots, contain the same vowel in the same position, differing only in the consonant. The former principle shows which characters express different functions of the same consonant; the latter shows which are like functions of different consonants.

5. In my last paper I laid down the position, that the characters which re-



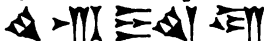





presented single syllables, exclusive of the four vowels, were of seven different forms; and I applied the mode of investigation which I have just explained, in the Appendix to that paper, to the first person singular and the third person singular and plural of the verb in the present of Kal. In my lithograph of July, 1850, I applied the same method to the Pihel and Shaphel participles, and to some inflexions of nouns. I have since applied it to other forms. The results appear to me as satisfactory as possible, fixing the syllabic values of a large number of the characters with all but mathematical certainty.

6. To illustrate the nature of my method, I will begin with producing a number of forms of the same root. I find in the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar eight derivatives of a root which would be in Hebrew ׀׀. This root does not occur in Hebrew,—at least in any sense which would at all suit the contexts where these derivatives are found; but ׀׀ signifies *tevit*, *protevit*, and ׀׀ has the same value. I will assume this to be the meaning of the Babylonian root; and will explain the derivatives accordingly; remarking, however, that their significations are by no means so certain as the reading of the words and the forms of the greater number of them.

7. In the present paper I will express the four vowels by *a*, *e* or *o*, *i*, and *u*. The two latter have their Italian values *ee* and *oo*, as in my former paper. I use *a* in place of *á* for the second Sanskrit vowel; it should be pronounced as in *all*, or in *father*, and represents the *·* and *᳚* of the Hebrews. My object in making this change is to enable me to express the lengthened sound of this vowel by *á*, as in *zinnáti* in the following section. In place of *a* of my former paper, which represented the first Sanskrit vowel, I will use according to circumstances *e* or *o*, the Greek *ε* and *ο*, which generally represent this vowel in the Greek forms which correspond to Sanskrit ones. My seven forms of simple syllables will thus be written *Ca*, *Ce* or *Co*, *Ci*, *Cu*, *aC*, *iC*, and *uC*, *C* representing any consonant. The value of *aC* includes for the most part *eC* or *oC*; as does *iC* include *yeC* or *yoC* and even *yaC*; and in like manner *uC* includes *weC* or *woC* and even *waC*. The radical consonants in the derivatives which I am going to set down will be expressed by *Z*, *N*, *N*, distinguished by being printed in capitals. In my former paper I expressed the first of these consonants by *j*; and I still incline to think that it corresponded to the Sanskrit sonant palatal in the Indo-European language for which I believe that the cuneatic syllabary was originally formed,

but of which we have as yet no specimens.\* As, however, this consonant certainly corresponds to the Arabic *z*, which is pronounced as our *z*, and so represented by correct writers in this country, I will represent it in the same manner. For a like reason I will use *s*, in place of the *ç* of my former paper, for the consonant which corresponds to *Ḍ* and *س*; and *sh*, in place of the *s* of my former paper, to express that which corresponds to *Ṣ* and *ش*. I will also use a Roman *s* among Italic letters, or an Italic among Roman, to express the consonant corresponding to *š* and *ص*, which I before expressed by *ç*, i. e. *ch*. Whatever the value of this consonant was, it is certain that it was not *ts*, because the affixes of the third person are expressed by *su*, *sa*, *sun*, and *sin*, after nouns terminating in *t*, which *t* was occasionally dropped or converted into another *s*; but the characters representing syllables containing the consonant *š* as initial, are in no instance used.† I may as well add in this place that I will express the equi-

\* The Van language is Indo-European; but the characters were borrowed by the people who used it from the Assyrians; and the inscriptions in it are of comparatively late date.

† Thus, in VI. 60. we have , *khe.ri.ù.su*. In PORTER'S transcript of this text, and in VI. 30. , *is*, is used for *ù*; and in Gr. 2.5. both are omitted, and we have simply *khe.ri.su*. In like manner, in X. 11., we have *bi.la.at.su.n'u*; in Gr. 3. 53., where this passage is repeated, the *at* is omitted. It would be strange, if  represented *tsu*, that its equivalent  should never be used in such cases as these, which are exceedingly common. Yet no instance of such a combination of the final *t* of a noun with the affix has ever been met with. Whether or not the combination *ts* was expressed by what I now write *su*, , will be discussed hereafter. I will here only observe, that these affixes are chiefly, if not exclusively, used after *t* and *s* as its substitutes; most, if not all, other consonants, and all vowels, require, as a general rule, that *sh* should be substituted for *s*. The exceptions are two; of which the first is the case which I have already noticed, where the *t* has been dropped after the vowel. Thus *khe.ri.su* means *cherù-su*; *bi.la.su.n'u*, *bilat-sun*. The other exception is where the vowel is not to be sounded, but is expressed anomalously, owing to a character being wanted in the syllabary. Thus in L. 39 we have , *mat.lu.ù.su.un*, *matlut-sun*. There being no *ut* in the syllabary, *ts* is here substituted for it. We have here *su.un* where before we had *su.nu*. The two forms are quite equivalent; but as the *un* has an ideographic value, "a man," as well as its phonetic value, and is also a more complicated character, the latter is frequently substituted for it. Attention to this law of the affixes often enables us to determine the proper construction of a sentence. Thus, in v. 27. we have *ye.ta.at.sha*. We must not take this for a noun with an affix of the third person feminine singular, because that affix after *t* would be *sa*; but we must take *sha* for the preposition *of*;

valent of 𐊓, 𐊔, by *k* in place of *c*; reserving the latter to express an indeterminate consonant; while in lieu of *k*, which I before used to express 𐊎, 𐊏, I will write *kh*. These changes of notation will, I trust, be generally approved of; and will, I hope, conciliate those who were deterred from reading my former paper by the unusual characters introduced into it.

8. Having disposed of the matter of notation, I now proceed to give the eight derivatives of the root ZNN, to which I have referred. I will substitute Assyrian forms of the characters for the corresponding Babylonian ones, which are of two kinds:—uncial, as in the ten-column inscription at the India House\* and on the bricks; and cursive, as on the cylinders or barrels, published by RICH,† KER PORTER,‡ and GROTEFEND.§

(a) 𐊕𐊖𐊗 𐊕𐊖𐊗 𐊕𐊖𐊗. III. 66. Kal. Aorist 1. sing.  
eZ . Nu.uN. *eznun*, 𐊕𐊖𐊗, *I fortify*.

(b) 𐊕𐊖 𐊕𐊖 𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙. Gr. 1. 6. Benoni, m. sing. in reg.  
Za.Ne . iN. *zanin*, 𐊕𐊖, *the fortifier of*.

(c) 𐊕𐊖 𐊕𐊖 𐊕𐊖𐊗. Some bricks substitute this for preceding.

Za.Ne . Nu. *zanenu*. 𐊕𐊖𐊗. I take this to be the plural used out of respect, as it frequently is when gods or kings are spoken of. In l. 17 a compound character, 𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘, is used for the two last characters; its value seems to be Ne Na; compare B. M. pl. 27, l. 35, and pl. 72, l. 13. The word would then be the same which occurs with an affix, as (d); but whether it be singular or plural I cannot decide.

and accordingly the following noun is in the case which that preposition governs, which case ends with a vowel, and therefore takes an affix beginning with *sh*, *kha.ri.ti.shu*;—*yatat sha kherûi-shu*, the last word being the dative, as we may call it, corresponding to the accusative *kherûi-shu*, which we had at the beginning of the note. The nominative would be *kherûi-shu*.

\* Referred to by the column and line.

† *Babylon and Persepolis*, pl. 9., referred to as R. with column and line.

‡ *Travels in Georgia, &c.*, vol. II. p. 394, referred to by the column and line of the India House inscription, of which it is a transcript.

§ *Transactions of the Royal Scientific Society of Gottingen*, vol. IV., referred to as Gr. with column and line.

- (d)  $\overline{\text{𐎶}} \overline{\text{𐎵}} \overline{\text{𐎶}} \overline{\text{𐎶}}$  ix. 65. Benoni with affix 2. m. sing.  
 Za.Ne.Na . ka     *zanena-ka*. 𐎶𐎶𐎶(?) , *thy defenders*.
- (e)  $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$   $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$   $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$   $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$   $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$  R. 1. 17. Niphal Aorist, 3. m. pl.  
 iZ . Za . aN . Nu . u . wa.     *izzanúwa*, 𐎶𐎶𐎶, *they were fortified*.
- (f)  $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$   $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$   $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$   $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$   $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$   $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$  iv. 57. Shaphal part. m. sing. in reg.  
 me . sha . aZ . Ne . iN.     *meshaznin*, 𐎶𐎶𐎶 for 𐎶𐎶𐎶, *who causes to defend*.
- (g)  $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$   $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$   $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$   $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$  iv. 58. noun pl. in reg.  
 Zu . uN . Nu.     *zunnu*, 𐎶𐎶 (like 𐎶𐎶), *the defences (or armour) of*. This word immediately follows the preceding, by which it is governed.
- (h)  $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$   $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$   $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$   $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$   $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$   $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$  i. 12. noun pl. in reg.  
 Zi . iN . Na . a . ti.     *zinnáti*, 𐎶𐎶𐎶, *the fortifications of*. This word is followed by the same pair of proper names of places as (b).

I have added to these forms what appear to me their Hebrew equivalents. I must observe, however, that it is very difficult to compare Babylonian nouns with Hebrew ones; the former having for the most part final vowels, which are dropped in the latter. In the last word, for instance, the vowel is only retained in Hebrew before the grave affixes. Still, I have thought that it would be satisfactory to compare the above specimens of Babylonian words with Hebrew ones, rather than with Syriac or Arabic, which in some respects more closely resemble them; as the number of persons acquainted with those languages is much smaller than that of those who know something of Hebrew.

9. I have given in the above specimens a double transcription of each word. I have first given under each character its complete syllabic value; and I have then given the words composed of these syllables. Every syllable is not fully pronounced, there being certain elisions required when vowels concur. These, however, are not made arbitrarily, but according to definite rules; so that there is none of that license as to the insertion or omission of vowels which is unavoidable in the Semitic alphabetic writings, where the consonants only are for the most part expressed. The following elisions are perfectly re-

gular:—1st. A syllable terminating with a vowel, and followed by that vowel, is generally pronounced as but one syllable, but with accent or increased length. Thus, in (e) *nu.u*, and in (h) *na.a*, are to be pronounced as *nú*, *ná*. They might be written *n'u.ú* and *n'a.á*, if we wished to combine the two systems of transcription, so as to give at the same time the full syllabic values of the characters, and their proper pronunciation when combined in words.\* 2ndly. A syllable terminating with a vowel, and followed in the same word by a syllable beginning with the same vowel, coalesces with it so as to form but one syllable. In the case where the vowel is *i* or *u*, I elide the final vowel, marking it with an apostrophe; as in the words (h) and (g), where *xi.in*, *su.un*, form *zin*, *zun*, and would be written *z'i.in*, *z'u.un*; but where the vowel is *a*, I prefer apostrophizing the second vowel. Thus in (e) and (f) where *za.an*, *sha.az*, become *zan*, *shaz*, I would write *za.a'n*, *sha.a'z*. My reason for so doing is that *aC* may also represent *eC*, as I think it does in the first person singular of the Aorist in Kal; and that the effect of this ambiguity is thus obviated. If  $\nabla$ , *a*, precede a syllable of the form *aC*, it may be well to mark it with the circumflex accent. Thus  $\nabla \nabla \nabla \nabla$  should be written *á.a'b.ba*, or *ábba*.

10. I now come to a case of elision which, though not quite regular, is nearly so. A syllable terminating in *e* or *o* (it is one cuneatic vowel that I represent by both these English vowels), and followed by a syllable beginning with *i* or *u*, coalesces with it into one syllable, the vowel of which is pronounced as *i* or *u*. Thus in (b) *ne.in* expresses *nin*, and might be written *n'e.in*; and in BOTTA, 2. 6. *et passim*, we have  $\nabla \nabla \nabla \nabla$ , *m'o.ush.ki* for the genitive

\* Sometimes the added vowel is designed to remove ambiguity rather than to lengthen the vowel. In such a case, I would mark off the first vowel with an apostrophe, but would not accent the second. Thus, I would transcribe  $\nabla \nabla \nabla \nabla$  v. 59. by *su.f'e.e*. If the vowel were not added, the word might be read *Sukí*, there being no *í* distinct from *le*. In some cases, the vowels should probably be sounded twice. Thus,  $\nabla \nabla \nabla \nabla$  appears as if it should be read *yek.lu.u*, as I mentioned in Note 24 at the end of my last paper. This word signifies "they withheld," and the singular would be *yek.lu* without the final vowel. It is not, however, certain that the distinction between the two forms did not lie in the accent. The singular might be *yeklu*, with the accent on the first vowel; and the plural *yekluá*, with the last vowel accented and lengthened.

case of the name of a country at the north-west of Assyria. In my former paper, being deceived by the conjunction of the names of this country and Egypt, I supposed that it was Ethiopia; and to obtain the name Cush, it was only necessary to suppose that the last character was an ideographic determination (which it often is, but only, I believe, for places within the Assyrio-Babylonian territory);\* and to assume that as *m* and *w* were interchangeable, or at least often confounded, the reading might be *Hwush*, which might easily pass into *Kush*. The fact is, however, that in the only place in the Khorsabad inscriptions where these two countries are named together, they are mentioned as the extremes of the western boundary, which Egypt limited on the south; and Mushk, between the Euxine and the Caspian, the 𐤎𐤓𐤍 of Ezekiel, the Μόσχοι of Herodotus, on the north.† In the Samaritan text of Gen. x. 2, this

\* The distinction between 𐤊 and 𐤋 is precisely analogous to that of the Egyptian determinatives 𐀀 and 𐀁. The former in each case signifies "mountain," and thence for the most part "foreign country;" the latter "ploughed land," or "home territory." The Egyptian ideographs seem to have been pronounced *ta* "mountain," or *nakir* "foreign" and *irsû*. For 𐤎𐤓𐤍 𐤎𐤓𐤍 𐤊 𐤎𐤓𐤍 "men of foreign countries," expressed by ideographs solely in BORTA. 153. 9, there is in 18. 79 the phonetic equivalent *ba.khu.la.te na.ki.ri*, "possessors of the foreign country," from 𐤁𐤍𐤌 and 𐤎𐤓𐤍. [It is certain that the former of these characters, 𐤊, is frequently used in the inscriptions to signify a mountain, hill, or mine; and the Egyptians used the same hieroglyphic for mountain and mine. When it has this meaning, it is inflected by the addition of 𐤎𐤓𐤍, 𐤎, 𐤎𐤓𐤍, 𐤎, and 𐤎𐤓𐤍, 𐤎, for the plural. The pronunciation was, I believe, *tah*. Thus we have in l. 117 of the Nimrod Obelisk an account of the people of Navri going up, *ana taha*, "to a hill," and of the king of Assyria attacking and capturing the summit of the hill, killing the people, and bringing down their spoil; and in l. 106, 107, he goes, *ana taktu*, "to the mines of" silver, rock-salt (*melt* = 𐤎𐤓𐤍), and gypsum, or perhaps marble. These were in *Ta. bal*, which must have included the south-western part of Cappadocia, where these minerals are known to exist. It adjoined *Khe.la.a'k.ku*, or Cilicia; and the name is almost certainly preserved in that given by the Greeks to the mountain chain which passed through it,—*Taurus*, or, as they pronounced it, *Tavros*.—August, 1852.]

[N. B. This and other passages between brackets were added to the paper after it was read.]

† [Many copies have *muzki*, in the place of *mushti*, which I take to be more correct. This is the genitive case; the theme might be *muzak*, a name which is perhaps preserved in *Mázaka*, afterwards Cæsarea, the capital of Cappadocia. At any rate this country must lie further south than I have supposed in the text, being included within the limits of Cappadocia. It adjoined *Tabal*, mentioned in the preceding note; lying between it and *Wararad* (whence *War.ar.da.a'y*), that is, Ararat, Armenia; and its king had political relations with *Qar.qa.mish*.—August, 1852.]

name is written  $\eta\omega\eta\omega$ , with which, and with the Cuneatic spelling, but in opposition to the Masoretic pointing, the Septuagint has  $\text{Μοσώχ}$ . The elisions of this section may be considered to indicate either that the syllable which would most naturally be used, as *ni* in the first instance, had nothing to represent it; or that the use of its proper representative was, from its having other ideographic values, or from its peculiarity of form, more likely to lead astray than the use of a character with an approximate value.

11. I proceed to notice some elisions that were still more irregular than these, but for which the same plea of necessity might be urged. In the name of Nebo, i. 6, we have, after the determinative of divine names, three characters,  $\text{𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣}$ , which have the values *na.bi.uv*. The last was probably here sounded as a *ú*, or in some dialects as *uq*; but the irregularity to which I would call attention is the elision of *i* before a *u*. This could only have arisen from the circumstance that the syllabary contained neither a *bu* nor a *bo*. It had in fact *ba* and *bi*, *pa*, *pe* or *po*, and *pu*;—five of the eight syllables with representatives, and three without. The consequence was, that *pi* had to be represented by either *pe* or *bi*; *bu* by *pu* or *bi*, and *be* or *bo* by *pe*, *pu*, or *bi*. The writer had to choose between representing the true vowel of the word with an approximate value of the consonant, and representing the true consonant with an approximate vowel, to which the true vowel would perhaps be joined in a manner that is evidently anomalous. The above word is certainly to be transcribed *na.bi.uv*, the *i* of the second syllable being elided before the *u* of the third. Similar to this is the irregular elision which occurs in the verb *ekhro* in vi. 30. This is the first person of the aorist in Kal of that verb, of which *kherit*, mentioned in the note to section 7, is a derivative. It is written  $\text{𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣}$ , *ekh.r'i.o*; *i* being elided before *o*. The cause of this is the want of a character to represent *re* or *ro*.\*

12. Other irregular elisions are these.  $\text{𐎠𐎡𐎢}$  is used before a syllable of the form *iC* to express *eC*; either because it was thought necessary to distinguish *eC* from *aC*, or because the nearest character of the form *aC* represented an ap-

\* If such a character had existed, it would have been used to express the third vowel in *Ahuramazda*, which is what I call *e* or *o*. Some of the Achaemenian inscriptions write the first part of this name  $\text{𐎠𐎡𐎢}$ , *a.khu.ru*, and others  $\text{𐎠𐎡𐎢}$ , *a.kh'u.ur*, which are both approximations.

proximate sound, and not the true one. Thus in v. 31, *es* is expressed by  $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}$ , *e.i's*, rather than by  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$ , which was *az*, though by license used also for *as* and *as*.  $\text{𐎶}$  is distinctively *is*, signifying "a tree or beam,"  $\text{𐎶}$ , and being prefixed as a determinative to objects made of wood, and to names of different kinds of wood; but it is used by license for *iz* and *is*, so as in general to commence the third person masculine of verbs, when the first commences with  $\text{𐎶}$ . By a process, almost the reverse of what I have mentioned, *yeC* and *weC*, when not occurring in the syllabary, have their places supplied by *ye.aC*, *we.aC*. Thus in v. 1, we have  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ , *y'e.ekh.ru* for the third person plural masculine of the aorist, the first person singular of which is *ekhra*, as at the end of the last section.\* A word which represents some form of the verb "to bring" is generally written with an initial  $\text{𐎶}$ , which is properly *up* or *wep*, though here by license used for *wob*. So in III. 23; but in a parallel passage, Gr. 3. 37,  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ , *w'e.ab* seems to be substituted for it. The root is  $\text{𐎶}$ , in Hebrew  $\text{יבל}$ .

13. I will mention one more irregular dropping of a vowel, which is of a different character from any of the foregoing. Sometimes when a word terminates in a consonant, and when there is no character which represents that consonant preceded by its vowel (or at least no character which it is desirable to use), a character is used which represents that consonant followed by the same vowel, which should then be marked with an apostrophe as elided. In some instances a doubt may be entertained, whether the vowel should be sounded or not; but in others it is certain that it should not. I have mentioned two such instances in the note to section 7; *mat.lu.t'u-s'u.un*, where the absence of a final vowel is proved from the form of the affix, there being no *ut* in the syllabary; and the affix of the third person masculine plural, which is *sun* or *shun*, though often written with a final *nu* in place of *un*, which latter character might be

\* From this it may be inferred that there is no *ikh* in the syllabary, which I believe to be the fact. Its place is sometimes supplied by *akh* and sometimes by *ik*. This argument is, however, not conclusive, because *akh* and *uk* are both used to supply the place of *ikh*; and yet this syllable had a representative of its own, though a very difficult one to form; namely,  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$ , used in Botta, 11. 58, where we have *ikh.a* in place of the *u.kha* of 19. 64. Other inscriptions have *u.a*, the  $\text{𐎶}$  being frequently left unrepresented.





almost sure to lead him astray.  $\aleph$  and  $\aleph\kappa$ , for instance, are found to be interchanged. They are so at the beginning of the name of Hamath, and at the end of a proper name, of which the different terminations are given in the note to section 12. Are these characters then equivalent? The first answer that would naturally be given would be, that they were. Further examination would, however, show that, though interchanged in a few words, they were generally used quite differently. The name of Achæmenes, which begins with these two characters, would lead to the inference that the former was *ha*, and the latter *khâ*; for the Persian word which corresponds begins with the letters *h.kh.a*. The former character is, however, proved by grammatical forms to be a simple vowel. See the word marked (h) in section 8; and observe that it begins the first person singular of the aorist in certain verbs, which *h* could not do according to any Semitic analogy. The value of this character is therefore properly *a*; and it is *ha* by license, there being no proper *ha* in the syllabary. But is there, therefore, no *h* in the Assyrio-Babylonian system? Such would be the natural inference; but this again would be incorrect; for though there is no representative of *ha*, there is at least one character of another form, which contains *h*, as distinguished from every other consonant. It is the same thing in other cases. The analysis of proper names, plausible as it may appear to be as a groundwork for deciphering, is for such a system as the Assyrian quite illusory, and can only lead at the best to approximate results. In order to grapple successfully with the difficulties of the decipherment, recourse must be had to the discussion of grammatical forms; different forms of the same root, and like forms of different roots; and these as they appear in correct inscriptions, which those of the Achæmenian monarchs do not appear to be.

15. I now proceed to consider the different series of characters which agree in their consonantal part; and I naturally begin with what may be called the Aleph series, that is, the pure vowels. In my paper on the Van inscriptions, I stated that there were four,  $\aleph$ ,  $\aleph\kappa$ ,  $\aleph\epsilon$ , and  $\aleph\kappa\epsilon$ . I repeated this statement in my paper of June, 1849;\* and I should not have thought it necessary to add much to what I there said, were it not for a new aspect of the controversy between Colonel RAWLINSON and myself, which has presented itself since the preceding sections were written, and which obliges me to remodel much

\* Trans. Royal Irish Academy, vol. xxxi. Pol. Lit., pp. 8-10.

of what follows, with a view to meet his altered statements. I must, in the first instance, describe the change I refer to. In Colonel RAWLINSON'S "Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria," which was published in the early part of 1850, he maintained the Alphabetic values of the elementary characters, in opposition to the Syllabic, which at that time I exclusively held.\* He has lately published the first part of a "Memoir on the Babylonian and Assyrian Inscriptions;" in which he has abandoned the alpha-

\* As Colonel RAWLINSON'S Commentary may not be generally known, I think it fair to give a few extracts from it, with a view to show what opinions its author held when he wrote it. He says, pp. 4, 5—"The Phonetic signs are in some cases syllabic, and in others literal. Where a sign represents a syllable, I conjecture that the syllable in question may have been the specific name of the object which the sign was supposed to depict; whilst in cases where a single alphabetical power appertains to the sign, it would seem as if that power had been the dominant sound in the name of the object. . . . . There is, it may be admitted, an extensive syllabarium; but at the same time many of the characters can only be explained as single consonants." He says, p. 13, speaking of the conjugations: "I recognise, I think, independently of those which may be formed by a permutation of the interior vowels, and which, owing to the want of points, it is impossible to discriminate, the Niphal, Hiphil, or Hophel and Hithpael of the Hebrews, together with the Chaldee Ithpael, Aphel, Ittaphal, Shaphel, and Ishtaphel." He here evidently ignored Pihel. In p. 72 of my paper, I gave a Pihel participle; and in my British Association lithograph I gave a series of such. In Colonel RAWLINSON'S recent work, the interior vowels are discriminated. The characters being read as syllables in place of letters, the want of points is no longer complained of. The characteristic of the "Hiphil or Hophel" of the Commentary is clearly the  $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶}$ , which I equated to  $\text{𐎶}$ ; and considered to be the formative of the participle. Here again my views have been adopted. In p. xxxiv. of the Memoir, this statement of mine is repeated without the slightest hint that it was different from what the author had formerly made, or that it had previously been made by any one else. In p. 13 of the Commentary it is said, that the suffix of the third person plural is a simple  $\text{𐎶}$ , which was thought to be characteristic of number, rather than of person. In p. 60 of my paper I said: "The first and third persons of regular verbs generally terminate with characters of the form  $\text{𐎶C}$ ; while the third person plural has the same consonant followed by  $\text{𐎶}$ ." Examples of this are given in my British Association lithograph. In p. xi. of the Memoir, Colonel RAWLINSON adopts this view; but gives it as what he had always supposed. Speaking of *Yatipau*, he calls it "the regular third person masculine plural." And in a note he observes; "the termination in  $\text{𐎶}$  marks, of course, the plural number, like the Hebrew  $\text{𐤀}$ ." When the Commentary was published, no  $\text{𐎶}$  could be discovered. The final  $\text{𐎶}$ , which he now reads *su*, was a simple *s* (p. 6); and in p. 13 he says: "I have neither adopted, nor do I conceive it possible to adopt, any system with regard to the employment of the vowels in Assyrian and Babylonian." The system proposed by me in my last paper has since been adopted by him, with very slight alterations; and these, as shall show, not improvements.

betic values that he formerly asserted, and has given syllabic values to all the characters. For this substitution of truth for error, I of course cannot blame him; but I think I have a right to complain that he has omitted all mention of my priority in asserting that truth which he has so recently embraced. The slight change which he has made in my classification of the vowels and simple syllables, even if correct, is not of such moment as to entitle him to claim more than the credit of improving another's work. This change is the rejection of  $\text{𐎶}$ , *e* or *o*, as a distinct vowel, and the placing the syllables which I supposed to terminate in it, some of them among those that terminate in *i*, and others among those that terminate in *u*. But the fact is, as I expect to be able to prove in this paper, that the alteration is no improvement. The system which Colonel RAWLINSON has now proposed is inconsistent with itself; and he will have to abandon it so far as it differs from mine before he completes his present memoir. This change in the aspect of the controversy has compelled me, as I said, to remodel much of what I had written. I had sought to establish the syllabic values of the elementary characters, supposing this to be the point in dispute; and I had accordingly directed attention to the facts that proved it. I may now pass lightly over these proofs, while I have to put prominently forward the facts which show the distinctness of the vowel  $\text{𐎶}$ , *e* or *o*, and of the syllables which terminate in it, from other vowels and other forms of syllables. I think it proper to add in this place, that Colonel RAWLINSON has not only adopted my system of classifying the characters, but my method of investigating their values by comparing different derivatives of the same root. In describing this method in sections 4 and 5 of this paper, I have referred to the places where I previously employed it. If, then, it be alleged that Colonel RAWLINSON was led to alter his views as to the *literal* nature of the cuneatic phonographs by his having adopted a better method of investigation than he had previously used, and not by the statements which I had made, I must reply, that this better method is itself to be found in my previous publications.

16. Returning from this digression to the four vowels, and their cuneatic representatives, I say that  $\text{𐎶}$  denotes the long vowel *a*, corresponding when initial to  $\text{𐎶}$  or  $\text{𐎶}$ , as in  $\text{𐎶 𐎶 𐎶}$ , *a . na . ku*, "I," Heb.  $\text{אנכי}$ , and where it forms the first person singular of the aorist; as it does in quiescents in  $\text{𐎶}$ , and some few other cases. Sometimes it represents this long vowel preceded by

ו, ה, and even ו, instead of by נ; as in וו <וּוּ, *a.di*, corresponding to וּוּ, whence וּוּוּ; and in וו וּוּ, *a.lik*, "going," which I suppose to be the Benoni, corresponding to וּוּוּ, and probably also in וו <וּוּ, *a.sh'i.ib*, "dwelling," which I take to correspond with וּוּוּ, from a root not used in Hebrew, but bearing the same relation to וּוּ as וּוּוּ does to וּוּ. וו represents ו, in the name of Hamath referred to in section 14. In the middle or at the end of a word this vowel is only expressed when the preceding character represents a syllable terminating in a consonant, or when it is intended to denote a lengthened vowel, such as in Hebrew would be expressed by a so-called quiescent letter נ, ה, or ו.

After each of the characters of which I treat, I propose to give the number in FISHER'S list, published by the East India Company, and the first determination of its true value. H. 49 will imply that this was first assigned by me in my paper of June, 1849, or previously thereto; H. 50, that it was assigned in my lithograph of July, 1850; and H. 52, that it is so in my present paper. I annex R. to the characters for whose values I am indebted to Colonel RAWLINSON. I begin, then, with—

No. 1. וו. F. 4. *a.* H. 49.

17. As to the secondary or ideographic values of וו, I cannot undertake to give complete satisfaction. It is well known that it signifies "a son;" GROTEFEND recognised it as doing so in the Achæmenian inscriptions, and it has since been found with the same meaning in those of Assyria. Occurring in the name of the father of Nebuchadnezzar, it has been read *pal*, *Ναβοκαλασσάρως* being the Greek form of this name which appears most authentic; but the true Babylonian value appears to be *bal*, as we have it in Merodoch-Baladan. Colonel RAWLINSON identifies the Chaldean king mentioned in the Khorsabad inscriptions, and on BELLINO'S cylinder, with the Merodach-Baladan of Isaiah, 39. 1. I cannot agree to this, though I think he had the same name.\* I identify him with the *Μαρδοκεμπίδος* of the Canon; supposing, with Chevalier BUNSEN, that the δ is a corruption for λ, and that the μπ represents the Babylonian *b*; the Greek β being *v*. The father of this king is called Yagin, which may very well be the

\* [I am now satisfied that this identification of Colonel RAWLINSON was a correct one, as well as that of my own which follows. See Appendix.—September, 1852.]

*Iouyaios* of the Canon. Another ideographic value of this character I take to be "water," which may be connected with the preceding. (See GESENIUS'S Hebrew Lexicon, p. 774, B.) In this sense it appears to be used in BOTTA, 151, 22, where  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$  seems to mean "the waters of the rivers." In the second word it is a determinative prefix, as in  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$  which replaces it in v. 8. This is the genitive case *bar.ti*. The theme would be *bar.it*, *بجریة*. The name  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ , used for "the Euphrates" on the obelisk and elsewhere, may mean "the great water." I am not, therefore, prepared to adopt Colonel RAWLINSON'S opinion, that  $\text{𐎶}$  is ever to be read *pu*.<sup>\*</sup> I suspect, however, that it had other values besides *bal*. I am by no means satisfied that the names of the great Nebuchadnezzar and of his father were distinct, independent of dialectic variations. If I be right in this,  $\text{𐎶}$  would have the value *kudur*, connected with *šūap*. On this point I would not speak positively; but content myself with giving as certain—

No. 1, a. *bal*. R.

18. I now come to the second vowel, as to the nature of which my present controversy with Colonel RAWLINSON chiefly turns. I transcribe it by *e*, *o* (see section 7); and consider it a distinct vowel from both *i* and *u*, though approximating sometimes to one and sometimes to the other. Colonel RAWLINSON represents it by *e*, but denies that it is a distinct vowel. He considers it to represent *ʽ* (Memoir, p. 12); to form "the oblique case" of nouns (p. 13, note); and to denote ideographically the dual number, which he says "must end in a consonant;" and he is inclined to read it *im*, p. 16. That it is a distinct vowel I inferred long ago, from its use in the Van inscriptions, where it is the custom to insert after each character that represents a syllable terminating in a vowel the character that represents the vowel, when there is a sufficiency of room in the line. Thus we have, written indifferently, according as the sculptor

\* On this point I will not be positive, owing to my want of data. What seems to me to bear strongest on the question is this:—In the 16th line of the Standard Inscription, B. M. pl. 1, we have  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$  in the genitive; and where other inscriptions containing the same text, as those on the great slab or altar, have  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ . In Mr. LAYARD'S valuable collection of variants, it is stated that  $\text{𐎶}$  is substituted for  $\text{𐎶}$ , and  $\text{𐎶}$  or  $\text{𐎶}$  added to the word; but it is not clear whether one of these variations occurs without the other.

had or had not spare room,  $\text{𐎶}$  and  $\text{𐎶 𐎶}$ , *na*,  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶}$  and  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶}$ , *ta*; and in like manner  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$  and  $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶}$ , *ne*,  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$  and  $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶}$ , *te*. Everything that I have ever observed in the Assyrio-Babylonian inscriptions confirms me in this view of the matter. I will briefly notice the cases in which this character occurs initially, medially, and finally.

19. First, as to the beginning of a word: I remarked in my last paper (p. 69), that this character, "where it precedes *two radicals* at the commencement of the first person, represents  $\mathcal{V}$ ." Such a verb as  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$  is thus distinguished from such a verb as  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$ , the former giving *e.sur*, and the latter *a.sur*. It also forms the first syllable of the infinitives of such verbs, or their nouns of action: as in BORTA, 145. 13,  $\text{𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ , *ana e.bish qabli*, "making opposition." But it is not always used to express initial  $\mathcal{V}$ . We have seen (section 16) that  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$  begins with  $\text{𐎶}$ . The proper names  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$ , Gaza, and  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ , Omri, begin with the sound *kh*, being in the genitive  $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ , *kha.zi.ti*, and  $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ , *kh'u.um.ri.a*; while  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ , Ekron (Sept.  $\text{Ακκρόν}$ ) begins with a syllable of the form *aC*,  $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶}$ , *av.qar.ru.na*. On the other hand,  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$  is often initial when there is no  $\mathcal{V}$ , as in  $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ , *e.i's.n'e.ik.ma*, v. 31, and  $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ , *e.i'p.t'i.ik*, iv. 24, which I have explained in section 12. Here the character precedes those radicals, and represents simply  $\aleph$ . The latter verb is followed by the cognate noun  $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ , *pe.t'i.ik*; and in III. 5, we have the third person plural,  $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶}$ , *yep.ti.ku*; so that there can be no pretence for supposing the presence of a  $\mathcal{V}$ .

To come now to the middle of words. It is very true that in Gr. 2. 41,  $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶}$ , is used for "my lords;" and the former  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$  may be considered to represent the  $\mathcal{V}$  of the Hebrew  $\text{לבעל}$ . We have, however, in BORTA, 77. 5,  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶}$ , *so.o.ne*, for  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$ ; and in R. 1. 14,  $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶}$ , *r'i.o.ku.tu*, from  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶}$  (see section 11). The fact is, that in these three instances the  $\mathcal{V}$ ,  $\aleph$ , and  $\text{𐎶}$ , are not represented at all. It is the vowels connected with them, which would be represented by points in Hebrew, Syriac, or Arabic, that the cuneatic  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$  represents.

20. Lastly, at the termination of words I deny that  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$  indicates  $\mathcal{V}$ . Colonel RAWLINSON supposes that the word  $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶}$ , which he reads *akri* or *akre* (followed of course by the affix *ma*) means, "to them I made adoration,"

from כרע. In the first place I deny that this is the root or the meaning. I translate it, "I call upon them," deducing it from קרא.\* The כרע is often omitted, and I suppose it to be merely used to indicate that the preceding character, which is properly *ri*, has here the value *ro*, for which it is used by license, there being no character properly denoting that syllable (see section 11.) But in the second place I contend, that if the root were כרע, it would not follow that the כרע expressed the final radical, as distinguished from its vowel. Of this verb I do not recollect to have met any other form; but we may take three forms of כרע or קרא (verbs given in sections 11 and 12, and a noun in the note to section 7), and compare them with corresponding forms of the root נצר.

We have—1st singular, *ekh.r'i.o*, as *es.s'u.ur*, for *en.s'u.ur*.

3rd plural, *y'e.ekh.ru*, as *yes.su.ru*, for *yen.su.ru*.

Noun in dative, *khe.ri.ti*, as *ne.sir.ti*.

It is quite plain that the *ʿ* or *ʳ*, whichever it may be, is no more represented by the final character in the first form than by the vowel inherent in the second character of the third form. Were we to complete them, we should have *ekhroʿ*, *yekhroʿu*, contracted into *yekhru*, and *kherʿti*. The *ʿ*, in fact, is not represented; the vowel connected with it is.

There are, however, numerous instances in which כרע terminates a word, where no *ʿ* can be imagined to be present. Let us consider the other ways by which Colonel RAWLINSON explains its presence. In the word above quoted, "my lords," in which it occurs twice, he reads *belim-a*, supposing the second כרע to be an ideograph for the dual. I read *belo-a* (*b'i.e.l'e.e.a*), and suppose it to be a plural case governed by the preposition *ana*. It is in the same case as כרע כרע כרע כרע כרע כרע כרע כרע כרע כרע (Stones), *p'e.i.le pe.s'e.e*, which I contrasted in my lithograph of July, 1850, with (Stones), *p'e.i.lu pe.s'u.u* in the nominative; and every one must see that these two forms are identical as to their vocalization. Whatever kinds of stones be spoken of, it is clear that the adjective

\* [The true translation is, "I invoke or call upon." *Ma* is not a pronominal affix, but seems to mark the tense of the verb. It is equivalent to the prefixed particle *lu*, which in the note in p. 63 of my last paper, I erroneously supposed to be a variant of *ana.ku*. The power of these particles may not be the same as that of the Hebrew *Vaw* conversive; but it has some analogy to it.—September, 1852.]



*pese* means "broken small;"\* it being repeatedly contrasted with *rabe*, "in masses, large;" so that the dual number is here out of the question. I see, indeed, no reason to suppose that there is any dual in the language of the inscriptions. Colonel RAWLINSON'S argument for the consonantal termination of the value of  $\text{𐎢𐎠}$  is one of which I cannot discover the force. "At any rate," he says (p. 16 of his Memoir), "the dual characteristic must end in a consonant, or otherwise the suffix of the first person, which is attached to the noun, would be represented by  $\langle \text{𐎢}$ , or  $\text{𐎢𐎠}$ ." Why? The affix of the first person singular is  $\text{𐎢}$ , *a*, for which  $\text{𐎢𐎠}$ , *ya*, is generally used after a syllable terminating in *i*. This *ya* is in fact *i.a*; and what is here done is simply to write down the vowel of the last syllable before the affix. The very same thing is done in the case of a syllable terminating in *u* or in *e*. In the instance of *abua*, which Colonel RAWLINSON gives, the affix is not *ua*, as he supposes, but simply *a*. The  $\langle$  which precedes  $\text{𐎢}$  is the vowel inherent in the ideograph for "father," which is written phonetically when no affix follows  $\text{𐎢} \langle \rangle$ , *a.bu* (Br. Mus. 42. 52, and 87. 4). In other instances, where *u* precedes *a*, the connexion of the *u* with the noun is obvious, as in  $\text{𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎠} \langle \rangle \text{𐎢𐎠} \text{𐎢}$ , *qa.t'u.u.a*, I. 46;  $\text{𐎢𐎠} \langle \rangle \text{𐎢𐎠} \text{𐎢}$ , *su.p'u.u.a*, II. 6. This last word is in the nominative plural; and the corresponding genitive occurs, I. 52, with the affix of the third person masculine in place of that of the first. It is  $\text{𐎢𐎠} \text{𐎢} \langle \rangle \text{𐎢} \text{𐎠}$ , *su.p'e.e.shu*. It appears to me, that if the affix of the first person had to be expressed with this genitive, nothing could be more natural than to substitute *a* for *shu*. Colonel RAWLINSON'S objection to this is evidently founded on his assumption that  $\text{𐎢}$ , when a vowel, is not distinct from  $\text{𐎢𐎠}$ . It consequently depends on a *petitio principii*.

21. He says in p. 13, that *e* is often used for the oblique case of nouns. It would seem from this, that he admits only *one* oblique case. It appears to me that nouns have four cases,—the nominative, the genitive, the dative, and the accusative; which last is in singular nouns which terminate in a consonant *the theme*, and is used for the three other cases when in construction.

\* [This is a mistake of mine; but it does not vitiate my argument. The meaning of *pese* is certainly *smoothed*, *dressed*, or *cut*; *rabe* being *in the rough*, as the stones were taken from the quarry. Objects are said to have been made of *pils pese*, which Mr. LAYARD states to be of fossiliferous limestone.—September, 1852.]

It is true, that these four cases are not all distinguished from one another in both numbers and in every declension. The same thing, however, occurs in all languages; but it is the grammarian's business to distinguish the cases, and note their several uses. Now I maintain, that *e* and *i* are the terminations of different cases. I will not now attempt to give complete declensions of Assyrian nouns with the modifications that they may undergo in construction and before affixes, and perhaps in different dialects. I only feel myself called on at present to show the distinctions of these terminations; and it may be sufficient to refer to two clear instances, in which a difference of the vowel is connected with a different use. In a very great number of the Khorsabad inscriptions, we have mention made of a people bordering on the sea. In some inscriptions this is written *mar.ra.te*, with a final  $\text{𐎲𐎠}$ , and in others *mar.ra.ti*, with a final  $\text{𐎲𐎠𐎵}$ . Now the former is preceded, without a single exception, by  $\text{𐎲𐎠𐎵}$ , *tik* (as BOTTA, 1. 25), and the latter, without a single exception, by *kishad* or *kishade* (as BOTTA, 3. 24, 9. 18, 19).  $\text{𐎲𐎠𐎵}$   $\text{𐎲𐎠𐎵}$   $\text{𐎲𐎠𐎵}$   $\text{𐎲𐎠𐎵}$ , *na.g'e.i*, and  $\text{𐎲𐎠𐎵}$   $\text{𐎲𐎠𐎵}$   $\text{𐎲𐎠𐎵}$   $\text{𐎲𐎠𐎵}$ , *na.g'e.e*, are used for different cases; the former represents the nominative or accusative plural, "towns" (as Botta, 147. 8, 11); the latter the genitive plural; as in Bel. 33,\* *dan.na.a't na.g'e.e*, "the chief of the towns." This distinction appears to me sufficiently well marked. I grant that instances may be produced in which an apparent interchange of *e* and *i* final, and of characters which I suppose to terminate in these vowels, occurs in equivalent inscriptions. Instances of false spelling are, however, pretty abundant in Greek manuscripts and inscriptions; yet no one supposes that such instances prove the equivalence of the characters interchanged. Nor are these the only characters which are occasionally confounded in Assyrio-Babylonian inscriptions. In a word quoted in section 19, from R. 1. 14, the last character is erroneous. In a duplicate of the inscription published by GROTEFEND,  $\text{𐎲𐎠𐎵}$  is substituted for it, which contains the same consonant, but certainly followed by a different vowel.

\* BELLINO's cylinder, of which a beautiful lithograph has been published by GROTEFEND. It is also in the British Museum series, plates 63 and 64. I do not insist on passages where this word is preceded by a numeral. "Six towns," "six of the towns," and "a six of towns," may all be used with propriety; after a numeral, therefore, *e* and *i* may be used almost indifferently.

I have dwelt longer on this character on account of the importance of the questions connected with it. I conclude—

No. 2. 𐎶. F. 135. *e* or *o*. H. 49.

Its ideographic value would seem to be “a place.” In that sense it is used, but rarely, as a determinative prefix; see III. 13, and compare III. 65. 𐎶𐎶𐎶, “heaven,” I take to be a compound ideograph, “the place of gods or stars,” or “the high place.” In the Behistun inscription, 87 and 89, 𐎶𐎶 <𐎶> is used for “Babylon.” Like many other expressions for the proper names in most general use, this defies explanation.

22. No. 3. 𐎶𐎶. F. 12. *i*. H. 49.

No. 3, a. *ye, yo*. H. 49. It represents the preformative of the third person singular and plural, when it constitutes a distinct syllable. It thus corresponds to 𐎶 and 𐎶, as in 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, *ye.b'u.ush*, D. 14, compared with 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, *e.b'u.ush*, in same line; the former would be 𐎶𐎶𐎶, the latter 𐎶𐎶𐎶; and again in 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, *ye.ga.a'b.bi*, 𐎶𐎶𐎶, “he said,” in Pihel.

No. 3, b. *nit*. R. In the name *Nabunita*, Beh. detached inscription, Nos. 3 and 8.

No. 4. 𐎶𐎶𐎶. F. 46. *u*. H. 49.

No. 4, a. *we, wo*. H. 49. Used as the preformative of the participle when it constitutes a distinct syllable as in Pihel and Shaphel. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, *we.kha.a'l.e.ip*, 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶; 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, *we.sha.a'l.bi.ish*, 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶; in Hebrew 𐎶𐎶𐎶 for 𐎶𐎶𐎶. *w* and *m* were scarcely distinguished in the language of the inscriptions; yet it seems to me that 𐎶𐎶, *me*, is not exactly equivalent to No. 4. It forms the verbal noun, while No. 4 forms a participle; the one would be “the defender of,” the other “defending,” or “having defended.” The distinction between these in Assyrian, while they are confounded in Hebrew, is analogous to the distinction between the first person of the dual and plural in Sanskrit, Lithuanian, and Slavonic verbs active, and their confusion in Greek, which converted *τύπτορες* and *τύπτομες* alike into *τύπτομεν*.

No. 4, b. *sham*, H. 52. I take this to be the value in 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 <𐎶>, “of the sun,” *sham.shi*; and in Botta, 40. 98, where Astarte is called, as I read the word, *me.sham.mi.kha.a't*, from 𐎶𐎶𐎶, “the causer to rejoice.”

Ideographically this character signified a measure of length, of the value of

which I am ignorant. Compare VI. 25 and VIII. 45; where we have in like contexts 480 *am.ma.a't*, "cubits," and 4000  $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶}$ .

No. 5.  $\langle$ . F. 21. *u*. H. 49.

No. 6.  $\langle \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \rangle$ . F. (32 + 122). *u*. H. 49.

These are interchanged with No. 4, when medial or final; but when initial they always denote the conjunction "and,"  $\text{𐎶}$  or  $\text{𐎶}$ .

23. Intending to treat of the simple syllables in the order in which their consonant occurs in the Hebrew alphabet, I begin with those that contain *Beth*. I have stated in section 11, that of the four forms ending in a vowel, two only, representing *ba* and *bi*, were used by the Assyrians; and I have pointed out the substitutions made for *be* and *bu*. These may be taken as a specimen of what was practised in other similar instances.

The characters referred to as containing *b* before a vowel are—

No. 7.  $\text{𐎶} \langle \text{𐎶} \rangle$  or  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ . F. 111. *ba*. H. 49.

No. 8.  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ . F. 225. *bi*. H. 49.

I cannot think that the Babylonians had any character which properly denoted *bu*; for if they had, they would not have used *b'i.ú* to express the final syllable in the name of their god Nebo. The characters by which this syllable was commonly denoted will be found under  $\text{𐎶}$ .

24. In general, characters whose values terminate with a consonant express both the surd and the corresponding sonant. Before a character representing a syllable beginning with either the surd or the sonant, such a character must be made to terminate with the sound which begins the following syllable. In other cases there is an ambiguity which can only be removed by observing how other derivatives of the same root are written, or by observing how the same root is spelled in some cognate language which employed alphabetical characters. This being premised, I will here produce such characters as represent single syllables terminating in either *b* or *p*.

No. 9.  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ . F. 79. *ab* or *ap*. H. 49.

No. 10.  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ . F. 150, *ab* or *ap*. H. 52. This is perhaps distinctively *ab*, when it is not followed by a syllable beginning with *p*. It is chiefly used with this value in Babylonian inscriptions. Compare Gr. 1. 8 with I. 40, and R. 2. 13 with v. 19.  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$   $\langle \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \rangle$ , *ra.a'b.u*, seems used for *rabu*, as more distinctive than  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ . I have never recognised the character with

this value in an Assyrian inscription, except when it occurred as the name of a month.

No. 10, a. *kuv* or *kum*. R. It is interchanged with *ku.uv* or *um*; compare BOTTA, 40. 21 and 36. 15. It signifies "fire," from the root 𐎧𐎢; and is used as a determinative prefix interchangeably (in some words at least) with 𐎧𐎢.

No. 10, b. *tha*. H. 52. It is used in the Van inscriptions to denote a syllable ending in *a*, corresponding as to consonantal value with that which I will give hereafter as 𐎧𐎢. I have never recognised it as having this value in any Assyrian inscription, but it is possible that it may have it.

No. 10, c. *gil*? H. 52, interchanged with 𐎧𐎢𐎧𐎢; compare BOTTA, 21. 17, and 9. 20. I am not quite sure that the initial consonant is *g*; Colonel RAWLINSON makes it *b*; but I distrust the proofs on which he seems to rely. See No. 17.

No. 11. 𐎧𐎢. F. 253. *ib*, *ip*, *yeb* or *yep*. H. 49.

No. 12. 𐎧𐎢. F. 209. *ub*, *up*, *web* or *wep*. H. 49.

25. No. 13. 𐎧𐎢𐎧𐎢. F. 229. *ga*, R. In the Babylonian uncial inscriptions it is always used for *qa* as well as *ga*; it has this value frequently in the Babylonian cursive inscriptions, and occasionally in the Assyrian; but in these another character was in use to express *qa*. See below. Colonel RAWLINSON has not recognised any distinct representation of syllables containing *q*.

No. 14. 𐎧𐎢𐎧𐎢. F. 52. *ge* or *go*. H. 52. This is used to express both *ge* and *go*, and *gi*, and it may be doubted which is its proper value. I choose the former, partly because, 𐎧𐎢 being interchanged with this character in certain words, we must suppose them to have different vowels, on the principle laid down in section 11; and it seems to me preferable to value them as *ki*, *ge*, than as *ke*, *gi*; partly because I believe No. 17 to be *gi*, though only used as such at the commencement of a word. This character, whatever its phonetic value was, seems to signify "fire or flame;" and hence we have the compound ideograph 𐎧𐎢𐎧𐎢 to express "gold," *khuras*.

No. 15. 𐎧𐎢𐎧𐎢. F. 62. *gu*. H. 49.

I think the preceding three characters are the only ones which express syllables commencing with *g* in the inflexions of nouns and verbs. The two following, however, appear to me to express such syllables when initial.

No. 16. 𐎧𐎢. F. 221. *ga*. H. 49. This is used by abbreviation to de-

note "an ox." Sometimes it is completed by the addition of  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ , *av*, or  $\text{𐎠𐎡𐎢}$ , *ap*, in the Assyrian inscriptions; while in the Van inscriptions *pa* is added. I inferred long ago, and I see no reason to alter my opinion, that we had here an Indo-European word, the initial character being *ga*. I observed also, that, if WESTERGAARD'S copy of the Babylonian inscription at Nakshi-Rustam is *in this instance* to be depended on, the name of Zaranga, at the beginning of l. 13, terminates with this character.

No. 17.  $\text{𐎠𐎡}$ . F. 28. *gi?* H. 52.

This character has different values, but one is certainly of the form *Ci*. In a verb which occurs in the pavement inscriptions at Khorsabad, we have in the first person singular of the aorist  $\text{𐎠𐎡𐎢}$ , in BOTTA, 21. 17, and  $\text{𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤}$  in 9. 20. The first and last characters in this word being *a* and *il*, the second must be of the form *Ci* or *Ce*. In the third person plural we have, in l. 27, *ye. Cil.lu*, and in 13. 20, *ye. Ci.lu*. The former of these seems to be in Pihel, the latter in Kal. The root may be גלה or בלה; I cannot say that the one is more probable than the other, but I object to *bi*, which is Colonel RAWLINSON'S value, for two reasons:—First, because the character has for a secondary value *bit* or *bid*, and I know no other instance in which a character has a phonetic value a part of its other value; and secondly, because there is a character which can be proved to consist of this syllable with the addition of *r*; and there is another character, the value of which is certainly *bir*, and which is never interchanged with it. I suspect, too, though I have no positive proof, that this represents גר, "a stranger," or "enemy." I hope to give more satisfaction on the subject when I come to that character.

No. 17. a. *bid* or *bit*. H. 52.

This is interchanged with  $\text{𐎠𐎡𐎢}$ , which is the ideograph for "house," and is known to have this value in *we.sha.a'z.bid*. See Variants in B. M. Standard, 44. This is the Shaphel participle; we have also the Pihel *we.zab.bid*, produced in my lithograph of 1850; and the first person of the aorist in Kal,  $\text{𐎠𐎡𐎢}$   $\text{𐎣𐎤}$ , *I gave or put*.

No. 17, b. *mad* or *mat*. H. 52.

With respect to this value, I differ entirely from Colonel RAWLINSON. I think it occurs in the derivatives of מרתל, "to rule," corresponding to the Hebrew מושל, all of which he refers to בעל. Thus the word which occurs so

commonly in the inscriptions signifying "dominion," is, according to me, *mat.lu.tu* or *ti*, formed like *shar.ru.tu*, "reign," or "kingdom," or like the Hebrew *malikut*. Colonel RAWLINSON reads it *bi.lu.tu*. So *mat.il.ti.ya*, "of my mistress," Gr. 1. 32, is, according to him, *bi.il.ti.ya*. Again, I give it this value in the derivatives of 𐤌𐤎, "to continue," which he derives from 𐤌𐤎, in the sense of "imposing" (the tribute payable by cities). We have also 𐤌𐤎𐤌, which seems to me to signify "names," or "titles," and which I read *shu.mat*, the plural of *shum*, No. 63, a. In B. M. 38. 8, compared with Bel. 46, we have 𐤌𐤎 transcribed by 𐤌𐤎𐤌, that is, *mi.ti*. According to my view of the case, it was wished to express *mit*, for which there was no character; and one copy used *mat*, another *mi.ti* (see section 13). The final *i* must be here dropped, as it occurs in an infinitive in construction. I read the passage thus:

*Sha* (ideog.) *alekut makhri* (ideog.) *ya ana rimit malluti-shun weshopeshu-ma*.  
which the kings who went before my fathers during their dominion made.

Observe here how the gerund is formed by prefixing *ana* (= 𐤀) to the construct infinitive *rimit* 𐤌𐤎𐤌, from 𐤌𐤎, "to be high," and so "to prevail." The last word is the Shaphel participle (see under No. 100) in the plural, with the affix of the third person plural, proper to verbs.\*

[This character preceded by 𐤎𐤌 forms the name of a god.—Oct. 1852.]

No. 18. 𐤎𐤌𐤌. F. 40. *ag* or *ak*. H. 49. Preceded by 𐤎𐤌, this represents *Nabú*.

No. 19. 𐤎𐤌𐤌𐤌. F. 283. *ig, ik, yeg, or yek*. H. 49.







No. 20. 𐤎𐤌𐤌𐤌𐤌. *ug, uk, weg, or wek*. R. = F. (105 + 64). H. 52.


No. 21. 𐤎𐤌𐤌𐤌, 𐤎𐤌𐤌. F. 173. *ug, uk, weg, or wek*. H. 52.


This is used in a proper name, *Ruhukha*, followed by *a* (BORTA, 16. 74), where we have *u.kha* in 19. 64. This determines the vowel to be *u*, and shows that the following consonant is *kh*, or what may be used for it. It is, however, also used in a common word (BORTA, 164. 8, and IX. 9), all the other characters of which have their values known. They are *mesh (uC) kan.na*. This is evidently a derivative of the *Pihal* conjugation, and the same consonant must terminate the second syllable and begin the third. It appears to me, therefore that this character must be phonetically equivalent to the preceding.





\* [See note in p. 311.—September, 1852.]


26. No. 22. . F. 268. *da*. H. 49.

No. 23. . F. 162. *de* or *do*. H. 52. Like No. 14, this is used to express the syllable terminating in *i*, as well as that which terminates in *e* or *o*; it is, however, in my judgment, satisfactorily proved to have the value here assigned to it. I argue from the Van inscriptions. It terminates a case which I formerly supposed to be the dative, but which I am now satisfied was the ablative, of which the ancient forms terminated in *d*; this points to a primitive *de*, not *di*. But, more than this, we have this ablative both in the singular and plural. The plural termination is  , *ashte*. Now it appears to me obvious that the case is formed in both numbers by adding the same post-position, which is curiously enough the Latin *de*, "from." The sonant of the singular is changed into the corresponding surd in the plural, through the influence of the *sh*. From this it seems to follow, that the vowel which inheres in  is the same as that in , which is most certainly , *e* or *o*.



No. 24. . *di*. R. In *Naditabira*, and in some inflexions in the Achæmenian inscriptions; not, I think, in the more ancient ones.

No. 25. . F. 260. *du*. H. 49.

No. 25, a. *gin*. H. 52. It is interchanged with  , *ge.na*, and  , *ki.na*, the one form preserving the consonant, and the other the vowel. It occurs in the two proper names, *Shar.gin* (𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠 of Is. xx. 1), and *Yagin*, king of the Chaldeans, probably the *Iovyalos* of the Canon. The final *a* is probably emphatic, and I do not think it should be included in the value of the present character.




No. 26. . F. 204. *ad* or *at*. H. 49.

No. 26, a. *abu*. H. 52. In my paper of 1849, I valued it as "father."

No. 27.  . F. 269. *id*, *it*, *yed*, or *yet*. H. 49.

There is no character in the syllabary representing *ud* or *ut*.\*

27. The character which represents *h* will be found with those which con-

\* [Since this was written, I have satisfied myself that No. 112, in addition to its value *tw*, in which it is equivalent to No. 111, had the special value *ud* or *ut*. I have found it used in several words where it requires to be read *ud*; and for this a character representing *tw* could not be used on the principle of section 13. Thus, e.g.   , Ob. 76, must be read *ek.sh'u.ud*, because *yek.shu.da* occurs in Bel. 8, and *yek.shu.du* in Beh. 66; both being from the same verb.—September, 1852.]



tain *kh*. I doubt if there be any character which properly stands for *wa*, unless indeed the combination of Nos. 4 and 1 be regarded as such. *Wa* is sometimes represented by these two characters, but more frequently by  $\Xi\Upsilon$ , which is properly *ma*, and will be found between the *l* and *n* series.\*

No. 4, a, has been already stated to represent *we* or *wo*.

No. 28.  $\langle \Xi \Xi \rangle$ . F. 17. *wi*. H. 50.

If *wu* were a combination admitted into the language, it was probably expressed by *wu* or *mu*.

No. 29.  $\Xi \Delta$ . F. 227. *av*, *am*. H. 49. It seems also to represent *aq*, being the first syllable of *aq.qar.ru.na*, Ἀκκαρίων,  $\text{אִקְרָא}$ ; where the Masoretic pointing is not to be relied on. Whether the *v* is here used for *q* (compare *vivus*, M. Go. *quvis*, &c.), or whether the *dagesh* (which the Hebrew  $\text{ק}$  ought to have marked in it) be a compensation for a radical *m* or *n*, I will not undertake to say.

No. 30.  $\Delta \Upsilon \Upsilon$ . F. 57. *iv*, *im*, *yev*, or *yem*. H. 49. With  $\rightarrow \Upsilon$  prefixed, it is the name of a god. As a determinative prefix, Colonel RAWLINSON has justly remarked that it distinguishes points of the compass. †

No. 31.  $\Xi \rightarrow \Upsilon \Upsilon$ . F. 143. *wv*, *um*, *wew*, or *wem*. R. I think, however, that Colonel RAWLINSON is in error when he gives this value to both the characters which he places as equivalent. The second is, I think, the Achæmenian form of *mu*. The syllables *um* and *mu* were confounded in the Babylonian uncial inscriptions, but distinguished everywhere else. ‡ In the name of Nebo, and in some other words, this character seems to represent *ú*, as if *wu*.

28. No. 32.  $\Upsilon \Upsilon$ . F. 5. *za*. H. 49; used also for *sa*, H. 52. By a strange

\* [*Wa* was represented by  $\Xi \Xi \Upsilon$   $\rightarrow \Upsilon$ ; compare BOTTA, 149. 11, and 155. 8, where the same syllable is expressed by this compound character and by  $\Xi \Upsilon$ . This is also the value in *Ya.wa.na sha qabal tu.ti*, "Ionia of the middle of the sea," BOTTA, 13. 7, *et passim*.—September, 1852.]

† [As a distinct word (*im* or *iv*,  $\text{יַעַר}$ ), it signifies "a command or decree." In this sense it is used alone in an Assyrian inscription, copied by Mr. LATARD at Van; but it more frequently takes the determinative prefix  $\Xi \Delta \Xi \Upsilon$  before it. The genitive is  $\Xi \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon$ , *e.mi*. The root I take to be  $\text{עוּר}$  = Hebrew  $\text{עוּר}$ .—September, 1852.]

‡ [They were also confounded in the peculiar character used in the inscription on Lord ABERDEEN's stone.—September, 1852.]

inadvertence, I made this *sa* in my lithograph of 1850; that is  $\text{𐎶}$ , a value which it never has; it is the more necessary to note this, because Colonel RAWLINSON has given this as its only value.

No. 33.  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$ . F. 53. *zi*. R.

No. 34.  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$ . F. 124. *zu*. R.

No. 35.  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎵}$ . F. 214. *az*, or *as*. H. 49.

No. 36.  $\text{𐎶}$ . F. 11. *az*, *as*, or *as*. H. 50.

No. 36, a. *asshur*. H. 49.

No. 36, b. *adan*. H. 52. I recognised the name  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶}$  as that of Esarhaddon in my paper of 1849; but I sought to reduce the first and last elements to phonetic equivalence. I now suppose No. 36 to stand for two distinct elements in this name.

No. 37.  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$ . F. 77. *iz*, *is*, *is*, *yez*, *yes*, or *yes*. H. 49. This is the determinative of kinds of wood, and of things made of wood. It is properly  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$ , "a tree."

[No. 37, a. *gish*. H. 52. Only, I believe, in the Van inscriptions. Compare No. III. 8 and 11.—September, 1852.]

No. 38.  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ . F. (26 + 71). *uz*, *us*, *us*, *wes*, *wes*, or *wes*. H. 49.

No. 39.  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$ . F. 165. *kha*. H. 50. Used for  $\text{𐎶}$  and  $\text{𐎶}$  as well as for  $\text{𐎶}$ .

No. 40.  $\text{𐎶}$ . F. 151. *khe* or *kho*. H. 50. In the Van inscriptions it takes an  $\text{𐎶}$  after it; it also begins the second part of the patronymics, as *mi.nu.a.kho.no.sh'e*, "the son of Minyas." This is a position in which the analogy of Indo-European languages requires the equivalent of the first Sanskrit vowel. This character is, however, used for *khi*, which was wanting in the syllabary. [Preceded by  $\text{𐎶}$  it denotes *Asshur*.—September, 1852.]

No. 41.  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$ . F. 71. *khu*. R.

No. 42.  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ . F. 154, *hu*. H. 52. This occurs as the termination of several proper names in the nominative; as in BOTTA, 86. 1, 16. 71, 75. 6, 145. 15. In the last case a final *u* is added. In my former paper I supposed the value of this character to be *ru*, which was not unnatural, considering that the proper names of a country, *Ye.tu.Cu* (BOTTA, 145. 6); of a city, *Sa.a'm.C'u.u.na* (145. 8); and of the king of Egypt, *P'e.ir.C'u.u* (145. 15), might be naturally read *Yeturu* (Iturea), *Samruna* for Samaria (which is in fact *Sa.mi.ri.na*); and *Boharu*, Bocchoris. The latter reading is indeed objectionable, because

the *ir* does not admit the value *har* or *khar*; as I believed it to do, owing to an erroneous reading in WESTERGAARD'S copy of the Nakshi-Rustam inscription. I am now satisfied that Colonel RAWLINSON is right in identifying this name with Pharaoh, the common title of the kings of Egypt, פֶּרֹעֹה. But this being admitted, the value *ru* might suit this word. I am, however, now convinced that the city and country above mentioned are much more to the East than I supposed; and as  $\text{𐤓𐤕}$ , which certainly represents *ru*, seems clearly distinguished from  $\text{𐤓𐤕𐤔}$ , the latter must contain some other consonant, and this can be no other than *h*, if we would bring פֶּרֹעֹה out of the above name. The reading would then be *Pirhu*; and we have no proof that this was not the proper pronunciation of what we pronounce "Pharaoh." The omission of the final *u* in this name implies, that the value of the present character terminates with that vowel; otherwise I should be disposed to read it as below, *ah*, giving *Pirahu*.

No. 42, a. *ah*. R.

Colonel RAWLINSON represents this character by ' , which I presume is intended for *ah*. It seems to me quite evident, that this is *one* value of the present character, and that it should generally be read thus when it follows a syllable terminating in *a*. It occurs thus in (the land) *Na.a'h.i.ri*, BOTTA, 146. 18; evidently נַהֲרִים, Mesopotamia;\* and in *Kha.za.a'h.il*, Ob. 123; חַזְזַאִל, as the name is written, 2 Kings, viii. 8; and again in *we.ma.a'h.ir*, Ob. 150, "hastening," the Pihel participle of מָהַר. In other words, the consonant is expressed in Hebrew by an א, as in *Sa.ba.a'h.ay*, BOTTA, 145. 15; Sabæan, the Gentile adjective of סַבְא, Meroe, or, at any rate, a country south of Egypt; see GESENIUS. Or it is superfluous. Thus *ma.a'h.li*, Brit. Mus. Standard, l. 55,  $\text{𐤌𐤓𐤕𐤔}$   $\text{𐤌𐤓𐤕}$   $\text{𐤌𐤓}$ , as it should have been printed, is from the root מָלַא, and is, in fact, no more than *mali*. In like manner, in the Achæmenian inscriptions,  $\text{𐎎𐎎}$ , the form of this character there used, is repeatedly interchanged with  $\text{𐎎}$ , *a*.


No. 43.  $\text{𐎎𐎎𐎎}$ . F. 154. *akh*. H. 50.


\* [This was the country through which the Upper Euphrates ran, and which contained the two lakes of Urumiah and Van, which are called the Upper and Lower Waters of *Nahiri*. B. M. 12. 14, 15. The name is here written without the *ah*; as it is also in a Van inscription in the Assyrian character, where the king, assuming the rest of the titles usually borne by the kings of Assyria, substitutes *Nahiri* for *Asshur*.—September, 1852.]




This is clearly distinguished from the preceding in both the Babylonian cursive and the Assyrian inscriptions; yet the Babylonian uncial expresses both by F. 154. Compare Gr. 2. 7, with VI. 30, where the word is *akh.re*, connected with *kherit*, which occurs in the same line; and again compare Gr. 1. 33, with III. 53. This participle must be read *we.za.a'h.in*, or *we.sa.a'h.in*. The first radical is uncertain (see No. 32), as I have never met the word in any other form. Neither ׀׀ nor ׀׀ occurs as a root in Hebrew; but this may perhaps be from a root equivalent to ׀׀, and meaning "to shine," "making its — to shine with silver."

No. 44. . *akh*. H. 52.

This is used for "brother," ׀׀, in BOTTA, 73. 5, and elsewhere; it occurs as an element in the name of Esarchaddon, *Asshur-akh-adan*, and with the plural sign *akhi* in that of Sennacherib, *Shan.akhi.rib* or *ir.ba*.




No. 45. . *akh*. H. 52. Interchanged with the preceding. These are phonetically equivalent to No. 43; but are not used except in proper names, or to express the idea "brother."


No. 46. . *ukh* or *wekh*. H. 52. This character, followed by *a*, is used in BOTTA, 11. 58, where 19. 64 has *u.kha*. It occurs in the name of a people, the *Ru.h'u.ukh.a*.


29 There are only two sets of words in which I have recognised the Hebrew *Teth*. One is the name of Armenia, ׀׀׀, the other the derivatives of ׀׀׀ "to write." Targ. Jer. xxxiii. 12.  in Arabic. These words both give No. 22 for ׀; No. 23 for ׀ or ׀, there being with these vowels no distinction between ׀ and ׀; but the following character for ׀, for which No. 25 is very rarely substituted. The Gentile adjective *War.ar.da.ay*, and the genitive *War.ar.de*, are common in the Khorsabad inscriptions. The nominative occurs at Behistun, 49: *We.ra.ash.thu*,  ; not *as.sad*, as Colonel RAWLINSON has read it.\* The *ash* before a consonant is generally to be read *ar*, as I have stated in my former paper. In the Van inscription of Xerxes (No. XI. in SCHULTZ'S Plate II.), l. 22, we have *yesh.th'u.ur*, for "he wrote." In the following line we have *a.na sha.da.ri.shu*. The two last characters are defective




\* In his "Indiscriminate List" Colonel RAWLINSON places a variant of *lu*, to which he gives the secondary value *du*. This character and *lu*, No. 56, appear to me quite distinct.


in the copy, but the *da*, No. 22, is distinct. The meaning is "to inscribe it," as is evident from the Persian text.\* We have then—


No. 47.  or . F. 247. *thu*. H. 52. It occurs in BOTTA, 166. 6, and 167. 10, from which the forms given are copied; the Achæmenian form has been already given. The equivalent of F. 247, in Gr. 1. 6, is so like this, that I cannot doubt the identity of the characters. Accordingly, I read the name which occurs in that line *Bit.shag.ga.thu*. No. 10, b, is used in the Van inscriptions for *tha*; but I question if it be so in the Assyrian. From the use of *da*, *de* for *tha*, *the*, there can, I think, be no doubt that  was pronounced as *th* in "that;" which is certainly very different from the received opinion.


30. No. 48. . F. 249. *ya*. H. 49.

No. 49. . *ya*. R. Interchanged with the preceding. Compare BOTTA, 8. 32, and 10. 13. *Ye* or *yo* was expressed by No. 3; *yi*, *iy*, and *uy* had no representatives; No. 30 was, I presume, used for *yu*, though more properly *yev*. We have one more character in which this semi-vowel predominates, viz.:









No. 50.  . *ay*. R. It is, I think, sometimes used for the plural "waters," and may then have an *i*, , added. Compare VII. 46, and v. 38. This led me to think that the present character terminated in *i*.

No. 51. . F. 243. *ka*. H. 49. It is also used for a noun, the meaning of which is as yet unknown to me; it was an article of tribute.

No. 52. . F. 163. *ki*. H. 50; see No. 14. This is also used for "earth, land," and as a determinative; see note to section 10.

No. 53. . F. 113. *ku*. H. 49.

In the Babylonian uncial inscriptions, and occasionally in others, these two

\* [Since the above was written, I have recognised the *Tak* in   < , *ship.di*, "of judgment," from . This word is written thus, and with No. 10 in place of the determinative at the beginning, in two unpublished inscriptions, shown to me by Mr. LAYARD. I have also recognised several derivatives of , as  , *pal.ad*, "passing by," Ob. 111,—*at.ta.pal.tha*, "I passed by."—Ob. 132. Here the last syllable is represented by , which is the Assyrian equivalent of No. 10, b, used at Van. Another derivative of this root occurs repeatedly at Behistun, if I be right in my reading and interpretation: namely, *pal.thu*, "the survivors," Beh. 63. Colonel RAWLINSON, however, reads the word *mallu*, and translates "one and all."—Memoir, p. xciv., note.—September, 1852.]

characters are used to represent *qi* and *qu*, which, however, had other representatives, as will be seen below.

[No. 53, a. *dur*. H. 52. It occurs with this value on many of the Babylonian bricks, where  $\square \square$  is substituted for the *ku.d'u.ur* of Gr. 1. 1; also in  $\square \square \square$ , *e.dur.ma*, "he gave the slip to," BOTTA, 145. 14. Compare  $\square$ . This is written in an unpublished inscription of Mr. LAYARD'S, with two characters for the  $\square$ .—September, 1852.]

31. No. 54.  $\square$ . F. 188. *la*. H. 49.

No. 55.  $\square$ . F. (26 + 273). *le* or *lo*. H. 49. In the Van inscriptions it is used both alone and with an  $\square$  after it, for the termination of the third person singular, *a.le* = Sanskrit *dha*. As to the consonantal part of the value there can be no question.

No. 56.  $\square$ ,  $\square$ . F. 119. *lu*. H. 49. Not to be confounded with No. 47. I must here retract what I stated in my former paper,—that the first form of this character is ever used for  $\square$ , "I." It is an expletive adverb, prefixed to verbs in every person, and must be read *lu*.\* This character is frequently used as an ideograph for "sheep," and seems a determinative prefix to words signifying sorts of sacrifices.—Brit. Mus. 43. 9.

No. 57.  $\square$ . F. 13. *le* or *lo*. H. 52. This is interchanged with No. 56 in two separate words, BOTTA, 145. 7, and 12. 49, 51. On the other hand it is used in Beh. 51, as the termination of a noun after the preposition *az*, and followed by the adjective *rabti*. Here it would seem to represent *li*. For these or similar reasons, Colonel RAWLINSON has valued it as *li* or *lu*. If he means, however, that it had both these values, I must object to this view of the matter, that no other character is so used. I accordingly propose a different theory. I do not find that, except in proper names, this was interchanged with No. 56. It seems to me then probable, that it represented the combination of a peculiar *l*, which I would distinguish as above, with the vowel *e* or *o*. It may have been the surd *ll* of the Welsh, or the barred *l* of the Poles, or the *ll mouillé* of the French. On that I do not pronounce an opinion, but I think it plain that this character was distinct as to its use from No. 55, though agreeing with it as to its vowel, and as to its being represented by *Lamed*.

[\* Not exactly an expletive. See Note in page 311.—September, 1852.]

No. 58.  $\Xi\Gamma\Upsilon$ . F. 278. *al*. H. 49.

No. 59.  $\Xi\Delta\Upsilon\Upsilon$ . F. 277. *il, yel*. H. 49, as to the Babylonian uncial character, though I had not then recognised the Assyrian equivalent.

No. 60.  $\Upsilon\Delta\Upsilon\Upsilon$ ,  $\Upsilon\Delta\Upsilon\Upsilon$ . Ass. *il, yel*. H. 50.

No. 61.  $\Delta\Upsilon\Upsilon$ . F. 222. *ul, wel*. H. 49.

32. No. 62.  $\Xi\Upsilon$ . F. 238. *ma* (often used also for *wa*). H. 49. I am by no means confident that this had not other values, but I cannot assign any.

No. 63.  $\Delta\Delta$ ,  $\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta$ . F. 15. *me* or *mo*. H. 50. It is interchanged with No. 4, as a prefix to the Pihel and Shaphel participles; compare BOTTA, 6. 5, and 144. 8, *et passim*. See, however, what I have said on this subject in section 22. The use of this character for *mu*, which Colonel RAWLINSON supposes to be its proper value, is explained in section 10. No. 65 was objectionable, as being frequently used for *mesh*, which might puzzle the reader, especially in a proper name.

No. 63, a. *shum*. R. Compare BOTTA, 44. 4, and 40. 5. It is chiefly, if not exclusively, used with this value in the word signifying "a name."

This is also used as an ideograph for "a year;" and as a determinative prefix before *annat*, "years,"  $\Delta\Delta$   $\Delta\Upsilon$   $\Delta\Upsilon\Upsilon$ . Compare BOTTA, 151. 16, and 114. 6. Without this prefix, this word denotes an article of tribute, which I take to be "rings." The connexion of the word with *annus*, *annulus*, is not a little remarkable.

No. 64.  $\Upsilon$ . F. 31. *mi*. R. Often confounded with No. 28; but the distinction is for the most part observed. This is used for "a hundred,"  $\Upsilon\Upsilon$ , which without the termination of the feminine would be *mi*. On the other hand, in some varieties of cuneatic writing, No. 28 is clearly composed of Nos. 5 and 3, *u.i*. The derivatives of  $\Upsilon\Upsilon$  and  $\Upsilon\Upsilon = \Upsilon\Upsilon$ , "to fear," which occur in the great inscription at the India House, are always written with No. 28, when the *w* should be followed by an *i*.

No. 64, a. *shib* or *ship*. H. 49. Compare BOTTA, 8. 21, and 9. 13.

No. 65.  $\Xi\Upsilon\Upsilon$ . F. 143. *mu*. H. 52. As in the instance of the uncial character, 154, which corresponds to both Nos. 42 and 43, we have here a second equivalent of F. 143, the first being No. 31. See what I have said of that character. The value is ascertained by the word  $\Delta\Upsilon\Upsilon$   $\Xi\Upsilon\Upsilon$   $\Delta\Upsilon\Upsilon$ , *ki.mu.ti*,

constantly used after a masculine noun, while the feminine, used according to custom when no noun was expressed, is as constantly expressed by  $\langle \text{𐎶} \rangle \text{ } \langle \text{𐎶} \rangle$ , *kima.ti*. Compare BOTTA, 147. 2 and 146. 13. The word *bi.mu*, "between," is written with this character in BOTTA, 151. 21; and at Behistun with the second form of Colonel RAWLINSON's *um*, which he erroneously supposes to be equivalent to the first.

No. 65, a. *mesh*. R. This terminates the name of Carchemish, recognised as a town of the Hittites (BOTTA, 44. 17), situated on the Euphrates, B. M. 34. 22. It occurs also in a common word which we find in IX. 9, and BOTTA, 164. 18, *mesh.uk.kan.na*; see No. 21. This is also written *me.shuk.kan.na*, BOTTA, 177. 15; and sometimes we have *mesh.kan.na*, without the duplication of the second radical. The root seems to be  $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ .

No. 65, b. F. 98. *lak*. R.? This, or a character which Colonel RAWLINSON has confounded with it, occurs in the Behistun inscription in the verb *et.ta.lak*, "I went;" Beh. 36; like *et.ta.rad*, "I went down." Colonel RAWLINSON, though he gives the character the value *lik*, identifies it with the uncial character, F. 98, of which one value is certainly *lak*, another being *shid*. Compare v. 20 and v. 53. I have never met this character with the value *lak* in an Assyrian inscription, and I much doubt its admitting it.\* The uncial character, F. 143, to which it corresponds in Assyrian, is very different in appearance from F. 98. If the Achæmenian and Assyrian characters be really of

\* [I have now no doubt of its having the values *lak* and *shid*, and so being an exact equivalent of F. 98. It occurs with the value *lak* in the name of Cilicia,  $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ , *khe.lak.ki*, identified by Colonel RAWLINSON. It is thus written in BOTTA, 145. 18; and in 117. 9 we have  $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$  in place of  $\text{𐎶}$ . Again, the value *shid* (compare VIII. 60, and VII. 61) belongs to this character in the word  $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ , *yep.tu.shid.ma*, "he escaped," Bel. 7, from which we have the pluperfect  $\text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶} \text{ } \text{𐎶}$ , *yep.tu.shi.du*, "he had escaped," in Bel. 26. It would thus appear, that at Behistun there were three characters to represent *um*, *mu* and *mesh*, and *lak* and *shid*; that in the Babylonian inscriptions the first and second were confounded; and that in the Assyrian the second and third were confounded, or at any rate they have been confounded by the copyists of the inscriptions. I cannot help thinking it possible that some difference, which has been overlooked by the copyists, exists in the normal forms of these characters. *Mu* and *mesh*, for example, might be  $\text{𐎶}$ ; *lak* and *shid*  $\text{𐎶}$ . I throw this out for the consideration of those who have access to the original inscriptions.—September, 1852.]



like form, I should consider the case to be like that of  $\Xi\langle\gamma\rangle$ , which in Assyrian represents F. 273, *sha*, but in Achæmenian, F. 268, *da*; the Achæmenian *sha* and the Assyrian *da* having additional wedges.

[No. 65, c. *shid*. H. 52. See the preceding note.]

[No. 65, d. *rat*. H. 52. Compare v. 17, VI 1, with BOTTA, 40. 80; Brit. Mus. 39. 22, and many inscriptions which contain the same matter.—October, 1852.]

[In addition to all its other values, this character when preceded by  $\rightarrow\gamma$  represents  $\rightarrow\gamma \rightarrow\gamma \rightarrow\gamma^{\wedge}$ , *Mar.duk*, the  $\text{מְדֻכ}$  of Scripture.—September, 1852.]

83. No. 66.  $\rightarrow\gamma$ . F. 140. *na*. H. 49.

No. 67.  $\rightarrow\gamma$ . F. 192. *ne* or *no*. H. 49. This is used for  $\gamma$  in the verb *ne.te.b'u.ush*, "we made;" WEST. D. 10; but inasmuch as it was also used for *ni* in the name of Nineveh ( $\rightarrow\gamma \rightarrow\gamma \rightarrow\gamma$ , *Ni.nu.a*, or  $\rightarrow\gamma \rightarrow\gamma \rightarrow\gamma$ , *Ni.n'a.â*), and in some inflexions of nouns, a doubt may be entertained as to which was the proper value. I think that this question is best settled by the Van inscriptions. This is the termination of the accusative singular and of the genitive plural, and is also the penultimate character in the latter. In these positions the short vowel can alone be tolerated; *ni* for the accusative singular, *nini* for that of the genitive plural, would be contrary to all analogy of cognate languages.

No. 67, a. *sal*. H. 52. Compare Gr. 3. 59, and x. 19. Also a determinative prefix. See No. 10, b.

No. 68.  $\rightarrow\gamma$ . F. 211. *nu*. H. 49.

No. 69.  $\langle\rightarrow\gamma$ . F. 274. *nu*. H. 49.\*

No. 70.  $\rightarrow\gamma$ . F. 287. *an*. H. 49.

No. 70, a. *il*. H. 49. In proper names, and to express the idea of "God;" it is the Hebrew  $\text{אל}$ .

No. 70, b. *Asshur*. H. 49. It is interchanged with  $\rightarrow\gamma$ , of which this is certainly the value, too often for the interchange to be attributed to mistake. See BOTTA, 21. 80, where "the Gods" is expressed by this last character with

\* [This may be written for distinction *nâ*. It is interchanged with  $\rightarrow\gamma$  and  $\rightarrow\gamma$ ; the latter in the name of the God  $\rightarrow\gamma \rightarrow\gamma \langle\rightarrow\gamma$ , *A.nâ*.—September, 1852.]

the plural sign; 9. 34 being No. 70. I still consider this word to be the Persian *ahura*; and would read the name of the country  $\text{𐎠𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ , *Asshur.di*, not *An.di* or *Il.di*.

This character, No. 70, is used as a determinative prefix before names of gods, and it forms with other characters many monograms, the value of which cannot possibly be known from their component parts. Thus, with  $\text{𐎶}$ , *pa*, or  $\text{𐎶}$ , *ak*, it is to be read  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ , *Na.b'i.ú*, "Nebo;" with  $\text{𐎶}$ , *mu* or *mesh*, or  $\text{𐎶}$ , *sur.tu*, it is to be read  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ , *Mar.duk*; and so in other instances.

No. 71.  $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ . *in* or *yen*. H. 50. See note in section 1.

No. 72.  $\text{𐎶}$ . *un* or *wen*. H. 49.

As an ideograph it is used for "man," *homo*, including men, women, and children.

34. No. 73.  $\text{𐎶}$ . *sa*. H. 49.

No. 74.  $\text{𐎶}$ . *si*. H. 50.

No. 75.  $\text{𐎶}$ . *su*. H. 50.

These characters correspond to  $\text{𐎶}$ ,  $\text{𐎶}$ , and  $\text{𐎶}$  respectively, in the affixes of the third person; the vowels in these last are determined with the greatest certainty, and those of the former must be the same. We have after a *t* (an *s* substituted for a *t*, or a vowel the *t* after which has been omitted) for the affix "his," *su*; in other situations, *shu*; for the affix "her," *sa*; in other situations, *sha*; for the affix "their," when masculine, *sun*, and when feminine, *sin*; in other situations, *shun* and *shin*.

From this it is natural to infer that the consonant in Nos. 73-75 is equivalent to that in the more usual affixes with a prefixed *t*.\* Nevertheless, the

\* Another instance of the connexion between the characters of the *s* and *sh* series is deserving of being noticed. A common sentence after the mention of cities is *appal, aq.qur, az kuwi ash. r'u.up*. In p. 70 of my last paper, I interpreted the two first words, "I shot arrows against, I made a bank against;" but the Behistun inscription, l. 25, proves, as Colonel RAWLINSON has remarked, that the first verb must mean some mode of destruction; he refers it to  $\text{𐎶}$ , but I think it rather comes from  $\text{𐎶}$ , "I overthrew;" the second verb is probably "I dug up," from  $\text{𐎶}$ ; the third clause is most certainly, "I burned with fire," from  $\text{𐎶}$  and  $\text{𐎶}$ . Now in the penultimate line of the inscription on the Nimrod obelisk we have a similar passage in the Pathal conjugation, instead of the Kal. It is (see the original) *at.ta.pal, at.ta.qur, az kuwi a.sa.rap*. In this conjuga-

former consonant is the Hebrew  $\text{ס}$ ; as appears from its use in *Par. su*, "Persia,"  $\text{ספר}$ , and *Par. sa. a'y*, "a Persian;" also in *na. si. akh*,  $\text{ספּר ספּר ספּר ספּר}$ , "carrying away;" BOTTA, 41. 33; and *es. su. kha*,  $\text{ספּר ספּר ספּר ספּר}$ , "I carried away," BOTTA, 70. 9. The root is  $\text{ספּר}$ ; which has this meaning in Hebrew. From this I infer, that the Hebrew consonant corresponding to that which these letters contain is  $\text{ס}$ ; not  $\text{ס}$ , as Colonel RAWLINSON makes it; but that the Hebrew  $\text{ס}$  was sounded as *ts*; the  $\text{ש}$  of the affix, when unaffected by the proximity of *t*, being sharp *s*, which, as all etymologists know, is easily convertible into an *h*, which characterizes all the above affixes in the Syro-Arabian languages. I may as well here remark, though it is an anticipation, that I by no means consider the consonant of the *sh*, or  $\text{ש}$  series, to have always had this sharp sound. I confine my observation to its value in the affixes of the third person, and to the prefix of the Shaphel conjugation, which become  $\text{ש}$  in the Syro-Arabian languages.

No. 75, a. *rib*. H. 49.

This is its value in the name of Sennacherib, which it most generally terminates, though *ir. ba* is substituted in many texts; in like manner we have *gin* and *ge. na* at the end of the name Sargon; and, as I infer by analogy, *Bal. adan* and *Bal. ad. na*. The *a* was added, either for emphasis, or to form the genitive; and this led to the shortening of the preceding vowel.

No. 76.  $\text{ספּר}$ . F. 10. *si*. H. 52. This is clearly interchanged with No. 74. Compare III. 40, and PORTER's transcript, 1. 9, with III. 31.

No. 76, a. *ad*. H. 52. It occurs between *Mar. duk. bal* and *na* in the name of the Chaldean king. I think *ad* a more likely value for it to have than *adan*, which Colonel RAWLINSON gives it. The same termination occurs in the name of the king on the hexagonal prism in the British Museum, who was probably *Asshur. akh. adan*, and in that on Lord ABERDEEN's stone, which I strongly suspect to contain an equivalent name. The monogram  $\text{ספּר ספּר}$ ,

tion, the second syllable is regularly *ta*; the first terminates with the first radical, or its substitute, *n* being here changed to *t*, as it was in *Kal*, to *p* and *q*, we should then expect *ash. ta*; and for this we have *a. sa*. Give the consonants  $\text{ש}$  and  $\text{ס}$  the values I suppose them to have, and this is in effect a substitution of *atsa* for *asta*. It is rather curious, that this irregularity is precisely the reverse of what occurs in Hebrew in the case of verbs which begin with a sibilant. In Hebrew we should have *estariiph* for *etsariiph*, which would be according to the analogy of other verbs.

with which the latter commences, may have been pronounced *Asshur*, when designating a divine name; though I believe it to have been *Shamash* or *Shamshi*, according to the case, when the material sun was intended.\*

Colonel RAWLINSON says, that this character is used as a monogram for Babylon. Not having been made acquainted with his data, I will not speak positively; but I entertain a very strong conviction that he labours under a mistake. The monogram to which he seems to refer occurs in PORTER'S transcript, 2. 12; and a comparison of it with the present character in 1. 9, leads me to consider them different, though resembling one another. The uncial characters occurring in VII. 11, and III. 40, which correspond to them, are as unlike as could well be imagined.

35. After the full explanation that I have given of the mode of representing  $\mathcal{V}$  in sections 18–20, it will be unnecessary for me to say much on that subject now. Let it suffice to say, that it is often unrepresented, the vowel connected with it being alone expressed; and that a strong tendency existed to shorten this vowel to *o*, contrary to analogy, so as to render verbs containing  $\mathcal{V}$ , as a radical, specially irregular. Thus, not only was  $\mathcal{V}\mathcal{N}$  at the commencement of the first person of the aorist represented by *e* or *o*, but  $\mathcal{V}$  and even  $\mathcal{V}$  was expressed in the same manner. When a consonant was used to express  $\mathcal{V}$ , characters of the *kh* series were most frequently employed; but occasionally, it would seem, those of the *w* series were employed. If *wibish*, which occurs after the royal name and before "the great gods," in the Khorsabad inscriptions, is not "servant of," =  $\mathcal{V}\mathcal{W}$ , I must confess myself unable to explain it.† On the other hand, as I pointed out in my former paper, we have *ab.d'e.ish.tar.ti* and *ab.de.w'i.ish.tar.ti*, used indifferently to express the name of the king of Sidon, contemporary with Esarhaddon; and though I do not identify this king with the Abdistartus of the Tyrian Annals cited by Josephus, as Colonel RAWLIN-

\* [I now think that the royal name on Lord ABERDEEN'S stone should be read *Shamash.akh.ad.na*.—October, 1852.]

† [The word is *wi.gir*, and I believe it to refer to the country of Mesopotamia, not to the king. I would now translate it, "the care, or object of regard, of (the great gods)".  $\mathcal{W}\mathcal{K}$  has a double value, *bish* or *pish*, and *gir* or *kir*. This weakens, but does not annihilate, the evidence for *w* being a representative of  $\mathcal{V}$ .—September, 1852.]

son represents me to have done, I think it quite evident that we have in all cases the one name, עבר/עשתרת.

I proceed with the *Pi* series :

No. 77.  $\text{𐤀}$ . F. 44. *pa*. H. 49.

No. 77, a. *shiru*? H. 49. As No. 78 has certainly the value of *pa*, it is not impossible that No. 77 has the value of the two component elements of this compound character. This is the more likely, as we have No. 77 before *tinay* in the Gentile adjective derived from the name of a country; and *Shirutana* is a known Egyptian name for an Asiatic people.\* Again,  $\text{𐤀}$   $\text{𐤃}$   $\text{𐤀}$   $\text{𐤃}$ , is "Syria," or a portion thereof; and may it not be *Shiruti*? Colonel RAWLINSON has offered another explanation of this name; he reads it *khatti*,† and *khatti* is unquestionably interchanged with it in the Khorsabad and other inscriptions; but on the other hand, may these not be different names, the one including the other, as Bavaria, for example, and Germany? I give both values, and I should not be surprised if it should turn out that the character had both of them, as well as *pa*.

No. 77, b. *khat*. R. See what has just been said.


No. 78.  $\text{𐤀}$   $\text{𐤃}$   $\text{𐤀}$   $\text{𐤃}$ . *pa*. H. 49. This is distinctly interchanged with No. 77; compare VI. 58, and VII. 32. Colonel RAWLINSON identified the name in which this occurs with Borsippa; but he read it *Bartsira*, supposing that we had here another example of "the interchange of the *l* and *r* with the *v* or *b*."—(Comm. p. 37). This is an interchange of which I deny that there is any example whatever.

No. 79.  $\text{𐤀}$   $\text{𐤃}$ . F. 37. *pe* or *po*. H. 49. See section 11. It takes a  $\text{𐤀}$   $\text{𐤃}$  after it in the Van inscriptions.


No. 80.  $\text{𐤀}$   $\text{𐤃}$ . F. 59. *pu*. H. 52.


\* [The *Shirutinay* certainly inhabited the northern part of Syria. *Kinalua*, their capital city, must have been near the site of Antioch. The *A. ra. a'n. tu*, evidently the Orontes, flowed by it; and the name of the *Ap. re*, which appears from the inscriptions to have been on the other side of it, is still preserved in *Afrin*, a small river to the north of Antioch. This is, I believe, as probable a site for the *Shirutana* of the Hieroglyphic inscriptions as any other; and I therefore adhere to this reading of the name before us.—October, 1852.]

† [ $\text{𐤀}$   $\text{𐤃}$  is repeatedly interchanged with  $\text{𐤀}$   $\text{𐤃}$ , *Kha. a'd* or *a't*, not only in the name of *Khatti*, Syria, which is certainly to be thus read, but in other words.—September, 1852.]


No. 81. . F. 115. *pu*. R. These two characters are interchanged, and both certainly terminate in *u*. I have given my reasons for supposing them both *pu*, and that *bu* was wanting in section 11, and under No. 8.

























































































































































36. I have already stated, that No. 32 expressed both *za* and *sa*. The other characters beginning with these consonants differ. I make—

No. 82. . F. 80. *se* or *so*. H. 50.

No. 83. . F. 205. *su*. H. 49.

The connexion between these characters and the vowels which belong to them will be evident from comparing the two forms which I gave in my lithograph of 1850. Compare B. M. 40. 50, 51, and 11.


That the consonant belonging to these characters is *š*, *s*, not *ḍ*, *s*, as Colonel RAWLINSON makes it, will, I think, appear evident from the following considerations. No. 82 begins the name of Sidon,                   , which contains No. 82 (compare BOTTA, 40. 18, and 36. 13), is used in the name of Egypt,                   , which begins the name of Tyre,                   , which contains No. 83. Compare the final syllable of the royal name in I. 1, and on some of the bricks. This final syllable is written                   , or                   , in all the variations of the name Nebuchadnezzar which are found in the Bible; and lastly, many words which contain No. 82 obviously correspond to Hebrew words which contain *š*; as the words for "sheep,"                   ; "rising (of the sun),"                   ; and "earth,"                   . See section 13. It is commonly supposed that *ts* expresses the pronunciation of *š*; but I have shown that this was what *ḍ* represented. In my paper on the Hieroglyphic Alphabet, I proved that certain letters which begin the names of Tyre, Sidon, and Sarepta, all of which began with *š* in Hebrew, expressed the sound of our *ch*, that is, *tsh*. This view of the value of these characters has been since taken by Viscount DE ROUGÉ and others; and it is now, I believe, generally admitted to be correct. It is confirmed by the transcription of the name of Nebuchadnezzar in the Behistun inscription in Persian. The last syllable which contains *š* is written *chur*.

We have thus *ḍ* = *ts*; *š* = *tsh*; and † I believe to have been used as the


sonant corresponding to both of these, having the double value *dz* and *dzh* or *j*. The only simple sibilant appears to have been *ʒ*; which must have represented all the sounds *s*, *sh*, *z*, and *zh*, so far as they were used in the language.

Such are the conclusions at which I have arrived respecting the true powers of the consonants contained in these characters. I transcribe them, however, according to the received values of the Hebrew or Arabic letters to which they correspond.

37. I now pass to the *Qoph* series. In the Babylonian uncial writing this was not used; and, curiously enough, characters which did not correspond in their proper use were employed as corresponding, when *q* was to be expressed. Thus *qa* was expressed by *ga*; but *qi* and *qu* were expressed by *ki* and *ku*. In the other varieties of Assyrio-Babylonian writing the following characters of the *q* series are used; but they were occasionally replaced by the above-mentioned substitutes. The common word *קִרְק*, for instance, denoting "near"—with the preposition "in" before it, "within,"—and after other prepositions being a sort of expletive—is constantly written with an initial *ki*.

No. 84. . *qa*. H. 52. It occurs in *el. qa*, "I took;" and *qa.ti* the dative of *qat*. These would be in Hebrew *קח* and *קחת*. The *Heth* is dropped, as it often is in Assyrian. The last word signifies "hold, prison," in the phrase "I put in hold;" and is often a mere expletive, like the *pair of uplifted arms* in Hieroglyphics. *Kimuti qatiya*, which occurs so often in the inscriptions, signifies, as I am persuaded, "belonging to me (lit., to my holding)." This character occurs also in the word "she camels," *anaqati*, in B. M. 68. 2. In the Targum of Est. 1. 2, a she camel is *קח*. It also occurs in *qa.bal*, "over against," *קבל*, BOTTA, 8. 9. [See No. 168, a.—October, 1852.]

No. 85. . *qe* or *qo*. H. 52.


This occurs in the plural Pihel participle *we.da.qe.qu*, B. M. 76. 6; which is also written with No. 86 in BOTTA, 175. 7. The more correct spelling is with *daq* in place of *da*, as we find the word in 166. 8, and most of the similar inscriptions. In B. M. Stand. 22, we have the name of a country written *La.q'e.e*, this character being followed by . I have met the derived adjective written *La.qa.a'y* with No. 84. This seems conclusive as to the value.

No. 86. . *qi*. H. 52.


See what has just been said. This occurs in the name of Hezekiah,

חזקירו; which, in B. M. 61. 11, is written *Kha.za.qi.ay.u*. The name of a city, which I take to be Damascus, is written with this character, when in the dative, in BOTTA, 146. 21.\* The same name is written in 145. 21 with No. 84 and in 95. 1 with No. 87.


No. 86, a. *kin*. R. Compare BOTTA, 36. 5 and 40. 6.

No. 87. . *qu*. H. 52. This occurs repeatedly in the word signifying "distant," from קרח. In BOTTA, 17. 59, we have *ma.da.a'y ru.q'u.u.ti*, "Media the distant." [Rather, "distant Medians."—October, 1852.] The *Kheth* is here omitted, as in the derivatives of לקח. See what is said on Nos. 85 and 86.


38. No. 88. . F. 85. *ra*. H. 49.


No. 89. . F. 73. *ri*. H. 50.


[No. 89, a. *dal*. H. 52. Compare BOTTA, 147. 10 and 74. 6.—October, 1852.]

No. 90. . *ri*. H. 52. Repeatedly interchanged with the preceding, of which it cannot be considered a calligraphic variant. Colonel RAWLINSON has not noticed it.








No. 91. . . F. 51. *ru*. H. 49.

No. 92. . F (32 + 73). *ar*. H. 49.

No. 93. . F. 194. *ir* or *yer*. H. 49.

No. 94. . F. 91. *ir*. H. 49. In the Babylonian inscriptions it is used as the preceding; but in the Assyrian it only occurs phonetically in proper names, and to represent "a city," עיר. It is used as a determinative before names of cities.

No. 95. . F. 239. *ur* or *wer*. H. 49. This is chiefly used in Babylonian inscriptions.

\* [The name of this city is   , *De.mash.qi*. I inferred that  had the value *mash* (as well as that of *bar*) from its use in this name and in  , *sha.mash*, "the sun." Of this value I have just met with a most unexpected verification. In an *Assyrian* syllabarium, or unfortunately, I should rather say, a fragment of one, found by Mr. LAYARD at Kouyunjik, and now in the British Museum, the two values *bar* and *mash* are given to this character. I may add, that the three values *lib*, *dan*, and *kal* are given to ; and the readings *Kal.di*, Chaldea, for the country about the Lower Euphrates, and *Kal.khu*, Calah, כלח, for the city at Nimrud, are thus rendered certain.—October, 1852.]



No. 96.  $\aleph$   $\aleph$ . F. 252. *ur* or *wer*. H. 49.

No. 96, a. *lik*. R. Compare B. M. 27, v. 34, and Bel. 46.  $\aleph$   $\aleph$ , *a.lik*, is here interchanged with *a.li.kut*, precisely as  $\aleph$   $\aleph$ , *a.shib* (see p. 23 of my former paper) is interchanged with *a.shi.bu.tu*. Compare BOTTA, 168. 26, and 165. 9. *Lik* is a secondary value of No. 96, only used in derivatives of the verb  $\aleph$   $\aleph$  or  $\aleph$   $\aleph$ ; just as *shib* is a secondary value of No. 64, only used in derivatives of  $\aleph$   $\aleph$ , or, as it would appear,  $\aleph$   $\aleph$ .\* As the plurals correspond in vowels, the singular should do so too. Colonel RAWLINSON gives *lak*, *lik*, and *liku*; the latter because he supposes a character to be *ku* which I read *kut*.

39. No. 97.  $\aleph$   $\aleph$ . F. 273. *sha*.

No. 98.  $\aleph$ . F. 175. *sha*.

In the Babylonian inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar No. 98 is very rarely used, and perhaps in its secondary meaning, except in one place, where it is certainly the relative particle,—see VII. 35. On the contrary, in the Achæmenian inscriptions, the use of No. 98 is universal. The Assyrian inscriptions use them both indiscriminately. I should have liked to establish a phonetic distinction between them, causing one to be used in one dialect and the other in another; but I can trace no satisfactory distinction as to their use. Each represents the sharp *s*, passing into *h*, of the causative conjugation and the affixes of the third person; and each represents also the soft sound which we may naturally attribute to the relative and the preposition denoting the genitive, passing into the Chaldee *d*. If a distinction be made, the similarity of No. 97 to *da* would lead us to consider it as the sonant *za*, and No. 98 as the surd *sa*; but, I repeat, I can see no ground in the inscriptions for making such a distinction.

No. 98, a. *gar*, *qar*. H. 52.

This is used as the first syllable in the name of Carchemish; and though this be written in Hebrew with two *Kaphs*, I inferred from the *quadrants*, which represented them both in the Hieroglyphics, that the proper spelling would be with *Qophs*, as it is in Arabic. The point seems settled by the transcription of the name of the king of Carchemish, who was contemporary with the obelisk

\* [It is incorrect to state that  $\aleph$  has the value *shib* in this word *only*. It represents *shib* or *ship* in other words.—October, 1852.]

king, and of course with Jehu. It is written, Ob. 85,  $\overline{\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶}}$   $\rightarrow$   $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$   $\text{𐎶}$   $\text{𐎶}$   $\text{𐎶}$   $\text{𐎶}$   $\text{𐎶}$ , for which we have B. M. 15. 30,  $\overline{\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶}}$   $\rightarrow$   $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$   $\text{𐎶}$ . Colonel RAWLINSON supposes that we have here equivalent monograms for the name of a god, which he makes "the sun," or "fire;" but I cannot suppose  $\rightarrow$   $\overline{\text{𐎶}}$ , after *sa*, to have any other value than *an*. I read the name in both cases *Sangara*, and without the final *a*, *Sangar*. The use of *g* for *q*, of which I have given instances, leads me to read *Qar* in the name of the city, as well as to give the value *qa* to the following  $\text{𐎶}$ . The name is thus *Qar.qa.mesh*, rather than *Gar.ga.mesh*.

No. 99.  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ . *sha*. H. 52.

A character which is omitted in FISHER's list, but which seems to me clearly to correspond to this, occurs several times in the great inscription of the India House, in place of F. 273, No. 97. See in particular v. 27 and 34, where it represents the preposition "of," or the relative particle.

No. 99, a. *gar, qar*. H. 52.

This is interchanged with No. 98, a, in the name of Carchemish.

No. 100.  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ . F. 26. *she* or *sho*. H. 49.

Colonel RAWLINSON in his table makes this - *z*; that is, as I understand him, *z* terminating a syllable, but preceded by any vowel. In p. xxiv. he transcribes it by *ts*, without completing the syllable, and then gives  $\text{𐎶}$  for the corresponding Hebrew letter. It is plain, however, to me that  $\text{𐎶}$   $\text{𐎶}$   $\text{𐎶}$   $\text{𐎶}$   $\text{𐎶}$   $\text{𐎶}$ , in III. 66, is the *Shaphel* participle of the same verb, from which we have in IV. 48 the first person singular of the aorist in *Kal*,  $\text{𐎶}$   $\text{𐎶}$   $\text{𐎶}$   $\text{𐎶}$ . The former is "making," or "causing to be made;" the latter "I make." In this latter Colonel RAWLINSON himself admits that  $\text{𐎶}$  =  $\text{𐎶}$ ; and surely in the former, on the same principle,  $\text{𐎶}$  should be  $\text{𐎶}$ . If  $\text{𐎶}$  be, as I think I have proved it to be, a short vowel distinct from *a*, *i*, and *u*, it seems plain that  $\text{𐎶}$  must terminate with the same short vowel. This completes the series of seven simple syllables containing *sh*, which, with their homophones, are given from No. 97 to No. 106. The verb which Colonel RAWLINSON reads *yatsinuma'*, and refers to  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ , is, according to me, *ye.sh'e.im.ma.'ah*, from  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ ; whence in BOTTA, 65. 13, we have in *Kal*, *yesh.mi.ma*, "he heard."

This value is confirmed by the Van inscriptions, in which the present character is added to the theme for the termination of the nominative. Now, that

*she* or *sho* (with the first Sanskrit vowel) should be added to the theme to express the nominative in this very early specimen of an Indo-European language, is just what we should expect. This is the way in which etymologists account for the actual *s* of the Greek and Latin; but it would be contrary to all analogy for *i*, or any other vowel than the first Sanskrit, to follow *sh* in the nominative singular. Colonel RAWLINSON'S value 'z is clearly erroneous. Would he read the above participle *wazbish*, in place of my *we.sho. b'i. ish*?

No. 101. <V>. F. 32. *shi*. H. 49.

No. 101, a. *pan*. R. Compare B. M. 45. 31, and Ob. 36.

No. 101, b. *liv* or *lim*. H. 52. Compare BOTTA, 43. 115, and 51. 101.

This character also stands for "a thousand."

No. 102. <E>, <E>. F. 48. *shu*. H. 49. (p. 70.)

No. 102, a. *gat*. H. 52. Only in the word treated of under No. 84; which is frequently expressed by this character; see B. M. Stand. 41. 55, *et passim*. More correctly, however, it seems as if it should be written <E>, with two additional wedges.\*

No. 103. <I>. *shu*. H. 49. (p. 70.)

This is perpetually interchanged with the preceding; but it is also used with other values which I cannot explain; as in << <I>. B. M. Stand. 3, &c., a common title of Assyrian kings.†

No. 104. <E>. F. 45. *ash*. H. 49.

No. 105. <E>. F. 90. *ish* or *yesh*. H. 49.

No. 106. <E>. F. 262. *ush* or *wesh*. H. 49.

\* [It has this value (or *gad*) in proper names also. It is used without the additional wedges in the most ancient inscriptions; and they were probably added to distinguish it from the affix "his," with which in these inscriptions it is apt to be confounded. It represents "hands;" and I suspect that it was also read *yads*. It is not improbable that the two small wedges were added ideographically to represent the two hands.—October, 1852.]

† [It is used interchangeably with <<<, or its plural <<< <E> <I> <I>; the last characters of which prove that the first, as yet unknown, is of the form *Cash*, *Cish*, or *Cush*, the root having a double <E> preceded by an unknown consonant. It probably signifies "nations," "races," or the like.—October, 1852.]

Ideographically this denoted "male," Bel. 31; which is transcribed in Bel. 17, by  $\text{𐎠𐎠𐎠}$  *ru*; the power of the former syllable being as yet unknown to me. It is natural to think of the Hebrew  $\text{רוּז}$ , reading, *zik.ru*.\*

No. 107.  $\text{𐎠𐎠}$ ,  $\text{𐎠𐎠}$ . *yesh*. H. 52. Compare Variants, B. M. Stand. 6, 8.†  
[No. 107, a. *duk, duq, tuk, tuq*. H. 52. Compare the Variants in B. M. Standard, just referred to; and see B. M. 84. 4, and WEST. N. R. 16. In the former place, it occurs in *a.duk*, "I smote;" which is written with *du.ku* (for the pluperfect) in Beh. 29. The latter reference is to the name of Cappadocia, where the Greek form has *d*, the Persian *t*. In an unpublished inscription it is represented by  $\text{𐎠𐎠𐎠}$   $\text{𐎠}$ , *tu.ku*.—October, 1852.]

40. No. 108.  $\text{𐎠𐎠𐎠}$ . F. 272. *ta*. H. 49.

In the older Ninevite inscriptions, this is used to express the preposition "from." In the Khorsabad inscriptions, and in those which follow to the time of Nebuchadnezzar, *sha* is used for this preposition; and in the Achæmænian inscriptions we have *la*. I offer this as the first contribution towards the classification of the inscriptions in respect to dialects. It is not the only one that I have observed, but it seems the best marked. Of course I read this preposition phonetically, *ta*.

No. 109.  $\text{𐎠𐎠}$ . F. 275. *te* or *to*. H. 49.

There can be no doubt as to the consonantal part of this value, nor that it is distinct from *ta* and *tu*. Colonel RAWLINSON makes it *ti*, a homophone of No. 110; but I have shown in section 21, that these characters are not equivalent. I may add, that in the Van inscriptions, the present character always takes  $\text{𐎠𐎠}$  for the vowel to be supplied after it, while No. 110 takes  $\text{𐎠𐎠}$ . It is plain, too, that in the verb at the beginning of WESTERGAARD'S D. 12, which

\* [I have since ascertained, that I was right in this conjecture. Compare BOTTA, 43. 105, and 35. 87; where *zik.ri* in the plural, written with this character, is interchanged with *zi.kir*, the singular theme. The character occurs also in the name of a Babylonian or Chaldean city, which it forms with the usual addition of  $\text{𐎠𐎠}$ . This might be read *Zik*, but I know no such name.—October, 1852].

† [We have  $\text{𐎠𐎠}$   $\text{𐎠𐎠𐎠}$  and  $\text{𐎠𐎠}$  ], *yesh. u* and *ye.shu*; representing *they did* or *they made*,  $\text{𐎠𐎠𐎠}$ . It occurs in such expressions as *sha makhiru la yeshu*, "what former (kings) did not do," and *sha niba la yeshu*, "of which count they did not make," i. e. "which were not to be counted."—October, 1852.]

begins with  $\text{𐤀} \text{𐤃}$ , the analogical Hebrew form would be  $\text{שׁוֹבַבְוֹשׁוֹ}$ . Now the vowel *e* or *o* is the special representative of the *Sheva mobile*.

No. 110.  $\text{𐤀} \text{𐤃}$ . F. 34. *ti*. H. 49.

No. 111.  $\text{𐤀} \text{𐤃}$ . F. (26 + 202.) *tu*. H. 49.

I have not met either of these characters used ideographically; but each of them represents a noun, which I believe to signify "water;" the former in the dative and the latter in the accusative case. The plural, too, seems to be represented by *tuti*, written (perhaps to prevent confusion) with Nos. 112 and 114,  $\text{𐤀} \text{𐤃}$ .

No. 112.  $\text{𐤀} \text{𐤃}$ . F. 105. *tu*. H. 49.

This is interchanged with the preceding; compare BOTTA, 165. 9 and 166. 9; 40. 4 and 44. 4; 40. 16 and 54. 13, &c.\* Colonel RAWLINSON'S value *ta* is evidently grounded on the Behistun transcription of *Naditabira*, which is elsewhere written with No. 115. The same interchange occurs in the name of *Gomata*, and in *saltu*, "a battle;" but this only proves that these two characters have the same value; not that their value is *ta*. No stress should be laid on the transcription of a short medial or of a terminal vowel.

No. 112, a. *par*. H. 49.

It has this value in the Achæmenian names of Persia, Parthia, and Saparda, and in *par.ri.sha*, Bel. 8, which has the determinative prefix of great beasts, and must, I think, signify "horses for riding," from  $\text{שׁוֹבַב}$ .

No. 112, b. *sham*. H. 52.

See 4, b, with which it is interchanged.

This is also used for "day;" but is rather phonetic than ideographic. *Tu* would thus signify in the nominative both "a day" and "water;" No. 112 being always used in the former sense, and No. 111 in the latter. The former has for its dative  $\text{𐤀} \text{𐤃}$ , *tu.wi*, the latter *ti*, No. 110. The connexion between  $\text{𐤀}$  and  $\text{𐤃}$  cannot fail to suggest itself; but it is difficult to think that the Hebrew  $\text{ו}$  can be a corruption of  $\text{ו}$ . If it be, *yam* is probably a plural form, as in Phœnician, corresponding to *tuti* (see No. 111), rather than to *tu*. In some cases, however, the present character is clearly ideographic. The group

\* [We have, however, in B. M. 20. 10,  $\text{𐤀} \text{𐤃}$  used, while in 22. 35, the same word is written with  $\text{𐤀} \text{𐤃}$ . This renders it probable that, though these characters were often confounded, No. 111 was distinctively *ti*. See notes in p. 328 and p. 342.—October, 1852.]

𐎧𐎶 𐎵, for *kaspa*, "silver," is one instance; and here it has perhaps the meaning "water," as 𐎶𐎵𐎶, which replaces it in the word for *khurasu*, "gold," seems to signify "flame," or "fire." To other words it is prefixed as a determinative prefix.

[No. 112, c. *ud, ut*. H. 52. See note, p. 319.—October, 1852.]

[No. 112, d. *likh*. H. 52. Compare the conclusion of Bel. 2, with RICH, 1. 4.—October, 1852.]

No. 113. 𐎶. F. 24. *ta*. R. See p. lxxv. of his Memoir.

No. 113, a. *kur*. R.

Chiefly, if not exclusively, in derivatives from the root 𐎶𐎶, *to remember*.

No. 113, b. *mat*. H. 49.

It occurs with this value in the name of *Hamath*. Compare Ob. 88, and B. M. 15. 36. In WESTERGAARD'S N. R. 33, *ma.ti.ya* is used for "my country;" and in the fragment, BOTTA, 53. 13, compared with 43. 104, we have 𐎶 for *m'a.d.ti*; though it might at first appear that in this passage, as well as in WESTERGAARD'S H. 8. 16, the *mātu* were distinct from the 𐎶 𐎶𐎶.

No. 113, c. *shat, shad*. R.

Colonel RAWLINSON marks this with a (?), yet it appears to me that it is far the most usual value, when not ideographic; and it is certainly as well ascertained as any of the others. Compare IX. 8, and BOTTA, 42. 77; BOTTA, 21. 16, and 9. 18; B. M. 12. 2, and BOTTA, 1. 1.

[No. 113, d. *lat*. H. 52. In Ob. 13. An unpublished inscription, containing the same title, has *la.a't*. This is a very common value in the more ancient inscriptions; it occurs also in *D'e.ig.lat*, "the Tigris," Beh. 35.—October, 1852.]

[No. 113, e. *nat*. H. 52. Compare B. M. 15. 24, and Ob. 76.—October, 1852.]

[No. 113, f. *kimu*. H. 52. Compare B. M. Stand. and Variants.—October, 1852.]

[No. 113, g. *ekshu*. H. 52. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶 is repeatedly used for *ekshut*, "I subdued;" see note in p. 319.\*—October, 1852.]

\* [I rather think now that *ekshud*, "I reached," and *ekshut*, "I subdued," are distinct words.—October, 1852.]

No. 114.  $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎺}$ . F. 196. *ti*. H. 49.

This is repeatedly interchanged with No. 110; the Great Inscription at the India House has No. 110 very frequently, where GROTEFEND's barrel has No. 114.

[No. 114, a. *dim*. H. 52. The group  $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎺 𐎶}$  occurs in the epigraphs over the bas reliefs representing the transport to Nineveh of colossal figures of animals. It seems to correspond to the Hebrew  $\text{דמיון}$ , "a likeness or effigy." I read the word *dim.mi*.\*—October, 1852.]

No. 115.  $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎺}$ . F. 210. *tu*. H. 52.

See what is said on No. 112, with which it is interchanged. This is used as a determinative prefix to names of beasts of burden, and expressed some one distinctively, probably "an ass."

17th May, 1852.

\* [Among some inscriptions from pieces of *terra cotta* in the British Museum, which Mr. LAYARD recently showed me, was one which I recognised as an Assyrian syllabarium. Unfortunately, it is but a fragment; but enough remains to show its nature. It contains parts of four columns, each of which is divided by ruled lines into three series. That in the middle contains the characters to be valued; that on the left contains the values; and that on the right contains the plural form, or the value which the character would have if the plural sign were added. This syllabary, which will probably be speedily published by the authorities at the Museum, establishes a number of points on which doubts may yet linger in some minds. First, it proves that the characters are syllabic; secondly, that many values belong to the same character; and thirdly, that  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$  and  $\text{𐎶𐎺}$ , and probably  $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎺}$  and  $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎺𐎶}$ , are distinct. I observed in a note to No. 69, that its value was probably *śú*. The Assyrian syllabary represents Nos. 83 and 87 as terminating with a similar long vowel; they would be *śú* and *qú*. I have reason to believe also that, if this distinction be admitted, Nos. 111 and 120 would be *tú* and *lú*. The syllabary appears, from the forms of the characters, to be of late date. It is probably to be referred to about 650 B. C. Many values which it assigns to characters have not yet been found in inscriptions; but others had been previously recognised either by Colonel RAWLINSON or by myself, as having the very values assigned to them. I can only give as a specimen of the arrangement one entry, to which I have already referred in a note to No. 86.


$\text{𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎺 | 𐎶 | 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎺 𐎶}$

The value of the middle character is *masá*, *ma. a'sá*; which would be in the plural *m'a. á. áku*. In this syllabary No. 114 is valued as  $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎺𐎶𐎵𐎺}$ , *d'i. im*.—October, 1852.]


## POSTSCRIPT.\*







41. The following characters, having simple syllabic values, ascertained since this paper was read, may be added to the list:




No. 116. . *va*. H. 52. See note on No. 27; but rather *ava*.

No. 117. . *tha*. H. 52. See note in page 324.

No. 118. . *sha*. H. 52. Interchanged with No. 98 in *Shushan*.†

No. 118, a. *tur, thur*. H. 52. Compare BOTTA, 151. 10, and Ob. 75. I would read *esh.thur*, from , in Ob. 72; the meaning being, "I wrote."

No. 119. . *li*. H. 52. In BOTTA, 5. 12, "upper and lower" is expressed by   <   , *e.li u shap.li*. This determines the initial consonant in the value of the character. The vowel may be inferred from the form *ana.ma.a'h.li*, near the end of the Nimrud Standard inscription, signifying, "abundantly, to the full." This character is the final one in this word in the original, though the small oblique wedge is omitted in the printed copy; and the final vowel of the infinitive is regularly *i*.

No. 120. . *lu*. H. 52. Compare BOTTA, 149. 11, with 84. 6. A comparison of the inscription of Xerxes at Mount Elwand, l. 6, with WEST. D. 3, where the Persepolitan form of this character, , is interchanged with , tends to show that the value was *li*. See notes in p. 328 and p. 342.

No. 120, a. *duk, duq*. R.? Colonel RAWLINSON gives this value to the Persepolitan form of the character which occurs in Beh. 65; but gives the Assyrian form among the unknown characters. This character and No. 107, a, are both used in *a.duk*, "I smote," in B. M. 84. 4 and 17.

No. 121. . *shu*. H. 52. In the word for "mares," *shushu*, Bel. 7.

\* The paper as originally sent concluded with an apology for not adding the characters which had no single syllabic values. These are now added, together with some characters having simple syllabic values which have been since discovered.

† This, and some interchanges subsequently noticed, occur in unpublished inscriptions shown to me by Mr. LAYARD.





*ana shallati*; compare Bel. 10, and BOTTA, 148. 4. In Bel. 7, it is, I believe, *dish*;  $\text{𐎠𐎶 𐎶}$ , *e. dish (ana edi)*, being probably connected with  $\text{𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶}$ , *e. du*.

43. No. 128.  $\text{𐎠𐎶𐎶}$ . *bab*. H. 49. It is the first syllable in Babylon; and ideographically denotes a gate, as Colonel RAWLINSON has pointed out.

No. 129.  $\text{𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ . *bid, bit*. H. 49. Signifying a house,  $\text{בית}$ , it is more properly the latter. No. 17, a, is interchanged with this, being occasionally used for a house. It seems, however, to admit also the values *bad, bat*, and perhaps also *mid, mit*. As for the value of No. 17 as a simple syllable, I am now satisfied that it was *bi*, having found it interchanged with No. 8 in Mr. LAYARD'S unpublished inscriptions; and likewise No. 10, c, which contains it, with  $\text{𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶}$ . The following should, therefore, be substituted for what stands in the former part of this paper:

No. 10, c. *bil*. R.

No. 17. *be*. R. (Except as to the vowel.)

No. 17, a. *bad, bat, bid, bit*. R.

No. 130.  $\text{𐎶}$ . *bar*. F. 41. R. Compare BOTTA, 42. 103, and R. 2. 19.

No. 130, a. *mash*. H. 52. See note on No. 86.

No. 131.  $\text{𐎠𐎶𐎶}$ . *bir*. R. Compare B. M. 44. 25, and Beh. 35.

No. 132.  $\text{𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ . *bira*. H. 52. Compare Bel. 61, and B. M. 42. 43; where  $\text{𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶}$ , *bir'a. a. ti*, and  $\text{𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶}$ , *bi. r'a. a. ti*, are interchanged.

No. 133.  $\text{𐎠𐎶𐎶}$ . F. 177. *bur, pur*. H. 49. Compare v. 15 and 45.

No. 134.  $\text{𐎠𐎶𐎶}$ . *bard, bart*. R. Begins the name of Borsippa, interchangeably with *bar* (No. 130) and *ba. a' r*, before  $\text{𐎠𐎶𐎶}$ , *zi*, properly *dzi* or *ji*. This is consistent with its containing a final dental, but does not require it to do so. I have no doubt, however, that this is its value.


No. 135.  $\text{𐎠𐎶𐎶}$ . F. 133. *barit*. H. 52. It follows the analogy of No. 125' and would be read, according to circumstances, *bartu* or *barti*. With the latter value it is transcribed in v. 8, by  $\text{𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶}$ , *bar. ti*. It takes the determinative of water,  $\text{𐎶}$ , before it; and with this it is used as a special determinative for names of rivers. By itself it signifies "a river."


No. 136.  $\text{𐎠𐎶𐎶}$ . F. 166. *bish, pish*. H. 49. Compare III. 29 and 45.



No. 136, a. *gir, kir, qir*. H. 52. It occurs in several common words, *gir. ri. ya*, "my campaign;" *zi. kir*, "mention;" *qir. bi*, "the middle," &c. The first


of these words is written *g'e.ir.ri.ya*, in an unpublished inscription from one of the Kouyunjik bulls.

44. No. 137. . *gab, qab*. R. Compare WEST. D. 10, and C. 15.

No. 138. . *gab, qab*. H. 52. Colonel RAWLINSON makes this an equivalent of No. 13; but compare BOTTA, 15. 11, and 21. 10, where it is interchanged with the preceding character.

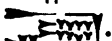


No. 139. . *gav, gam*. H. 52. Compare BOTTA, 145. 7, and 65 bis 1. It begins a word which signifies "camels," which I read *gam.mala*. See BOTTA, 145. 15.

No. 140. . *gim*. H. 52. It occurs in a title of the Sun, *memahir gim.ri*, which occurs in Ob. 8, written with this character, while  replaces it in an inscription in the British Museum, of a somewhat earlier period, in which the same thirteen deities mentioned on the Obelisk are mentioned, though differently arranged. I would translate this title, "the hastener to go round." The character occurs in the first line in the title of Asshur, who is called in both "the great lord, king of the circle (*gim.rat*) of the great gods." The Circle of the Gods is a well-known Egyptian expression; and, like the Assyrian Circle, it consisted of twelve, evidently connected with the twelve months. The Egyptian Circle, however, does not appear to have admitted a king, distinct from the twelve, as it appears from these two inscriptions, that the Assyrian Circle did. See LEPSIUS, *über den ersten Ägyptischen Götterkreis*, in the Transactions of the Prussian Königl. Acad. der Wissenschaften, for 1851.

No. 140, a. *kima*. R. Repeatedly interchanged with *ki.ma*, both in the feminine plural, *kimāti*, "belonging to," and as the particle of similitude "like," Hebrew .

No. 141. . F. 160. *gar*. R. Compare VII. 30 and IX. 52.

No. 142. . F. 78. *gur*. H. 49. Compare IV. 66 and V. 23.

No. 143. . *gushur*. H. 52. It is interchanged with , *gu.shur*; compare B. M. 15. 41, and Ob. 96. It denotes something made of wood, which the Assyrian kings brought from Mount Amana; the determinative No. 37 is prefixed to it. This root signifies in the cognate languages (see GESSENIUS under ) *trabs, pons*. I believe it means "the beams of the roof." I formerly thought that the second character in III. 27 (F. 259), was a form of this; but I now consider it to represent the *erinu*, which are joined to the *gushuru*.

on the Obelisk. The latter were, I believe, beams which lay horizontally. The former were upright poles. They were brought by Nebuchadnezzar from Lebanon, and were in the instance here mentioned gilt. The *zulum* which they supported was an awning.

45. No. 144.  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ ,  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ . *dag, dak, daq.* R. It occurs in *we.daq.qi.qu.* BOTTA, 166. 8.

No. 144, a. *dir, thir.* H. 52. In *weshashthir*, "causing to be written." Bel. 27.

No. 145.  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ . F. 248. *dav, dam.* R. Compare the different forms of *davqâti* in Bel. 3, VII. 1, and I. 15.







No. 146.  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ . *dan.* H. 52. See note in p. 335. Before I had seen the syllabary referred to, I had given the character this value. I inferred from the equivalence of  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$   $\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$  to  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$   $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$  (compare BOTTA, 146. 11 and 16), and from the common forms  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$   $\rightarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$  and  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$   $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ , that the termination of this word must be *n*, the root being of the form  $\rightarrow\rightarrow$ . The only adjective of this form in the Great Inscription at the India House (in which it was unlikely that so common a word should never occur), was *da.a'n.nu*, IX. 19. This view of the value of the character was confirmed by its use in the verb for "he gave," in the Behistun text. I agree with all that Colonel RAWLINSON has said on this subject in his Notes in pages xiii. and xiv. of his Analysis of the Text; save that I dissent from his final inference. He makes the value of the character *da*, while I made it *dan*. The Assyrian syllabary proves that I was right.



No. 146, a. *kal.* R. It has this value in the names *Kal.di* and *Kal.khu*, "Calah,"  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ , the city at Nimrud.

No. 146, b. *lib, rib, lip, rip.* H. 49. It has this value in the name *Lib.na.na*, "Lebanon,"  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ ; also in *o.rib*, "setting" (of the sun), B. M. 33. 5, *et passim*, and in  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$   $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ , *il.lip*, applied in the inscription on the Kouyunjik bulls to those objects; compare  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ .


No. 147.  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ . *dun.* R. Occurs in the common name of *Qar-Duniyash*, Bel. 8. In some of BOTTA's plates, as 3. 21,  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$   $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ , *du.ni*, is substituted for *dun.ya*, before the final *ash*. The latter part of the name has the determinative  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$  prefixed, whence we may safely infer, that *Duniash* was the proper name of a deity, and probably in the genitive case.

No. 147, a. *khar*. H. 52. Occurs in the Pihel participle *we.khar.ru*, "digging," in some unpublished inscriptions, where it is interchanged with *ekh.r'u.u*, "I had dug." The meaning is obvious from the context. This, it may be observed, is the verb of which other derivatives have been given in section 20.





46. No. 148. . *umman*. H. 52. This is a compound ideograph, like  , "a palace," or "great house." It denotes "an army." The first part signifies, "a man, a soldier," and the latter, "many." It is interchanged with   , *um.ma.a'n*, BOTTA, 151. 12; compare Ob. 142 and 149.

No. 149. . *zab, sab*. H. 50. Alone it signifies "a man," or "a soldier;" and appears to correspond to , or at any rate to be from that root. Compare BOTTA, 48. 10, and 6. 10.






No. 149, a. *bir*. H. 52. It is used for No. 131 in *e.te.bir*, "I crossed."

No. 150. . F. 131. *zar, sar*. H. 52. Compare VI. 53, and PORTER, 2. 4.

No. 150, a. *kas*. H. 52. Compare BOTTA, 18. 116, and 152. 11.

No. 151.   . *zir*. H. 52. Compare BOTTA, 146. 5, and 73. 9. When it stands alone this character signifies "seed, race," .

No. 151, a. *kul*. H. 52. The word *tu.kul.ti* is written with this character in BOTTA, 1. 4, and the other pavement inscriptions; elsewhere with *k'u.ul*. Compare also WESTERGAARD, N. R. 11, and Beh. 34, where *kulluah*, "they held," is written in both ways.

47. No. 152.   . *khaz, khas, khas*. R. Compare BOTTA, 71. 2, and 145. 14. The word is *ev.khaz*, "I fought," equivalent to *ev.takh.iz*, which is used in other inscriptions, and is in a different conjugation. I suppose the first radical to be , rather than , because it disappears in the derived noun *takhazu*, "a battle," "fighting."

No. 152, a. *kud, kut, qud*. R. Compare BOTTA, 144. 10, and 159. 2. 5.

No. 152, b. *tar*. H. 49. In *ishtar*, "a goddess," and *tar.ta.nu*, "a general." Compare BOTTA, 138. 3, and 145. 13; in the latter of which the middle character has the last of the three forms that I have given, which Colonel RAWLINSON considers to represent exclusively *kut*.\*

\* No. 152 must, I think, have at least one other value, and that would seem to be a simple

No. 153.  $\rightarrow$ . *khal*. R., to whom I refer for proofs. The value is certain. This character doubled forms the name of a river which I would read *khale*, as a genitive plural expressed ideographically. It is certain, however, from B. M. 44. 25, that the Assyrians denoted the Tigris by this name, and not what the Greeks call the Halys; though, as Colonel RAWLINSON has suggested, these names had probably a common origin.


No. 153, a. *maz, mas?* H. 52. The group  $\rightarrow$  $\rightarrow$  signifies "a fenced city." In the plural it takes  $\rightarrow$  $\rightarrow$  $\rightarrow$ ; compare B. M. 84. 9, and BOTTA, 146. 11. This proves that the value of the character ends with s. I cannot help referring this word to the Hebrew  $\text{מָצָה}$ , though the final consonant of this is different; and I am confirmed in this view by the name of the principal deity at Van, the *Mesasir* of the Khorsabad inscriptions, which would thus be *Mazdis* in place of *Khaldis*. *Ahura-Mazda* is stated by Colonel RAWLINSON, on the authority of an unpublished inscription at Behistun, to be the special god of the Arian nations; and among these the people at Van must be reckoned, as their language fully proves.\*

No. 154.  $\rightarrow$  $\rightarrow$ . *khar*. F. 156. H. 49. The name of the city *Khar-*

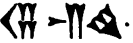
syllable of the *kheth* series. It occurs, or at least a character very like it, on Lord ABERDEEN's stone, 4. 20; where, after mentioning Babylon, the same object is called *shal* $\rightarrow$ *-shu*, which in VIII 47, is called *sha. a'l. kh'e. e* (of Babylon). Neither *khas* nor *khut* could be the value here, as the latter would be followed by *su*, in place of *shu*, and a radical s could not be dropped. It is possible, that what I take for No. 152 may be intended for No. 41, *khū*, which I do not see on the stone; but I do not think this likely. Or this word might be the singular of *shalkhe*, giving *akh*, *ikh*, or even *ukh*, for the value. In connexion with this I may mention, that No. 152 precedes *latu* in a word which from its situation must mean "blasphemy." What can this word be? The construction of the sentence, which is over a bas relief copied by Mr. LAYARD, is very plain: "Against Asshur *yegbú*  $\rightarrow$ *latu rabitu*, they spoke great blasphemy; *lishano-shunu eshlup*, their tongues I pulled out." I can scarcely think that any of the recognised values of the present character will suit it in this place; yet any single syllable containing *kh* would be equally unsatisfactory. I must leave this as a problem for others.


\* I have repeatedly stated my conviction, that the language of the Van inscriptions is Indo-European. The declension of this one noun fully proves it. Besides being the special name of the chief god, it signifies a god generally. We have in the inscriptions—Nom. Sing. *Maz. di. sho*; Acc. *Maz. di. no*; Abl. *Maz. di. do*; Nom. Pl. *Mazdia. sho*; Gen. *Maz. di. no. no*; Acc. *Maz. di. a*; Abl. *Mazdia. a'sh. to*. *Mazdia* in the Nom. and Abl. is expressed ideographically by  $\rightarrow$  $\rightarrow$ ; the other cases are written purely phonetically.


*khār* is written with this character and with *kha.ar*; compare BOTTA, 16. 17, and 6. 14. This city must have lain somewhere near Holwan; it commanded the entrance to Media and to *Yellapi*, which I take to be the modern Luristan. It adjoined Susiana; because when Dalta, the king of Yellapi, died in the eleventh year of Sargon, and his two sons contended for the crown, the kings of Assyria and Susiana supported them. The great victory which Sargon gained on this occasion led to the conquest of Babylon in the following year. Colonel RAWLINSON must have overlooked this part of the Khorsabad annals, when he imagined that Kharkhar was Van, and Yellapi Azerbijan. In the Van inscriptions, *kharkhar* is not a proper name, but the theme of a common noun, meaning "a chief city," or, perhaps, "a citadel."


No. 155. . F. (26 + 103.) *khir*. R. Compare B. M. 42. 39, with Mr. LAYARD's Variant. The word is *si.khir.ti*, from  $\text{𓆎𓆏}$ , "a circuit."


No. 155, a. *shar*. H. 50. Compare VI. 3, and VII. 52.

No. 156. . F. (190 + 52.) *khuras*. H. 52. Compare II. 47, and III. 9; and see IX. 12. It is a compound ideograph, and means "gold."


48. No. 157. . F. 190. *ille*. H. 52. Compare BOTTA, 17. 132, and 16. 136; with the plural sign it is equivalent to *illuti*; compare BOTTA, 17. 129, and 16. 133. It is an adjective, meaning "rich, valuable."

No. 158. . F. 282. *kib, kip, qib, qip*. R. Compare X. 9, and G. 3.51; also in the participle *we.za.qip*, after *az zi.qi.pe*, "I suspended on stakes," "I impaled," from  $\text{𓆎𓆏}$ .

No. 159. . *kabit*. H. 52. Equivalent to  $\text{𓆎𓆏} \text{𓆎𓆏}$ , in the common phrase *shal.la.su kabit.ta esh.lu.la*, "his spoil, being immense, I carried away."

No. 160. . *kale*. H. 52. Compare B. M. 28. 28, and 42. It means "all," taking one of the plural affixes after it, *shu.nu*, m., or *shi.na*, f., "all of them."



No. 160, a. *ebu, epu, ep, eb*. R. Compare BOTTA, 164. 17. and 167. 22. Here a final *u* is required; in Ob. 145, however, it is inadmissible.


No. 161. . F. 157. *kam*. R. It commences the name of Cambyses. This might not be conclusive, as this name is written with *n* in Egyptian, in place of *m*, the Persian having neither letter; while the interchange of this character with the following, as a formative of the ordinal numbers, might


be considered evidence of identity of value. I think, however, that the *sh'u.ur.kam* of R. 2. 22, compared with the *sh'u.ur.kam.ma* of I. 72, proves that the value terminates in *m*.

No. 162. . F. 200. *kan*. R. Compare BOTTA, 15. 29, and 2. 17.


Like No. 162, when added to numerals it forms ordinals.

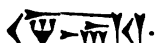
No. 163. . *kun*. H. 49. Compare B. M. 13. 5, and Ob. 43. It occurs repeatedly in the verb *esh.kun*, "I made," in the Benoni *sha.kin*, which is conjugated as a regular trilateral verb, though originally a causative of , "to be." So *facio* is connected with *fuo*.


No. 164. . F. (190 + 105.) *kaspa*. H. 49. Compare III. 58, and P. 1. 14, "silver."



No. 165. . *kas*. R. This value is given in the Assyrian syllabary. Compare also BOTTA, 6. 29, and 16. 36.

No. 165, a. *rash*. R. Compare Behistun detached inscriptions, Nos. 1 and 7. This terminates the name of Cyrus in the former.

No. 166. . F. 245. *kar*. H. 52. Compare IV. 68, and V. 2, *ka.d.ri* in the latter place is manifestly the plural written phonetically, which in the former is expressed by duplication of the character for "great."

No. 167. . *kir*. H. 52. Compare B. M. Stand. 45, with Mr. LAYARD'S Variants. This character admits a great variety of form.

49. No. 168. . *lab, laba*. H. 52. Compare BOTTA, 16. 7, and 17. 7. The name of the city seems to be *Kul.laba*.

No. 168, a. *qabal*. H. 52. It is transcribed by *qa.bal*, when in regimen; compare BOTTA, 2. 4, and 8. 9; and by *qab.li* after another noun; compare BOTTA, 145. 13, and 71. 1. It sometimes signifies opposition, as  in Hebrew, "Offering battle," is expressed by *ana obish qabli u takhazi*, of which the literal meaning seems to be, "making opposition and fighting." More generally, however, it signifies "the middle," as , "a heart," does in Hebrew. "*Sha qabal* of the western sea," in BOTTA, 1. 7, does not mean "on the coast of it," but "in the middle of it." The place intended is not Rhinocolura, or any country bordering on Egypt, but the isles of Greece, or at any rate Cyprus. That this is the true meaning is evident from a passage in the Nimrud annals. The king





rud inscriptions, as B. M. 84. 18, in *es. lula*, used for the more usual *esh. lu. la*, as *es. r'u. up* for *esh. ru. up*. It occurs also in *kha. lil*, and *we. khal. lil* from 𐎠𐎠𐎠, and in *kulil*, "entire."

No. 173, a. *sib, sip*. H. 52. It is interchanged with No. 188, which see. It has perhaps other values; and is liable to be confounded with No. 224, F. 201.

No. 174. 𐎠𐎠𐎠. *lim*. H. 52. The participle in B. M. 39. 24, is certainly *we. shal. lim. ma*; compare l. 29, where the same word occurs written with 𐎠𐎠 (No. 101, b), as it should have been printed. Inscriptions yet unpublished leave no doubt as to this value.

No. 174, a. *kish, kush?* H. 52. See note on No. 103. The final consonant is certain. I infer the remainder from the verb 𐎠𐎠, or 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠, which occurs in both forms, precisely as *a. qur* and *aq. qur*; and which consequently determines the first consonant to be *g, k, or q*; and from the noun *k'i. ish. sh'a. at*, l. 64, which may naturally be taken for the 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 of the Assyrian inscriptions, as Ob. 15, occurring in a similar context. The verb *ak. kush* has, however, no affinities with which I am acquainted. It seems to mean, "I constructed, prepared, or procured."

No. 175. 𐎠𐎠𐎠. *leshan*. R. "A tongue or language." Compare BOTTA, 38. 60, and 42. 79.

50. No. 176. 𐎠𐎠𐎠. *mada, &c.?* "many." H. 52. The ideographic meaning is certain; and this is expressed by the derivatives of *mad* in the Achæmenian inscriptions.

No. 177. 𐎠𐎠𐎠. F. 247. *makh*. R. Compare VI. 24, and III. 4.

No. 177, a. *sir, siru*. H. 52. Compare B. M. 12. 2. 10, and Ob. 17.

No. 178. 𐎠𐎠𐎠. *mal, mala*. H. 49. Compare BOTTA, 9. 18 and 12. 60, 16. 22 and 40. 20.

No. 179. 𐎠𐎠. *man*. H. 49. Compare BOTTA, 146. 3 and 73. 9.

No. 179, a. *nish*. H. 49. Compare WEST. G. 4, with Variants; also *me. shak. nish*, "the causer to submit, the conqueror," B. M. Stand. 8, with Variants; 𐎠𐎠 = 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠.

No. 179, b. *shar, sharru, sharra*. H. 50. It represents the word "king," both in the theme and in the inflexions. No. 155, a, expresses the value *shar* as a syllable. The phonetic equivalence of this syllable with the theme of the noun signifying "king" was long since known from the Achæmenian in-

scriptions. It was read *sar* by M. DE LÖWENSTERN, but without proof. In 1850 I published its value as *shar* in the Shaphel participle *we.shar.sh'i id.*

No. 180.  $\text{𐎶𐎵}$ . *mar, war.* R. In *mar.ra.tu*, which I derive from 𐎶𐎶𐎵, "bitter." This is one of the values in the Assyrian syllabary.

No. 181.  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎵}$ . F. 280. *mir, wir.* R. Compare I. 37 and 68; BOTTA, 16. 31, and 12. 21. This occurs in the common word *gi.mir*, or *gi.wir*, the theme, of which *giv.ri* is the genitive; see No. 140. I believe that this word in every instance signifies "circuit, compass, entireness," and that it has no relation but an accidental one to the *gi.mir.ri*,  $\kappa\iota\mu\acute{\mu}\epsilon\rho\iota\alpha$ , by which the Persian *Saka* is rendered in the Achæmenian inscriptions. *Ana gimri-shu*, after the name of a country, is not, "with its nomades," but, "throughout its circuit," that is, "the whole of it." The title of Sargon in BOTTA, 19. 28, *kamish Samirina u gimir Bit-Khumria*, is "the conqueror of Samaria and of the circuit of Beth-Omri;" and it means the same as that in 32. 19, *sapin Samirina kala Bit-Khumria*, "the sweeper away\* of Samaria (and of) the whole of Beth-Omri."

No. 182.  $\langle\text{𐎶𐎶𐎵}\rangle$ . *mars.* H. 52. It is interchanged in some very ancient unpublished inscriptions with, *mar.se*, and, when followed by the plural sign, with *mar.su.ti*. This is a common adjective, and appears to signify "detached, isolated."

51. No. 183.  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$ . *nab, nap.* H. 52. This is evidently the value in B. M. 22. 32, 35; the last words in which are *nap.shat.su* and *yen.nab.t'u.û*, connected with the *na.pish.ti.shu* and *yen.na.bit* of other inscriptions, containing similar passages. The value is quite certain, though I cannot give full proof.

No. 183, a.  $\text{𐎶?}$  H. 52. It seems to have this value in  $\text{𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶}$ , *d.khar*, "other, different, various," Heb. 𐤍𐤍𐤍. In PORTER, 2. 1, it seems to represent No. 2. Compare VI. 44.

No. 184.  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$ . F. (29 + 170.) *nav, nam.* H. 52. Compare III. 61 with PORTER, 1. 15.

No. 185.  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$ . F. 66. *nin, nina.* H. 52. Compare I. 19 with R. 1. 6. This is completely distinct both from No. 83, F. 205, and from No. 145, F. 248.

\* The Arabic root  $\text{مغس}$  is interpreted "flando abstersit (ventus pulverem) de facie terra."

No. 186.  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎵}$ . *nina, ninu*. R. Compare BOTTA, 41. 53, and 45. 43. This is only used in the name of the city Nineveh, and it is then generally followed by the determinative  $\text{𐎶}$ .

No. 187.  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎵}$ . *nir*. H. 52. "Authority, government;" used also, as the latter English word, for a district of country; a common word, for which *n'e.ir* and *ne.ri* are used.

52. No. 188.  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎵}$ . F. 164. *sib*. H. 52. This is of very common use in all the Assyrio-Babylonian inscriptions, including the Achæmenian. From its taking *bi*, *bu*, and *ba* after it in its inflexions, it is evident that it terminates in *b*, and is to be referred to a root ending in  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$ . It has the two meanings, "place," or rather "circuit," and "cause;"\* and as  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎵}$  has these meanings, I cannot doubt that it is the root required. See GESENIUS, p. 934.

No. 189.  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎵}$ . *sukh*. H. 52. See B. M. 12. 19.

No. 190.  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎵}$ . *sun*. H. 52. Compare BOTTA, 36. 9, and 40. 12.

No. 190, a. *kul*. H. 52. Interchanged with No. 151, a; compare B. M. 12. 2. 13, and 70. 12. The same word occurs 76. 4; it is *kullat*, "the whole."

No. 191.  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎵}$ ,  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎵}$ . F. 244. *eli*. H. 49. Colonel RAWLINSON has remarked that a  $\text{𐎶}$  is often added to this character without altering its power; but I think that this is an expletive word, like *kirib* and others, and no part of the character. This *eli* corresponds to the Hebrew  $\text{על}$ , signifying "upon, over, in addition to."

No. 192.  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎵}$ . F. 141. *eri*. H. 52. Compare VIII. 8, and IX. 15.

53. No. 193.  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎵}$ . F. 33. *pal, bal*. H. 52. Compare BOTTA, 43. 101, and 51. 90. The plural "years" is expressed by *pa.le* in this last place, as it is, adding a final  $\text{𐎶𐎶}$ , in VII. 10, and R. 2. 20. In the name of *Tabal* it is occasionally used; but it never denotes *bul*, as I valued it in my former paper.


No. 194.  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎵}$ . *pul*. H. 52. Compare B. M. 51. 1. 10, and Bel. 30. This is perfectly distinct from the preceding.


No. 195.  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎵}$ . *pul, bul*. R. Interchanged with the preceding. Compare B. M. 45. 32, and 50. 2, 3; also 51. 1. 10, and Bel. 24.

No. 196.  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎵}$ . F. 231. *sur*. H. 49. In the names of Tyre and of Egypt.






\* See Colonel RAWLINSON'S Analysis, p. vi. The word seems to be written at length,  $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎵}$ , in VI. 18.

No. 197. . *gar*. H. 52. Interchanged with No. 99, a, in Qar Dnyash. See BOTTA, 1. 23.


No. 198. . *gat, qati*. H. 52. See No. 102, a; and compare BOTTA, 94. 3, and 146. 7.


54. No. 199. . F. 39. *rab*. H. 49. "Great."

No. 200. . *rab, rap*. R. Compare BOTTA, 9. 14, and 65 bis, 5.





No. 201. . F. 74. *rub, rup*. H. 52.   and   are used in two copies of an unpublished inscription; this word occurs I. 61, and Ob. 15.


No. 202. . F. 75. *rad, rat*. R. In *Pu.rat.te*, "the Euphrates."

No. 203. . *rav, ram, rama*. H. 52. Compare B. M. 40. 2, with Mr. LAYARD'S Variants. In BOTTA, 145. 22, it must be read without the final *a*; and it never denotes the entire word *ramani*.



No. 204. . *rim*. H. 52. This value, given in the Syllabary, had been previously recognised by me. I recollect that the evidence for it was conclusive, but I cannot now refer to it.




No. 204, a. *kil, gil, kir*. H. 52. The verb in Ob. 145, where this character occurs, must be read *yet.ta.kil.ma*; it is evidently from the same root as *yet.tak.lu.ma*, Ob. 62, mentioned under No. 125, a. This value occurs also in *ta.kil.tu*, "blue," BOTTA, 67, 12; where it is joined with *ar.ga.ma.nu*, "purple," as in Hebrew. The character begins a name which I take for the Biblical "Gozan," and which I read *Gil.za.ni*, B. M. 13. 7. The easiness of the transition from *l* to *u* is universally admitted. The Syllabary makes it *kir*. I have met no instance of its being to be read thus; but *lib* is often used for *rib*.

No. 205. , , , . F. 241. *rin*. R. It is used for the termination of the name of Samaria, BOTTA, 122. 16, in place of the *ri.na* of 145. 11.

No. 205, a. *rish*. H. 52. "A head, source, or beginning," as in the cognate languages. It has this value also in *sutrish*, "a eunuch," from , a word of very common occurrence; and in *warish*, "an heir," BOTTA, 146. 13, the dative of which, *warshi*, occurs two lines below.

No. 205, b. *shak, shaq*. R. Compare B. M. Stand. 8, with Mr. LAYARD'S Variants.

55. No. 206. , . F. 255. *shab, shap* (*shib, ship*, R.) H. 52. Compare Variants of B. M. 39. 21; also BOTTA, 39. 94, with 43. 113; and 5. 12, with II. 16. The value *ship*, given by Colonel RAWLINSON, is justified by comparing BOTTA, 51. 102, and 43. 113; and it occurs in the name of Borsippa, as sometimes written *Bard. ship*;\* but I consider the proper vowel to be *a*. A similar license occurs with respect to the following character and several others.


No. 207. , , . *shag, shak, shaq, shiq*. H. 52. Compare B. M. Stand. 23, and Variants. It is interchanged with *sha. a'k*. The last form is used in the Khorsabad inscriptions, and represents *sh'i.iq*; compare BOTTA, 16. 6, and 167. 6. This led me to think that it was a different character; but I am now satisfied, that it is a calligraphic variant of the older form. It is used in BOTTA, 67. 12, before the words for "purple" and "blue," given under No. 204, a; and, whether it be a determinative or not, I cannot doubt that it denotes "cloth," *pš*.

Probably the character was designed to represent in a rude way the ancient loom. I have no doubt that the cuneatic characters all originally represented objects, or groups of objects; though it may probably not be possible to show what they represented in more than a few instances. In my former paper I mentioned "the house," *bit*, "the wall of the city," *ir*, and "the star," *il*, as figurative characters. The first, No. 129, represents invariably what it signifies, as does the preceding character *bab*, "a gate;" as Colonel RAWLINSON pointed out. Other instances of such figurative characters are *rish*, "a head," No. 205,† and *kap*, "a hand," No. 232. In the last two instances of my former paper the characters signify not what they represent, but something figuratively connected with it. The *wall* signifies a city, the *star* signifies a god. Another such instance is that now before us. The number of compound characters is very considerable; and these are, generally speaking, ideographic compounds. Thus, the word which signified "a star," originally *shu*, but perhaps different


\* In Colonel RAWLINSON'S Commentary he reads the name in this form, *Bart. sel. ah*. In my former paper, p. 67, I read it *Barra. sip. va*. The final character, which I read *va*, and Colonel RAWLINSON *ah*, is a non-phonetic determinative.


† The first form, which is the oldest, represents the head and neck in a recumbent posture; the two horizontal lines, representing the neck, are often made to diverge to the right.


afterwards, is represented by a combination of two characters, the *star* itself (which if it stood alone would denote "a god"), and something which was pronounced *nab*, and which was probably intended for "the firmament."

No. 208. . *shug, shuk, shuq*. H. 52. Compare BOTTA, 164. 22, and 165. 17; the former has *me.shuk*, the latter *mesh.uk*. See No. 21.


No. 209. . *shud, shut*. R. Compare BOTTA, 125. 4, and 147. 4.

No. 210. . *shal*. H. 52. In *shal.lat*, "a spoil," used also for "wives, women," the character itself denoting "a woman," and being as such used for the determinative of females; also in *shal.shi*, "three,"\* and several other words.

No. 211. . *shin, shun*. R. It is the affix "their" of both genders. Compare BOTTA, 165. 17, and 164. 23; 27. 51, and 42. 86.


No. 212. . *shar, sharru*. H. 50. Used only for "king," and its inflexions. See No. 179. 6.





No. 213. . F. 214. *shar, sharru*. H. 50. Used as the preceding.

No. 214. . *shir*. H. 52. Compare Ob. 166. and 188; in the former place we have *we.mash.shir* in the singular; in the latter, *we.mash.shi.ru* in the plural.





No. 215. . *shur*. H. 49. Compare BOTTA, 41. 44, and 45. 35.

56. No. 216. . *tab, tap*. R. Compare VI. 20, and III. 63.

No. 217. . *tag, tak, taq*. R.

No. 218. . *tig, tik, tiq*. H. 49. In *tik.un*, "a talent, standard," from ; also in *we.bat.tiq*, "cutting off." B.M. 84. 14. The preceding word is incorrectly printed, the last character but two in it should be , an old form of No. 79. I read *kappe-shunu webattiq*, "their hands I cut off."  has this meaning precisely.

This character when it stands alone is used for some part of the human body. In B. M. Stand. 9, we have *mekabbis tik aybi-shu*, "the trampler on the

\* The only other of the lesser numerals known to me is    , or *ba. a'h*, "four," which occurs Bel. 39, and on the Khorsabad Bulla. *Shanu* also is used for "second;" and I have already observed, that *mi* represents "a hundred." This will suffice to show that the Assyrian numerals are Semitic, which, considering the strange prepositions that are in use, could not have been with propriety assumed as a matter of course.

— of his enemies;” and the same word is used before the name of a river, and must signify its side or bank. Whether it means “side” or not, and how it is to be read, I am not prepared to say. I think, however, I have ascertained that the words referred to in section 21, as following this, do not mean “the sea,” as I supposed on Colonel RAWLINSON’S authority, but, the “bitter, or salt, rivers;” portions of the Euphrates and Tigris where the tide flows. In support of this view, I refer to B. M. 13. 9, 10, which may perhaps mean, “the sea of Chaldea, where the bitter rivers (*here* those of the Delta) are united,” *yegapu* being from the root 𐎶𐎢𐎱; and the following *shini* corresponding to 𐎶𐎶, “there.” At any rate, the sea seems in this place distinguished from the bitter rivers. I am quite aware that *marrati* alone, without *barti*, is used for “the sea,” both in Ob. 84, and in Beh. 5; but I do not consider this inconsistent with the view that I have just announced.

No. 219. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶. F. 16. *takh*. R. Compare VI. 37, and VIII. 16.

No. 220. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶. *takhaz*. R. “Battle.” Compare BOTTA, 138. 3, and 71. 2.

No. 221. 𐎶𐎶. *til*. H. 52. “A heap.” In the name of Thelassar, *Tū.ash.shuri*, B. M. 68. 12; and in B. M. 13. 11, where we have *kima til abubi espun*, “like a heap of corn I swept away.” See note in p. 354.

No. 222. 𐎶𐎶𐎶. F. 26 + 135. *tar*. H. 52.

Colonel RAWLINSON valued this character as *thra*, and it is certain that it replaces *it.ra* in the name *Shi.it.ra.a'n.takh.ma*; compare Beh. 62, and the sixth detached inscription. But as no other character is known with a value consisting of two consonants followed by a vowel, I should, on the authority of this passage alone, read it *tar*. *Shi.tar.an* is in fact scarcely distinguishable in pronunciation from *Shitran*, which is what the full form gives. This value is confirmed by the form of the participle *we.shat.tar*. B. M. 42. 42; *a* is generally used for *i* before *r*; but *tra* would be contrary to all analogy as a termination; nor could it with propriety follow a *t*. This character preceded by *di* (No. 24) is used for “Babylon;” but I believe it was the name of a different city, the capital of Nabopolassar, to which Babylon succeeded. Babylon seems to have been all but destroyed by Sennacherib, and to have been completely rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar. The name *Ditar*, which is an element in some proper names, may very well have belonged to this city.



No. 223.  $\llcorner\llcorner\llcorner$ . F. 26 + 76. *tar*. H. 52. It is interchanged with the preceding. B. M. 42. 42. This character, preceded by  $\llcorner$ , signifies "a forest," III. 23, and B. M. 38. 10. I am not sure how this is to be read. It may be a compound ideograph; or  $\llcorner$  may be a determinative, as it very often is.

No. 224.  $\llcorner\llcorner$ . F. 201. *tur, thur*. R. "A child, small." Compare Beh. 5, 7. The value *thur* occurs in *el.thur*, B. M. 16. 48; which is for *esthur*, "I wrote" ( $\llcorner\llcorner$ ), by a *euphonic* change which is very common.

57. I add some additional characters which I inadvertently omitted in the alphabetical series, or of which I observed the values after it was drawn up.

No. 225.  $\llcorner\llcorner$ . F. 184. *ig, ik, iq, yeg, yek, yeq*. H. 52. This is interchanged with No. 19. It occurs in *yek.nu.shu*, "they submitted," Beh. 43, and *yep.pal.ig*, Niphal from  $\llcorner\llcorner$ , Ob. 74. It decidedly differs from No. 21. Another common word which it terminates I read *we.sham.ik*, supposing the root to be  $\llcorner\llcorner$ . I believe the meaning of the expression in which it occurs to be "I oppressed them as servants," "I put them to hard labour." It was severer treatment than transporting them to another country.

This had also an ideographic value, which I do not know. In the following cases it has, perhaps, an augmentative import. *Bil* was called  $\llcorner\llcorner$   $\llcorner\llcorner$   $\llcorner\llcorner$ , "— lord," and a goddess who is joined with him was called  $\llcorner\llcorner$   $\llcorner\llcorner$   $\llcorner\llcorner$ , "—". The name of this goddess was, I believe, "Gula."

No. 226.  $\llcorner\llcorner$ . *arrab, arrap*. H. 52. In the names of cities, *Arrab.ù*, *Arbela*, and *Arrap-kha*, written *Ar.rap.kha* in Bel. 27.

No. 227.  $\llcorner\llcorner$ . *Ashur*. H. 49. The name of Assyria and its chief god.

No. 228.  $\llcorner\llcorner$   $\llcorner\llcorner$ . F. 263. *bal, pal*. H. 52. A compound ideograph; "child, male," that is, "son." Interchanged with No. 1, a, in the names of *Marduk-baladan* and *Nabopolassar*.

No. 229.  $\llcorner\llcorner$ . *gar*. H. 52. Compare B. M. 15. 40, with the fifth epigraph on the *Nimrud* Obelisk, B. M. 98.

No. 230.  $\llcorner\llcorner$ . *din*. H. 52. Compare BOTTA, 145. 18, and 81. 3.

No. 231.  $\llcorner\llcorner$ . *zig, zik, ziq*. H. 52. See Note, p. 339.

No. 232.  $\llcorner\llcorner$ . *kab, kap*. H. 52. In *mekabbis*, "trampling on," *Kappe*, "hands" (see No. 218), and in *er.kab*, "I (in ships) embarked," from  $\llcorner\llcorner$ . B. M. 14. 19.

No. 233.  $\leftarrow \nabla$ . *kul*. H. 52. Used for "all," B. M. Stand. 43; and in *kul.lu*. *lat*, Ob. 13. This character has another value in *we.x.t'a.d*, B. M. 39. 25, which seems to signify "cutting," or "carving;" and in *x.ti*, "a canal or aqueduct." B. M. 42. 43.

No. 234.  $\nabla$ . *kul*. H. 52. Interchanged with No. 190, a. Compare Ob. 31 and 50.

No. 234, a. *lit, liti*. H. 52. BOTTA, 148. 5.

No. 235.  $\nabla \nabla$ . *sik, zik*. H. 52. For the former, which seems its proper value, compare BOTTA, 46. 59, with III. 40. In BOTTA, 47. 85, it is used in *zik.ri*, "a name,"  $\nabla \nabla$ .

No. 236.  $\nabla \nabla \nabla$ . *shiv, shim*. H. 52. The participle, B. M. 60. 28, in which it is preceded by *we.ba.a'sh*, proves that it begins with *shi*; while the last word on BELLINO's cylinder fixes the final consonant as *m* or *v*. The word which occurs so frequently, when the furniture of the king's palace is spoken of, must thus be read *shim.le*, that is, "raiment."

58. The following are some additional values of characters already given:

No. 12, a.  $\nabla \nabla$ . *ar*. H. 52. In *argaman*, B. M. 69. 1. 7; a rare but most certain value.

No. 31, b.  $\nabla \nabla \nabla$ . *tab, tap*. H. 52, = No. 216. Compare BOTTA, 146. 18, and 43. 74.

No. 31, c. *mu*. H. 52. In *kimuti*; compare BOTTA, 47. 67, and 61. 91.

No. 31, d. *mish*. H. 52. In *shimish*, B. M. Stand. 3. See No. 53, b (p. 363).

No. 37, b.  $\nabla \nabla$ . *shiv, shim*. H. 52, = No. 235. Compare BOTTA, 147. 14, and 146. 18.

No. 56, a.  $\nabla \nabla$ . *dib, thib*. H. 52. This value is given in the syllabary; and it occurs in the word *thib.bul.ti*, "dyed stuff" (from  $\nabla \nabla$ ), B. M. 43. 12. The word which follows, *bir-mi*, is deserving of attention. It appears to be an Indo-European equivalent of the Hebrew  $\nabla \nabla$ . I suspect that  $\nabla \nabla$ , when it stands alone, often signifies "well," and is to be read *thib*.

No. 70, c.  $\nabla \nabla$ . *kin*. H. 52. The participle *shakin* is written in some unpublished inscriptions with this character in place of No. 86.

No. 103, a.  $\nabla$ . *kish*. H. 52. See note on No. 103, and what is said on No. 174, a. This is the addition made to numerals to form adverbs of order.

No. 201, a. >𐎎. *zi*. H. 52. Compare B. M. Stand. 51, and Variants. The word is *we.sho.zi, zi* (for *iz*), "I fix," for 𐎎.

59. The following groups, beginning with the character for "God," have different values from what they would have if that character were wanting.

No. 237. >𐎎𐎎. *Asshur*. H. 52. Interchanged with No. 227.

No. 238. >𐎎 <. *Bil*. H. 52. Compare BOTTA, 51. 85, and 43. 96. This is the name which Colonel RAWLINSON reads Derceto.

No. 239. >𐎎 >𐎎. *Gula?* H. 52. Used for the last combination of characters mentioned under No. 225.

No. 240. >𐎎 >𐎎. *Khum*. R. Compare BOTTA, 151. 3, and 65. 5.

No. 241. >𐎎 <𐎎, >𐎎 <. *Ishtar*. H. 52. Compare BOTTA, 57. 102, and 51. 89.

No. 242. >𐎎 <𐎎. F. 129. *Ishtar*. H. 52. "A goddess," l. 50; as a proper name, in an unpublished inscription in British Museum.

No. 243. >𐎎 𐎎. *Marduk*. R.

No. 244. >𐎎 𐎎. *Marduk*. R.

No. 245. >𐎎 <𐎎. *Marduk*. R.

No. 246. >𐎎 >𐎎, >𐎎 >𐎎. *Nabu*. H. 49.

No. 247. >𐎎 𐎎. *Nabu*. R.

No. 248. >𐎎 <<<. *San*. H. 49.

No. 249. >𐎎 >𐎎. *Shamash*. H. 52.




60. The following characters are more of the nature of ideographs than any which I have yet mentioned :

No. 250. 𐎎. *u, e, in, uti, ati, &c.* H. 49. The plural termination, whatever it may be.

No. 251. 𐎎. *eshrup, eshru, shirip, &c.* H. 52. It expresses the idea "burning;" as in *batele-shunu, batelate-shunu ana 𐎎 te 𐎎*, i. e. *ana shiripte eshrup*, "their young men and their young women with burning I burned. This occurs in the annals of the builder of the N. W. palace at Nimrûd; in other inscriptions 𐎎, *up* is added to form the verb "I burned."

No. 252. 𐎎. *egre*. H. 52. B. M. 42. 49, "I invoke," from 𐎎; another copy shown me by Mr. LAYARD has >𐎎 >𐎎. Compare also BOTTA,

43. 110. It was probably used for other forms of the verb; and, when preceded by the character for "stone" (No. 125), it signifies "a seal," that is, it would seem, "a speaking stone."

No. 53, b. . *shimish, ish, shi, &c.* H. 52. It expresses the idea "servant, or serving," alone, or more frequently with the complement  $\supset\text{V}$ , *shim* (No. 37, b, see p. 361) prefixed to it. Compare the Variants in B. M. Stand. 3, 5, where *shimish* is expressed by  alone, by  $\supset\text{V}$  , and by  $\langle\text{V}\rangle$   $\rightarrow\text{V}\text{V}$ , *shi.mish*.

61. There are several other characters of which the values are partially known to me. I have ascertained, for instance, that the value is of the form *Cil* or *shaC*, the first or last consonant, here expressed by *C*, being alone doubtful. I have reserved these values, and also about twenty, which are given in the Syllabary, but which I have not recognised in any inscription.

It may be deemed satisfactory that I should compare the results at which I have arrived with those announced by Colonel RAWLINSON in his Memoir.

To the above 252 characters I have given 344 phonetic values; as to 177 of which I agree with Colonel RAWLINSON; I differ from him as to 49; but in many instances the difference only consists in my giving to the terminating vowel the value *e* or *o*, which he ignores, and for which he substitutes either *i* or *u*. The remaining 118 values are new, being omitted by him altogether.

Of the 177 values which we have in common, 100 were first published by me in my former paper, and in the lithograph which I circulated at the Meeting of the British Association in 1850. For the remaining 77 I have acknowledged my obligations to him.\*

24th November, 1852.†

\* I have inadvertently marked No. 25, a, with H. 52, instead of with R.; but I have included it in the number here given; I have also given him credit for No. 206, and some others to which his claims are equally doubtful.

† This is the date of the completion of this Postscript. The commencement was put to Press in the middle of October.

## APPENDIX.

(Referred to in Foot-note at the end of Section 1.)

I have thought it best to make no change in the text of the earlier sections of this paper; leaving them as they were written nearly a year ago. I will here, however, add an important chronological rectification, arising from a discovery which I recently made. In the Khorsabad inscription, BOTTA, 65. 2, I found what I had long sought in vain,—the date of the conquest of Babylon. The war is said to have commenced in the twelfth year of Sargon. It is also stated here, as well as in 151. 13, and other texts, that *Marduk-bal-adan*, king of Chaldea, was subdued after he had held Babylon for twelve years.\* This is just the reign given in the Canon to the king called *Μαρδοκεμπίδος*; and I cannot hesitate to adopt the opinion, that this name is a corruption of *Merodach Baladan*. Chevalier BUNSEN has suggested that the *μπ* represents the Babylonian *b*, as it does in modern Greek; the value of *β* being *v*. This, and the similitude of *δ* to *λ*, will account for the change. The final element in the royal name was dropped, as it perhaps was in popular language. This leads to the opinion, that *Αρκιανός*, who is given in the Canon as the successor of the preceding king, was no other than Sargon; and that *Ιουγαίος*, who is given as his predecessor, was *Yagin*, or *Yakin*, the father of *Marduk bal adan*. All the names in the Canon appear to be more or less corrupted. The dropping of the initial letter in the king's name may perhaps be accounted for by his being the sixth king in the Canon; the initial letter having been mistaken for the numeral character for *six*, which is sometimes made so as to resemble a sigma.†

\* [The account of this war is given at considerable length. I give the following summary from the Bulls. The king calls himself *Shakin tabde Marduk-bal-adana, shar Kaldi; aybu shinu, sha, ki la sibbi* (the gods), *sharrut* (Babylon) *ebushuwa takshudu rabitu qatnu*. BOTTA, 44. 32–34. “The effector of the destruction of Marduk-bal-adan, king of Chaldea; that enemy, whose hands, though the gods did not sanction it” (compare 1 Kings, xii. 15), “of the kingdom of Babylon had made a great acquisition.”—November, 1852.]

† [It is more probable that *Αρκιανός* represents *Har-kena*, which would be the Chaldaic form of *Shar-gena*. The Chaldeans used *k* for the sharp sound of *s*, which is initial in this name; see on

The idea of the king of Assyria being only lord paramount of Babylon, and not its immediate king, must, I find, be abandoned. Colonel RAWLINSON has pointed out, that what I supposed to mean "lord paramount of" is in fact a conjunction, "and also."\* Sargon and the other kings of Assyria called themselves "king of Assyria and also of Babylon;" and it would appear from the Canon, that they did this when they were not *de facto* sovereigns of Babylon. Why, then, it may naturally be asked, did Sargon deviate from this custom, which appears to have prevailed before as well as after his time? How came it that for twelve years he called himself king of Assyria *only*, or at least without the addition of Babylon? And why, after his twelfth year, did he turn upside-down the pavement slabs of his palace, in which he had omitted this title, and had dedicated his palace to a series of gods from which the Babylonian Nebo was excluded;—evidently, as it appears to me, with a view to bury in oblivion what he had written on these reversed slabs;—and then inscribe on the other side of the slabs the new title, "king of Assyria and also of Babylon," and the new dedication to a series of gods among whom the Babylonian Nebo holds a conspicuous place? It seems evident to me, that a powerful reason for this must have existed; and I think I have obtained a clue to the whole proceeding.

The facts as obtained from the sculptures are these :

1. When *Sargon* conquered *Marduk-baladan*, each of them had reigned twelve years.

2. *Marduk-baladan* is called the son of *Yagin*, the last element in whose name is the same as the last element in that of *Shargin*, as the name may be better transcribed.

No. 75; and the character which is transcribed by *gena* in the name of Sargon is transcribed by *kema* in the name of the Chaldean king *Yakin*. I have no doubt that אָרַךְ and אָרַךְ are etymologically connected; double *r* being apt to pass into *rk*. The title "king of kings" is in fact represented in B. M. 12. 2. 8, by *Shar. khu sha. a'r. khe* for *sharru sharre*. This is literally "the kings of kings," in the plural of excellence.—November, 1852.]

\* [Colonel RAWLINSON led me into error by the confidence with which he asserted that this word was a conjunction. It is most certainly a noun, and denotes, I believe, "High Priest." The latter of the two characters of which it consists is repeatedly used on the cylinders between the names of the person who worships and that of the deity. The former, I believe, is ideographic, and signifies what is great in its kind.—November, 1852.]

3. This Yagin had for his capital city *Qarduniash*, called also *Bit-Yagin*, which was on the Shât-el-Arab near Bassora.

4. (And what is the key to the whole) *Shargin* speaks of *his father*\* as being king in Assyria and *Qardunias*.—BOTTA, 153. 3.

From these facts I infer that Yagin, the king of Chaldea, conquered Assyria; that he died in 721 B. C., dividing his dominions between his two sons, Shargin, who had Assyria, and Marduk-baladan, who had Chaldea, including Babylon; and that in 709 B. C., Shargin drove his brother out of Babylon, and reigned there for five years. Of the subsequent history I am as yet unable to speak; but it appears to me, that the supposition I have made fully explains all the difficulties connected with the change of style in the Khorsabad inscriptions, and the careful concealment of what the king had originally written. A difficulty of another nature yet remains. Why did Shargin in his inscriptions omit all mention of his father? The answer may be, because his father never styled himself king of Assyria, which Shargin considered the highest title of all; but treated Assyria as a dependency upon Chaldea, of which latter country Shargin was never king. His brother continued to rule there, though he was driven out of Babylon.

This change brings down the conquest of Babylon by Sargon twenty-two years, and his accession nineteen years, below the dates which I assigned to these events in my former paper.

17th May, 1852.

#### POSTSCRIPT TO THE APPENDIX.

I have allowed the text of the Appendix to remain as it was written; but I have rectified my views as to the relationship between Sargon and Marduk-baladan. I am satisfied that they were not brothers. Colonel RAWLINSON has cited some extract from Abydenus, to which I have not the means of referring, which describes Sargon as a gardener to his predecessor, whom he deposed. This predecessor (who must have been the Shalmaneser of Scripture) is re-

\* [Whatever be the exact import of this rather obscure passage, it is certain that Sargon is not speaking of his actual father, but of a series of his predecessors; none of whom had heard of the country of Ionia, from which he was invaded.—November, 1852.]

ferred to as alive in the sixth year of Sargon. So at least I understand the passage, BOTTA, 74. 3: "The gods who went before me within it I caused to dwell." This is after he had mentioned the conquest of *Bilsharusur*, the name of whose city, which is illegible, was changed to *Qar-Bara*. I have never seen any similar expression elsewhere; and the meaning of the words "who went before me" (*alikut makhriya*) is fixed by many passages to be, "my predecessor." But, whoever was the father of Sargon, it seems certain that the 27th year of Nabonassar (which began 20th February, 721 B. C.) was the first year both of Sargon in Assyria and of Marduk-baladan in Babylon; while the 39th of Nabonassar (beginning 17th February, 709 B. C.) was the first of Sargon in Babylon. It was the year after his conquest of it, as the 27th Nab. was the year after Sargon's usurpation of the crown. During the civil war which probably accompanied this event, Marduk-baladan made himself master of Babylon; for I greatly doubt the identity of his father and the *Iovyalos* of the Canon. I may here observe, as it seems not to be generally admitted, and as an assumption of the contrary has furnished a groundwork for some hostile criticisms, that it is quite certain that the Canon of Ptolemy, in these early times at least, counted as the first year of a king that which began next after his accession, not that in which his accession took place. This was called *the beginning of the reign* of the new king, not his *first year*. Thus, on the Nimrud Obelisk, lines 25, 26, the king first mentions a conquest which he made in the beginning of his reign (which would be styled the last year of his predecessor) and then the conquests of his first year.

But to pass from Sargon to his successor. In July last, I observed the name of Belib in the inscription on BELLINO's cylinder, as having been made king of Mesopotamia by Sennacherib, when he conquered Marduk-baladana, king of Qar-dunyas, as he is called, in his first campaign. In another unpublished inscription of the same king, which was shown me by Mr. LAYARD, it is said that in the fourth campaign Marduk-baladan was again defeated and driven to an island; and that Sennacherib made his son Ashurnadim king of both Chaldea and Mesopotamia. Comparing this with the Canon, in which Βηλίβος appears as king for three years, I inferred that the king who was appointed by Sennacherib in his first campaign must have been the king whose first year was the 46th of Nabonassar (beginning 15th February, 702 B. C.) and that



Ashurnadim\* must be the Apronadius of the common editions of the Canon, *Ἀπρανάδιος* in the most correct manuscript; the *σσ* having been converted into a *ω* by a mistake of some copyist. It appears, then, that Belibus was made king of Mesopotamia before the 15th February, 702 B. C. This was in the first campaign of Sennacherib; and it may be doubted, whether this was in his first year, or in the beginning of his reign, that is, the last year of Sargon, which of course must be his 19th. From other inscriptions of Sennacherib it appears, that he was occupied in the beginning of his reign in the construction of public works, and that this war originated in an attack made by the Babylonians after he had been some time king. I am therefore of opinion, that Sargon died in his 18th year, and that the first campaign (*gir*) of Sennacherib began in his first year.† It appears, however, from the Canon, that the reign of Sargon at Babylon terminated in the course of his 17th year, the 43rd of Nabonassar. After that there was an *Ἀβασίλευρον* of two years; and it must be to this interregnum, and not, as I formerly supposed, to that which began 16 years later, that the passage in Alexander Polyhistor refers. He says, that after the reign of the brother of Sennacherib, Acises reigned for 30 days; and then Marodach Baladan slew him, and held the kingdom six months. Then Elibus reigned for three years, and was in his third year defeated by Sennacherib, who made his son Asardanius king, retiring himself to Assyria. This may very well represent what happened, if we assume the Elibus of Polyhistor to be the Belibus of the Canon, the Belib of the inscription; and the Asardanius of Polyhistor to be the Assurnadim of the inscription. It would then appear, that in the 17th year of his reign over Assyria, his fifth at Babylon, Sargon made one of his sons king of Babylon; that this son was not acceptable to the Babylonians,

\* This name occurs in B. M. 61.5, written *Ashur. ad. me*, with  $\{\{\{\{\}\}$ , No. 76, the value of which I now think to be *ade* rather than *ad*. In this place it must have a different value; or (what I think more probable) a  $\text{—}\overset{\wedge}{\Delta}$  must have been omitted. In two other unpublished inscriptions, it is written *Ashur. na. din. me*, with  $\overset{\wedge}{\Delta}$ , No. 22, which must admit the value *dim* as well as *din*. The addition of *me* or *mi* to proper names ending in *m* may be considered regular; it occurs in very many instances.

† It is certain that the 44th of Nabonassar was the 18th of Sargon, and that the first campaign of Sennacherib began in, and for the most part coincided with, the 45th of Nabonassar. The only doubt is, whether this 45th of Nabonassar was called the 19th of Sargon or the first of Sennacherib. I think the latter; but I admit that it is open to controversy.

and was not placed as a king in their Canon; that after an interval of about a year, Acises became king in his room, and that he gave place to Marduk-baladan, the former king, who recovered the kingdom and retained it for about six months; the time at which this happened being that of the death of Sargon.

The results that I have obtained may be thus summed up:

- A. N. 27 = 1st Sargon = 1st Mardok-baladan.  
 A. N. 38 = 12th „ 12th. Sargon conquers Babylon.  
 A. N. 39 = 13th „ His first at Babylon.  
 A. N. 43 = 17th „ His fifth at Babylon; he gives the kingdom to his son.  
 A. N. 44 = 18th „ A son, name unknown, reigns at Babylon; not acknowledged, and this called the first of the interregnum. Sargon dies.  
 A. N. 45 = 1st Senna- } Acises and Marduk-baladan at Babylon. 2nd of  
                   cherib. } interregnum. Belib made king by Sennacherib.  
 A. N. 46 = 2nd „ 1st Belib.  
 A. N. 48 = 4th „ 3rd Belib. Sennacherib dethrones him, and makes his son Ashurnadim king.  
 A. N. 49 = 5th „ 1st Ashurnadim.  
 A. N. 52 = 8th „ 4th „

It is as yet uncertain how much, if at all, after this Sennacherib reigned. The Annals on the Kouyunjik bulls extend no further than his 6th year; but Colonel RAWLINSON says, that his 8th is mentioned on the lost cylinder of Colonel TAYLOR, of which he possesses a copy.\*

A difficulty presents itself immediately in respect to harmonizing the above results with what we read in the second Book of Kings. It has been evident to me for several years, that the numbers in the present text cannot *all* be correct. *Some* error has crept in. I endeavoured in my former paper to produce harmony between the Assyrian inscriptions and the Biblical text, by reducing the reign of Manasseh from 55 to 25 years; but I see now, that a

\* These results were known to me in July. The Academy not being then sitting, I sent a statement of what I considered an important and interesting discovery to the Athenæum, the Editor of which acknowledged the receipt of my letter on the 31st July, but did not publish it. I had, however, an opportunity, of which I availed myself, of making it public at the meeting of the British Association on the 2nd September.

correction of a different nature must be made. It is certain from the inscriptions, that Sargon conquered Samaria, and carried away the people in his second year, the 28th of Nabonassar, or 720 B. C. This accords with the received chronology, and we may confidently infer, that this was the 6th year of Hezekiah; his 4th year, in which Samaria was first attacked by the Assyrians under Shalmaneser, who was then king, being the 26th of Nabonassar. The sacred text does not say that Shalmaneser carried away the Ten Tribes, though commentators have assumed that he did. It was "the king of Assyria;" that is, Sargon, the successor of Shalmaneser. Hezekiah's illness was 15 years before his death, and consequently, as he reigned 29 years, in his 14th or 15th year. The embassy of Merodach-baladan, which followed this, was in his 15th, which would be the 10th year of Sargon, B. C. 711; but Sennacherib's invasion was in his third campaign, 701 B. C. It appears to me, that all difficulty would be removed, if in 2 Kings, xviii. 13, we read "twenty-fourth" or "twenty-fifth" for "fourteenth;" and that a correction of this nature is absolutely necessary. It appears from 2 Kings, xx. 6, that a deliverance of Jerusalem from "the king of Assyria," was promised subsequently to the illness of Hezekiah. This is inconsistent with the common view, which places this illness *after* the invasion of Sennacherib; but it is quite consistent with my view, that the illness was in the 10th year of Sargon, as we know that Sargon invaded Palestine and took Ashdod in his 11th year. The words "In those days," at the beginning of 2 Kings, xx., prove nothing as to chronological order. The Assyrian inscriptions speak of foreign conquests first; and then we have "In those days," meaning, "within the preceding period," a city or palace was built, or the like. Assuming, as I do, that the illness of Hezekiah was 11 years previous to Sennacherib's invasion, the former, as a domestic transaction, would be recorded last. As to the statement in the book of Tobit, that Sennacherib's murder took place almost immediately after his return from the siege of Jerusalem, I do not feel myself called upon to speak. Sennacherib records his exploits for three, if not five, years after his return; and this is a difference which no corruption in the text of that book can account for. The inference from this seems a very obvious one; but this is not the place for discussing the Canon of Scripture.

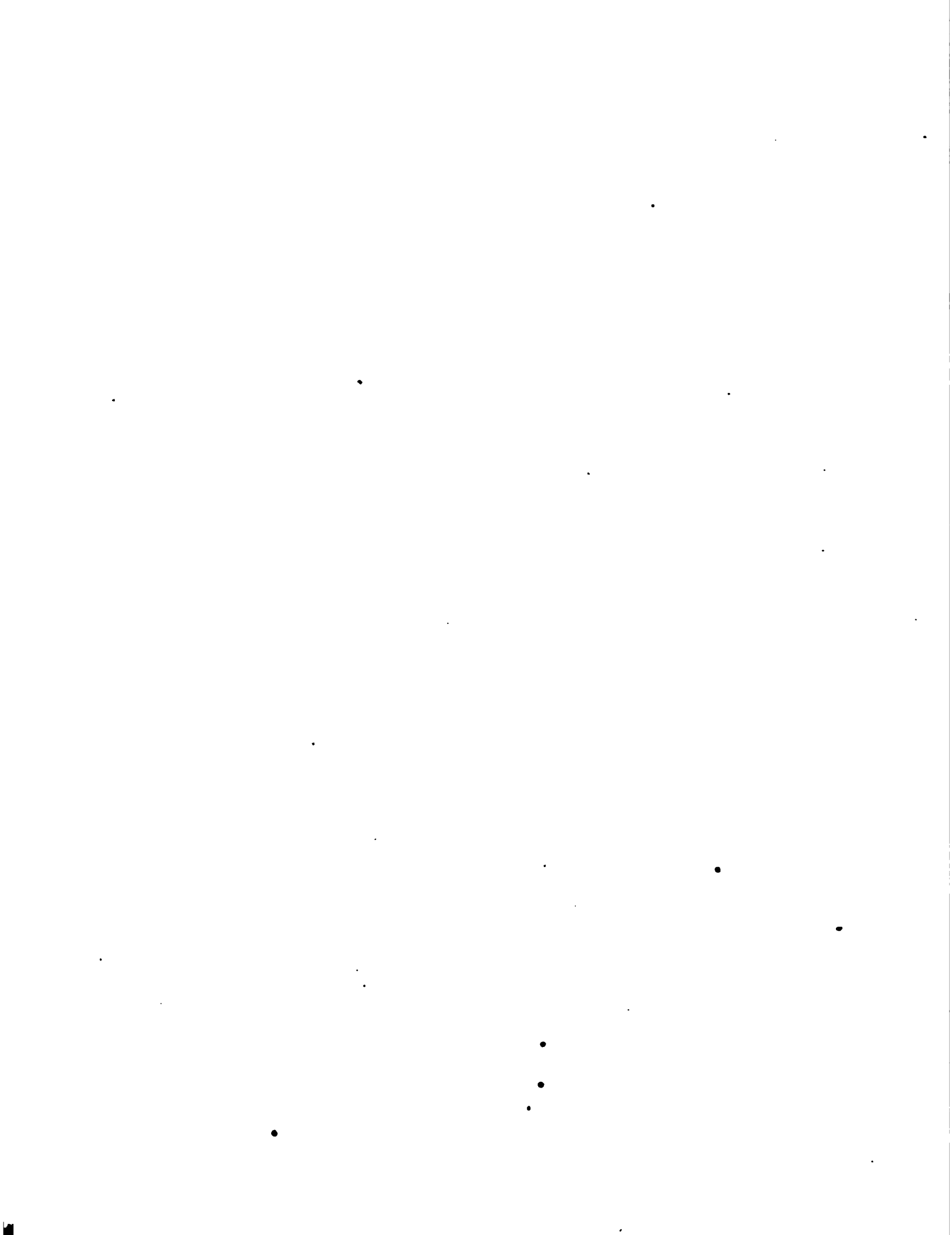
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THE  
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VOLUME XXII.

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PART VI.—POLITE LITERATURE.



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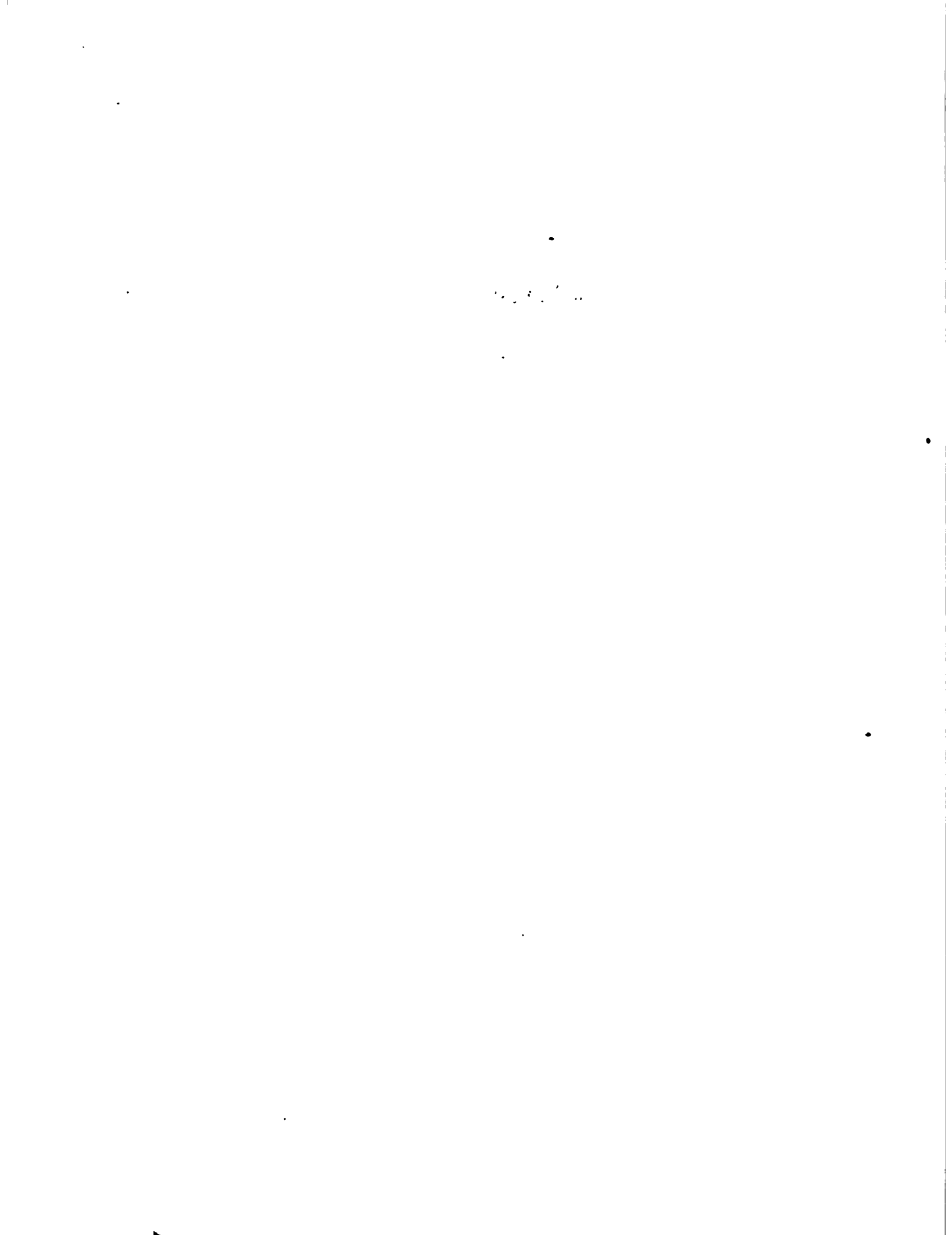
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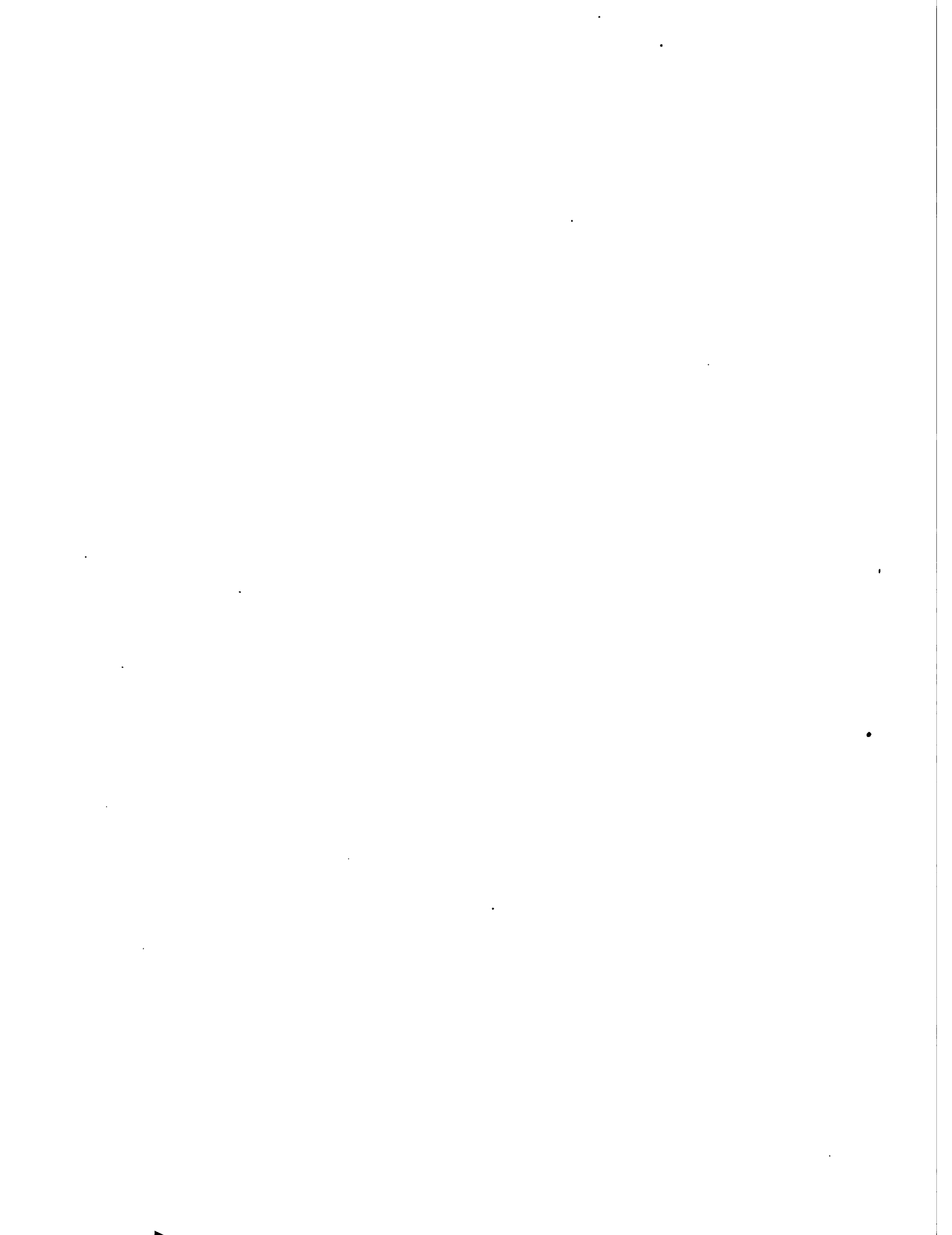
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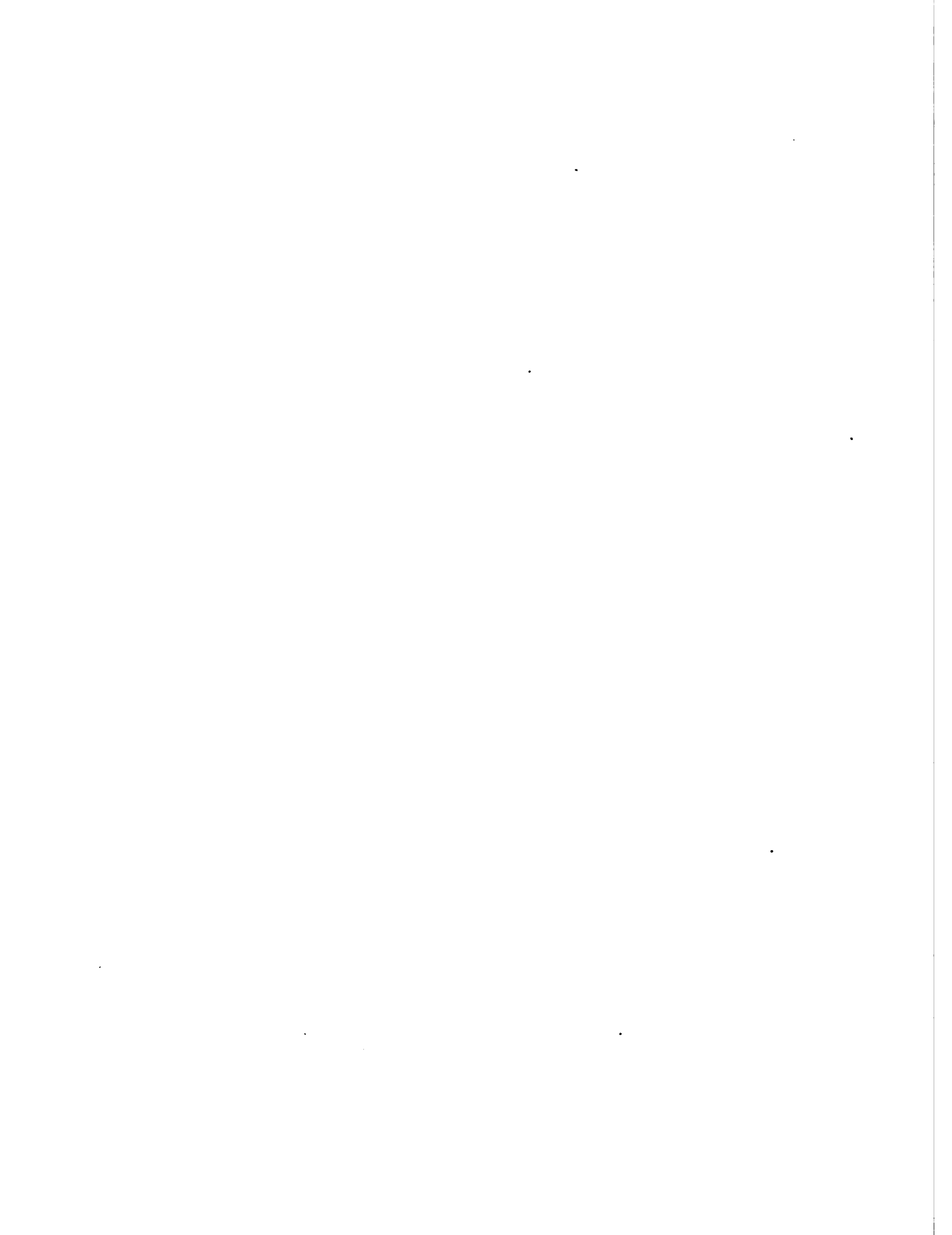




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V.—*On Hebræo-Celtic Affinities.* By the Rev. FRANCIS CRAWFORD, A. B.,  
Original Member of the London Philological Society.

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Read February 23, 1852.

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PART I.

THE object of the present Paper is to endeavour to exhibit some of the numerous affinities that exist between Hebrew and the great Indo-European family of languages, and more especially the Celtic branches of that family,—affinities extending to their formative elements as well as their radical words. I shall commence by adducing several instances of analogy in the modes of formation, and afterwards subjoin an extensive list of words which appear to be radically related.

The first class of words which I shall notice are not numerous in Hebrew, but are valuable on this account, that the analogy which they bear—in their mode of formation—to some members of the Indo-European family has been already remarked by Gesenius ; they are formed by adding כַּר to the root or some other stem, as :

גִּזְבַּר, a treasurer, from גִּז, treasure.  
דַּת־בַּר, a lawyer, „ דַּת, law.

This mode of formation is of frequent occurrence in German words, as :

acht-bar, from acht.  
ehr-bar, „ ehre.  
furcht-bar, „ furcht.  
gang-bar, „ gang.

In the Irish language it is still more common, although this may not be apparent at first, as the formative is more frequently written map, *mhar*, than

*bar, bhar.* Both forms, however, are found, and are pronounced indifferently either *var* or *war*, and so correspond with the Persian *war*, to which Gesenius compares the Hebrew formative.\* Accordingly we find, e. g. :

peól- <i>bar</i> , fleshy,	from	peól, flesh.
neapt- <i>bar</i> , strong,	„	neapt, strength.
riol- <i>bar</i> , bearing seed,	„	riol, seed.

And with *map* :

aḡ- <i>map</i> , fortunate,	from	aḡ, fortune.
ciall- <i>map</i> , sensible,	„	ciall, sense, &c.

The first letter of the formative *bar* or *map* is sometimes omitted in writing, so that it becomes simply *ar*, as :

aon-*ar*, alone, from aon, one.

And this circumstance connects it with the classical languages, in which *ar* is a formative of frequent occurrence ; as, for example, in Latin :

aqu- <i>ar</i> -ius,	from	aqua.
cib- <i>ar</i> -ius,	„	cib-us.
epul- <i>ar</i> -is,	„	epul-æ.

Perhaps, too, in the names of some of the months the fuller formation is still visible, as :

Septem-ber,	from	Septem.
Octo-ber,	„	Octo.
Novem-ber,	„	Novem.

As also in such forms as,—

saluber,	from	salus.
funebria,	„	funus.
lugubria,	„	lugeo.

The next class of Hebrew words to be noticed are those formed by the addition of *ן* to the root, as :

\* In the Welsh language the analogous formative is *gar*, the labial being replaced by a palatal.

דמ-יון, likeness,	from	דמה, to be like.
תב-יון, a covering,	„	תבה, to cover.
חז-יון, a vision,	„	חזה, to see.
נק-יון, purity,	„	נקה, to be pure.

To this corresponds, in Latin, a mode of formation found in certain words of the third declension, such as *legio, regio, natio, &c.*, which in their inflection make—

leg- <i>ion-is</i> ,	from	lego.
reg- <i>ion-is</i> ,	„	rego.
nat- <i>ion-is</i> .		&c.

The analogous formation in Greek is represented by—

δαιμον-ιον,	from	δαιμων.
ιστ-ιον,	„	ιστος.

Whilst in Irish we have—

leig- <i>ion</i> ,	from	leig- <i>im</i> .
reig- <i>ion</i> ,	„	reig.
ceig- <i>ion</i> ,	„	ceig- <i>im</i> .

Another Hebrew formative is יות, found in such words as—

בר-יות, food,	from	ברה.
גל-יות, exile,	„	גלה.
מלכ-יות, a kingdom,	„	מלך.

This mode of formation is best represented in the Indo-European languages by certain words, of the third declension in Latin, which exhibit *ut* in their inflections, as—

juvent- <i>ut-is</i> ,	from	juventus.
sal- <i>ut-is</i> ,	„	salus.
virt- <i>ut-is</i> ,	„	virtus, &c.

A fourth affinity is presented by a formation of rare occurrence in Hebrew, and instanced in the word ארנמן, *purple* or *crimson*, in which the element ארנ is confessedly not radical. This formation in *man*, or *aman*, is of common occurrence in Latin, as—

cert-amen,	from	certo.
con-amen,	„	conor.
tut-amen,	„	tutor.

And with a change of vowel, as—

mun-imen,	from	mun-io.
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In Greek the formative becomes *ομεν*, and is chiefly found in participles, as—

λεγ-ομεν-ος,	from	λεγω.
τυπτ-ομεν-ος,	„	τυπω, &c.

In Irish a similar formation abounds in the shape of *amain* or *eamain*, according as the preceding vowel is broad or slender, as—

caill-eamain, loss,	from	caill-im, to lose.
lean-amain, following,	„	leanam, to follow.
oil-eamain, nurture,	„	oil-im, to nourish.

The next analogy of formation to which I would invite attention is one of considerable interest, involving, as it does, the meaning of very many proper names in Holy Scripture.

The mode of formation in question is common in the Indo-European dialects, and gives rise to a numerous class of stem-words, by adding to the original root or stem the liquid *l*, preceded by a vowel, which vowel varies in different languages, and sometimes in the same language. Thus, in Latin, for example, we find :

ag-il-is,	from	ago.
fid-el-is,	„	fides.
ann-al-is,	„	annus.
brum-al-is,	„	bruma.
fat-al-is,	„	fatum.

And in Greek :

αζ-αλ-εος,	from	αζω.
δειμ-αλ-εος,	„	δειμα.
ενυ-αλ-ιος,	„	ενυω.
θαρσ-αλ-εος,	„	θαρσος.

In Welsh we find an analogous mode of formation, though with a variation of vowel preceding the liquid, as :

gwr-ol, manly,	from	gwr, a man.
oes-ol, aged,	„	oes, age.
tad-ol, fatherly,	„	tad, a father.
mab-awl, filial,	„	mab, a son.

And, again, in Anglo-Saxon, we have, in like manner :

deag-el, coloured,	from	deag, colour.
fret-ol, greedy,	„	fret-an, to devour.
gif-ol, liberal,	„	gif-an, to give.

This mode of formation, so extensively prevailing amongst the Indo-European dialects, seems to have existed in ancient Hebrew also : we may trace it in such words as—

נבע-ל ( <i>gib-ol</i> ), balled,	from	נבע;
חרג-ל ( <i>charg-ol</i> ), a locust,	„	חרג;

and in a numerous array of proper names ending in אל, as חנאל, אריאל. The terminal אל in such words has hitherto been generally supposed to denote the name of the Supreme Being; but I think an attentive examination will lead to the conclusion that, in most cases, it is merely a formative suffix, analogous to that which obtains in so many other languages. Admitting it to be so would afford an easy explanation of many names of persons and places, without the too frequent introduction of the sacred name, which the Jews regarded with so much reverence. On this principle, accordingly, we would have, for example :

ארי-אל, lion-like,	from	ארי, a lion.
חננ-אל, compassionate,	„	חנן, to pity.
נחל-אל, abounding in streams,	„	נחל, a stream.
נתנ-אל, liberal,	„	נתן, to give.
פת-אל, silly,	„	פתה, to be silly.

The true explanation of this formative, found in so many different languages, is furnished by Irish, in which language there exists a formative, which, though



written *amail* or *amoil*, is usually, in pronunciation, shortened into a monosyllable, and expressed according to dialectic varieties of utterance, as *ail*, *eil*, or *uil*; in which last form it occasionally is met with in Irish dictionaries, so that we find the same words written indifferently—

uirgiul or uirgeamuil,	from	uirg.
maigiul or maigeamuil,	„	maig.

The more lengthened form, however, is much more usual, and is, indeed, extremely common, as—

buil-eamuil, mad,	from	buile, madness.
caile-eamuil, chalkey,	„	caile, chalk.
uait-amail, coloured,	„	uait, colour.
geag-eamuil, branching,	„	geag, a branch.
fean-amuil, happy,	„	fean, happiness.

Whilst in Irish the full form *amail*, or *amuil*, is usually written, though not pronounced, the other languages exhibit the abbreviated form in their *orthography* also under the various forms, *al*, *il*, *el*, *al*, &c., as we have seen; yet sometimes even in them the longer form makes its appearance, as in Latin; for example, in—

am-abil-is,	from	amo.
cant-abil-is,	„	canto.

And in Hebrew, perhaps, in such words as

למ-שח and כר-מל.

Another frequent termination of Hebrew proper names seems to admit of a similar explanation, though I propose it with more hesitation. I refer to the common termination in ך, *al*, and which appears to be but a softer form of the formative *ac*, so often met with in the Indo-European family. For example, in Greek we have:

δαιμονι-ακ-ος,	from	δαιμων.
δανει-ακ-ος,	„	δανος.
πλουσι-ακ-ος,	„	πλουσιος.

In Latin :

cori-ac-eus,	from	corium.
farri-ac-eus,	„	far.
aud-ac-is (audax),	„	audeo.
cap-ac-is (capax),	„	capio.

And in Irish :

peap̄g-ac̄, angry,	from	peap̄g, anger.
b̄non-ac̄, sorrowful,	„	b̄non, sorrow.
buīe-ac, thankful,	„	buīe, thanks.
speac̄-ac̄, figured,	„	speac̄, a figure.

And in like manner may Hebrew names in ה־ final be formed, as :

בִּלְהָה, Bilhah,	from	בִּלְהָ.
זִלְפָה, Zilpah,	„	זִלְפָה.
עֲכָסָה, Achsah,	„	עֲכָס.
רַעַמָה, Raamah,	„	רַעַמ.

To the same mode of formation, too, we may possibly refer many Hebrew names ending in יָהּ, *iah*, or *yah*, as :

אֹרִיָה, Uriah,	from	אֹר.
חִזְקִיָה, Hezekiah,	„	חִזְק.
נְהִמִיָה, Nehemiah,	„	נְהִם.
צִדְקִיָה, Zedekiah,	„	צִדְק.

The letter י־ preceding the final ה־ appears to present some difficulty, but it may be merely epenthetic, like the *i* in *farriaceus*, from *far* ; and if the foregoing explanation be admitted, we obviate the objection so commonly made of the name of the Divinity being introduced so frequently into the names of heathen and ungodly persons.

A seventh instance of affinity with the Indo-European dialects may be traced in the Hebrew termination in אֵב, found in such words as :

אֲחָאֵב, Ahab.
אֵלִיאֵב, Eliab.
יֹשֶׁבֵאֵב, Joshebeab.
כִּלְיֵאֵב, Chileab.

The final syllable in all these words has been usually supposed to signify *father*, but it seems rather to be a mere formative, similar to the Irish terminations in *aoḃ* or *ib* ; as, e. g. :

פּיוֹנ־אוֹב, neat, clean, pure, from פּיוֹנ.  
 חַיִּיב־יֵב, lively, „ חַיִּיבֵע.

In consequence of the frequent interchange of *b* aspirated for *m* aspirated,\* in Irish, these terminations are sometimes varied in appearance, so that instead of *aoḃ* and *ib*, we find *aoḃm* or *eam* ; and this leads at once to an analogy in Latin, where we have such formations as :

extr-*em*-us, from extra.  
 postr-*em*-us, „ post.  
 supr-*em*-us, „ supra.†

And, indeed, the termination *ib* finds an analogy in the formative *iv* of—

grad-*iv*-us.  
 nat-*iv*-us.  
 sat-*iv*-us ;

whilst, perhaps, the Hebraic אֵבֶּט is closely imitated in the instance of—

cæl-*eb*-is, from cælebs.

Again, the Hebrew termination in אֶזְרָא, *az*, instanced in—

אֶשְׁכְּנֵז, Askenaz.  
 אֶשְׁפְּנֵז, Ashpenaz.  
 אֶחָז, Ahaz.

may be compared with the Irish formation of abstract nouns in *as*, e. g. :

caḃ-*ar*, friendship, from caḃ, a friend.  
 maḃ-*ar*, valour, „ maḃ, a valiant man.  
 puḃac-*ar*, mirth, „ puḃac, merry.

\* Gesenius remarks, that in an eastern mouth the letters *b* and *m* can scarcely be distinguished.

† Corresponding to the form *em*, we find in Hebrew בִּלְעָם, Bileam ; יַרְבֵּעָם, Jarobeam, &c. ; in which the element אֶזְרָא is generally supposed to mean *people*,—but, I think, erroneously.

In like manner the termination דב, *dab* or *deb*, found in some Hebrew proper names, as—

יהונדב, Jehonadab,  
עמינדב, Aminadab,

may be well compared with the Welsh formation of abstract nouns in *deb*, as—

Duwiol-deb, godliness,	from	Duwiol, godly.
gerwin-deb, roughness,	„	gerwin, rough.
prudd-deb, prudence,	„	prudd, prudent.
pur-deb, purity,	„	pur, pure.

We now come to another instance in which analogy would lead us to reject the usual explanation of a Hebrew termination of proper names, viz., those which end in מלך, as :

אבי-מלך, Abimelek.  
אדר-מלך, Adramelek.  
אחי-מלך, Ahimelek.  
נתני-מלך, Nathanmelek.  
רגמ-מלך, Regemmelek.

In all the foregoing names the termination מלך has generally been thought to signify *king*, but a more simple explanation is afforded by supposing it to be a formative analogous to the very common mode of formation of abstract Irish words in *amlact* or *amlact*, as :

pean-amlact, manliness,	from	pean, a man.
plait-eamlact, princeliness,	„	plait, a prince.
gean-amlact, loveliness,	„	gean, love.
ḡpan-eamlact, ugliness,	„	ḡpan, ugly.

Again, we find many Hebrew words terminate in a formative י Yod, particularly proper names, gentiles, and patronymics, as :

אמי, Ami.  
זמרי, Zimri.  
קוסי, Cosbi.  
כושי, an Ethiopian.  
פרסי, a Persian.

And in Irish, likewise, we find many words terminating similarly, as :

αἰτῖ, moist, wet.  
 αἰτῖ, mild, gentle.  
 φοῖρττῖ, black, swarthy.  
 μεῖρῖ, strait, narrow.

The classical languages, at first view, appear to offer no parallel ; a little attention, however, will convince us of the contrary, for in Irish many words terminate in a silent ð, preceded by the vowel ι, as :

αἰβῖð, ripe.  
 κοῖρτγῖð, diligent.  
 δεῖρῖð, last.

All these words are pronounced as if the last letter were wanting, and as if they were written αἰβῖ, κοῖρτγῖ, δεῖρῖ, &c. This affords a clue to the affinity between the classical languages and Irish and Hebrew ; for it is probable that in all those languages the original formative element was *id*, though the final letter became silent, or was dropt, in some of them. It is, at least, sufficiently remarkable that many patronymics in Greek and Latin have such a formative as *id*, whilst in Hebrew such words terminate in י־ Yod.\*

In Greek, for instance, we have

δαρδαν-ιδ-αι, from δαρδαν-ος.  
 πριαμ-ιδ-αι, „ πριαμ-ος, &c.

And in Latin, besides gentiles and patronymics, we have many adjectives illustrating this mode of formation, as :

cand-*id*-us, from candeo.  
 nit-*id*-us, „ niteo.  
 rap-*id*-us, „ rapio.  
 splend-*id*-us, „ splendeo.

\* A redundant *d* was of frequent occurrence in ancient Latin.—See the sentence quoted by O'Brien (“Remarks on this letter”) : “Neve in publicod, neve in privatod, nevextrad urbem.”

Another letter is omitted frequently in Hebrew.—See Gesenius' Grammar, remarks on nouns ending in י־ (p. 121).

The next mode of formation to be considered is more properly Chaldaic than Hebrew, as it is only or chiefly found in Chaldaic proper names. I mean the formation in אָדָן, *adan*, as—

בַּלְאֲדָן, *Baladan*.<sup>\*</sup>  
נְבוּזַרְאֲדָן, *Nebuzaradan*.

This mode of formation, however, is frequently to be found in Irish words, as—

בֶּרֶךְ-אָבָן, snuffers, from בֶּרֶךְ-אֹב, to cut.  
עֹן-אָבָן, a bird-cage, „ עֹן, a bird.  
זְלַאֲכָ-אָבָן, a repository, „ זְלַאֲכָ-אֹב, to receive.

The last analogy of formation, strictly speaking, which I shall mention at present, is one of considerable interest, as it likewise involves the meaning of several proper names of Scripture. It refers to a mode of formation common to many dialects of the Indo-European family, and which can be traced also in Hebrew and Chaldee.

In Latin, for example, we find as a formative *ster* or *str*, preceded by a union vowel, as *fenestra*, *magister*, *minister*, *capistrum*, and more plainly in—

Sylv-estr-is, from *sylva*.  
Terr-estr-is, „ *terra*.  
Ped-estr-is, „ *ped-is* (*pes*).

In Greek we have in like manner—

Ορχηστρα, from *ορχεομαι*.  
Παλ-αιστρα, „ *παλη*.

In Welsh—

Arw-estr, a band or string.  
Edd-estr, a war-horse.  
Llan-astr, wasting, destroying.  
Men-estr, a wine-taster.

\* Note that the name *Baladan* is generally conjoined with *Merodach* in Scripture; and in Irish we find a very close resemblance to the latter in the word Μυριεαδᾶς, the proper name of a man.

In Anglo-Saxon—

Cæb-ester, a halter.

Cenn-estre, a mother.

Hulf-estr, rainy.

And with this mode of formation I consider the Chaldaic formation in אֶצֶר to correspond, as—

בלש-אֶצֶר, Belshastr or Belshazzar.

בלטש-אֶצֶר, Belteshastr or Belteshazzar.

נבוכדנ-אֶצֶר, Nebuchadnestr or Nebuchadnezzar.

In Hebrew we find a somewhat different form, צ and ס being exchanged for their commutable letters ז and ע, so that instead of אֶצֶר we find אֶעֶר as the ordinary formation, as—

אבי-עֶר, Abiezer.

אחי-עֶר, Achiezer.

אלי-עֶר, Eliezer.

הדד-עֶר, Hadadezer.

A still softer form is found in some words in which ס or ש assume the place of צ or ז, as—

שלמנ-אסר, Shalmanezer.

תל-אשר, Telassar.

In this last word the element תל signifies *a hill*, and the whole name *Telassar* might denote *hilly*, or abounding in hills; the formative אשר = אֶצֶר being most probably cognate with the Hebrew word אֶצֶר, a store, treasure, abundance.

To the foregoing analogies of formation I shall subjoin a few others which may be regarded rather as analogies of composition or combination; and first I would refer to certain proper names of places mentioned in Scripture, and which terminate in *eth* or ת, as for example—

חנרת, Chinnereth or *Κενεθ*. (LXX.)

גזרת, Gennezareth „ *Γεννησαρ-εθ*.

נזרת, Nazareth „ *Ναζαρεθ*.

In all which words it seems probable that the syllable *eth* or *et* is significant, and corresponds with the Celtic ετ, *a place*, which is frequently found in composition of words, as—

Ἐρεαν-αιτ, a market-place.

Ἰουρ-αιτ, a place of refuge.

Ἰαρη-αιτ, a rough place.

We find traces of the same mode of composition in some classical names of places, as—

*Cal-et-um* (Calais).

*Mil-et-us*.

*Phan-et-a*.

And still more certainly in such Latin words, as—

*Dum-et-um*, a place of bushes.

*Querc-et-um*, a place of oaks.

*Rub-et-um*, a place of brambles.

In which the part of the compound in italics is plainly significant of the notion of place.

Another Irish word signifying *place* is *αιημ*, which also is much used in composition, as—

*Ceal-αιημ*, a hiding-place.

*Ἰουαν-αιημ*, a place of defence.

*Run-αιημ*, a council-chamber.

*Ἰαρεδ-αιημ*, a market-place.

This Celtic component is represented in Hebrew by the softer form *aim*, which is generally taken for a dual-formation, but, I am inclined to think, without sufficient reason. Accordingly we have—

מַהַנַּיִם, Mahanaim for Mahan-airm.

קִרְיַתַּיִם, Kiriathaim „ Kiriath-airm.

טֵלַיִם, Telaim „ Telairm.

If this view be correct, and if it be permitted to indulge in an etymological conjecture, we may find in the name *Telaim* an example of a twofold affinity between Hebrew and the Indo-European dialects; for, in many\* of the latter, the first syllable *Tel* is expressive of *numbering*, and the whole word *Tel-airm* or

\* In Greek, Irish, Anglo-Saxon, &c.



*Tel-airm* would signify "*Place of numbering*," which name might have been imposed on account of a circumstance recorded in 1 Sam. xv. 4: "And Saul gathered the people together, and *numbered* them in *Telaim*, two hundred thousand footmen, and ten thousand men of Judah."

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## PART II.

IN the preceding Part I have endeavoured to show the close affinity existing betwixt Hebrew and the Indo-European family of languages, by pointing out numerous instances of modes of stem-formation common to both. I now proceed to give additional proofs of this affinity, and particularly as regards the Celtic dialects. As my former proofs were taken from analogies between the *formative* elements, so I shall now confine myself to the *radical* parts of the words. Of the large number of words (nearly five hundred) here compared (which are, however, only a selection from a much greater number that might be adduced), a great proportion exhibit their relationship so plainly that it is visible at once: whilst to trace the affinity of the remainder it will be necessary to take into account certain euphonic or dialectic changes which some initial letters have undergone in the transition of the original words from one language to another. When these changes are rightly understood, I hope the identity of the latter words of the following list will appear not less striking than the former. Of the Celtic dialects, I have chiefly made use of the Hiberno-Celtic as the purest and best preserved of that family of languages. Many words, however, are adduced from Welsh. The Anglo-Saxon also has furnished several instances.\* And it appears to me a strong argument for the great antiquity of the basis of the Hebrew tongue that languages so differing from each other as the Irish, Welsh, and Anglo-Saxon can yet trace up so many of their roots to Hebrew as a common source.

In the following List the cognate words, where not otherwise expressly mentioned, are all taken from Irish or the Hiberno-Celtic.

\* Although not a Celtic dialect, the analogies adduced from it and its kindred dialects illustrate the affinity existing between Hebrew and the *Indo-European* family in general.

אב, a father.	αβ, a father.
אדון, a lord.	adon, a lord. (Welsh.)
אור, a fire.	υρ, a fire.
און, substance, wealth.	οιν, gain, profit.
אזא, (Chald.) to kindle.	αραō, to kindle.
אילה, a hind.	ειλε, a hind. (Genitive ειλε.)
איש, a man.	εיר, a man. (Æsc, a man. Ang-Sax.)
אסף, gathered.	οραρ, a gathering.
אציל-ים, nobles.	υαυραυ, noble.
אראל, "valiant" (Isaiah, xxxiii. 7).	arial, valour, courage. (Welsh.)
ארר, to curse.	αυραυ, a curse.
את, a ploughshare.	εיע, part of a ploughshare.
אתון, a furnace.	ατον, fire.
באר, a well.	בוα, a spring, water.
בון, attended to.	bun, minding.
בין, interval, between.	béine, a disjunction, interval.
בין, "a champion" (1 Sam. xvii. 14).	beine, a champion.
בכה, mourned, wept.	βεיע, weeping.
בן, a son.	בו, a son.
בר, corn.	βαρ, corn.
בר, (Chald.) a son.	βαρ, a son.
ברית, a covenant.	βερε, a compact, covenant.
גאל, near of kin.	γαολ, kindred, kinsman.
גבר, a man.	gwr, a man. (Welsh.)
גדר, a fence, a fenced place.	cader, a fenced place, stronghold. (Welsh.)
גול, to rejoice.	gul-ian, to rejoice. (Ang-Sax.)
גלל, cause, reason (as in ב-גלל).	οαλλ, cause, reason.
גרב, scurf, scab.	γαρβ, a scab.
גרה, the cud.	γαρε, the cud.
גרה, a gerah, weight.	gēra, a weight. (Russian.)
גרים, strong (Gen. xlix. 14).	grym, strong. (Welsh.)
גשם, a shower.	γαυραυ, a shower.

דבה, slander, calumny.	δῖβαο, a slandering.
דבר, spoke, said.	δῖβαοκ, said.
דג, a fish.	δῖג, a fish.
דד, woman's breast.	δῖס, a woman's breast.
די, a sufficiency.	δῖא, abundance.
דיי, ink.	δῖוּע, ink.
דיק, dyke, entrenchment.	δῖסג, a dyke.
דל, poor.	δῖעלב, poor.
דלך, (Chald.) to burn.	δῖע, fire.
דלתר, one skilled in law.	δῖעֶרֶסֶר, legal, pertaining to law.
הואיל, (hiphil of יאל) was willing.	hoil (aspirated form of סויל), will.
הנה, meditated, thought.	hige, thought. (Ang.-Sax.)
הדר, honor.	heder, honor. (Swedish.)
הלא, at a distance.	haell, distance. (Swed.)
הלל, to shine.	heulo, to shine. (Welsh.)
הלל, praised.	aille, praise.
הררי, (2 Sam. xxiii. 33), "The Hararite" ?	herwr, an exile or fugitive. (Welsh.)
התל, deceived, deluded.	hudol, a cheat, deluder, juggler. (Welsh.)
ו, a peg, pin, nail.	eó, a pin, peg, nail.
זוד, boiled, seethed.	sud-on, boiled. (Ang.-Sax.)
זוע, moved, was agitated.	sweng-an, to shake. (Ang.-Sax.)
זכך, was pure, clean.	sychu, to make clean. (Welsh.)
זלל, to defile.	pat-am, to defile. (French—sâle, dirty.)
זק, "chains" (Psalm cxlix. 8).	syg, a chain. (Welsh.)
זר, strange.	sær, strange. (Danish.) Bi-zarre (Fr.)
חבל, a pledge.	γῖbeal, a pledge.
חבל, a rope, line.	cabla, a cable.
חבר, fellowship, union.	cabap, union, association.
חבר, enchantment (Isaiah, xlvi. 9); charming.	gabere, an enchanter, charmer. (Ang.-Sax.)

חול, profane.	cuil, wicked, prohibited.
חול, to wait for, wait.	gwylu, to wait, expect. (Welsh.)
חור, white. (Chald.)	hoar, white.
חור, (plur.) nobles.	cup, noble.
חוש, to hasten.	car, in haste.
חזה, to see, a vision.	cear, sight, vision.
חטא, to cleanse, purify.	coethi, to purify, make clean. (Welsh.)
חטה, wheat.	hwæte, wheat. (Ang.-Sax.)
חידה, a riddle.	{ gaade, a riddle. (Danish.) chwide, a proverb. (Ang.-Sax.)
חי, living, lively.	chwai, quick, lively. (Welsh.)
חיק, the bosom.	cioc, a breast.
חלא, to be sick.	ceal, sickness.
חלל, to violate or break, (a covenant).	coill-im, to violate, infringe.
חמה, butter.	eim, butter.
חמר, homer, a measure.	omaz, a vessel, trough.
חן, favour.	cean, favour.
חסה, to trust, confide in.	au-im, to trust, confide in.
חור or חר, a cavern.	coipe, a cavern.
חרף, autumn (harvest?)	geripe, harvest. (Ang.-Sax.)
חרש, was dry.	crasu, was dry. (Welsh.)
טאב, to be glad.	tu-m, to laugh,
טבול-ים. turbands, head-dress.	thuxelas, head-bands, fillets. (Ang.-Sax.)
טהר, clean, pure.	têr, clean, pure. (Welsh.)
טור, series, range.	tur, a series. (Ang.-Sax.)
טוב, good (i. e. choice, excellent).	toða, chosen, select.
טול, to cast forth, cast out.	tu-gu-im, to cast, throw, eject.
טיט, clay, mire.	tu, earth, clay.
טל, dew.	teal, dew.
טלה, a lamb ( <i>bidens</i> ?).	tu-lu-au, a two-year old, a hogget. (Cf. teile topc, a two-year old pig.)

טן, a basket.	tan, a basket. (Ang.-Sax.)
טף, (collectively) young of a family.	twf., increase.* (Welsh.) Scil. <i>increase</i> of a house.
טרד, successive, one driving out the other.	tarrd, bubbling out, welling forth. (Welsh.)
יאר, a river.	iaer, a river. (Welsh.) Cf. Yarmouth.
יובל, jubilee.	ioibeal, rejoicing.
יד, a hand (Persian <i>ed</i> ).	eo-im, to handle.
יין, wine.	ƿion, wine.
ים, the sea.	am, the sea.
יען, because.	ean, a cause, reason.
ירא, feared.	ean-ao, fear.
ירק, greenness.	{ uƿacö, greenness. { ir, green. (Welsh.)
יבל, a fetter.	geibeal, a fetter.
כלוב, a basket.	cliaö, a basket.
כלה, a spouse.	ceile, a spouse.
כסל, Orion.	cappal, a storm. Cf. " <i>nimbosus Orion</i> ."
כפל, twofold, double.	couple, a pair.
כף, a hand.	cib, a hand.
כר, a lamb.	caop, a sheep.
לון, to lodge, remain.	loñ-aim, to dwell, sojourn.
לון, to complain, murmur.	leán-an, to reproach. (Ang.-Sax.)
לוש, to knead dough.	loƿ-ao, a kneading trough.
לשן, a tongue.	lŷƿan, a tongue.
לתך, a semicore, corn-measure.	leiteac, a trough.
מגד, excellence, glory.	myged, honour, glory. (Welsh.)
מד, measure, extent.	meio, bigness, magnitude, quantity.
מון, dissolve, waste away, be undone.	muig-im, to fail, decay.
מול, with, along with.	manlle, with, together with; Latin, <i>si-mul</i> .

\* Compare—cnwd, *increase*; also, *little children*.

מול, to blunt.*	{pylu, to blunt. (Welsh.) {μωλ-υω, to blunt. (Greek.)
מש, a cause, reason (as in למש).	mana, cause, reason.
מלל, to speak, announce.	{mal, a speech. (Ang.-Sax.) {mæl-an, to speak.
מלך, Moloch.	molc, fire. (Compare <i>Molciber</i> .)
מסך, mixed.	meapγ-αδ, to mix.
מקום, a place.	maigean, a place.
נוה, inhabited.	naig-ιm, to inhabit (= ναυω, Gr.)
נוח, rested.	nuiγ-ιm, to rest.
נוח, (hiph.) הניח, placed.	nicher, to place. (French.)
נוף, an elevated place.	cnap, a rising ground, hill.
נער, to roar.	.nuarl, a roaring (l for r).
סאון, greaves.	appaun, greaves.
סוד, a couch.	poad, a bed.
סוד, deliberation, counsel.	puad, advice, counsel.
סות, urged, incited.	paē-aim, to thrust, push, impel.
סכל, folly.	paobēial, folly, nonsense.
סמל, likeness.	paμuul, like.
סער, storm, tempest.	scur, storm, tempest. (Ang.-Sax.)
סוף or סף, a stop, limit.	saf. (Welsh), as dad-saf, a limit.
ספה, heaped, accumulated.	syppio, to heap together, pile. (Welsh.)

An initial *υ* is variously represented in the Indo-European dialects, e. g.,  
*υ* as a vowel.

עבר, pride.	uaβar, pride.
עבר, a cause, purpose (as בעבר) = because of.	αδβar, a cause, motive ; (as ap an αδβar ηοη, therefore).
עין, an eye.	ain, an eye.
עם, people.	am, people.

\* (Ps. lxxviii. 7). "Shall be blunted." Not, "cut in pieces," as in the Authorized Version.

עץ, a tree.	אור, a tree.
עצם, a number, many.	essaim, a swarm, crowd. (French.)
ערך, a tax.	εαρκ, a tax.
עשה, to do, make.	εαγ-אום, to do, make.

ע as the Digamma.

מ-עון, habitation, dwelling.	wohn-en, to dwell. (German.)
עיר, a watcher.	φαίρη, a watching, watch.
מ-עטה, garment.	φαίτ, raiment.
ענק, Anak (Anakim) or	} φανὰς, a giant.
ענקים, "sons of Anak," i. e. giants.	
עצם, strength.	wæstm, strength. (Ang.-Sax.)

ע as c or g: as עזה and עמרה, *Gaza* and *Gomorrhah*.

עוז, strength.	εγυ, strength.
עטה, prudence.	εγαός, prudent.
עיר, a city.	caer, a city. (Welsh.)
עמל, labour, work.	comal, work, performance.
ערב, to grow dark.	εορρηβ-αδ, to grow dark or black.
ערב, a raven.	corvus, a raven. (Lat.)

ע as d.

על, a suckling.	εουλ-אום, to suck.
ער, raised.	dwyre, to arise, to raise. (Welsh.)
עין, colour.	εean, colour.
עלל, to glean.	εουλ-אום, to glean.
עלי, as to, in reference.	εαλα, as to, as for.
עלה, a leaf.	εuille, a leaf. (Dail, a leaf. Welsh).
ערב, became surety.	εεαρηב-אום, to assure.

ע as n or gn.

עב, a cloud.	nub-es, a cloud. (Lat.)
ערש, to collect, gather.	εnuαγ-אום, to collect.
עקא, a ring, signet.	εαρκ, a ring.

עִפְפָּה, darkness.	nip, darkness. (Ang.-Sax.) <i>κνεφας</i> ,* darkness. (Gr.)
עָרַם, was cunning, prudent.	{ <i>gnar</i> , knowledge. { <i>gnarus</i> , knowing. (Lat.)
עָשָׂה, to work, make, do.	<i>ḡnōr-im</i> , to do, make.
עָשָׂן, smoke.	<i>κνισσα</i> , smoke, fume. (Gr.)
עָתָד, old, enduring.	{ <i>ḡnatac</i> , constant, habitual. { <i>so ḡnat</i> , always.
פָּוּךְ, paint, dye, rouge.	<i>boc</i> , a false dye, paint (= <i>fucus</i> ).
פָּז, refined gold.	<i>forτ</i> , gold.
פֶּלֶא, was strange, prodigious, marvellous.	{ <i>bäl</i> , prodigious. (Swed.) { <i>ab-bal</i> , strange, prodigious.
פָּלַל, to judge.	<i>pabl-u</i> , to judge. (Welsh.)
פַּעַם, a footstep.	<i>fiam</i> , a footstep.
פֶּר, a young bull.	fear, a bull. (Ang.-Sax.)
פָּרָה, to bear.	<i>bear-ab</i> , to bear = <i>fero</i> .
פָּרַח, a leader.	<i>bpear</i> , a prince.
פָּרַךְ, to break, oppress.	<i>bpeac-am</i> , to break, oppress.
פַּס, palm of hand.	<i>baip</i> , palm of hand.
פָּשַׁע, spreading, increasing.	<i>par</i> , increase, growth.
פָּתָה, was silly, simple.	<i>baot</i> , simple, silly.
פַּתְאִים, suddenly.	<i>bit</i> , lively, quick = <i>vite</i> , in French, and <i>su-bit-o</i> , in Latin.
צָד, a side.	side, a side. (Ang.-Sax.)
צוּאָר, a neck.	<i>sweora</i> , a neck. (Ang.-Sax.)
צוּם, fasted,	<i>jeûne</i> , fasting. (French.) <i>aiome</i> , fasting.
צָחָה, was dry, parched.	<i>sych-u</i> , to grow dry. (Welsh.)

צ for sc or sg.

צֶל, a shadow.	<i>pcal</i> , a shadow.
צָלַל, to tingle.	<i>pcall-am</i> , to tingle.

\* Compare also עוֹלָם, *eternity, perpetuity*, with the Greek *ωλεμεσ*, *continually*.



צלה, roasted.	ץאל, a scorching, roasting.
צלע, limping, halting.	σαλην-ος, limping, halting. (Gr.)
צפה, to look out, view.	σκεπ (root of σκεπτομαι). (Gr.)
צר, an enemy.	εαρεα-α, an enemy.
צ for d or t, as צור, Tyre.	
צבא, fought.	beabað, to fight.
צור, a rock.	tor, a rock. (Ang.-Sax.)
צולה, the deep.	tole, a deluge, flood.
ציון, Zion, a fortress.	tion, a fortified hill.
צפר, hastened.	beipin, haste.
צרה, tried.	beapb-að, to try, prove.
קב, a cab, measure.	{ cab, a corn measure. (Spanish.)
קום, to arise.	{ hob, a peck. (Welsh.)
קינה, lamentation, wailing.	cwnnu, to arise. (Welsh.)
קל, light.	cine, lamentation.
קלל, was diminished, lessened.	gal, light. (Ang.-Sax.)
קלל, bright, polished, shining.	caol-aim, to lessen.
קנא, to buy, purchase.	geal, bright, shining.
קנה, a reed, cane.	ceanaig-im, to buy.
קרא, called.	gairc, a reed, cane.
קרא, a partridge.	gairim, to call.
קרב, the inwards, bowels.	coriar, a partridge. (Welsh.)
קרב, war.	hrif, bowels. (Ang.-Sax.)
קרב, to be near.	garb, warfare.
קרן, a horn.	gar, near.
קרן, to shine, emit rays.	corn, a horn.
קר, (kor) cold.	gman, the sun.
קש, stubble, chaff.	goer, cold. (Welsh.)
ראש, a chief, leader.	gar, stalk, holm.
ריח, odour, smell.	reswa, a chief. (Ang.-Sax.)
רעב, hungry, famishing.	reac, a reek. (Ang.-Sax.)
רעל, to stagger.	rhaib, ravening, greediness. (Welsh.)
	reel. (English.)

שאון, a sound.	ῥῶαν, a sound.
שאל, to ask.	holi, to ask. (Welsh.) (Aspirate for sibilant.)
שאול, the grave.	ceall, the grave. (c for sh.)
שאר, leaven.	ῥεαρῶ, sour.
שארית, a remainder, remnant.	sarritt, a remainder. (Welsh.)
שד, a demon.	ῥῶε, a sprite, hobgoblin.
שדי, almighty.	{ ῥεαῶ = strong, able.
	{ Swið, great, powerful. (Ang.-Sax.)
	{ swydd, a lord. (Welsh.)
שוא, a falsehood.	ῥαοῦ, false, erroneous.
שור, to search, look about.	ῥῥῥ-אום, to search, inquire into.
שום, to place.	sem-ian, to place. (Ang.-Sax.)
שכין, a knife.	ῥῥῥῥῥ, a knife.
שמח, joyful, cheerful.	ῥῥῥῥῥ, happy, pleasant.
שנה, to change, vary.	ῥῥῥῥῥ, variety.
שן, a tooth.	ῥῥῥῥῥ, a tooth. (German.) Zauna, a tooth. (Ital.)
שעה, to have respect to.	ῥῥῥῥῥ, respect, esteem.
שרה, to loose, let go.	ῥῥῥῥῥ-אῶ, to free, liberate.
שרך, a shoot, tendril.	ῥῥῥῥῥ-אῶ, a shoot, sucker.
שרע, to stretch the limbs.	ῥῥῥῥῥ-אום, to stretch the limbs.
שרק, to hiss, whistle for.	ῥῥῥῥῥῥῥ-אום, to whoop, screech.
שת, a prince.	ῥῥῥῥῥ, a prince.
שתל, planted.	stæl-an, to set, place, put. (Ang.-Sax.)
תור, a border.	ῥῥῥῥῥῥῥ, a border.
תור, to explore, search out.	ῥῥῥῥῥ, a diligent search.
תולע or תלע, scarlet or purple dye, the worm whence it comes.	{ tælg, purple dye. (Ang.-Sax.)
	{ Also, the fish whence taken.
	{ ῥῥῥῥῥ, colour.

The foregoing List, which might easily be extended considerably, will be sufficient, I hope, to furnish *prima facie* evidence of the close affinity existing

betwixt Hebrew and Celtic roots, and will prepare us for considering those other words whose relationship is not so apparent at first sight, but which can, however, be proved no less certainly.

In considering the following List it will be observed that the general character of Hebrew words, as compared with their European analogies, is an excess of *initial* letters (if I may be allowed to use the expression), and these redundant or prosthetic letters, whether vowel, labial, dental, or sibilant, must be omitted or detached before we can perceive the affinity. We can *imagine* how this may have taken place, in many instances, by supposing the initial Hebrew letter to have been uttered with *sheva*, and then by rapid pronunciation ceasing to be sounded at all. Thus we have, e. g.—

א-בום, a crib, stall.	{ bos, a crib, stall. (Ang.-Sax.) baas, a crib, stall. (Danish.)
א-נרוף, the fist.	срѡб, the hand, fist ( <i>grobe</i> .)
א-דיר, large, very great.	деар, great, large, prodigious.
א-נד, (Chald.), to unite, tie.	cyd-io, to join, unite. (Welsh.)
א-כל, to eat.	ceal-aim, to eat.
א-מיר, the head, top.	מון, the top, summit.
א-ני, a ship.	ναοι, a ship.
א-פוד, an image.	фуат, an image. (Муат, an image.)
א-רח, to go.	раc-аѡ, to go.
א-רח, to decree, appoint.	реасѡ, ordinance, statute.
ב-דל, division.	вал, a division.
ב-חור, a youth.	ρουρ-ος, a youth. (Gr.) Gwyr = fresh* (young?) (Welsh.)
ב-טח, confidence, security.	таса, a surety.
ב-קר, inquired after, sought.	quær-o, to seek. (Lat.)
ב-קש, sought out.	ceis-io, to seek, ask, inquire. (Welsh.)
ב-רוח, flying, fleeing.	руаѡѡ, flight.
ב-ריח, a cross or transverse bar.	руаѡ, a cross.
ב-רך, cursed. (Job, i. 5.)	rhég-u, to curse, imprecate. (Welsh.)

\* In Irish, up = *fresh*, showing a further abbreviation.

בִּרְר, chose, selected.	αιρεαρ, a choice.
בִּשָּׂר, flesh.	chaire, flesh. (Fr.) σαρξ. (Gr.)
בִּתּוּלָה, a virgin.	ταλις, virgo nubilis. (Gr.)
גִּבּוֹר, a man.	բար, a man.
גִּחַל, burning coals.	ḡual, a coal.
גִּחּוֹן, belly (of reptiles).	cun, body.
גִּלְשָׁה, to feed. (Cantic. iv. 1.)	læs-ian, to graze, pasture, feed. (Ang.-Sax.)
גִּמְדָה, a staff, rod.	maide, a staff, stick.
גִּמְלָה, a camel.	meal, a hump, knob.
גִּעַשָׁה, shook.	{ cwys-an, to shake. (Ang.-Sax.) { quasit. (Lat.)
דָּבָל, a round mass.	ball, a ball.
דִּבֶּר, to speak.	far-i, to speak. (Lat.)
דִּבְרָה, pasture.	բéар, grass.
דִּבְשָׁת, hunch of a camel.	bosse, a hump (bossu, hump-backed). (Fr.)
דִּגְנָה, hatched.	ḡur, hatching (gori, to hatch. W.)
דִּשָׁן, ashes.	cin-is, ashes. (Lat.)
הִפֵּךְ, to turn.	բεac-aim, to turn.
הִרִדָה, to pull down.	raze. (Eng.)
הִזְבֵּל, habitation, place of residence.	baul, place, home.
הִזְמָר, music.	amар, music.
הִזָּרַח, to rise as the sun.	ειρηγε, sunrise.
הִבִּיט, to beat.	beat-an, to beat. (Ang.-Sax.)
הִבְרִיב, was variegated.	var-ius. (Lat.)
הִגִּיר, girded.	ḡir, a girdle. ( <i>Gyrus</i> , Lat.)
הִדָּל, ended, terminated.	siol, an end.
הִדֵּשׁ, fresh, new.	deар, spruce, neat.
הִשְׁבּוֹת, striped, variegated.	tabby, brindled. (Eng.)
הִלֵּב, fat.	λιπ-ος, fat. (Gr.)

ח-מח, (in pl.) precious things.	muat̄, excellent, good.
ח-מוק, knob.	buac̄, a knob, top, pinnacle.
ח-מר, clay, mire.	mire. (Eng.)
ח-סס, to bind, tie up.	seom-ian, to bind, restrain. (Ang-Sax.)
ח-פו, to hasten away.	fys-ian, to hasten. (Ang-Sax.)
ח-פש, device, counsel.	fuor, knowledge, skill.
ח-פר, to search out.	fuorim, to find, explore, discover.
ח-פר, blushed, <i>erubuit</i> .	rupp-os, <i>rufus</i> . (Gr.)
ח-רם, flat-nosed.	romo, flat-nosed. (Span.)
ח-רש, a wood, forest.	ruř, a wood. (Rosha = <i>a grove</i> , Russ.)
ח-רשף, to draw water.	schöpf-en, to draw water. (Ger.)
ח-טנף, to soil.	neim-im, to spoil, corrupt.
ח-טרם, before.	ream, before.
ח-טרף, a prey, spoil.	reaf, a spoil, prey. (Ang-Sax.)
ח-יבול, produce, fruits.	buil, fruits, effects.
ח-יקר, precious.	car, dear. (W.)
ח-ישן, old.	rean, old.
ח-יתיר, excellent.	tyr, excellent. (Ang-Sax.)
ח-כבם, wash.	baif, a wash.
ח-כחש, subdue.	quash, subdue. (Eng.)
ח-כפן, became languid.	paon, weak, feeble ( <i>faineant</i> , Fr.)
ח-כפור, cold, frost.	fuar, cold.
ח-כרבלא, (Ch.) a cloak.	ræfel, garment, clothes. (Ang-Sax.)
ח-כשף, a sage, enchanter.	sap-io, to be wise. (Lat.)
ח-כהם, valuables, gold.	tim, value. (τιμη, Gr.)
ח-כתף, a side.	taob, a side.
ח-כרת, to make a covenant.	peice, a covenant.
ח-לבן, white.	bán, white.
ח-לבש, garment, cloak.	bais (from Pais), a coat, garment. (W.)

ל-חנה, a concubine.	cwene, a harlot, quean. (Ang.-Sax.)
ל-חום, eating.	com-er, to eat. (Span.)
ל-חם, food.	γεμ-ος, a mess, dish, feast. (Gr.)
מ-אן, to refuse, be unwilling.	αινεω, to refuse, be unwilling. (Gr.)
מ-אן, a vessel.	an, a vessel.
מ-בול, a flood, deluge.	buol, water.
מ-רוץ, chaff.	us, chaff. (W.)
מ-שכיל, a poem, song.	ρceal, a narrative, romance.
מ-של, ruled.	ρeol-am, to guide, direct.
מ-תנ, sweet.	chweg, sweet. (W.)
מ-ערה, a cave.	γαραθ = a cave.
ג-אד, a bottle.	αθ, a bottle.
ג-בך, mazes (of the sea), Baxter. (Job, xxxviii. 16.)	ebach, a bay, nook. (W.)
ג-בל, a dead body.	abail, dead.
ג-נד, to tell, relate.	cuath, to tell; ceathal, a narrative.
ג-נד, the front, against.	{ αγαθ, the front, against. { gwydd, presence. (W.)
ג-נה, the dawn, light.	αυγη, the dawn. (Gr.)
ג-נו, to play on an instrument.	canu, to play, sing. (W.)
ג-נש, came near.	{ coiρ, near. { agos, near. (W.) εγγυς, (Gr.)
ג-דן, a sheath.	edean, a receptacle. (دان, dan, a sheath. Persian.)
ג-דר, a vow.	οαιρη, a vow.
ג-זל, to drop, drown.	ρil-im, to drop, distil.
ג-זר, separated.	ρcap-am, to separate.
ג-חלה, a possession.	helw, possession. (W.)
ג-חל, possessed.	ρealb, possession, inheritance.
ג-טל, to lift up.	tollo, to lift up. (Lat.)
ג-טר, to keep watch.	{ ταρηαθ, a watch, guard. { τηρεω, to watch. (Gr.)

גִּחַל, a brook.	{ coul-er, to flow. (Fr.) { quèll, a fountain. (Ger.)
גִּכַּשׁ, riches.	car, money, cash.
גִּכַּשׁ, divined.	gear-aim, to divine.
גִּמַּל, withered.	mall, blasted, withered. (W.)
גִּסְדָּךְ, a drink offering.	ar, drink ; arac, pertaining to drink.
גִּעַל, a shoe latchet.	iall, a latchet, thong.
גִּעַר, youth.	up, new, fresh (young ?)
גִּפַּל, fall.	fell-an, to fall. (Ang.-Sax.)
גִּצְבָּא, strength. (Chaldee.)	rab, strong.
גִּצִּיב, a prefect, chief.	ribe, a chief, leader.
גִּקַּב, hollowed out.	cavus, hollow. (Lat.)
גִּקְבָּה, female.	weib, woman. (Ger.)
גִּקַּד, a shepherd, herdsman.	{ cadw, a flock, herd. { cadw, to tend a flock. (W.)
גִּקַּד, spotted.	caide, a spot.
גִּקַּשׁ, snared as a fowler.	gairc, a snare.
גִּשַׁב, blew.	riob-aim, to blow.
גִּשַׁךְ, lent.	air, a loan.
גִּתַּךְ, to melt.	τηρω, to melt. (Gr.)
גִּתַּן, gave.	dawn, a gift. (W.)
גִּתְּיִים, <i>nethinim</i> (servants of temple).	thenian, to minister, serve. (Ang.-Sax.)
גִּתַּר, trembled.	τρεω, to tremble. (Gr.)
גִּתַּשׁ, to pluck up.	tæs-an, to pluck, pull up. (Ang.-Sax.)
גִּסְנַד, to fall down.	cas-aim, to fall.
גִּסְחַר, a merchant.	ciup, selling.
גִּסְחָרָה, a shield.	γερρον, a shield. (Gr.)
גִּסְמַךְ, support.	mac-aim, to bear, carry.
גִּמְס־פּוֹא, ( <i>מ</i> formative) provender, fodder.	ποη, grass, fodder. (Gr.)
גִּסְפַּד, lamented, bewailed.	bead, mournful news.
גִּעַנּוֹר, a crane.	copn, any bird of the crane kind.

ע-פלים, emrods.	puil, blood, (Eng., piles.)
ע-טש, sneezed.	tiss-io, to sneeze. (W.)
ע-קב, heel.	kibe, sore on heel. (Eng.)
ע-קבת, fraud, deceit.	cuibet, fraud, cheat.
ע-קש, to pervert, twist.	cair-om, to twist.
ע-שק, strife.	reic, a combat, strife.
פ-לח, a millstone.	leac, a flat stone.
פ-לח, a slice, piece.	lêche, a thin slice. (Fr.)
פ-לש, to roll.	ελισσω, to roll. (Gr.)
פ-סח, to pass over.	reac-am, to pass over.
פ-סל, to hew.	real-aio, a hewing or cutting.
פ-רעה, Pharaoh.	Rajah,* (Indian, title.)
פ-תן, to be strong.	teañ, strong. (σ-θενος, Gr.)
פ-תר, to interpret dreams.	tuar, conjecture, omen.
צ-דיק, just, righteous.	δικη, justice. (Gr.)
צ-יר, a hinge.	hyr, a hinge. (Ang.-Sax.)
צ-לא, to pray.	alam, to pray.
צ-לחות, pans, dishes.	lekos, a dish. (Gr.)
צ-מת, to destroy; extinguish.	meac-am, to fail, perish.
ק-בר, to bury.	bur-ian, to bury. (Ang.-Sax.)
ק-טב, plague.	tam (= tab) plague, ( <i>tabes</i> , do. Lat.)
ק-טורה, incense.	thure (from <i>thus</i> ), incense. (Lat.)
ק-לחת, a caldron.	lucò, a pot or caldron.
ק-מל, withered.	mallu, to be blasted, decayed. (W.)
ק-צר, to reap, cut down.	rearr-am, to reap.
ק-רח, cold, frost.	peγ-os, cold, frost. (Gr.)

\* This word is identical with the Sanscrit *Raja*, a King; and is doubtless cognate with the Latin *Rege* (from *Rex*). The root appears in the Hebrew רעו, to feed, tend a flock, agreeably to the Homeric phrase ποιμενες λαων. It is worthy of remark, that in Anglo-Saxon we find the nearest approach to the form פריעה, inasmuch as we have a labial prefixed to the root, e. g., Brego—a King, Prince, Ruler.



ק-שׁוּט, truth.	soth, truth. (Ang.-Sax.)
ק-שׁוּטָה, a kind of uncoined money.	sceat, a piece of uncoined money (Ang.-Sax.)
ק-שׁר, to conspire.	syr-an, to conspire. (Ang.-Sax.)
ר-גַּז, anger.	gax, anger.
ר-דָּף, pursued, chased.	διφ-αω, to hunt after, pursue. (Gr.)
ר-חֵב, wide, broad, spacious.	geap, wide, spacious. (Ang.-Sax.)
ר-גַּמַּת, (Ps. lxxviii. 28), council.	gemôt, a council. (Ang.-Sax.)
ר-חַם, to love.	caom, love.
ר-חַם, the womb.	hame, the womb. (Ang.-Sax.)
ר-חַשׁ, threw up, bubbled up.	{ caire, a stream. gush, English.
ר-חַת, a winnowing fan.	cait, a winnowing fan.
ר-תַּם, to bind, yoke.	{ cuiom-im, to yoke. tem-ian, to bind, yoke. (Ang.-Sax.)
ש-בַּט, a rod.	bat, a rod, staff.
ש-בַּע, to swear.	bağ-am, to vow, promise.
ש-גַּר, offspring, progeny. (Ex. xiii. 12.)	ceap, offspring, progeny.
ש-דָּף, blighted, blasted.	deif-io, to blight, blast. (W.)
ש-חַר, was dark.	ciap, dark.
ש-חַר, the dawn.	gwawr, the dawn. (W.)
ש-חַת, (nihil) was spoilt, corrupted.	gât-er, to spoil. (Fr.)
ש-כַּם, the shoulder.	ham, the shoulder. (Ang.-Sax.)
ש-לְבַיִם, edges, borders.	lab-ium, lip. (Lat.)
ש-לַג, snow.	laog, snow.
ש-מַע, to hear.	ymandaw, to hear. (W.)
ש-לַף, to draw, or handle a sword.	llofi, to handle, take hold of. (W.)
ש-מַט, remitted, forgave.	maiç-im, to forgive, remit.
ש-רֵן, a prince.	rhen, a lord. (W.)
ש-רַת, to minister (= <i>eret</i> , as in)	ὕπ-ηρετ-εω, to minister. (Gr.)
ש-רֵשׁ, a root.	ρίζα, a root. (Gr.)
ש-תָּךְ, to be silent.	tac-eo, to be silent. (Lat.)

ת-בן, straw.	avena, straw. (Lat.)
ת-חת, below.	κατω, below.
ת-נוך, tip (as of ear).	nuoc, corner, angle.
ת-פינים, cookings, dressed meat.	φυν-ιμ, to cook, dress meat.
ת-קן, (Hoph.) established. (Chald.)	κιν-ιμ, to establish, appoint.

The foregoing examples will suffice to show that in numerous cases words in Hebrew possess an initial letter, which is wanting in their Indo-European analogues.\* The contrary, however, sometimes occurs; and certain Hebrew words are found destitute of an initial letter which appears in their correlatives in other languages. This takes place chiefly in words commencing in Hebrew with the liquids *l* or *r*, or with a vowel, e. g. :—

לוט, a veil.	γ-λοτ, a veil.
לב, the heart. (Persian, <i>kleb</i> .)	c-λιαβ, the chest, heart.
לקק, to take.	γ-λαc-αδ, to take.
לשן, the tongue.	γ-λωσσα, the tongue. (Gr.)
ראי, a vision. }	{ ο-ραοι, a seer.
ראה, a seer. }	{ χ-ραω, to deliver oracles. (Gr.)
רבב, increased.	c- <i>revit</i> , increased. (Lat.)
רב, many.	γ-ραb, many.
רום, elevation, height.	ο-ροm, a hill.
רן, a song.	ο-ραν, a song, rhyme.
רעם, thunder.	c-ρουm, thunder. ( <i>grom</i> . thunder, Russian.)
רק, thin.	<i>g-rac-ilis</i> , thin. (Lat.)
רפא, to heal.	ρ-ρεαπαδ, to heal.
רקם, to adorn, variegate.	ο-ρεαc-αιμ, to adorn.

In the case of Hebrew words beginning with vowels, we have :—

אבד, destroyed.	ο-ιοβαοιc-ιμ, to destroy.
אוד, a stake.	s-ud-es, a stake. (Lat.)

\* For other instances of initial letter changes, see two interesting papers by the late Rev. Richard Garnett, in the second volume of the Proceedings of the Philological Society.

אויב, an enemy.	b-ıoöba, an enemy.
אחו, a rush, reed.	weoce, rush, sedge. (Ang.-Sax.)
אט, necromancer.	γοιγες, jugglers. (Gr.)
	{ gaot, wise ; hwatu, divination.
	(Ang.-Sax.)
אלה, an oath.	ı-ala, an oath.
אמן, truly.	ı-ıııııı, truly.
אף, a face.	g-wep, a face. (W.)
ארגון, purple or crimson.	ı-eapgan, purple or crimson.
אתה, came.	d-aeth, came. (W.)
יבל, a stream.	ı-ıubal, a stream.
ידה, praised.	g-wawd-ıo, to praise. (W.)
ידעני, a wizard, soothsayer.	g-widdon, a wizard. (W.)
יון, clay, mire.	{ c-ænum, mud. (Lat.)
	{ c-ıeno, mud. (Span.)
יע, a wood, forest.	ı-ııpe, a wood.
ייד, descended.	g-ward, a descent. (W.)
שימון, a desert.	ı-apıam-ııı, a desert.
יתר, the rest.	c-ætera, the rest. (Lat.)

Sometimes the letter *Beth* ב in Hebrew words is represented by a vowel in its analogues; as—

אבן, a stone.	oñ, a stone.
בד, alone,	ıaö, alone.
דבר, a word.	ııapı, a word.
הבל, vanity.	ıııle, vanity.
לבנה, the moon.	luna, the moon. (Lat.)
תבל, the world.	ıul, the world.

The Hebrew letter ה, *He*, has the peculiarity of being frequently represented by t, or *th*, in the Indo-European dialects; as—

הבל, darkness.	ıeıbeal (= ıeııeal), darkness.
הניג, heat, fervour.	ıeag-ııı, to grow hot.

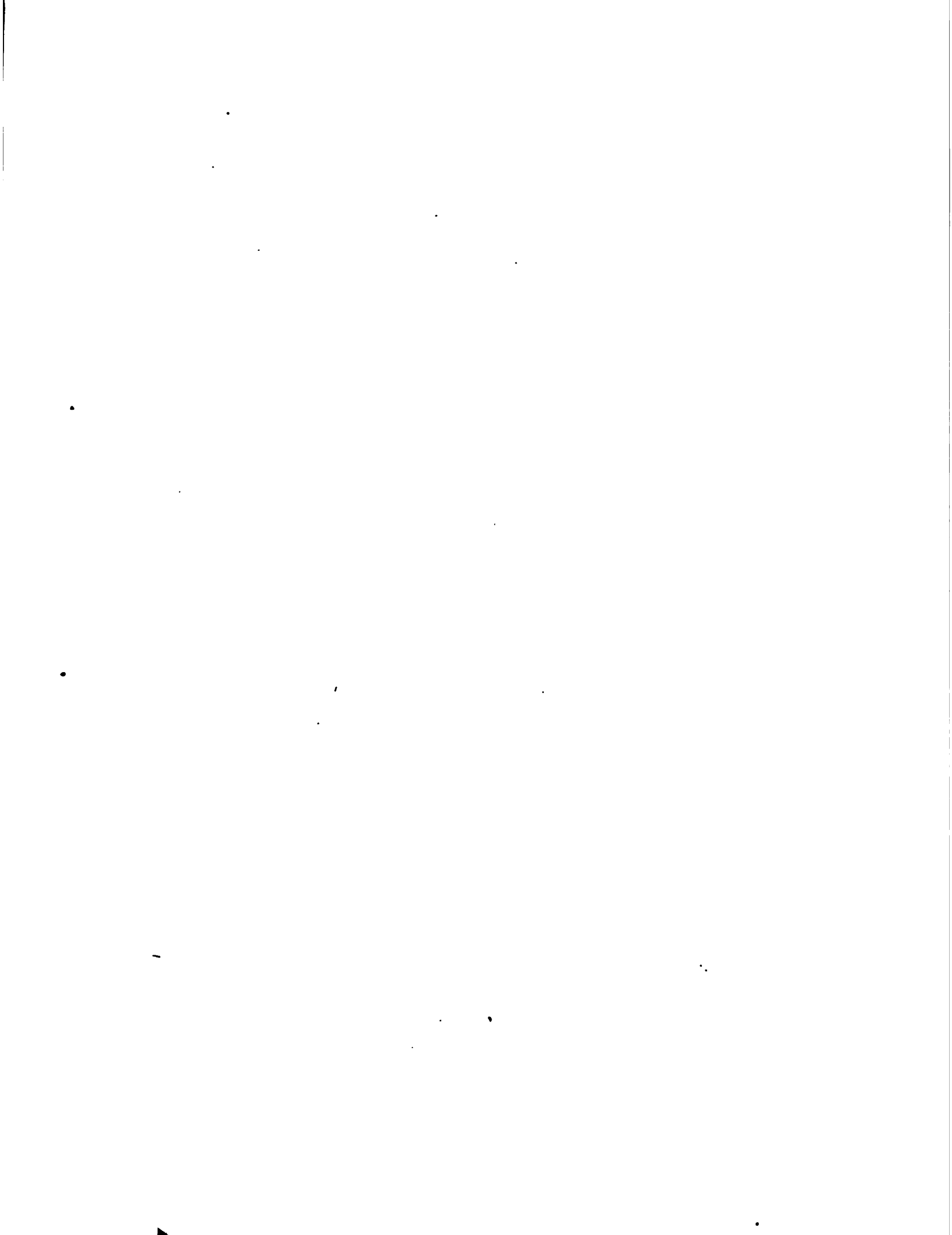
הוד, majesty, splendour.	טואב, renown, dominion, greatness.
הוד, to go.	טעאב-אומ, to go.
הרג, killing.	טוקט, killing.
היכל and היכלא, a palace.	טעאגלאב, a palace.
הרמן, a fortress.	טאןמאן, a sanctuary.

The last peculiarity I shall mention is, that in some cases in Hebrew, the letter ר is wanting after the initial letters, though found in the cognate languages; as—

כסא, a throne.	כרסא, a throne. (Chald.)
כמר, a priest.	קווּמטעאן, a priest.
כברה, a sieve.	cribrum, a sieve. (Lat.)
ען, time.	קון, time.
קפא, to contract.	קאפאב, to contract.

We have now brought our subject to a conclusion, and although the question has been but very briefly entered upon, I hope enough has been done to show the close affinity between Hebrew and the Celtic dialects.\* It is a question of much interest not merely to the philologist, but to the Student of Scripture. For I feel assured that the comparative study of Celtic will be found extremely useful to a right understanding of the original language of the Sacred Oracles. We shall not, I think, find any great diversity of interpretation from that already received on any *important* point resulting from this study. But if additional confirmation be given to what we already possess; if many minor difficulties be cleared up thereby; it will be an abundant cause for thankfulness: and a sufficient motive for applying diligently to the task of comparing together languages hitherto esteemed so unconnected and widely separated.

\* And more generally between Hebrew and the Western dialects.



^ Rel., Vol. 4 - Assyri.

VI.—*On the Assyrian Mythology.* By the Rev. EDWARD HINCKS, D. D.

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Read November 13, 1854.

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1. **T**HE subject on which I am about to write is one on which much obscurity still rests, and will probably continue to rest for a long time to come. Having, however, some new facts to communicate, I will at the same time arrange such of those that were previously known as may occur to me, in such an order as will, I think, be most useful with reference to future inquiries.

2. I will first observe, that the Assyrian and Babylonian deities were not absolutely identical, though many were common to both. It is possible, too, that what was the same name to the eye may have been pronounced differently in Assyria and Babylonia.

3. In the introductions to the inscriptions on the Frame of the large Statue and on the Obelisk, which are now in the British Museum, thirteen deities are mentioned ; but the order is not the same in the two documents. They agree, however, in that *Assur* heads both lists, that he is followed by *Anu*, and that *Ishtar* is placed last.

4. Another list of eleven of the deities has been lately noticed by me on a Tablet in the British Museum. It is one of those of which photographs have been taken by order of the Trustees, and of which I have been allowed to inspect the originals. It is marked K. 170.

5. What is very remarkable respecting this list is, that a number was attached to each of the eleven deities, eight of which numbers are distinctly legible, and a ninth may be confidently restored. The Tablet is, unfortunately, in a very incomplete state ; and I can give no explanation of the mystic connexion between these numbers and the different deities. It seems, however,

that for the most part, if not always, the magnitude of his number indicated the rank of the deity. I have also to observe respecting this Tablet, that it is highly probable, from the fragments of the beginning of the inscription that remain, that four of the deities were connected with the days of the lunar month corresponding to the four quarters of the moon, that is, to its 1st, 8th, 15th, and 22nd days. The god connected with this last day was Bil. The names of those connected with the three preceding have perished.

6. The chief deity in Assyria was  $\gg\Upsilon\gg\blacktriangledown$ , *Assur*; or, as the name is written on the Octagon of Tiglath-pileser I. and elsewhere,  $\gg\Upsilon\Upsilon\blacktriangledown\gg\blacktriangledown$ , *A'.sur*; for which we have the monogram  $\gg\Upsilon\blacktriangle$  in late inscriptions of the seventh century B. C. He is called in Assyrian inscriptions "the great lord, king of the whole (or circle, *gimrat*) of the great gods" (Frame 1, Obelisk 1, 2), and his name is an element in many proper names. In the Babylonian inscriptions it is never met with. Nebuchadnezzar places *Marduk*, who occupied a very low place in the Assyrian mythology, at the head of the deities, where an Assyrian would place *Assur*.

In the Tablet K. 170, Assur has no number assigned to him. He is not named in it.

7. It is highly probable that one of the twelve deities, exclusive of Assur, was supposed to be connected with each of the twelve months. A connexion may have also existed between some of the deities and each of the planets and elements; but I have met with nothing as yet which would enable me to arrange them systematically, though the relations of some particular deities may be inferred with considerable confidence.

8. Next to Assur the Assyrians certainly placed  $\gg\Upsilon\Upsilon\blacktriangledown$ , *A.nu*, as the name is written in the nominative. In the genitive and accusative,  $\llcorner\Upsilon$ , *niv*, uniformly replaces the last character. Although this is not according to the ordinary declension of nouns, it is such a variation as renders it impossible to doubt that the characters transcribed by *nu* and *niv* have their ordinary Phonetic values.

9. This god follows Assur on both the Frame and the Obelisk; and on the Tablet K. 170, he has the number LX. connected with him. This is expressed by  $\Upsilon$ , which also expresses i. I discovered this use of the different numbers to express sixty times what they would most naturally do by means of the Tablet

K. 90, in which the magnitude of the illuminated portion of the moon's disc is given for each day of the month. On the 15th day, when the moon was full, 240 parts, written  $\Psi$ , iv. were illuminated; on the preceding day iii. xlv. were visible, i. e. 224; before this, iii. xxviii, iii. xii, ii. lvi, ii. xl, &c., i. e. 208, 192, 176, 160, &c. The numbers are in arithmetical progression, the common difference being sixteen parts. In the beginning of the month, however, they are in geometrical progression; being v, x, xx, xl, i. xx., i. e. 80, after which the arithmetical series begins. The reading of the numbers on this Tablet I announced in the "Literary Gazette" of the 5th August, 1854 (p. 707).\*

10. In the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I., *Anu* is joined with *Bin*, who is called his son in the inscription on the Caillou de Michaux at Paris, which is probably above 3000 years old. Sargon dedicated to him one of the eight gates at Khorsabad; calling him *musallim ipsit qatiya*, "the finisher of the work of my hand." He has different titles on the Frame and on the Obelisk; none of which I will attempt to interpret, except the conclusion of the latter, which seems to mean "lord of the mountains." In the north-west palace at Nimrud, the king, *Assur-yuchura-bal I.*, calls himself habitually *naram Aniu u Dagan*, "the exalted(?) of Anu and Dagan." I will speak of the union of these two names hereafter.

11. The name which follows this on the Obelisk and in K. 170 (where it has the next highest number, namely l.) is  $\gg\Upsilon \gg\ll$ , or  $\gg\Upsilon \gg\Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon$ , which two names are interchanged at Khorsabad; (compare BOTTA, 43.96 and 51.85). This name was pronounced *Bil* at Babylon; but whether it was so at Nineveh I consider very doubtful. I do not, indeed, believe that it was, though I cannot assign any other name. The fact seems to be that the two first characters of the latter form signified *Bil*, "lord;" the third expressing something of which this deity was specially lord. At Babylon he was called  $\kappa\alpha\tau' \acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\chi\eta\eta\nu$ , *Bilu*, "the lord;"† but he could scarcely have been so in Assyria, because he

\* [In Colonel RAWLINSON's recently published "Notes on the Early History of Babylonia," he has given the conclusion of an Assyrian list of the squares of the natural numbers from one to sixty: from which it appears that  $\Upsilon$  denoted 3600, as well as 60 and 1.]

N. B.—This and the other notes printed between brackets were supplied in December, while the paper was being printed.

† It may be objected to this view of the matter, that the three characters of the above name are



is entitled on the Octagon, *bilu, sar gimir . . . .*,\* “the lord, the king of the whole . . . .,” his name immediately preceding this. It will be seen that there are other deities who are named by ideographic compounds, in which the second and third characters of this name are replaced by others.

12. In the inscriptions in the north-west palace at Nimrūd the king calls himself habitually “the . . . ?” of this god, and of one whose name I have read, though not with absolute confidence, *Bar*. In K. 170 that god is expressly stated to be the son of Bil. Sargon calls Bil, to whom he dedicates a gate, *mukin ishdi iriya*, “the establisher of the foundations of my city,” as these words probably signify. On the Frame and Obelisk he is called “the ancient (?) Bil, the father of the gods, the begetter of them all.” On this evidence I have connected him with the planet Saturn; and, so far as deities belonging to different mythologies can be compared together, I would compare him to the Greek Kronos, or the Egyptian Seb.

13. The next deity that I will consider is  $\rightarrow\Upsilon\equiv\Upsilon\Upsilon\Upsilon\Upsilon\Upsilon$ , which I take to be an ideographic compound. If so, it should signify “the god of the house of the water,” that is, of the ark. He is evidently the god of the sea, Poseidon or Neptune, as Colonel RAWLINSON pointed out long since. Sennacherib offered to him a golden ship, a golden fish, and some other articles of gold. (LAYARD’S “Nineveh and Babylon,” p. 146). His number in K. 170 is XL.

14. His usual title is *sar aptsi* (𐎠𐎢𐎲, as it would be written in Hebrew), which it is most natural to translate “king of the extremity,” i. e. the ocean, which encircles the world. This is written  $\ll \equiv\Upsilon \rightarrow\Upsilon \equiv$  on the Frame; but on the Obelisk and elsewhere,  $\equiv\Upsilon \equiv\Upsilon$  is substituted for the second word. It is, no doubt, an ideographic compound.† His titles on the Frame proceed, *bil*

used for the syllable *bil* in the abstract noun *bil. u. ti*, “of the lordship.”—See col. III. line 2, of the great inscription of Nebuchadnezzar. I believe, however, that no instance of this can be produced except in Babylonian inscriptions; and if the combination of the three characters had acquired by use the value *bil*, it would be in perfect accordance with Assyrio-Babylonian practice to use it for that root in its derivatives.

\* The conclusion of the line is wanting on the octagon in the British Museum. Colonel RAWLINSON has a duplicate of this octagon, which is in far better preservation, and by which this title might in all probability be completed.

† [Colonel RAWLINSON says, in p. 17 of his “Notes,” that in a vocabulary in his possession this compound is explained as  $\equiv\Upsilon \equiv\Upsilon$  in the singular, and  $\equiv\Upsilon \equiv\Upsilon \Upsilon$  in the plural. This is a palpa-

*malkin*, "lord of kings;"  $\text{𐎠𐎫} \text{𐎵} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎠}$ , *numu tsitsu* (נִמְּוֹ טִסְטוּ). The mode of reading the first word is determined by the Khorsabad inscription; (compare BOTTA, 36. 23 and 44. 25). It is a known Semitic word for "a fish;" and this meaning suits the context at Khorsabad. What Sennacherib offered to the god along with the ship is expressed by this same monogram. *Tsitsu* must be an adjective, or rather a participle. The root would be טִסַּ, which has been thought to signify *exultavit*. The noun signifying in Hebrew "a war-horse" is derived from it. It is probable, therefore, that the two words signify "the bounding or running fish." The fish-god is represented in the Assyrian sculptures as having the legs of a man. See LAYARD'S "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 350, or the original in the Assyrian Gallery in the British Museum.

15. Now the name of *Dagon* is evidently derived from the word *Dag*, signifying fish; and it has always been the prevailing opinion that his image was compounded of a fish and a man. This being the case, I can scarcely doubt that  $\text{𐎠} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎠}$ , *Da.gan* was the same as this god. If this be not his name, his name does not occur at all written phonetically; and again, on the same supposition, *Dagan*, who is joined with Anu as a principal deity both at Nimrûd, as already mentioned, and in all the principal inscriptions at Khorsabad (BOTTA, 36. 8, &c.) would not be mentioned in either of the great invocations.

16. On the Obelisk, a different title of the god now before us is substituted for the two on the frame, which I have translated "lord of kings, the running fish;" and it is a little remarkable that on the Frame this title is given to Anu, instead of to him. This shows a connexion between this god and Anu; and of course it favours the opinion that he is the same as Dagan. The title is *mubis*, followed by a plural noun,  $\text{𐎠} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎠}$ , of which the reading and interpretation are doubtful. It occurs again at the close of the invocations on the Obelisk and Frame. I will not attempt an explanation of it. It appears to me, however, that Anu was considered a sea-god, as well as Dagan; and that they were probably the Oannes and Xisuthrus of Chaldee mythology. See the ex-

ble mistake; for  $\text{𐎠} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎠}$ , *ju*, we should, in both instances, read  $\text{𐎠} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎠}$ , *tsu*, the nominative termination corresponding to  $\text{𐎠} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎠}$ , *tsi*, which we have on the Frame. We learn, however, from this, that the vowel repeated after the syllable which it terminates denotes plurality. The title on the Frame is, therefore, *sar ap. tsi. i*, "king of the extremities."]

tract from Berosus in the Chronography of Georgius Syncellus.\* The probable connexion between Oannes and *An*, an Egyptian word for "fish," has often occurred to me, as it, no doubt, has to other inquirers.

17. The god with the next highest number in K. 170, is  $\rightarrow\uparrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$ , *Tsin*, whose name is the first element in the name of Sennacherib. It is otherwise written  $\rightarrow\uparrow\rightarrow\uparrow\rightarrow\uparrow$ , an ideographic compound signifying "the lord of ——" The number assigned to this god was xxx.; and it is remarkable that the most usual expression for his name consisted of the character for god, and this number. The same thing happens in the case of the goddess xv.; but I have met with no other number similarly used. The character for xxx. had the value  $\rightarrow\uparrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$ , *tsi.in*, not only in this proper name, but in that of the city of *Partsindu*, which is written with it, and with the two characters just mentioned in its stead, in different copies of the historical inscription from the north-west palace at Nimrûd. The usual value of  $\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$  is, however, *is*, as in the numeral adverb, as I take it to be, "tenthly,"  $\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow\rightarrow\uparrow\leftarrow$ , *is.ri.ti*; the initial character in which seems to have been distinguished from the second character in  $\rightarrow\uparrow\leftarrow$   $\rightarrow\uparrow\leftarrow$ , *sal.ish.ti*, "thirdly;" though it would not be easy to say in what the distinction consisted.†









\* [Colonel RAWLINSON, in the passage cited in the last note, gives a name of this god, which he says is used on the Octagon of Tiglath-pileser I., and which he thinks may be read *Sisiru* = *Xisathnes*. The latter part, however, of this supposed word is an adjective; and the former part can scarcely be read *Sisi*. He also connects  $\rightarrow\uparrow\leftarrow$  with the  $\rho\sigma\tau$  of  $\Pi\sigma\sigma\iota\delta\delta\upsilon\tau$ ; and thinks that the ideographic compound in § 13 should be read *Nuha*. In all this I am unable to agree with him, though I do so fully as to the connexion between this deity and the Biblical Noah.]

† The distinction which Hebrew grammarians make between  $\rightarrow$  and  $\rightarrow\uparrow$ , namely, that one expresses *s*, the other *sh*, is certainly not maintainable in this instance, nor ever, I think, in Assyrian. I incline to think, however, that  $\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow$  denoted *iz*, as in the English verb; while  $\rightarrow\uparrow\leftarrow$  was *isz* or *ish*. The former seems to have been connected with  $\rightarrow\uparrow\leftarrow$ ,  $\rightarrow\uparrow\leftarrow$ , and  $\rightarrow\uparrow\leftarrow$ ; and the latter with  $\rightarrow\uparrow\leftarrow$ ,  $\rightarrow\uparrow\leftarrow$ , and  $\rightarrow\uparrow\leftarrow$ . The former sound was preferred by the Babylonians, and the characters expressing it were used by them when the others would have been more proper. I believe, however, that it was correct to write  $\rightarrow\uparrow\leftarrow$ , *za*, for the relative and the proposition "of," answering to the Ethiopic *za* and the Chaldee  $\rightarrow$ ; and to use characters of the other series where the affixes of the third person and the preformative of the causative conjugation had to be expressed, which become  $\rightarrow\uparrow\leftarrow$  in the Semitic languages heretofore known. The distinction between *s* and *sh* I believe to have been, that the former was used when not in contact with *i*, and the latter when in contact with it. I

18. The name of *Tsin* follows that of the preceding god, both on the Frame and on the Obelisk. He has the epithet *irsu*, and the titles *bil agin*, *saqu* (?) *navriri*, all of which are obscure to me. Sargon placed him after the preceding god, as the second of seven to whom he assigned chapels at Khorsabad; but he did not dedicate a gate to him, nor mention any reason for gratitude to him. Nebuchadnezzar built two temples for him, calling him in one place *mudavviq idatiya*, "the strengthener of my hands." His title in the other place (iv. 61, 62), I cannot read or translate, beyond the last word, *daviqtiya*, "of my strength." I cannot identify this god with any of those of any other mythology with any confidence. I conjecture that he was the *Set* of the Egyptians; and I am at present rather disposed to connect the planet Jupiter with him than with Bin.

19. The four preceding gods stand in the same order on the Obelisk and in K. 170; their numbers in the latter being also in the same order. I think that there is no good ground for doubting that these were the four principal gods of the Assyrians, after Assur, and that they were considered to stand in this order. They probably presided over the equinoctial and solstitial signs of the zodiac; and over the days of new and full moon, and of the quadratures. It is, however, uncertain which of them was connected with each of them, save that Bil was named with the last quarter of the month. Of the remaining eight deities the order is uncertain. I will take them in the order in which they stand on the Obelisk.

may as well observe here, that I now write *ts*, *ch*, and *j*, for the Assyrian equivalents of *D*, *S*, and *t*. I have no doubt at all as to these having been their values.

[I was surprised to see, in p. 6 of Colonel RAWLINSON'S "Notes," that he reads <<<    , which he gives from an Assyrian vocabulary as the word for "twenty," *sinra*, in place of *is.ra.a*. The repeated vowel here denotes plurality, as in the instance given in the note in p. 15, and it was probably to be read with an added nasal, *isrā*, or, if I be right in the above conjecture, *isrā*. The word for "thirty," I may add, in the same vocabulary, is <<<    , *sa.la.sa.a*; which shows that <<< is not exclusively connected with the sound *z*, as I supposed above. The distinction between it and <V- lay in the vowels. The identity of the terminations of the words for "twenty" and for "thirty," the former of which ("two tens") would be in the dual number, if such existed—while the latter could not possibly be so—proves that the Assyrian language did not possess a distinct dual. I could never discover one; but Colonel RAWLINSON thought that he did. It appears to me that this question may now be considered as decided.]

20. The first of the minor deities here named was  $\rightarrow\uparrow\triangle\rightarrow\uparrow$ , which I read *Bin*, because it begins the name of the predecessor of Hazael on the throne of Syria, which is written  $\uparrow\uparrow\uparrow\uparrow$  in the second Book of Kings. It is also used to express the second element in the name of Nabopolassar in the inscriptions from Lower Babylonia. This is written *bal*, "a son," in the inscriptions found at Babylon itself; but as we know that the form *bin* was used in other Semitic languages, we can well suppose that it was so in this province. This is surely more likely than that *bal* should have a third character to express it, while *bin* had none; and that the first syllable of the name of the Syriac king should have been totally changed in the Hebrew Scriptures.\*

21. This god was, as I have already mentioned, the son of Anu; and a temple was dedicated to these two gods by a prince named *Samsi-Bin*, about 1800 years B. C., as appears from the inscription on the Octagon in the British Museum, as interpreted by me last year. He stands in the sixth place on the Frame as well as on the Obelisk, but is preceded on the former by Marduk. His titles are different, and I cannot venture to translate them as they stand on either document. Sargon dedicates a gate to him as *mukin . . . liya*. The beginning of the latter word consists of two characters, which, as usually valued, would be *kan-ik*; but I consider it as certain that this combination was to be read in a different manner, which can only be learned from some tablet. I am ignorant of the meaning of this word which occurs also in the titles on the Obelisk. *Bin* is the fifth of the seven gods who had chapels (?) at Khorsabad. In K. 170 he has the sixth place; but his number is only VI.

22. The only variety in writing his name with which I am acquainted is  $\langle$ ,

\*[The name to which I refer is  $\rightarrow\uparrow\rightarrow\uparrow\triangle\rightarrow\uparrow$ , the last character of which is a variant of  $\uparrow\uparrow$ , which is, I can scarcely doubt, the equivalent of  $\rightarrow\uparrow\uparrow$ , the ordinary monogram for *yuchur*,  $\uparrow\uparrow\uparrow$ . I took it for granted that Colonel RAWLINSON admitted this to be the name of Nabopolassar; and that we only differed as to whether the middle character should be read *pal* or *bin*. I find, however, from the report of a recent meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, that Colonel RAWLINSON supposes the above name to be that of Nabunahid, whom he calls Nabunit; and that, apparently in ignorance that the ordinary monogram for the concluding element of the name  $\rightarrow\uparrow\uparrow$  is transcribed by  $\rightarrow\uparrow\uparrow\rightarrow\uparrow$ , *na. ah. id*, he considers its two last characters to be the phonetic equivalent of this monogram; reading them *in*. (for *im*) *duk*. I cannot doubt that he is here altogether mistaken.]

which might have given rise to the opinion that his number would be x. Though the name is to be read *Bin*, and in composition may thus stand for "son," it is certain that this was not its value as an ideograph. It is used in connexion with the points of the compass, and its power of sweeping things away is frequently alluded to: whence there can be no doubt that it denotes "wind." The Assyrian *b* was often sounded as our *v*; and I am disposed to connect the name with the Latin *ven-tus* and its cognate words; not meaning, however, to affirm that the Assyrian word for "wind" was *bin*, or any thing similar. What that was, may perhaps be discovered from some of those terracotta tablets, the want of free access to which is so deeply to be regretted. As this character was used for *im* and *iw*, or *yu*, it was natural to connect this god, as I did formerly, with *Jupiter*; and he may be identified with him even now, as the god of the air, but by no means as the chief of the gods. I think it less likely that he was connected with the planet Jupiter than that *Tsin* was so; but on this point there is an absence of evidence.

23. The next god on the Obelisk, the seventh, is  $\rightarrow\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}$ , *sa.mas*, for which we have occasionally the monogram  $\rightarrow\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}$ . This was certainly the Sun-god; and when the god was intended, I think that this crude, or construct form of the noun was always used; as indeed seems to have been the case with all the divine names except *Anu*. When, however, the material Sun is intended, we have in the nominative  $\rightarrow\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}$ , *sam.su*, and in the genitive  $\rightarrow\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}$ , or  $\rightarrow\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}$ , *sam.si*.

24. The Sun-god is usually characterized as "the (great)  $\text{𐎶}\text{𐎶}$  of heaven and earth." The most probable reading of the two characters here given, which must form a construct noun, is *di-kut*, or *gut*, but I must confess my inability to explain it; and the values of the two syllables are both uncertain. To this title is sometimes added *mumahir gimri*, which may mean "the rouser up of everything."

25. The Sun occupies the twelfth place on the Frame, and the fifth in K. 170. His number is there given as xx. Sargon dedicated to him a gate as *musaksid irustiya*, "the depressor (?) of my — (?)." I do not recollect to have met with this noun elsewhere, and cannot explain it; the verb, too, may rather mean "the maker to acquire." The Sun was also the fourth of the seven gods who are mentioned as having chapels (?) in the Khorsabad palace.



the only one. His name is followed on the Obelisk by a monogram denoting a god whose titles I would translate, "the blood-stained, the king of the battle-field." His titles on the Frame are the same; and in both he occupies the same place—the tenth. This monogram is  $\rightarrow\Upsilon\langle\Upsilon\rangle$ . It appears to me evident that this is the same god who is called  $\rightarrow\Upsilon\langle\Upsilon\rangle\Upsilon$  in the great inscriptions from the north-west palace, containing the annals of Assuryuchurabal. (Reverse, l. 141, *et passim*.) These characters would denote, as an ideograph, "the great brother-god." In K. 170, the first of these forms occurs joined to the number XII; and to the name is added  $\rightarrow\Upsilon\langle\Upsilon\rangle$ , which would naturally be read *Nir*. Joining this to the fact that  $\Upsilon$  had the value *gal*, as well as *rab*,\* I am disposed to think that  $\rightarrow\Upsilon\langle\Upsilon\rangle$  might be read *nir* as well as *akh*; and that the second form of the name should be read *Nir.gal*.†

30. Whether I am right or not in this reading, depends on whether the first of the above names is that which begins a royal name, that M. OPPERT found at Babylon, the remainder of which is *sar-yuchur*. M. OPPERT identified this name with the *Neriglesar*, or *Niricassolassar*, of Ptolemy's canon, and with the *Nirgal-sharezar* of Jeremiah, xxxix. 3. The propriety of this identification seems unquestionable. M. OPPERT has not stated what monogram for a divine name he found at the commencement of the royal name; but he says that it was one of those on the Nimrûd Obelisk; and it could scarcely have been any other of them than that which I am now considering.

31. The eleventh name on the Obelisk is  $\rightarrow\Upsilon\langle\Upsilon\rangle$ : which is repeatedly transcribed in the Babylonian inscriptions by  $\rightarrow\Upsilon\langle\Upsilon\rangle\Upsilon$ , *na.bi.û* (or *uv*). Another equivalent monogram is  $\rightarrow\Upsilon\langle\Upsilon\rangle$  (compare B. M. 85, l. 1, 12). He has nearly the same titles on the Obelisk and on the Frame; they begin "the assistant (?) who bears the excellent sceptre;" and the sceptre is also mentioned in connexion with him by Nebuchadnezzar, both in i. 43, &c., and in iv. 18, &c. I think I can scarcely be mistaken in supposing the monogram  $\rightarrow\Upsilon\langle\Upsilon\rangle$  to denote a sceptre; because on the statue in the British Museum, where the king holds a sceptre in his hand, he speaks of his sitting on the throne of his kingdom,

\* In the nominative masculine *gallu* and *rabu*, showing that the first root is גלל = Heb. גדל. The change of *d* into *l* is not unfrequent in Greek; and in Latin it is very common.

† In the copy of K. 170 that I took, I find no trace of any character after *nir*. It is possible, however, that I may have overlooked that which I have read *gal*.



and fitting to his hand this object, whatever it was. (Frame inscription, lines 60, 64.) The initial character is the ideograph for "wood," being phonetically *ich*, 𐎗𐎗.\* In K. 170, if Nebo be mentioned at all, it is in connexion with the number x. At the end of this line is 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗, which may be read "Nebo, the assistant" (?). The last character is that which occurs after the name of Nebo on the Frame and on the Obelisk. It seems to denote ideographically the root 𐎗𐎗𐎗, "to assist" (?) in all its forms. I must observe, however, as throwing some doubt on this identification of Nebo with the god x. of K. 170, that between the number and the supposed name of Nebo, there is the name 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗, both the last characters of which are used ideographically for "fire, flame." Now, it has been the custom to identify Nebo with the planet and god Mercury; and I know no reason, apart from this Tablet, for connecting him with fire. I cannot, therefore, feel much confidence as to his being the deity intended on the Tablet.

32. The two remaining names on the Obelisk and Frame are those of goddesses. The first named of these is 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗, which name is interchanged with 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗 (compare B. M. 86. 1, 12). The second character in the former name signifies ideographically "lady," or "mistress." It is the feminine of 𐎗𐎗 "lord." We have, in fact, "my lady," or "my mistress," expressed by this character with the affix *ya* in the inscription on the lion in the British Museum, line 7; as it is by 𐎗𐎗𐎗 (B. M. 86. 13), by 𐎗𐎗 in Reverse l. 345, and by *bi'.il.ti* (Gr. 1. 32). Now, as the name which was certainly pronounced *Bil* differs from this only in having the character for "lord" in lieu of that of "lady" (see § 11), it is natural to suppose that this was read *Bilat* or *Biltu*. If *Beltis* be the Assyrian name of a goddess, as has been asserted, it is evident that this must be she.

33. The titles of this goddess on both the Obelisk and the Frame can be explained with perfect confidence. She is "the wife of Bil, the mother of the great gods." In B. M. 86. 1, she is called 𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗𐎗, "mistress of the mountains," a title similar to what is given to Anu on the Obelisk. Sargon dedicated to her a gate as *mudisat khijbiya*, of which words I cannot conjecture the

\* M. OPPERT has announced, as an important discovery, that this character denoted that what follows was to be taken ideographically, and not phonetically. In this he is altogether mistaken. Other alleged discoveries of M. OPPERT have been long since published in this country.

meaning, though the construction is obvious: "the —tress of my —." She is not mentioned under either of the preceding names in the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar. I formerly conjectured that she was the *Gula* of these inscriptions, she being a different goddess from *Ishtar*; and I have met with nothing inconsistent with this conjecture. At any rate, if the heavenly bodies have representatives in this series of deities, she must be, as I have formerly stated, the planet Venus; for *Ishtar* with her horns is unquestionably the Moon.

34. There is, however, a second name of a goddess in inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar; though not, I believe, in the same inscriptions where *Gula* is mentioned, which, I think, must belong to the goddess now before us. That name is  $\rightarrow\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ , *Jar . pa . ni . tu*, as it is written in GROTEFEND'S cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar, and also in the inscriptions of Sargon. On a slab of Tiglath-pileser II. it is written  $\rightarrow\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ , that is, *Jir . bani . tu*. Though these forms are not identical, there is so much resemblance between them that I cannot consider them essentially different, especially as both the names occur in similar contexts. In the Babylonian inscriptions this goddess is mentioned in connexion with *Marduk*; but in the Assyrian inscriptions always with *Bil*; and she thus takes the place of the goddess named first on the Obelisk, with whom I here identify her. As to the derivation of the name, the termination *itu* is obviously that of the nominative feminine. Adjectives ending in *an* signify "full of." The root, then, is *Jarp*, or *Jirb*; and the divine name is a feminine adjective, related to this as *formosa* to *forma*. I cannot help thinking that the divine name in Gr. 2. 48, *Bil jar . bi*, is the masculine form of *Jarbanitu*, being equivalent to *Jarbanu*, as the goddess's name is to *Bilat jarbi*; nor should I be in the least surprised if some Assyrian syllabary should equate  $\rightarrow\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶}$  to  $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ .\*

\* [In Colonel RAWLINSON'S recently published "Notes," he has made a series of what appear to me most extraordinary mistakes respecting this name. In the first place, he considers it to be a title of *Bil*, instead of the name of the wife of *Bil*; but in Gr. 1. 32, Nebuchadnezzar says, "A house for Jarpanitu my mistress (*biltiya*) with silver I adorned." Secondly, he divides this word, which is a regularly formed derivative from a trilateral root, as shown in the text, into two words, *ziru banitu*, which he supposes to signify "the seed of (something unknown)," *ziru* being  $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶}$ . Now, though  $\rightarrow\text{𐎶}$  may signify "the seed of," it would not be read with that signification *ziru*, which would be the nominative when not in construction; but *zir*, or, as I write it, *jir*. It is

35. The last name on the Obelisk is  $\rightarrow\uparrow \rightarrow\uparrow\uparrow$ , for which we have on the Frame a character difficult to represent by types, and which seems to me to be identical with that which occurs in the great inscription at the India House, at the end of l. 50. It is elsewhere written  $\rightarrow\uparrow \rightarrow\uparrow\uparrow \rightarrow\leftarrow$ , *Ish.tar*; and both the forms are not only names of a particular goddess, but denote "a goddess" generally. In the Assyrian inscriptions this goddess is generally named in connexion with Assur; in the Babylonian  $\rightarrow\uparrow \uparrow\uparrow \uparrow\uparrow$ , which I take to be the same name, is connected with the Sun. *Ishtar* is called on both the Obelisk and the Frame "the protectress (?) of heaven and earth from violence." At Khorsabad she is called "the causer to rejoice (*musammikhat*) of the men of the provinces (?)." On the Reverse inscription from the north-west palace at Nimrūd, l. 345, the king speaks of her as "Ishtar, the mistress of Nineveh, my mistress."

36. So far seems plain enough; but a difficulty here presents itself. In addition to the two goddesses who alone are named on the Obelisk and on

equated to  $\uparrow\uparrow \rightarrow\uparrow \rightarrow\uparrow\uparrow \rightarrow\uparrow\uparrow$  *ji. ir* (compare BOTTA, 63. 8, and 74 bis 4). Nor, again, could *banitu* be a noun in the genitive; nor, I may add, an adjective in the nominative agreeing with *jiru*, it being feminine, while that noun is masculine. This last hypothesis would, however, be inconsistent with Colonel RAWLINSON'S further speculations. In the third place, having obtained this imaginary compound, *ziru-banitu*, he imagines the existence of a similar compound, *ziru-ishtar*, "the seed of Ishtar," with which he identifies the name Zoroaster! In the fourth place, he supposes that the persons to whom these imaginary names belonged were mythic representatives of the Scythic and Semitic races; *ziru banitu* being, "of course, the *Zerwan* of later times, who was understood to be the same as Shem."—*Notes*, p. 13. I will not follow him into his chronological speculations, further than to observe, that the supposed base on which he builds, "the domestic revolution at Nineveh in 747 B. C.," when Tiglath-pileser II. succeeded Pul, is a non-existent one. The former king was on the throne long prior to 747 B. C., as is certain from 2 Kings, xv. 29, and from a tablet in the British Museum; and nothing extraordinary seems to have occurred in that year at Nineveh. What distinguished it at Babylon was simply that Nabonassar, on coming to the throne, was pleased to destroy the records of his predecessors.]

\* The character  $\uparrow$  is often used for the affix of the third person masculine singular; but it cannot be so here, there being nothing to which it can refer. It must, therefore, be the equivalent of  $\leftarrow\leftarrow\leftarrow \uparrow \rightarrow\uparrow\uparrow$ , as in the ordinary title of royalty,  $\leftarrow\leftarrow \uparrow$ , *sar kissatiñ*. I believe that the Persian title "king of the provinces" is the equivalent of this; and yet, as *kissat*, followed by the ideographic plural "of men," is used for *kissatiñ*, the meaning may rather be, "of the tribes, or families." Perhaps "mankind" would more correctly represent the original than "the provinces." This remark applies also to the title of the goddess of § 36, in which the same character is used.

the Frame, Sargon mentions a third,  $\rightarrow\uparrow \leftarrow \leftarrow \rightarrow\uparrow \uparrow \rightarrow\rightarrow$ , *Bi. lat. Il. an* (?) "the mistress of the gods." He calls her "the enlarger (or multiplier, *murappisat*) of the births (? *taladti*) of the provinces (?)." The general import of this title, as marking the Lucina of Assyrian mythology, can scarcely be questioned. In the Bull inscription of Sennacherib the same name occurs (B. M. 38. 3) with the title *bi. lat nab. ni. ti*, that is, unquestionably, "mistress of birth." In both these places we have only the titles of this goddess; but on K. 170 there is a monogram which must represent her name. She is called  $\rightarrow\uparrow \leftarrow \uparrow \triangle$ , "mistress of the gods;" and a number, apparently xv., is connected with her. On the cylinders of Esarhaddon we have two goddesses mentioned who are designated by this number: "The divine xv. of Nineveh," who must be Ishtar; and the divine xv. of Arbil, who is probably the goddess now before us.

37. The great lioness in the British Museum was dedicated to a goddess, of whom it appears to be the representative. She was the goddess of war; and many of the titles are the same, all to the gender, with those of Bar. The name of the goddess is  $\rightarrow\uparrow \triangle \uparrow$ , an ideographic compound, of which the two first characters signify "the divine mistress of." The third might signify "the mountain," or "the country;" but I rather suspect it had a different value. The titles of this goddess are very long, and for the most part obscure. They begin, "The great mistress of heaven and earth, the queen of all the gods;" and they end, "whose sword is good, the dweller in Kalakh, my mistress." I am unable to identify her to my satisfaction with any of the three goddesses that I have mentioned previously; and I rather think that she was different from them all. The number of Assyrian goddesses was by no means limited to two. In the Khorsabad inscription (BOTTA, 153. 11, 12) Sargon speaks of "Dagan(?), Tsin, Shamas, Nabiu, Bin, and Bar, and their great wives (*khiratisunu rabati*)."\* This would imply the existence of six goddesses, ex-

\* [Colonel RAWLINSON, in p. 24 of his "Notes," identifies a number of goddesses which I cannot think to have been really the same. He appears to have set out with the principle, that the Assyrians had but two goddesses; and when he found a goddess distinguished from Ishtar, to have inferred that she was "the other goddess." It appears to me that the Assyrians could not have given to the same goddesses such a variety of names as he supposes. A goddess might be designated by her name written phonetically, such as Gula; by a noun or feminine adjective, applied to

clusive of Ishtar and Bilat, who were the wives of Assur and Bil. The wife of Nabiu appears to have been called Nana, and to have been honoured as the mistress of Babylon. Whether this was the same goddess as Urmitu, who is also named in connexion with Nabiu (БОТТА, 152. 11) may be doubted. Both names occur together in B. M. 17. 15 ;\* and they can scarcely stand in apposition.

38. A paper on Assyrian mythology would be very incomplete if it did not notice the formation of proper names containing those of the different deities. Names of deities enter into names of men in three ways. Sometimes they are

her *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, such as Ishtar, i. e. "the goddess;" Biltu, "the lady," or Jarpanitu, whatever that may mean. She might also be designated by a special ideograph, such as  $\gg\text{Y}$   $\gg\text{Y}$ ; or, again, by a compound title, of which the first member signified lady or mistress; and the second something over which the goddess was supposed to preside. Either of the parts of this compound might, again, be expressed by a single character, or by a combination. We have thus a vast number of possible designations for the same goddess; but it appears to me that Colonel RAWLINSON has gone beyond all reasonable bounds when he has identified "the mistress of  $\gg\text{Y}$ ," and "the mistress of  $\text{A}^{\wedge}\text{A}^{\wedge}$ ."

The first part of these compound titles, *bilat*, "the mistress, or lady, of," may be expressed phonetically by  $\gg\text{C}$ , or  $\gg\text{A}^{\wedge}\text{A}^{\wedge}$ , or ideographically by  $\text{Y}^{\wedge}\text{E}$ ,  $\text{A}^{\wedge}\text{A}^{\wedge}$ , or  $\text{A}^{\wedge}\text{E}$ , all of which are equivalent. The determinative  $\gg\text{Y}$ , signifying "deity," precedes these; and it is used in at least one instance for "the goddess of;" *bilat* being omitted after it. I have met with these words in connexion with the following characters, which constitute distinct titles:—

$\gg\text{Y}$ , Biltu, or Jarpanitu.

$\text{A}^{\wedge}\text{A}^{\wedge}$ , the goddess of war.

$\gg\text{Y}$   $\text{Y}^{\wedge}\text{C}$ , the goddess of childbirth.

$\gg\text{Y}$   $\text{Y}^{\wedge}\text{C}$ .

$\gg\text{Y}$   $\text{E}$   $\text{Y}$ , or  $\text{A}^{\wedge}\text{E}$   $\gg\text{Y}$   $\text{Y}$ . The last character seems to denote a separate word, which I take to be an adjective, or more probably a genitive case, qualifying the preceding noun *khar.rish*. Nebuchadnezzar calls the goddess who presided over these last *ummi banitiya*, "the mother who bare me."]

\* [In this last passage the names occur together immediately after those of Bil and Jarpanitu, no conjunction intervening in either case. It would, therefore, be just as natural to take Urmitu for an epithet of Nabiu as to consider Jarpanitu to be a title of Bil. Yet on one of the tablets of Assur-bani-bal in the British Museum we have "*Sa Nabiu Urmitu . . . , kima abi u ummi, yurab-bu-su;*" i. e. "whom Nabiu (and) Urmitu . . . , after the manner of a father and a mother, have educated." Urmitu may signify "the Exalted" from the root  $\text{U}^{\wedge}\text{R}$ ].

genitives, governed of a noun signifying "servant," or the like. The idea of "servant" is expressed by the character  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ , which occurs with that meaning both on cylinders referring to the deity who is represented as being worshipped, and on Tablets, where "my lord the king" is supplicated by "his servant," the person named. This commences several proper names. I have no positive proof of its having any particular phonetic value; but I think it probable that it was the equivalent of  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$   $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ , *a. wi. il*,\* which is similarly used. Compare Mrs. CULLIMORE'S "Oriental Cylinders," 135, 136, with 76, 146. Now I cannot doubt that this last word is the  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$  which begins the name of the son of Nebuchadnezzar in Jer. lii. 31. This name has not yet been found. Colonel RAWLINSON'S identification of it with *Irba-Marduk*, whose name is on the stone duck in the British Museum, is evidently erroneous. I should expect that it would be written with the latter, if not with the former, of the two words given above, followed by one of the forms of the name of Marduk given in § 26.

39. Other names express a proposition relating to the god, having no special reference to the person named. Such are *Nabiu-nahid*, "Nebo is glorious," the name of the last king of Babylon before the Medo-Persian conquest; and *Nahid-Marduk*, the name of a son of Merodach Baladan. The element *nahid* is indifferently expressed by the monogram  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$  and by the group  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$   $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$   $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ , *na. hi. id*. This root exists in Hebrew, where it has the same meaning of "glorious."

40. Other names again express a proposition relating to a god, which had special reference to the person named. Such names are *Nabiu-pal-yuchur*, "Nebo has formed a son;" *Assur-akh-iddin*, "Assur has given a brother;"† a

\* The most common value of  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$  is *pi*; but it is distinctly stated in the syllabary K. 62, that it has also the value *wi* or *mi*. I adopt this last value on account of the Hebrew identification.

† [It is certain that  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$  and  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$  or  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ , are used as equivalents to express the noun *akh*, "brother," which is an element in the names of Sennacherib (*Tsin-akhs'-irib*) and Esarhaddon (*Assur-akh-iddin*); but it is not certain that when used as verbs they are equivalent. The first of them is certainly used for  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$   $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ , *ba. ni*, in the name of a son of Esarhaddon; while the last is as certainly used for  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$   $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ , *yu. chur*, in the names of Nebuchadnezzar and his father. Now, although it is certain that some monograms represented more than one verb; as, for instance,  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$  and  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ ;  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$  and  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$ , which are expressly stated on tablets in the British Museum to be represented ideographically alike; and though the nearly equivalent verbs  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$  and  $\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$  might, in the same manner be represented alike, I am now (22nd December, 1854) inclined to think that

name which, as I have formerly stated, proves that its possessor was not the eldest son of his father. A great similarity exists between these three classes of names and the classes of Egyptian names of men and women into which divine names extend.

✱ should *always* be read *bani*, being equivalent in this sense to ✱; and that ✱ should always be read *yuchur*; ✱ being in this sense interchangeable with it. I would *now*, therefore, designate the builder of the North-west palace at Nimrud as Assur-bani-bal I; reading his name in the same way as that of the son of Esarhaddon, which is written precisely alike.]

VII.—*On the Chronology of the Twenty-sixth Egyptian Dynasty, and of the Commencement of the Twenty-seventh.* By the Rev. EDWARD HINCKS, D. D.

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Read November 13, 1854.

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BEFORE the commencement of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty we have no Egyptian chronology that deserves the name. We know the order in which a great number of kings reigned ; but we know the lengths of the reigns of extremely few of these ; nor is this want supplied by our knowing the interval between any particular reign and a fixed epoch. With the exception of that of the first Shishonk, whose conquest of Judea furnishes us with a sure synchronism ; and of those of the Ethiopian kings who immediately preceded the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, we cannot even approximate to the date of any particular reign with anything like certainty. When we go back to remote periods, the limits of possible error, as estimated by the difference of opinion among those who have endeavoured to construct a chronology from the insufficient materials that we possess, are measured by millenaries of years, rather than by centuries.

As to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty we possess data on which perfect reliance may be placed ; and from these I think I shall be able to demonstrate that the first year of Nechao II. must have been the 136th of Nabonassar, corresponding to 612 B. C. ; while there is a probability, almost amounting to certainty, that the Dynasty was counted to commence 75 years before this ; the first year of the so-called Stepinates, being the 61st of Nabonassar, nearly coinciding with 687 B. C. It is admitted on all hands that the first year of Darius was the 227th of Nabonassar, corresponding to 521 B. C. The interval between this and the commencement of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty would then be 166 years. It will be convenient to divide this into three periods. The first of 75 years



intervened between the first of Stephinates and the first of Nechao II. This period is not actually measured by monumental chronology; but the duration of it is determined by Greek authorities with a high degree of probability; and the lengths of reigns which these fix with accuracy are proved to be approximately true, both by monumental evidence, and by Assyrian and Jewish synchronisms. On this period I will offer some remarks, after I have treated of those which follow it.

The second period of 40 years intervened between the first year of Nechao II., and the first of Amasis. The proof that this was the precise length of the interval will be found in my paper on the Egyptian Stele, read on the 28th of June, 1841, and printed in the nineteenth volume of the Transactions of the Academy. I divided this interval among the three reigns in this manner:—I supposed that 16 years of Nechao, 6 of Psammitichus, and 19 of Apries, were reduced from 41 to 40 in consequence of the months which were deficient in each reign having in the three reigns made up an entire year. An Egyptian record has since been discovered by MARIETTE, from which LEPSIUS has determined that the actual intervals between the first years of the four kings I have named were 15, 6, and 19 years, respectively; and, moreover, that the year in which Nechao died was called his sixteenth year at its commencement, and the first of Psammitichus II. in its latter part. It appears from this important discovery that the Egyptians counted the year in which a king died as the first year of the reign of his successor; differing in this from the Assyrians and Babylonians, who called the fraction of a year after his predecessor's death "the beginning of the reign" of the new king; and reckoned the following year as his first. See the Nimrûd Obelisk, lines 22 and 26.

The third interval, between the first years of Amasis and of Darius, was counted as 48 years by ROSELLINI, and 49 by WILKINSON, who agreed with each other, and I believe with all previous modern chronologists, in placing the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses in 525 B. C.; WILKINSON allowed 45 years before this for Amasis and his son; ROSELLINI allowed only 44. In the paper I have cited I maintained that the conquest of Egypt was two years earlier, in 527 B. C.: and accordingly I made the interval between the first years of Amasis and of Darius 50 years. This was, at the time I published it, a novelty; but I have since been followed both by BUNSEN and by LEPSIUS. I now see reason to

amend my statement, and to extend the interval to 51 years. I suppose that Amasis and Cambyses reigned over Egypt 44 and 6 years, respectively; and that the reigns of Psammitichus III. and of the Magian impostor together made up another year. The first year of Amasis would thus be the 176th of Nabonassar, nearly corresponding with 572 B. C.

The grounds on which I was led to allow six years for the reign of Cambyses in Egypt were two. Africanus expressly assigns this number; and although his statement is obviously *in some part* incorrect, the most natural correction is what I then proposed, viz., to substitute *θ*. for *ε*. These Greek letters, in their uncial forms, in the times between Africanus and Georgius Syncellus, were very similar. Making this correction, Africanus says: *Καμβύσης ἔτη θ' τῆς ἐαυτοῦ βασιλείας Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσεν, Αἰγύπτου ἔτη ε'.* "Cambyses reigned nine years over his own kingdom of the Persians, and six years over Egypt." This observation was adopted from ΜΑΝΕΤΗΟ, and by him from an Egyptian source; and the correctness of it, as well as the necessity of its being made, will both appear from the fact which I am about to state. Cambyses dated the years of his reign in Egypt from the death of Cyrus; and his last year, the 226th of Nabonassar (522 B. C.), was reckoned as his ninth year in Egyptian records. LEPSIUS has noticed the former of these facts; but he has unaccountably overlooked the latter, though it follows from the very record that he quotes. It appears from the funeral record of a certain Apis, that he was born in the fifth year of Cambyses, that he lived eight years, and died in the fourth year of Darius. LEPSIUS shows that this could not have been the case if the reign of Cambyses had been reckoned to commence at any point later than the death of Cyrus; but he labours to avoid the conclusion, which naturally follows from this record, that the fourth of Darius would have been the thirteenth of Cambyses: and, consequently, that the year before the first of Darius would have been the ninth of Cambyses.

What made LEPSIUS so reluctant to admit this conclusion was this:—In the Canon of Ptolemy only eight years are given to Cambyses; and what seems to prove that he could have reigned no more is, that the eclipse of the moon, which took place on the 197th day of the 225th year of Nabonassar, or on the 16th July, 523 B. C., was in the seventh year of Cambyses.

This is certainly a difficulty; but it strikes me that it is more apparent than

real. The death of Cyrus took place in the 218th year of Nabonassar (530 B. C.). According to the Egyptian mode of computation, this would be reckoned the first year of Cambyses: and, of course, the 226th would have been reckoned his ninth. This is what the Apis inscription proves to have been the case. Ptolemy, however, follows the Babylonian computation, according to which the year which commenced next after the death of Cyrus, that is, the 219th of Nabonassar (529 B. C.), would be counted as the first of Cambyses.\*

\* [As many persons may find it difficult to admit that what Cambyses called his 8th year was different from what Ptolemy reckoned as his 8th year, it may be well to mention that there are two instances, at least, in the time of the Lagidæ, when a similar difference existed. One of these is universally recognised. What is accounted in the Canon to be the 1st year of Ptolemy Evergates II. is his 25th according to all contemporary monuments. The other instance, though I think it equally certain, is not equally well known. What is accounted in the Canon to be the first year of Ptolemy Philadelphus is, according to contemporary monuments, his fourth; the cause of this being, of course, that the Canon reckons his years from his father's death, while the monuments reckoned them from his being taken into partnership by his father, which was three years earlier. This appears from a Greek papyrus at Leyden, which has a registration in the 29th year of Ptolemy, the son of Ptolemy, on the 2nd of Tybi, being the 29th of Peritius. These dates coincided in A. N. 489, which is, according to the Canon, the 26th of Philadelphus, but not in A. N. 492.

For proof of this I observe, that the dates by which Ptolemy records astronomical observations in the years of Nabonassar 504, 512, and 519, must have been lunar; the interval between the two last dates being 7 Egyptian years and 124 days, or 2679 days; which was equal to 7 Macedonian years, 4 months, and 21 days. It is manifest that this equation could not hold good in a solar year; but if we take 21 days from the above interval, the remainder, 2658 days, is as near as possible to 90 lunations.

To come to accurate calculations: the first day of the first year of the Seleucidæ was 436 Egyptian years and 291 days from the epoch of Nabonassar. Subtracting this interval from those between the same epoch and the 28th Thoth, A. N. 504, the 10th Thoth, A. N. 512, and the 14th Tybi, A. N. 519,—the three Egyptian dates given by Ptolemy,—we have 66 y. 101 d., 74 y. 83 d. and 81 y. 207 d.; or 24191, 27093 and 29772 days respectively. Now, as the Macedonians accounted every month to consist of thirty days, but passed over every sixty-third day, we must add to the above numbers the integral parts of the quotients when they are divided by 63. This will bring them to 24574 days = 819 months and 4 days; 27523 days = 917 months, 13 days; and 30244 days = 1008 months and 4 days. Ptolemy equates the above dates to the 5th Apellæus, 67th year, the 14th Dius, 75th year, and the 5th Xanthicus in the 82nd year; the intervals between which and the 1st Hyperberetæus in the 1st year are precisely what have been found. Let us now seek, in the same manner, the day of the Macedonian year corresponding to the 2nd of Tybi A. N. 292, being the 29th of Philadelphus according to the Canon. The interval between this and the epoch of the

Perhaps, however, it will be objected to this view of the matter, that if the Egyptians counted the years of Cambyses differently from the Babylonians, they should count the years of Darius differently also. It might be sufficient to say, in reply to this supposed objection, that the record already cited shows that they did not count the 226th of Nabonassar as a year of Darius; but I think it best to state the reason why they should not do so.

It appears from the Behistun inscription of Darius that Gomata the Magian seized the kingdom on the 9th of the month *Garmapada*, and that he was killed by Darius on the 10th of *Bágayádish*. The Babylonian date of the former event is preserved; and from comparing the monogram for the month with those in the Calendars, it appears that this was the eighth month of the year. The Babylonian date of the impostor's death has been lost; and it is uncertain whether the seven months which Herodotus states that he reigned should be counted from his usurpation, or from the death of Cambyses. Nay, it may be doubted whether Herodotus was not mistaken in this, as in so many other of his statements. The 9th of the eighth month may, however, be confidently identified with the 299th day of the 226th year of Nabonassar (26th Oct., 522 B. C.), and Cambyses did not die till some time subsequent to this. Almost the entire year would consequently have been reckoned to Cambyses; and Darius, who could not have established his authority over Egypt till the fourth or fifth

Seleucidæ would be 547 years, 195 days, or 19905 actual days. Adding the quotient when this is divided by 63, or 315, for exemptile days, we have 20220 days as counted by the Macedonians, or 674 months exactly. In this year, therefore, the 2nd Tybi would correspond with the 1st of a Macedonian month. But three years before this, A. N. 489, we should have 1095 actual days less; that is, 18810; 298 exemptile days, and 19108 in all; that is, 636 months, 28 days, which exactly corresponds.

An interesting corollary follows from this. BRUGSCH has shown from the inscriptions found by MARIETTE in the tomb of the Apises at Memphis, that the first years of seven successive Apises occurred in the following years of Egyptian kings, which he equates to the years of Nabonassar placed after them. 1. 32nd Philadelphus, A. N. 495. 2. 16th Evergetes, A. N. 517. 3. 12th Philopator, A. N. 538. 4. 20th Eiphanes, A. N. 563. 5. 17th Philometor, A. N. 584. 6. 28th Evergetes II., A. N. 606. 7. 53rd. Evergetes II., A. N. 631. The intervals he makes 22, 21, 25, 21, 22, and 25 years. These animals were not allowed to live beyond 25 years, but of course they might die sooner. Now, according to the above numbers, only two out of six lived to the end of their term; but I have just shown that the 32nd of Philadelphus was A. N. 492. This would increase the first interval to 25, and consequently give a third out of the six who lived out its appointed period].

month of the following year, would have had no ground whatever for calling that his second year. No dates have been met with, so far as I am aware, bearing the name of Bardis as king; but the record of any event occurring in the beginning of the 227th of Nabonassar would, of necessity, have been dated in either his first or his second year. In Babylon the case was different: the year that began in spring, 521 B. C., would have been called the first year of Bardis, and if Darius had succeeded him regularly in the course of that year, the following year, beginning in 520 B. C., would have been reckoned as his first; but the imposture of Bardis having been detected, Darius would date his reign from the beginning of the year which next followed the death of Cambyses. Thus the year 521 B. C., or the 227th of Nabonassar, was the first of Darius in both Babylon and Egypt. It was the year next following that in which Cambyses died; and it was the year in which Darius actually began to reign.

The other ground on which I assumed in 1841 that Cambyses reigned six months in Egypt was, the inscription found near Cosseir, and published in BURTON'S "Excerpta Hieroglyphica," Pl. viii. No. 1. I understood this inscription as not being a collection of three dates in the 6th Cambyses, the 36th Darius, and the 12th of Xerxes; but as a statement that a certain functionary held office during 6 years of Cambyses, 36 of Darius, and 12 of Xerxes; at the end of which period he was doubtless relieved from its duties in consequence of his age. Now, as this man was a Persian, and as Cambyses would not have been likely to appoint a superintendent in this remote district till the conquered country was tolerably settled, I now argue that Cambyses must have conquered Egypt fully six years, or rather more than six years, before the accession of Darius,—that is to say, he must have conquered it in the year 528 B. C., or in the 220th year of Nabonassar.

Further proof of this, however, is derived from the Apis records. An Apis was born in the fifth year of Cambyses, that is, in the 222nd of Nabonassar. It is evident that these animals were *discovered* when very young, and that they were not sought for till after the deaths of their predecessors. It is evident, also, that this Apis was the successor of the one that Cambyses killed. It appears, also, that another Apis was buried in the fourth year of Cambyses, which was of course the predecessor of the one that was killed. Hence it follows that the death of that Apis, and consequently the return of Cambyses from his ex-

pedition to Ethiopia, must have been in his fourth year, or at latest in the beginning of the fifth. It is certain, however, that Cambyses conquered Egypt a considerable time before his expedition to Ethiopia. Many things are recorded of him by Herodotus which would occupy a considerable time; and further statements of his proceedings appear on a statue in the Vatican, the inscriptions upon which have been explained by Viscount DE ROUGÉ. Cambyses at first designed to allow Psammitichus III. to reign as a dependent king. It could not have been till after he had found that he was not to be depended on, and had put him to death, that he assumed the Pharaonic title which appears on this statue, and made appointments as the King of Upper and Lower Egypt. He then went to Sais, to be initiated in the religious rites of the country, as the kings his predecessors had been; and it was not until after all this that he set out for Ethiopia. Allowing a reasonable time for all this, his conquest of Egypt could not have been later than his third year, that is, the 220th of Nabonassar, 528 B. C. As to this point I should observe, that I do not differ from LEPsius as to the year of Cambyses in which he conquered Egypt, as deduced from the Apis records. He concludes from these, as I do, and as I think is unavoidable, that Cambyses conquered Egypt in his third year. What we differ about, and in which I think I have proved that he was mistaken, is—that he counts the 221st, in place of the 220th, of Nabonassar as the third year of Cambyses, according to the Egyptians.

This 220th of Nabonassar must have been also the first and only year of Psammitichus III., and the year before it must have been the forty-fourth of Amasis, whose forty-fourth year has been found by Sir G. WILKINSON as an Egyptian date; while the independent authorities of Herodotus and Africanus both give him a reign of forty-four years. The results of this are, that the first years of the following kings correspond to the years of Nabonassar, and the proleptic Julian years which are placed after them:—

1st Amasis . . .	= 176th Nabonassar,	beginning 13th Jan.,	572 B. C.
1st Apries . . .	= 157th	”	” 18th ” 591 ”
1st Psammitichus II.	= 151st	”	” 20th ” 597 ”
1st Nechao II. . .	= 136th	”	” 23rd ” 612 ”

I have now to speak of the period between the commencement of the Dynasty and the accession of Nechao II. The independent authorities of Hero-

dotus and Africanus concur in assigning to the first Psammitichus 54 years. Various dates of his up to the 45th year were published by YOUNG, having been communicated to him by CHAMPOLLION; and M. MARIETTE has recently found a date of his 53rd year. No reasonable doubt can then exist as to this first year having been the eighty-second of Nabonassar, commencing 6th February, 666 B. C. Before this, Africanus and Eusebius place three reigns, of Stephinates, Nechepsus, and Nechao I., to which they assign, respectively, seven, six, and eight years; precisely agreeing as to these three numbers, though they differ everywhere else in the Dynasty. No such names have as yet, I believe, been found on any Egyptian record; and yet there are good reasons for interposing these kings between Tirhaka and Psammitichus I.

In the first place, it appears from the second Book of Kings (xix. 9) that Tirhaka reigned over Egypt at the time of Sennacherib's expedition; and the Assyrian inscriptions, which have been recently discovered, fix the date of this expedition in 700 B. C., the forty-eighth year of Nabonassar. According to Africanus, he reigned for 18 years; according to Eusebius, 20. If we admit the existence of these three reigns, and thus make his last year to coincide with the 60th of Nabonassar, 688 B. C., either of the above-stated length of his reign is admissible; but if we suppose his reign to have terminated in the 81st of Nabonassar, we must ascribe to him a much longer reign, for which we have no authority whatever. It appears, also, from 2 Kings (xvii. 4) that So, that is, Shebek, one of the two first Ethiopian kings, had possession of Egypt some years before the 26th of Nabonassar (B. C. 722), when Shalmanezar besieged Samaria. The date of this event is certain from the Assyrian inscriptions. This is 56 years before the accession of Psammitichus I., which is a longer interval than is allowed by any of the Greek authorities for the Ethiopian dominion. If, however, we interpose the 21 years in question, the interval would be reduced to 35 years, which harmonizes with the statements of both Africanus and Eusebius from Manetho. I admit that there is an uncertainty as to these Ethiopian reigns; but I contend that all the synchronisms which we have concerning them require that we should insert an interval between Tirhaka and Psammitichus I., which cannot be very different from what is assigned for it by the remarkably concurrent testimony of Africanus and Eusebius.

But what of the monuments? The fact is, I believe, undoubted, that the

name of none of the three first kings of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty has been found on an Egyptian monument; and it will be expected that some attempt should be made to reconcile this fact with their existence. There are two ways in which the non-appearance of their names may be accounted for; and I believe that both of the causes which I am about to mention existed. In the first place, the authority of the kings of this Dynasty was, for a considerable time, limited in its extent to a small part of Egypt; and that part one from which few monuments have been brought. In the second place, there was a rival sovereign during the early part of this Dynasty, and yet not in its very earliest part, whose partisans would probably have defaced any monuments they might find bearing the names of the Saite princes. I allude to Queen *Amenirtas*, whose daughter was in course of time the wife of Psammitichus I., but who was herself opposed to him, and for a time probably at war with him. It appears from the monuments that this queen was the daughter of a Queen *Mût . schâ . neferu*. I am not aware that her father's name has been found mentioned; but I think it probable that she was the daughter of Tirhaka, because Eusebius mentions "Ammeris the Ethiopian" in connexion with the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, who could scarcely have been a different person. At any rate, she appears to have been regarded as the legitimate Queen of Egypt, while the Saite princes were regarded as intruders.

By his marriage with *Shapentap*, the daughter of this queen, Psammitichus I. strengthened the title to the crown which he owed in the first instance to conquest, effected by the aid of foreign mercenaries; and Nechao II. imitated him in this policy, marrying his half-sister, *Takhote*, the daughter of Psammitichus I. and *Shapentap*. Psammitichus II. did the same: marrying *Nitakrit*, the daughter of Nechao and *Takhote*; and by her he had a daughter, who was probably married to her half-brother, Apries. Whether this, however, were the case or not, she married Amasis; and had by him a son, Psammitichus III., who alone of the kings of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty had the blood of the ancient kings in his veins,—assuming, as I do, that *Amenirtas* inherited it. I give at the end of this paper a Genealogical Table of the kings and queens of this dynasty, exhibiting the two lines of hereditary descent: one, of the Saite princes in the male line; the other, of the blood-royal of Egypt passing in the female line; through five descents, and uniting in the person of the last king, whose



unfortunate fate has been made known to us by Herodotus. The sarcophagus of his mother, *Onkh-nas-Ra-nefer-het*, is in the British Museum.

In the Genealogical Table I have given the approximate dates of the births of these kings and queens; and I must now state the grounds on which I have proceeded in estimating these. I depend, in great measure, on the names given to the different persons; and in particular to Apries and *Onkh-nas-Ra-nefer-het*. It was very much the custom among the Egyptians, as it has been and is among those of other countries, to call a boy by the name of his grandfather. A deviation from this course had most probably a cause different from mere caprice; and that cause is often traceable. Nechao II. was called after his grandfather, Nechao I.; as was his son, Psammitichus II., from his grandfather, Psammitichus I. In the case of Apries a deviation from this course took place. He received for his name the royal prænomen of Psammitichus I.\* Names compounded of royal prænomens were very common. They consisted of a proposition, sometimes declaring the king to be great, or wise, or the like; sometimes of one merely declaring him to be living, or abiding; and sometimes one of declaring him to be "in the solar mountain," that is, to be "a setting Sun." This last name was given when the king was dying, or dead, as a parting tribute of respect; the others were always given during his life. These names, being too long for ordinary use, were often shortened, and that in different ways. When the king, whose prænomen was a part of the name, was in good repute, the concluding part of the name was dropped, and the prænomen retained alone. If the king became afterwards of less repute, the *Ra*, or "sun," of the prænomen was dropped. Thus we have the name *Sotp-het*, in the reign of Amenemhe II., belonging to a person who was born in the reign of Amenemhe I. whose prænomen was *Ra-sotp-het*. The name given to him had, no doubt, some addition, as *nakht*, or *aker*, or *onkh*; which was in the first instance dropped, as making the name too long, and afterwards the *Ra* was omitted also; the memory of this king being apparently not cherished among the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty, who regarded Osortasen I. as the head of their family. On the other hand, if the name of the king whose prænomen was used in the name was a decidedly

\* According to ROSELLINI and others, the name which he took was that of Psammitichus II. This mistake, which has caused much confusion in respect to this dynasty, has been rectified within the last few years; I am not able to say whether by LEPSIUS or by BRUGSCH.

obnoxious one, it was dropped, and the conclusion of the name alone retained. Thus, such a name as *Nakht*, or *Aker*, was not intended to designate the person born as one who would be "brave," or "wise;" but was a remnant of a name describing a king as so, whose memory it was no longer prudent to respect.

Having premised this as to Egyptian names, I draw the obvious conclusion that Apries was born not later than about 612, the year in which Psammitichus I. died. He might have been born some years earlier, but could not be later. The life of Psammitichus I. was therefore not less than three generations, each of which we may estimate at from twenty to thirty years. If, however, we take the smallest number, the age of the king at his accession would be too small; and if we take the highest, he would have lived to an age that is by no means probable. I accordingly take the middle number, twenty-five. I observe, however, that though it is well to give dates for the births of the different personages mentioned, which are tolerably near to the true ones, I draw no inference which assumes the correctness of these dates. I only argue from those of Apries and of the mother of Psammitichus III., which last is fixed with the same certainty; which two dates appear to me to prove that Apries could not have been a son of *Nitakrit*, the queen of Psammitichus II.

I observe, that *Onkh-nas-Ra-nefer-het*, the daughter of this king and queen, could not have been born till her father ascended the throne, because his royal prænomen forms part of her name, which signifies that this king "was living for her," or "was her life." This fixes her birth in 591 at latest, and in 597 at soonest. I take the mean 594. She would thus be 18 years younger than Apries, whose birth I have fixed at 612, its latest possible date. In fact, the least possible interval between their births is 15 years; and the addition of a few years to this is highly probable. Now, as she was the descendant in the fourth degree from *Amenirtas*, who was born before 687, we should have about 24 years for a descent in the female line; and this shows that neither Apries, nor, for a like reason, his father, nor his grandfather, could be a son of that princess of the blood royal whom his father married.

This being premised, I come to speak of the probable nature of the Egyptian government in the early part of what Manetho calls the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, as well as in the time of the twenty-fifth. An Assyrian inscription containing Sennacherib's account of his expedition to Palestine, which was certainly

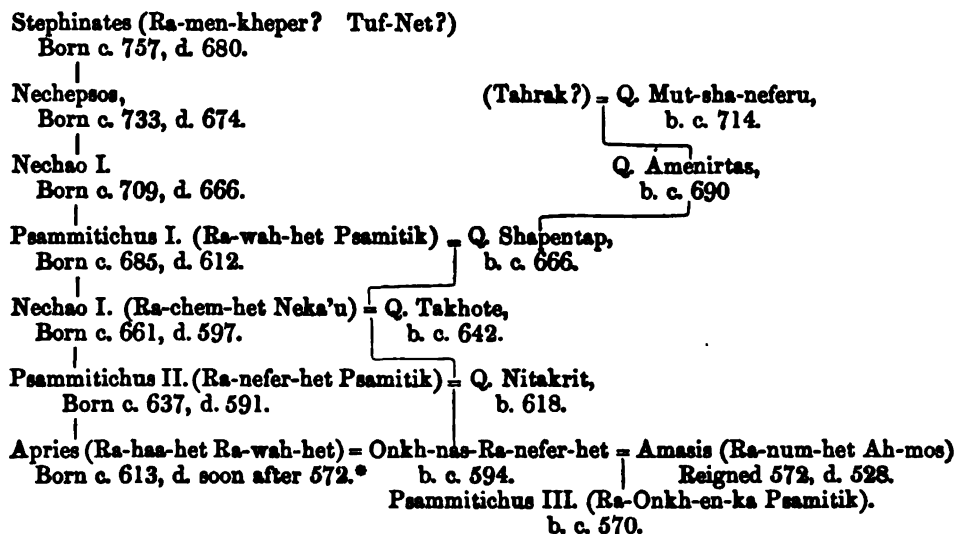
in 700 B. C., gives us the interesting information that there were *kings* of Egypt opposed to him, as well as the King of Meroe, Tirhaka, who is, however, considered by Manetho as the King of Egypt, and is so entitled on contemporary Egyptian monuments. The number of these Egyptian kings is not stated. More light would probably be thrown on the matter if the beautifully executed and perfectly legible cylinder belonging to the executors of Colonel TAYLOR were accessible; but this is not now the case. Another Assyrian inscription, which would necessarily throw light on the matter, has been mentioned by Colonel RAWLINSON. It contains a record of the conquest of Egypt by Esarhaddon. I am not aware that Colonel RAWLINSON has given any of the particulars of this conquest; and the inscription is accessible to him only. The published inscriptions of Esarhaddon describe him as the King of Egypt, and subduer of *Milukh*, or *Kuts* (Meroe, or Kush); names which are used as equivalent, and which should put an end to the fancies of recent commentators as to the Biblical Kush being in Asia.

Now, although Herodotus was certainly misinformed as to the circumstances connected with the dodecarchy, it is hard to think that his statements were altogether without foundation. The probability seems to be that under the Ethiopian rule there were twelve kings of Egypt who acknowledged the supremacy of the Ethiopian monarch as lord paramount. The latter had the title of *Suten Heb*, or "King of Upper and Lower Egypt;" and was probably, through the female line, regarded as the legitimate sovereign, while the dodecarchs had some inferior title expressive of royalty conceded to them. Stephinates, so called, was, I suppose, one of these dodecarchs; and I think it likely that on the death of Tirhaka he assumed the titles of supreme royalty. I believe him to have been the king who is represented on a stele in the Louvre, with the prænomen that Thothmos III. had previously used, *Ra-men-kheper*, but with the name hammered out. This stele is evidently of late age; and the name of the princess which accompanies that of the King, *Mût-irtas*, is analogous to that of *Amen-irtas* and others which were common in the Saitic period, but not, I believe, used at a much earlier date. The conquests of Esarhaddon reduced the son of Stephinates to the rank of dodecarch; and after his death Amenirtas, whom we may suppose to have married one of the dodecarchs of Thebes, acquired the supreme dominion; and to her I ascribe the defacement of the royal name on the stele in the Louvre.

The dodecarchy lasted during a considerable portion of the reign of Psammitichus I.; and it very probably terminated by the other dodecarchs combining against him, by his subduing him through the aid of foreign mercenaries, and by his marriage with the daughter of Amenirtas.

The name Stephinates is evidently not Egyptian; but it seems to me a not unnatural corruption of *Tufnet*, "Neith is his breath;" a name which was borne by a person of whom, and of whose descendants there are several naophorous statues in different Museums, from which it may be inferred that he was born in the latter part of the reign of Psammitichus I. His grandfather, consequently, from whom he inherited the name, might very well have been born before 680 B. C., when Stephinates would have died. The name which I read *Tuf-net* was read by CHAMPOLLION *Pef-pa-net*; but the second element, signifying "breath," must have had the value *tu*, because it is not only used as a determinative to this word (SHARPE, "Egyptian Inscriptions," 77.4), but is used for its initial character, replacing the *semicircle*, on a coffin of the age of the Thirteenth Dynasty in the Museum at Belfast. Now, *pef-tu* and *tuf* are equivalent forms, which are habitually interchanged. As to the age when this Tufnet lived, we have the following data. There are two naophorous statues of himself, one in the British Museum, executed when Apries was King, and exhibiting his royal shields; another in the Louvre, executed some time later, when Amasis had succeeded him. There are two statues of his sons: one in a private collection in London, representing a son named after Apries, and of course born in his reign; the other in the Vatican, representing his brother *Ucha-Hor-Sin*, the inscriptions on which have been explained at great length by VISCOUNT DE ROUGE. They represent him as having lived through the calamitous reign of Cambyses to that of Darius. A fifth statue of this family, in the British Museum, represents a son of *Ucha-Hor-Sin*, named *Ra-num-het-men*, which name implies that he was born, and probably that the statue was made, in the reign of Amasis. It is most likely that this person died before his father; as the latter speaks of providing for his brothers, taking no notice of his son. The reason why I suppose the statue to have been made in the reign of Amasis is, that the name I have given is called "a good name," and the prænomen *Ra-num-het* is included in a royal shield. It is not likely that this would have been the case under Cambyses.

The inference to be drawn from what has been stated is, that *Ucha-Hor-Sin* was born within a few years before or after 586 B. C., so as to be between 60 and 70 at the accession of Darius. This would leave 58 years during which he might have a son sufficiently grown up to hold office, as it appears he did. It is certainly within the limits of probability that the great grandfather of this person, bearing the same name as his father, should have been born before 680 B. C. I am not aware that any other record of this family exists beyond the five statues I have mentioned; but it is very possible there may be such. Neither am I aware that any other person who bore the name of *Tuf-net* has been found mentioned; but this also is very possible. Those who have the charge of Museums would do well to investigate the matter.



\* [In the Paper as originally sent, I had, instead of this date of the death of Apries, written "after 570;" and I had added the following note, viz.:—"Though Amasis dated the years of his reign from 572, it appears that Apries lived and was acknowledged as King for some years after. LEPsius mentions that he has found a date of his 22nd year. Diodorus gives him 22 years; Herodotus, 25." On further considering, however, the sentence in LEPsius's Paper to which I referred, I am perfectly satisfied that it is the result of an error of the press, or of a *lapsus manus* of his own. The context makes it quite evident that it was Psamitik I. of whom he intended to say that he had found a date of the 22nd year. Though Herodotus says that Amasis did not put Apries to death immediately, it is by no means likely that he recognised him as king. Africanus distinctly states that he reigned 19 years only; and the monuments prove that what would have been his 20th was reckoned the first of Amasis].

VIII.—*On the Ancient Name of Dublin.* By CHARLES HALIDAY, ESQ., M. R. I. A.

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Read June 12, 1854.

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AT the request of my colleagues in the Commission for Preserving and Improving the Port of Dublin, I undertook, some time since, to collect materials for a history of the harbour, principally with a view to trace the progress of improvement in the navigable channel of the Liffey, and to preserve some record of the various plans proposed, and of the effect of works executed for deepening the river and rendering the port commodious for shipping.

In pursuit of these objects it became necessary to contrast the ancient with the present state of the river and harbour.

It is generally known, that until 1791, when the new Custom House was opened on the north side of the river, there was a custom house and quay at the south-east side of Essex Bridge, where vessels trading to our port discharged their cargoes ; and that previously to 1620 vessels unloaded at Merchant's-quay and Wood-quay : the custom house, or crane, being then opposite to the end of Winetavern-street. Hence it might be inferred, that when vessels ascended the river nearly a mile beyond the wharfs where they are now moored, the channel must have been deeper than at present. But independently of the fact that the ships which formerly traded to the port were not only differently constructed, but were much smaller than those now employed, there are historical incidents which show, that at an early period the Liffey was so shallow near the city, that it presented no great obstacle to predatory incursions from the southern parts of Leinster into Meath.

Unfortunately, however, no map could be found older than the small outline of the city published under the date of 1610, in "Speed's British

Theatre ;” and, as it gives no information respecting the position of the fords or shallow places in any part of the river, it became necessary to seek that information from documents of another kind.

In the State Paper Office, London, there is a Report, made about the year 1590, which very minutely describes the circuit of the city walls, with its other defences, and states that the depth of water in the Liffey, opposite Merchant’s-quay and Wood-quay, varied, being from 3 to 6½ feet. This survey, however, only refers to that part of the river fronting the city walls. But among our unpublished Irish records I found two, with more important information respecting the state of the river, and in the preceding century. Apparently, these documents have been hitherto unnoticed. Their contents are not specified in the list of unpublished Statutes made by the Record Commissioners, nor are they to be found in the list printed in the “*Liber Hiberniæ.*” The first is, an Ordinance of a Great Council, held in April, 1455, before Thomas Earl of Kildare (Deputy to Richard Duke of York), enacting that the land-holders of the barony of Castleknock and of the Cross of Finglass shall stop all the fords on the Liffey between the bridge of Lucan and the city of Dublin,—the land-owners of the baronies of Balrothery and Coolock, and the Crosses of Lusk and Swords, stopping the fords and shallow places between the bridge of Dublin and the island of Clontarf. The other is an Act of a Parliament held Friday before the Feast of St. Luke, being October in the 34 Hen. VI. This Act recites in French, that many Irish enemies and English rebels, coming by the ford at the “pier” of St. Mary’s Abbey, &c. (“*la vade p le pier de Seint Mary Abbay*”), enter Fingal by night and rob and destroy the liege people of the King ; and for remedy enacts, that a wall, 20 perches long and 6 feet high, and also a tower, shall be built at St. Mary’s Abbey, to stop the ford there (“*une toure ove une mure del xx perches de longour et vi pees del hautesse soient faitz p le mure de Seint Mary Abbay avantdit*”), and that 140 marks shall be levied on lands in the vicinity to defray the expense of this and similar works. It appears, however, that these measures were not effective, as we find it elsewhere stated, that in 1534, Lord Thomas Fitzgerald (the celebrated Silken Thomas), with a troop of armed men, rode through Dublin, and passing out at Dames Gate, “went over the ford to St. Mary’s Abbey ;” some of his adherents, who had besieged the Castle, subsequently effecting their escape by fording the river at the same place.

This decisive evidence of a ford nearly opposite the city, momentarily diverted attention from the immediate subject of investigation, by creating doubt whether the derivation, very generally given, of the ancient name of Dublin might not be erroneous.

Almost without exception, every published History of Dublin asserts that the Irish name, "Bally Ath Cliath," or "The Town on the Ford of Hurdles," originated in peculiarities of the site on which the city was founded, and that it had no reference to a ford or passage across the Liffey.

Stanihurst, writing in 1570, says, that the Irish call Dublin "Bally Ath Cliath, that is, a town planted upon hurdels. For the common opinion is, that the plot upon which the citie is builded hath been a marsh ground, and for that by the art or invention of the first founder, the water could not be voided, he was forced to fasten the quakemire with hurdels, and upon them to build the citie;" and adds: "I heard of some that came of building of houses to this foundation."

Nearly the same derivation is given by Camden, who states that, "the Irish call it the Town on the Ford of Hurdles, for so they think the foundation lies, the ground being soft and quaggy, like Seville in Spain, that is said by Isidore to be so called because it stood upon piles fastened in the ground, which was loose and fenny."

Speed says, that the Irish name was "the Ford of Hurdles, for it is reported that the place being fennish and moorish, when it first began to be builded the foundation was laid upon hurdles."

That great authority on Irish history, Sir James Ware, says it was called, "the town on the Ford of Hurdles, because, being on a marshy or boggy soil, the town was first raised on hurdles."

Harris differs in some degree by stating, that "before the Liffey was embanked by quays, people had access to it by means of hurdles laid on the low marshy parts of the town adjoining the water, from which hurdles it took its name, and not from the foundation of it having been laid on piles or hurdles, as some have asserted."

Whitelaw and Walsh in this, as in many other instances, adopt the words of Harris, without any acknowledgment of their source of information.



O'Halloran is singular in the opinion, that it was the north side of the river which was called "Ath Cliath," and that it communicated with Dublin, which was on the south side, by a ford of hurdles; and Vallancey asserts that the name was "Bally Lean Cliath," from being built on or near a fishing harbour, where certain weirs made of hurdles were used.

It thus appears, that, with the exception of O'Halloran, these historians concur in ascribing the origin of the name, "Ath Cliath," to some peculiarity in the site of the city, differing on the manner in which hurdles were employed, whether in the foundations of houses, or in roads on the river banks, or in fishing weirs, but agreeing in not tracing the name to any passage across the river; and that they are correct in one portion of their statement, that is, in asserting that Dublin is built on a marshy soil, was recently placed beyond doubt.

At the close of the last year, in making a large sewer through High-street, Castle-street, Winetavern and Fishamble-streets, the ground was opened to the depth of eight to fourteen feet; and a section was thereby exposed of the elevated ridge and one side of the hill on which the old city stood.

The work was nearly complete before my attention was directed to it; but Mr. Neville, the City Engineer, having kindly accompanied me, I had facilities for examining a part of the excavation, and of hearing from him and the contractor for the work an account of its progress.

From about the middle of High-street to the Castle wall, at depths varying from eight to ten feet, the workmen found a stratum of black boggy soil, generally soft, but in some places so compact that one of the labourers asserted that he had used it for fuel during the time he was employed in the work. Above this stratum was found one of leaves and branches, &c., of trees (to which I will presently refer); the stratum immediately under the firm roadway being soft clay or mud, intermingled with shells.

In Fishamble-street, at the depth of twelve to fourteen feet, was found a quantity of squared oak timber, apparently portions of frame-work, with piles four to five feet long; and in Christ-church-place were found foundations of houses, and below these soft mud mixed with shells, leaves, pieces of trees, and black boggy stuff, or peat.

The stratum of peat terminated near St. Audoen's Church, where blue or

yellow clay (the very general substratum of bogs in Ireland) was found below the roadway, the foundations and vaults of Newgate being discovered a short distance westward—thus marking the portion of High-street, &c., within the city walls.

From proprietors of houses in the same district, I ascertained that nearly similar results had followed excavations for new buildings.

When rebuilding part of the "Irish Woollen Warehouse" in Castle-street, in 1838, the ground was excavated about twenty feet, but foundations so deep did not secure the superstructure, the front wall fell, the stack of chimneys sunk nearly four feet, and ultimately it became necessary to place a frame of timber, with concrete, to build on. In this excavation the workmen found black turf covered by a stratum of leaves, and portions of trees, the upper stratum being soft clay or mud, with shells intermixed.

When rebuilding the "Artist's Warehouse" in Fishamble-street, it was likewise found necessary to lay the foundations on a frame of timber. The soil had been excavated or pierced with boring rods upwards of thirty feet without touching firm ground. The under stratum was nearly pure black turf, and above it loose clay, the upper stratum being soft mud intermingled with shells; but the shells found here were of cockles and muscles, which appeared to have been opened for food, being probably the refuse of the ancient Fish-shambles, which occupied this site, and from which the street is named. During alterations in the basement of No. 3, High-street, it was ascertained that the house had been built on a frame of timber, and other houses in that and Castle-street were ascertained to have been erected in the same manner. There can be no doubt, therefore, that Dublin, within the old walls, stands on a plot of marshy ground, and that in laying the foundations of houses it is necessary to fix the quagmire with hurdles or frames of timber. Previously, however, to observations on these facts, as connected with the name *Ath Cliath*, the evidence obtained respecting other peculiarities of the site may be stated.

Harris, in his "History of Dublin," says that the site on which the city was founded was called "*Drom Choll Coill*" (the Brow of the Hazel Wood); and a considerable quantity of hazel-nuts having been found intermingled with the stratum of leaves and portions of trees, already mentioned, I had ten specimens of trees, which had been dug up in different parts of Castle-street excavation,

submitted for the inspection of Professor Allman. Dr. Allman found the fibre of one of these specimens so much injured by lying in the wet bog, or otherwise, that the species of tree to which it belonged could not be determined; but he ascertained that three of the others were willow, and five, hazel;—this and the quantity of hazel-nuts found, supplying presumptive evidence that at a remote period a hazel wood grew on this hill, and that Harris, or rather the Irish authority on which he relied, was probably correct in stating that “the Brow of the Hazel Wood” was a name for the ridge of the hill on which Dublin was built.

But as regards the name of the city itself, although these excavations furnished incontrovertible evidence that Stanihurst and others had correctly stated that Dublin is built on a marshy soil, where some security is necessary to the foundations of modern houses, it did not follow that they were equally correct in asserting that the Irish name “Ath Cliath” originated from the use of hurdles in building the city.

“Ath Cliath” is a name of high antiquity. We find it in connexion with transactions anterior to the fifth or sixth century, and we are aware that prior to that period the dwellings of the natives were almost universally constructed of timber, or of timber and wicker-work plastered with clay. As such habitations did not require the firm foundations indispensable for the brick and stone, or high cage-work, houses, of the period when these Histories of Dublin were compiled, is it not doubtful that previously to the sixth century the city could have been named from the use of hurdles in the foundation of houses? Is it not much more probable that the statements of Stanihurst and Ware originated in the very common practice of deriving ancient names from modern facts? The suburbs of the city furnish a remarkable instance of this mode of proceeding. Ringsend is alleged to be so called because the mooring rings for shipping in the Liffey ended there; the more probable derivation being from the Irish word (Rīn) Rinn, a point or tongue of land, corrupted into ring, as in Ringrone, Ringagonah, Ringhaddy, and other points of land jutting into rivers, or into the sea. Another instance may be found in the alleged origin of the name Pill-lane, which is stated by De Burgo (in his “*Hibernia Dominicana*”) to be from some fancied connexion with the English Pale; instead of being from a way leading to “the Pill,” or little harbour of St. Mary’s Abbey,

where the Bradogue river entered the Liffey. Nor should we feel much surprise if Stanihurst, a citizen of Dublin, unacquainted with the Irish language, and knowing nothing of Irish manuscripts, should think that he had sufficient authority for his derivation of the name "Ath Cliath" when he saw the houses around him built on hurdles, or frames of timber ; neither should it excite surprise if Harris, the biographer of King William, knowing that the King's troops, like those of Cromwell under Ludlow, had laid hurdles along the marshy banks of the Shannon, should suppose that similar means had been used to pass along the banks of the Liffey, and that from this "fording of hurdles" the town was named.

But it should not be necessary to resort to conjectures, for, apart from any consideration arising out of the antiquity of the name, or from the fact that the word "Ath" is almost invariably connected with the Irish name for fords of rivers, the "Dinn Seanchus" (one of the oldest of the Irish topographical tracts) distinctly asserts that the city was named from a contiguous ford on the Liffey, which ford was called Ath Cliath, or the Ford of Hurdles, because hurdles were placed there, in the reign of King Mesgedhra, to enable the sheep of Ath-airnè Ailgeasah to pass over the river to Dun Edair, a fortress on Howth.

There are few countries in which an ancient authority of this kind would not be preferred to the surmises of a recent historian, or where such a manuscript would not be considered sufficient to establish an etymology ; but Irish authorities on the early state of Ireland are not so freely received. The chronicles of Bede, Hovenden, William of Malmsbury, or Matthew of Westminster, although burdened with enormous fictions, prodigies, or miracles, are, notwithstanding, implicitly relied on as the groundwork of English history ; while the statements of the greater portion of our Irish annalists are utterly rejected, because these annalists, like the early historians of all nations, embellish narratives of fact with tales of romance, and ascribe to the founders of national royalty some remote and seemingly fabulous origin. I will, therefore, adduce other authorities to corroborate that of the "Dinn Seanchus," at least so far as to show that at a very early period there was an artificial passage across the Liffey at Dublin.

Being without those aids which coins and medals elsewhere supply, it is difficult to discover the precise character of many of our ancient structures. Our early writers are seldom explicit in their descriptions of Irish structures,

and in the present instance we have no information from them what this "Ford of Hurdles" really was. It is probable, however, that it was a passage formed by hurdles and stems of trees, laid on piles of stone, placed at intervals in the stream. Vestiges of such rude structures yet exist, and whether across rivers, swamps, or bogs, are denominated "tochars," or causeways, in contradistinction to the more regular structure, which is termed droichet, or bridge. But even in more regular structures hurdles appear to have been used, as Irish writers distinguish between "droichet," a bridge of timber or stone, and a "droichead cleithe," or bridge of hurdles; and there are circumstances which justify the suggestion that our hurdle bridges were somewhat similar to those which are still used in the East, where, in the words of Dr. Layard in the "Nineveh Researches,"—"stakes are firmly fastened together with twigs, forming a long hurdle, reaching from one side of the river to the other; the two ends are laid upon beams resting upon piers on the opposite banks. Both beams and basket-work are kept in their places by heavy stones heaped upon them." And he adds:—"Animals as well as men are able to cross over this frail structure, which swings to and fro, and seems ready to give way at every step." Apparently it was a structure of this kind to which the "Four Masters" refer when recording that "O'Donnell ordered his army to construct a strong hurdle bridge [across the Mourne], which being done, his whole army, both infantry, and cavalry, crossed over;" and,— "They then let the bridge float down the stream, so that their enemies could only view them from the opposite side."

Assuming, therefore, that the "Ath Cliath," or Ford of Hurdles, mentioned in the "Dinn Seanchus," was a species of bridge, I will proceed to show that the received opinions respecting the first bridge at Dublin are wholly incorrect.

In our published histories it is almost invariably stated that the first bridge at Dublin was built by King John; and his Charter of the 3rd July, 1215, is considered to afford proof of the fact. By that Charter (which greatly increased the privileges conferred by Henry II., and also those given in 1192 by John, when Earl of Morton), the King grants to his citizens of Dublin that they "may make a bridge over the water of the Avenlithe wherever it may appear most expedient for them;"—the inference deduced being, that as there was no similar grant in any preceding charter, there had not been previously any bridge at Dublin; and, as William of Worcester states that in the same year

King John built the first bridge at Bristol (having shortly before sent to France for Isenbert, the architect, to complete the first stone bridge at London), his desire for bridge-building had led to the building of the bridge at Dublin, the chief city of his lordship of Ireland, and the seat of his Bristol colony.

This assumption is, however, easily negated: in fact, if there had been any reference to records in the Tower of London, which relate to this charter, it never could have been urged.

Amongst the "Close Rolls" of King John are his instructions to the Archbishop of Dublin, dated 1st February, 1215, in which he says:—"The burgesses of Dublin have offered us 200 marks to have their town to farm in fee by charter, with the part of the river which touches us. You may take that fine, or a greater, as shall seem to you most expedient for us, and then they may send for our charter, which we will make as you may advise." A subsequent letter, dated Devizes, the 5th July, shows that the Archbishop was an able negotiator, as he extracted from the citizens 100 marks more than they had offered to the King,—the important document relating to the bridge being dated the 23rd August, 1214, that is, in the year before the charter was granted, or negotiated for. Here the King informs the Archbishop that he has authorized his citizens of Dublin to build a bridge over the water of the Avenlithe, where it shall seem most expedient for the use of the city, and that "they may cause the other bridge over that water, formerly made, to be destroyed if it shall be expedient for their indemnity (*indempnitati*)," thus incontestably proving that there was a bridge at Dublin prior to the Charter of 1215. Nor is the evidence of this fact confined to a single document. There is in the Tower another charter of King John, confirming a grant to Hugo Hose of land, "at the stone gate near the bridge,"—a document which, through the kindness of Thomas Duffus Hardy, Esq., Keeper of the Tower Records, I had also an opportunity to examine, leaving no doubt respecting the date, which is the 4th June, 1200; and further, if it were necessary to add to such evidence, we might refer to the transcript of Urban the Third's Bull in Alan's Register (in the Archiepiscopal Library, Dublin), to show that the bridge existed in 1186; or to the Chartulary of St. Thomas's Abbey, known as Coppinger's Register (which is now in my possession), to show from a grant by Thomas La Martre that the bridge existed in 1177; or to other ecclesiastical documents which refer to this bridge at an

earlier date. Nor is it devoid of probability that the bridge thus referred to was one which had been erected by the Danish possessors of Dublin. It must be recollected that, although John permitted the citizens to build a bridge in 1215, we have no evidence that in 1215 the citizens destroyed "the bridge formerly made," or that they built another bridge at that period, although permitted to do so. As yet the assumption that any bridge was built at Dublin during King John's reign rests solely on the fact that permission was then given to destroy one bridge and to build another; whilst we have records to prove that both before and considerably after that period, a bridge at Dublin was called "the Bridge of the Ostmen." The grant by Thomas La Martre in 1177 calls the bridge "the Bridge of the Ostmen." In a grant to Ralph la Hore in 1236, the land is described "in capite pontis Ostmannorum." The name is repeated in a grant to William de Nottingham so late as 1284, which describes a stone tower as being "juxta pontem Ostmannorum;" and as these records also refer to "the gate of the Ostmen," to "the old quarry of the Ostmen" (a veteri quadracio Ostmannorum), &c., there are grounds for supposing that the works so denominated had been executed by the Ostmen, and were not works thus called from proximity to the suburb of Ostmantown. However, having proved from Anglo-Norman documents that there was a bridge at Dublin prior to the year 1200, I will now trace it through native records, and establish for it a much higher antiquity. And here I may observe, that whatever may have been the name of this bridge after the Danes were expelled from Dublin, unquestionably it was previously called "Droichet Dubhghall;" Dubhghall being the name of a man, probably that given by the Irish to the Danish founder of the bridge, as Dubhghall (literally the black foreigner) was a name which they frequently gave to their Danish invaders. They so called one of the Danish chieftains killed at the battle of Clontarf, who is mentioned in the Annals as "Dubhghall son of Amahlaeibh," the brother of Sitric, Danish King of Dublin in 1014. We find that the bridge is thus called in the "Four Masters," where it is stated that "A. D. 1112. A predatory excursion was made by Domhnall, grandson of Lochlan, across Fine-Gall, that is to say, as far as Droichet Dubhghall." And that eminent Irish scholar, Mr. Eugene Curry, has furnished me with extracts from Irish manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and in the Royal Library of Brussels, from which we can trace this bridge, under the

name of "Droichet Dubhghall," to the commencement of the eleventh century.

In Brussels there is a copy of the "Book of the Danish Wars," containing an account of battles in which the Danes had been engaged. Relating incidents of the celebrated battle of Clontarf in 1014, it states that the confederate army of the Danes having been routed, some of the fugitives were driven into the sea; whilst of the Danes of Dublin who were in the engagement only nine escaped from it, and "the household of Tieve O'Kelly followed these and slew them at the head of the bridge of Ath Cliath, that is Dubhghall's Bridge." The older fragment of the manuscript of the same tract, in Trinity College Library, merely states, "they were overtaken and slain at the head of the bridge of Ath Cliath;" but "the Book of Leinster" recording the death of Maelmordha, on his retreat from the battle, expressly states that he was drowned at "Dubhghall's Bridge."

Beyond this period, that is, 150 years prior to the Anglo-Norman invasion, we cannot produce distinct evidence of "a droichet," or bridge, at Dublin, although it is highly probable that there was, previously, a regular structure of that kind across the Liffey. We know that these Northmen, who had only established their sovereignty on the sea coasts of Ireland, had subjugated all England, and held frequent intercourse with it. Godfred II., who was King of Dublin in 922, was also King of Northumberland; and the "Saxon Chronicle" states that Anlaf (the Danish King of Dublin) after his defeat at Brunanburg, by Athelstan in 937, fled with his Northmen in "their nailed barks over the deep waters, Dublin to seek." We might, therefore, infer that these Danish or Norwegian Kings, having territory on both sides of the Liffey, did not omit to establish at Dublin that mode of crossing rivers which they must have seen in England. For, although it may be doubtful if the Romans ever erected a stone bridge in Britain, it is certain that they erected many of wood,—the material most commonly used until the close of the twelfth century, when St. Benedict founded his order of "Pontifices," or stone bridge-builders. Yet, if we cannot find the term "bridge" applied to any structure at Dublin prior to the year 1014, we have no difficulty in finding evidence that a roadway had been formed across the river before that period. Again, referring to the "Annals of the Four Masters," we find that, in the year 1000, "the Tochar," or causeway of Ath Luain (that is, Athlone), was made by Maelseachlainn, son of Domhnall,



and by Cathal, son of Conchobhar ; and that they made the tochar or causeway of Ath Liag (Lanesborough) in the same year, each carrying his portion of the work to the middle of the Shannon. This is referred to as illustrating the statement of the "Chronicon Scotorum" that in the year 1001, King Malachy made a tochar at Ath Cliath (Dublin) until it reached "one half of the river ;" apparently the custom being, that when a tidal or non-tidal river divided the territories of Irish kings, each claimed one half of it, and only built to the middle of the stream ; and to this (irrespective of the division of Ireland made by Mogh Nuadhat and Conn) we may attribute that the earliest charters of Dublin only granted to the citizens the southern half of the Liffey, being that within the kingdom of Leinster (Strongbow's portion with Mac Morogh's daughter), the other half of the river being in the territory of Meath.

It is not necessary to the present inquiry to ascertain the precise position of this tochar of A. D. 1001. Whether it had been made at the ford opposite St. Mary's Abbey, and was the origin of the well-known tradition of an ancient communication between that Abbey and Christ Church,—(St. Mary's, on the north bank of the Liffey, alleged to have been built in 948 ; and the arches under Christ Church, built on the south bank, at as early a date) ;—or whether this tochar was at the "Ath Cro," or "Bloody Ford," and led to the old "Bothyr," or road, now anglicised into "Stoney Batter ;" or had occupied the site of that which long continued to be called the "Old Bridge,"—although the Old Bridge had been destroyed in 1314, its substitute swept away in 1385, and at least twice subsequently rebuilt,—it is sufficient to have traced, so far, the existence of an artificial passage across the Liffey at Dublin ; but between this link and the next by which we should form our chain of corroborative evidence, there is a long interval. We have records of bridges over small rivers in Ireland in 924, and are told that a king of Ulster was celebrated for bridge-building in 739 ; but we cannot refer to any incident connected with the existence of a bridge, or tochar, at Dublin, between the commencement of the fifth century and the close of the tenth. This, however, is an interval in which we may safely rely on circumstantial evidence. It was within this period that Ireland was celebrated as the school of ecclesiastical learning. It was the Island of Saints ; and from it, ecclesiastics travelled throughout Europe to teach ; and to it, European scholars journeyed to learn. We may, therefore, rest assured, that whatever of art or

science was then known elsewhere, was not unknown in Ireland; and that when there was sufficient art to build churches and round towers, to construct "nailed barks," and to supply all that ships required for long voyages, there was mechanical art sufficient to make any needful passage across such a river as the Liffey. It was at the close of this period, that an Irish saint (Mowena) had visited Croyland, celebrated for the most curiously constructed bridge in England; and at the commencement of it, that Irish traders, in Irish ships, had carried St. Patrick and others as slaves into Ireland out of Gaul, then covered with remains of Roman art. Passing, therefore, over this interval, and again taking up our chain of evidence at the fifth century, we find that between this period and the first century there must have been a roadway across the Liffey. For this highly interesting evidence I am indebted to the research of my friend Dr. Petrie for his "History and Antiquities of Tara."

The Ordnance Survey of Ireland having presented the long desired opportunity for making a correct plan of the remains of Tara, the existing vestiges were laid down, according to accurate measurement, on a map by Captain Bordes of the Royal Engineers, who had charge of the Survey. While this was in progress, Dr. Petrie and Dr. O'Donovan, who were then attached to the Survey, made a careful search in all ancient Irish manuscripts accessible, for such documents of a descriptive or historical character as would tend to identify or illustrate the existing vestiges. The result was eminently successful in corroborating the statements of our early writers. Works, the descriptions of which had been previously regarded as mere bardic fictions, were traced with a degree of accuracy, which, so far, placed beyond doubt the truthfulness of these ancient authorities. There is, however, only one of these identifications to which it will be necessary, for the present inquiry, that I should refer.

In our oldest manuscripts it is stated that, in the first century, Ireland was intersected by five great roads, leading from different provinces, or petty kingdoms, to the seat of supreme royalty at Tara. Of these "slighes," or roads, the "Slighe Cualann" was one traced with the greatest apparent certainty by the Ordnance Survey. It struck off from the Fan-na-g-Carbad, or "Slope of the Chariots," and led *via* Ratoath and Dublin into Cualann; a district extending from Dalkey, southwards and westwards, and part of which, including Powerscourt, is designated in Anglo-Norman records, as Fercullen, or "the Territory of the

men of Cualann." This road, consequently, must have crossed the Liffey; and that it did so near Dublin, is confirmed by the fact, that the passage across the river there, is frequently termed "Ath Cliath Cualann." Now it is impossible that a roadway for any general purpose could be carried across a river like the Liffey, subject to winter floods and the daily flow of the tide, unless that roadway was formed by a bridge, tochar, or structure of some kind raised above the ordinary high-water mark. Such a structure, formed of timber or hurdles, the only material then used for that purpose, was doubtless that which, in the figurative language of the time, was termed an "Ath Cliath" or Ford of Hurdles.

Adding this evidence of a passage across the river to the distinct statements of the Dinn Seanchus, I hope I may appear justified in the opinion I now venture to express, that those great authorities on Irish history—Stanihurst, Camden, and Ware—are incorrect in asserting that Dublin was called "Bally Ath Cliath," because the ancient city was built on a marshy soil, where hurdles were necessary to secure the foundations of houses; and that in this, as in other cases, we may more safely rely on Irish annalists than on modern historians, and assert that the name "Ath Cliath" originated from a passage across the Liffey, that passage being made by hurdles, so laid as to form an artificial ford or bridge. I am aware that there was a ford on the Shannon, which also was called "Ath Cliath;" but I am likewise aware that Irish manuscripts expressly state that it was so called, not from hurdles being placed (as they were at Dublin) in order to form a passage, but because stakes were driven in the river, and hurdles placed as a barrier to prevent an enemy from crossing,—thus disclosing a remarkable coincidence in the mode of defensive warfare practised by the ancient inhabitants of Ireland and of Britain, Cæsar informing us that the Britons, in a similar manner, had endeavoured to prevent his army from crossing the Thames, by driving stakes in the river and on its banks, and thereby obstructing the ford. And it is further suggestive of similarity of habit with a considerable amount of mechanical art (also apparent in our huge monuments of stone), that in the first century, when the Fan-na-g-Carbad, or "Slope of the Chariots" existed at Tara, Cæsar was describing his contests with the Britons in their chariots constructed for war.

If this attempt to correct erroneous opinions respecting the origin of the ancient Irish name of Dublin should lead to further investigation by others more

competent for the task, and having more leisure for it, much of my object will be attained. I know that there are in various depositories and libraries, in the United Kingdom and on the Continent, unpublished and almost unnoticed records and manuscripts relating to Ireland. And I feel confident that an examination of their contents would tend to remove many obscurities in the early history of our country; might correct many opinions respecting its aboriginal inhabitants and their connexion with other nations; and, conjointly with the discoveries daily made, of long buried monuments, might enable us to verify many of those statements, which continue to be viewed with suspicion, because as yet they rest solely on the authority of Irish annalists and bards.

