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CONTENTS OF VOL. VII.

	PAGE
Note on a Sepulchral Monument from Palmyra. By PROFESSOR WILLIAM WRIGHT, LL.D. <i>Plate</i>	1- 5
Egyptian Documents relating to Statues of the Dead. By PROFESSOR G. MASPERO	6- 36
Excavations and Discoveries in Assyria. By HORMUZD RASSAM, F.R.G.S. <i>Four Plates</i>	37- 58
A Newly-Discovered Text of Assur-natsir-pal. By E. A. BUDGE, M.R.A.S.	59 -82
The Bronze Gates discovered by Mr. Rassam at Balawat. By THEO. G. PINCHES. <i>Plate</i>	83-118
Le Décret de Phtah Totuneh en faveur de Ramsès II et de Ramsès III. Par EDOUARD NAVILLE. <i>Plate</i> ..	119-138
On a Cuneiform Tablet relating to the Capture of Babylon by Cyrus, and the Events which preceded and led to it. By THEO. G. PINCHES. <i>Woodcut</i>	139-176
Tel-el-Yahoudeh (the Mound of the Jew). By PROFESSOR T. HAYTER LEWIS, F.S.A. <i>Sketch-map and six plates</i> ..	177-192
Monuments of the Reign of Tirhakah. By SAMUEL BIRCH, D.C.L., &c., <i>President</i> . <i>Cut</i>	193-203
A New Fragment of the History of Nebuchadnezzar III. By THEO. G. PINCHES	210-225
Description of the so-called Tomb of St. Luke at Ephesus. By G. WEBER; with Notes by W. HARRY RYLANDS, F.S.A., <i>Secretary</i> . <i>Two plates and cuts</i>	226-240
Letter from EDWARD FALKENER upon the so-called Tomb of St. Luke at Ephesus	241-247
The Monuments of the Hittites. By A. H. SAYCE. <i>Sketch- map, three plates, and cuts</i>	248-923
The Bi-lingual Hittite and Cuneiform Inscription of Tarkondêmos. By A. H. SAYCE. <i>Plate</i>	294-308
The Site of the Temple of the Jews. By Lieutenant- Colonel WARREN, R.E. <i>Five plates</i>	309-330

The Monuments and Inscriptions on the Rocks at Nahr-el-Kelb. By W. ST. C. BOSCAWEN. <i>Sketch-map and plate</i>	331-525
The Stèle of Mentuhotep. By E. L. LUSHINGTON, D.C.L., LL.D., &c.	353-369
The Assyrian Numerals. By GEORGE BERTIN, M.R.A.S.	370-389
The Campaign of Râmeses II in his fifth year against Kadesh on Orontes. By REV. HENRY GEORGE TOMKINS. <i>Two plates</i>	390-406
A Contract Tablet from the 17th year of Nabonidus. By REV. J. N. STRASSMAIER, S.J. <i>One plate</i>	407-410
The Papyrus of Bek-en-Amen (written in Hieratic Script), in the Municipal Museum of Bologna, No. 1,086. By GIOVANNI KMINEK-SZEDLO <i>One plate</i>	411-428
The Inscribed Stones from Jerabis, Hamath, Aleppo, &c. By W. II. RYLANDS, F.S.A. (<i>Secretary</i>). <i>Ten plates</i> ..	429-442
Index	443-459
List of Members	460-480

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
Sepulchral Monument from Palmyra	3
Plan of the Mound of Kouyunjik, showing the discoveries of Sir Henry Layard, Mr. Rassam, and Mr. Loftus	37
Plan of the North Palace, Kouyunjik, discovered by Mr. Rassam	40
Plan of the Mound and Excavations at Balawat	53
Plan of the Temple of Assur-nazir-pal, Nimroud.	57
Restoration, by Theo. G. Pinches, of the Bronze Gates of the Temple of Shalmanezzer at Balawat	86
Stèle of Rameses II at Abu Simbel	119
Plan of a portion of the City of Babylon, from a Tablet	152
Sketch Plan of Tel-el-Yahoudeh	179
Tiles from Tel-el-Yahoudeh, Plate I	180
————— Plate II	182
————— Plate III.	184
————— Plate IV	186
————— Plate V	188
————— Plate VI	190
Bath from Tel-el-Yahoudeh, &c.	186
Seal, with Cartouche of Tirhakah.	208
Plan and sections of so-called Tomb of St. Luke at Ephesus, Plate I	230
Plan, fragments of Ornaments from the so-called Tomb of St. Luke at Ephesus, Plate II	232
Cross, Bull, &c., of Door Jambs, from the so-called Tomb of St. Luke at Ephesus.	237-240
Sketch-map of the supposed Kingdom of the Hittites	24b
Monolith of a King from Birejik	250
Standard with Divinity from Boghaz Keui	254

	PAGE
The Pseudo-Sesostris, carved on the rock in the Pass at Karabel	266
Panel with Hieroglyphs on the Pseudo-Sesostris.	267
The Second Pseudo-Sesostris.	268
Silver Boss, bearing the name of Tarkondêmos, formerly in the possession of M. Alexander Jovanoff of Constantinople	298
Rock Contours, Jerusalem, 1876	311
Plan, showing approximately the Rock of Mount Moriah.	312
Sketch of Jerusalem at the time of Vespasian	316
The Temple Courts of Jerusalem	322
The Temple of Herod	328
Sketch Map of the Pass of the Nahr-el-Kelb.	331
View of the Rocks at the Nahr-el-Kelb.	334
Explanation of the Great Battle of Abû Simbel, Rameses against the Kheta	398
Map of the Lake of Homs.	400
Contract Tablet of Reign of Nabonidus	409
Letter of Bek-en-Amen	412
Inscribed Stones from Hamath. Plate I	
----- Plate II	
----- Plate III	
----- Jerabis. Plate I (autotype)	
----- Plate II (autotype)	
----- Plate III	
----- Plate IV	
----- Plate V with seals discovered by Sir Henry Layard at Kouyunjik.	
----- Plate VI	
The Yovanoff Silver Boss	

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. VII.

MAY, 1880.

PART I.

NOTE ON A SEPULCHRAL MONUMENT FROM PALMYRA.

By PROFESSOR WILLIAM WRIGHT, LL.D.

Read 6th April, 1880.

THE accompanying photographs are taken from a monument recently sent home to England by Mr. Henderson from Palmyra, and now deposited in the British Museum. It is sepulchral, and the inscription, on the left side of the figure, merely gives the name of the deceased, in three lines:—

ירחבולא	<i>Yarḥibōlē,</i>
בר רבאל	<i>the son of Rabel</i>
שלמא הבל	<i>Shalmē. Hbl.</i>

In the absence of a positive date, we cannot be very far wrong in ascribing this monument to *circa* A.D. 200.

The name of *Yarḥibōlē* (for *Yarḥibōlai*, see Noeldeke in *Z. d. D. M. G.*, xxiv, p. 90) is not uncommon. We find it, for example, in De Vogüé's *Syrie Centrale, Inscriptions Sémitiques*, p. 6, no. 2, and p. 74, no. 124 (where read ירחבולא גמלא). written precisely as here; and again at p. 53, no. 73, in the fuller form ירחיבולא. The corresponding Greek texts

exhibit the genitive case, Ἰαριβωλέους, at p. 6, no. 2, and p. 74, no. 124. It is derived from the name of the lunar deity Yarhībōl, *op. cit.*, p. 17, no. 15, ירחבול אלהא (in the corresponding Greek, θεοῦ Ἰαριβώλου), and p. 63.—The name of the father, רבאל, *Rab'el* ("great is $\bar{E}l$ "), is a compound of the same class as נבאל ("good is $\bar{E}l$ "), Isaiah vii. 6, Ezra iv. 7, and יהיאל (" $\bar{E}l$ liveth"), which occurs not only in the later historical books of the Bible, but also, as Noeldeke has pointed out to me, in De Vogüé, *op. cit.*, p. 67, no. 99 (where כחאל is given by mistake). We find רבאל in De Vogüé's Nabathean inscription no. 7, p. 112, as the name of a king, though the editor has preferred the reading דבאל. The Greek form is Πάβηλος or Πάβιλος; whereas the form Πάββηλος, in Arabic رَبَيْل, *Ribbil*, is, according to Noeldeke, *Rabb'el*, "great is Bēl." Yet another compound with ' $\bar{E}l$ ' is הנאל ("gracious is $\bar{E}l$ "), which we find in De Vogüé, p. 122, no. 10, and probably also at p. 62, no. 93 (instead of דנאל, see Noeldeke in *Z. d. D. M. G.*, xxiv, p. 88). The pronunciation of the name *Shalmā*, or perhaps rather *Shalmē* (see Noeldeke, *Z. d. D. M. G.*, xxiv, p. 90), seems fixed by the Greek equivalent Σάλμης (or Σαλμῆς?) in De Vogüé, p. 27, no. 27.—The whole name *Rab'el Shalmē* is an example of a class of compounds which appear to be very frequent; *e.g.* מקומו אקליש, *op. cit.*, p. 40, no. 36a; מלכו אבנית, *ibid.*; מלא ארנבי, p. 53, no. 73; מלכי אנבת, in the inscription published at Rome by Fabiani. The second element is a sort of surname or nickname, as clearly appears from De Vogüé, p. 41, no. 36b, ימליכו בר, מקומו די מתקרא אקליש, in Greek Ἰάμιλος Μοκείμου τοῦ καὶ Ἀκκαλείσου.—Of the word or formula חבל I have already treated in the Transactions of this Society, Vol. VI, part 2, pp. 439, 440. The view that it is an interjection, חַבֵּל, meaning *alas*, is maintained both by Professor Chwolson of St. Petersburg in the *Mélanges Asiatiques*, t. vii, p. 437, and by Professor Enrico Fabiani in the *Bullett. della Comm. Archeol. Comunale di Roma* for 1878, at p. 8 of the *tirage à part*.



The monument with which Professor Chwolson deals came also from Palmyra, and is interesting to us as representing the full length figures of two children, with a double inscription. Below is the date of the erection of the stone:—

בירח כנון שנת 1111 ז' 174 עלמיה אלן תרויהק
 די עלישא ובעלהגא בני בונא בר שבי בר
 בלשור בר הירן חבל

- (1) *In the month of Kānūn, in the year 426 (i.e., A.D. 115).
 These are the two statues*
- (2) *of 'Olaishā and Bē'ēl-tāgā, the children of Bunnē, the son of
 Shabbai, the son of*
- (3) *Bēl-shūr, the son of Ḥairān. Ḥbl.*

Here the word חבל is in its ordinary position at the end of the inscription; but in the upper one, it stands at the beginning:—

חבל Ḥbl.
 בעלהגא Bē'ēl-tāgā
 ועלישא and 'Olaishā.
 בני בונא בר the children of Bunnē, the son of
 שבי Shabbai.

On the other hand, the stele described by Professor Fabiani, which is in the Museo Capitolino at Rome, and was no doubt found somewhere in Italy (possibly at Rome itself, or Pozzuoli), presents a curious parallel to that of South Shields:—

D / M
 HABIBI . ANNV
 BATHI . F . PAL
 MVRENVS . V . ANIS
 XXXII . M . V . D
 XXI . FECIT . HERES
 FRATER

that is, *Dis Manibus, Habibi Annubathi filius Palmyrenus
 civit avnis XXXII mensibus v diebus XXI. Fecit heres frater.*

Below this is the Semitic text, in characters of the Haurānitic type, which is closely allied to the Palmyrene:—

נפש חביבי בר
מלכי אנתת הבל

(1) *The tombstone of Habībī, the son of*

(2) *Malkī Annubath. Hbl.*

I may also direct attention to the bilingual monuments of two Roman soldiers from Palmyra, which were discovered in North Africa, and have been explained by Levy in the *Z. d. D. M. G.*, xii, p. 209. and xviii. p. 109; and to another bilingual tablet, of a somewhat different type, in the British Museum, of which the same scholar has given a copy in *Z. d. D. M. G.*, xv. p. 616. This last monument is dated A. Gr. 445 = A. D. 134; and as even the latest copy is not perfectly accurate, I may be excused for repeating it in this place.

ΔΙΙ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΩ ΚΕΡΑΥ
ΝΙΩ ΥΠΕΡ ΣΩΤΗΡΙ
ΑΣ ΤΡΑ. ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΣΕΒ
ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΑΝΓΕ [sic]
ΛΟΣ ΑΒΙΛΗΝΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΔΕΚΑ
ΠΟΛΕΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΜΑΡΑΝ ΩΚΟ
ΔΟΜΗΣΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΚΛΙΝΗ [sic]
ΕΞ ΙΔΙΩΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ
ΕΤΟΥΣ ΕΜΥ ΜΗΝΟΣ ΛΩΟΥ

לבעל שמן מרא עלמא קרב
בפתא וערשא אנתגלם

POSTSCRIPT.—At the request of Professor Wright I add a few notes on this interesting monument.

It is cut from a block of white calcareous stone, 20 inches in height, and 15 inches in width. The breadth of the figure across the shoulders is 12 inches, with a similar height from the shoulders to the base of the stone. A space of about 6 inches square is covered by the inscription, in three lines of letters averaging about three-quarters of an inch in height.

On the annexed plate, below the figure itself, is represented the inscription on an enlarged scale; but the extreme shallowness of the cutting of the letters has prevented a clearer copy being taken.

On the opposite side of the figure to the inscription will be noticed an ornament. It is difficult to say exactly what this is intended to represent; but the upper portion is probably a mural crown, around the base of which is a triple wreath of leaves, fastened in the centre with a buckle or brooch. The *corona muralis* was given by his commander to the first man who scaled the wall of a besieged city. The wreath may perhaps also be a badge of distinction, a kind of *corona triumphalis*. Beneath this again is a veil, possibly likewise a mark of distinction. It was customary with the Romans to place upon the head of the dead, when carried in the funeral procession, any crown acquired during lifetime; and the ornaments on the present sculpture, are no doubt added to denote the distinctions acquired by the deceased. The figure wears both the inner and outer tunic as well as the toga; and, as pointed out by Dr. Birch, the *clavus latus* is added, although not of the usual form. This ornament, said to have been introduced at Rome by Tullus Hostilius after his conquest of the Etruscans, was a distinctive mark of the Senatorian order.

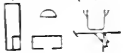
W. HARRY RYLANDS.



EGYPTIAN DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE STATUES OF THE DEAD.

BY G. MASPERO.


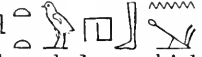
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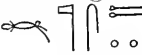


IN the great inscription at Beni-Hassan, Klnoumhotpou, son of Noughri, says (1).¹ "King Amenemhât the Second made me unto a Prince in the year XIX, in the town of Mönâit-Khouvou (2), and then I made it rich and its treasury with everything (3); I caused the name of my fathers to flourish, I built their chapels (4), I brought my statues to the temple of the town (5), and I gave them their shewbread, cakes, beer, water libations, incense (6), sacred flesh (7); I chose a *ka-priest* (8), and I endowed him (9) with lands and vassals (10); I decreed funerary provisions of bread, beer, cakes, oxen, geese for (11) every feast of the Necropolis, for the feast of the beginning of the year, for the feast of the great year, for the feast of the little year, for the feast of the end of the year, for the great Feast, for the feast of the great Heat, for the feast of the little heat, for the feasts of the five intercalary days, for the feast of throwing (?) the sand (?), for the feasts of the twelve months, for the feast of the twelve half-months, for every feast of the living and the dead (12): if any *ka-priest* or any man whatsoever happen to overthrow these, may he never be anymore! may his son never be on his seat!" Various texts and pictures make the meaning of this passage clear. In the tombs of Râshopses (Vth dynasty), of Ti (VIth dynasty), of Thothotpou (XIIth dynasty), the conveying of a prince's statue to the *ka-room*  of his tomb is represented and described. In the tombs of an anonymous

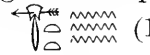
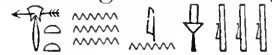
¹ The numbers between parentheses refer to the Notes, pp. 20-36.


nobleman (IVth dynasty) and of HâpiT'oufi (XIIIth dynasty) are found whole deeds or fragments of deeds relating to the duties of a *ka*-priest and to the institution of sacrifices for a dead prince's statue.


In the tombs of Râshopses and of Ti, the statues are of moderate size. Ti's image was in acacia wood


 (13) and in ebony wood  (14).

Each of them is placed on a large wooden sledge, which also supports a priest "offering incense" , and is drawn by twelve men (15), under the guidance of two officers, the "inspector"  and the "task-master of workmen" .

A man is sprinkling water over the ropes, and wetting the ground to prevent the sledge from taking fire as it slides,  (16) or  (17).

The whole scene is entitled  [the workmen of the *Eternal House*"], "bringing the statue to the tomb by [the workmen of the *Eternal House*"]

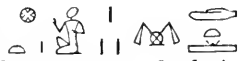

or , "bringing a statue by the workmen

of the *Eternal House* to the underground tomb" (18), or ,

"causing the statue to travel the good travels" (19).



In the tomb of Thothotpon (20) the statue was a very large one and required a great amount of skill. "[Bring]ing a statue of thirteen cubits (21), in stone of Hât-noub (22). Lo, an unintelligible thing it is, the road it went over, more than anything; lo, an unintelligible thing it is how men could drag such huge masses of stone on it; an unintelligible thing it is to have such a block of compact stone (23). I caused generations of goodly youths (24) to go and make a road for this statue, with the various classes of stone-cutters and polishers (25), and taskmasters with them [skil]led in selecting men of strong arm (26). I went to bring it and my heart expanded with joy, and the townpeople in a body rejoiced so much that it was better [than] any [thing] to see


it: the old men here lent a shoulder (27) to the statue as well as youths of strong arm, and those whose heart was [weak], their [hearts] grew strong (28), and every one of them displayed the power of a thousand men! Lo, this statue, a large square block, [a mar]vel it was, greater than any thing (29)! Barges were ready, full of requisites; the hips of warriors and generations of goodly youths were dragging away the hips of the statue (30), their mouths praising the favour which I was receiving from the king; my children [proceeded] in full attire behind me, and my vassals shouted praises. When I reached the locality of this tomb (31), [the god]s (32) in a body rejoiced so much, that it was better than anything to see it; the princes made before, the *Sabi-Khumer* (33) made [in olden times] (34) in the interior of this town, and which I placed on pedestals (35) on the brink of the river, they were not envious of what I made or what was done for me, [for, thus] indeed did I ensure eternity to me since were put, in this my tomb, its eternal works." (36)

The people of the city, in a body,  carrying boughs, came out to greet the statue of their prince (37). The legend above them is too much broken to allow the possibility of knowing exactly what there was in it. From what remains I make out that 



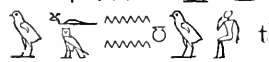
"The Hermopolitan nome was in feast, and its heart expanded with joy; its old men who were inactive, and its young men who were [not] inactive, [went equally to give the prince joy of his] monuments." The colossus itself is placed on a large wooden sledge, drawn by one hundred and seventy-two men, in four rows of forty-three each.

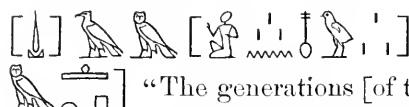
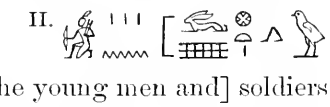
The upper row consisted of  I.  II. "The generations of the Western

Hermopolitan nome, coming in peace!" say,  (38)

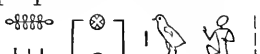
 (39) 



(40)  (41) 

 that "The [working men?] of the town town are in feast, and their heart expands when they see their monuments; whereas the reward [of the prince?] is done in their middle, his house and the house of his fathers are at rest." In the second row are

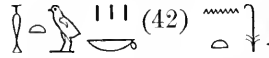
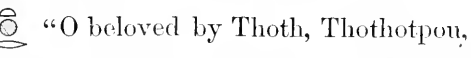
 II.  "The generations [of the young men and] soldiers of [the Hermopolitan nome, coming in peace]." Their words:



"It is good of a generation to work for its lord the splendid reward he has won by the favours of every king; let us go and serve his children after him, for our heart is delighted by the lasting and perpetual favours of the king." Next to them we see 

II.  "The classes of the townpeople of the Hermopolitan nome, coming in peace"! 



 (42)  "O beloved by Thoth, Thothotpon, friend to the king, beloved by thy townpeople, praised by the gods of thy town! the lords of the temples are in

feast: their hearts expand when they see thy favours received from the king"! The fourth row was composed by

[] II.

"The generations of the Eastern Hermopolitan nome, coming in peace." (43)

They say,

"Whereas comes my lord to the town of Terôti, Hor rejoices in it, and his fathers are in feast; their hearts expand, rejoicing about his beautiful monuments." A man standing on the knees of the colossus, claps his hands and beats the time for the workmen: the burden of his song was in honour of the prince.

II.

III. "Saith the time-beater of the soldiers, Thothotpou, friend to the king."

Two men are on the sledge with the statue, one of whom pours water on the ground, while the second, called

Amoni-Onkhou, and enjoying the titles of

is "offering

incense," Three workmen are bringing water

to supply the pouring man, (44)


"bringing water by the workmen." Three others carry a huge piece of indented wood, (45)

"bringing the traction-woods by the workmen." And behind them three taskmasters, armed with sticks, keep an eye over

the whole scene. The statue is followed by twelve men, the names of which are destroyed, except in the instance of

"the majordomo Noubri": they were probably

sons of the prince and officials of the prince's household.

comes a speech of the prince, enunciating the reasons why such and such a thing is given to such and such a priest, or, more clearly, defining the nature and quantity of the things which are given. Each clause is ended by , a formula of consent, the priests declaring themselves pleased by what has been done for them.

The hereditary prince, chief prophet Hâpi-Toufi, saith he unto his *ka-priest*: "Behold thou (50), all those things whatsoever (51) which I have agreed with those priests, are under thy supervision (52); for, behold thou, it is the *ka-priest* of a man who must cause to flourish whatsoever must be caused to flourish (53): [so], behold thou, I have let thee know the things which I have given unto those priests, in payment (54) for those things which they have given unto me; beware lest (55) anything be taken away from it. And lo, as to whatsoever shall be spoken against all my things which I have given unto the priests, do thou hear it [for] behold thou (56), I have [made] (57) my *ka-priest* into a lord established over fields, over men and women (58), over cattle, over Wadis (59), over everything, even as every lord in Siout, insomuch that thou shouldest do unto me things grateful to my heart (60) [and lo, as for] all [the things which are] under thy hand, behold thou, there they are before thee (61) in writing: and, moreover, there are two thousand [cubits] of property (62) for the one son of thine (63) thou wouldest like to make into a *ka-priest* from amongst thy children, to eat of what is supplied to him, but not to divide it (64) amongst his children, according to this word which [I have] given [unto thee] (65)."

I.—Agreement (66) made by the prince, chief-prophet Hâpi-Toufi, with the *temple-hour-priests* of Apmatonnou, lord of Siout, as to giving him one white loaf by each priest, to his statue which is in the temple of Anoupon, [put] to fire (67) on the first intercalary day of the year, when Apmatonnou, lord of Siout, enters this temple (68):—He gave them for it his right in one perfect bull (69) of Apmatonnou.

lord of Siout, in this temple [which is] here, (70) consisting in his part of the clean flesh which comes usually to a prince." (71)

Then spake he unto them, saying, "Behold ye, I have given unto you the clean flesh which cometh to me in the temple, insomuch that be established for ever the white loaf which ye [must give] unto me." (72)

Then gave they unto him one joint of meat from the leg of one bull, (73) for his statue, under the hand of his *ka-priest*, from amongst the part of this clean flesh which he had given unto them.

Then were they pleased by this.

II.—Agreement made by the prince, chief-prophet Hâpi-T'oufi, with the *temple-hour-priests* of Apmatonnou, lord of Siout, as to giving him one white loaf, by each of them, to his statue, under the hand of his *ka-priest*, on the [XVIIIth of Thot, the day of Wagā] (74), over and above the things which a house gives unto its lord (75), and, afterwards (76), lighting the flame (77), and going forth in procession, they being behind his *ka-priest*, while commemorating him (78), and rounding the northern corner of the temple (79), even as they commemorate their own venerable dead (80), the day of lighting the flame;—He gave them for it one *hikit*-measure (81) of northern corn in each field belonging to the house of Eternity (82), from the pick of the harvest of the prince's house, even as any commoner in Siout does from the best of his harvest, for lo, each husbandman he always gives (83) one gift to the temple, from the pick of his harvest.

Then said he, "Behold ye, know ye that, whereas all things whatsoever which any lord, any commoner giveth unto the Temple from the best of his harvest, it is not subject to his pleasure to take away anything from them, nor is there any withdrawing by any prince in his time what has been agreed by another prince with the priests in their time (84), therefore, this northern corn belongeth to the *temple-hour-priests* taken individually (85), [that is to say], to each priest who giveth unto me this white loaf, never

dividing it with the *mouth-priests*, so that they give unto me the white loaf, each individually."

Then were they pleased by this to[gether with the Corporation of the temple].

III.—Agreement made by the prince, chief prophet Hâpi-Toufi, with the Corporation of the temple, as to giving him white loaves and beer on the XVIIIth of Thot, the day of Wagā, over and above the things which [a house] gives [unto its lord] (87):—He gave them for it twenty-four days of the temple from his own goods of his father's house, but not from the goods of the prince's house, [that is to say,] four days to the chief prophet, two days to each of the rest.

LIST OF THOSE PEOPLE (88).	BEER JARS.	FLAT CAKES.	WHITE LOAVES.
The chief prophet	IV	CCCC	X
The auditor (89)	II	CC	V
The master of rites (90) . .	II	CC	V
The stolist	II	CC	V
The chief steward (91) . . .	II	CC	V
The master of the hall (92) .	II	CC	V
The chief of the <i>ku-room</i> . .	II	CC	V
The scribe of the temple . . .	II	CC	V
The scribe of the altar . . .	II	CC	V
The lector (93)	II	CC	V

Then spake he unto them, "Behold ye, whereas one day of the temple is the 1-360th of the year, divide ye therefore all things whatever, which enter this temple, shewbread, beer, flesh, in the course of the day, and the 1-360th of the white loaves, of the beer, of all things which enter this temple, becometh one of those days of the temple which I have given unto you (94); and, behold ye, those are my own goods out of my father's house, not goods from the prince's house, because I am a holy son as [is] each of the princes here (95); and, behold ye, as to the coming round (96) of those days to any [future] Corporation of the temple, it is provided (97) in order that they may offer unto me the white loaf and beer which they must give unto me."

Then were they pleased by it.

IV.—Agreement made by the prince, chief prophet Hâpi-Toufi, with the *temple-hour-priests* of Apmatonnou, lord of Siout, as to giving a white loaf, by each of them, for his statue which (98) is in the temple, on the XVIIIth of Thot (99), the day of Wagā, and going forth in a procession, they being behind his *ka-priest*, while commemorating him and lighting for him the flame, even as they commemorate their own venerable dead, the day of lighting the flame in the temple; and moreover is this white loaf under the command of his *ka-priest*. He gave them for it *kharo-balls* for each bull, and *ouhat-balls* for each goat (100), which they must give to the treasury (101) of the prince, also for each bull and each goat (102) given to the temple (103) in payment of what they must give to the treasury of the prince. Then gave he this unto them wholly (104), so that it could not be taken away from them, also (105) giving them the twenty-four bottles of beer and the two thousand flat cakes which the Congregation of the temple (106) must give unto him, on the XVIIIth of Thot, in payment of the white loaf which each of them (107) gives when they go forth in procession about the temple and commemorate him.

Then spake he unto them, saying, “About fixing the number of the [balls], behold ye, it is [the business of] the prince in his time; so behold ye, the morning when shall be lessened the quantity of white bread and beer offered unto me by the Congregation of the temple, and which I have given unto ye, behold ye, [make] ye an agree[ment] with [them] about it (108).”

Then were they pleased by this.

V.—Agreement made by the prince, chief prophet Hâpi-Toufi, with the Stolist of the temple, as to the head-linen (109) to light the flame in to the god;—He gave him for it three days of the temple, and those three days of the temple are to pass to any future stolist in order that the head-linen be continued to him [Hâpi-Toufi] (110).

Then spake he unto him, saying, “Be given one of them unto my *ka-priest* when going forth to light the flame in it to the god, on the fifth intercalary day (111) of the year, the

night of the new year, and let the stolist make his gift of this head-linen unto my *ka-priest*, being behind him when he [the *ka-priest*] performeth his office in it in the temple (112). Be given another, the day of the new year at eve, when the house giveth [its gift] unto its lord (113), after the *temple-hour-priests* have given unto me the white loaf which they must give unto me each [priest] individually, the day of their going forth in procession with my *ka-priest* (114), to commemorate me. Let him give another (115) on the XVIIIth of Thot, the day of Wagā, at the same moment with the white loaf which they must give unto me each priest individually, so that this head-linen (116) may go out with my *ka-priest* while commemorating me with the *temple-hour-priests*."

Then spake he unto him, saying, "[Behold thou], whereas one day of the temple (117) is 1-360th of the year, divide thou therefore all things whatsoever which enter this temple, shewbread, beer, everything, in the course of the day, [and] the 1-360th of the white loaves, of the beer, of all the things (118) which enter this temple, becometh one of those days of the temple which I have given unto thee; and [behold thou] (119) those are my own goods out of my father's house, not goods from the prince's house; and as to the devolving of those days of the temple to any stolist, it is so managed, in order that [may] come round to him the obligations of the head-linen which thou hast given unto me for those three days of the temple which I have given unto thee."

Then was he pleased by this.

VI.—Agreement made by the prince, chief prophet Hâpi-Toufi, with the chief prophet of Apmatonnou as to the roast of flesh, which comes out on the altar, and is presented on the offering table, of every bull (120) slaughtered in the temple, also as to the *sep*-measure out of every jar of beer (121), on every day of manifestation (122) which comes to every chief prophet in his time; he gave him for it two days of the temple out of his own goods from his father's house, not out of goods from the prince's house.

Then spake prince Hâpi-T'oufi, saying, "Come round [this roast] of flesh and this *sep*-measure of beer (123) on every day of manifestation, coming out before my statue under the command of my *ka-priest*."

Then was he pleased (124) by it, together with the Congregation of the temple.

VII.—Agreement made by the prince, chief prophet Hâpi-T'oufi, with the high priest of Apmatonnou, as to head-linen which must come out to him [the prince], to light the flame in, in the temple of Anoupou (125), one on the fifth intercalary day, the night of the new year, another on the day of the new year, another on the XVIIth of Thot (126), the night of Wagâ; he gave him for it [a] thousand [cubits] of land from the southern part (127) of his land which comes to him from his father (128), in payment for those three [pieces of] head-linen which he giveth unto my *ka-priest* to light the flame in for me.

Then was he pleased by this (129).

VIII.—Agreement made by the prince, chief prophet Hâpi-T'oufi, with the *temple-hour-priests* of Apmatonnou, as to giving him one white loaf, by each of them, for his statue, on the XVIIth of Thot, the night of Wagâ, also going forth in procession, they being behind his *ka-priest* when lighting the flame (130) for him when [the *ka-priest* leads] them to shut the door of his tomb (131), even as they commemorate their own venerable dead, [on] the day of lighting the flame; also, giving, by the priest in his month, the one measure of *kat*, and the *doufou*-jug of beer (132), for his statue which is in the lower part of his tomb, when he comes up. [He gave] them for it northern corn (133) from the pick of the harvest of every field of the prince's house, even as does every commoner in Siout from the pick of his field (134), for lo, each husbandman, he always gives one gift from the pick of his field to the temple of [Apmatonnou].

Then spake prince Hâpi-T'oufi, "Behold ye, know ye that whereas all things whatsoever which any lord, any commoner giveth from the pick of his harvest unto the temple, it is not subject to his pleasure to take away anything from them, nor

is there any withdrawing by any prince in his time what has been agreed by another prince with the priests in their time, therefore belongeth this northern corn to the *temple-hour-priests* for the mouth in the head of each priest, who giveth unto me this white loaf, but [under the conditions of] not dividing it with the month-priests, because they give this white loaf each individually."

Then were they pleased by this.

IX.—Agreement made by the prince, chief prophet Hâpi-T'oufi, with the chief-mason, and the mountain-people as to causing them to go to the temple of Anoupou (135), on the fifth intercalary day, the night of the new year, the day of the new year, to receive two [pieces of] head-linen which the high-priest of Anoup gives to prince Hâpi-T'oufi, also as to their going to commemorate him (136), and giving one [piece of] head-linen to his *ka-priest*, after they have commemorated him, even as they commemorate their dead; He gave them for it in land two thousand and two [cubits] of high-land from his own goods out of his father's house, not from the goods of the prince's house, also giving them the leg of the shoulder of each bull slaughtered on this^t mountain in all its chapels (137), and they gave him,

[List of those people:]

[The chief-mason I]

The keeper [of the] mountain [1] (138),

The mountain-people . . . VIII (139),

the chief-mason two (140) barrels of beer, one hundred flat cakes, ten white loaves; the keeper of the mountain one barrel of beer, fifty flat cakes, five white loaves; (141) the eight mountain people [eight barrels] of beer, four hundred flat cakes, forty white loaves, for his statue; under the command of his *ka-priest*, on the [XVIIIth] Thot [day of Wagā], when they commemorate him.

[Then he said] unto them (142). "Behold ye, the [land] shall belong [to] any chief-mason, to any keeper of the mountain, to any [mountain-people] who shall come hereafter, in order

that, ye [commemorate me], also that ye be behind my statue which is my tomb, to follow [it] the day of (143), of the feast of the beginning of the seasons, which are celebrated in the temple.”

Then were they plea[sed by it] (144).

X.—Agreement made by the prince, chief-prophet Hâpi-T'oufi, with the prefect of the mountain, [as to giving him] one *hibin-measure* [of beer], one big holocaust-cake (145), five hundred flat cakes, ten white loaves, for his statue, under the command of his *ka-priest*, on the XVIIth of Thot, night of Wagā; He gave him for it in land one thousand [cubits] of high-land, from his own goods, out of his father's house, not from the goods of the prince's house, also the knuckle (146) of every bull slaughtered on this mountain, in all its chapels.

Then said he unto the prefect of the mountain, “Behold thou, the land is to descend (147) to any prefect of the mountain, in order that he may offer unto me this white loaf and this beer (148).”

Then was he pleased by it (149).

The devoted, the prince, the chief-prophet Hâpi-T'oufi, the devoted!

I think that the texts I have translated are clear enough to illustrate the meaning of the passage in the inscription of Khnoumhotpou, quoted at the beginning of this paper (150). To be fully understood, both the scenes and inscription of Siout would require a more extensive commentary: this will be found in a work which I have had in preparation since 1869, on the “Funeral Rites of Old and Middle Empire.” It will, probably, be ready for the press in four or five years.

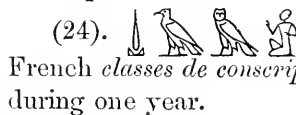
III^e serie, t. II, pp. 103, 299). M. Chabas' translation and mine differ widely.

(21). Lepsius fills the lacuna with $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$: it must be completed $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, as in Râshopses' tomb.

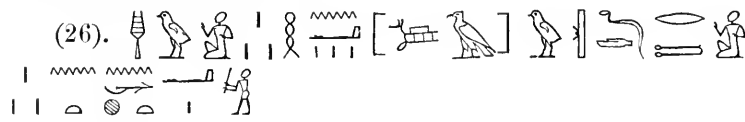
(22). Cf. Brugsch, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, pp. 319-320, who thinks that the stone of Hâit-noub is alabaster.


(23). 

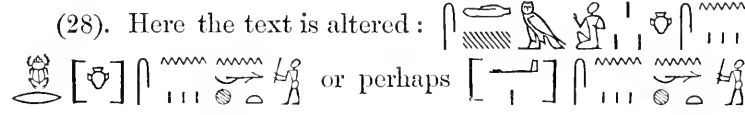
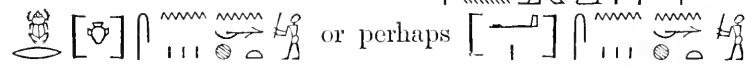
We have three parallel sentences, the last of which wants only its initial $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ before $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ to be exactly similar to the preceding two. I cannot see the necessity of giving the new sense *difficult* to $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$: the writer, by an exaggeration very frequent amongst Egyptian scribes, says that the possibility of dragging a heavy statue to its proper place is a mystery for him and for everybody. "Lo! the mystery great of the road it came over it, more than anything! Lo! the mystery [great] of people dragging huge blocks on it in stone! The mystery of a square block of compact stone!"



(24).  seems to represent the idea of our French *classes de conscription*, that is to say, all the men born during one year.




(25). For the sense of this last word see *Revue Orientale et Américaine*, 1877, p. 377, note 7, *Les Monuments Egyptiens de la Vallée de Hammâmat*.








(26). 

(27). , lit., "bowed, inclined themselves to it."



(28). Here the text is altered:  or perhaps 

From various passages it appears that  is only an equivalent of , with, and.


(29).  sic [] 



(30).  is a new word found also in *Papyrus de Berlin*, No. 1, l. 248. and *Papyrus Ebers*, pl. xcix. l. 16. It is derived from , as  and  are derived from  and , and signifies the same thing as  does. *both sides of the body, the temples and horns in the head, the hips and shoulders in the trunk.* The writer seems to consider the operation in the light of a struggle between the workmen and the statue, the hips of the workmen at last getting the best of the hips of the statue.


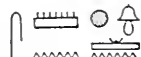


(31). 

(32). I fill the lacuna with the word []  in consideration of the speech made by the men in the second row of the men who are represented in the picture. (Cf. p. 9.)

(33). A title of which I can give no translation, and which entered in the composition of the official title of the princes of Oun-Hermopolis.

(34). 

(35).  probably the same word as  altar. It seems to be an allusion to statues of former princes which had been erected on altar-pedestals to greet the coming of the new statue.

(36). " For [I] indeed, I built,  the body of Eternity after was joined,  this tomb with  its eternal works."

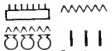


(37). Lepsius has not given the legends engraved above and in front of each of the personages. Wilkinson has published what remains of them. (*A Popular Account of*



the Ancient Egyptians, 1854, t. II, frontispiece; Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, t. II, plate to face p. 151.)


(38). A word which I am not able to complete, perhaps





(39). Wilkinson,  where  is a clerical error.


(40). The text has  which is a fault common in those times, and easily explained by the similarity between the cursive hieratic forms of  and 

(41). An undecipherable character, perhaps . The sense seems to be that the statue, being a reward granted by a special favour of the king, "whereas [his] reward is happening  in the middle of the people," the chief himself has no need to do anything, and may rely on the love of the townpeople for doing all the work.

(42). Wilkinson, 

(43). *Terôti*, , which I do not remember having seen mentioned anywhere else, is identical with the **Τερωτ** **ϣεροντ** of Coptic books (Champollion's *L'Egypte sous le Pharaons*, t. I, pp. 297-8), and the **دروت اشمون** *Daroût Ashmoun*, or **دروت ام النخلة** *Daroût Omm en Nakhleh*, of modern Egypt, which is situated on the Bahr-el-Youssouf; or with **Τερωτ** (Champollion, *L'Egypte*, t. I, p. 288), the **دروت الشريف** *Daroût esh-sherîf* (*Thebaïca Phylake*), and **دروت سرا بام** *Daroût sarbâm* of modern maps, which is situated south of Hermopolis, near the Nile, at the beginning of the Bahr-el-Youssouf. This *Daroût* is probably the  *Terôti* of our text.

(44). Completed according to the next legend.





(45). Here, instead of , the original gives the hieratic form of the character, which is frequently found on monuments of the same period.

(46). Cf. *Revue Scientifique*, No. 35, 1st March, 1879, p. 819, and M. Le Page Renouf's remarkable paper in the VIth volume of the *Transactions Soc. Bib. Arch.*, pp. 494-508.

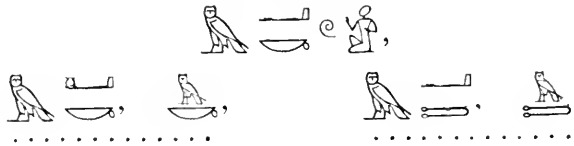
(47). *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques copiées en Egypte*, t.I, pl.1.

(48). Pl. 64-69.

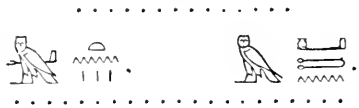
(49). M. de Rougé's copy has been just published by his son, in Vol. IV of the *Inscriptions*, pl. CCLXXI-CCLXXXIV.


































(50).  is the second person of a verb , , , which is little known as yet:

SINGULAR.



PLURAL.

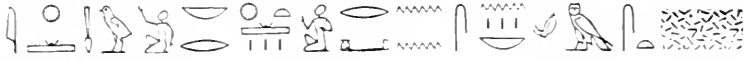


The examples of   ,  ,   are numerous. Here are some instances of  taken absolutely, and of  ,   (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, II, 103a): a woman addressing another woman who is bearing linen tells her      "Oh! look at thy linen!" in the same plate men are passing over to women various packages, and are represented telling the wife     "Here is for thee sweet oil!"     "Here is for thee perfect linen!"     "Here is for thee a package; it is gold!"¹ The real translation of  ,   in our inscription would be, "Here is for thee!" "Here is for you!" "Behold ye" and "Behold thou" are only modern idioms substituted for old Egyptian formulas.

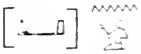
¹ In Papyrus of Berlin, No. 1, l. 264, King Ousirtasen says to the Queen,








. I have adopted the following text :



 &c.




(57). []

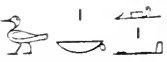
(58). De Rougé has the true reading  instead of Mariette's .







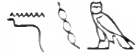



(59).  is probably identical with , a well; also, the tract of land which immediately surrounds a well, and is watered by it, or a *wady*. In line 57 there is a mention of the statue of Hapi-Toufi,  by which must be understood the funeral pit, the *puits funéraire*, in which the statue stood, or perhaps the valley on which the tomb opened.




(60). Lit., "Things of my heart"








(61). []

(62). Lit., "Two thousand of things." The *thousand*, , is a very common abbreviation of the "thousand cubits" of land which were reputed in Egypt to be the quantity of soil,  or , necessary to the support of one man.

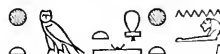

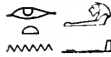
(63). Correct 


(64). This is a very difficult passage, 
 (de Rougé, ) *  &c. The word  has no determinative. The same thing occurs in another phrase of our text, 
 (ll. 20, 21, and l. 50), where the word  has no determinative, and is followed by two . Now, although the reduplication of  be not unfrequent, I think we have in both cases a wrong reading.  is determined by


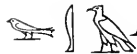




 and  written in the hieratic of the period would take with the usual ligatures, various forms, every one of which accounts sufficiently for the reading .



In the same manner  is transcribed from an hieratic form which was intended by the scribe to be an equivalent of the correct . The word  seems to be a mere variant of  or  (Brugsch, *Dict.*, p. 1188), and to signify *provide somebody with something*, as does its parallel factitive  and the developed form . The whole sentence might be translated word for word *as eater of the provided to him*.


(65). 

(66).  (Mariette); correct 
 as in the remaining clauses of agreement.


(67). 

(68).  both Mariette and de Rougé.
 is no word in Egyptian. I suspect it must be a clerical error for  which is written  (Mariette and de Rougé) in the 26th line.  would be either an elongated , or a mistake of the scribe.


(69). 
 lit., "He gave them for it *his belongings* in a right bull of Apmatonnou."


(70). 








(71). 
 lit., "Its standing (or, *it stands*) of his clean flesh which

comes forth to a chief."  is the word used for the things which are presented to a man or to a god and are his by right.






(72).  .

(73).  , a joint of meat, the peculiar form of which is given in Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs*, 3rd edition, t. II, pp. 35, 36. The last words of the phrase should be translated literally, "amongst what he gave them in this clean flesh."

(74).  .


(75).  The preposition  has been restored according to the text of l. 23. The whole signifies that, the white loaf to be given by the Temple-hour-priests, was independent of the loaves and beer to be given by the people of the prince's house on the same day. Each house, , or tomb,  , was obliged to present on every feast day a certain quantity of offerings to its lord,   , that is to say, to the dead person who occupied it : The white loaf of the Temple-hour-priest was over and above () the regular offerings.




(76).  .










(77).  . The sense of *light* for   ,   is given by the phrase in d'Orbigny, IV, l. 9.

(78).  .























(79).  .





(80).  . The same phrase occurs again, l. 31.

















(81).  . This seems to be the phonetic reading of the word   of later times.

(82). δ  and δ  are changed, l. 49, to   and $\left[\text{bird with bird} \right]$ . I do not know whether the variant  = δ is a variant of sound or a variant of sense. The meaning *husbandman* for   has been given already by Dr. Birch (*Annals of Thotmes III*, p. 11, note 1; cf. *Zeitschrift*, 1879, p. 61). As for the fields of  *the tomb*, they are the fields which are figured so often, each with its own name, in the tombs of the old empire, bringing offerings to their master (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, II).



(83). Lit., "He uses    to give."

(84).            &c. The same text occurs again, l. 50, where  is replaced by . It must not be forgotten that the only difference between the hieratic forms of  and  consisted in the presence or absence of a \cdot over the line — : — being generally  and — , . But some scribes, the scribe of Papyrus Ebers for instance, wrote — , or forgot to put the dot over — . Thus we have many instances of  for , or of  for .

(85).     "as a man for himself."

(86). I restore this clause according to the passage in l. 44:
            
  

(87).       See note 75. p. 27.

(88). Correct:   lit., "catalogue relating to it."

(89).   

(90).    

(91). the chief of the treasury of the temple.

(92).

(93). the priest who recites the prayer, while other priests are performing the rites. Any man reciting prayers while another was acting the service became a for the time being: thus Rameses II, proclaiming aloud a list of offerings while his father, Seti I, presents them to the God, is the of his father.

(94). Lit., "Divide ye, therefore, all things whatever which enter this temple, shewbread, beer, flesh, in the course of the day; it becomes (De Rougé, instead of Mariette) a 1-360th of loaves, of beer, of everything which enter this temple for each of those days of the temple, which I have given ye, "

(95).




(96). Mariette, : de Rougé,



(97). Lit., "It happens,"



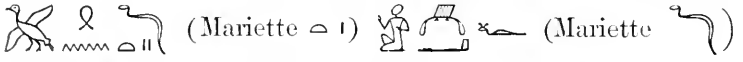





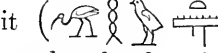
(98). De Rougé, ; Mariette,

(99). de Rougé.

(100). (Mariette,) . The is found in Papyrus Ebers (Stern, *Glossarium*, p. 53), where an identification with $\alpha\epsilon\beta\text{ce}$, *carbo*, is suggested. In one place is included in a list of objects without any reference to the particular use of the substance it represents. Twice allusion is made to the (pl. 46, line 17: pl. 83, line 11), and



The true reading was   Cf. l. 56. 

(111). De Rougé has  instead of  as given by Mariette. De Rougé's is the true reading.

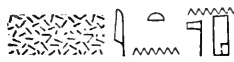
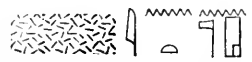
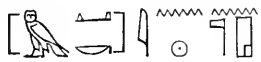

(112).  (*sic* de Rougé, instead of  in Mariette)  (Mariette )  (Mariette ) ; lit., "Has made the stolist his gift () of it ( being feminine) to my *ka*-priest behind him, when he does in it."

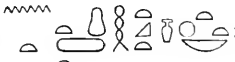
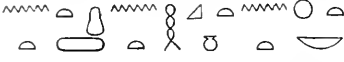
(113). Mariette, ; de Rougé,  cf. l. 18, 


(114).  

(115).  instead of  both Mariette and de Rougé.

(116).  Mariette;  de Rougé.


(117).  Mariette;  de Rougé. Read  or, perhaps 

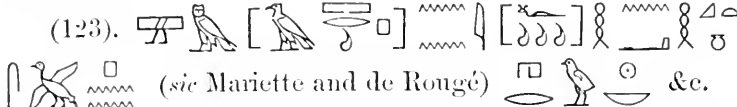

(118). Mariette, ; read, with de Rougé, 

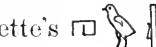
(119). 


(120). Mariette, ; de Rougé, 

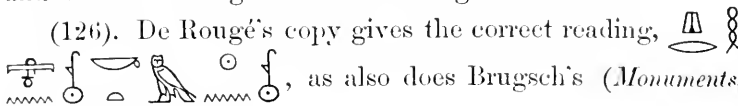
(121).  de Rougé.

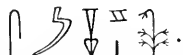

(122).  Cf. l. 44, the same expression.

(123).  (*sic* Mariette and de Rougé)  &c.

(124). De Rougé,  instead of Mariette's .

(125). De Rougé, . The translation *to light the flame in* is somewhat obscure, but I cannot find any other words to express the idea which is conveyed by the text. The phrase, wherever it occurs, signifies that the *ka-priest* must put on the head-linen which has been given to him, and wear it during the time he "lights the flame."


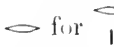
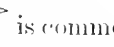

(126). De Rougé's copy gives the correct reading, , as also does Brugsch's (*Monuments*, t. I, pl. XI, 2, line 1).




(127). . I have not been able to give the meaning of the word .


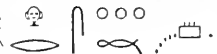


(128). Lit., "In his land of his father."



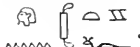
(129). Mariette and de Rougé, , which correct into .

(130).  Mariette;  de Rougé.


(131).  The variant  for  is common at this period.  is *to shut the door*. Coptic † $\epsilon\pi\pi\rho\sigma$, Zoega, p. 101, l. 2: $\kappa\epsilon\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon\tau\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon\pi\sigma\tau\epsilon$ $\kappa\tau\epsilon\bar{\kappa}$ $\kappa\rho\omega\omega\iota\iota$ $\epsilon\tau\tau$ $\epsilon\pi\pi\rho\sigma$ $\epsilon\rho\omega\iota\iota$, $\epsilon\tau\sigma\omega\gamma\gamma\epsilon\zeta\omega\tau\epsilon\beta$ $\omega\omega\omega\omega\iota$, $\sigma\tau\sigma\zeta$ $\epsilon\pi\sigma\omega\iota$ $\zeta\omega\iota\iota$ $\kappa\epsilon\kappa\sigma\iota$ $\kappa\bar{\omega}$. "Then rose up twenty men and shut the door after us, wishing to kill us, and we were only four."



(132).  (de Rougé,  which is the true reading) .



(133). Mariette, ; de Rougé, . Correct thus, 
.

(134). Mariette, ; de Rougé, 
 Complete thus: .

(135). De Rougé, .



(136).  &c.; part of this is de Rougé's copy, and part of it I have restored.


(137). 
 The traces of characters in de Rougé's copy justify the restoration .

(138). The word  is employed in various titles:  (E. de Rougé's *Inscriptions*, t. I, pl. 12, for instance). It is the Coptic $\sigma\rho\pi\tau$, *M. custos*, and probably the original form of the word $\sigma\rho\pi\alpha\tau$, $\sigma\rho\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon$, which has caused so much trouble to Coptic scholars.




(139). Complete, 
.

(140). Π in de Rougé's copy is justified by the context.

(141). 
 From the context it is evident that  (de Rougé's copy)


was a measure equivalent to eight  of beer. Each mountain people gave as much as one keeper of the mountain, as is proved by the number of flat cakes and white loaves.

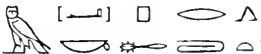
(142). Complete.  from de Rougé's copy.

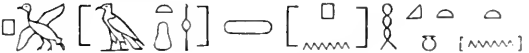
(143). 
 (de Rougé) 
. There was here the name of one or two feasts.


(144). .

(145). .

(146).  from de Rougé's copy, where the determinative is somewhat indistinct.

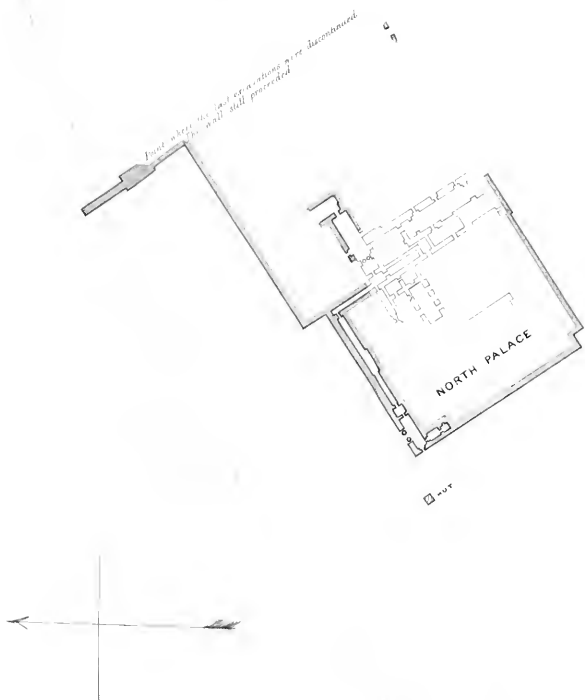
(147). .

(148). .

(149). .

(150). I omitted on purpose to quote the text and scene in Khmounhotpou's tomb (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, II, 128), where the *bringing* of the statue is done by persons and with peculiarities of rites which would want a minute explanation of their meanings.

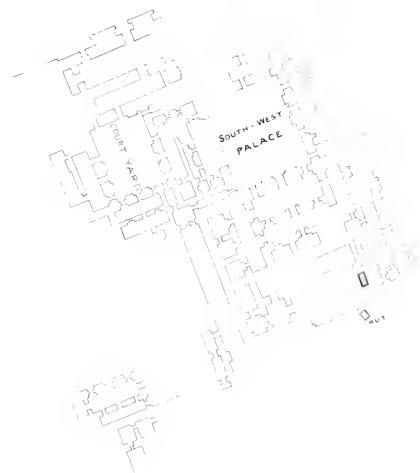




○ WHOMEGAN TOMB

◆ PORTION OF OBELISK
DISCOVERED BY MR. COFFIN

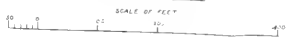
◇ OBELISK
DISCOVERED BY MR. RASSAM



PLAN OF THE MOUND OF KOUYUNJIK

REFERENCE

The portions coloured: Red shown by M. Layard's Discoveries 1845-47 & 1849-
 Yellow M. H. Rassam's 1852 to 1854
 Blue SPENCER M. Lettiss 1854



NOTE
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EXCAVATIONS AND DISCOVERIES IN ASSYRIA.

BY HORMUZD RASSAM, F.R.G.S.

Read 4th November, 1879.

HAVING been asked by the President and the Secretary to write a short account of my recent discoveries in Assyria, I had hoped to have been able to do so before leaving England in autumn last, or certainly soon after my arrival in the East; but constant travelling and sickness prevented my doing so as early as I had intended.

In order that you may clearly understand my connection with Assyrian researches I must go some years back in the history of this particular branch of exploration, and mention generally what have been the results of the expeditions I have undertaken under the Trustees of the British Museum.

It is now about thirty-three years since I had the good fortune to meet Mr. (now Sir A. Henry) Layard, and join him as a friend to assist him in his first Assyrian researches; and I owe it to him to say that through his good tuition and noble support I attribute my future successes in everything I undertook. During his first expedition I was staying with him as a friend, and assisting him in managing and paying the workmen; but on his second expedition to Assyria and Babylonia I was sent out from England, at his request, by the Trustees of the British Museum, to assist him again. I had gone to England for the purposes of study, but as soon as I received an intimation from him wishing me to rejoin him, I packed up my things and started.

I need not enter into the marvellous successes of his explorations, as his discoveries are now a household word in every place in the civilized world. At the end of 1851 I returned with him to England, wishing to resume my studies at Oxford, but was not destined to gain honours in that University, because I had not been there many months before I was again asked by the Trustees of the British Museum to go out to Mesopotamia. Mr. Layard's discoveries created such a sensation at home at the time, that the Trustees resolved to continue the researches in Assyria; so they asked for and obtained a further grant of money from Parliament for the purpose. Mr. Layard having declined to go out again, I was asked, on his recommendation, by the Trustees to proceed to Mossul, to carry on the researches in Assyria under the general control of Major (now Sir Henry) Rawlinson, who had been charged by the Trustees, on Mr. Layard leaving the East, to have the general management of the explorations. I went out again to Mossul at the end of 1852, but the excavations were at this time limited to Nineveh and its immediate neighbourhood, such as Nimroud, Kala-Shergat, and other Assyrian mounds.

As the palace of Assurbanipal,¹ or Sardanapalus IV, proved of such great value to Assyrian scholars and others, especially on account of the inscriptions that have been found therein, it may not be out of place here to give a short account of how I discovered it, especially as no account has up to the present time been published of the way it was found. On reaching Mossul then, I felt very much inclined to excavate at the northern corner of the mound of Koyunjik, where Sennacherib and his royal descendants had resided, as I felt convinced that that part of the mound had not been thoroughly examined. I found, however, to my great regret, that Monsieur Place, the French Consul at Mossul, who was at that time engaged in making explorations at Khorsabad for the French National Museum, had asked and obtained permission from Major Rawlinson, before my arrival at Mossul, to dig in that locality; but for some reason he had not attempted

¹ See general plan facing p. 37, and plan of palace, p. 40.

to excavate there, either before or after my return to Mossul. Of course I took very great care not to ask him why he had not done so, and was particularly careful not to show him that I was longing to try the spot myself, as that would have put him on the scent, and made him place some workmen there at once to prevent me from digging.

I must mention that the mound of Koyunjik is private property, and we possessed then a firman from the Sultan of Turkey permitting us to excavate wherever we liked, provided we had obtained the permission of the owner of the soil; nevertheless it was an acknowledged etiquette amongst explorers, that when the agent of any nation was excavating in a certain mound, other agents refrained from digging in the same locality, and consequently I felt somewhat jealous of the intention of the agent of the French Government intruding in our field of operation while I was digging there myself, on behalf of the Trustees of the British Museum.

For nearly a year and a half I laboured in vain to find some new Assyrian edifice, though I was not unsuccessful in my different explorations; in each mound excavated some relic of the past was brought to light—obelisks, inscribed clay cylinders and tablets; but my aim was always directed to the northern corner of Koyunjik, which happily Monsieur Place had never touched, and I was determined to try it before returning to England, come what might. When the time of my departure was drawing nigh, I ordered my tents to be pitched on the mound of Koyunjik, showing thereby that I was ready to start for Europe; but my reason for doing so was to be able with greater facility to excavate at night at the northern corner of the mound without being detected. After having waited a few days for a bright moonlight night, I selected a number of my old and faithful Arab workmen who could be depended on for secrecy, with a trustworthy overseer, and gave them orders to assemble at a certain spot on the mound about two hours after sunset. When everything was ready, I went and marked them three different spots on which to dig. There had been already a number of trenches dug there on a former occasion, but at this time I directed the workmen to dig across them and go

deeper down: and having superintended the work myself till midnight, I left them at work (after telling them to stop work at dawn) and went to bed.

The next morning I examined the trenches, and on seeing some good signs of Assyrian remains, I doubled the number of workmen the second night, and made them work hard all night. As usual, I superintended the work till midnight, and then went to bed, but had not been asleep two hours, before my faithful Albanian overseer came running to give me the good tidings of the discovery of some broken sculptures. I hurried immediately to the spot, and on descending one of the trenches, I could just see in the moonlight the lower part of two bas-reliefs, the upper portion having been destroyed by the Sasanians or other barbarous nation who occupied the mound after the destruction of the Assyrian empire. I could only find out this from experience, by examining the foundation and the brick wall which supported the bas-reliefs; so I directed the workmen to clear the lower part of the sculptures, which clearly showed that the slabs belonged to a new palace; but on digging around them we came upon bones, ashes, and other rubbish, and no trace whatever was left of any other sculptures. On the third day the fact of my digging at night oozed out in the town of Mossul, which did not surprise me, seeing that all the families of the workmen who were employed in the nocturnal work knew that they were digging clandestinely somewhere; and moreover, the workmen who were not employed at night, must have seen their fellow labourers leaving their tents and not coming to work the next day. Not only did I fear the French Consul hearing and coming to prevent me from digging in what he would call his own ground, but, worse, than all, that it should be thought I was digging for treasure by the Turkish authorities and the people of Mossul, who had always imagined that we were enriching ourselves by the discovery of fabulous treasures: consequently, on the third night, I increased the workmen, and resolved to remain in the trenches till the morning, superintending the work. It can be well imagined how I longed for the close of the day, as there was no doubt in my mind that some Assyrian structure was in

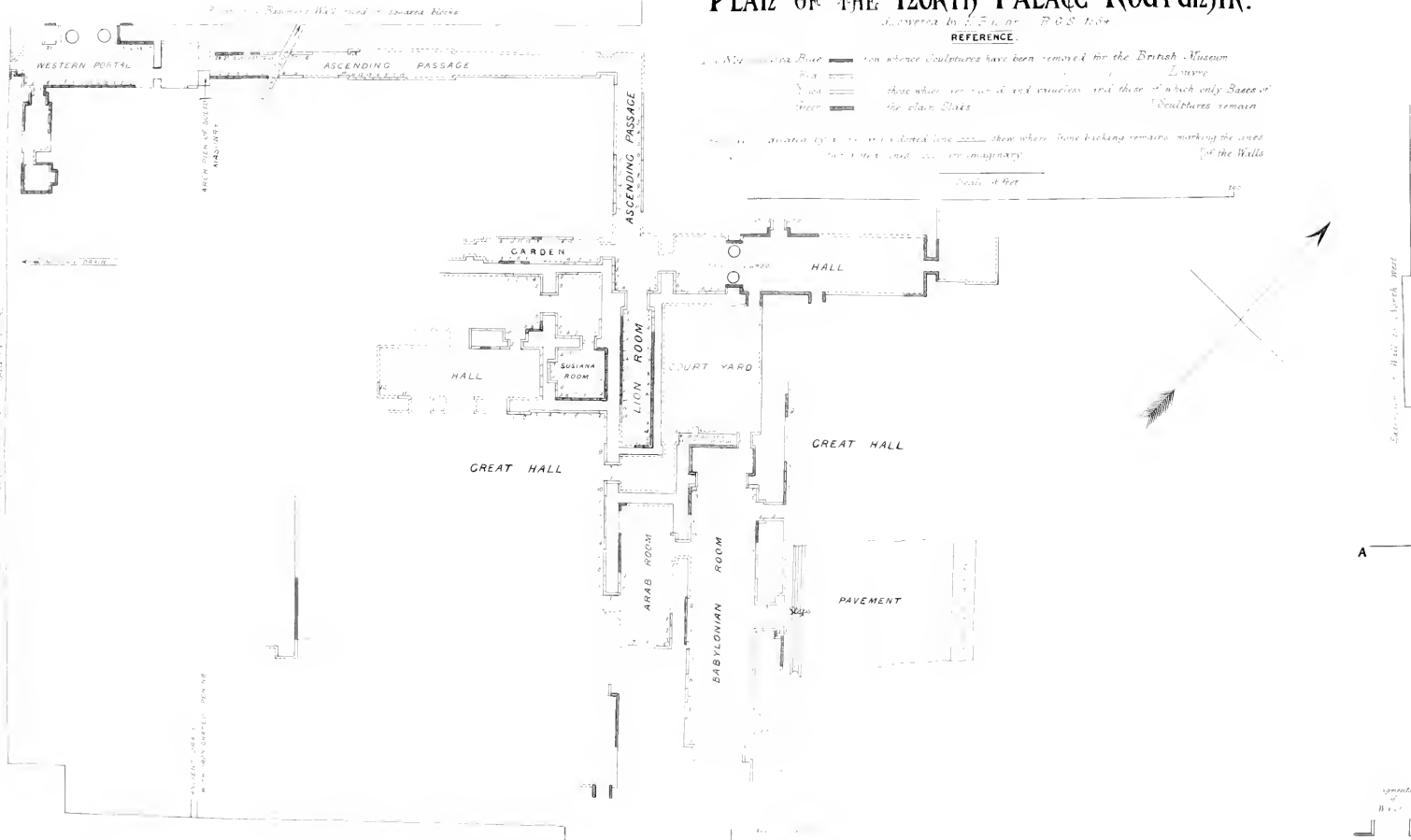


PLAN OF THE NORTH PALACE KOBYUNJIK.

Discovered by S. E. MASON, P. S. S. 1850

REFERENCE.

- (thick line) ———— from whence sculptures have been removed for the British Museum
- (thin line) ———— those which are found and preserved, and those of which only bases or fragments remain
- (dotted line) ———— show where some blocking remains, marking the lines of the walls
- (dashed line) ———— show where some blocking remains, marking the lines of the walls



Scale of Feet - Hall etc. - North Palace

A

Scale of Feet
100

existence near those broken slabs which had been found the night before. I was not disappointed in my surmises, for the men had not been at work three hours on the third night, before a bank under which they were digging fell, and exposed a most perfect and beautiful bas-relief, on which was represented an Assyrian king (which proved afterwards to be Assurbanipal or Sardanapalus) in his chariot hunting lions. The delight of the workmen was past all bounds, they all collected and began to dance and sing from their inmost heart, and no entreaty or threat of mine had any effect upon them. Indeed, I did not know which was most pleasing, the discovery of this new palace, or to witness the joy of my faithful and grateful workmen. We kept on working till morning, and seeing that by this time three perfect sculptures had been uncovered, I had no doubt in my mind that this was quite a new palace. The night-workmen were changed, and new hands put to work in the day time, as I had now no more fear of being thwarted by my rivals; because, according to all rules, I had secured this palace for the British nation. During the day we cleared out all the lion-hunt room of Assurbanipal, which is now in the basement room of the British Museum. In the centre of this long room or passage there were heaps of inscribed terra-cottas, amongst which I believe was discovered the famous Deluge Tablet. Undoubtedly this was the record chamber of Assurbanipal. In the wall adjoining this room was found buried the large Cylinder, which I shall have occasion to write about later on.¹

The news of the discovery of a new palace at Koyunjik spread in a few hours like wild-fire in the town of Mossul and its neighbourhood, and brought us hundreds of curious spectators to see the new discovery. Very few of them, however, were allowed to satisfy their curiosity, because it was quite impossible to permit crowds of people to enter the trenches. Monsieur Place was at the time superintending the French excavations at Khorsabad, and as a matter of course, as soon as he heard of my discovery, which had naturally been reported to him from Mossul, he came to

¹ See plan annexed.

the spot and protested against my having intruded in his rightful possession; but on my explaining matters to him, and telling him that Major Rawlinson had no power to assign away a portion of ground which did not belong to him, and that as the owner of the mound was indemnified by us, what I had discovered belonged properly to the British nation, he seemed to take my reasoning goodnaturedly, and before he left, congratulated me on my good fortune.

At the end of March, 1854, the term of my engagement having expired, I returned to England. The Trustees of the British Museum were so pleased with my new discovery, that they asked and obtained from Parliament another grant of money for further explorations in Assyria, and I was asked to go out again to Mesopotamia; but I had to decline the offer, as I had then an offer of a political appointment at Aden, under the late Sir James Outram. In consequence of my refusal the late Mr. Loftus was appointed to succeed me. He was then making researches in Babylonia, on account of the Assyro-Babylonian Fund Society, and on his resuming my unfinished work in the mound of Koyunjik, he made some few more discoveries in the precincts of the palace.

I need not enter into my future services under the Indian and Home Governments, nor into the connection the late Mr. George Smith had with Assyrian researches, both under the proprietors of the "Daily Telegraph" and the Trustees of the British Museum. Suffice it to say, that on the demise of Mr. Smith during his third unfortunate expedition to Mesopotamia, I was asked by the Authorities of the British Museum to resume the researches in Assyria. Though I had retired from the public service, and intended to spend the remainder of my life quietly with my family in England, which I had made my home, I could not decline an offer which brought to my recollection old associations and sweet reminiscences, especially as it was gratifying to me to feel that my former services in connection with Assyrian researches had not been forgotten at the British Museum.

I must apologise for having diverged from the main point of my paper to give you an account of my earlier discoveries, which seem quite irrelevant to the present subject, but being

impressed with the fact that the discovery of the palace of Assurbanipal is so little known in England, because unfortunately I could not publish an account of my discoveries at the time, I deemed it both instructive and interesting to give you a short *résumé* of the extraordinary way it was found. I often wondered after I had made certain discoveries how I, with other explorers, might have laboured for years, and yet missed valuable relics of the past by a mere stroke of the pickaxe, especially as it has been proved to me on several occasions that tunnels and trenches had been dug into the very heart of ancient edifices, and yet by some unfortunate chance the excavators turned when they ought to have gone straight on, and went straight on when they ought to have turned to the right or left. It sometimes happened that the trench diggers came upon an open space in a wall which had been broken down in former days, and thus passed it without knowing of the existence of valuable remains below them; or as it happened once to myself, I found my workmen were digging too deep, below the floor of a chamber.

To begin the subject of my present paper, I must commence with my journey to Constantinople in November, 1876, for the purpose of obtaining a proper firman from the Turkish Government through the assistance of our Ambassador at the Turkish capital, to enable me to carry on researches in Assyria as formerly, without the unnecessary interference of local authorities. Unfortunately I went there at the time when that notable International Conference was being held at Constantinople, and whether from the weighty matters that troubled him, or other reasons only known to himself, Sir Henry Elliott would not help me; and so I had to return home, after having spent there four months uselessly. Most fortunately Mr. (now Sir Henry) Layard was appointed soon afterwards, to succeed him as Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople. His appointment was naturally a harbinger of joy to me, as I felt quite confident that he would not be long there before he would try to obtain the required permit from the Porte for carrying on properly our researches in Assyria and Mesopotamia, inasmuch as I knew that he still took a

lively interest in all Assyrian discoveries. I was not disappointed in my expectations, for soon after his arrival at Constantinople, he began to use his influence with the Sublime Porte for the object in view, and as soon as I had accomplished the political mission on which I was sent by Lord Derby to Asiatic Turkey, Mr. Layard obtained the required permission, which enabled me to commence researches in Assyria without loss of time.

No sooner had the former workmen or their children heard of my arrival at Mossul for the purpose of resuming the excavations, than they flocked around me, but I was sorry to find that I could not recognize many of them; a large number had died, and a few had grown so old-looking, that I quite forgot their faces, as it was nearly twenty-five years since we last parted. Amongst the few that I recognised were three Jeboor Arabs, who had served Mr. Layard and myself on three different expeditions, one of whom, an old and faithful overseer, named Mahmood Alfaraj, who had served us ever since 1845, came to offer his services, which of course I accepted with great pleasure. He had settled himself comfortably with his family at a village some distance from Mossul, where he had established a farm, but sooner than allow me to be served by strangers, he gave up his farm, and attached himself to me. He did not look much older than when I left Mossul in 1854, though he had gone through heavy trials, and had often been ill-treated by the local authorities. Two others, who had grown rather too old and feeble to be of any use to me in manual labour, but as they had served Mr. Layard and myself faithfully on former occasions, and possessed great influence with their tribes, I employed them as sub-overseers on small pay. I had so many offers for employment that many had to return home disappointed. Most of these came to serve me for the purpose of gratifying their wives and their parents, who had either served Mr. Layard and myself, or who remembered us when they were children. They did not wish for much gain, but for the pleasure of old associations. Most fortunately, with a little kindness and attention to them and to their families, I could always save about a fourth, and some-

times as much as one-third, of the regular wages a labourer is in the habit of receiving in the common work of the country, and if it is considered that I had sometimes to employ about five or six hundred men daily, the saving was most important. Mr. George Smith had, I believe, to pay four piastres (or 8*d.*) a man for a day's labour, while I only paid at the highest 6*d.*, and the lowest 4*d.* With this economy I could employ a larger number of workmen with the money at my command than I could have done had I had to pay higher wages.

As soon as I arrived at Mossul, in November, 1877, I organized the required bands of diggers, basket fillers, and basket carriers, with a proper number of overseers to superintend them, and was only waiting to begin work at Koyunjik and Nimroud as soon as I received the proper sanction from Constantinople to do so. I went down subsequently to Baghdad on a political mission, but did not remain there long, because having received a telegram from Mr. Layard that the permit had been obtained and sent to Mossul, and this, coupled with my anxiety to begin the researches in Assyria, made me hurry back thither, and forthwith I commenced my labours in the ancient ruins of Nineveh.

I had heard of a mound called Balawat, about fifteen miles to the east of Mossul, and nine from Nimroud, in which some copper plates with Assyrian figures and inscriptions on them were found by an Arab, who had been digging a grave there, and of which a sample had been sent to me as a present to England. I was anxious therefore to try a few trenches and tunnels in it, but the difficulty was the existence of numerous graves belonging to the Shabbak inhabitants of four villages, and I knew that I should meet with tremendous opposition were an attempt made to dig there even for one day. But I thought that the prize was well worth the risk of a row, or even a riot, and I must make an attempt to try what could be done by means of civility and liberality. In the meantime I placed a large number of workmen at Koyunjik to search for inscriptions in the palaces of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal, and at the same time I employed a few gangs to dig in

unexcavated spots to see if anything new could be found there. I also arranged about renewing the excavations at Nimroud, and placed some workmen to try several spots where I thought new objects might be found. Both the late Mr. Loftus and Mr. George Smith had excavated there since I had left the country in the beginning of 1854, but they had found nothing of any value: nevertheless I could not abandon that interesting mound without penetrating once more into its hidden treasures. The most likely place I thought of finding something new was at the south-eastern corner of the mound, and at a spot at the edge of a ravine between the north-west palace and the pyramid. In both localities it proved afterwards that I had hit upon the right spots. I appointed a trustworthy overseer to superintend the work, and, having pointed out to him what he was to do, I returned to Mossul to see about the other explorations.

I was all this time dreaming of Balawat, and was at my wits' end how to accomplish my scheme without being thwarted in the course I wished to pursue. Firstly, I obtained the promise of the owner of the land to raise no objection to my excavating there, and I prevailed upon the lessees of the property to allow me to dig there; and when this was done, I felt that my great difficulty would yet be to get over the prejudices of the owners of the graves, of whom there were so many that it would be quite impossible for me to satisfy them all either for love or money. I therefore deemed it advisable to put a bold face upon it, and go straight to the spot and commence work, and leave it to the villagers to raise an objection to my doing so or not. I engaged in the first instance the services of a gentleman who belonged to a good Mahommedan family at Mossul, possessing great influence in Balawat and its neighbourhood, and who himself had obtained by digging at night-time some pieces of the copper monument from the mound, which had been presented to myself and others. I ordered my faithful Arab overseer Mahmood Alfaraj to choose about twenty trustworthy Jeboors to accompany him, and to provide them with the necessary implements for digging, and to go with them to the Christian village of Karakosh, situated about

three miles to the west of Balawat, where I should meet them. The last-named village was only about ten minutes' walk from the mound, but I preferred making Karakosh my temporary head-quarters, because better accommodation was to be found there, and the mound of Balawat was really in the leasehold of its inhabitants, and, legally speaking, they were the only people who had a right to prevent me from digging there. When everything was arranged, I repaired to the mound with my guide Abdallah Bey and the Jeboor workmen; and to my great horror found there were more graves scattered all over the mound than I thought; but, nothing daunted, I began at once to dig in the spot whence I was told a few fragments of the copper monument were got out. We had not been half an hour at work before we were surrounded by a host of Shabbak Koords, inhabitants of Balawat, to prevent our digging. The chief of Karakosh, with three or four elders, who had accompanied me to the mound, were the first to meet the abuse of the Shabbak peasants. They were told that instead of bringing the Franks to disturb the graves of the Moslems, they had better take them to dig up the bones of their forefathers, and had I not intervened they would have come to blows. I told the Balawat villagers that the Christians of Karakosh had nothing to do in the matter, and that they had only accompanied me because I was staying with them; but if they had anything to say, they had better say it to me, and I should be the last person in the world to do anything to annoy them. This declaration of mine pacified them in some degree, and made them listen to reason. I found that their spokesman was their chief, who proved afterwards my staunch supporter, and on my telling him that I would accompany them to their village, and there would discuss the matter with them, he and his followers seemed very much pleased; and we at once proceeded to Balawat for consultation. It was bitterly cold on that day, with rain and sleet pouring down; so my first care was to see the poor half-clad Jeboor workmen properly housed, and as soon as they were billeted in different houses I commenced my negotiation. It happened most fortunately that one of the brothers of my guide was residing

at Balawat at the time, and of course it was to his interest to get his brother out of the mess by trying to assist me; and I therefore chose his house as a rendezvous and my future temporary residence. My Shabbak friends and I had not been an hour together before we came to terms on the following conditions, viz.:—Firstly, that I should appoint the two chief men of the village to be overseers; and secondly, I would employ a certain number of the inhabitants of Balawat amongst my workmen, in order that they might see that none of their graves should be disturbed—that as soon as they came to a grave they would be at liberty to stop working, and I would forego the most valuable relic in the world if its getting out should prove of any damage to a grave. I also arranged to have tunnels dug a fathom below the bottom of the graves, and should there be any fear of the grave or graves coming down where it was found necessary to dig, I would support it by a solid arch. When I thought that everything was arranged satisfactorily, I heard that other villagers were trying to create a great disturbance in the village, because it happened that my Balawat friends had committed a great blunder at the outset, which gave me immense bother and anxiety afterwards. When they first heard of my intention to dig at Balawat, they sent to inform the inhabitants of a neighbouring village called Kabarlee, who also had a large number of graves on the mound of Balawat, in order that they might unitedly try to prevent me from digging. So when I came to terms with the natives of Balawat, the Kabarlees objected and swore that they would sooner die than allow any digging to take place in the mound. The people of Balawat declared, on the other hand, that sooner than disappoint me, they would dig the graves of their forefathers themselves, whatever the result. It was ultimately arranged between me and my supporters of Balawat, that I should return to Karakosh, and leave the Jeboor workmen to go on with the excavations the next morning; but during the night I heard that the natives of Kabarlee were determined to break the peace, and fearing lest my Jeboors should get into trouble in case the Kabarlees people came to blows with the natives of Balawat, I sent

them orders to go early the next morning to another mound near the Christian village of Karamlais, about five miles to the north of Balawat, where I had intended to dig. My workmen had just left the village when a large number of armed Kabarlees arrived, and began to accuse the chief and elders of Balawat of bribery. for the sake of which, they declared, they were going to allow the Christians to exhume the graves of the Moslems, but that they themselves would defy any one to do so. In the meantime the Balawat people began to arm, and had not an Arab chief, a particular friend of mine, arrived most opportunely just then on a public duty, with about fifty followers, and beat off the Kabarlee rioters, there would most undoubtedly have been a serious fight. When the news reached me I lost all hopes of ever attaining my object, inasmuch as I feared that the authorities might hear of the objection raised against my digging at Balawat, and would themselves prevent me from doing so, as I was particularly prohibited in the firman from excavating in a burial-place. However, acting on the common saying, "Nothing venture, nothing win," I waited for a few days, and then began to try what I could do through influential Moslem friends at Mossul who possessed some power amongst the Shabbak people, and who would, I was certain, assist me to the best of their ability. They were obliged to send for all the elders and chiefs of Balawat and Kabarlee, with whom they had a long consultation, and they all came to me afterwards to inform me of what passed between them. It was arranged between us that I should go on with the excavations at Balawat, but I must not allow my workmen to disturb any of the new graves. I told them that, as I had promised before, I would take into my employ the natives of those villages who had graves on the mound, so that if they came near any tomb they could stop digging. This I knew would answer my purpose, because I felt confident that when the natives of those villages began to benefit by my work, they themselves would be adverse to stop the excavations; and, moreover, by having them in my employ, there would be no jealousy created, as there would have been the case had I employed strangers. At the same time,

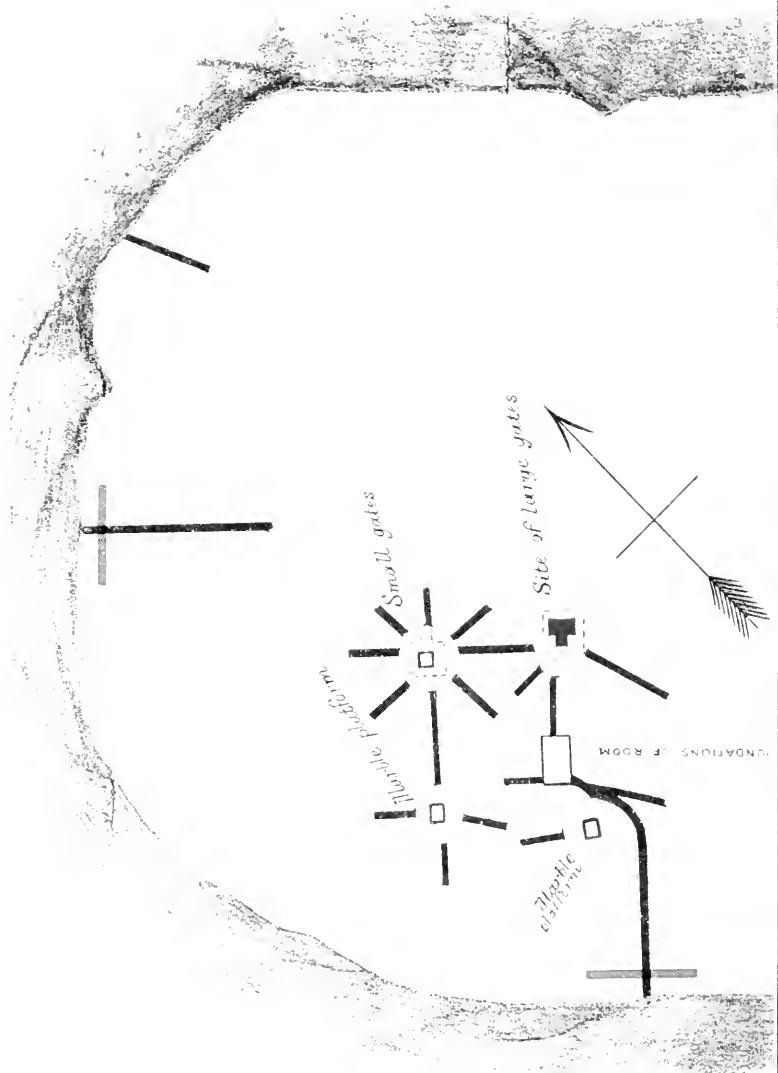
I succeeded in making friends with the chief movers in the opposition against my digging, and when everything was settled for resuming my research, I went down to Balawat with the Jeboor workmen, and took quarters at the house of Hosain Beg, whose interest it was to forward my scheme. The next morning I repaired to the mound, not feeling quite certain that I should really be allowed to dig by the Kabarlee people, as their graves were within a few inches of the ground I wished to examine. The owners of these graves, however, did not make their appearance that morning, and by the time they came I had penetrated into the ground far enough to satisfy myself that there was no need to approach nearer to their graves than I had done, which was a great comfort to me. On that day we came upon some scrolls of the copper plating of an Assyrian monument, which I carefully removed to my host's house, as the copper was very much injured through the immense time that it had been buried underground since the destruction of the Assyrian Empire. It was spread like a centipede, with the top part rising to within three or four feet of the surface of the ground, and the lower portion gradually descending about fifteen feet. This monument, which is now safely deposited in the British Museum, is thought to be the coating of a huge gate with double leaves, the thickness of which must have been about four inches, which is shown from the bend of the nails that fastened the plates to the wooden frame. After three days' heavy labour we managed to get out about half of it, and, Sunday intervening, I stopped work and went up to town to spend the Lord's day quietly, examining on my way thither the works at Koyunjik. I had more than 500 men working there, and was obliged, therefore, to give different directions every two or three days to the overseers, in order that there might be no waste of time and labour in digging at hap-hazard.

As a matter of course, as soon as I began to uncover the copper monument it was necessary that I should leave trustworthy men at the mound at night, to see that no one went there to dig or injure the remainder of the relic, and I arranged that half of the watchmen consisted of the Jeboor

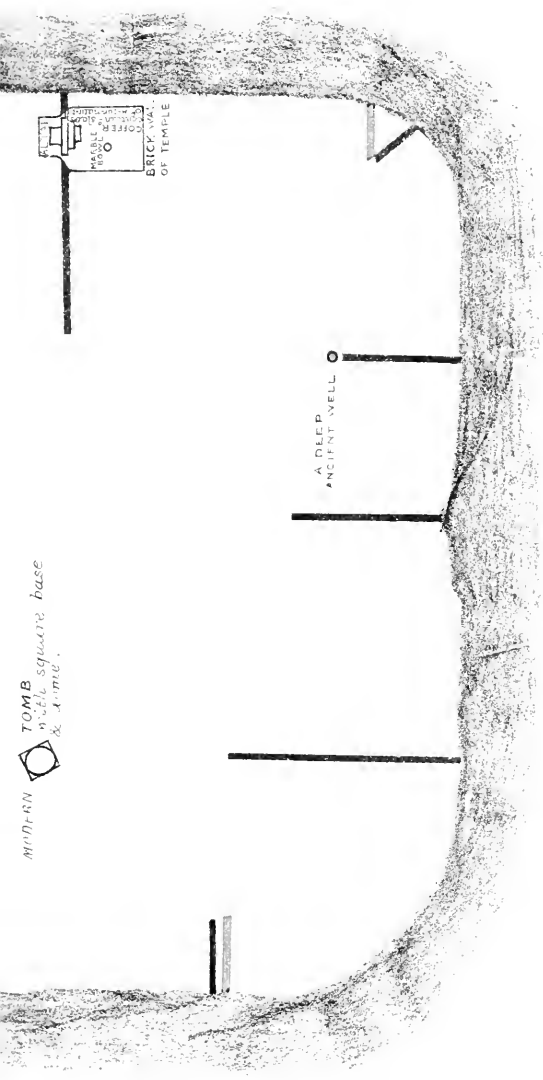
workmen and the other half from the natives of Balawat, and to protect them from the rain and cold I provided them with a tent and fuel. It appears that the evening after I went up to Mossul the Balawat watchmen decamped, and left the poor Jeboors alone, on the plea that they could not stand the severe cold, which happened to be at the time, with snow nearly four inches above ground; but in reality they feared the nocturnal marauders, of whom there were scores going about just then. No sooner had my faithful overseer Mahmood Alfaraj heard of the return of the Balawat watchmen, than he repaired to the mound, and took with him the remainder of the Jeboor workmen, and kept watch there day and night, until the whole of the monument was dug out and conveyed safely away. While I was spending Sunday quietly at Mossul, the Shabbak workmen were discussing the point whether it was right or not that they should allow their graves to be desecrated for the sake of a little gain, inasmuch as they had been upbraided by ill-natured people for their stupidity in allowing me to dig. They were told that for every piastre they were receiving, I was carrying away antiquities worth more than their weight in gold! On Monday morning some of the well-disposed inhabitants of Balawat went as usual to the mound to work, but they were obliged to return to their village on being threatened by another party which wanted to stop the excavations altogether. The Jeboor workmen refused to leave, and, headed by Mahmood Alfaraj, declared that they would fight to the death before they would desert their trust, and more than that, not only would they not quit the mound until I returned, but they meant to work whether the others joined them or not, and they kept their word. In the meantime there was a row in the village between the malcontents and my supporters, but my party proving the strongest, our adversaries succumbed. Ultimately they all agreed that they would dissuade me from continuing the excavations, and would leave it to my honour to unbury the remainder of the monument or not. When the news of this tumult reached me I was very much troubled, because not only was I afraid of losing this unique Assyrian relic if any riot

should take place, but also I did not wish to be the cause of any bloodshed. I hastened the next morning to Balawat in a heavy storm of snow, and, on going to the mound on my way to the village, I found my poor Jeboor workmen at work, not where the monument was, but in another locality, and nearly frozen to death from cold, as they had finished their fuel, and could neither cook nor keep themselves warm. So I took my overseer with me to the village, and instead of showing that I was in any way concerned about what had taken place, I ordered, in a most natural way, some of the Balawat workmen to send some fuel to the mound, and requested others to have some lentils cooked and bread baked for my Arab labourers. To my great surprise my orders were obeyed to the letter, and not a word was said. Two of them came to me, however, to tell me privately that they meant to resume work the next morning come what might, and they said they knew that others would do the same if I remained at Balawat. The next morning I ordered my Jeboor overseer to call in the usual way the workmen of Balawat to proceed to the mound; and, to prevent any disturbance taking place, I accompanied them thither myself, and took with me the chief and two of the most respected elders of the place. Every workman came running as if nothing had taken place, and they all commenced work in right good earnest. As luck would have it, a tobacconist came to the mound with a quantity of tobacco for sale, and as I knew that my Shabbak workmen were very fond of smoking, I pleased them very much by buying for them a good supply. This generosity raised me in their estimation not a little, and the fact that I took care not to say a word to them about the threatened riot of the previous day, and their resolve not to work with me any more, made the gift more precious. After two days' more hard work we managed to get out the remainder of the copper monument, and I did not feel quite happy until it was deposited in a safe place at Mossul. The work continued at Balawat without any interruption for some time, as I made it a rule to go down often to the place, superintend the work myself, and coax the workmen to overlook the digging out

PLAN OF MOUND AND EXCAVATIONS
BALAWAT.



MIND-AN
 TOMB
 with square base
 & dome.



Scale of feet

Broad black lines excavated Trenches
 " " " red " " " " Trenches
 " " " blue " " " " old Aqueducts
 Circular red marks, excavated Ditches.

the bones of their supposed forefathers, telling them that as it was a very common practice amongst Moslems to dig old graves to make place for new interments, they ought to have no qualm themselves in moving a few bones and re-burying them in some nice place on the mound. My Jeboor workmen insisted that the bones they were finding in the digging belonged to some old heathenish nation, and the majority of the Shabbak labourers actually began to tell their co-religionists that the graves which were found deep below belonged to their unbelieving forefathers, which deserved exhuming, while others, to satisfy their consciences, carefully reburied the bones, feeling sure that they were doing an act of charity whether the bones belonged to a true believer or not. Truly speaking, they were not doing more than they must have very often done on former occasions, like all Moslems who have a small burial-ground, and are obliged to dig old graves to make place for new interments.

In the meantime we had discovered another copper monument, just half the size of the first one. Instead of the scrolls being ornamented like those of the large one with double rows of figures, they had only one set on each, but the figures were larger on the small gate. This was found very much injured, and as soon as it was exposed to the air it fell to pieces. Other excavations were being carried on in different parts of the mound by tunnelling, but I soon discovered from the nature of the ground and other signs that we were digging too deep, and I tried therefore to persuade my Shabbak workmen and their chiefs to let me throw open some of the tunnels, which did not interfere with the new graves, and having succeeded in inducing them to let me do as I wished, I gave the necessary directions to the Jeboor overseer, and went up to Mossul to see about my other explorations. The next day the Balawat overseer sent me intelligence that he had found in digging over one of the tunnels that I had ordered to be laid bare, a stone coffer with a lid, containing two tablets of stone covered with inscriptions. A report had already spread in Mossul and its neighbourhood that my workmen had discovered a marble chest containing countless

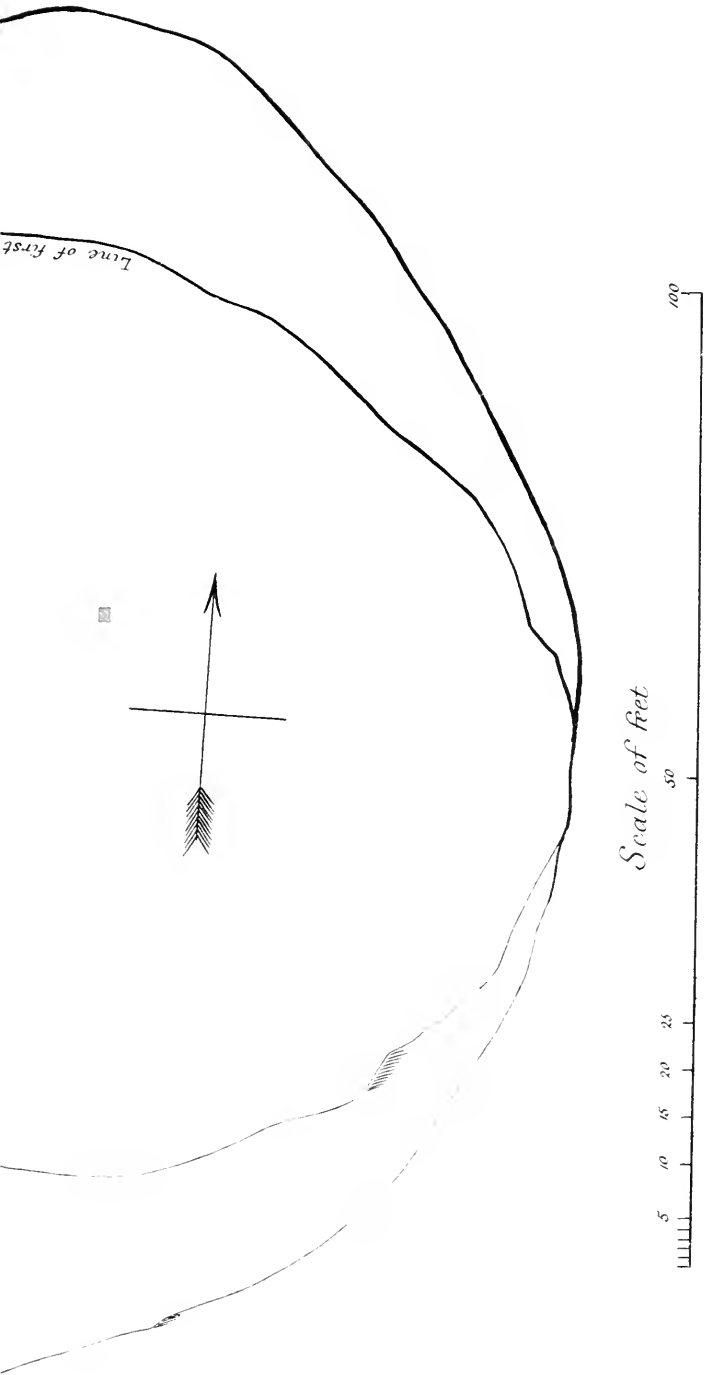
treasures, and credulous people would have the marble slabs to be the very tables of stone of Moses, containing the Ten Commandments! These reports made me hurry down to Balawat, as I did not know what the Shabbak workmen there might be tempted to do in case they believed these stories. I found on my arrival there that my faithful Jeboor overseer, for fear of the coffer or the tablets being injured in case there should be a row, had heaped over them a large quantity of earth, and he and his Arab workmen had kept watch over them all night. There was a tremendous excitement amongst all the workmen consequent upon this discovery, and to please them I presented them with a day's wages all round, and to the Balawat gang of workmen who had discovered it I presented a few more piastres. This attention on my part pleased them all, and for a time it made the Shabbak workmen contented, and not to care if I began to dig up all their graves. In the meanwhile I was meditating about the removal of the coffer to Mossul, as I was not certain from hour to hour what might happen in case the Shabbak people believed the exaggerated stories of those who were jealous of our success; but how to remove this huge block of marble for a distance of about fifteen miles without a cart was more than my wits and engineering could at once accomplish. It happened most fortunately that I had presented a few days previously to the Shabbak and Karkosh villagers some marble plain slabs, which were found in a chamber discovered in the mound of Balawat, not far from the site of the monument. The former had chosen and removed the smallest of the slabs for their share, and left the large ones for the Karkoshites, who wanted them for their church. As they could not remove them without a cart, they had sent and hired the only one in the country. The cart arrived at the mound in a most miraculous way, just as I was at my wits' end how to accomplish the immediate removal of the marble coffer into Mossul. I had only to mention the fact of my difficulty to the Karkoshites, and they without much ado put the coffer into their cart and pulled it to Mossul themselves, where I accompanied them. I found on digging out the coffer that it was placed at the

entrance of a chamber which had been burnt down, and proved afterwards to be a temple. We found at the north-west of this chamber a marble altar, ascended by five steps; upon it we brought to light an inscribed marble tablet of the same size and shape as the other two which were found in the coffer, and as the cavity which contained them was large enough to admit a third, I have not the least doubt that the tablet found on the altar belonged to the same set, and that before the priests had time to deposit it back in the coffer, the temple was burnt down, either by accident or by an enemy. It happened that in this chamber a large quantity of human remains were found, which made the Shabbak people quarrel amongst themselves. Some wanted to stop digging, and others said that the bones belonged to heathens, or some other unbelieving people, and they would not give up working, especially as the bones could easily be removed and buried in another place. Those of the Shabbak people who were not benefiting by our work sided with those who wanted to stop working, and abused those who wanted to go on. This brought the quarrel to a crisis, because the chiefs who were in my pay took offence at the insolent demeanour of the mischief makers, and declared that if all the workmen went away they would themselves dig until I came. Their relations and those who were favourable to my continuing the excavations drew their swords, and had not Mahmood Alfaraj advised them to leave the settlement of the dispute to me, there would have been a serious bloodshed. A messenger was despatched to me informing me of the disturbance, and I was begged to hasten down to Balawat to prevent a serious outbreak. To say the truth, I began to be quite tired of these continual quarrels, and was determined when I went down to Balawat the last time not to leave the place until I had put a stop to the excavations altogether. My only reason for continuing the research after the discovery of the marble coffer and its contents, was because I knew that if the work was closed I should never have the chance of digging there again, so I deemed it advisable to work on as long as possible. This time I took down my tents, which had been pitched between

the village and the mound. I found everything quiet, and the next morning was surprised to find all the workmen proceeding to work without a murmur when they saw me walk to the mound, but on my return to the camp to breakfast I heard a tremendous row, and on looking out of the tent I saw that there was a great deal of running about, and all the workmen were collecting with swords drawn around the site of the temple, which I wished to be cleared out. I hastened at once to the spot, and on the way thither was met by messengers who were despatched by the overseer to ask me to go and stop the disturbance, which had been brought about by the workmen who wanted to stop the excavations in the chamber, on account of some graves which had been demolished by some of their fellow labourers. I found on arriving there that all the workmen excepting the Jeboors were on the point of coming to blows, and two of the Balawat workmen were busily engaged in digging a grave with their daggers in the temple, and swearing that the first person who would dare to stop them would be demolished then and there with those very daggers, and have their corpses buried with those of the Kafirs about which they were quarrelling. I told them on arriving that they all ought to be ashamed of themselves for creating a disturbance about such a trivial matter, and added that if those who were adverse to digging out the remainder of the chamber could swear that the bones belonged to their forefathers or any of their relations, as they looked more like those of an ass or sheep, I would stop digging at once. This made them all laugh, and forthwith they returned to their work. One, however, refused to do so, and kept abusing the rest for their wickedness: but on my handing him over his day's wages, and telling him he had better go home and avoid participating in our sins, he at once returned to work, and from that day forward there were no more disputes or quarrels. I must confess I was very glad when we cleared out the temple and closed the work at Balawat, which was (as its name means) "an affliction" to me. Some other inscribed tablets were found, but the inscriptions on them were almost unreadable from decay.

PLAN OF TEMPLE OF ASSUR - NAZIR - PAL , SITUATED NORTH OF THE
NORTH WEST PALACE NIMROUD





*Parts coloured red are marble altar, platforms, seats and columns standing in their original position.
 " " blue are marble seats &c. not standing in their original places.*



While I was excavating at Balawat I had to attend to the other explorations at Koyunjik and Nimroud. In the former place, where a large number of workmen were employed to search for inscriptions both in the palace of Sennacherib and that of Assurbanipal, some interesting discoveries were made. In a brick wall in the palace of the last-mentioned king was discovered an almost perfect terra-cotta cylinder with ten sides to it, covered with nearly 1,300 lines of fine writing, detailing the conquests and the extension of the sway of Assurbanipal or Sardinapalus IV. It was by a mere chance that this valuable historical record was discovered, because, generally speaking, we do not waste our time and money in digging out thick solid brick walls to no purpose; but as I had given orders that when the workmen came to a broken wall they were to search it, in case some ancient relic might have been mixed up in the rubbish. I was asked by the overseer superintending the work in the palace of Assurbanipal if he was to demolish a small remnant of a brick wall which was left in digging out two chambers, or leave it to be covered over with the *débris* that came out of the excavations. On seeing that its removal would entail very little expense, I ordered it to be pulled down, and it appears that I had not gone two hours on my way to Nimroud, before they came upon this rare object, buried in the centre of the solid wall.

At the palace of Sennacherib, though we found nothing remarkable or of particular interest, the workmen were nevertheless continually finding inscribed terra-cottas, some of which have proved of great value.

At Nimroud my researches also proved of some importance by the discovery of what has been proved to be the temple of Assurnazirpal. Everything in it was found in fragments, with the exception of a marble altar and three marble chairs; and this shows that the enemy was determined not to leave one stone upon another when he destroyed it. Hundreds of beautifully painted and enamelled tiles and knobs (which I believe belonged to the ceiling of the temple), inscribed marble tablets, pieces of marble tripods, pillars, and other small objects, were found in utter confu-

sion, scattered all over the floor of the temple. Several marble platforms were found in different parts of the temple, which looked as if they had been placed there for the purposes of worship or sacrifice. At the south-east corner of the mound I discovered an ascending passage with a perfect and well-built brick arch, which showed as if this had been the grand entrance to the royal mansions. (See plan.)

The more I excavate in Assyrian mounds, the more I am puzzled to know how the earth has been accumulated over the vast ruins; and I shall not rest satisfied until a thorough exhumation of the mounds of Koyunjik and Nimroud is made. From my long experience in Assyrian research, I believe we might go on digging, as we are doing now, hundreds of years, and yet might miss some important historical object which would be lost for ever to the scientific and literary world.

As I do not profess to know anything about the reading of the old Assyrian language, it must be left for Assyrian scholars to explain certain facts brought to light in connection with my discoveries in the mounds of Koyunjik, Nimroud, and Balawat; and I trust that in my future discoveries in Assyria and Babylonia, I shall be enabled to add some more valuable acquisitions to ancient history.




ON A RECENTLY DISCOVERED TEXT OF
ASSUR-NATSIR-PAL, B.C. 885.

BY ERNEST A. BUDGE, M.R.A.S.

Read 4th March, 1879.


THE text which is the subject of this paper is engraved on an alabaster slab, twelve-and-a-half inches long, eight wide, and two-and-a-half thick. The characters are engraved very nicely in the ordinary Assyrian style. It, with a duplicate copy, was found in a stone coffer: they were among the treasures recently brought from Balawat by Mr. Rassan. The variant readings given by the duplicate are distinguished by being placed in brackets in the printed text accompanying. Some very remarkable points occur, the first and most important being that the words have actually been divided by the Assyrian scribes by means of straight lines engraved on the stone between the end of one word and the beginning of the next. It is not easy to estimate the great value of these dividing lines: not only do they distinguish the end of each word, but they show when an Assyrian group of wedges is to be read as an ideograph, and, above all, the accuracy of the reading of many of the Assyrian words by the system of decipherment used by modern scholars. It is well known that the Persian text of the Behistun inscription is

divided into words by means of wedges engraved diagonally, thus:—

































 I - y - m G - u - m - a - t H - y[a]

This *Gomates,* *the*
















 M - gh - u - sh.




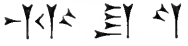
*Magian.*¹

and the straight line used by the Assyrians is probably the first step made by them towards the same point: they have not yet come to a wedge—only to the dividing lines. This is not the only instance of words being divided on tablets; for Mr. Pinches has shown me a fragment of an astronomical tablet which has several of the lines of writing divided into words by these straight lines. It is numbered “S 375” in the British Museum collection. We have copied a few of the lines as a specimen of the rest, and they are printed here with the dividing lines as they appear on the clay tablet itself. The first line given is Assyrian, written ideographically; the second and third are written phonetically. A word worthy of notice occurs in the first line— . It might be read either “*bu-si*” or “*bu-li*,” but a gloss underneath spells it for us thus—             , *bu-u-li*, and this of course settles the reading. The third line gives us the ideograph and phonetic complement—             , *ibassi*, “there is,” as the equivalent for this. For the proofs of the reading of the other words we would refer to Prof. Sayce’s learned paper on the “Astronomy and Astrology of the Babylonians.”²

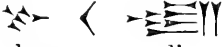
S 375.

									
D.P.	caecab	apiu		kharran	samas		iesud		
<i>The star of the foundation the road of the sun took</i>									
									
	khusakhkhu			bu - lim			.....	
	<i>famine</i>			<i>there is (?)</i>			.....	


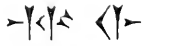
¹ “*Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc.*,” vol. x, p. 39.
² *Trans. S. B. A.*, Vol. III, pp. 115-156.





 khar - ra - na D.P. sa - mas ic - su - ud
the road of the *sun* *took*



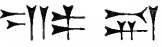

 bu - u - li
there is (?)




 su - um - ku ibas - si
famine *there is*

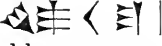

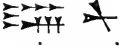
 D.P. caccab ni - bat A - nu D.P. lu - bat
The star Mars *the planet*

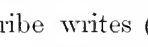
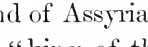
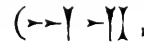
 Sak - us i - cas - sa - ad - va
Saturn *approaches and*

 caccab lu - bat caccab ni - bat A - nu im - takh -
The planet Mars *was*

 khar - u - va iz - zi - zu nis nacir
present and *was fixed* *the enemy.*

To return, however, to our slab. The duplicate copy points out various mistakes, such as the following: in one the scribe writes (line 1)  *šar mat Assur*, "king of the land of Assyria," while the other gives  *šar mat Assur*, "king of the land of Assyria," and this agrees with the usual formula found at the beginning of such inscriptions as these. One copy reads *šar mat Assur-ma*, "king of this same Assyria"; the other omits *ma*. One copy reads "Oh, future prince, its ruins restore" ( *ankuša*

udlis): the other omits *udlis*. A remarkable form is found in line 6. The reading given by one copy is *sanin-su* NU-DUKU, "his rival has not had": the reading by the other is *sa ninin-su* NU-DUKU. This may be a Pale form: *sanin* is used for "second," as may be seen in nearly all historical inscriptions, and the following line from W.A.I. I. 12. 48, is quoted as an example:—

ina kabal sa-ni-na ina takhatsi la i-su-u
in war a rival (and) in battle has not had.

This tablet is also remarkable for the frequent use of ideographs, and with them phonetic complements. Their use here is more frequent by far than is usual in general historical inscriptions, and a comparison of this text with the large one of the same monarch will convince the comparer of this fact. The account may be regarded as a succinct summary of the genealogy of Assurnatsirpal, a statement of his possessions, together with an invocation to the "future prince."

From this we pass to the consideration of the text and peculiar words in it, and to a short notice of the reign of Assurnatsirpal. Although the inscriptions of Assurnatsirpal are very numerous, and, as a rule, of great length, very few closely written clay tablets have been found. He appears to have delighted in having the records of his glories written in large characters, and in long lines across the massive bas-reliefs adorning his palace, some of which are now among the treasures in the British Museum. The celebrated inscription printed in W.A.I., vol. I, commences with a long invocation to the gods, but the patron deity of Assurnatsirpal seems to have been NINIP, for he begins his inscription thus, "(To) Ninip the very powerful hero, the eldest hero of the gods, the powerful warrior, mighty, (he) who in battle is without rival, the warrior of the gods, the urger on of the mass of heaven and earth." This inscription however omits entirely the invocation, and starts off simply

with the genealogy of the king. The text says, "Assur-natsir-pal, son of Tuculti-ninip, son of Rimmon-nirari." The dates of these kings are:—

Y < (A-||) S Y S S	Rimmon-nirari, B.C. 913.
Y E +	Tuculti-ninip, B.C. 891.
Y -> V + Y	Assur-natsir-pal, B.C. 885.

The names of these kings are all written ideographically as above. Rimmon-nirari was for some time called "Pul," but a syllabary explains S Y S S by *ni-ra-ru*, making the name Rimmon-nirari, or "Rimmon is my help." In W.A.I. IV, 44, the first character of the name < is replaced by S S || or A-||, and the syllabaries explain this by *rukhu*, "wind"; Rimmon was the air-god.¹ This king was very powerful, succeeded in his battles, and in enlarging the boundaries of the Assyrian empire. In this reign commence the regular chronology of important events.²

Concerning Tuculti-ninip II but little is known. The first ideograph in his name, E or E is explained in W.A.I. II, 4, 692, by *tu-cul-lu*, "service," or "servant." This is also met with in the name of Tiglath-pileser, or Tuculti-pal-ešar. Tuculti is sometimes written E <, which is the ideograph with a phonetic complement (W.A.I. I, 35, 19). The explanation of the second ideograph + is given in two places. In W.A.I. IV, 69, 1, we find the following:—

.....	+ | E Y E | -> + i - E E E |
	ma-a - su D.P. Nin - ip

The corner which should have given the Accadian word is unfortunately broken. Another syllabary (W.A.I. II, 59, 7, 8) gives also -> + i - E E E | -> + + | which plainly shows that Ninip is synonymous with -> + +. The whole name means "the servant of Ninip." Dr. Delitzsch³

¹ See W.A.I. IV, 70, 30, where A-|| is explained by V Y - *sa-a-ru*, "wind," and W.A.I. II, 48, 36.
² Smith's "Assyria," p. 35.
³ "Assyrische Studien," p. 172.

gives the Arabic كُتِل as the root of Tucultu. The reign of this monarch was short, lasting six years only; but, according to Mr. Smith, his empire "extended from below the lower Zab across to the Khabour, then north to the region of Diarbekr, along the south of Lake Van, to the mountains east of Assyria." In this reign the Assyrian eponym canon commences. The third name (and the name of the king whose exploits are mentioned in this inscription), Assur-natsir-pal, or abla, means "Assur the protector of the son." Texts which give the genealogy of a king are, as a rule, important, and this one is perhaps no exception. The inscription begins with the usual formula, "the great king, the powerful king, king of multitudes, king of the land of Assyria." We notice that the name of Assyria is abbreviated to a single wedge—thus, \blacktriangleright . This name is written in various ways; the most common are as follows:—

\blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright $\langle \text{E} \rangle$ mat Assur-ci (W.A.I. II, 1).

\blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright $\langle \text{E} \rangle$ mat As-sur-ci (of frequent occurrence).

The god from which the country took its name is represented in various ways—thus, \blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright ; often without the prefix of divinity, \blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright . Assurbanipal uses \blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright , which might mean the "good god." In W.A.I. I, 14, 69, it is written \blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright D.P. *A-sur*. In Layard's inscriptions (plate 78, 3) it is written in the name of Assur-natsir-pal thus, \blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright . As in most of the historical inscriptions, he calls himself "king of the four regions" or "races." This was an old title of Syria, which was peopled according to Genesis x, 23, by Uz, Hal, Gether, and Mash.¹ In line 6 we meet with the Accadian NU DUKU, "has not had." It is found also on the monolith of Shalmaneser, col. 6, line 10. The word \blacktriangleright NU is explained in a bilingual text in W.A.I. IV, 16, 1, 50, by \blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright $\langle \text{E} \rangle$ \blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright \blacktriangleright E - CI - NU TA E is equated with the Assyrian

¹ וּבְנֵי אֲרָם עֵיזָן וְחִיל וְגִתֵר וְנִישַׁן : according to Smith. Professor Sayce thinks that the four races = four quarters of the world.

a - na bi - ti a - sar la a - tsi - e

 to the house, a place without exit.

The syllabaries and bilingual texts equate the Accadian DUKU with the Semitic words *isu*, "to have" (Heb. ישׁ), and *akhazu*, "to possess," Heb. אָחַז (W.A.I. II, 9, 29, *c d*; 62, 49, *a b*). So that NU DUKU is equal to *la-a isu*, "has not had."

The name of the river Tigris is met with in the next line in the form in which it occurs usually in historical inscriptions. Certainly its form here (▶▶▶¹) entitles it to the name of the "arrow river"; but it was known by another name, "*dielat*," or *idielat*. This occurs on line 35 of Behistun inscription thus , which Mr. Norris compares

to Arabic دَجَلَة, the Hiddikel of Genesis ii, 14 (הַדְדִּיקֶל).

It is called by Arameans ܕܝܠܬܐ.² The name *dielat* or *idielat* is synonymous with still another, thus in W.A.I. II, 50, 7, the

Accadian A-SUS-MAS-TIG-GAR = the Assyrian *i-di-ic-lat*. From this Dr.

Delitzsch conjectures³ that the compound ideograph meaning "river," , was sounded HID; but the sign (𐎶) here read *lat* may be also read *cur*. In this case (H)IDICUR will be

the Assyrian or Semitic translation of the Accadian HIDMAS-TIGGAR. M. Lenormant mentions⁴ that a god presided over the river Tigris whose name was Tartak. It is the תַּרְתַּק of 2 Kings xvii, 31, a god who, according to Rabbinical tradition, was worshipped under the form of an ass.

A curious word is found in the latter part of line 19, viz., *pa-kha-at*. The usual variant for this is , *pat* (W.A.I. I, 11, 30). A more literal reading of the words of the text, "*ana pakhāt gimri-sa*," would be "to the (boundaries) of the

¹ In W.A.I. II, 27, 11, ▶▶▶ = , *gararu-sa-mē*, "rolling of waters."

² Gesenius Dict., p. 262.

³ See the notes in Delitzsch, "Assyrische Lesestücke," 2nd edition.

⁴ Lenormant, "La Magie," p. 110. Prof. Sayce thinks this is a mistake, and says the god is really Itak (the plague-god).

whole of it." In the whole line, as we meet it in the text, there is a false concord; for it reads—

𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵
matati Na - i - ri ana pa-kha-at gim - ri - sa
the countries of Nairi to the whole of it

In speaking of the plural "countries" we should expect to find "the countries of Nairi to the whole of them," *i.e.*, to their whole extent. In W.A.I. I. 12. 83, Tiglath-pileser, after giving the names of twenty-three countries of Nairi, says:—"In all, twenty-three kings of the *countries* of Nairi." This negatives the idea that in our text the whole of the countries are mentioned under the one general name "Nairi."

In the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar and elsewhere the name of "Imgur Bel" is found, and it is understood to have been the inner wall of the great city of Babylon. But lines 19, 20, and 21 reveal that there was a city of that name built by Assur-natsir-pal. In the large inscription no mention is made of it, no allusion given. It seems to have been an important city, for in it Assur-natsir-pal built a temple, and set up an image of Makhir "his lord." It has been thought that Imgur-Bel ("the delight of Bell") was the ancient name for the modern town of Balawat, from which these tablets came.

The name of this god Makhir or Mašar is met with but rarely; I cannot do better than quote Professor Sayce's note concerning him, "Makhir is elsewhere called 'the daughter of the Sun,' her two brothers being Cittu and sisik. Cittu or Cit was the name of the Sun-god among the Cassites." Makhir was we are told the god of dreams. This is found in an Assyrian prayer in W.A.I. IV. 66. 2. We quote the line:—

𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵
D.P. ma- khir il sa suttu¹ ina kakkad - ya
May the god Makhir, the god of dreams, upon my head

𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎵
lu - ca - an.
settle,

¹ Literally, "night dreams." Heb. 𐤍𐤏𐤃.

From the numerous prayers, the fragments of many of which are in the British Museum, we may gather that a deep feeling of religious thought prevailed extensively among the Assyrians. This is borne out in a curious manner by our text. Tablets and inscriptions of this class finish usually by the invocation of a curse simply. But here we find the following:—

Whosoever (this) tablet shall see, and many sins shall speak
 Oh, goddess Istar, the lady of war and battle, his weapons
 Thou breakest, his throne thou takest from him.

This clearly proves that the Assyrians had gone far beyond the consciousness that “*sin*” could be “*acted*” only.

There must have been an idea among them that some one of the gods of the Pantheon watched the king to see if he did right. In support of this compare the following two lines from W.A.I. IV, 55:—

ana di in mat-su la - i - gul D.P. Hea
 (*If*) according to the judgment of his country he¹ redeems not, Hea

sar simti
 the king of destinies

sim - ta - su yu - sa - an - ni - va a - khi - ta
 to his destiny is hostile and by another

yus - sib - su
 replaces him.

Further down (lines 11-13) we are told that—(If) the sons of the city of Niffer have “come before him for judgment, and he takes presents, and beats them, the god Bel, the lord of the world, a foreign enemy brings against him, and his army destroys.” On the one hand Istar is the avenging

¹ The king.

deity, on the other it is the god Hea. "Lord of deep wisdom (and) understanding."

And now we turn to the reign itself of Assur-natsir-pal.¹ He ascended the throne B.C. 885, and his first expedition was against the country of Elamme. The inhabitants fled to the mountains. The inscriptions show that he did not follow them (W.A.I. I. 18. 49), but he went to Kirruri or Gurruri.

In the next year he went (B.C. 884) to the cities situated at the foot of the Nipur mountains: these were situated on the east of the Upper Tigris, which he crossed. He then proceeded against the countries of Kummukhi. (Commagene) and Musci (Mösschi), not very far south of the Black Sea. While staying here he heard of a rebellion at Sura, a city near the river Khabour. The king Akhiyababa he captured, brought him to Nineveh, and flayed him alive there. This rebellion must have caused Assur-natsir-pal great annoyance, for the cruelties which he inflicted, and the entire desolation was very severe. The princes of Lacie brought him great tribute. He remarks also that the prince of Sukhi came and brought him tribute at Nineveh, which had never been done to any Assyrian king before. The large inscription relates that when he was marching against the rebels in Khalzilukha, in the year B.C. 883, that he set up an image of himself, near the source of the river Subnat, where both Tiglath-pileser I and Tuulti-Ninip II, had set up inscriptions. As was usual, he was successful in his expedition against the rebels, and he burned 3,000 of the captives and the city. The city of Zela next offered opposition: this was however taken. Here his cruelties were terrible, for he says:—"Of them, their hands, their feet, I cut off; of them, their noses and ears I cut off, (and) destroyed the eyes of their armies." In B.C. 882 Tsub-Rimmon,² chief of Dagar, built a fortress near the town of Babite. Assur-natsir-pal marched against him, and Tsub-Rimmon lost 1,460 of his warriors; but it was necessary for


¹ The full account of the reign of Assur-natsir-pal is given in W.A.I. I. 17-26. That text is the authority for the above short account.


² The "Soldier of Rimmon."


Assur-natsir-pal to withdraw from Kalzi (Haze) on September 15th, B.C. 881, and go to Babite. Afterwards he followed the rebels as far as the mountains of Nizir, where the Ark rested, according to the Chaldean account of the Deluge. From this period until B.C. 870, Assur-natsir-pal was engaged in defeating the numerous tribes and countries that rose up against him, with great success. On Iyyar (April) the 8th, Assur-natsir-pal left Calah (the city which he had built) to march against Carchemish in Syria. Northern Syria was divided into small independent states united. The principal of these were Carchemish and the Patinai. Carchemish was situated near the Euphrates, and was a very rich, commercial and powerful city. It is the נִרְכַּמִּישׁ of Isaiah x, 9, now Jerablûs, (as discovered by Mr. Smith). Gold was measured "according to the maneh of Carchemish." Its king's name at the time of Assur-natsir-pal was Sangara, and he of course submitted and paid tribute. Lubarna, a king of the Patinai, submitted, and also gave him immense tribute. He then crossed the Orontes (𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎺𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵) and reached the mountains of Lebanon. Assur-natsir-pal in the text under consideration calls himself "King from the bank of the Tigris unto the land of Lebanon and the great sea." And truly he was, for now his sway reached as far as the Mediterranean or the "great sea," from the shores of which the Assyrians had been shut out for more than two hundred years.¹ And while here the great cities of Tyre, Sidon, Gubal, Arvad, brought him rich tribute. His last expedition took place B.C. 867, against the countries of Kipani and Khuzirina. Lines 1 to 20 of this text agree nearly with W.A.I. I, 23, 125-131. There is one important variation, in the large text he says, "the city Calah anew I took, a temple to Ninip my great lord I placed therein." In the small one (as we have noticed) he says, "Imgur-Bel its name I called, and in it an image to Makhir my lord I set up." The word we have rendered temple is curious. It is Accadian 𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒀭 E-CUR, and means "the house of the land." Dr. Delitzsch, ("Assyrische Lesestücke") gives a god's name thus, 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𒂗𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒀭 , and says it is a name of the god Anu.


¹ Smith's "Assyria," p. 43.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATION.

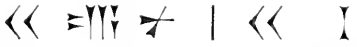
1. 
 D.P. As-sur natsir-pal śarru rab - u śarru dan-nu
Assur-natsir-pal, the great king, the powerful king,


 śar cissati śar mat Assur
the king of multitudes, king of the land of Assyria,


2. 
 abil Tuculti-Ninip śarru ra - bu śarru dan - nu
son (of) Tuculti-Ninip the great king, the powerful king,







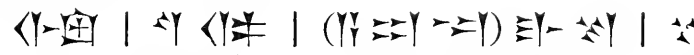

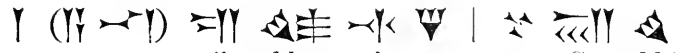


 sar cissati sar mat Assur
king of multitudes, king of the land of Assyria,

3. 
 abil D.P. Rimmon - nirari sarru rab - u
son (of) Rimmon-nirari the great king,


 sarru dan - nu sar cissati
the strong king, king of multitudes,

4. 
 Sar mat Assur - ma id - lu kar - du
king of this same Assyria, the hero warrior


 sa ina tuculti Assur
who in the service of Assur

5.  |  |
 bilu-su ittalicu -va ina mal - ci
his lord hath marched, and among kings (as)
 sar sa cip - rat
king of the regions
6.  |
 arba-ta sa-nin-su nin - in -su NU-DUK- U
four, his second has not had,
 |
 sar sa ultu
the king who from
7.  |
 e - bir - ta - an nahr DIGLAT a - di
the ford of the river Tigris unto
 |
 mat Lib - na - na
the land of Lebanon
8.  |
 va tam- ti a - ab - ba rab - te mat
and the great sea, of the land of
 |
 La - ci - e
Lacie
9.  |
 ana ana sí - khar - ti - sa mat Su - khi
to its extent, the land of Sukhi
 |
 a - di alu Ra - pi - cu
to the city of Raphek,

¹ Sir Henry Rawlinson prefers to read this "bank"—"from the bank of the river Tigris," &c.

10. | <EIII| I | >III> EIII> >E> | >III| |
 ana sepi - su yu - sac - ni - sa istu
to his feet he caused to submit. From

>I> >II> >E> |
 ris - e - ni
the heads

11. >II> >E> | <<<E> >I> >I> | >II> <E> >E> | >E> >II> >II> >II> |
 nahr Su - ub-nat¹ a - di ni - ri - bi
of the river Süpnat to the descents

12. >E> (>EIII) | >I> >I> >E> >II> >II> | >II> <E> >E> >I>
 sa mat Gir - ru - ri a - di mat
of the land of Kîrruri, to the land of

>I> >II> >E> |
 Gu - za - ni
Gozan.



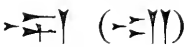

13. >III> >E> >E> >E> >E> >I> | >II> >E> | >II> <E> |
 istu e - bir - ta - an nahr Za - ba
from the jörd of the lower river





<E> >EIII |
 saplita
Zab






14. >II> <E> >E> | >E> (>EIII) <E> <E> >II> >II> >II> |
 a - di alu Tel - ba - a - ri
to the city of Talbâri,




>E> >E> >E> >I>
 sa el - la - an
which (is) above



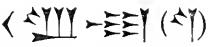


A variant in W.A.I. I. 10, 104, gives <<<E> >I> >I> >E>

15.  |  |  ()
 mat Za - bam istu alu
the land of Zabam, from the city of




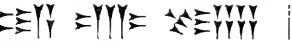
 ()  | 
 Tel - sa - ab - ta - ni a - di
Tel-sābtani to



16.  ()  () |  |
 alu Tel - sa D.P. Za - ab - da - ni
the city of Tel-sa Zābdani


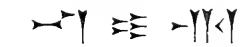

 ()  |
 alu D.P. Khi - ri - mu
the city Khi-ri-mu,

17.  ()  () |  |
 alu Kha - ru - tu (ut) mat Bi - ra - a - te
the city of Kharutu, of the land of Birate,

 | 
 sa mat Kar - du - ni - as
of the land of Kardunias,

18.  |  |   |
 ana mi - is - ri mat - ya u - tir
to the boundaries of my land I restored,

 | 
 va rapasti
and the vastness of

19.   |  | 
 matati Na - i - ri ana pa - kha - at
the countries of Nairi throughout

 |
 gim - ri - sa
its boundaries

20. | | |

a - bil alu su - u ana a - na
I brought. That city

| |

es - su - te ats - bat
afresh I took.

21. | | | | |

alu Im - gur D.P. Bel sumu-su ab - bi
the city Imgur Bel its name I called;

22. | | | |

E - CUR si - i ina li - bit E - GAL ya
this temple with the bricks of my palace

23. | | | |

lu - u ad - di tsa - lam D.P. ma - khir
then I placed (I built); an image of Makhir

|

bil - ya
my lord

24. | | | | |


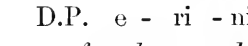
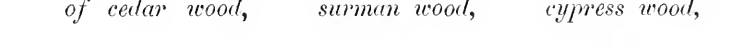
ina lib - bi lu - u u - se - sib a - na
in the midst then I set (up). To the


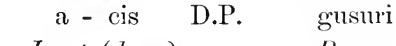
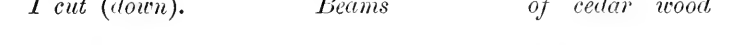
|



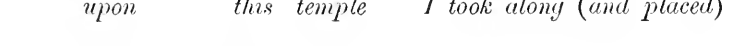
mat Lib - na - na
land of Lebanon


25. | | | | |


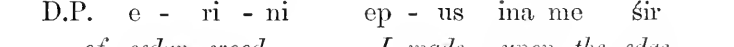
lu - u a - lik D.P. gusuri
then I went, beams


26.  |  |  |
 D.P. e - ri - ni D.P. sur-man D.P. dap- ra - ni
of cedar wood, surman wood, cypress wood,

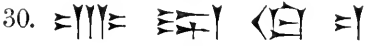
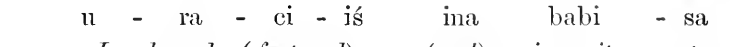
27.  |  |  |
 a - cis D.P. gusuri D.P. e - ri - ni
I cut (down). Beams of cedar wood


28.   |  |
 eli E - CUR si - i u - tsa - bit
upon this temple I took along (and placed)

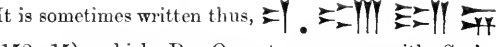

 |
 D.P. dalti
doors

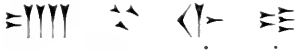

29.   |
 D.P. e - ri - ni ep - us ina me sír
of cedar wood. I made upon the edge


 |
 síparru
copper;



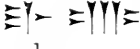

30.  |  |
 u - ra - ci - ís ina babi - sa
I bound (fastened) (and) in its gates

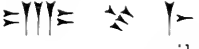
 |
 u - ri - te
I laid




¹ See Norris, p. 355. It is sometimes written thus,  D.P. *dup-ra-ni* (Botta, 152, 15), which Dr. Oppert compares with Syriac , "cupressus," Castelli lex., p. 208; and this is again quoted by Schrader in his new book, "Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung," p. 218.




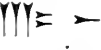
31.  |  |
 e - cur si - i u - si - im
this temple I established,

 |
 u - sar - rikh¹
I made beautiful:

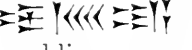


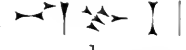
32.  |  |  |  |
 D.P. ma - khir bilu rab - u ina libbi
the god Makhir, the great lord, in the midst




 |
 u - se - sib
I seated;

33.  |  |  |
 D.P. Na - ra - a sadhru ina e - cur - su
a written tablet in his temple

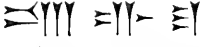


34.  |  |  |  |
 as - cun RUB - u ARC - u ina
I established. Oh future prince among

 |
 sarrani
the kings.



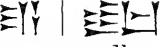
35.  |  |  |  |
 abli - ya sa As - sur i - na - bu - su
my sons who Assur shall proclaim (him);




36.  |  |  |
 e - cur si - i e - na - khu D.P. na - ra - a
(when) this temple shall decay (and this) tablet

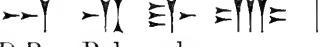
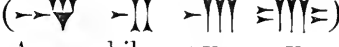
¹ : to be redundant.

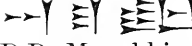


37.  |   |
 ta - mar - va ta - sa - su - u
thou seest and thou removest,


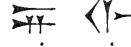



 |  |
 an - khu - sa ud - dis
its ruins restore (thou),

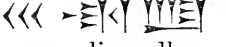


38.   |  |
 mu - sar - e¹ sum - ya sadhru
the characters of my written name

  |  |
 a - na irtsiti - su te - ir
to its place restore.


39.  |  |
 D.P. Bel - rab - u Assur bilu, RUB - U
Bel the great god, Assur the lord, the prince,

 |  |  |
 D.P. Ma - khir a - sib e - cur - si - i
and Makhir dwelling (in) this temple,

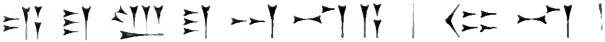
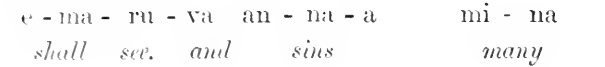
40.  |  |   |  |
 ina ni - si eni sunu ci - nis
in the raising of their eyes, firmly


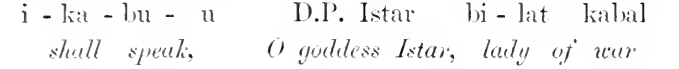
 |  |  |
 es - li - dhu dip - su sum - su
they shall rule (?) his tablet his name,

41.  |   |  |  |
 zeri - su ina mat sunu lu - ci - nu sa
his seed, in their land may they establish.


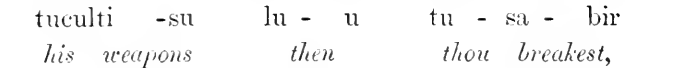
 |
 D.P. Na - ra - a
Whosoever (this) tablet

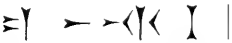
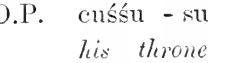
¹ This word is suggested by Prof. Sayce.

42.  | 
 e - ma - ru - va an - na - a mi - na
shall see, and sins many


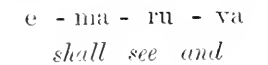
43.  | 
 i - ka - bu - u D.P. Istar bi - lat kabal
shall speak, O goddess Istar, lady of war

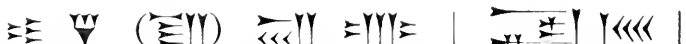
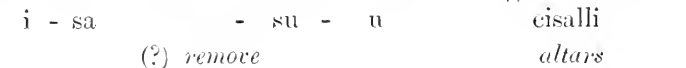
 | 
 u takhatsu
and battle,


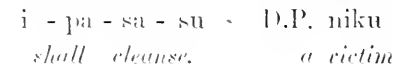
44.  | 
 tuculti -su lu - u tu - sa - bir
his weapons then thou breakest,





 | 
 D.P. cusssu - su
his throne


45.  |  | 
 lu - te - cim - su sa D.P. na - ra - a
then takes from him. Whoever (this) tablet





 | 
 e - ma - ru - va
shall see and



46.  | 
 i - sa - su - u cisalli
(?) remove altars

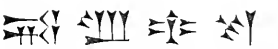
 | 
 i - pa - sa - su D.P. niku
shall cleanse, a victim


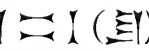

47.  |  |  |  |
 ināk - u ana irtsiti-su itar - ru
shall sacrifice, to its place shall restore (it),




 Assur bilu
Assur the lord


48.  |  |  |  |
 rab- u ic - ri - bi - su i - sim me
great, his prayers shall hear,


49.  |  |  |
 ina takhatsi sa sarra - ni a - šar
in the battle of the kings, (in) place



 tak - ru - ub - te
of meeting (approaching),

50.  |  |  |
 am - mar lib - bi - su u - sam - tsa - su
the thought (of)² his heart (courage) he shall cause to find (it) (?)

¹ I have thus translated the word, because it is usually found "isimme," but the text separates  thus, and the variant copy gives  ta, which is evidently a mistake. The same word occurs in the fifth creation tablet, and Mr. Smith translated it "it was pleasant," reading *i-bi-is-me*, and taking the Heb. root יָצַע. [Rather *i-ta-me* = "shall ordain" (cf. Heb. יָצַע).—SAYCE.] The two following passages prove the correctness of "he (or they) shall hear."

 (W.A.I. IV, 45, 13.)
 D.P. As-sur ik - ri - bi - su i - se - me
The god Assur his prayers shall hear.


 D.D. A - sur va D.P. Is - tar ik - ri - bi - ca
The god Assur and the goddess Istar thy prayers

 (W.A.I. I, 47, 70, 71.)
 i - sim - mu - u
shall hear.

² From יָצַע.

ANALYSIS.

1. *šar*. Heb. שָׂר.
- rabu*. Heb. רַב, akin to רָבַב and רָבָה.
- ciššati*. plur. gen. fem., from כְּנַס, Heb.; Arab. كُنَس.
- mat, mata*, or *mada*, really *ma*, "land," and *da*, Accadian individualising affix. Borrowed by Arameans from the Accadians under the form מַתָּא (See Sayce, "Assyrian Lectures"), explained *ma-a-tu* (𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢), W.A.I. II, 39, 4.
4. *idlu*; Schrader compares عَدَلٌ ("Keilinschriften und das alte Testament").
Kardu; cf. قَرَضَ.
5. *bilu*. Heb. בִּעַלָּא.
- ittalicu-ca*. 3rd pers. sing. aor. Iphtael from Heb. הִלַּחַד.
- malci*, sub. plur. Heb. מַלְכֵי.
- ciprat*. Arab. كَفَرٌ (see Delitzsch "Assyrische Studien," p. 114).
6. *arbata*. Heb. אַרְבַּעַת.
- sanin*. Heb. שָׁנָה.
- NU DUK-U = *la isu*; *isu* from יִישׁ; Arab. أَيْس.
7. *ebirtan*, collective, מִבְּעִיר, from עִיר; Arab. عَدِير.
8. *tanti*. Heb. תַּנְתּוּם; also 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢 and 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎢
𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎢
a-ab-ba, ideographic rendering of *tanti*, of frequent occurrence.
10. *riseni*, subs. plur. Heb. רִאשֵׁי.
11. *niribi*, Niphal form from Heb. עִירָב.
20. *abil*, from Heb. אֲבִיל.
- essute*, for *edsute*, from Heb. הֶרְשַׁת, from הֶרַשׁ; Arab. حُدث.
21. *ab-bi*, 1st pers. sing. aor. Kal Heb. אֲבָבִי.
22. *libit*, sub. fem. plu. constr. Heb. לְבָבָהּ.
- E-GAL, of Accad. origin: literally "house-great—𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎢
𐎠 "house," 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎢 gal "great": Heb. הַיְבֻלָּה.

23. *tsalam*, Heb. **צָלַם**, sub. constr. See W.A.I. III, 70, 52, thus:—

| | 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 | | 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 | | 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 |

a - la - am

Delitzsch says ("Assyrische Studien," p. 88) the Accadian ALAM sounds Semitic, and compares it with the Arab. **عَلِمَ** (?).

25. *gusuri*, sub. plu. Heb. **גִּשְׁרָא**

26. *erini*, sub. plu. Heb. **אֶרְנָן**.

surman, Norris compares Chald. **שׁוּרְמָן**

tabrani, see Norris, p. 355.

28. *dalti*, sub. plu. Heb. **דַּלְתָּ**. A bilingual text in

W.A.I. II, makes 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 = 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 *da-al-tu*.

W.A.I. IV, 16, 54, 55, give 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 *tal-tu* for

𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠.

29. *mişir*, from **אִסְרָא**.

sipparu, sub. sing. nom. **صَفْر** Arab.

30. *uraciś*, 1st pers. sing. aor. Pael Heb. **רָנַס**.

babi, sub. plu. Arab. **نَاب**; archaic form 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠.

31. *ušim*, 1st pers. sing. aor. **שׁוּם**.

33. *nara*, borrowed from Accadian.

sadhru; Heb. **שָׁטַר**; Arab. **سَطَر**.

35. *abli*, subs. plur. Dr. Delitzsch derives this from Heb.

הַבְּלִי.

inabusu, 3rd pers. sing. fut. Kal, with pers. pronoun *su*, "him"; Heb. **יָבִיא**.

36. *enaklu*, 3rd pers. sing. fut. Kal Heb. **עָנָה**

37. *tamarva*, 2nd pers. sing. masc. pres. Kal, with enclitic conjunction *va* (וְ); cf. Arab. **نَمِر**, "clear," "bright."

ankhuśa, subs. plur. for *ankhut* + *sa*; this becomes *ankhut* + *śa*, and finally *ś* alone.

uddis; cf. Heb. **הִדְדֵשׁ**, imper.

38. *irtsiti*; $\langle \text{𐎠𐎢} \rangle$ is explained by $\text{𐎠} \text{𐎢𐎢}$ *as-ru*, "place,"
 in W.A.I. II. 1. line 181; Chald. 𐎠𐎢𐎢 .
nisi; Heb. נִסִּי .
cinis, adverb; Heb. בֵּין .
es-li-dhu, 3rd pers. fut. plur. Heb. שָׁלַח .
duppu, subs. sing. This sign (𐎠𐎢 or 𐎠𐎢) is explained
 in W.A.I. II. 3. 540. by $\langle \text{𐎠𐎢} \text{ 𐎠𐎢} \text{ 𐎠𐎢} \rangle$ *di-ip-gu*;
 Aram. 𐎠𐎢 .
 42. *anna*, or *annu*, synonym of *klidhitu* (F. Delitzsch,
 "Chaldaische Genesis." p. 306).
mina, literally "of a number." *i.e.*, "many."
 46. *cisalli*, perhaps from Accadian.
ibasasu, 3rd pers. plur. masc. Kal. בִּשְׁטִי .
niku, subs. sing. Heb. נִקָּה .
 49. *takrübte*, Tiphel form from *karubu*. "to approach," "to
 meet": Heb. בָּרַח .
 50. *usamtsa su*, 3rd pers. sing. masc. fut. Shaphel Heb. בִּיטַח .



THE BRONZE GATES DISCOVERED BY
MR. RASSAM AT BALAWAT.

BY THEO. G. PINCHES.

Read 5th November, 1878.

PART I.

THE shape of the mound of Balawat, the site of Mr. Rassam's most interesting and valuable discoveries, is, as will be seen from the plan,¹ four-sided, the corners pointing nearly north, south, east, and west. The ruins of a temple lie in the eastern half of the mound, beside the north-eastern edge, which most likely shows the line of the wall of the town. To the south of the temple is a deep well, the bottom of which Mr. Rassam did not reach at a depth of sixty feet.

Inside the temple, near the entrance, Mr. Rassam had the good fortune to discover an alabaster inscribed coffer, holding two tablets of the same material, also inscribed. At the north-western end of the temple the altar with its flight of steps was found, and on the altar lay a tablet like those which were found in the coffer, but much injured by fire. From this fourfold writing we obtain a summary of the expedition of Assuru-našir-abla's reign, and a short account of the mound of Balawat.²

It seems that most likely in the time of Assur-bel-kala and his successors, when the power of Assyria had somewhat

¹ See p. 53.

² See present volume, pp. 59-82.

waned, this town, though close to the capital, Nineveh, had been taken by the men of Kar-Dunias, or Babylonia. In the year 885, however, Assuru-naşir-abla, son of Tugulti-Ninip, came to the throne. He was a great warrior, but one of the most ruthless of the kings of Assyria. He brought back by his courage and energy the military glory of the land, and among many other conquests he retook the town now represented by the mound of Balawat, and brought it again within the borders of Assyria. In the town he built with the bricks of the forsaken royal palace the above-mentioned temple, which he dedicated to the god Makhir, and at the same time changed the name of the town to Imgur-Bel.¹ Thus we obtain a glimpse into a long-closed period of the history of Assyria.

Assuru-naşir-abla died in the year 860 B.C., and was succeeded by his son Salmanu-esir (Shalmaneser) II, who seems to have striven to outdo his father in conquest and ruthless cruelty. He possessed too the love of splendour which was inborn in all the kings of Assyria, and one of his greatest works appears to have been the rebuilding and decorating of the palace, the destruction of which is recorded by Assuru-naşir-abla in the coffer inscription.

But it was in the western half of the mound that the most interesting discoveries were made. Here Mr. Rassam found four stone platforms, forming in relation to each other an irregular square; and on excavating around these, he came upon the objects of his search—namely, the monuments of which some fragments of bronze already in his possession formed a part. After overcoming many difficulties they were laid bare, and proved to be two bronze monuments² of large size and most strange shape—centre pieces with long arms stretching out on each side, giving the idea of gigantic hat-racks, to which in the first accounts of them they were likened. The difficulty of removing these monuments, which were of different sizes, must have been very great, for there is not in any part one particle of solid metal, and the smaller one is so corroded that it was broken into innumerable fragments on removal and transport to England.

¹ See pp. 69, 74.

² See pp. 50, 53.

From Mr. Rassam's plan it would seem that the platforms mark the spots where formerly the entrances to the courtyard of the palace mentioned by Assuru-nasir-abla in the temple-coffer inscription stood, two being on the north-west and two on the south-east side of the enclosure. It was near the two latter platforms that the pieces of bronze were found.

These monuments, with the other antiquities, arrived in England about the beginning of August, and the putting together of the larger monument (the use of which was as yet unknown) began at once. As the plates of bronze were cleaned and nailed with the original nails upon wood of the same thickness as that used when it was first set up about 2,200 years ago, then it was seen that they formed the coverings of two enormous rectangular folding doors, each about twenty-two feet high and six feet broad, which had evidently turned on pivots, and been supported at the top by strong rings fixed in the masonry of the enclosure. Mr. Ready, who has put together the fragments of the bronze plates, and is now at work cleaning them, was the first to offer this solution of the difficulty.

The full length of each bronze plate is about eight feet. They were nailed with nails of the same metal across each door, and as, when in position, they extended right round the post to which the pivot was fastened, their total visible length was reduced to six feet, which is the width of each door. The ends of the plates were hidden by a long strip of bronze which covered the edge of the door from top to bottom, overlapping on each side about two inches. It was cut plain on the edge which overlapped the right side of the doors, but was indented on that which overlapped the back. A large piece of bronze was also cut out of each horizontal band in the part which went round the post of the door, forming a bannerlike end, the use or meaning of which is difficult to guess. The posts upon which the doors turned had evidently been surmounted by the ornamental bronze caps and knobs found with the monument.

The doors were made originally of wood of three inches

in thickness. This is shown by the nails used, for they are clinched at rather more than three inches from the head, the overplus being the thickness of the bronze plates (about $\frac{1}{8}$ th of an inch). The number of plates upon each door is supposed to have been seven, making fourteen in all. Some are complete and some incomplete, but of all we have at least some large fragments. Two or three small pieces are in the possession of M. G. Schlumberger, of Paris,¹ and two other pieces (one of which joins one of M. Schlumberger's pieces) are in the possession of Mr. Hormuzd Rassam. Both Mr. Rassam's own pieces and the Paris pieces were discovered some time before his departure for Assyria in 1877. The annexed plate will give an idea of what I suppose to have been their form when first erected.

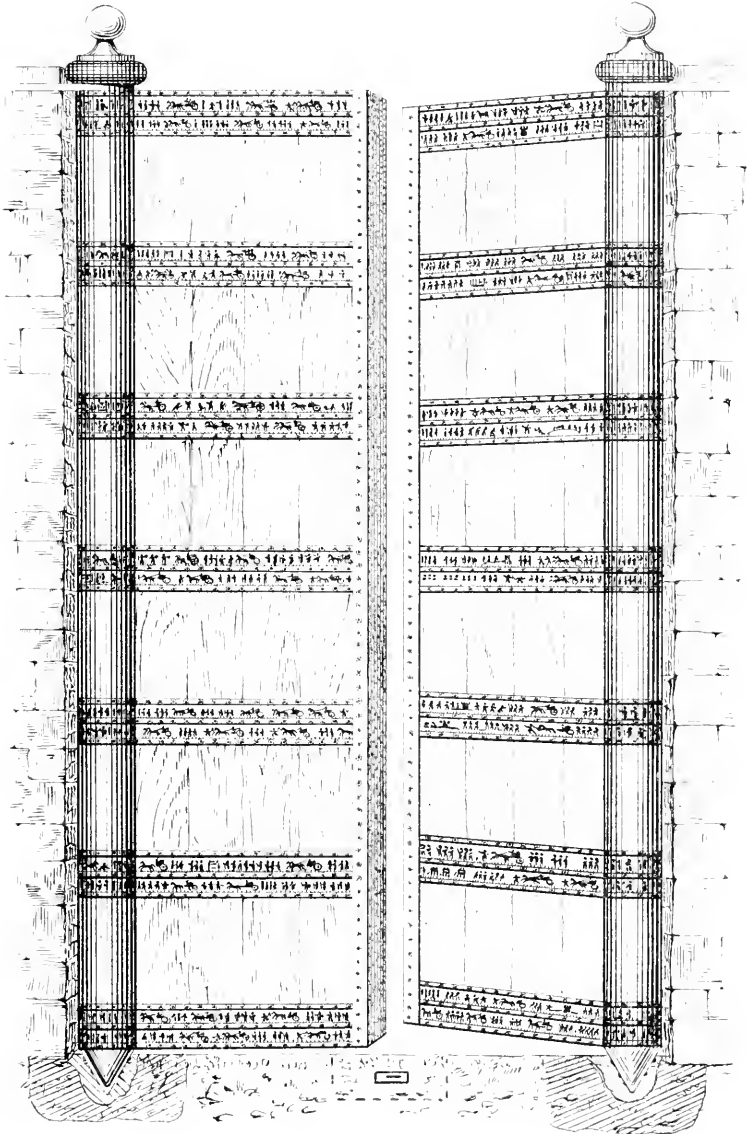
Each plate of bronze contains two bands of chased pictures, showing the battles, triumphs, cruelties, and devotions of Shalmaneser II, king of Assyria from 859 to 825 B.C., most of the scenes being accompanied by a short inscription explaining the event represented. Above and beneath the pictures is a border ornamented with rosettes, formed by a beaded ring, which surrounds each nail-hole, the centre of the rosette being the nail-head.²

¹ Described by M. Lenormant in the "Gazette Archéologique," 1878, pp. 119-129, and planches 22-24. M. Lenormant states that these fragments "ont été envoyés de Mossoul à un négociant de Paris, de qui M. Schlumberger les a acquis"; and adds in a note, "que M. Schlumberger a acquis en même temps quelques fragments de zones analogues de bronze repoussé, présentant des sujets de même nature, lesquels fragments dessinent des tronçons de courbe qui les feraient assez volontiers rapporter au revêtement de colonnes de bois, peut-être à des chapiteaux."—W. H. R.

² The process used to produce the pictures has evidently been that of punching out the metal with proper tools and punches on a leaden bed, working on the back of the bronze plate. As this process would produce a rather dull outline, and detail would be impossible, the outline and detail have been added afterwards on the right side with a graver or other cutting tool. The inscriptions are also engraved, but as the metal is sunk down all round each character, it is likely that these were cut with a small chisel and hammer, and slightly finished off afterwards—a process which would be exactly that of the door-plate engravers of to-day. The workmanship, especially as shown in the human form, is very good, and exhibits no mean skill. The figures stand well, the attitudes being very natural, and the draped figures fairly graceful. As is usual in this style of Assyrian art, all the figures are in profile, full-faced figures being avoided as too difficult.

BRONZE GATES OF TEMPLE OF BALAWAT
RESTORATION BY THEO: G. PINCHES.

Scale 4 inch to 1 foot.



The bronze edging of the doors is inscribed throughout its length with an inscription in five columns, each rather more than four feet wide, but containing only six or seven lines of writing. This inscription gives an account of the early campaigns of Shalmaneser II, the pictures on the cross-bands forming the illustrations thereto. Evidently the inscription was only intended for ornament, and not for reading, for it is very carelessly done. In some places the characters are inconveniently crowded, and in one case characters are even omitted.¹

The other monument, which is the covering of an exactly similar pair of smaller doors, contains in one band of chased work on each plate of bronze hunting scenes, which show most likely the exploits of the same king in the chase. It will probably be a long time before this monument is cleaned and set up, as it is in a state of much greater decay than the large one.







I propose to-night to speak only of the inscription given on the bronze plates which covered the edge of the doors, leaving for a future paper the description of the scenes on the horizontal bands, as the cleaning and repairing of the latter are not yet finished. Besides this, each band is in itself a study, and will take many pages to describe, for each contains at least half as many representations as is to be found in the whole Nimroud Gallery of the British Museum.

The inscription is an account of the first nine years of the reign of Shalmaneser II, differing from the Black Obelisk and the Kurkh Inscription in its giving only a slender account of the campaigns in the north, but a very full account of the expedition against Babylonia. Though it is repeated twice, being given with variants on both doors, yet, unfortunately, it is not quite perfect, both the beginning and the end being very mutilated in both copies.

¹ See page 94. My first opinion was that the lower part of the edging only had been inscribed, but that the king, wishing to continue the record, had done so, beginning at the very top of the doors, thus displacing the order of the expeditions. I am unwilling, however, to accuse the Assyrians of such gross carelessness, but I cannot otherwise explain the variant and the leaving off at the sign Ξ in the middle of one copy. See page 96, note 5.

The inscription when complete began with the titles and genealogy of Shalmaneser II, and a summary of his conquests. It then speaks of his campaigns against Phœnicia and Ararat, followed by a very full description of his campaign to help Marduk-suma-iddin, king of Babylonia, against his brother, who had revolted against him. While on this expedition Shalmaneser visited the principal shrines of Babylon, made offerings to the gods, and did many other pious works. The inscription ends with the expedition to Chaldea, and suddenly breaks off in the midst of the description.


The text is a very valuable one, principally on account of the light it throws upon the geography and the identification of important sites. It shows also the feelings with which the Assyrians regarded the land of Babylonia. That country had in their eyes a romance of its own. It was the older kingdom, and in it lay most of the seats of the adventures of the gods and heroes whom they in common with the Babylonians worshipped. The highly poetic language in which the account of this expedition is told is not its least interesting feature.

The inscription is written, for the most part, in the usual Assyrian lapidary style, but shows, in some places, an affinity with the Babylonian, as  for the more usual , and  for . It also shows some peculiarities of its own, as , evidently for . In consequence of the decay of the bronze, and its unwieldy length, it is, in many places, very difficult to read, so that one or two variants have had to be left out, because the signs were uncertain.

THE TEXT OF THE BRONZE EDGING OF THE GATES.


[The first column is taken from Professor F. Lenormant's article upon the fragments exhibited in the Paris Exhibition by M. Schlumberger in the "Gazette Archéologique," 1878, p. 119.]

COLUMN I.

1. 


D.P. Sal - ma - nu šarru rab - u, šarru dan - nu

Shalman[eser], the great king, the mighty king,




šar kissati šar [mat Assuri D.S.]

king of multitudes, king of [Assyria]

2. 


la pa - du - u mu - ni - ir nap - al - kat - tav

not loosing subjugating rebellion




..... [sa sanina]

..... [who a rival]

3. 


la i - su ba - ruv e - du - u gab - su

has not. Producing, the one strong one

4. 


sa - lum - ma - te la a - di - ru tuqmata

of perfection, not fearing opposition

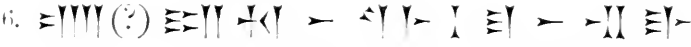


..... [sa ultu šit D.P. Samsi]

..... [who from the rising of the sun]

5. 
 a - di e - rib D.P. Sam-se iq - ta - [bi]
to the setting of the sun has commanded




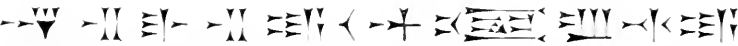
6. 
 bit - ra - khu. Ina u-me-su-va ina beli rabi
In those days, by the great lord






COLUMN II.



1. 
 ši -mat
 *the property of*

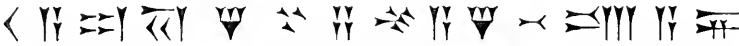

 nisi ina qati-ya u -sat-me-khu ina D.P. tugul-ti
the people in my hand they made me hold. In the service of


 Assur beli rabi beli - ya u D.P. Ramu rid - ti - ya
Assur, the great lord, my lord and the god Ramu, my ministers,



 (ITTALI-ku-va) matāti kal-si - na khar-sa - a - ni
(I marched and) the countries all of them the forests

2.  
 a - na pat gim - ri - su - nu
to the borders of the whole of them

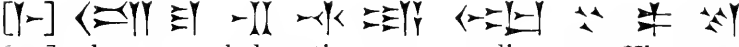
 
 tihamtu sa mat Na - i - ri
 *sea of the country of Nairi*

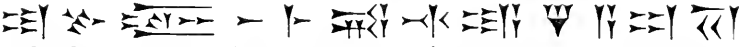

 u tihamtu sa mat Za - mu - a - sa - bat - ta - a - ni
and the sea of the country of Zamuasabattāni



 u tihamti raba - te sa mat Mar - tu D.S.
and the great sea of Phœnicia,


 mat Khat - te ana pat gim - ri - sa kima tuli
the country of Hit to the borders of the whole of it like a destroying

3.  
 a - bu - bi as - pu - un
mountain I overwhelmed


 [me] - lam - ma belu - ti - ya eli mat Khat - te
the terror of my lordship over the country of Hit


 ad - bu - uk. Ina me - taq - ti - ya sa tihamti
I poured out. In my passage from the sea,

Var. ¹  *Mat A-khar-ri.*

² 

suhum belu - ti - ya sur - ba - a EP - us ki - nu

an image of my lordship great I made, the laws

sa Khi - ir - bat u - se - ziz

of Khirbat I caused to fix

4. [| | |||]

 [ana tihamti]

 [to] the great

rabu - te a - lik kakki - ya ina tihamti

 [sea] *I went, my weapons upon the great*

rabu - te u - lil niqi ana ilani - ya

sea I rested, victims for my gods

Aş - bat ma - da - tav sa şarrani sa si - di tihamti

I took, the tribute of the kings of the coasts of the sea

kal - su - nu am - khur

all of them I received

5. | | |||]


 tihamti

 [an image of my lordship beside] the sea

a - tap - pa - as ina ki - rib - su as - dhu - ur ina eli


I made, in the midst of it I wrote (and) over

Var. ¹ *khar.* ² *zizi.* ³ ⁴



 tihanti u - se - ziz. Ultu mat En - zi - te a - di

the sea I had (it) fixed. From the country of Enziti to




 mat Da - ya - e - ni ultu mat Da - ya - e - ni a - di

the country of Dayaeni, from Dayaeni to

6. 



 D.P. [A - ra] - me

 Arame of



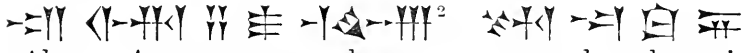
 mat U - ra - ar - dha - ai AKS - ud a - pal

the country of the Araratites I captured, I threw down,




 a - gur ina isāti as - ru - up. Ki - i ina

I dug up, in fire I burnt. When in




 Al Ar - şa - as - kun uş - ba - ku - ni

the city of Arşa-askun I was stopping,



 D.P. A - ra - mu mat U - ra - ar - dha - ai


Aramu of the country of the Araratites



 a - na gi - bis D.P. ummani - su

to the might of his army.

Var. ¹  zizi.


²  Ar-şu-as-kun,


 “(Its) earth I established”

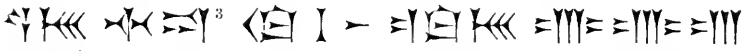
COLUMN III.


1. 
 id - ta - gil - va ummani - su kal - lis lu
trusted and his army altogether then



 id - ka - a ana e - pis qabli u takhazi ana
he gathered, to make war and battle to



 makhri - ya it - ba - a habikti - su as - kun
my presence he came, I accomplished his overthrow.





 D.P. muq - tab - li - su u - nap - pi - si salsat alap
his warriors I scattered, three thousand



 şabani ti - du - ki - su ina kakki u - sam - qit
of his men of battle with the sword I caused to slay,


 pagri qu - ra - di - su
(and with) the corpses of his warriors

2. 
 şira rapsa u - mal - li u - nu - ut
the wide field I filled, his engines of

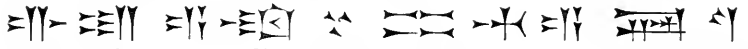

 takhazi - su ni - sir - ti şarru - ti - su bit - khal - lu - ta
war, the treasures of his royalty (and) horses

Var. ¹  *ti.* ²  *ina.* ³ Omitted in one copy. ⁴  *tu.*



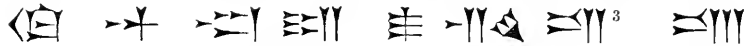
 e - kim - su ana su - zu - ub napsāti - su ana sad - e

I took them. To save his life to a difficult




 mar - ši e - li mat Qu - ti - e rapsa - tav

mountain he ascended. The country of Qu tie vast.



 ki D.P. Dabara as - gi - is ultu

as the Destroyer I ravaged, from




 al Ar - ša - as - kun a - di mat Gil - za - a - ni

the city of Arša-askun to the country of Gilzāni,

3. 

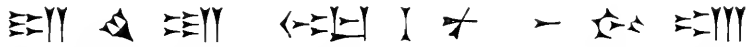
 ultu mat Gil - za - a - ni a - di

from Gilzāni to



 mat Khu - up - us - ki - a ki - ma D.P. Rammāni

Khupuskia like Rimmon






 ra - khi - ši eli - su - nu as - gu - um

the inundator upon them I poured,





 na - am - ru - rat belu - ti - ya eli

the terrors of my lordship over

Var. ¹  *e-ki-im.* ²  ³ 

⁴  *al Ar-ši-as-kun.*

⁵ Omitted in one copy. ⁶  *pu.* ⁷ 

inat U - ra - ar - dhi u - sa - as - kin

Ararat I caused to fix.

D.P. A-khu-ni abil D.P. A - di - ni sa ultu šarra - ni

Akhuni son of Adini who from the kings

abi - ya sib - šu - u da - na - nu

my fathers, a strong conspiracy

4.

 il - ta - ka - na ina sur - rat

had made. in the beginning of

šarru - ti - ya ina ali - su e - sir - su nisi - su

my reign in his city I shut him up his people

a - šu - khu D.P. kiri - su a - kis ana su - zu - ub

I killed, his plantations I cut down, to save (his)

napsāti nāra Pur - rat e - bir,

life the river Euphrates he crossed,

al Si - ta - am - rat UBAN SAD - e sa ki - ma

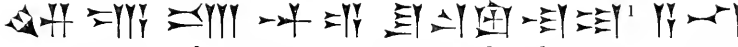
the city Sitamrat, the peak of a mountain which like

Var. ¹
²

³
⁴ su-rat.


Var. ⁵

sa ina akhala nāri Puratte sakina iš..... "which beside the river Euphrates is placed he"




 URPATI ultu SAM - e su-qa-lu-la-at a-na

a mist from heaven hung down, for

5. 

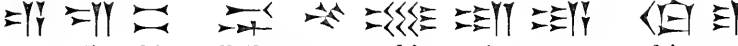
 dan-nu-ti-su is - kun ina SANE - te

his stronghold he took. In the second



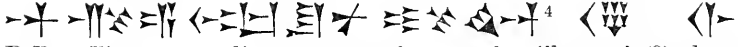
 satti arki - su ar - te - di UBAN SAD - e

year after him I descended, the peak of the mountain




 e - ši - bi D.P. mu - takh - ši - ya ki - ma

I besieged, (and) my warriors like the



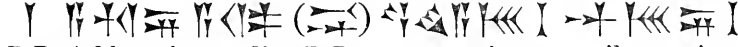
 D.P. Zi - e eli - su - nu i - se - h šiba-esrit(?) alapu

god Zū upon them swept. Seventeen thousand



 khamistu me (D.P.) ummani - su a - šu - kha

five hundred of his troops I destroyed,




 D.P. A-khu-ni a - di (D.P.) ummani - su ila - ni - su

Akhuni with his army, his gods,



 D.P. narqabāti - su

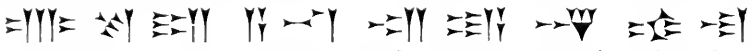
his chariots.


6. 

 D.P. KUR - RA - MES - su a - na pa - ni - ya


his horses to my presence

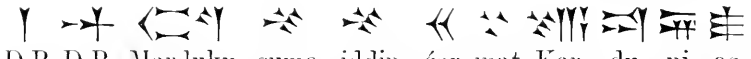
¹  *lat.*
 ²  *ti.*
 ³ 
 ⁴ 



 yu - te - ra a - na ali - ya Assuri ub - la
turned, to my city Assur I brought



 (a - na biti mati - ya am - nu)
(him and) (to the temples of my land I delivered (them).

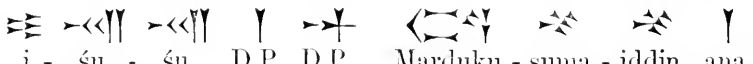
COLUMN IV.

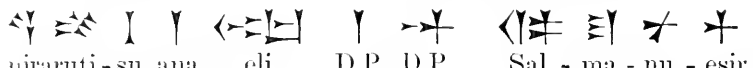
1. 
 Ina li - me D.P. D.P. Samsu-bela-uşur ina tar - şi
In the eponym of Samsu-bela-uşur in the time of


 D.P. D.P. Marduku - suma - iddin şar mat Kar - du - ni - as
Marduku-suma-iddin king of Kar-dunias,


 D.P. D.P. Marduku - belu - u - şa - (a) - te akhi - su
Marduku-belu-uşate his brother



 itti - su (lu) ip - pal - kit mat Mal - ma - lis
against him (then) revolted, the country Malmalis



 i - şu - şu D.P. D.P. Marduku - suma - iddin ana
he overran. Marduku-suma-iddin for



 uiraruti - su ana eli D.P. D.P. Sal - ma - nu - esir
his help unto Shalmaneser

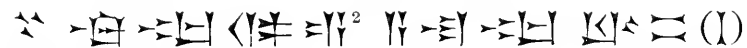

 yu - ma - h - ra
sent


¹ Var.  akh.

2.  ¹
 raq - ba - su D.P. D.P. Sal - ma - nu - esir
his messenger. Shalmaneser,



 a - li - lu - u sub - sa - tu - sun ultu - su
grievings at their perplexities, from him



 D.P. Nimip is - bat ar - khu, a - na
Ninip took the road, to



 mat Ak - ka - di - e a - la - ka iq - bi - (su)
the country of Akkad to go he commanded (him).


 Al Za - ban aq - dhi - rib, niqi ina pan
The city of Zaban I approached, victims in the presence of


 D.P. Rammani beli - ya
Rimmon my lord

3. 
 lu AK - ki ultu al Za - ban at - tu - sir
then I sacrificed. From Zaban I departed,



 ana al Me - Tu - ur - na - at aq - dhi - rib ala
to the city of Me-Turnat I drew near, the city


 a - si - bi ak - ta - sad tiduki - su a - duk
I besieged, I captured, its soldiers I slew,

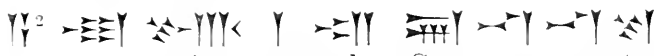
Var. ¹  *esir.*

²  *Akkadi.*

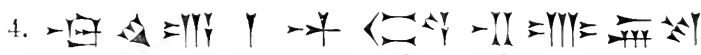
³  *Al Me-dhur-nat.*




 sal-la - su as-lu-la ultu al Me-Tu - ur - na - at
its spoil I carried off. From the city of Me-Turnat




 a - tu - sir ana al Gan - na - na - te
I departed, to the city of Gannanātē

4. 

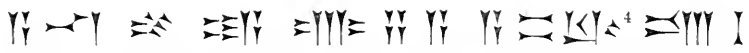
 ak - dhi - rib D.P. D.P. Marduku - bela - u - šā - te
I drew near. Marduku-bela-usātē




 man - kha - ma - h la mu - di - e a - rid - te
being hidden (and) not knowing his own



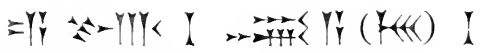
 ra - ma - ni - su a - na e - pis qabli u takhazi
servants, to make fighting and battle



 a - na makhri - ya yu - ša - a ha - bi - ik - ta - su
to my presence came forth. His overthrow



 as - kun tiduki - su a - duk ina ali - su
I accomplished, his warriors I slew, in his city



 e - sir - su nisi - su
I besieged him, his people

Var. ¹  ²  at.

³  qabli ū takhazi.

⁴  omitted in one copy.

5. 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎡𐎴𐎠 𐎠𐎵𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠
 a - šu - ukh D.P. kīri - su ak - si - id
I destroyed, his groves I captured,

𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠
 nāri - su az - ki - ir ina sa - ni - e - ta lu ki
his ricer I dammed up. For the second time, then, when

𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠
 ina li - me D.P. Belu - bu - na - ai ina arkhi Nišanni
in the eponym of Belu-bunai, in the month Nisan

𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠
 yumi esrē ultu Al Ni - nu - a at - tu - sir,
day 20th from Nineveh I departed,

𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠
 nāra Za - ba, elita
the river Zab, upper

6. 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠
 u saplita, e - bir, a - na al La - khi - ri
and lower, I crossed, to the city of Lakhiri

𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠
 ak - dhi - rib, ala a - ši - bi ak - ta - sad tiduki - su
I drew near, the city I besieged (and) captured, its soldiers


𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠
 a - duk sal - la - šu as - lu - la ultu al La - khi - ri
I slew, its spoil I carried off. From Lakhiri


Var. ¹ 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 D.P. *Belu-bunāya.*


² 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 *elitar.*


³ 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 *saplita.*


COLUMN V.


1. 
 at - tu - sir a - na Al - Gan - (na -) na - te
I departed, to the city of Gan-nanātē

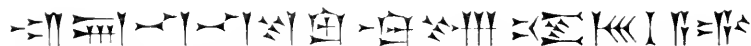

 ak - dhi - rib D.P. D.P. Marduku - bela - u - šā - te
I approached. Marduk-bela-ušātē

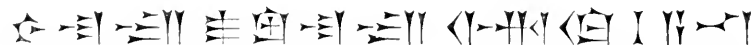

 ki - ma selibi ina pil - se yu - ši a - na
like a fox from (his) hole came forth, to the



 sad - e mat Ya - šu - bi il - ta - kan pa - ni - su
mountain of Yašubi he set his face.



 Al Ar - man
The city of Arman


2. 
 a - na dan - nu - ti - su lu iṣ - bat
for his stronghold then he took.


 Al Gan - na - na - te lu ak - sud tiduki - su a - duk
Gan-nanātē then I captured, its warriors I slew.


 sal - la - šu as - lu - la - šu ar - ki - su a - na
its spoil I carried off. After him to

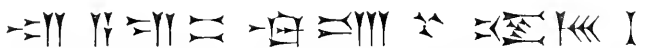
Var. ¹  tū.

²  si.




 sad - e e - li ina Al Ar - man ak - sud - su

the mountains I went up, in Arman I captured him,




 ala a - ši - bi ak - ta - sad tiduki - su

I besieged the city, I captured (it), its warriors

3. 


 a - duk sal - la - šu as - lu - la

I slew, its spoil I carried off.



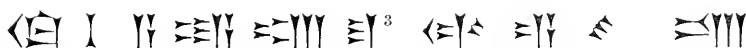
 D.P. D.P. Marduku - bela - yu - šā - te ina kakki

Marduk-bela-yušātē with weapons




 u - sam - qit (D.P.) šabani khu - ub - se sa

I caused to slay, (and of) the mighty soldiers who were




 itti - su a - ya - um - ma ul e - zib ultu

with him a single one I left not. From



 D.P. D.P. Marduku - suma - iddin ik - su - da

Marduku-suma-iddin took





 ga - ri - su (-u) D.P. D.P. Sal - ma - nu - esir


his road Šabmaneser,

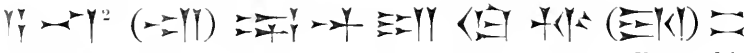
Var. ¹ 
²  *kubsi.*


³  *aiumma.*

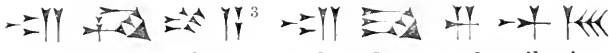
4. 
 sarra dan-nu im - su - u mal lib - bi - su
the mighty king found the fulness of his heart,



 it - ta - h - id - va - ka bela rab - e
he glorified also thee. O great lord,



 D.P. Marduki D.P. D.P. Sal - ma - nu - esir sar mat As.
Marduk, (who) Shulmaneser, king of Assyria.


 a - na (al) Bab - ili D.S. ik - (dha-) bi
to Babylon commanded


 a - la - ka ik - su - dav - va a - na
to go (and who) took (him) also to


 al Tig - gab - a al Gar - rad - ilani
Cutha (and) Garrad-ilani




5. 
 sa ki - e D.P. Samsu sutu ina babi
where like the southern Sun in the gate


 esira as - ris us - kin - va niqi - su
a temple with blessing he set up and his sacrifice


Var. ¹ 

² 


³ 

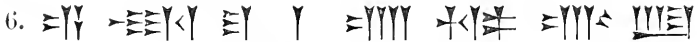
 u - sam - khi - ra yu - qa - i - sa kis - ā - te
caused to offer, he strang the bows,




 ER - ub - va a - na al Bab - ilani
he went down also to the city of Babylon, the foundation of



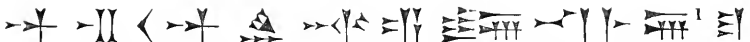
 SAM - e u IRIS - te su - bat ba - lā - dhi
heaven and earth, the seat of life

6. 


 e - li - va ana E - sag - ili
he went up also to E-sagili,



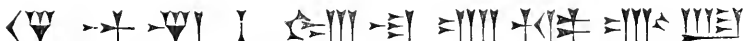
 E - kal ilani - su ina mat gim - ri ina makh - ri
the palace of his gods—in all the land, in the presence of






 D.P. Beli u D.P. Belti niq - e in - na - me - er - va
Bel and Beltis the sacrifice was seen and




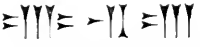

 us - te - se - ra kib - sí - su - nu niqa - su - nu da -
he caused to direct their path. Their sacrifice

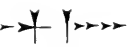









 pat D.P. Istari - su el - la E - sag - ili
... his noble goddess (in) E-sagili


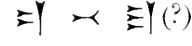


Var. ¹  *mir.* ²  *si.* ³  *niqa.*

COLUMN VI.

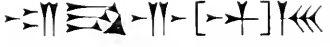
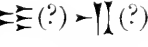
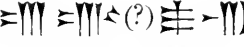
1.   
 yu - dakh - khi - da yu - paq - qid bit
he rejoiced, he appointed the house of




   
 ilani su-par E - sag - ili û
the gods, the tower E-sagili and

   
 al Bab - ilani yu - sam - khi - ra ni-qa (?) - a-su
Babylon, he caused to present his divine


   
 el - la is - bat - va kharrana a - na
offering, he took also the road to

2.   
 al Dur - Si - ab - ba D.S.
the city of Borsippa (and)

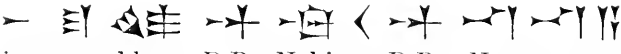
  
 al Gar - rad - [ila]ni i - paq - qid ga - as - ri
Garrad-ilani, he appointed forces (?),

  
 i - ru - uv - va a - na E - zi - da
he went down also to E-zida

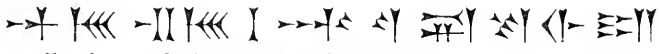
Var. ¹  ²  ³ 



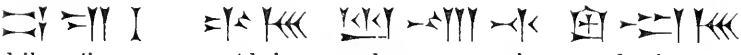
 si - va a - na bit uzzi - su ki - ni yus - kin - va
and for the house of his power firmly he fixed and




 ina ma - khar D.P. Nabi u D.P. Na - na - a
in the presence of Nebo and Nanā

3. 


 ilani beli - su pal - khis us - te - si - ra
the gods his lords, reverently he caused to direct




 kib - ši - su Alpi gab - ru - ti lunim
their path. (With) oxen strong (and) young




 na - ru - [ti] yu - dakh - khi - da u - paq - qid
draught oxen he gladdened (them), he appointed




 Bit ilani su - par al Bar - sap u
the house of the gods, the tower of Borsippa and

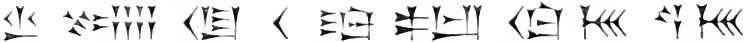


 E - zi - da ki - ma is - te - nis
E-zida as at first.


4. 


 yu - sam - khi - ra BUR - SAG - GI a - na
he caused to offer drink-offerings (?) for

Var. ¹ 



 Din - tir - ki u Bar - sap - (D.S.) - ai şabani
Babylon and the people of Borsippa (and) the men of



 Uruk - Su - ba - ri - e sa ilani rabuti ki - ri - ti
Erech-Subarē. For the great gods vessels



 is - kun - va mē ku - ru - (un -) na
he appointed, with waters (and) wine,


 i - dīn - su - nu - ti ki - bir me - e u - lab - bis
he gave them abundance of water, he put upon (himself)


 kisāte
the bows,

5. 
 u - qa - i - šu - nu - ti ul - tav ilani rabuti
he strung them, from the great gods

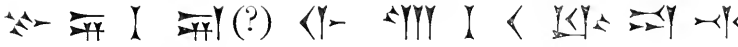

 D.P. D.P. Sal - ma - nu - esir šarru dan - nu šar
Shalmaneser the mighty king, king of


 mat Assur kha - dis ip - pal - šu - su - va u - tar - ri - šu
Assyria. gladly they favoured him and instituted

Var. ¹  *kali, "foods."*

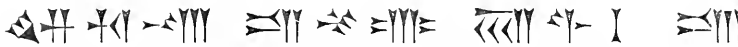
² 

³ 




 bu - ni - su mal - liv lib - su u ik - du - ti

his festival, the fullness (?) of his heart and strength




 im - khu - ru is - mu - u ruq - pi - su Ultu

they saw, they heard his message (?). From




 al Bab - ilani a - tu - sir (a - na) mat Kal - di

Babylon I departed (to) Chaldea

6. 


 at - ta - rad a - na al Ba - qa - a - ni

I descended, to the city of Buqāni,




 bi - ir - ti sa D.P. A - di - ni abil D.P. Da - ku - ri

the possession of Adini son of Dakuri




 ak - dhi - rib ala a - ši - bi ak - ta - sad

I drew near. I besieged the city (and) captured (it),



 tiduki - su ma - h - dis a - duk sal - la - šu - nu

its numerous warriors I slew, their valuable





 ka - bit - tav alpi - su - nu ši - ni - su - nu


spoil, their oxen, their sheep




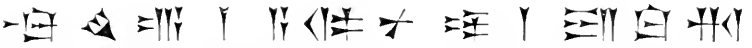
a - tu - sir



 as - lu - la ala ap - pal, aq - qur, ina isāti
I carried off, the city I threw down, dug up (and) in fire


 as - ru - up. Ultu Al Ba - qa - ni a - tu - sir
burnt. From Baqāni I departed,



 nāra Pur - rat is - ši - su e - bir al En - zu - di
the river Euphrates in its flood I crossed, the city Enzudi

7. 
 al šarru - ti - su sa D.P. A - di - ni - va
the royal city of Adinu also,


 ak - dhi - rib D.P. A - di - nu abil D.P. Da - ku - ri
I approached. (As for) Adinu son of Dakuri,

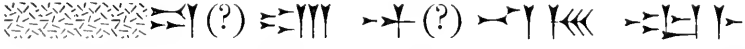

 pu - ul - khi me - lam - me sa D.P. Marduki bele
the fearful terror of Marduk, the



 rab - e is - klu - pu - su - va - su es - rat kašpi
great lord struck him and shrines (?) of silver,



 kluraši šipri anaki parzili
gold, copper, lead, iron.


¹ 


² 

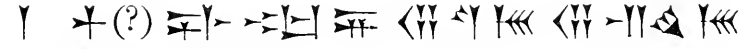

 du - um anaki (?) ka - sip
 of lead (?) silver (?)



 am - sí am - khar - su ki - i ar - ta - di - va
 I received it. When I had descended and



 uş - ba - ku - ni ma - da - tav D.P. Ya - ki - ni
 was stopping, the tribute (of) Yakini


 śar mat Tam - di
 king of the country of Tamdi,

8. 
 u D.P. Mu - sal - lim - D.P. Marduku, abil
 and Musallim - Marduku, son of


 D.P. Mas - mar - ka - ni kašpi khuraši
 Masmarkanî (?) silver. gold,


 anaki śipri
 lead, copper,


 śu AM - sí - MES am - khar
 of horned wild bulls I received.

NOTES.

COLUMN I.

1. *Submanu*. The omission of *esir* (𐎶𐎠 or 𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠) seems to be due to the carelessness of the scribe. The word, however, may have been omitted in conversation.
2. *Muair*: participle of the Pael of *wāru*, from *wāru*, "yoke."
3. *Edā gabsu*. The latter word looks doubtful. As another instance of this use of *ēbu*, compare *ēdu avelu*, "one man." (Thus is line 28, page 26, of Smith's "Assurbanipal" to be filled in.)
4. 𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠 seems to me to be doubtful. From the photo-lithograph one would read 𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠 is, part of the next word.¹
6. *Ina ume - su - ra ina bili rabi*. M. Lenoir reads, *Ina yumusu masha rabu*, and translates, ". . . . dans ses jours, mesureur grand." but it seems to me, from the photo-lithograph, that it is better to read 𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠 than 𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎠, and to divide the words as above.

COLUMN II.

1. *Šimat*; Chald. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 "silver." Heb. 𐤑𐤕 "to lay," "to lay up," hence "treasure, property"; perhaps connected also with the Assyrian *šimu*, "price."
Ritti (or, as it was most likely pronounced, *ritti*), is a shortened form of *ariltu* (see Column IV, line 4), from the root 𐎶𐎶𐎶. *Riltu* seems to have been used also to denote conquered nations, for in the tablet S. +, 951, Cambyses is called *Šir matāti sa riltā - su*, "king of the countries which (are) his conquests." (Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch., July, 1878; Schrader, "Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache," 1879, p. 40.)

¹ The style of the characters of the inscription is very broad throughout, so that very often one would suppose to be two distinct characters what is really only one.

2. *Tihamtu sa mat Naïri*, “the sea of the land of Naïri” = Lake Urumiyeh. (Schrader, “Die Namen der Meere,” *Abhandlungen der König. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1877.)

Tihamtu sa mat Zumu’asabattāni. This seems to be another name for Lake Van. The country of Zamua or Mazamua lay on the Armenian side of the Taurus range of mountains. (Professor Sayce, “Records of the Past,” Vol. III, p. 97.)

Tihamtu rabatu sa mat Martu-ki (v. Akharri), “The great sea of the path of the setting sun” (v. “the land behind”), that is, the western sea, the Mediterranean.













































































- 4. *Tihamtu rabatu*, the Mediterranean.
- 5. *Mat Encitt*, near the River Arzania, now called Arzan (“Records of the Past,” Vol. III, p. 93).

















































COLUMN III.





































2. *Bitkhallūtu*. A variant evidently of this word is to be found in the word $\times \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢}$, *batkhalli*, which occurs many times in the Report Tablet K 1113. In this tablet it undoubtedly means a “horse,” though of what kind it is impossible to say. I give here the passage in full:—




















(Line 7) $\uparrow \uparrow \leftarrow \leftarrow \uparrow \ast \uparrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \times \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢}$
 (8) $\uparrow \leftarrow \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢} \leftarrow \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢} \times \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢}$ (9) $\ast \uparrow \uparrow \leftarrow \leftarrow \uparrow \ast \times \rightarrow \rightarrow$ (10) $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢}$
 (11) $\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢} \ast \leftarrow \leftarrow \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢}$ (12) 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢
 $\ast \times \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢} \ast \leftarrow \leftarrow \ast$ (13) 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢


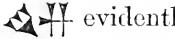



$\text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢} \ast \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢} \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢} \ast \leftarrow \leftarrow \text{𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢}$: *Estin me esrā estin šušani batkhalli estin sullam batkhalli—napkharis estin me esrā sanē šušu batkhal sa D.P. Turtani etarbūni. La gammarūni khamistu šušu batkhal sa D.P. mašarti sa al Kalkhi etarbāni*, “121 horses, 1 complete one—altogether 122 horse(s) from the Tartan have come down. (Of)

incomplete (ones) 5 horse(s) from the warden of the city of Calah have come down." That  is written for               , is shown by the context, for farther on we have the summation              , *nopkharis estin mē esrā šibit šušu batkhal*, "Altogether 127 horses," and afterwards the words                 [*D.P. šuši*] *sa nūri*, "horses of the yoke," a synonym of which evidently occurs in line 27:                               *šušī rakkašute*, "bound horses."

It will be observed that in line 7 the words                     are in the plural, but that in the summation, where *sullam batkhalli* is included, there is no plural sign.    therefore seems to be used in a collective sense, including both whole and castrated horses, so that         (with the plural ) probably signifies geldings, while                 would mean horses of any kind.

3. *Rammānu rakkišu*, "Rimmon the Inundator." There is scarcely any name which has been transcribed in so many different ways as that of the god      , and it is by no means certain that *Rammānu* is the right reading, though the sign  certainly has that value. It is very likely, however, that there was more than one reading for the name of this god, and the most probable one is that of *Bin*, but there was yet another reading—namely, *Merū*, or, in its reduplicate form, *Mermeri* (W.A.I., Vol. II, plate 48, Col. I. line 35). The former reading is given on case-tablet B. 104, where for the                              of the seal impression the text

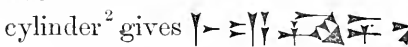
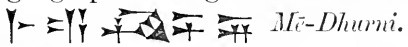
¹ Transcribed into Assyrian characters:                   

has  ¹
Nini-ikisam 'abil Naram-Merum, “Nini-ikisam son of Naram-Merū,” in which  evidently answers to the , and  to the  of the seal. It seems to have been a recognized rule with the scribes of this period that the divine prefix need not be put if the name of a god be spelled phonetically.

Sibṣu; Heb. שִׁבְצוּ.



5. *Zē*, genitive of *Zū*, the name of the god of the storm-wind.
Iseh, isē'u; Heb. שֵׁהוּ.

COLUMN IV.




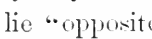
1. *Lime Samsu-bela-uṣur*, B.C. 852.
Marduku-bela-yusātē, “Marduk urged the lord,” or “Marduk, the lord, urged.”
Išušu, Heb. שִׁשׁוּ.
2. *Alilu*; Heb. אִלִּיל, “to grieve.”
Subsatu; Heb, שִׁבְשׁוּ.
3. *Al Me-Turnat* (more usually *Dhurnat*), “the city of the waters of the Tornadotus.” The newly-found Cyrus cylinder² gives  *Mē-Dhurnu*, and the geographical fragment K. 4312, the more correct form  *Mē-Dhurni*.
4. *Mankhamah*; Heb. מַחְמָה (?).
5. *Limē Belu-bunai*, B.C. 851.

COLUMN V.

5. *Al Arman*. This seems to be the city from which we get the latter part of the name פְּדַן־אַרַם, *Puddān-Aram*, “the Plain of Aram” of the Bible. The variant for

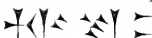
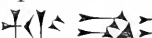

¹ Transcribed into Assyrian characters: 
.


² “Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,” Vol. XII, p. 88.

the name *Arman* is given (Bull Inscriptions of Shalmaneser. Layard's "Inscriptions," p. 15, line 25) as  \gg  (*Khal-man*), a weakened form of which is found in the inscription of Agū-kak-rimē,¹ where this king calls himself  "King of Padan and Alman." Here it appears to be two distinct places. In the geographical fragment K. 4312, however, Padin and Arman are given as synonymous terms, and are said to be districts which lie "opposite the mountains" ( *sa pan sad-i*). This agrees with the explanation given by Gesenius, who describes Padam-Aram as "the plain or plain region of Syria, *i.e.*, Mesopotamia, with the desert west of the Euphrates opp. to the mountainous region by the Mediterranean Sea." The full and original form of the word was probably *Kharman*.

Utu Marduku-suma-iddin iksuda gari-su Salmanu-esir. This construction, in which the subject of the sentence is thrown to the end, is unusual. It occurs, however, in Assur-bani-abla's annals (Smith's "Assurbanipal," p. 162) in the sentence, *Iua makhri-ya izizū-va itallalu qurdi ilani-ya dannuti, sa illaku rišūti*, "My warriors stand before me and glorify my mighty gods who went to my help." (Lit. "In my presence stand and glorify (my) warriors," &c.).

4. *Imšū mal libbi-su*, "He had found the full of his heart," that is, "he had accomplished all he wished to do."

Iqdhabi, for *Iqtabi*, Aor. Iphthal of *qabu'u*. The forms  *iqtabi*,  *iqdhebi*, and  *iqdhibi*, are also found.

5. *Yuqū'isa kisūti*. Both these words evidently come from the root  קיש , with the ק in the latter word weakened into ך . It has been thought that the representations

¹ W.A.L., Vol. II, pl. 38, l. 40. See also Sir H. C. Rawlinson, K.C.B., in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XII, p. 71, note.

of the Assyrian renderings of 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 "an ox"), just as *diluni* is the plural of *dibu*, "a bucket."¹

4. *Erech-Subarū*, see page 157.

Kiriti; Heb. כִּירִי.

Kibir; Arab. كَبِيرٌ, Heb. כִּבְרִי.

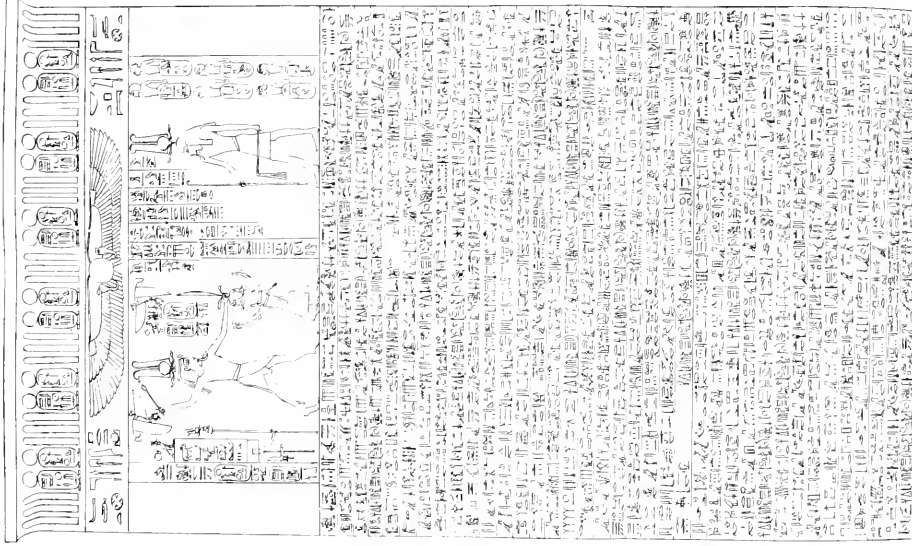
5. *Yutarriṣu*; Aor. Pacl of *tarāṣu*; Arab. تَرَفَّسَ.

¹ Since writing the above, I have come upon other proofs of the meaning of this word, and that in texts where I little thought to find them. These texts show us that the *lū* was both an object of veneration in Babylonia in late times, and also used for food. The passages containing these allusions are as follows:

𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 [𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁] 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁
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 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 *isqu D.P. tu-mal-u-tar sa ilani*
sa samē ū ina lū el-lu sa a-na [ilani] sa samē in-na-bu-us: "The yearly gift
 for the priests of the gods of heaven and for the divine bull who to the
 [gods] of heaven has proclaimed it." 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁
 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐏁 *irbit seri lu-as-lu u pal-dhu ultu lū*:
 "four parts, cooked and prepared, of an ox."

The first extract is taken from a tablet dated in the reign of Demetrius, and the other from one dated in the reign of Antiochus. Both these texts are published in transliteration in the "Documents Juridiques," pp. 315-320 and 301-304. In that work, however, the meaning of the word is lost through mis-transcription, *ultu lū* being transcribed as *tu-lu-te*, "holocausta"; and *ina lū* as *til-lu-du*, "lex."





LE DÉCRET DE PHTAH TOTUNEN EN FAVEUR DE RAMSÈS II ET DE RAMSÈS III.

PAR EDOUARD NAVILLE.

Read 4th November, 1879.

DANS le grand temple d'Abu Simbel, le roi Ramsès II, non content de transmettre à la postérité le récit de ses victoires sur les Asiatiques, a voulu nous laisser un panegyrique digne de ses exploits. Il a fait dresser entre deux piliers du sanctuaire une stèle haute d'environ 10 pieds, qui contient en termes solennels et poétiques l'éloge du roi auquel elle s'adresse. Ce fut sans doute un morceau fameux dans la littérature sacrée de l'Égypte. La réputation de cet hymne, écrit par quelque Pentaour dont le nom est resté ignoré, survécut au prince en l'honneur duquel il avait été composé. L'un des plus valeureux descendants du vainqueur des Chétas, Ramsès III, au sortir de grandes guerres, trouvant que cette composition poétique répondait mieux que toute autre à la gloire qu'il s'était acquise, la fit graver de nouveau sur l'un des pylônes du temple qu'il élevait au dieu Ammon à Médinet Habou.

La stèle d'Abu Simbel a depuis longtemps attiré l'attention des égyptologues. "J'ai pris la copie entière," dit Champollion, "d'une grande stèle placée entre les deux colosses de gauche, dans l'intérieur du grand temple; elle n'a pas moins de 37 lignes, ce n'est pas moins qu'un décret du dieu Phtah en faveur de Ramsès-le-grand, auquel il prodigue les louanges pour ses travaux et ses bienfaits envers l'Égypte; suit la réponse du roi au dieu, en termes tout aussi polis. C'est un monument fort curieux, et d'un genre tout à fait particulier." C'est d'après cette copie que la stèle a été publiée dans les "Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie," vol. i, pl. 38, mais sans le tableau qui la surmonte.

Cette publication a le tort d'avoir changé le sens des hiéroglyphes, qui dans l'original vont de droite à gauche, et non de gauche à droite, comme on les a représentés.

Une nouvelle publication plus complète et plus correcte a été faite par Mr. Lepsius ("Denkm.," III. p. 194). et a été reproduite par Mr. Reinisch dans sa "Chrestomathie égyptienne," pl. XIII. Outre ces trois textes imprimés, j'ai employé pour ce travail un estampage complet de cette stèle que j'ai fait moi-même en 1869.

L'inscription de Médinet Habou n'a été copiée à ma connaissance que par deux personnes; par Mr. Duemichen, qui l'a publiée dans ses "Historische Inschriften," I. pl. 7-10, et par M. de Rougé. Cette dernière copie a trouvé place dans la précieuse collection que M. le Vte. Jacques de Rougé est occupé à publier des inscriptions recueillies en Egypte par son illustre père (t. II, pl. 131-138).

Jusqu'à présent il n'a paru aucune traduction complète de cette intéressante inscription. Mr. Duemichen a le premier entrepris d'en donner une interprétation remarquablement réussie qui s'arrête à la ligne 26. Après lui, Mr. Brugsch en a traduit deux longs fragments reproduits dans son "Histoire d'Egypte," p. 538. Il nous a semblé qu'il n'était pas sans intérêt de donner une fois dans son entier une traduction de ce long texte, et cela dans les deux rédactions qui nous ont été conservées, en profitant des travaux antérieurs de MM. Duemichen et Brugsch. Je me suis servi pour la stèle d'Abu Simbel de mes estampages, complétés par le texte de Mr. Lepsius partout où la stèle a été dégradée, et pour le texte de Médinet Habou d'une comparaison entre les copies de MM. Duemichen et de Rougé. (The numerals in the text refer to the notes, pp. 128-138.)

A.

STÈLE D'ABU SIMBEL
(RAMSÈS II).

Tableau.

Le roi frappe de sa massue un groupe d'ennemis qu'il tient par les cheveux; ces prisonniers sont barbus. Derrière le roi est l'éten-

B.

STÈLE DE MEDINET HABOU
(RAMSÈS III).

Tableau.

Le roi frappe de sa massue un groupe de prisonniers. Devant lui est le dieu Phtah qui lui présente un cimenterre avec l'inscription suivante:

dard qui porte son nom ; devant lui le dieu Phtah Totunen et l'inscription suivante : "Ainsi parle Phtah Totunen aux hautes plumes, muni de cornes, qui engendre les dieux tous les jours : (Je suis) ton père, je t'ai engendré comme un dieu pour être roi à ma place ; je t'ai transmis tous les pays que j'ai créés, leurs chefs t'apportent leur tribut ; ils viennent t'offrir leurs présents à cause de leur grande crainte. Toutes les nations étrangères sont réunies sous tes pieds ; elles sont à toi pour toujours, tu es établi à leur tête pour toujours."

Derrière le roi sont six noms de nations vaincues (1), les Aouentem, les Temouou, les Hebouou, les Hetaou, les Tenfou, et les Emtebebou.

Inscription.

Ligne 1.—L'an 35 (2), et le 13 du mois de Tybi, sous le règne de l'Horus Ra, le taureau puissant qui aime la vérité, le maître des panégyries, pareil à son père Phtah Totunen, le souverain des deux royaumes, qui protège l'Égypte et châtie les nations étrangères, Ra qui fait naître les dieux, qui possède l'Égypte, riche en années, puissant en victoires, le souverain légitime, Ra userma sotep en Ra, le fils de Ra, né de Totunen, mis au monde par la puissante Sechet, Ramessou mer Amen,¹ qui donne la vie.

Ligne 2.—Ainsi parle Phtah Totunen (3), aux hautes plumes, muni de cornes, le père des dieux, à son fils qui l'aime, le premier né de ses

"Ainsi parle Phtah : Je te donne les panégyries de Ra ; je te donne toutes les victoires comme Ra éternellement." Le dieu Phtah amène avec lui treize nations vaincues qui sont pour la plupart des peuples sémitiques, ainsi : Tirona, Tarbousa, Karona, Chibour, At'aro, etc.

Inscription.

Ligne 1.—L'an 12 sous le règne de l'Horus Ra, le taureau puissant qui dispose du pouvoir royal, le maître des panégyries, pareil à Totunen, riche en années comme Ra, le prince qui protège l'Égypte et châtie les nations étrangères, le roi légitime, Ra userma mer Amen, le seigneur des diadèmes, Ramessou hak-On.

Ligne 2.—Ainsi parle Phtah Totunen, le père des dieux, à son fils qui l'aime, issu de ses entrailles, le dieu qui se rajeunit, le bien aimé,

¹ Le nom des deux rois est écrit partout sous la forme complète avec les deux cartouches. Pour éviter des répétitions inutiles, j'ai remplacée partout leur nom par "roi Ramsès."

entraîlles, le dieu qui se rajeunit, le prince des dieux, le maître des panégyries, pareil à Totunen, le roi Ramsès II, qui donne la vie.

Ligne 3.—C'est moi qui suis ton père, je t'ai engendré comme dieu ; tous tes membres sont divins, j'ai pris la forme du bélier de Mendès (4), et je me suis approché de ta royale mère.

Ligne 4.—C'est moi qui ai pensé à toi (5), c'est moi qui t'ai façonné pour être la joie de ma personne, je t'ai fait naître comme le soleil levant, je t'ai élevé devant les dieux, roi Ramsès.

Ligne 4.—Num et Phtah ont nourri ton enfance (6), ils tressaillent de joie lorsqu'ils voient (7) . . . noble, haut, élevé.

Ligne 5.—Les princesses royales du temple de Phtah (8) et les Hathors du temple de Tem sont en fête, leurs cœurs se réjouissent, leurs mains sont élevées en signe de joie (9) lorsqu'elles voient ta personne belle et aimable comme ma Majesté.

Ligne 6.—Les dieux et les déesses exaltent ta beauté, et te célèbrent lorsqu'ils m'adressent leurs louanges, et qu'ils me disent : c'est toi qui es notre père, qui nous a fait naître ; il y a un dieu pareil à toi, le roi Ramsès.

Ligne 7.—Je te regarde, et mon cœur est réjoui, je t'embrasse dans mes bras d'or, je t'enveloppe de vie de permanence, de pureté ; je te munis de force et de bonheur, je

le maître des panégyries, pareil à Totunen, le roi Ramsès III.

Ligne 3.—C'est moi qui suis ton père, je t'ai engendré ; tous tes membres sont divins, j'ai pris la forme du bélier de Mendès, et je me suis uni à ta royale mère, afin qu'elle enfantât ta personne.

Ligne 4.—C'est moi qui ai pensé à toi, c'est moi qui t'ai façonné, pour être la joie de ma personne ; je t'ai mis au monde brillant comme le soleil ; je t'ai élevé devant les dieux, roi Ramsès.

Ligne 5.—Num et Phtah se réjouissent de ta naissance, ils tressaillent de joie lorsqu'ils te voient fait à ma ressemblance, noble, haut, élevé.

Ligne 6.—Les princesses royales du temple de Phtah et les Hathors du temple de Tem sont en fête, leurs mains tiennent le tambourin, elles se réjouissent lorsqu'elles voient ta personne belle, aimable comme la Majesté de Ra.

Ligne 8.—Les dieux et les déesses exaltent ta beauté, et te célèbrent lorsqu'ils m'apportent leurs offrandes, et qu'ils me disent : c'est toi qui es notre père, qui nous as fait naître ; il y a un dieu pareil à toi, le roi Ramsès.

Ligne 10.—Je te regarde, et mon cœur est réjoui, je t'embrasse dans mes bras d'or, je t'enveloppe de vie et de pureté ; je te munis de force et de bonheur, je fais pénétrer en toi

fais pénétrer en toi la joie, la jouissance, le contentement, le plaisir, les délices. Je t'accorde que ton cœur se rajeunisse comme le mien ; je t'ai élu, je t'ai choisi, je t'ai pourvu d'un cœur parfait (11) et de paroles excellentes ; il n'y a absolument rien que tu ignores jusqu'à ce jour depuis les temps anciens (12) ; tu vivifies les habitants de la terre par ta sagesse.

Ligne 9.—Roi Ramsès, j'ai fait de toi un roi éternel, un prince qui dure à toujours, j'ai façonné ta chair en vermeil, tes os en airain, et tes bras en fer ; je t'ai donné la dignité divine, et tu gouvernes l'Égypte comme souverain légitime.

Ligne 10.—Je te donne un Nil très-haut ; il remplit pour toi le pays d'abondance, de richesse et de produits ; il y a abondance dans tous les lieux où tu marches ; je te donne du froment en quantité pour enrichir le pays en tout temps, le grain est comme le sable du rivage, les monceaux atteignent le ciel, et les tas sont pareils aux montagnes. Tu te réjouis et tu te glorifies lorsque tu vois la pêche abondante, et tout le poisson (17) qui est à tes pieds ; l'Égypte est reconnaissante (18) envers toi.

Ligne 12.—Je te donne le ciel et tout ce qui s'y trouve ; Seb fait croître pour toi ce qu'il y a en lui ; l'eau fraîche monte jusqu'à toi t'apportant ses oies ; Horsexa t'apporte ses offrandes (19), qui sont les quatorze formes de Ra (20) ; Thoth les a mises de tous côtés.

Ligne 13.—Tu ouvres ta bouche pour fortifier qui tu veux, car tu es

la joie, la jouissance, le contentement, le plaisir, les délices. Je t'accorde que ton cœur (10) se rajeunisse comme le mien ; je t'ai élu, je t'ai choisi, je t'ai pourvu d'un cœur parfait et de paroles excellentes ; il n'y a absolument rien que tu ignores ; tu connais parfaitement le secret de la vie, et tu vivifies les hommes à ton gré.

Ligne 13.—Roi Ramsès j'ai façonné ta chair en vermeil ; la déesse de la couronne rouge brillante est solidement fixée sur ta tête . . . je t'ai donné . . . tu gouvernes le pays par ton pouvoir royal (13).

Ligne 14.—Le Nil t'apporte (14) il remplit le pays d'abondance, de richesse, de produits ; il couvre la terre de poissons dans tous les lieux où tu marches ; je te donne des grains en abondance pour enrichir l'Égypte, le grain est comme le sable du rivage (15), les greniers atteignent le ciel, et les monceaux sont pareils aux montagnes. Tu te réjouis quand tu vois l'abondance et la joie de tous côtés (16) ; le pays est rassasié de tes dons.

Ligne 17.—Je te donne le ciel, et tout ce qui est à sa surface ; Seb fait croître pour toi ce qu'il y a en lui ; les oiseaux d'eau accourent vers toi, les pigeons d'Horsexa t'apportent leurs offrandes qui sont les prémices de celles de Ra ; j'ai mis toutes choses

Ligne 19.—Tu ouvres ta bouche pour fortifier qui tu veux, comme

Num, ta royauté est vivante en force et en puissance comme Ra depuis qu'il gouverne le pays.

Ligne 14.—Roi Ramsès, je t'accorde de sculpter les montagnes en statues hautes, élevées, éternelles ; je t'accorde que les pays étrangers trouvent pour toi des pierres précieuses pour inscrire [?] (21), les monuments à ton nom.

Ligne 15.—Je t'accorde de réussir dans tous les travaux que tu entreprends ; (je te donne) tous les ouvriers (22), tout ce qui marche sur deux et sur quatre pieds : tout ce qui vole, et tout ce qui est ailé. J'ai mis au cœur de tous les pays de t'offrir ce qu'ils ont fait pour toi ; eux-mêmes, princes grands et petits, d'un seul cœur, ils cherchent à te plaire, roi Ramsès.

Ligne 16.—Tu as construit une résidence magnifique pour affermir les frontières du pays, la ville de Ramsès ; elle est solide sur la terre comme les quatre supports du ciel ; tu y as élevé pour toi un palais, où l'on te célèbre les fêtes qu'on me célèbre dans l'intérieur. J'ai fixé la couronne sur ta tête de mes mains moi-même ; quand tu parais dans la grande salle du double trône, les hommes et les dieux célèbrent ton nom comme le mien lorsqu'on fait ma fête (23).

Ligne 18.—Tu as sculpté mes statues (24), et tu as construit leurs chasses comme je l'ai fait dans les temps anciens. Je t'ai donné des années par trentaines (25), tu règnes

ton père Num, ta royauté est vivante en victoires et en puissance comme Ra qui gouverne le pays.

Ligne 20.—Roi Ramsès, je t'accorde de sculpter les montagnes en statues les grands en toutes pierres excellentes

Ligne 21.—Je t'accorde que ton cœur soit satisfait de leurs travaux que t'ont fait tous leurs ouvriers habiles tout ce qui marche sur deux et sur quatre pieds, tout ce qui vole, tout ce qui a des ailes. J'ai mis au cœur de tous les pays de t'offrir ce qu'ils ont fait pour toi, eux-mêmes, grands et petits, d'un seul cœur, ils cherchent à te plaire, roi Ramsès.

Ligne 23.—Tu as construit une résidence grande et magnifique pour affermir les frontières de l'Égypte, la ville de Ramsès, le grand trésor de l'Égypte ; elle est ferme comme les supports du ciel ; ta Majesté est établie dans le palais, j'y ai bâti une enceinte qui est ma demeure ; où l'on te célèbre les fêtes qu'on me célèbre dans l'intérieur. J'ai fixé la couronne sur ta tête de mes mains moi-même ; quand tu parais dans la grande salle du double trône. Les dieux et les hommes célèbrent ton nom, quand tu resplendis dans la fête pareil à moi.

Ligne 26.—Tu as sculpté mes statues, et tu leur as construit des chasses, comme je l'ai fait dans les temps anciens. Je t'ai donné des années par trentaines, tu règnes à

à ma place sur mon trône. Je remplis tes membres de vie et de bonheur; derrière toi je te protège, et je te donne force et santé. Je fais que l'Égypte te soit soumise et qu'elle soit pénétrée de vie et de pureté.

Ligne 19.—Roi Ramsès, je fais que la force, la vigueur, la puissance de ton glaive soit parmi tous les peuples; tu as brisé les cœurs de toutes les nations; je les ai mises sous tes pieds; tu parais tous les jours (26), et l'on t'amène des prisonniers barbares; les chefs et les grands de toutes les nations t'offrent leurs enfants; je les donne à ton glaive vaillant pour que tu en fasses ce que tu veux.

Ligne 21.—Roi Ramsès, je t'accorde que ta crainte soit dans l'esprit de tous et ta volonté dans tous les cœurs. Je fais que ta vaillance atteigne tous les pays et que ta crainte s'étende sur tous les pays étrangers; les princes tremblent à ton souvenir, et ta majesté est attachée à leur tête (27). Ils viennent à toi comme un suppliant pour implorer ta miséricorde. Tu donnes la vie à qui tu veux, tu fais mourir qui tu veux; le trône de tous les pays est en ta possession.

Ligne 22.—Je t'accorde de montrer tes qualités admirables (28), et d'accomplir tous tes bons desseins; le pays qui est sous ta domination est dans la joie, et l'Égypte ne cesse de se réjouir.

Ligne 23.—Roi Ramsès, je t'ai distingué par des mérites si élevés

ma place sur mon trône. Je remplis tes membres de vie et de bonheur, ma protection est derrière toi, je veille sur tes membres; je t'ai rendu vainqueur, tous les pays te sont assujettis, l'Égypte est pénétrée de tes bienfaits.

Ligne 28.—Roi Ramsès, je t'accorde que ta vaillance, ta force et ton courage soient gravés dans le cœur des barbares. Tu as abattu sous tes pieds tous les peuples de l'Asie pour toujours. Quand tu parais chaque matin, l'on t'amène les prisonniers de tes mains; ce sont les grands de tous les pays qui t'offrent leurs enfants, je te les ai envoyés, je les ai rassemblés dans ta main afin que tu en fasses ce que tu veux.

Ligne 31.—Roi Ramsès, je ferai que ta crainte soit dans les cœurs de l'Égypte, et que ta volonté pénètre tous les esprits. Je t'accorde que tes rugissements fassent frémir les pays étrangers et que ta crainte parcoure les montagnes. Les princes tremblent à ton souvenir; ton glaive est fixé sur leurs têtes; ils viennent à toi comme un suppliant pour implorer ta miséricorde; tu donnes la vie à qui tu veux, et tu fais mourir qui tu veux; le trône de tous les pays est en ta possession.

Ligne 34.—Je t'accorde de montrer tes qualités admirables, et d'accomplir tout ce qui est bon; le pays qui est sous ta domination est dans la joie, et l'Égypte ne cesse de se réjouir quand tu apparais.

Ligne 35.—Roi Ramsès, j'ai été ému, et j'ai donné une puissance et

que le ciel et la terre frémissent (29) de joie ; ce qu'il y a en eux célèbre ton existence ; les montagnes, les eaux, les murailles qui sont sur la terre s'agitent à l'ouïe de ton nom excellent ; depuis qu'ils ont vu ce que j'ai ordonné, c'est que le pays de Cheta soit esclave de ton palais (30).

Ligne 25. — Je leur ai mis au cœur (des Chétas) de te prévenir eux-mêmes par les hommages qu'ils te rendent, leurs chefs sont prisonniers, tous leurs biens sont des tributs dépendant de S. M. vie saine et forte ; la fille aînée (du prince) marche devant eux pour apaiser le cœur du roi d'Égypte, Ramsès ; ses mérites sont merveilleux, mais elle ne connaît pas la bonté (32) qu'il y a dans ton cœur ; ton nom est bienheureux pour toujours, le bon résultat (33) de tes succès et de tes victoires est une grande merveille, qu'on espérait (34), mais qu'on n'avait point entendue depuis le temps des dieux ; c'était un rouleau caché dans la maison des livres depuis le règne de Ra jusqu'à ta Majesté. On n'avait jamais su comment Cheta pourrait être d'un même cœur avec l'Égypte, et voici, j'ai ordonné qu'ils fussent abattus sous tes pieds pour vivifier ton nom à toujours, roi Ramsès.

Ligne 29. — Ainsi parle le roi divin (35), le maître de l'Égypte, qui naît comme Chepra, qui est Ra dans ses membres (en personne), qui apparaît comme Ra, engendré par Phtah Totunen, le roi Ramsès, à son père qui apparaît devant lui, Totunen, le père des dieux : Je suis ton fils, tu m'as placé sur ton trône ; tu

des victoires si grandes à ton épée, que le ciel et la terre tressaillent de joie et que ce qui est en eux exalte ton existence ; les montagnes, les eaux, les murailles qui sont sur la terre s'agitent à ton nom puissant, depuis qu'ils voient ce que j'ai ordonné, c'est que toutes les nations soient sujettes de ton palais.

Ligne 37. — Je leur ai mis au cœur de te prévenir eux-mêmes par les hommages qu'ils te rendent, en t'apportant les fruits de leur travail. Leurs chefs sont prisonniers, tous les pays étrangers sont tributaires, dépendant de ta Majesté ; leurs fils et leurs filles sont les serviteurs de ton palais pour plaire à ton cœur comme à Ra, roi Ramsès.

Ligne 40. — Ainsi parle le roi divin, le maître de tous les pays, le seigneur des êtres, Chepri issu de la substance divine, engendré par Phtah Totunen, le roi Ramsès, à son père qui est devant lui, Totunen, le père des dieux : Je suis ton fils, tu m'as placé sur ton trône, tu m'as transmis ta royauté, tu m'as mis au


m'as transmis ta royauté, tu m'as mis au monde à la ressemblance de ta personne, tu m'as transmis ce que tu as créé. Je répondrai en faisant toutes les bonnes choses que tu désires.

monde à la ressemblance de ta personne, tu m'as transmis ce que tu as créé; je te donnerai


Ligne 31.—Puisque je suis le maître unique, pareil à toi, j'ai pourvu le pays de ce qui est nécessaire, je renouvellerai pour toi l'Égypte comme autrefois, y faisant des dieux de ta substance, jusqu'à la couleur de leur corps. L'Égypte sera l'objet de leur prédilection et leur construira des temples. J'ai agrandi ta demeure à Memphis, elle est ornée de travaux d'une durée éternelle, d'ouvrages bien faits en pierres serties d'or, et en bijoux véritables. J'ai fait pour toi une terrasse au Nord, avec un double escalier, ton parvis est magnifique, les portes en sont comme l'horizon du ciel afin que la foule puisse t'adorer.

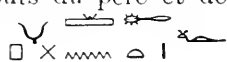
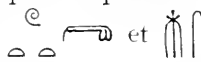
Ligne 33.—On a construit ta demeure magnifique dans l'enceinte des murs; ton image divine est dans sa châsse mystérieuse, reposant dans son sanctuaire; je l'ai pourvue abondamment de prêtres, de prophètes, d'ouvriers (36), de domaines et de bestiaux. Je lui ai compté les offrandes par millions; j'ai célébré ta grande fête de la panégyrie, ainsi que tu l'as ordonné toi-même; toutes choses accourent vers toi, dans le grand jour d'offrandes que tu désires; les taureaux et les jeunes bœufs sont sans nombre (37); les morceaux de viande sont en quantité incommensurable; la fumée de la graisse atteint jusqu'aux nues, et pénètre dans le ciel. Je fais en sorte que tout pays admire le monument que je t'ai construit. J'ai marqué à ton nom les habitants et les étrangers de tout le pays; ils sont à toi pour toujours, car c'est toi qui les as créés pour être aux ordres de ton fils que voici, celui qui est sur ton trône, le maître des dieux et des hommes, le prince qui célèbre ses panégyries comme toi; car il (38) porte le double sistre, il est le fils de la couronne blanche, et le descendant de la couronne rouge (39), qui a réuni les deux royaumes en paix; le roi Ramsès qui vit éternellement.

NOTES.

(1). Mr. Brugsch, dans son Histoire, qualifie ces peuples "d'Africains." Parmi les six têtes qui surmontent les cartouches renfermant ces noms, il n'y en a qu'une, celle qui représente les Temouou, qui ait un type africain; les deux dernières ont la barbe et la coiffure des peuples de Syrie: ce sont les Tenfou et les : ce nom est encore assez visible dans les estampes.

(2). Mr. Duemichen lit, l'an 45. D'après mes estampages, il n'y a aucun doute possible; la date est 35, ainsi que l'ont écrit Champollion et Mr. Lepsius.

(3). Il est curieux que ces paroles soient mises dans la bouche d'un dieu qui n'est pas celui du temple ou de la localité où ces stèles ont été construites. Le temple d'Abu Simbel avait été élevé à  et celui de Médinet Habou à Ammon. Phtah Totunen est une divinité de Memphis; il est donc probable que le morceau a été composé dans cette ville.

Le dieu Totunen, une représentation très fréquente de la terre, est considéré comme ayant les attributs du père et de la mère, ainsi que l'indique l'expression  et la réunion des verbes .


(4). Mr. Duemichen traduit, "Ich habe gebildet deine Gestalt gleich dem Mendesischen Gotte." Cette version ne me paraît nullement en harmonie avec les pronoms, tels qu'ils se trouvent dans les deux textes; le dieu explique au roi qu'il doit sa naissance au bélier de Mendès, dont lui-même, Totunen a pris la forme. Il est inutile de citer des exemples de ce rôle de générateur attribué au bélier Mendès que les rois aimaient à se donner pour père (cf. Young, "Hieroglyphics," II. 62; Lauth, "Busiris und Osymandias," p. 57; et la grande "Stèle de Mendès," "Zeitschrift," 1875, p. 33).

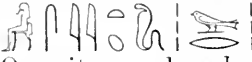


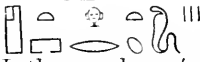





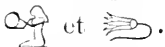

Ici ma traduction diffère notablement de celle de Mr. Duemichen: "Ich, ich weiss es wie du geehrt zu werden verdienst." Cela vient surtout des mots et que nous n'interprétons pas de la même manière. Je crois qu'il faut traduire par *savoir, connaître, penser à*, comme le verbe hébreu par exemple, dans Jérémie I, 5, où les Septante traduisent *πρὸ τοῦ με πλάσαι σε ἐν κοιλίᾳ ἐπισταμαίσει*. A la suite de cet acte intellectuel, vient un acte physique: dont j'ai indiqué ailleurs le sens de *fabriquer, façonner* (cf. "Litanie du Soleil," p. 22), à propos de Totunen lui-même, dont il est dit qu'il *façonne ce qui est en lui*,


(6). Ici encore je me sépare de Mr. Duemichen. Je considère comme signifiant d'abord *le lieu de la naissance* puis *la naissance elle-même* (Brugsch, Dict., p. 707), puis enfin l'enfant (Chabas "Mél., I," p. 120), qui est nourri par les Num et les Phtah, c'est-à-dire, comme le dit Mr. Duemichen, par tous les dieux créateurs; il y a seulement une différence de sens entre les deux textes; B remplace le verbe *nourrir* par celui de *se réjouir*, Rien d'étonnant du reste à ce que ce soit un dieu qui nourrisse l'enfant; cela se voit souvent dans des inscriptions analogues (Lepsius, "Denkm.," III, p. 72).






(7). La fin de la phrase est obscure dans les deux textes; d'ailleurs A est assez endommagé. Je ne puis expliquer les signes il est possible qu'il y ait là un reste fautif du verbe *regarder*; le texte B est seul compréhensible, Je considère le forme comme représentant une troisième personne du pluriel, et le premier comme étant le pronom de la seconde personne. Il y aurait alors un signe surnumé-

raire  : lorsqu'ils te voient. Les signes suivants, lit. *ressemblant à mon corps, fait à ma ressemblance*, ne présentent pas de difficultés.

(8). Il est question ici de deux collèges de prêtresses ou de pallades : celles du temple de Phtah, qui portent le nom de  lit., *les favorites ou les princesses royales*. On sait que dans le papyrus d'Orbiney, l'épouse du roi porte le nom de  ; ces prêtresses étaient donc considérées comme les épouses du dieu. D'ailleurs le papyrus Harris nous apprend que le dieu Phtah avait un harem (pl. XLVII, l. 9). Quoique le texte B écrive  je suis assez tenté d'adopter la leçon du texte A,  et de traduire *les Hathors*. Il y avait sept Hathors, chargées spécialement de prédire l'avenir : mais je croirais volontiers qu'ici ce nom est donné à des prêtresses qui s'occupaient de divination et de magie, comme la prêtresse *Ἀθύρτις*, dont nous parle Diodore, dont le nom rappelle celui de la déesse, et qui annonça à son père Sésostris qu'il ferait de grandes conquêtes. Il faut entendre par le  le temple d'Héliopolis.



(9).  Il est possible qu'il y ait là quelque chose d'omis ; le verbe  doit être celui que Mr. Brugsch indique (Dict. p. 52) avec les déterminatifs  et .

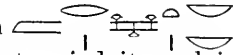
(10). B. *Je t'accorde que tu jace,  rajeunisse* ; il est probable qu'il y a là une faute du graveur, et qu'il faut lire *ton cœur*.


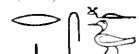
(11).  est un mot qui se trouve à trois reprises dans le texte qui nous occupe. Les deux autres exemples sont : B 21  et A 26  il est à remarquer que dans le premier cas ce mot se trouve en parallèle avec  ce qui conduit tout naturellement au sens de *bon, excellent, parfait*, qui s'applique très bien aussi dans le second cas, que le substantif  désigne du


dieu de la métallurgie, ainsi que nous l'enseignent beaucoup de textes d'Abydos, surtout lorsqu'il prend le caractère de Phtah infernal, Phtah Sokaris; rien d'étonnant donc à ce que ce soit en métal qu'il façonne le corps du roi.

(14). Il est assez difficile de reconstituer ici le texte B, où il y a de nombreuses différences entre les copies de MM. de Rougé et Duemichen.




(15). Le texte B parlant du grain donne cette leçon
 voilà du moins ce qu'a copié Mr. Duemichen; Mr. Brugsch dans son Dictionnaire accepte entièrement cette version; la copie de M. de Rougé la rend douteuse; il semblerait que le savant académicien a vu là quelque chose qui se rapproche du texte A,


(16). J'attire l'attention sur l'expression  que nous retrouverons plus bas A, l. 13. et qui doit vouloir dire *partout, des tous les côtés*.


(17). Nous rencontrons ici à deux reprises le mot  ou  qui doit signifier *poisson, produit de la pêche*; ce mot se trouve plusieurs fois dans les stèles du Nil (cf. "Zeitschrift," 1873, p. 129).


(18). A, l. 12, nous lisons  Ce mot est inconnu sous cette forme; il est probable qu'il y a erreur. Quant au texte B, il faut adopter la leçon de M. de Rougé:
 le pays est rassasié de tes dons.

(19). Le dieu donne au roi le ciel et la terre, avec tout ce qu'ils contiennent, puis l'eau et l'air. A l'occasion de ces deux derniers éléments, il y a entre les deux textes des variantes importantes.



A dit: *l'eau fraîche vient vers toi, t'apportant ses oies* (ou ses canards),  Je crois qu'il faut considérer  comme une forme vocalisée du mot  signifiant une oie ou un canard, dont le nom se retrouve

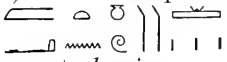
fréquemment dans les listes d'offrandes, et dont une représentation existe dans un tombeau (Lepsius, "Denkm.," II, pl. 70).



B est plus simple, et le parallélisme y est mieux observé; les oiseaux d'eau accourent vers toi et les  lit., *les habitants du ciel*; ce mot se trouve à plusieurs reprises parmi les oiseaux qu'on donnait aux temples (cf. Pap. Harris, pl. viii, 11; xxviii, 2; xlvi, 11). J'ai conservé la traduction de Mr. Birch, qui le rend par pigeon. Telle qu'elle est là, la phrase rappelle tout-à-fait celle que le roi Ramsès III adresse au dieu d'Héliopolis dans son acte de donation:


J'ai fait remplir ton pigeonnier de pigeons; j'ai fait venir les oiseaux d'eau à ta ville d'Héliopolis pour t'apporter leurs offrandes (Pap. Harris, pl. xxviii, 2; cf. Brugsch, "Diet. Géogr.," p. 287, sur le mot *Kebhu*).

Horse χ a est une divinité dont le nom ne se rencontre que rarement; elle apparaît cependant parmi les diverses dénominations d'Osiris au chap. 142 du Todtenbuch (l. 9).

(20). Je ne sais comment expliquer dans cette phrase cette expression du texte A  il me semble évident qu'il faut adopter ici la leçon du texte B  *les prémices*.

(21). Ce n'est qu'une conjecture qui m'a fait traduire le mot  par *inscrire*. Ce mot voudrait dire proprement *chemin*.



(22). Le texte B nous apprend qu'il ne faut pas s'arrêter au déterminatif de  et qu'il faut traduire comme s'il y avait  *tous les ouvriers*.




(23). Il s'agit ici de la construction de villes dans laquelle Ramsès II et Ramsès III devaient avoir une résidence. Mr. Brugsch ("Diet. Géogr.," p. 416, et suiv.) a recueilli de

nombreux arguments pour prouver qu'il n'y a qu'une seule ville construite par Ramsès II, qui se soit appelée *ville de Ramsès*, et que cette ville est Tanis, le *Ramsès* de l'Écriture. S'il en est ainsi, le texte de notre stèle nous apprend que c'est à Tanis que Ramsès II a été couronné. Mais sans aborder une discussion qui nous entraînerait trop loin, nous nous en tiendrons à la ville de Ramsès III et à ce qui nous en est dit.

J'ai fixé la couronne sur ta tête dans la salle du double trône. Le papyrus Harris, parmi les donations faites au temple de Phtah à Memphis, s'exprime ainsi (pl. XLV, 3):



J'ai fait construire à nouveau ta demeure sur ta terrasse, le lieu que tu aimes, toutes les fois que tu apparais, c'est la demeure de Ramsès III, vie saine et forte, dans le temple de Phtah, sur le grand trône mystérieux d'Anebresef. Il faut évidemment entendre par  un *naos*, un petit sanctuaire qui était placé sur la terrasse, et qui devait contenir l'emblème mystérieux de la divinité qu'on sortait les jours de fête () ce sanctuaire consacré par ordre de Ramsès III portait son nom. La suite de la phrase nous montre que ce sanctuaire et cette plateforme étaient sur une construction appelée

 (ou suivant nos inscriptions , ) *le trône*. Le déterminatif nous enseigne

qu'il s'agit d'une construction à étages, quelque chose comme la pyramide de Sakkarah (un *mastabat*, comme diraient les Arabes), à l'intérieur de laquelle on pourrait pénétrer. Au sommet de ce trône, le dieu Totunen a mis lui-même le diadème sur la tête de Ramsès III dans un jour de grande panégyrie, à la vue des dieux et des hommes. Faisant abstraction de l'exagération dans le langage, nous voyons clairement

marque indiquant leur état de sujétion. L'expression de l'inscription de Ramsès III est beaucoup plus forte; il faut évidemment la compléter ainsi: ton glaive est fixé, est suspendu sur leurs têtes; cela rappelle cette phrase que cite Mr. Brugsch (Dict., p. 1019): je t'accorde que ton glaive soit sur la tête des barbares. Il y a là une allusion à ces représentations si fréquentes où l'on voit le roi brandissant son glaive sur la tête d'ennemis qu'il tient par les cheveux.

(28). lit. *merveille*, s'applique ici comme dans le papyrus Prisse aux qualités morales de l'individu.

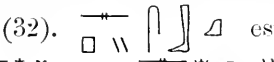
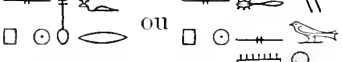
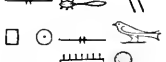

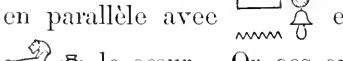
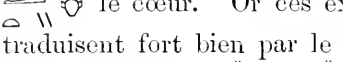

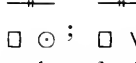
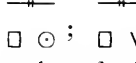

(29). Nous avons ici plusieurs mots qui signifient *s'agiter, se mouvoir*. Dans A, l. 24, nous lisons, etc.; B, l. 36, il faut lire aux deux endroits: comme dans cette phrase tirée d'un hymne au disque solaire ("Denkm.," III, 107): tout pays frémit à ton lever (de Rougé). Un peu plus bas, là où B porte il faut lire dans le texte A comme dans cette phrase tirée du même hymne: les plantes et les arbres s'agitent devant toi.

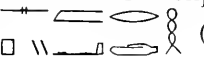
(30). C'est ici que nous voyons apparaître entre les deux textes des différences qui tiennent à ce que les deux souverains voulaient que le morceau fût adapté aux circonstances du moment. Pour Ramsès II, le grand événement de son règne, c'est sa victoire sur les Chétas et le traité de paix qui en fut la conséquence, traité qui fut garanti par le mariage de Ramsès II avec une princesse de Chet. Ce traité était déjà assez ancien, puisqu'il est daté de l'an 21, et la stèle de l'an 35; mais c'est là une preuve de plus de la valeur que lui accordait le roi d'Égypte.


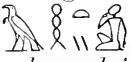
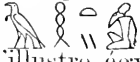

Quant à Ramsès III, ce qu'il tient à célébrer surtout, c'est l'étendue de ses conquêtes. Ce ne sont pas seulement les

Chétas, ce sont toutes les nations, surtout les Asiatiques, qui sont tributaires de son palais, quoiqu'il n'ait encore régné qui 12 ans. Il est vrai que les grandes guerres de ce prince avaient eu lieu au commencement de son règne, dans les années 5, 8, et 11; et qu'il s'en était glorieusement tiré.

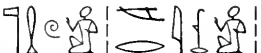


(31). On peut juger ici de l'exagération du style des scribes égyptiens. D'après le traité, les Chétas ne sont point réduits à un état de soumission aussi complète que l'indiquerait notre inscription.


(32).  est une expression formée comme  ou  Nous avons vu plus haut  en parallèle avec  et étant précisément l'attribut de  le cœur. Or ces expressions formées avec  se traduisent fort bien par le substantif, correspondant au mot qui accompagne ;  serait donc *la bonté, l'excellence*,  *mise, placée*, que j'ai mise, que j'ai placée dans ton cœur.


(33). Mr. Goodwin a expliqué avec sa finesse habituelle le sens de  ("Zeitschrift," 1876, p. 105).


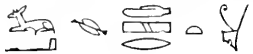
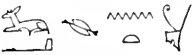
(34).  Mr. Chabas explique ainsi ce passage: *qui est cru sans être compris*. Il me paraît difficile d'accepter cette interprétation qui a un caractère un peu trop philosophique. Je me rangerais plutôt au sens que Mr. Brugsch assigne au verbe  *demander, réclamer*; il s'agit donc d'un prodige qu'on demandait, mais dont on n'avait jamais ouï parler. Du sens de *demander, réclamer*, à celui d'*espérer*, il n'y a pas loin, et en effet le verbe baschmurique $\pi\epsilon\zeta\uparrow$ est traduit par Peyron $\epsilon\lambda\pi\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$. Si j'adopte le sens général que Mr. Brugsch a donné au verbe  ma traduction diffère cependant de celle que l'illustre égyptologue allemand a proposée dans son Histoire, où, rapportant le pronom  de l. 27, au roi, il traduit, *Einer der unbegreiflich gross ist, der fördert und nicht gehorcht*.

(35). Nous arrivons maintenant à la seconde partie de l'inscription, beaucoup moins longue que la première; c'est la réponse du roi aux promesses que le dieu lui a faites. Ici, sauf les premières lignes, nous en sommes réduits au texte d'Abu Simbel, car le bas de la grande stèle de Médinet Habou est détruit; MM. Duemichen et de Rougé n'ont pu en copier que quelques mots. Ma traduction ne diffère que sur des points de détail de celle de Mr. Brugsch, qui s'arrête un peu avant la fin. Ça et là, les quelques restes de l'inscription de Médinet Habou retrouvés par Mr. Duemichen nous montrent que cette dernière inscription, tout en suivant le même ordre d'idées que celle d'Abu Simbel, n'était pas identique dans les mots; elle devait contenir des indications que nous retrouvons plus en détail dans le papyrus Harris.

(36). Il faut corriger d'après B et lire  au lieu de  qui se trouve dans le texte A, et que Mr. Brugsch a traduit en conséquence, *Propheten des Landes Aegypten*. Les  étaient des ouvriers attachés aux domaines sacrés. (Brugsch, Rec. I, 36, etc.)

(37). La négation  a été oubliée dans le texte.

(38).  forme du pronom en majestatis que j'ai développée ailleurs (cf. "Lit. du Soleil," p. 31).

(39).  Ces derniers mots sont fautifs; il faut lire  (Lepsius, "Denkm.," III, 29), ou  Le roi est appelé *fil*s de chacune des couronnes qui représentent les deux parties de l'Égypte.



ON A CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTION

RELATING TO THE CAPTURE OF BABYLON BY CYRUS,
AND
THE EVENTS WHICH PRECEDED AND LED TO IT.

By THEO. G. PINCHES.

Read 2nd March, 1880.

AMONGST many other things brought by Mr. Rassam from the excavations at Babylon, is a most interesting record, in the shape of a terra-cotta cylinder of Cyrus, containing an account of the taking of Babylon, and giving the genealogy of the great king.¹ I have now the pleasure of laying before the Society a supplement to this text, giving not only a history of the taking of Babylon, but also the annals of many preceding years, recording the events which may be said to have led up to the final catastrophe. This record settles many important historical questions, and at the same time raises others, which can only be determined by a most persevering search among the ruins of Babylon and other cities of that old empire.

The tablet to which I refer is one of a collection bought during the latter part of last year by the Trustees of the British Museum. In size it is about 4 inches by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and it originally contained two columns of writing on each side. Of the first column the ends only of about twenty-one lines remain, the second column contains twenty-five lines, the third column twenty-eight lines (the upper ones much mutilated), and the fourth column only the ends of nine lines. It will thus be seen that the tablet is very fragmentary, but when we consider that it is made of unbaked clay, the

¹ "Journal Roy. Asiatic Soc.," Vol. XII, p. 70. 1880. The text is not given.

wonder is that so much is preserved. The text is arranged in the form of annals, the dating of which I have referred to the reign of Nabonidus. Sir H. C. Rawlinson, however, believes that it refers to the reign of Cyrus,¹ as, I suppose, king of Persia. It is needful for me, therefore, to give my reasons for assigning the regnal years to Nabonidus.

We must notice, therefore, that the seventh to the eleventh years (inclusive) are mentioned, followed by the word "king," to which in the ninth year, "Nabonidus" is added. Now, although these and the following words are to be translated, "In such a year the king was in the city of Tevā," &c., or "Nabonidus the king was in the city of Tevā," they can hardly be said with certainty to refer to the regnal years of Nabonidus. The following are my reasons, however, for assigning them to his reign. In the first place if they referred to Cyrus it would be probably so expressed. Again, it is hardly likely that Cyrus would call himself "king," when he acknowledges Nabonidus as king throughout the text. It has been already shown² that there were two systems by which records were dated at Babylon during the reign of Cambyses, and this in itself is an argument against the likelihood of there being a double system of dating at Babylon during the reign of Cyrus; for, as Cyrus was still "king of countries," while Cambyses was king of Babylon, there would have been no less than three concurrent systems of dating—two of Cyrus and one of Cambyses: an excellent thing for lawyers, if there were any.

The principal proof, however, lies in the tablet itself; for, as I before stated, we have four years mentioned in succession—viz., from the seventh to the eleventh inclusive. Now, preceding the seventh year, there is part of the paragraph containing the history of the sixth year. This shows that the first column must have contained the annals of five years and a half. We can thus guess the probable length of the tablet when perfect, and from it calculate that the second column contained the annals of the years seven to thirteen inclusive, and the third column (the first of the reverse) the annals of the fourteenth to the seventeenth years—the exact

¹ "Athenæum," February 14th, 1880. ² Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. VI, p. 489.

length of the reign of Nabonidus. This column ends with the taking of Babylon, the flight, capture, and death of Nabonidus. The fourth column most likely contained an account of the religious works of Cyrus and Cambyses (his son), who is once mentioned in the third column. Having stated my reasons for believing that the regnal years of Nabonidus, and not of Cyrus, as king of Persia, are intended in the text, I will now give a summary of the purport of the fragmentary portions, and a translation of the complete parts.

In his first year Nabonidus seems to have fought against a king whose name ends*su'isse*, and brought spoil to Babylon. At the end of the year he gathered his troops to go against a man whose name—the exact reading of which is uncertain—looks like Khumē.

In his second year, in the month Tebet, there seems to have been a rising in Hamath.

In his third year,¹ in the month Ab, Nabonidus went to Ammananu, a mountainous country, evidently to cut down trees. This country is, no doubt, the Khamanu of the Assyrian inscriptions, which has been identified with the classical Amanus. The Assyrian kings often went to this place for the same purpose. The sea coast of Phœnicia is now mentioned, and something is said about a numerous army. It is not unlikely that Cyrus is referred to in this part of the paragraph. The text is now wanting till we come to the sixth year of Nabonidus, with an account of the latter half of which the second column begins. The following is a literal translation of the text:—

1. He gathered (?) and against Cyrus, king of Ansan, Is . . . went and . . .

2. Astyages his army revolted against him, and captured (him) with (their) hands, (and) to Cyrus (gave him).

3. Cyrus in the land of Ecbatana, (and) the royal city silver, gold, furniture, (and) goods [captured].

4. From Ecbatana he brought. and to Ansan took, the furniture, (and) goods, which [he had captured].

¹ These may be the accession, first, and second years.

5. (In) the seventh year the king (was) in the city of Tevā. The king's son, the officers, and his army (were) in Akkad [the king]

6. to Babylon did not go, Nebo (to) Babylon did not go, Bel did not come forth, a sacrifice [for sin they made].

7. Victims in E-saggil and E-zida (to) the gods of Babylon and Borsippa for peace

8. they offered, a governor (?) of the plantation and house he appointed.

9. The eighth year.

10. (In) the ninth year Nabonidus the king (was) in Tevā, the king's son, officers, and soldiers (were) in Akkad. The king, in the month Nisan, to Babylon

11. did not go, Nebo (to) Babylon did not go, Bel did not go forth. A sacrifice for sin he made.

12. Victims in E-saggil and E-zida (to) the gods of Babylon and Borsippa for peace he offered.

13. (In) the month Nisan, the 5th day, the mother of the king, who in the fortress and camp dwelt (on) the Euphrates beyond Sipar,

14. died, the son of the king and his soldiers for three days mourned, and there was weeping. In the month Sivan in the country of Akkad

15. weeping over the mother of the king there was. In the month Nisan, Cyrus, king of Persia, his army gathered, and

16. below Arbela the Tigris he crossed, and in the month Iyyar to the land of Is

17. its king, that silver gathered, his own offspring in the midst he caused to go up

18. after his offspring and a king in the midst there was.

19. (In) the tenth year the king (was) in Tevā, the king's son, officers, and soldiers (were) in Akkad. The king in the month [Nisan to Babylon went not].

20. Nebo (to) Babylon did not go, Bel did not go forth, a sacrifice for sin they made, victims in [E-saggil and E-zida]

21. (to) the gods of Babylon and Borsippa for peace they offered. (In) the month Sivan, the 21st day [Cyrus]

22. from the land of the Elamites into Akkad the prefect of Erech

23. (In) the eleventh year the king (was) in Tēvā, the king's son, officers, and soldiers were in Akkad.

24. [In] the month Elul the king to Bel did not go forth, a sacrifice for sin they made, [victims in E-saggil and E-zida]

25. [to the gods over] Babylon [and Borsippa for peace] he offered

Here the record breaks off, and there is nothing more between this and column three, the first column of the reverse. Here are only, for the sixteenth year, the remains of four lines, in which some river is mentioned, and the words, in "the month Adar, Istar of Erech" occur, but what Istar of Erech did or was done by does not appear.

To the annals of the seventeenth year a long paragraph is devoted, the beginning of which is unfortunately somewhat broken. We obtain from it, however, the information that the king descended in this year to the temple *E-tur-kalama*. We are then informed that the people "of the lower sea" (the Mediterranean) revolted. This is evidently the beginning of the end, and the king begins to think of his neglected gods, for the text now records "that the god Bel came forth," that is, his image was carried round in procession, and a festival and sacrifices for peace were made. Zamalmal and the gods of Kis (Hymer), Beltis and the god of Kharsak-kalama descended to Babylon (that is, they were brought to Babylon). The text then proceeds:—

10. At the end of the month Elul the gods of Akkad

11. who were above the atmosphere and below the atmosphere to Babylon descended. The gods of Borsippa, Cutha

12. and Sipar descended not. In the month Tammuz Cyrus battle in Rutum against

13. of the river Nizallat to the midst of the army of Akkad then made. The men of Akkad

14. a revolt raised. The soldiers on the 14th day Sipar without fighting took.

15. Nabonidus fled. On the 16th day Gobryas governor of the land of Gutium and the army of Cyrus without fighting

16. to Babylon descended. Afterwards Nabonidus when he had bound [him], into Babylon he took [him]. At the end of the month Tammuz the rebels

17. of Gutium the gates of E-saggil closed (but) for its defence nothing in E-saggil and the temples of the country

18. was placed and a weapon not then there was. (In) the month Marchesvan, the 3rd day, Cyrus to Babylon descended,

19. the roads before him (were) dark. Peace to the city he established, Cyrus peace to Babylon

20. all of it promised, Gobryas his governor and governors in Babylon he appointed

21. and from the month Kislev to the month Adar the gods of Akkad whom Nabonidus to Babylon had sent down

22. to their shrines (?) they brought back. (In) the month of Marchesvan dark, the 11th day, Gobryas unto

23. and the king died. From the 27th of the month Adar to the 3rd day of the month Nisan was weeping in Akkad.

24. All the people (from) their chief were free. (On) the 4th day Kambyses son of Cyrus

25. in the Temple of the Sceptre of the World a festival instituted (?).

Here, again, the inscription becomes mutilated. The "man of the Temple of the Sceptre of Nebo" is mentioned, and then the country of Elam, but in connection with what does not appear, and in the last line it is stated that a gathering, evidently of the people, went to the temple E-saggil into the presence of the gods Bel and Nebo. Of the fragment of the fourth column of the inscription no connected sense can be made, but what few words remain of it will be found with the text at the end of this paper.

Such, then, is the new Cyrus inscription, and it will now be necessary to say a few words about its bearing on the ancient authors.

Of the early years of Nabonidus we cannot, of course, say anything, or make any comparison, but from the fragments of the first column I should suppose that Nabonidus was not by any means inactive in the first years of his reign. As I have already said, it is possible that one of the expeditions mentioned in the text refers to Cyrus; at any rate, it was the king of Babylon who brought spoil back to the city of Babylon, and who gathered his army evidently to fight the man whose name I conjecture to be Khumē. Then, in the second year, he had, of course, to do something in Hamath in consequence of the rising there.

At the beginning of the third year Nabonidus made a very peaceful journey, such as the Assyrian kings had been wont to do, when he went to the mountain of Ammananu, cut down trees, and brought them to Babylon. We are then told that "in the month Kislev, the king his army [collected]." This, of course, refers to Nabonidus; but the portion which mentions Nabu-makhrib-akhi, the sea of the country of Phœnicia, and the city of Sendini, evidently refers to the Persian king, or else the Median king who must have been in power at that time, for later on we see the words "his sacrifice," which seems to indicate that some invasion was expected, and that Nabonidus was therefore propitiating his gods.

Now occurs a blank of two years and a half. What was Nabonidus doing then? We cannot tell, but in all likelihood he was doing nothing, while we may, perhaps, guess that Cyrus had already begun and was carrying on his schemes of freeing Persia from the Median yoke. That he had not as yet done so we know from the first paragraph of the next column, which tells of Astyages. What has been acquired in this text makes us regret the more what we have lost.

Cyrus had, during these two years, persuaded the Persians to revolt, and they had already gained their independence. This is supposed to have happened about the year 559 B.C., but this date is rather too early, and 552 B.C. would be,

perhaps, nearer the correct time, for nine years' war (B.C. 559-50) would most likely have crippled Persia so much as to make it impossible for her to make any warlike expeditions for many years to come; but from the new inscription we find Cyrus, two years after, warring in Babylonia, so that two or three years may be taken as about the time of the duration of the struggle between Persia and Media.

In the next year, the sixth of the reign of Nabonidus, B.C. 550, occurred the final triumph of Persia. It seems to have been owing less to the might of Persia than to some discontent in Media, for we are told the Medians revolted. It is not improbable that, as Cyrus caused the Persians to revolt, so he caused the Medians to do the same thing, thus putting an end to the struggle. Astyages was actually captured by his own soldiers, and sent by them to Cyrus. It was then easy enough for the last-named conqueror to capture and spoil the city of Ecbatana, and bring the spoil to Ansan, as he boasts of having done.

In the next year, B.C. 549, the seventh of Nabonidus, Cyrus appears to have done nothing, and the record is devoted wholly to Babylonian affairs.

We now see the reason why Cyrus, ten years later, made such an easy conquest of Babylon. Nabonidus was evidently doing nothing in his palace in the city of Tevā, while the king's son was with the army in the country of Akkad, and this was evidently the state of things all this time. Tevā was probably not very far from the city of Babylon; indeed, it must have formed a part of it, if it be, as seems likely, the Tē of the contract tablets, which is said expressly to have been a quarter of Babylon.¹ There was yet another reason for the easy conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, and it was this—that Nabonidus was making the priests discontented by his neglect of the national gods. This the new inscription expressly states, and there is a more lengthy complaint in the text of the cylinder. The king did not go to Babylon, Nebo was not carried round in religious procession, and Bel was not brought forth, though the festivals were held and sacri-

¹ See the illustration, p. 152; and note, p. 171.

fices were made, and Nabonidus besought peace with victims in E-saggil and E-zida. Such evidently is the meaning of the curious phrases of this part of the inscription.

As nothing is recorded for the eighth year, it is evident that the same state of things continued in Babylon, and that Persia was resting after the struggle.

In the ninth year of Nabonidus there was no change in the state of things at Babylon. The king was still at Tevā, his son still with the army in Akkad, and Nabonidus still neglected the processions of the gods, and offered sacrifices for peace. In this year, in the month Nisan, the fifth day, the king's mother, who was with the army in a fortress on the Euphrates beyond Sipar, about fifty miles north-west of Babylon, died, and there was mourning for her in Akkad. From this it would seem that Akkad (the northern part of Babylonia) was better affected towards the rule of Nabonidus than the southern part of Babylonia.

Now, however, Cyrus was not idle. He began by warring in Assyria, and crossed the Tigris to the south of Arbela, where he conquered some ruler, whom he calls the king, but whose name is lost. From this king he seems to have received tribute, but what he really did is rendered obscure by the mutilation of the record, and the difficulty in making sense of what does remain.

B.C. 546, the tenth year of Nabonidus, the state of things in Babylon remained just the same; the king was still in the city of Tevā, and his army in Akkad. Cyrus, however, does not seem to be idle, for it is he evidently who has stirred up some chief of the Elamites, who march into the country of Akkad, where Nabonidus' forces are stationed. The mutilation of the record leaves the result of the expedition unknown.

We now come to the eleventh year of Nabonidus (B.C. 545), the last year of which any special notice is left until the seventeenth year. During the eleventh year the state of affairs in Babylon were just the same as during the former years, and the king and army were in the same places. The record of Cyrus' doings during this year is utterly lost.

Now occurs the longest gap in the annals—namely, from the twelfth to the sixteenth years inclusive, there being only a mention of some religious ceremony, in which the statue of the goddess Istar of Erech took part, at the end of the sixteenth year, the last year of the rule of Nabonidus.

A change had now come over the spirit of Nabonidus. He no longer neglected the gods. At the beginning of the seventeenth year he is stated to have gone to the temple E-tur-kalama, "the house of the rest of the world," evidently to take part in some religious ceremonies there. Then, we are told, the people of the lower sea (the Mediterranean) revolted. The result of this was to make Nabonidus more fearful than ever. Bel was brought forth, after his long rest, the usual sacrifices were made, and the god Zamalmal and the gods of Kis (Hymer, near Babylon), and Beltis and the gods of Kharsak-kalama ("the Temple of the Mountain of the World") were brought to Babylon. At the end of the month Elul, the gods of Akkad, "who were above the atmosphere and below the atmosphere," were brought to Babylon, but the gods of Borsippa, Cutha, and Sipar were not brought down. This was evidently a grand religious ceremony, which it had been the custom to perform, but which had been neglected by Nabonidus for about nine years, and was revived only under the present pressing circumstances to try to obtain assistance against the foe from the long-neglected gods; but it was all unavailing, for Cyrus was now making rapid advances. His line of operations seems to have extended from the city of Rutuv, upon the River Nizallat, to the midst of Akkad. The position of this town of Rutuv and the River Nizallat, however, it is impossible to fix with certainty, but it appears from the Contract Tablets¹ that Rutuv was near Pekod, some distance to the south of Babylon. As Akkad was situated north of Babylon, the line of operations of Cyrus must have been very long, and it will be noticed that his forces extended into the midst of Akkad, so that he probably contemplated investing

¹ See "Records of the Past," Vol. XI, pp. 92, 93.

Babylon; then, narrowing the circle by making his troops advance upon it on all sides, taking all the cities crossed in their march.

Here another circumstance in favour of Cyrus occurred—the revolt of the people of Akkad; and in consequence of this revolt the city of Sipar was taken, on the 14th of the month Tammuz, without fighting. Nabonidus, who seems to have been within Sipar, fled to Babylon, and two days after, on the 16th Tammuz, Gobryas, governor of the Gutium, the general of Cyrus, took Babylon also without fighting, and captured Nabonidus. There seems, however, to have been a slight resistance by some “rebels” of the country of Gutium, who appear to have shut themselves up in the temple of E-saggil; but, having no arms, they were soon disposed of. It was not until nearly four months after this, on the 3rd day of the month Marchesvan, that Cyrus descended to Babylon: “and the road before him,” the inscription says, “was dark,” or “misty.” Cyrus now made peace at Babylon, and appointed Gobryas and other governors in the city. It will be noticed that there is no mention whatever of draining the Euphrates.

Cyrus now began a policy of conciliation. He sent back the gods of Akkad whom Nabonidus had caused to be sent to Babylon, and restored them to their shrines.

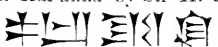
The record now goes back a few months, to describe what Gobryas did in “the dark month of Marchesvan,” when Cyrus descended to Babylon; but, the tablet being mutilated here, the achievements of Gobryas do not appear.

Towards the end of the year Nabonidus died, and from the 27th Adar to the 3rd Nisan (six days) there was mourning for him in Akkad, and Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, performed some religious ceremonies to the god Nebo—whether in consequence of the death of Nabonidus we are not told.

But slight differences will be found between this account and that of the ancient authors. Cyrus, as is well known, defeated the army of Nabonidus in a single battle. Really, however, he only defeated a portion of it, when he fought near the city of Rutum, in the south of Babylonia. His con-

quest would probably not have been so easy if there had not been a revolt in Akkad, evidently among the troops who were stationed there. This caused Nabonidus, who was at the time in Sipar, to flee, and Sipar was then occupied without fighting. The same thing occurred at Babylon, to which place, it seems, Nabonidus had fled. There does not appear to have been even an encounter in the streets,¹ and the only attempt at resistance was when, at the end of the month, some "rebels of the land of Gutium" (whom Sir H. C. Rawlinson identifies with the Kurds²) attempted to defend themselves in the temple of E-saggil. Nabonidus, we are told by the ancient historians, took refuge in Borsippa, but our new fragment makes the place of his capture (and, therefore, of his refuge) Babylon. The two cities were, however, so close together, that they might easily be regarded as one and the same.

There is no doubt that, as Josephus states,³ Nabonidus and the Belshazzar of the book of Daniel are the same. The confusion was brought about, most likely, by the fact that Nabonidus had a son named Belu-šarra-ušur, or Belshazzar, who, as he seems to have been commander-in-chief of the army, probably had greater influence in the kingdom than his father, and so was regarded as king. Though Belshazzar son of Nabonidus is not once mentioned by name, it is evidently he who is meant when the "son of the king" who was with the army in Akkad, is spoken of, for he was the eldest son,⁴ and so, by right, took part in the administration of affairs.


¹ In this the Cyrus cylinder also agrees, for we read (line 17): "Without fighting and battle he (Marduk) caused him (Cyrus) to descend within Suanna, his city Babylon he took, in *Sapsa* Nabonidus, the king not fearing him, he delivered into his hand." Suanna is read Kal-anna by Sir H. C. Rawlinson, who identifies it with the Biblical Calneh.  *Sap-sa D.S.* is evidently the name of a part of Babylon, for as a Shaphel derivative from *basaku*, it does not come in at all well. See the "Journal Roy. Asiatic Soc.," Vol. XII, pp. 80, 86, 93.


² "Journal Roy. Asiatic Soc.," Vol. XII, p. 77.


³ "Antiq.," Book X, ch. xi, § 2.


⁴ See "Records of the Past," Vol. V, p. 147.

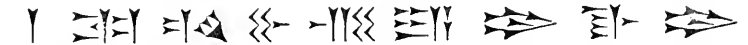
The genealogy of Cyrus is given in the cylinder, lines 20 and 21, as follows:—



A - na - ku D.P. Ku - ra - as šar kis - sat(i)
I (am) Cyrus, king of multitudes,

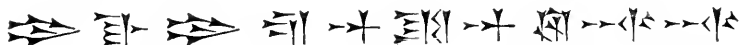

šarru rabu šarru dan - nu šar Din - tir - ki
the great king, the powerful king, king of Babylon

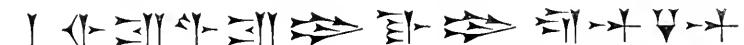

šar mat Su - me - ri û Ak - ka - di - i
king of Sumir and Akkad,


šar kip - ra - a - ti ir - bi - it - tiv abil
king of the four regions, son of


D.P. Ka - am - bu - zi - ya šarru rabu šar
Kambyses, the great king, king of


al An - sa - an abil abil D.P. Ku - ra - as
the city of Ansan, grandson of Cyrus


šarru rabu sar al An - sa - an lib - bal - bal
the great king, king of Ansan, great grandson of


D.P. Si - is - pi - is šarru rabu šar al An - sa - an
Teispes, the great king, king of Ansan.

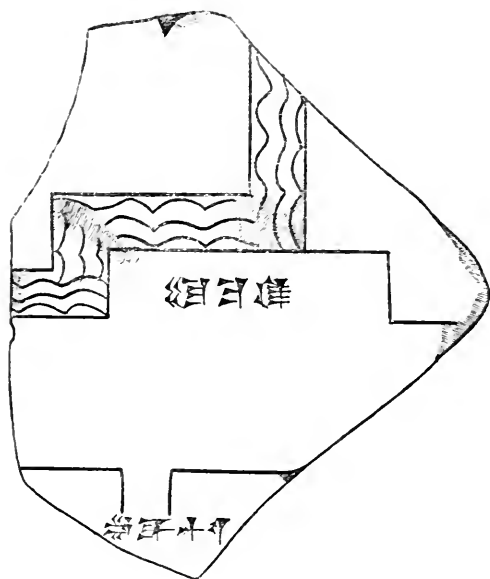
This is given by Sir H. C. Rawlinson, "Journal Roy. Asiatic Soc.," Vol. XII. p. 75. pending further research, as follows:—

1. Achaemenes

2. Teispes









3. Cyrus	7. Ariarames
4. Cambyses	8. Arsames
5. Cyrus the Great	(Hystaspes)
6. Cambyses	9. Darius







thus explaining the "double line" of the Behistun Inscription of Darius.

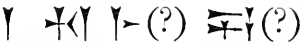




Plan of the city of Babylon, showing the district called Tura and the Great Gate of the Sun-god, from a Tablet from Babylon, now in the British Museum.


OBVERSE, COLUMN I.

1.   (?) 
 D.P. rum - me-su it -
 his princes he
2.  
 - su - is - si šarru
 -su'issi the king
3.  
 ma- ti -su-nu ana E - ki u - bil - lu
 [from] their country to Babylon they brought
4. 
 - ti


5.  
 -su iz - khu - khu - va ul is - si
 his they removed and carried not off
6.  
 ti - im ri - a - šu - nu ma - la BAS - u
 their princess, all there was
7.  
 e - zib šarru šabi - su id - ki - va
 he left (?). The king his army gathered and



 D.P. Khu-me - e
 Khumē (?)
8. 
 - is

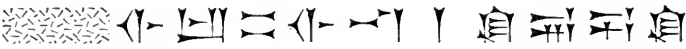
9. 
 ina arkhi Dhebiti ina mat Kha - ma - a - tav
 in the month Tebet in Hamath



 izrukh a - di
 arose, to

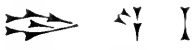
10. 

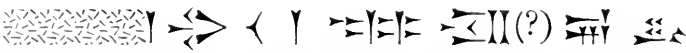
11. 
 [ina arkhi] Abi mat Am - ma - na - nu sa - di - i
 [in the month] Ab the country of Ammananu, a mountain


12. 
 D.P. zip - pa - a - tav ga - ma - la ba - su - u
 pines complete there were


13. 
 si - ib - bi - si - na ana ki - rib E - ki
 a part of them to the midst of Babylon


14. 
 e - zib - va IPL - udh ina arkhi Kisilivi
 he left and lived, in the month Kislev



 sarru šabi - su
 the king his army

15. 
 - tiv u D.P. Nabu - makh - rib - akhi
 and Nabu-makhrīb-akhi


16. 
 tam-tiv sa mat Mar-tu a-na
 the sea of the land of Phœnicia to

17. 
 du-um-mu it-ta-du-u
 were placed

18. 
 -va şabani ma-du-tu
 and the numerous soldiers


19. 
 babu(?) rabu al Sen-di-ni
 great gate(?), the city of Sendini


20. 
 -me tiduki-su
 his warriors

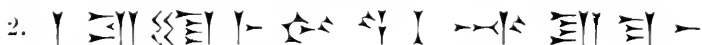
21. 
 -qu

22. 
 şabani
 soldiers

COLUMN II.

1. 
 ipkhur va ana eli D.P. Ku-ras şar
 gathered and against Cyrus king of

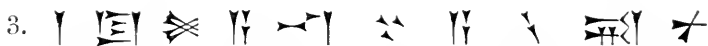

 An-sa-an D.P. Is il-lik-va
 Ansan Is went and

2. 

D.P. Is - tu - ve - gu şabi-su ippalkit- şu - va ina
Astyages his army revolted against him and in



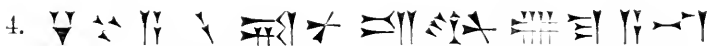
qata şa - bat a - na D.P. Ku - ras id - [di - nu]
hands took, to Cyrus they [gave him]

3. 

D.P. Ku - ras a - na mat A - gam - ta - nu
Cyrus in the land of Ecbatana



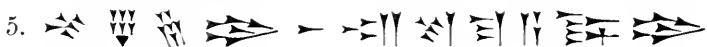
alu şarr - u - tu kaşpa khuraşa sa-su sa - ga . .
(and) the royal city silver, gold, furniture (and) goods [captured].

4. 

sa mat A-gam- ta -nu is - su - u - va a - na
from Ecbatana he carried off and to



mat An - sa - an il - ki sa - su sa - ga sa ut . . .
Ansan brought the furniture (and) goods which [he had captured]

5. 

Sattu sibu'u şarru ina al Te - va - a abil şarri
Year 7th the king (was) in Tevā, the son of the king,



D.P. rabutu u şabani-su ina mat Akkadi D.S. [şarru]
the great men and his soldiers (were) in Akkad, [the king]

6. 

a - na E - ki la illi - ku Nabu ana
to Babylon went not Nebo to

𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠
 Babili D.S. la illi - ku Belu la iṣu
 Babylon went not, Bel went not forth,

𐎠𐎺𐎠 [𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠]
 isinnu [a - ki - tav ba - rû]
 a sacrifice [for sin they made]

7. 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠
 niqi ina E - sag - gil u E - zi - da
 victims in E-saggil and E-zida

𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠
 ilani su - par Din - tir - ki u Bar - sap - ki
 to the gods over Babylon and Borsippa

[𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠]
 [ki sal - mu]
 [for peace]

8. 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠
 iddi-nu maṣarat(?) rab D.P. kāri(?) va bitu ip - qid
 they gave, a governor of the plantation and house he appointed

9. 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠
 Sattu samnu
 The 8th year

10. 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠
 Sattu tisa D.P. D.P. Nabu-nahid sarru al Te-va-a
 The 9th year Nabonidus the king (was in) Tevā,

𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠
 abil sarri D.P. rabutu u ṣaba - ni ina mat Akkad D.S.
 the son of the king, the officers and soldiers were (in) Akkad.

𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠
 ṣarru ana arkhi Niṣanni ana Din - tir - ki
 The king till the month Niṣan to Babylon

11. 𐎠 𐎢𐎵 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁
 la illi - ku Nabu ana Babili D.S. la
 went not Nebo to Babylon went

𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁
 illi - ku Belu la iṣu i - sin - nu a - ki - tav ba - ruv
 not. Bel went not forth, a sacrifice for sin they made

12. 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁
 niqi ina E - sag - gil u E - zi - da
 victims in E-saggil and E-zida

𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 [𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁] 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁
 ilani su - par [Din - tir - ki] u Bar - sap - ki ki
 (to) the gods over [Babylon] and Borsippa for

𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁
 sal - mu iddi - na
 peace they gave.

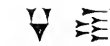
13. 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁
 Arkhu Nišannu umu khansa um šarri ina duru
 (In) the month Nišan, 5th day, the mother of the king (who) in the

𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁
 ka - ra - su SAKN - am, nāru Puranunu
 fortress (and) camp was, (on) the River Euphrates

𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁
 e - la - nu Sip - par D.S.
 beyond Sipar

14. 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁
 im - tu - ut abil šarri u šabani - su salsu u - mu
 died, (with) the son of the king and his soldiers (for) three days









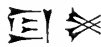
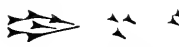









 su - du - ru bikita SAKN - at ina arkhi Sivanni ina
running weeping there was, in the month Sivan in


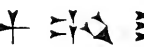
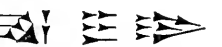

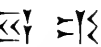

 mat Akkad D.S.
Akkad



15. 




 bi - ki - tav ina eli um šarri SAKN - at, ina
weeping over the mother of the king there was. In










 arkhi Nišanni D.P. Ku - ras šar mat Par - šu šabi - su
Nisan Cyrus king of Persia his army



 id - ki - e - va
gathered and

16. 


 sap - la - an al Ar - ba - h - il
below Arbela






 nār Idignat i - rab - va ina arkhi Airi
the River Tigris he crossed and in Iyyar




 ana mat Is (?)
to the land of Is

17. 




 sarri - su kas - pu sa - a - su il - ki su - lid
its king that silver gathered. his




 sa ram - ni - su ina lib u - se - li

own offspring in the midst he caused to ascend

18. 

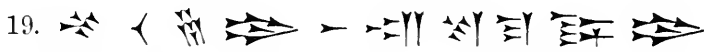
 arki su - lid - su u sar - ri ina

after his offspring and a king in the



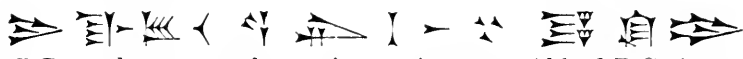
 lib IB - si

midst there was.

19. 


 Sattu esra sarru ina al Te - va, abil sarri

The 10th year the king (was) in Tevā, the son of the king,



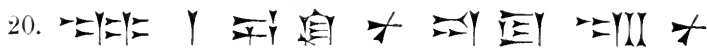
 D.P. rabutu u şaba - ni - su ina mat Akkad D.S. sarru

the great men and his soldiers in Akkad, the king



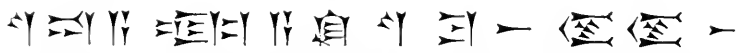
 ana arkhi [Nişanni ana Din - tir - ki la ILLI - ku]

in the month [Nişan to Babylon went not]

20. 


 Nabu ana E - ki la ILLI - ku Belu la

Nebo to Babylon went not, Bel went




 İŞU isinnu a - ki - tav ba - ruv niqi ina


not forth, a sacrifice for sin they made, victims in

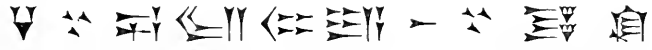



 E - [sag - gil u E - zi - da]


E-[saggil and E-zida]


21. 
 ilani su - par Din - tir - ki u Bar - sip D.S.
to the gods over Babylon and Borsippa



 ki sal - mu iddi - na ina arkhi Sivanni umu estinsanē ..
for peace he gave. In the month Sivan, the 21st day ..

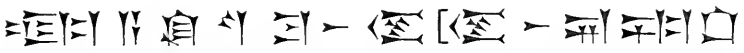
22. 
 sa mat E - lam - mi - ya ina mat Akkad D.S.
from Elam to Akkad



 ku (?) D.P. sa - nat ina Uruk D.S.
. the prefect in Erech

23. 
 Sattu estinesrā sarru ina al Te - va - a, abil sarri,
The 11th year, the king (was) in Tēvā, the son of the king,


 D.P. rabūtu u šabi - su ina mat Akkad [D.S.]
the great men, and his army (were) in Akkad

24. 
 . . . arkhi Eluli sarru ana Beli la iṣu
[In] the month Elul the king to Bel went not forth,


 isinnu a - ki - tav ba - ru niqi ina E - sag - gil
a sacrifice for sin they made, victims [in E-saggil]


 u E - zi - da
and E-zida

25. [𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵] 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 [𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵]
 [ilani su - par] E - ki [u Bar - sip - ki
 [to the gods over] Babylon [and Borsippa

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵] 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 ki sal - mu IDDI - na
 [for peace] he gave

REVERSE, COLUMN I.

1. 𐎶𐎵 (?) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 h nāru
 the river

2. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 arkhi Adari Istar Uruk D.S.
 [in] the month Adar, Istar of Erech

3. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 ilani sa mat Par-
 the gods of the land of Persia (?)

4. 𐎶𐎵 (?) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 ila (?) - ni
 gods

5. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 Nabu ultu Bar - sip D.S. ana
 Nebo from Borsippa to

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵
 U'd - du
 Ubbu (?)

6. - ab sarru ana E - tur - kalama
 the king to E-tur-kalama

erib ina
 descended in

7. u tam - tiv SUPIL - tuv
 and the lower sea

ip - pal - ki - tuv a - lak
 revolted to go (?)


8. Belu isU isinnu a - ki - tav ki
 Bel went forth, a sacrifice for sin for


sal - mu EBI - su, ina arkhi
 peace they made, in the mouth


9. sa Sur - da - ki D.P. Za - mal - mal
 the gods of Surda, Zamalmal


u ilanu sa Kis D.S. D.P. Beltu u [ilanu sa]
 and the gods of Kis, Beltis and [the gods of]

10. Khar - sak - kalama ana Din - tir - ki
 Kharsak-kalama to Babylon



 ERIBU - ni, adi gamari arkhi Eluli ilani
came down, at the end of the month Elul the gods of

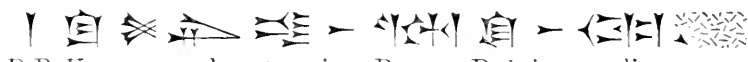

 mat Akkad D.S.
Akkad

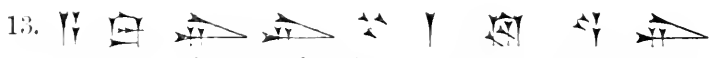
11. 
 sa eli sari u sapli sari ana E - ki
which (were) above the atmosphere and below the atmosphere to
Babylon

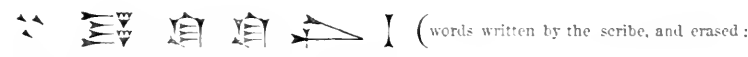

 ERIBU - ni, ilanu sa Bar - sip D.S.
descended, the gods of Borsippa,



 Kuti [D.S.]
Cutha,

12. 
 u Sip - par D.S. la ERIBU - ni. Ina arkhi Duzi
and Sippar descended not. In the month Tammuz

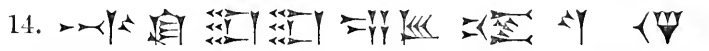

 D.P. Ku - ras sal - tuv ina Rutum D.S. ina eli
Cyrus battle in Rutu against

13. 
 nar Ni - zal - lat ana lib saba - ni
from the River Nizallut to the midst of the army of



 mat Akkad D.S. ki EBI - su
Akkad then made



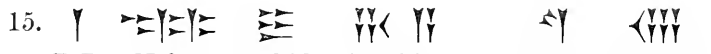
 (nisi mat Akkad D.S. ki EBI -su) nisi mat Akkad D.S.
(the men of Akkad then made). The men of Akkad

14. 

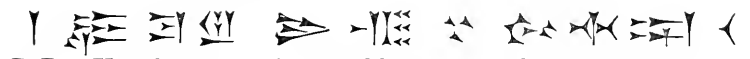
 napalkatta izrukhu nisi tiduki umu irbaesru
a revolt raised, the warriors (on) the 14th day



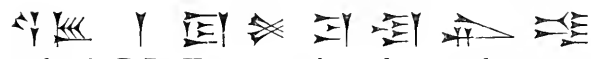
 Sipar D.S. ba - la šal - tuv şa - bit
Sipar without fighting took.

15. 

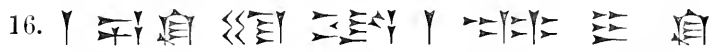
 D.P. Nabu - nahid immabit. Umum sissaesru
Nabonidus fled. (On) the 16th day




 D.P. Ug - ba - ru D.P. pikhat mat Gu - ti - um u
Gobryas, governor of the country of Gutium and




 şabani D.P. Ku - ras ba - la šal - tuv
the army of Cyrus without fighting

16. 


 ana E - ki erubu arku D.P. Nabu - nahid ki
to Babylon descended, afterwards Nabonidus, when




 IRKA - şa ina E - ki şa - bit adi gamari arklii
he had bound, into Babylon he took. At the end of the month





 Duzi tuk - ku - me
Tammuz rebels


17. 
 sa mat Gu - ti - um babani sa E - sag - gil
of the land of Gutium the gates of E-saggil



 upakhkhir, bat - la - sa nin ina E - sag - gil
closed, for its defence nothing in E-saggil



 u ekurāti
and the temples


18. 
 ul is - sa - kin ū šī - ma - nu ul lu ibsu.
was placed and a weapon not then there was.

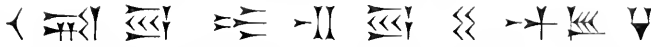

 Arkhu samnu unu salistu D.P. Ku - ras ana E - ki erub
(In) Marchesvan, the 3rd day Cyrus to Babylon descended,

19. 
 kha - ri - ni - e ina pan - su adari Su - lum
the roads before him (were) dark. Peace


 ana ali sa - kin D.P. Ku - ras su - lum ana Din - tir - ki
to the city he established, Cyrus peace to Babylon

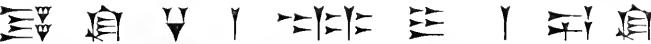
20. 
 gab - bi - su qi - bi D.P. Gu - ba - ru D.P. pikhati - su
all of it promised, Gobryas his governor


 D.P. pikhātu ina E - ki ip - te - qid
(and) governor in Babylon he appointed

21. 


 u ultu arkhi Kišilivi adi arkhi Adari ilani sa

and from the month Kislev to the month Adar the gods of




 mat Akkad D.S. sa D.P. Nabu - nahid ana E - ki

Akkad whom Nabonidus to Babylon



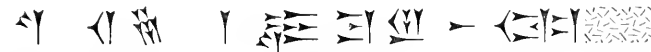
 u - se - ri - du - va

had sent down also

22. 


 a - na ba - nu - zi - su - nu UTIRU Arkhu samnu

to their shrines (?) they brought back. (In) the month Marchesvan



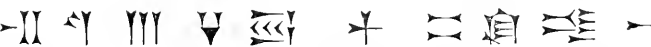
 salmu umu estinesru D.P. Ug - ba - ru ina eli

dark, the 11th day, Gobryas unto

23. 

 û šarru IM - at ultu sibaesrē sa arkhi

and the king died. From the 27th of the month



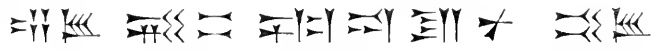
 Adari adi umi salsai sa arkhi Nišanni bi - ki - tuv ina

Adar to the 3rd day of the month Nisan weeping in




 Akkad [D.S. SAKN - at]

Akkad there was.

24. 

 nisi gab - bi qaqqad - šu - nu padhrūtu

all the people (from) their chief (were) free.



 umu irbā D.P. Kam - bu - zi - ya ablu sa D.P. Ku - [ras]

 (On) the 4th day Kambyses son of Cyrus

25. 


 a - na E - gar - khad - kalama se - mu ki - du

 at the Temple of the Sceptre of the World a festival instituted (?)




 nis bit khad Nabi sa pa

 the man of the Temple of the Sceptre of Nebo who

26. 


 ... ILLI - ku ina su - lu - pu us - bi Elammi

 ... went, in the lower part dwelling, (in) Elam



 qāta Nabi ut - tar (?)

 the hands of Nebo [took him (?) and] brought him back (?)

27. 


 ma - ri - e u

 children and



 ki abil šarri ana u su

 when the son of the king to

28. 

 Nabu ana E - sag - gil upakhkhir

































 Nebo at E-saggil he collected,














 niqi ina pan Beli u - su bar (?)

 victims in the presence of Bel

REVERSE, COLUMN II.

1.  -II
 belu
 lord
2.  V (?) 
 sa Babilai
 of the Babylonians
3.   (?)    
 bitani ik - ta - tur
 (to) the temples he gathered
4.        
 [i-] sak - kan Arkhu babu na - pi - il
 he fixes. The month (when) the gate fell
5.       
 E - an - na Uruk D.S.
 E-anna of Erech
6.   (?)    
 Bit mu - um - mu išu
 from the house (?) of chaos came forth
7.  
 zi

8.      (?)
 ina E - ki am (?)
 in Babylon
9.      
 Din - tir - [ki] kūru ma
 Babylon a funeral pile also

NOTES.

COLUMN I.

LINE.

5. *Izkhukhu*, compare the Arab. زَح , "to remove."

6. *Riāšumu*. This seems to be for *riāt-šumu* (*riāti-sumu*), the feminine form of *riā*, "prince," "shepherd."

12. *Zippātu*, compare the Arab. فَت ;

Beneath the sign 𐎶𐎶𐎶 there seems to be a gloss in the original (𐎶𐎶): but most likely this is accidental, and I have therefore taken no notice of it.


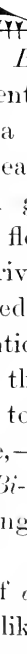
13. *Sibbi-sina*. Root *sababu* (tahn. سَبَب , a segment). The feminine pronoun evidently refers to *zippātu* in line 12.

COLUMN II.



1. *Ansan*. This is the name of a city or district which, as already pointed out by Sir H. C. Rawlinson, must be identified with the 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 of W.A.I. II, p. 47, col. 2, l. 18, where it is explained by *Elamtu* (Elam). This 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 AN-DU-AN D.S., which a gloss. tells us is to be pronounced *Assan*, has been identified by Prof. Sayce ("Transactions." Vol. III, p. 475) with the 𐎶𐎶𐎶 Anzan of the Susian inscriptions, which occurs in the title *gig šunkik Anzan*, translated by Prof. Sayce "The powerful sovereign of Elam." Prof. Oppert.

in the "Records of the Past," Vol. VII, p. 81, translates these words "he who reigns over the plains of Susiana."




The name which begins *Is-* can hardly be that of Astyages, as there is only room enough for one more character.

3. *Ecbatana*. The Behistun inscription inserts the vowel *a* after the second syllable (*A-ga-ma-ta-nu*).
4. *Is-su-u-ra*. The second character here is, most likely, a variant of the character , which has, besides the value of *sir*, that of *sud* (*sû*).
5. *Al Terâ*. This is possibly another form of the name occurring in the Contract Tablet 77-10-2, 1, which records the sale of some land, &c., situated in the district of "Tē which is within Babylon," (, *Te-e* D.S. *sa ki-ir-ba Babilî* D.S.) This also is confirmed by a fragment of a tablet from Babylon containing evidently a map of that city, which shows near the "Great Gate of the Sun-god" (evidently the eastern gate of Babylon), the city of *Tura*, near which flows some water—a canal, or a branch of the river Euphrates. The other side, which is mutilated, refers wholly to the city of Babylon. It mentions various quarters of it, gives the number of the wardens, and mentions "tribute," or "gifts to heaven." Some of the places mentioned are,—The Temple, E-Saggil: the city of Bēlat (*at Bi-e-lat*); the upper and lower fortresses of the setting sun, &c. See the illustration, page 152.

The construct case of *ablu* is *abil*, not *abal* or *habal*. The plural is formed, like that of *alu*, by changing the termination *-u* into *-ani*—thus *ablani*. So also *šabu*, *šabani*.

6. . The reading *isinnu* for this sign is implied by comparison of line 11. The Assyrian form of the character is .

Akitum. compare the Ethiopic $\lambda\eta\dot{\iota}\dot{\tau}$: from $\lambda\eta\rho$::




12. Here the scribe has omitted, by oversight, the word   , Babylon.


13. *Purattu*. This is the Assyrian form of the word Euphrates; the Akkadian is *Puramnu*.

14. *Imtut*. 3rd pers. sing. Iphtéal of *mātu*, "to die." The masculine for the feminine is not by any means uncommon both in Assyrian and Babylonian. This false concord even extended to the pronouns, of which the masculine is the usual form when referring to female slaves.

Sudurn. Root שׁוּרַר (שׁוּרַר) "to set in a row," "to arrange," literally "three days in a row." The word, however, may refer to the soldiers, but in such a case we should expect the masc. plu. termination *-ātu*. The word "day," it will be noticed, is in the singular, in spite of the number three preceding.

16. *Idīmat*. This is the Assyrian form from the Akkadian *Idīma*.

17. *Ina lib*. The original has , but it is difficult to make sense with the latter character.  and  are often written so much alike that it is difficult to distinguish between them.






18. . In the original these are written almost as one character, a thing which is not uncommon in tablets written in the Babylonian style of writing.


22. *Mat Elammiya* (for *Elamai*) "the land of the Elamites."


REVERSE, COLUMN I.



















7. *Ippalkitum*, aorist Niphalel of *palkatu*, "to revolt." The character 𒌦𒌦𒌦 used in this word seems to be an example of those twofold forms which the Babylonians had begun to make for such characters as were polyphones. 𒌦𒌦𒌦 is evidently a simplified form of 𒌦𒌦𒌦 (Assyrian 𒌦𒌦𒌦), which has the values of *tum* and *ip*, the latter value being assigned to the simplified form. For other examples see the notes to line 4, Col. I, and lines 14 and 24, reverse, Col. I.
9. *Zamalmal*, a deity called in W.A.I. II, pl. 60, 7, "the god of Khubsan."
Kis, Hymer, a short distance to the north-east of Babylon.
10. *Kharsak-kalama*, "the great mountain of the world," the name of a city near Hymer.
11. *Sa eli s̄ari u sapla s̄ari*. Better, perhaps, "who were above the firmament and below the firmament." The *Igi*, or spirits of heaven, and the *Amunaki*, or spirits of the water deep (Haupt, "Sum. Familiengesetze," p. 51).
12. *Sippar*. This city is represented by the modern Sefeirah, near the junction of the Rivers Isa and Euphrates.
Rūtū, or *Ruhtu*. If this be the right reading in this case, this city may be, as Professor Sayce suggests ("Academy," March 13th, 1880, p. 198), the Rata of Ptolemy. When, however, a character is used to express the name of a place, its value is sometimes changed. In the tablet S +, 66 (see "Records of the Past," Vol. XI, p. 92, II, l. 2,) we see judgment given at Rūtū (𒌦𒌦𒌦𒌦) for a crime committed at Piqudu (𒌦𒌦𒌦𒌦). It is not unlikely therefore that this city and the city of Pekod are one and the same, or it may have borne the two names. If, however, Rūtū

were not Pekod, they must have been very close together. Pekod has been supposed to be Irak-Arabi, lat. 32° 30', long. 44° 30'.¹

13. *Ninilat*, probably one of the tributaries of the Euphrates. A better transliteration would be *Nizallat*, "the flowing river."
14. *Šabit*, 3rd pers. sing. masc. permansive Kal of *šabutu*. Observe the distinction between  and  in this text. The former is pronounced *bit* or *mal*, used as phonetic values; the latter *bitu* (Akk. *e*), "house," the ideographic value.
15. For  < , meaning "to flee," see W.A.I. II, pl. 48, Col. II, l. 57, where it is explained by *nabutu*. This word appears (see W.A.I. II, pl. 7, l. 46) to be a Niphal form of *habatu*; Heb. . For a full explanation of the form see Dr. Haupt's "Sumerischen Familiengesetze," p. 10, note.

Ugbaru. The first character here, as also in line 22, is slightly doubtful, but it certainly is not , as in line 20. These are evidently variants of the same name.

16. *Tukkume*: better, perhaps, "scoffers"; compare the Arab. root , the primary signification of which seems to

¹ Since writing the above I find the reading *Rūū* to be a little more doubtful than I at first thought, as it is not the only value of the group. In the four-column geographical list (which contains also explanations which are not geographical at all), opposite the word *ru-h-tu*, are the signs      . Now the group which these characters explain is broken away, but as lower done the first character of the groups explained is , we may put    in the place of , and read *utu* () *nasa* (*nagar*) ( < ) *disse* () - *ku. utu*, and *nasa* (*nagar*) added to *dis* (=   < ). The other values of this group are: *ru-bu-us-tu*, *il-la-tu*, *im-tu*, *ikh-khu*, *kha-akh-khu*, and *khar-lum-ma-tur*. This text will be published in W.A.I. V, pl. 23.

have been "to scoff." The word may, however, come from the root $\overset{\prime\prime}{\text{قم}}$ in the sense of "to wreak vengeance."

17. The writer is indebted to a suggestion made to him by Professor F. Delitzsch, when speaking of the Bronze Gates from Balawat, for the translation of *pakkkharu*, "to close," literally "to make (the folding doors) meet."

17 and 18. For the sentence beginning *batla*, &c., compare Smith's "Assurbanipal," p. 226, l. 65: *D.P. batli qarabi simanu u nin epis takhazi*, "Weapons of war, defences, and everything to make battle."

19. *Kharinē*, plural of *kharinu*, evidently another form of *kharramu*, "road."

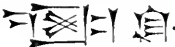
22. *Banuzi*. This word is not very clear in the original.

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶 . The latter character is evidently written for 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 . Both characters have the value of *mes*, rendered by the Assyrian *mahdutu* "many." The characters 𐎶𐎶 𐎶 may also be read *ituru*, and translated, in a neuter sense, "they (the gods) returned."

23. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶 . This is, of course, a variant for 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 , the month Nisan, and not, as Dr. Oppert doubtfully makes this sign, for the month Veadar ("Documents Juridiques," p. 309).

24. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 . Here we should have expected the usual form 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 , but this character evidently has, like several others, two forms, each with a different meaning. This distinction, too, is not recent, for we find the form in a terra-cotta tablet from Kouyunjik, of the collection presented by the Proprietors of the "Daily Telegraph" (numbered 38), in the words 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 D.P. IK D.P. SAK-KUL U NU GAB, rendered by the Assyrian *da-al-tuv ū sik-ku-ru mar-kaš la pa-dha-ri*, "door and bolt the bond not freeing."

REVERSE, COLUMN II.

3. *Iktatur*. Aor. Iphtcal of *kataru*, Heb. קָתַר. Properly "to gather to fight" (see the Kal, Smith's "Assurbanipal," p. 169, l. 33).
5. . This I read as *Erech*, on account of its occurring in the inscription on the edge of the Bronze Gates from Balawat in connection with *subarē*, and here in connection with E-anna. *Uruk-šuburī*, as is well known, is often mentioned in the Gisdhubar Legends, but the latter of the two words does not exactly correspond, as, besides the vowel-change, there is also the substitution of 𐎶 for 𐎵. This, however, would make no great difficulty.
9. The want of context makes the translation doubtful. There was most likely at least one line more in the original.



TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. VII.

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PART 2.

TEL-EL-YAHOUDEH.

(THE MOUND OF THE JEW.)

BY PROFESSOR T. HAYTER LEWIS, F.S.A.

Read 3rd February, 1880.

I MUST premise this paper by acknowledging the great assistance which I have derived, in preparing it, from Dr. Birch, Mr. Greville Chester, Dr. Grant, of Cairo, Mr. Rassam, and others, as mentioned in it hereafter in detail.

I was induced to take up the subject at the suggestion of Dr. Birch and the late Mr. Cooper, and soon became interested in it from the peculiar character and beauty of much of the decorative work brought to the British Museum from the Tel. This is situated about twenty miles from Cairo, on the road to Ismalyeh, and is marked out by tradition as the site of the temple built by Onias in the time of Ptolemy Philometer, *c.* B.C. 160. It was opened in 1870, and a description of it, to which I shall again refer, is given in Murray's Handbook to Egypt. Some few antiquities from the same locality are in the Louvre, and many others in the Egyptian Museum at Boulak. Unfortunately no edition of the admirable catalogue of this museum has been published since 1868, so that we have no detailed description of the antiquities

from the Tel in the Museum. But Mr. Chester writes to me that the British Museum collection contains better and tenfold more examples than those at Boulak.

The most remarkable objects in the British Museum collection are tiles, evidently intended for wall decoration, some being painted, but the chief part richly enamelled or inlaid. They attract at once the notice of Egyptologists, from their unusual character. They are of several kinds, which may be broadly separated into two divisions, viz. :—

First, those having pure Egyptian patterns, and being chiefly of rectangular shape; and *second*, those in which the patterns are usually circular in arrangement or partly so, and, although clearly Egyptian, are apparently of a type also found in Asia.

I speak in the first place of the pure Egyptian tiles, which are very hard, and the angles, where broken, very sharp. The texture is peculiar, being much like that of a finely grained stone. Some specimens have a remarkable likeness to the well known Cornish "killas," an argillaceous slaty rock, hardened, no doubt, by the adjacent intrusive volcanic rock.

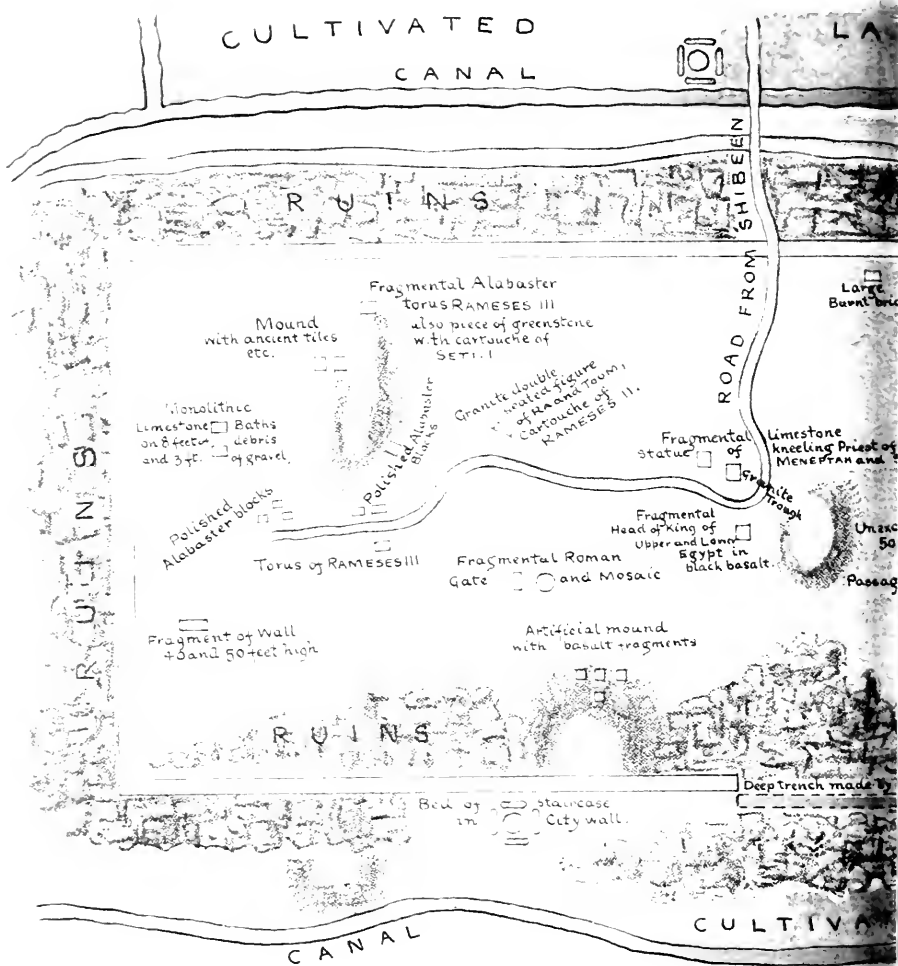
The most simple of this kind of tile have the patterns merely sunk (*intaglio*), and the whole glazed over with the greenish-blue glaze, so well known in the ordinary Egyptian statuettes, &c. Some such tiles were used in decorating the door jambs of the chamber in the pyramid (of steps) at Sakkara, and we have some of these in the Museum. But they are quite plain and without patterns of any kind, whereas all from the Tel have patterns upon them, some of the most common of which are the hieroglyphic name, or titles of Rameses III.

Others of this class have the same blue ground, but the incised parts are filled in with inlay (chiefly white). These also have the titles of Rameses III. One very beautiful tile (Plate V, Fig. 4) has the figure (winged *Uraeus*) raised in white in bas-relief on the brownish-red tile. Others have a green or yellow ground. But the fillings in have in general perished, and the incised parts show merely a white, blue, or red cement. These tiles also bear the titles of Rameses III.

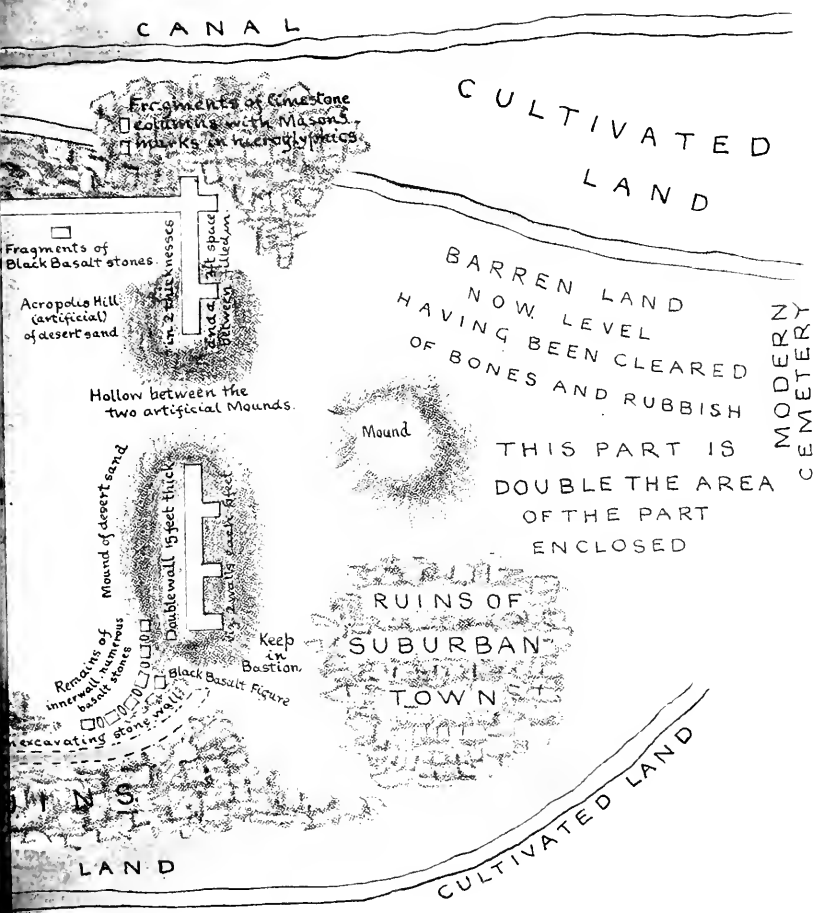
There is another sort (Plate V, No. 5.) the ground of which



SKETCH-PLAN OF T



EL YAHOUDEH.



CANAL

CULTIVATED LAND

BARREN LAND
NOW LEVEL
HAVING BEEN CLEARED
OF BONES AND RUBBISH

MODERN
CEMETERY

THIS PART IS
DOUBLE THE AREA
OF THE PART
ENCLOSED

RUINS OF
SUBURBAN
TOWN

CULTIVATED LAND

DESERT
LAND

Fragments of Limestone
columns with Masons
marks on hieroglyphics

Fragments of
Black Basalt stones

Acropolis Hill
(artificial)
of desert sand

in 2 thick nesses
and a pit space
between filled in

Hollow between the
two artificial Mounds.

Mound

Mound of desert sand

Double wall 15 feet thick
2 walls each 8 feet

Keep
in
Bastion.

Remains of
inner wall
numerous
black Basalt
Figure


excavating stone walls



is of blue enamel, filled in between white figures. Others have the figures in bold relief. (Plate V, No. 7.) They represent, I believe, the phoenix, although bearing a striking resemblance to the bats so well known to every explorer of Egyptian tombs. These have no hieroglyph on them, but some have stars between the animals, as in some specimens at Boulak, and one in our own Museum. (Plate V, No. 5.) In other specimens these animals stand on a chequered base of blue and white, the blue pieces being inlays.


Of a different class are other tiles bearing as usual the titles of Rameses III, the body of the tile being of very fine clay, the pattern sunk in very sharply and delicately, and then filled in with mosaic work in colours. (Plate VI, No. 1.)

But the most interesting of all these works represent in a very bold and artistic way the conquests of the king in whose honour they were made, and bear the figures of prisoners of war (usually Asiatic). (Plate I.) Many are gorgeously dressed, the details being beautifully given by coloured inlays. Some of these are small pieces of glass; others porcelain, the glaze of which is of the finest kind, and still perfect.

Of a still finer character are some having the very hard body which I have likened to killas, this being covered with enamel about three-sixteenths of an inch thick, the pattern being marked out in different colours as a ground-work. (Plate II.) This surface enamel was then sunk as the decoration required, the sinkings being filled in either with pieces of mosaic or with coloured enamels, the latter kind being, so far as I am aware, entirely unique, and the most gorgeous specimens of such work known to me.

On none of these latter tiles are there any legends, but there can be no doubt of their Egyptian origin. Some few have marks on their backs, always pure Egyptian; sometimes the feather of Ma, sometimes Ma herself. A  is sometimes found, as, *e.g.*, on the back of one which I give from a sketch sent to me by Dr. Grant; but I need scarcely say that the cross is frequently found in Egyptian work. Several kinds

¹ In the cartouche on this tile, the sign  has been given instead of . Unfortunately this error was not discovered until the plates were on the stone.

of it, *e.g.*, , can be seen on one sarcophagus, viz., of a daughter of Psameticus II (600–596), and wife of Amasis II (571–525), which was brought to the British Museum from Thebes.

The feeling of the whole—the way in which the figures are usually drawn, viz., with both shoulders square to the front, although the position of the head and eyes is sideways—all is quite Egyptian. But, except the Sakkara tiles, I know of nothing in Egypt like these tiles from the Tel, nor am I acquainted with any similar kind of decoration of ancient date elsewhere. Mr. Rassam tells me that his recent discoveries have given no indication that such mosaic wall decoration was practised in Assyria, although tiles, merely painted, were common enough there for wall decoration, as may be seen by many specimens which he has brought thence to the Museum. Some gorgeous specimens of them were also found *in situ* at Khorsabad, and have been fully illustrated by M. Victor Place.

Some fine examples of this kind of work may be seen at the South Kensington Museum, from Teheran, viz., two complete panels, eight or nine feet long. But these, although very brilliant, were merely painted and glazed, or enamelled on a plain, flat surface, and not inlaid. A few tiles of apparently the same date may also be seen there, brilliantly enamelled, and inlaid with inlay so thin as almost to look like surface decoration. One gorgeous piece of decorative tile work from the same place is also at the Museum, and formed of large pieces of brilliantly coloured and glazed mosaic work, but quite different from that at the Tel; and these are all of comparatively recent date, viz., about the seventeenth century. Some few Spanish tiles, inlaid, of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, are also in the same collection. I need scarcely say that the inlaid Henri Deux ware is of about the same date, viz., *circa* 1550.

My late and valued friend Mr. Bonomi said to me in a letter, signed (though not written) by himself a few days before his death: “I have seen at Medinet Haboo a porcelain figure inserted into the jamb of a door leading from the Great Court into the second. The flesh of a red-brown

TILES FROM TEL EL YAHOUDEH.

Plate I

Trans. S. P. B. A. VI. 1891






colour, and every part of the dress of its proper colour, in porcelain. It was excellent work of that period." Possibly he may have written from recollection of years past, and might have referred to some such ornamental work in incised stone as is mentioned by Miss Edwards in her *Thousand Miles up the Nile*, vol. i. p. 155, as having been seen by her at Siout (also in the jambs of a doorway). The hieroglyphic was there also incised, filled in with stucco, and then coloured, the stucco having mostly fallen out.

She mentions that she is aware of only one other instance of its use in Egypt. This I have seen, as two portions of it were brought to England, saved from Arab destruction by Mr. MacCallum. They formed part of the lintel (rounded as usual) and jambs of the very interesting tomb in which was found the celebrated wooden statue now in the Museum at Boulak.

The pieces had been broken off by the Arabs, and are of stone, incised about half an inch, the incised part having been filled with red stucco. The portions which Mr. MacCullun secured, he has, at my request, kindly presented to the British Museum.

These two examples, viz., at Siout and Sakkara, are, so far as I know, the only ones in Egypt of such mixed decoration, although, of course, painted intaglio work of the very finest kind was common there and in Assyria in very early times for small ornaments for personal decoration, and inlaid enamels both *champ levé* and *cloisonné* of great beauty and artistic skill were made in great numbers. These decorated tiles, then, from Tel-el-Yahoudeh may be considered as unique.

The second division of the tiles consists principally of circular inlaid rosettes, and of other pieces which fit into each other, and form a kind of decoration very much like the usual Assyrian border. (Plate IV, Fig. 2. Plate VI, Fig. 2.)

We have, also, a great many very thin pieces of pottery, evidently to fill in parts of a pattern, and of fruits, &c., for the same purpose. But it is curious that we do not find any of these pieces of such a shape  as to complete the fillings in to the circular tiles. The patterns of these latter are usually sunk and inlaid with the thin pieces above-mentioned.

But some of them appear to be made just as the mediæval tiles were, viz., slips of one colour filled in to an incised body of another colour, and then all glazed together. But the most noticeable feature is that several of the rosettes have Greek letters at the back, evidently stamped on during the process of making. The *E* is common; so is the *A*. (Plate IV.)

Most of these tiles were found detached.

But there are in the Museum several pieces of stone on which the circular tiles are stuck in bands, which seem to have been sunk for the purpose, the part above and below them being incised and filled in with coloured cement, or such thin pieces of pottery as are above described. One of these pieces has a peculiar projection at one end, and which is rather puzzling. (Plate IV, Fig. 1.) But it is, I think, satisfactorily explained by a sketch by Dr. Grant of a fragment found by him at the Tel, most gorgeously inlaid, both at the top and sides, and which has a similar projection, forming a base to what, no doubt, was a pedestal, and of which, most probably, the pieces in the British Museum are parts. Mr. Chester, who brought them home, considers that they are so, and intended to bear some valuable objects.

The whole of these curious decorative works were found in the Mound of the Jew, and as tiles of the same pattern have been offered for sale in other parts of Egypt, a careful inquiry has elicited the fact that they were also found in the above place.

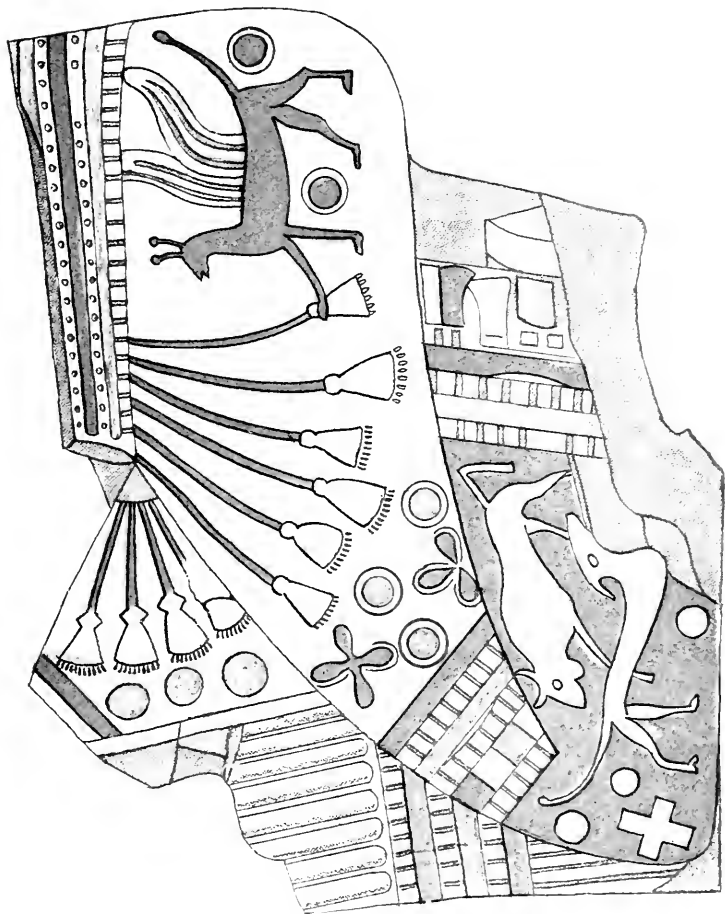
The ruins were first explored in modern time in 1870, and (as it fortunately happened) in the presence of Mr. Eaton and Mr. Greville J. Chester, to whom we owe, amongst numerous other papers, the very admirable account of the Coptic churches in Old Cairo, published in the *Archæological Journal*. It is, in fact, through his exertions, until quite recently, that these curious works have been obtained, and I know of no good description of the site, except the one given by Mr. Eaton in Murray's *Handbook*.

The description of Onias' Temple is given by Josephus in his *Antiquities*, book xiii, ch. 3; and his *Wars of the Jews*, book i, ch. 1, and book vii, ch. 10.

TILES FROM TEL EL YAHOUDEH.

Plate II

Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch. VI VII



W. H. Rylands from drawing of Clayton Lewis

M. Carter & Co. Ltd. London

These are condensed by Dean Stanley thus in History of the Jewish Church, vol. iii, and I give an extract as follows:—

“When, in the subsequent troubles of Palestine, it seemed that the Temple itself would perish, one of the High Priest’s family, Nechemiah or Corciah (in Greek, Onias) fled to Egypt, and begged the loan of a desecrated temple of Pasht, in the neighbourhood of Heliopolis.

“There, with the military experience which he may have acquired in heading a band of troops in one of the Egyptian civil wars, he built a fortress and a temple which, although on a smaller scale, was to rival that at Jerusalem.

“The general style of the sanctuary was apparently not Jewish but Egyptian.

“A large tower, perhaps equivalent to the great gateway of the Egyptian temples, rose to the height of sixty cubits. There were no obelisks, but it was approached by the usual long colonnade of pillars.

“A circuit of brick walls, as in the adjacent sanctuary of Heliopolis, enclosed it, and the ruins of these it is that still form the three rugged sand hills, known by the name of ‘the Mound of the Jews.’”

I may add that Josephus says expressly (Wars of the Jews, book 7, ch. 10) that it was “*not* like that at Jerusalem, but such as resembled a tower. It was of large stones, and sixty cubits high, which, it will be remembered, is the height described by Ezra as that of the new Temple. I see no mention of the colonnade to which Dean Stanley alludes.

This temple, so described by Josephus, appears to have existed until the time of Vespasian, by whose order it was closed. The accounts, altogether, are very meagre; but I have the high authority of Professor Marks for stating (I quote the words of a kind communication from him to me) “that no better source is discovered of the history of the Temple than Josephus. There is a notice of it in the Talmud, but it is of little interest, whilst it is most perplexing to the historian, as it disarranges the chronology of Onias by fully one hundred years.”

There arises now the very interesting question as to whether the edifice whence these tiles, &c., were procured,

was really the Temple of Onias so described. I did not see the mound when in Egypt, and as excavations in it had been made by the Arabs since Mr. Chester's visit, I ventured to solicit the most recent information from Dr. Grant, a very zealous antiquary, well known from his researches in the pyramid and tombs, in company with Mr. Wayman Dixon. He was kind enough to make several visits to the mound. I cannot sufficiently express my thanks to him for the sacrifice of time and of money which he has made.

I give herewith a ground plan of the mound, worked out from the descriptions which he has sent to me, and which will explain the particulars of the site more clearly than a mere verbal account would do.

It may be described, generally, as about a quarter of a mile from north to south, and half a mile from east to west. At the north-east angle is an artificial hill, still sixty feet high, and just south of this is a length of the town wall fifteen feet thick, composed of two walls of crude brick each six feet thick, and a space of three feet filled in with bricks. Mr. Chester tells me that a similar construction has been found at the newly excavated building at Abydos—tomb of Osiris.

The rest of the enclosure wall of the Tel can easily be traced, although dilapidated by age; and on the south side Dr. Grant found its foundations composed of "beautifully squared limestone blocks."

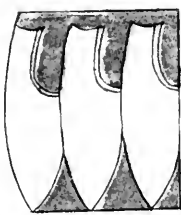
There was also found a fragment of a limestone wall, thirty or forty feet high, at the west side of the large unexcavated part, and close to this a large subterranean passage, lined with limestone, descending at an angle of 26° , that being, as I need scarcely mention here, the angle constantly adopted for the descent of the passages in the old pyramids. Unfortunately, there was no opportunity of exploring this very curious part of the ruins.

The late Mr. Bonomi kindly sent to me, only a short time before his death, in the note to which I have already alluded, a description of the Tel as he remembered it; and states that "when he was last there, he saw at the south end a beautiful gate built of massive limestone blocks just dug out, inscribed

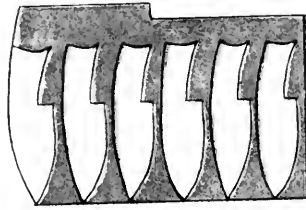
TILES FROM TEL EL YAHOUDEH.

Plate III

Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch. Vol VII



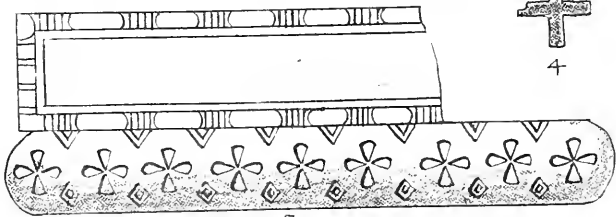
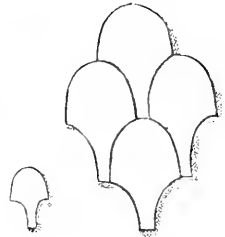
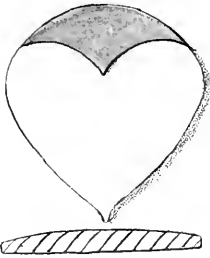
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with the name of Rameses III: it had never been seen before. From each side of this gate a wall proceeded, ten feet thick, built of squared blocks of limestone."

Neither M. Brugsch, Mr. Chester, nor Dr. Grant have any recollection of this gateway, which was, no doubt (unless, as Mr. Chester believed, Mr. Bonomi's recollections were in fault respecting it), quickly destroyed and burnt into lime by the Arabs, by whom the ground in the interior of the enclosure has been excavated and carried away for manure in the most irregular and reckless manner, a few parts only being left showing the original level.

There is plenty of broken pottery, bits of granite, limestone, &c., and at the west end are a number of blocks of alabaster lying about, without hieroglyphics, which Mr. Chester identifies as being parts of a pavement which he saw. Various fragments bear the names of Rameses II and Seti I, and in others which originally contained the name of Menepthah II, the final portion *Pthah* has only been allowed to remain by his successor Rameses III.

In the "Records of the Past," Vol. VI, pp. 52, 55, &c., we have a translation by Dr. Birch and Professor Eisenlohr of part of the great Harris Papyrus, in which Rameses II appears to describe the erection of the very edifice in question.

The king makes a solemn dedication to the great god Tum, lord of the two countries of An and all the gods of An And says:—"I have made thee a grand house in the north of An, constructed of eternal work, engraved in thy name. The house (a temple) of millions of years of Rameses, ruler of An, the king, in the house of Ra, in the north of An I gave to thee masons, builders, and carvers to carve thy noble house—to restore thy abode . . ." This description is stated by Dr. Birch in a note to allude to Tel-el-Yahoudeh, and he adds, "the remains of this temple existed until very lately."

The "Records" again say (p. 59):—"In the house of Ra, on the north of An, under the authority of the Scribe and Chief Constructor Pa-Ra-Hotep, prepared with all its kings the new place, the palace of life and health, which is that place under the authority of the Scribe, the

Chief Contractor Tetimes The new place of Rameses the ruler of Au which is under the authority of the Scribe, the Chief of the Constructors Har-ai." A long list follows of precious and other metals, precious stones, utensils, ornaments, lands, cattle, &c., given to the Temple.

The text further proceeds (Vol. VIII) with a description of a palace erected by him at Heliopolis, having columns decorated with gold (p. 8). But Dr. Birch doubts whether the meaning is not "inlayings" or "fillings in,"¹ a possible allusion to the peculiar style of decorations at Tel-el-Yahoudeh.

There are also portions of statues, and of the base of a column, each bearing the cartouche of Rameses III; and it is noteworthy that wherever a cartouche contained the termination *Pthah*, the first part was erased.

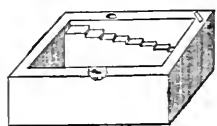


FIG. 1.

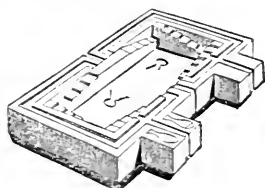


FIG. 2.

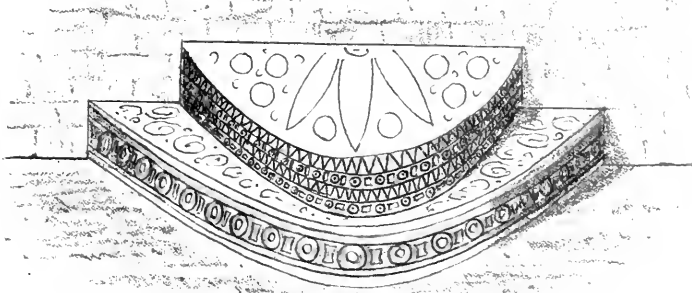
Two curious bath-like monoliths of limestone were also found at the west end of the mound. Of these I have Dr. Grant's careful measurements. They are described in Murray's Guide. These were possibly baths. But the larger, which is only about three feet deep, has a flight of steps cut in the side; and as it is well, I think, not to omit anything which may appear to relate to our subject, I venture to give an extract from Mr. Samuel Sharpe's work on Egyptian mythology, which may possibly assist us. He says: "If death took place on the west side of the river, the procession was conducted across the small lake, a large tank which belonged to the Temple. . . . It was not unusual to have a small model of this sacred tank, with its flight of steps leading down to the water, cut in stone, to be used as a basin for the libations in the Temple." I give a sketch (Fig. 2) made from

¹ Cf. also "Records of the Past," Vol. VIII, pp. 13 and 12.

TILES FROM TEL EL YAHOUEH.

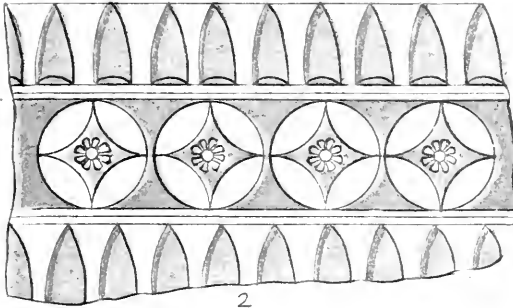
Plate IV.

Trans. Soc. Biblioph. Vol. VII.

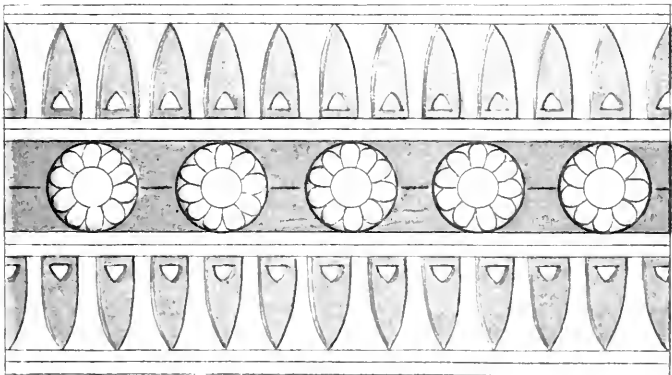


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one of Mr. Sharpe's drawings, and also one of the bath from the Tel (Fig. 1) to compare with it. Is it possible that this might have been a sacred tank, used afterwards by Onias in place of the brazen sea?

So far there is nothing which would allow us to reconstruct the building from which our decorations have been taken.

Of the state of the mound when opened I give some extracts on the testimony of an eye-witness, Mr. Eaton, as given by him in Murray:—

“In 1870 the fellaheen of the neighbourhood came across the remains of what had evidently been a magnificent palace.

“No information having been given to the proper authorities, everything was destroyed or broken up, or allowed to pass into the hands of petty dealers in antiquities.

“The remains were, apparently, those of a large hall, paved with white alabaster slabs—the walls were covered with a variety of encaustic bricks and tiles, many of the most beautiful workmanship, the hieroglyphics in some being inlaid in glass. The tiles are round, varying in size, colour, and pattern.

“The capitals of the columns were inlaid with brilliantly coloured mosaics, and a pattern in mosaics ran round the cornice.

“Altogether it must have been a splendid apartment.”

Mr. Eaton further describes the various figures, &c., found, and gives a very interesting sketch of all that historians tell us of the Jewish colony in Egypt.

Mr. Chester informs me that the hall was about (from memory) thirty feet long and twenty broad; the walls broken down; the *columns* should be described as pedestals, about three feet high. One was of alabaster, displaced; another, of granite, was found *in situ*, and is now in the Museum at Boulak. It was ornamented with tiles at the top, and I have no doubt, as I before mentioned, that the fragment in the Museum formed a portion of another and smaller pedestal against the wall; and the beautiful fragment found by Dr. Grant formed part of another. The

lower part of the walls was probably of limestone, and the upper part decorated with the singular inlaid work which I have described.

M. Brugsch has found large fragments of a peculiar decoration in cement (described to me as being lily work, as at Persepolis). He also found two black basalt statues of Pasht (Sekhet), the deity to whom the temple appropriated to Onias is said to have been dedicated.

From these general facts we may conclude that the building, whatever its destination, was of the time of Rameses II, and decorated by Rameses III, and were its history to end there the unique character of its decoration would make it very interesting.

But we find in the same place as the Egyptian work of Rameses the inlaid tiles having Greek characters at the back.

Mr. Chester informs me that tiles of the same kind, also with Greek letters at the back, are in the Louvre collection, having been brought from Assyria. But nothing like them has been seen in Assyria itself by Mr. Rassam. Very similar patterns are found in Egyptian paintings, and on mummy cases, so that we are enabled to identify these circular tiles as being thoroughly Egyptian; but nothing, so far as I am aware, has ever been found of the same make in any Egyptian building. Some of the patterns have also been used at various later dates, and are well known even in mediæval work (Plate IV, Fig. 3).

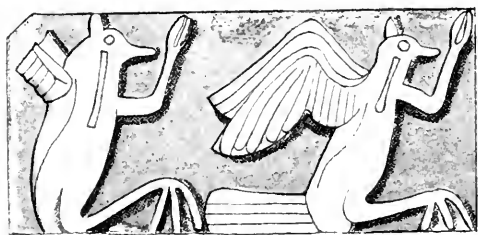
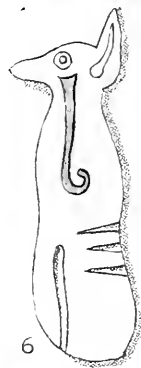
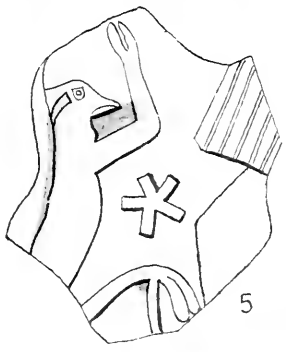
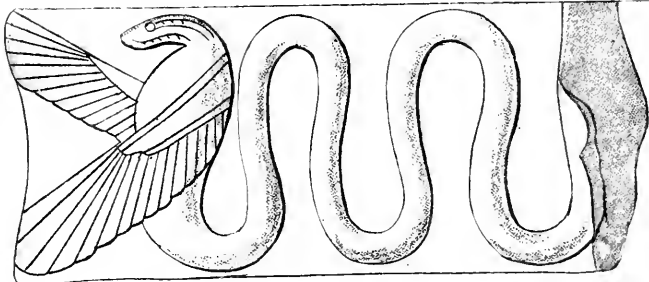
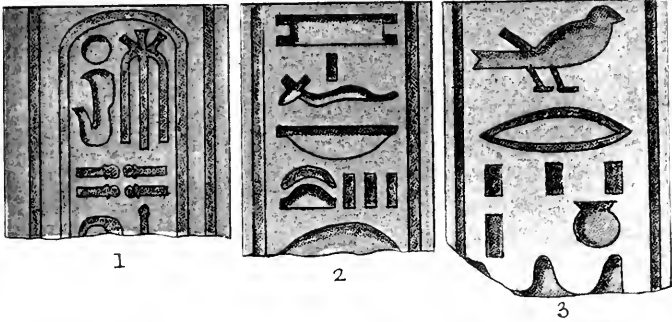
It occurred to me, as a possible solution of the difficulty, and as bearing upon the supposed construction of the Jewish temple on the Tel. that the patterns and make of the tiles might have been introduced from Persia or Assyria by the Jews of Alexandria: that the tiles were there made and used for decorating their temple on the site of, or even on the ruined walls of Rameses' building.

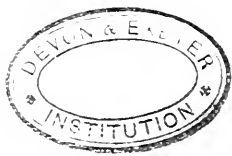
The date of the temple was about B.C. 160, which seems to have been about that of the common use of the peculiar form of the Alpha (Plate IV) which is stamped on several of the tiles. I have found it somewhat difficult to obtain an authoritative opinion, even from first-rate Greek scholars, as to the date at which the peculiar form was introduced.

TILES FROM TEL EL YAHOUDEH.

Plate 7

Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch. vol VII





It appears several times in a Greek inscription from Chalcedon, given in Fry's *Pantographia* (1799), the date being after Alexander the Great. So far this would show that it was used no long time before the time of Onias. It was subsequently, we know, extensively used during the era of the Byzantine, and in much later times; but I am not aware of any inscription in which this form occurs before the one at Chalcedon.

The name of the Mound of the Jew, it is suggested, is modern, and possibly may have originated from a massacre of Jews by the Arabs, which took place near it. But Dr. Grant, who mentions this, is himself firmly of opinion that in the Mound of the Jew we have the actual site of Onias' temple.

The Eastern Jews consider that the temple was built at Alexandria, where they have a house which they call Beit Onias, or house of Onias, built, as they suppose, on the site of the temple.

This simply shows how little reliance can be placed on mere tradition. I thought it possible that the Arabic historian Makrizi might throw some light on the origin of the tradition, if it were a mediæval one. I knew his work (the *History of the Mamlouk Sultans*) only through the French translation of M. Quatremere, but I can see nothing there to aid us.

No Hebrew inscription found at the Tel seems to exist; but I am informed that one was found by Prof. Lanzoni of Turin, on part of a column; but this was lost by the oversetting of a boat on the Nile, and I judge, from the tenor of a note from him to Dr. Birch, that no copy was kept of it.

These are, I regret to say, all the facts, however meagre they may appear, which I have been able to collect respecting the building of this interesting place.

As to the devastation of the palace or temple of Rameses, before Onias appropriated it, there is little more to say.

Probably it shared the fate of Heliopolis, only a few miles from it, and which is usually said to have been destroyed by Cambyses, *circa* 525.

But this is scarcely compatible with the account given of it by Herodotus (B.C. 450) some seventy-five years after

Looking at the subject in a general way, we may conclude that the Tel occupied the site, and includes a considerable amount of fragments, of a building erected by, or at least in the time of Rameses II and III, and close to the city of On or Heliopolis, at which Moses became learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and which with the neighbouring country had a large Hebrew population.

A curious inscription bearing upon this has been discovered by Brugsch Bey, and is quoted by him in his new work on the Geography of Ancient Egypt. He says, "I can now state that this is the same place which one now sees in ruins near the station Schibru-al-Kanatir, not far from the Tel-el-Yahoudeh. . . . The excavations in its ruins have brought to light the remains of the temple of Rameses III. The ancient wall with which the place was surrounded exists still."

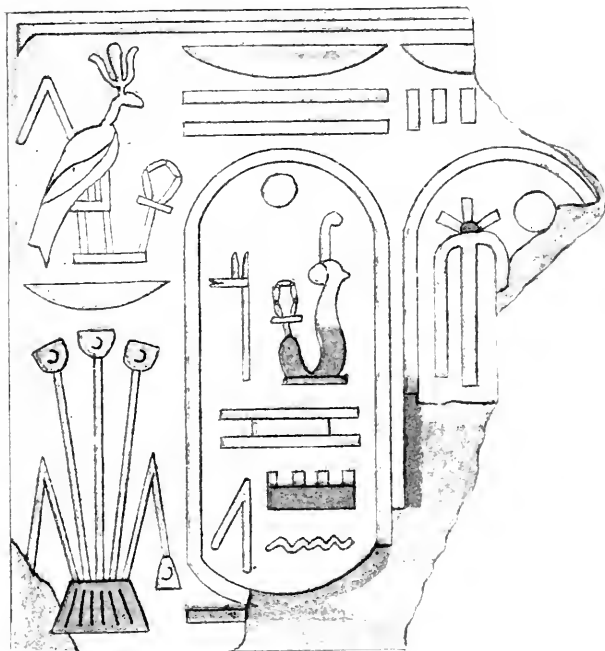
But whether this edifice of Rameses was the one adopted by Onias as the nucleus of his temple, we are as yet but very uncertain. That his temple survived the destruction of Heliopolis may be considered certain, inasmuch as the latter was desolate in Strabo's time, A.D. 24, whereas Josephus expressly declares that Onias' temple was not closed until the time of Vespasian (70-79), so that it was not even then destroyed.

Then there is the tradition fondly cherished by the Jews; but this can scarcely be adduced as a very strong proof, after the lapse of some 1700 years: and Joseph's Well in the citadel of Cairo, is an example of how a tradition may arise from a name. I think we may assume that the decorative work with Greek characters was probably made at Alexandria, and may have been so made at the time of Onias. It may be taken as certain that the manufacture was given up, and the art lost, soon after his time, as otherwise it would have been continued by those great masters of decorative work, the Byzantines and Arabs. A slight clue is given by the statement that Onias appropriated a temple of the goddess Paslit (Sekhet), and that two statues of the lion-headed goddess in black basalt have been found at the Tel. Some little further corroboration of the tradition may be

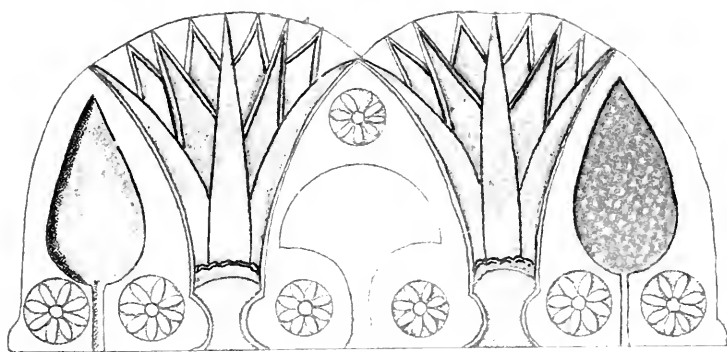
TILES FROM TEL EL YAHOUDEH.

Plate VI

Trans. Soc. Brit. Arch. Vol. VII



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afforded by the discovery that the mound was once surrounded by walls of finely-dressed limestone, and in part of basalt, as seen in the south-east angle, and that it was afterwards enclosed or made good with high walls of brick, extensive remains of which still exist. They are, indeed, of crude brick, whereas Josephus describes them as of *burnt* brick. But he wrote from a distance, and, as he never saw the place, might easily have been misled.

Beyond the above there is really very little to give us a clue to the interesting problem as to the temple, and we must depend on the results of further exploration, which would very probably set the matter at rest.

The case seems to be just one of those in which the services of a zealous local antiquary (and I take Dr. Grant as an excellent example) would be of the greatest use.

We cannot expect that such an one could defray the cost requisite for the needful excavations, but I feel sure that a comparatively small grant, made for reimbursing the actual expenses, would in this and many other cases be attended with very interesting results.

As a case in point, I may mention that one of our best known antiquarian explorers has undertaken for the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund to explore some of the mounds in the Delta, which are likely to give best information as to the history of the Jews, simply for expenses out of pocket, and these so small that I do not care to mention them here.

I do hope that the Trustees of the British Museum may be induced to aid inquiry in the case of the Tel-el-Yahoudeh, and by a small grant enable us to learn the history of this interesting site, and save from the destructive hands of the Arabs the antiquities which still remain of the temple or palace of Rameses, and perchance of the still more interesting temple of Onias in the Mound of the Jew.

POSTSCRIPT.—Professor Sayce informs me that he found a fragment of an Hebrew inscription, in ancient letters, which has been engraved in the Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, 1880, pp. 136-138.—W. H. R.

NOTE.—PLATES.

The Sketch Plan has been prepared from Survey and Sketches supplied by DR. GRANT of Cairo, and must not be taken as more than generally correct in detail.

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- PLATE I. Reduced about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch. Asiatic prisoner of XXth dynasty. Inlay or enamel ($\frac{3}{8}$ inch thick) of ground work gone.
- PLATE II. Reduced about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch. Lower part (from the waist) of a kneeling figure: Asiatic prisoner, XXth dynasty, Enamel, about $\frac{1}{12}$ inch thick, on body of ordinary tile.
- PLATE III. Tiles and fragments, about half natural size. The small inlays $\frac{3}{16}$ inch thick.
- PLATE IV. *Fig. 1.* Restoration of pedestal, *see* paper, p. 182.
Fig. 2. Fragment of stone and painted plaster, supposed portion of pedestal.
Fig. 3. Mediæval tile ornament for comparison.
- PLATE V. *Figs. 1, 2, 3,* about one-third natural size, glazed all over. Tiles $\frac{5}{8}$ inch thick, sinkings $\frac{3}{16}$ inch; inlays gone, but many portions of white cement remain.
Fig. 4. Half natural size, not glazed; winged uræus, in very slight relief.
Fig. 5. Half natural size; ground work, $\frac{1}{16}$ inch, gone, except near left-hand top corner. When perfect, the whole must have been nearly level.
Fig. 6. Half natural size, of white alabaster, for inlaying.
Fig. 7. Half natural size. Tile about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick.
- PLATE VI. *Fig. 1.* About $\frac{1}{4}$ inch less than natural size. Body of ordinary brick earth, on this enamel, $\frac{1}{12}$ inch thick, not glazed. Pattern filled in with pieces of mosaic.
Fig. 2. About $\frac{5}{8}$ inch natural size, $\frac{3}{8}$ inch thick; leaves either very thin inlay or slip, the blue fruit and rosettes are inlays. Rosettes very irregular in size and shape, &c. The buff colour seems to be given by glaze.





































ON SOME MONUMENTS OF THE REIGN OF TIRHAKAH.

BY SAMUEL BIRCH, PRESIDENT, D.C.L., LL.D.

Read 4th May, 1880.

THE monuments of the reign of the Æthiopian monarch Tirhakah are so few, that any additional information afforded by them must be hailed with pleasure. It is indeed chiefly from the Assyrian annals that the account of his varied reign and the struggle for the possession of Egypt are known. As regards the Assyrian domination, it has no Egyptian record, and does not enter into the consideration of the national annals. Content to govern the valley of the Nile by their dependent Egyptian viceroys, who still bore the title of king, the inscriptions of the temples and other monuments are dated in the name of the Egyptian kings, and the Assyrian rulers are not recorded. This is not the case with the Æthiopian rulers; they mounted the throne of Egypt as direct Egyptian sovereigns, and the documents are dated and the temples were repaired in their names. The Æthiopians have left few historical inscriptions on the walls of temples, although that of the tablet of Piankhi is a considerable addition to history, and details in a lucid manner the conquest of Egypt. Taharqa has left behind him no great historical inscription hitherto found, although his devotion to the gods, especially the deity Amen or Amen Ra, is attested by the Temple of Thebes and the fame of that god at Mount Barkal. M. le Vte. Jaques de Rougé, in his "*Études Egyptologiques, Inscriptions hieroglyphiques copiées en Egypte*," 1877, pl. lxxiv, however, published a short inscription found at San, which throws a gleam of light on the obscure period of the reign of Tirhakah. It is unfortunately short and mutilated. The text is as follows.

but unfortunately the commencement is wanting, nor does De Rougé state on what kind of monument it has been discovered:—

Line 1.				Line 2.						
	[rut]	sep	.....		... na ¹		... I have	
	[men]	receive	.....						
										
	χερφα	....	tau	neb	kar	tebre	a		
	he gave me	....	lands	all	under	sandals	mine		
Line 3.										
	.....	r	ubn	ra	.....	sem	.....	.....
	.....	to	shine	the sun	.....	west	.....	.....
Line 4.										
	....	sem	hetep	m	suten	sen	.....		
	....	then in	peace	as	royal	sister	.....		
					Line 5.					
	bener	mert	suten	mut	.....	sep	.....		
	palm	beloved	royal	mother	.....	.....	.....
										
	her	na	her s	m	hun	n	renpa	tat ..		
	I went through	her (or out of it) ⁵	as	a youth	of years	twenty..				
Line 6.										
	f	r	ta	meh	hā	n	i	umas		
	him	to	land	north	was the time	of when	she	came		

¹ Or, To me the god granted me.

² Here guardian, perhaps guarded, or I guarded.

³ Partly erased, and restored by De Rougé.

⁴ "Blind"; but erased, and restored by De Rougé. Perhaps part of the cartouche of the so-called Akelu, the mother of Tirkah, mis-read. There is also a queen *Shepenup*.

⁵ Doubtful; "through her," or by her means, or "out of it."

					Line 7.			
m	χer		r	....	....	m	χet	
in	turn	again	to	....	[it]	after		

hantt	renparu	qam	nas	u	ša	neb		
<i>circles¹</i>	<i>of years</i>	<i>she found</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>crowned</i>	<i>lord</i>			

Line 8.								
....	sep	na	sá(mes) n		Ra			
....	<i>received</i>	<i>had I</i>	<i>the diadems of</i>		<i>the Sun</i>			


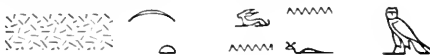
n	m	ur	m	.....		
<i>crown of</i>	<i>with</i>	<i>the crowns</i>	<i>of</i>	<i>Upper Egypt</i>			
<i>Lower Egypt</i>							

Line 9.							
.....	n	m	sa	hā	ā	un	nast
.....	<i>I had</i>	<i>protecting</i>	<i>my limbs</i>	<i>she was</i>			
		<i>or behind</i>					



				Line 10.			
hāā	θ	r	āa	....	nefru		
<i>rejoicing</i>		<i>greatly</i>	[at]	<i>the decorations</i>			

χer f	ma	maa	Asi	sa	s	m	šā
<i>of his majesty</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>sees</i>	<i>Isis</i>	<i>son</i>	<i>her</i>	<i>with the crown</i>	<i>when</i>


¹ A portion of this word is erased, but restored by me with


Line 11.


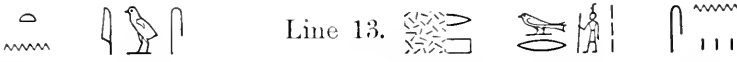
 her nesta [χef]t un naf m
upon the throne when he was as


Line 12.


 hun m - χen sesś n
a youth within the nest of



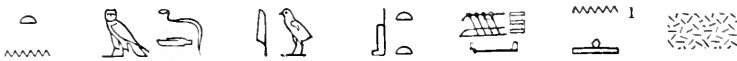
 tu neb tehan sen ta n suten mut
lands all bowed heads they [to the] earth to royal mother


Line 13.

 ten au s reś uru sen
that she was rejoiced chiefs their


Line 14.


 m - ab śru sen suten mut
as well as children their royal mother



 tn emtet au astt sep enhetep
that that is saying [she] was Isis receiving the peace











Line 15.


















 . . enhetep sa s sut χeb
. . of peace her son king of Upper and Lower Egypt


Line 16.











 'Tahargas anχ tata un - nak
Tirhakah living for ever thou hast been







¹ Read  or she had received. ² De Rougé read "she said to her son."









									
ānχ	θa	r	neh			em	utu		.....
living		for	ages			flourishing			.....

Line 17.                




mer su rex entt her mauf
 loving him (or its) knowing what is in germ his

				Line 18. 					
rta	.....	em	.....	.....	s	nefern	.....	.....	.....
given	.....	in	.....	.....	she	the good	.....	.....	.....






					
ar-naf	nak	suten	next	.....	.....
he did	to thee	king	powerful	.....	.....

Line 19.        

..... en mut f hestt un nak
 of mother his Isis thou hast been

		
shaθ	her	
crowned	upon	

..... men receive I have presented to his majesty
 all countries under the sandals. Guarded to sun-
 rise, the west as royal sister, the beloved palm, royal
 mother I went there as a child twenty years of age
 [with] his [mother] to the country of Northern Egypt

¹ Correct     

² "Who obeys him," Pierret, Voc., p. 193.

³ Translated by me in "Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache," 1880, pp. 22-25, and also by De Rougé ("Mém. sur Tahraka," p. 16; "Mélanges d'Arch. Égypt. et Assyr.," I, pp. 20-23.

when came [again] to [Egypt] after a circle of years. She found me crowned lord of the two countries I received the diadems of Ra the lower crown with the urai [of the upper crown]....behind my person. She rejoiced exceedingly at the ornaments of his majesty as when [as when] Isis sees [her son Horus] crowned on the throne [of Seb.]he was as a youth in the cradle....all countries bowed their foreheads the country of that royal mother they were coming with their chiefs as well as their children [to] that mother saying Isis has received the welcome of her son the king Taharqa the everlivingThou art living for ever flourishing....loving himknowing he obeys him....gives her, the good he has done thee the powerful king [says] his mother Isis thou art crowned upon the throne of Horus.

A considerable part of this inscription is very obscure. The first part of the text is the usual panegyric phrases about the conquests of the monarch. The royal sister and royal mother mentioned in the fourth line is the queen whose name is read Aqalu by Lepsius, but the inscription at Mount Barkal presents her name in a mutilated form, and the exact reading is uncertain. The name is unfortunately wanting on this inscription, but it is evidently the same, and that of his mother. The chief point of the inscription is that Tirhakah affirms that he went as a youth at the age of twenty years to the land of the North, so that he must have ascended the throne of Egypt at a very youthful age, and it would appear from the inscription, that his mother had remained in Ethiopia, and that after some time she had come to Egypt, and seen him as king of Egypt. Throughout, the youthful age of the king is distinctly stated by comparing him to the young Horus in his cradle. The final parts of the inscription are unfortunately so defective, that it is not possible to make out precisely what the foreign countries did to the country of the royal mother in respect to the elders and youths, as, although the language of the tablet describes them as prostrate, bowing their foreheads to the ground, it does not detail who they were, or if the expression

refers to Egypt or Ethiopia. Yet without doubt it refers to the conquests of Tirhakah. which are alluded to in general terms at the commencement.


Besides the monuments at Thebes, Taharqa has left behind him several memorials of his reign at Mount Barkal, where he constructed the principal temple in honour of Amen Ra of Nepet or Napata. The dedication of this temple repeats on the architrave that he adores Amen Ra lord of the thrones of the world, "resident in the living rock or mountain." With Amen Ra is allied Mut, the mother goddess, who gives him life, strength, health, and the usual benefits. Taharqa, it will be observed, is coloured red in these sculptures like an Egyptian, and is followed by his wife, also depicted of the same colour, the heiress or hereditary princess chief of the singers, royal sister, and royal wife-regent of every lady beloved of the king. She plays on the sistrum, and pours out water to the ram-headed Amen Ra. The name of this queen, the wife of Taharqa, is Amentakahat,¹ apparently Æthiopian, and there is reason to suppose from the cuneiform inscriptions that she had been either the wife of Sabaco, whose son Rutamen, the Urdah-Maneh of the Assyrian annals, had succeeded him in the succession, or else that she was his wife at a later period. I have already remarked that she is not painted black like an Ethiopian, but is red, or the Egyptian colour, a remark which also applies to Taharqa, who is not depicted as an Abyssinian, leading to the conjecture that the Ethiopian rulers were of direct Egyptian origin and descent. Nor are the features of Taharqa different from those of the Egyptians, and by no means so nigritic as the faces of the monarchs of the XVIIIth dynasty, whose descent from the black races is as distinct. The accompanying inscription says, "I play the sistrum to thy good face, O Amen-Ra, lord of the thrones of the world, resident in the pure rock, thy beloved son Taharqa give him to be king for ever, a Horus with life eternal."²

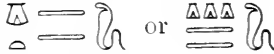

He appears also to have been the builder of the great

¹ Two daughters of Taharqa are said to have been found. Champollion Figeac, "L'Égypte," p. 364.

² Lepsius, Abth. V, Bl. 1.

rock temple with the caryatid columns of Bes or Bessa.¹ It is on this part of the temple that the architrave has an inscription which calls him "The creation of the Sun

 | *tut en smennu*, issue of the great gods." Taharqa is also protected by Nefer-Tum, and is here

styled beloved of the goddess *Nesta*,  or 

whose name means the seat or throne of the two countries, or earth; while Uat or Buto gives him health and eternal joy.

In another chamber of the same temple Taharqa offers incense to Anher or Onouris, who is allied with the goddess Tef, the so-read Tefnut.

An imperfect inscription on the architrave states that originally the work had been constructed of small buildings by the ancestors of the king, who

had built, or rather excavated, the temple by work constructed for ever.² Amen-Ra here supports Taharqa; and in

another scene, in which the monarch is still represented adoring Amen, and where he is beheld offering truth to the

god Amen-Ra and Mut, the mother of Taharqa, whose name is partly obliterated, and is read by Lepsius *Aqalu*, accom-

panies the monarch. Like his wife, she is entitled "the heiress, chief of singers, regent of the Upper and Lower


Country, the chief, mistress of the two countries, and mistress of foreign lands, royal mother and royal sister." Her name

is doubtful, but it is probably through her that the king traced his descent from the legitimate line of sovereigns.³

The inscription on the wall of the great temple is that he had "four times seen" or presented himself before the

goddess Athor. "Thy appearance," it says, "is beloved of the gods," and she gives him life, as does also Mut.

On the eastern wall of the cella of the same temple, where he adores a file of gods consisting of Amen of Napata ram-headed, Mut, Chons, Mentu, and Thoth, this last god states: "I establish


thy  *sah*," or "nobility," as king of the Upper and

¹ Lepsius, Abth. V, Bl. 6.

² Lepsius, *ibid.*, 7.

³ Portion of a statue of a queen or daughter of Tirhakah found at Thebes was in the collection of Sir C. Nicholson: "Catalogue of Egyptian and other Antiquities collected by Sir C. Nicholson, D.C.L., LL.D." London, 8vo., 1858, p. 15, No. 11.

Lower Country. Here also are scenes of the youthful Horus, Isis, and Nephthys, and the krio-sphinx of Amen-Ra.¹ On the eastern wall of the same cella he gives a collar and pectoral plate to the ram-headed Amen of Napata, lord of the thrones of the two countries, Mut, Chons, and the god called Khem or Amsi, here called Amen in Apt or southern Thebes, giver of life. The god says Taharqa is on the throne of Horus. The monarch wears the rams-horn, like Alexander the Great, a decoration adopted by his predecessor Sabaco, and Rameses II.

On another part² of the same temple Taharqa adores Ra, Harmachis, the god Tatum, the lord of Libya, a local deity found at Samneh, and Amen-Ra, the soul of the solar orb or disk, , or else "the creator of the disk," represented ram-headed as in other cases. The king is dressed in the costume of Anhar or Onouris, and is followed by Mut, who says she gives him the years of Horus, and his dominions to Tep or Buto, the most northern part of Egypt. But the most remarkable scene of all is where Tahuti or Thothis addresses twelve seated deities on behalf of Tirhakah. The accompanying inscription says, "The lords of Hermopolis, the lords of the circle of the gods say to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nefer-Tum-khu-Ra (the prenomen of Taharqa), son of the sun, lord of diadems, Taharqa ever living, we give him power over the north, done according to all thy words. Thou art Hermopolis, firm for ever and ever." The inscription of the architrave records that he had dedicated and built a temple of good white stone to his mother Mut, the eye or pupil of the Sun, and mistress of Anhar.

At Thebes there are several representations of Taharqa, where however his name often appears erased. He is there seen embraced by Isis who gives him life and health; Mentu also confers on him life, and he worships Osiris as the other Ethiopian monarch Rutamen, or Urdameneh, his son-in-law, and Nut-Amen.³ At Medinat Habu the inscriptions record the difficulties of the commencement of his reign and his conquests of Asia and the Libyans,⁴ as also his reception and festivals.

¹ Lepsius, *Abth.* V, Bl. 9.

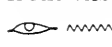
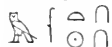
² The west wall of the cella, *ibid.*, pl. 40.

³ Mariette, "Karnak," pl. 79-81, 87.

⁴ Prisse, *Mon.*, xxxi-xxxiii.

The reign of Taharqa was evidently continuous over Egypt, as demotic documents are in the collections of the Louvre dated in the third year of his reign, B.C. 697-690, and the Museum of Boulaq has others dated in the seventh and eleventh years of the same reign, while documents dated in the tenth and fifteenth years appear, although without a royal name, to be of the same king.¹

Brugsch Bey² supposes Monthemha, the son of Nesptah a prophet of Amen, to have been a faithful ally of Taharqa, and to be the Ma-anti-mi-anhe prince of Thebes mentioned in the cylinder of Assurbanipal. A record of the benefits conferred by this person on Thebes, the festival sacrifices, statues, and other objects, and repairs of the temple, are mentioned in the inscriptions of Karnak. He was governor of Patoris, as South Egypt was designated at the time of the Assyrians; but there is no evidence that he was ever an independent ruler. The inscriptions at Karnak are also very defective.³

Some light is thrown upon positive chronology⁴ by the stele recording the death of an Apis, found by Mariette Pasha in the Serapeion at Memphis. That stele or tablet records the birth of an Apis bull in the 26th year of Taharqa, its inauguration on the 9th of the month Pharmouthi of the same year, its death 20th Mesore of the 20th year of Psammetichus I; it ends, "making twenty-one years." If this interpretation is correct, it is evident that the 26th year of Taharqa was the final year of his reign in Egypt, and that he reigned twenty-six years over the country if he did not date from his accession to the throne of Æthiopia. The phrase  has been disputed, and asserted to be that it means "made on the 21st year," or that the tablet was then made. But it will be observed that the Apis bull was buried  on the 25th Paophi of the 21st year of Psammetichus I, and that a different pronominal form is used; while in other places, as the canon of Turin and the papyrus

¹ Deveria, "Catalogue des Manuscrits égyptiens." Svo., Paris, 1875, p. 206.

² "History of Egypt." Svo., 1879, Vol. II, pp. 269-70.

³ Mariette Bey, "Karnak," pl. 42-44.

⁴ Mariette, "Le Serapeum de Memphis," pp. 28-9; "Bull. d'Athenæum Français," p. 75.

7. of gold and all precious stones was worked the ark of Chons the god, the youth plated with gold all its type was of
8. the crown of the lower country having plumes of a hawk, the head-dress with two feathers, the head-dress with the disk of the moon; was made the statue of that god with legs of pure silver its body was of
9. of his dues they were for circles of years damaged they were
10. secret places was the body as it were reckoned. Its temple was built of stone
11. real mulberry-wood plated with iron of the eastern foreign land Satt¹ its body² was guarded by copper gilt, its one bolt of wood
12. gold filled with precious stones. It was set up the ceiling with thirty-five columns of blocks of good white carved stone and enclosed
13. was made its basin of pure water of good white carved stone there was set up for it a store house for its tribute of divine offerings. There in it was made its table
14. was renewed the processional boat of Chons in Thebes Neferhetp, Chons, elevating the diadem of the two gods of silver and real stones, their table of offering was made³ of silver, gold, and iron
15. them was distinguished Chons the counsellor, Chons Pasekher, in their type of gold as they were before, was excavated the pool of pure waters of the god Mentu lord of the Thebaid as
16. it was before to give light to his great noble house. There was made its table of silver, gold, iron, and copper. A hall was made holding the god Uas (Western Thebes) and the goddess Uas the powerful lords of the scimitar in the type.
17. was made the processional ark Uati⁴ resident in Thebes upon two poles, of gold and real stones was made the processional ark of Ptah the orbs of his vision of gold

¹ Asia.² Chiselling. De Rougé.³ Multiplied.⁴ Buto.

18. . . . their good table to be better than before. Was made the processional ark of Athor lady of the valley¹. . . gleaming in their holy types as at the great inspection was
19. . . . one with all its belongings on two poles for carrying. Was made the processional ark of Amen Ra lord of the thrones of the two countries and the processional ark of Chons reckoner of time and the processional ark of Amen Ra lord of the thrones of the world
20. . . . all its belongings on two poles. Was made the statue² of Ra sarkar³ the justified of pure gold and precious stones on two poles as it was before
21. Chons resident in Tsamut (Hades) in his form which is of gold plating on two poles. Was made the great . . . of the residence in its holy type. Its temple was renewed better than it was before
22. . . . it of good white carved stone turning back the inundation of the river in its course. Was stretching the water
23. . . . in his good festival of the 25th of Athyr was renewed the wall of that temple of Amen in Thebes, repaired. . .
24. . . . of the . . . with all additions of earth, building its principal parts of brick as its good constructions were found made by ancestors.
25. . . . I installed the bull of Mat⁴ in its holy type, I built a good shrine more beautiful than it was
26. . . . I built the temple of Mentu, lord of the Thebaid . . . To give light to its good gates was
27. . . . placed the god [Amsi-Amen] on his steps in the district of Sahu⁵ of gold better than it was before
28. . . . as lord of the country in Khem-Khem (or Panopolis) I made the processional shrine of Har-men.
29. I . . . I made the standard (or Amsi) dwelling in the heaven in its holy type plated.
30. . . . I made the processional shrine of Thoth who dwells in Sekhet Ha-abti the sanctuary of Thoth at Hermopolis . . . of gold.

¹ An, town of the 20th nome.

² Shrine.

³ Amenophis I.

⁴ Place north of Karnak—the bull Paëis.

⁵ In Athribis.

31. I the type of Isis I made upon their head in each the land of were throughout their
32. . . . their shrines perfect as they were before. Was excavated the pure pool of Isis of Coptos
33. . . . was made the boat of Osiris in that district of (upwards of 16) cubits of real cedar wood as was proper was made the prow of acacia was
34. . . . of brick after the denuded the for divine guardian¹
35. . . . of all the gods the fourth priest of Amen the chief of the city, (or nomarch,) the superintendent Mentuemha as chief, the son of Nesptah justified was made
36. . . . of 80 cubits in its length of real cedar at the head of the staircase of the main building of pure gold inlaid with precious stones equipped
37. . . . all the temples of the gods in the north and southern nomes were purified entirely, as also were purified the temples when it happened
38. . . . the nome was, there this throughout made with that triple-headed or another not there not opposed
39. . . . without fault one Hant was substituted and made for another moreover in the nome of Western Thebes, the god who conceals his name,² pupil of the sun regent
40. . . . giving peace to the divine lord in the things of his heart, bulls very many, calves, to complete what I gave, all my on a good occasion
41. . . . delighting in my food, divine offerings as he appointed at the beginning of every year at the days, its numerous protections at the time
42. . . . filling its granaries with the heads of its fields, going their time, coming at their time, making their festivals
43. . . . in its totality, making the festivals its bread, the prophets, priests, and horoscopi male and female
44. . . . according to the nomes greater and lesser made by the Nile to my city and the country inundating the city and nomes, with abundant heads of cattle
45. . . . this divine instruction, protected the of the south nome through its divine path the whole world in peace, overthrown was the chief of

¹ The translation of De Rougé commences here, reading backwards to line 1.

² Amisi.

46. . . . my foundations my constructions in coming from the south, I delighted in my coming from
47. . . . the north in going out and coming in, tranquil in the day
48. . . . the wall made for my city I obliterated the enemies from the nomes of the south at the time¹
49. . . . serving his god incessantly at the shrine seeing what was in it, all its treasures sealed with signets
50. . . . my guardians² in the temple at all my assemblies (without cessation). The son with
51. . . . of the pure water his genius,³ the inspector of the prophets in western Thebes, the guardian Nesptah-snaḥ the children
52. . . the priests knew the place for him I watched seeking the place of lying, I inquired seeking⁴
53. . . . inquiring the opening of the connecting the rolls,⁵ proceeding to the great election
54. . . . I knew all that was desired by me, I did this in the of a khepsh⁶
55. . . . for my son over the in my place, clever was the effect of my advice in
56. . . . its frontiers through his employing the men of his place each
57. . . . the divine spirits instead of the time for the lord of the gods, Amen the great ruler
58. . . . to Mut, mistress of the heaven, and Chonsu coming out of the Nu (or celestial abyss) to Mentu lord of western Thebes, and the circle of the great gods
59. . . . for our regent, to the servants of her holiness, to the divine circle of the gods in the shrine of Mut, living well, unlimited the glory
60. . . . a good burial of the old, we augment our issue favourably placed on our seats we go
61. . . . excellent are our limbs, they do not keep our names favourably we are praised
62. . . . we his stability in thy house, we proclaim coming while it was wished

¹ Or leading.

² Or companions.

³ Or *qa*.

⁴ This looks like a search for a new Apis.

⁵ Or tying the rolls, or offering the due rites.

⁶ Thigh, or scimitar.

63. . . . in its daily course. we . . . in what she did
 64. . . . fourth prophet of Amen in Thebes . . . chief the
 nome of the south, the one holding the same office
 65. . . . the chief . . . in the temple of Mut [space] remaining
 66. . . . third prophet, chief of the city, superintendent of
 the south district, holding the same office. Mentuemha
 67. . . . regent of Mut, mistress of the heaven, pupil of the
 Sun in front
 68. . . . the hands loaded with a royal offering after an offering

In the annals of Assyria¹ it appears that although Tirhakah had appeared upon the scene of Egyptian history as early as Esarhaddon, it was not till the reign of Assurbanipal that he was driven out of the country, and the confederacy of the twenty Egyptian princes who had combined against the Assyrian power defeated, and Necho appointed in Sais by the Assyrians chief governor of Egypt. The Apis tablet, however, seems to omit the name of Necho, unless additional years are added to the life of the bull. As the date of these events is not mentioned in the Assyrian records, no synchronism is afforded by the annals, and the actual number of years of Tirhakah, as hitherto known, are those afforded by the date of the Apis tablet: and the presumption is that it records his last regnal year.

A small oval of terra-cotta found at Palmyra,² with several other similar tessaræ, with Palmyrene inscriptions, has the name of Taharqa in it. It appears to read, ". . . . of Amen Taharqa he has given thee eternal life." As this little object has much the same appearance as the other objects, it is difficult to conceive how it came there, or if it is an indication that the conquests of Tirhakah extended as far as Palmyra.



On a monument at Thebes, Taharqa is represented conquering the Assyrians. The monarch wears the crown of Upper Egypt, and, although bearded, his face has a youthful appearance. His dress is the ordinary one, but on his breast

¹ Smith, "Assurbanipal," pp. 46, 47; "Hist. Assy.," Oppert. "Mémoire s. l. rapp. de l'Égypte et de l'Assyr.," 1869, p. 84.

² Now in the British Museum.

are two hawks clasping in their claws a signet. He grasps—arranged in the ordinary Egyptian style—the hair of ten Asiatic prisoners, bearded, standing, and holding daggers, whom he is about to strike with his mace.¹ It is uncertain if these are the chiefs of the dodedarchy, or rather the eikosarchy, into which Egypt was divided, or external enemies; for Negro garrisons are represented in Asiatic fortresses attacked by Assyrians. Taharqa does this before Amen-Ra in his usual human type, who holds by cords three usual towns indicated by beardless captives, with their names in ovals. They are called *Tash-pa*, *Tesher*, and *Kah-set* or *Kash-khast*, and are apparently Æthiopian. Tasher is of course the Desert or Red Land, in antithesis to Kami or Egypt. Besides Amen-Ra, a deity of smaller proportions, wearing two hawk's feathers on his head, is represented standing, holding a sceptre. This might be a form of Anhar or Onouris. A statue at Bulaq records amongst other nations conquered the Shasu or Arabs, the Khita or Syrians, Aratu or Aradus, Kati or Phœnicians, Assur or Assyria, and Naharaina or Mesopotamia.²

Four plates are given by Prisse in his "Monuments Égyptiens" (Pl. XXXI to XXXIV), of a small edifice of Taharqa, situated at the exterior of the outer wall of the palace at Karnak.

The biblical narrative of Tirhakah is well known, and his march against Sennacherib.³ According to Strabo,⁴ he penetrated as far west as the columns of Hercules, and his western expeditions are probably alluded to in the inscription of San. The varieties of his name—Tharaka of the Septuagint, Tearkon of Strabo, and Tarakos of Manetho—are due to the different forms used by the authors. The Hebrew form, Tirhakah, uses a final also not found in the hieroglyphs, to which the Septuagint is the nearest approach.

¹ Rosellini, "Mon. Reali," cli.

² De Rougé, "Étude sur Taharka," "Mél. d'Arch." I, p. 13.

³ 2 Kings xix, 9; Isaiah xxxvii, 9.

⁴ Lib. XV, 687.



A NEW FRAGMENT OF THE HISTORY OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR III.

BY THEO. G. PINCHES.

Read 3rd December, 1878.

IT is difficult to find any satisfactory reason to account for the great dearth of records of the political history of the later Babylonian empire, especially when we consider that from her old rival, Assyria, a nation of the same race and language, we have an abundant store of records, which, judging from the results of the excavations still going on in that country, seem to be inexhaustible. Although the Babylonians were, like the Assyrians, at the same time both a literary and a warlike people, unlike the Assyrians, records of events by their own scribes are almost wholly wanting.

The troubled state of the empire during the time of the Assyrian ascendancy most likely not only prevented the writing of full and complete records, but caused the destruction of those then existing, so that almost all our knowledge of the political history of Babylonia during the earlier times is derived from Assyrian sources, and then only when either for peace or war the two nations came together. The great work bearing upon these meetings was the Synchronous History of Assyria and Babylonia,¹ which is written in as impartial a manner as was possible to the Assyrian scribe. The majority of the meetings referred to are warlike, but whether for peace or war the Assyrians seem almost always to have had the advantage. This Synchronous History shows a most unsettled state of affairs in Babylonia—

¹ "Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.," Vol. II, p. 119.

dissensions and revolts within, and without the hostile Assyrians seizing every opportunity for harassing the unfortunate Babylonians. There is little wonder therefore that we find so few records of this period.

But even after the fall of the Assyrian monarchy, Babylonian historical records are still wanting. It is true that we have inscribed bricks and cylinders in abundance, but they contain what may be called the "architectural history" of the country, being merely long accounts of the palaces and temples erected by its kings, mingled with long and pious addresses to the gods of the land, but not one allusion to any political or other historical event. Perhaps the piety of the Babylonians in these times exceeded any desire to perpetuate the record of their victories. But it is likelier that the more expensive, though more perishable material papyrus, was used on most occasions for the royal records. It may be mentioned that the large collection of over two thousand Babylonian tablets acquired for the British Museum by the late George Smith contains not one historical text; but for a long time it has been felt that Babylonian historical records, although possibly never very numerous, must have existed.

About two months ago a small collection of Babylonian inscribed tablets was offered for sale to the British Museum. It seemed to consist of the usual fragments of mathematical, astrological, and mythological texts. On examination, however, a small fragment was found among them, about two inches long by an inch and three-quarters broad, containing an allusion to the 37th year of Nebuchadnezzar, and giving a fragmentary account of a warlike expedition to the land of *Misir*. A second examination of the same collection brought to light another small fragment of the same text, which, on being joined to the first piece found, completed the ends of fourteen lines of the obverse, and sixteen lines of the reverse of the tablet.

In consequence of the mutilated state of this record of Nebuchadnezzar's annals, I will only give here a summary of its contents. The text, with transliteration and translation, will be found on pages 218-222.

In the opening lines Nebuchadnezzar seems to be addressing some deity, perhaps the god Bel, whose worship was in high favour with the Babylonians. In the address some former victories are referred to, Nebuchadnezzar giving to the god the glory of having caused his hands in former days to fight and to rest, of enlarging his kingdom, and of exalting the kings over the people. The inscription then speaks of some prince who, trusting to his army, made war. The account of this prince's depredations, however, is lost. The "37th year of Nebuchadnezzar king of the country of [Babylon]" is then mentioned, and the next line states that some one, evidently Nebuchadnezzar's general, went to Mişir to do battle.

The reverse of the tablet begins by stating that the king of Mişir collected his troops, but, unfortunately, the name of the king of Mişir is lost (unless the syllable *-su*, which immediately precedes the sign for king, form part of it). The king, the tablet continues, caused his army to march. The next line speaks of a remote district within the sea, most likely the island of Cyprus. Soldiers, horses, and chariots are then mentioned, and the following line tells of the hostile king having trusted to some persons who had promised to help him, but who the helpers were does not appear. After this the ends of a few lines, making no connected sense, are all that remain, and then the record breaks off altogether. In consequence of the fragmentary state of the inscription, the meaning of many of the words is very doubtful, and the probable contents can only be inferred from what is left, but this much is certain, that in the 37th year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon an expedition was made to Mişir, in order to check the king of that country who was evidently harrying a part of Babylonia.

One or two important points are left undetermined by this inscription. Is the Nebuchadnezzar here mentioned the king whose name is so familiar to us from the frequent mention made of him in Sacred History, or is he either of the two kings of the same name who preceded that king? And with what district is the country of Mişir against which he made war to be identified?

As the first Nebuchadnezzar is recorded to have reigned thirty years, and the second only two years, if these statements of the length of their reigns be correct, an expedition in the thirty-seventh year of either is impossible; and though it may be urged that there is no record of Nebuchadnezzar III having made any expedition after the thirty-third year of his reign, it does not appear from the new fragment that the king led the expedition himself, but it seems from the wording of the document as if he appointed somebody as commander-in-chief to conduct the expedition. To this may be added that the writing on the fragment is by no means archaic, and though it is not impossible that it may be a copy of an older text, there is not the slightest indication that such is the case. Everything, so far, points to Nebuchadnezzar III as the king of Babylon under whom the expedition took place.

As to the country of Mišir, the likeness of this name to that of Mušur, the name commonly given to Egypt in the Assyrian records, will at once be seen; the only difference being the substitution of *i* for *u* in both syllables of the word. The ceaseless animosity manifested by the Egyptians towards the Babylonians during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar III seems to favour the conjecture that Egypt is the country referred to.

After the division of the fallen Assyrian monarchy among its conquerors, some discussion arose between Egypt and Babylon about, it is thought, the boundaries of their respective portions. The result of this discussion was that, in the year 605 B.C., Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, sent his son Nebuchadnezzar against Necho king of Egypt, who was encamped at Karkemish. The Egyptians were completely routed, and the young general pursued them as far as the borders of Egypt.

While Nebuchadnezzar was engaged in chastising the Egyptians his father Nabopolassar died, and he hastened to Babylon to take possession of the throne. He was soon called away again, however, by the revolt of the kings of Palestine, who are supposed to have been prompted to this step by the Egyptians. Nebuchadnezzar was at that time occupied with other things, and could not attend to these

disturbances till the year 598 B.C., when he again marched into Palestine and, attacking Tyre on the way, entered and occupied the kingdom of Judah. Nebuchadnezzar now deposed Jehoiachin (whom the Jews had made king on the death of his father Jehoiakim) and set his uncle Zedekiah upon the throne, so as to have a ruler in Judah who owed his rise to him, and not to the influence of the Egyptian king; and Nebuchadnezzar made Zedekiah swear by Jehovah to be faithful to him. He then carried the young Jewish king whom he had deposed, together with numerous other captives, into Babylonia. Zedekiah, encouraged by the king of Egypt, did as his predecessors had done, and, in spite of his oath, made a treaty with the kings of Tyre, Sidon, Moab, Edom, and Ammon to revolt, under the leadership of Egypt, against Babylon.

Nebuchadnezzar was at this time engaged in an expedition against Elam, then a rather powerful state. We do not know what brought the Babylonians into hostility with the Elamites, but the result of the expedition was to bring the whole kingdom of Elam within the boundaries of the Babylonian monarchy.

Apries or Hophra, king of Egypt, entered with energy into the Syrian league, and occupied with his fleet many portions of the coast of Phœnicia. Nebuchadnezzar marched in the year 589 B.C. into Syria, and made Riblah in Hamath his head-quarters. From this place he directed his troops, under the command of his general, Nabuzaradan, against Palestine. Jerusalem was the centre of the revolt, though the Jews within it were divided into two parties—one in favour of submission to the Babylonian king, the other of resistance. Against Jerusalem, therefore, Nabuzaradan now directed his march, and besieged the city, to the relief of which Hophra marched after having assembled his army. On the advance of the Egyptian troops Nabuzaradan raised the siege and retired; but from some unknown cause the Egyptians abandoned their enterprise, and left Jerusalem to its fate. Nabuzaradan now vigorously besieged Jerusalem, and the city fell in the year 587 B.C. The sack of the city, the destruction of the Temple, and the carrying away of its

sacred vessels are well known. Zedekiah, attempting to save himself by flight, was captured and carried before Nebuchadnezzar. The Babylonian king had the barbarity to cause Zedekiah's sons to be put to death before his face, and then to put out the eyes of Zedekiah himself.

Nebuchadnezzar now turned to chastise the other powers of Palestine for the part they had taken in the revolt, and in the year 586 B.C. he began the siege of Tyre, one of the great maritime powers of the world. For thirteen years the army of Nebuchadnezzar tried in vain to take it, and the result of his lengthy siege is doubtful, the city being situated in a most excellent position for resisting a siege. At any rate, if Nebuchadnezzar did take it, he gained very little in return for the trouble and expense of a thirteen years' siege.

While besieging Tyre, Nebuchadnezzar's attention was attracted for a time by affairs in Media, a dispute having arisen between that country and Lydia on account of some fugitives who had fled from Cyaxeres king of Media, and taken refuge with Alyattes king of Lydia. The Lydians refused to deliver up the fugitives, and a war was begun in consequence in the year 590 B.C. This war is said to have been carried on between the two powers for five years, neither side gaining any lasting advantage. At the end of this time, while the two armies were engaged in battle, an eclipse of the sun took place, and both armies taking this as an omen, the king of Cilicia and Nebuchadnezzar meanwhile seized the opportunity for a reconciliation.

Meanwhile the Jews had again revolted, and murdered Gedaliah, the governor whom Nebuchadnezzar had set over them, and many of the people hoping to evade the vengeance of the Babylonian monarch, which they felt would fall upon them on account of the deed, fled into Egypt. Besides the Jews, the neighbouring tribes were also disaffected, and the length of the siege of Tyre, which still held out, gave great encouragement to the enemies of Babylonia in that quarter. In the year 582 B.C. a new Babylonian force marched into Palestine, and again ravaged the kingdom of Judah, sending the last of her people captive to Babylon.

When at the end of the thirteen years Tyre fell, Egypt

still remained the deadly foe of the Babylonian monarch. She had fomented and encouraged every rebellion in Palestine, and by her interference in the affairs of that district, had brought down upon herself the vengeance of Nebuchadnezzar. In the year 572 B.C. the Babylonian monarch marched at the head of his army into Egypt, completely overrunning the country, and plundering on every side. Hophra, the king of Egypt, was defeated. He submitted to Nebuchadnezzar, who deposed him, and placed upon the throne a general named Ahmes or Amasis, who ruled the country as a vassal of the king of Babylonia.

It is generally believed that this conquest of Egypt closed the campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar, and that now, satiated with the glories of thirty-three years of conquest, he occupied himself during the remainder of his reign with the adornment of Babylon and the principal cities of his land. The new fragment, however, speaks unmistakably of an expedition in the 37th year of his reign, four years later than the date of his supposed last expedition. It is difficult on this account to identify this expedition with any of those of which the record has come down to us. This being so, it will be necessary to try to find out why it took place, and under what circumstances. We are enabled to do this with some probability of arriving at a right conclusion, by means of the character which, as before stated, precedes the words "king of Miṣir." Besides this complete character, there is also part of a character which may be 𐤀𐤍, the whole reading *a-su*, and the only name of a king of Egypt of this period which ends with *as* is Ahmes or Amasis, the general who was set on the throne of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar after the defeat of Hophra. The Babylonian form of Amasis would probably be *A-ma-a-su*.

It seems therefore likely that Amasis revolted, and that Nebuchadnezzar was obliged to send a force to Egypt to put down the revolt. The continued hostility of Egypt against Babylonia, which had lasted so long, was no doubt hard to extinguish, and probably also Amasis was actuated by the very natural desire to become totally independent of Babylonia.

We do not learn from any source that the rebellious vassal was deposed, as the length of his reign is set down at forty-five years. It is probable that the king of Babylonia was more merciful towards rebels during the latter part of his reign than he had been in the former part, and that he reinstated Amasis and pardoned him for his ingratitude.


Small as the fragment is, it throws a fresh ray of light upon ancient history at a most important, as well as most interesting, period. It is much to be regretted that more of the tablet has not been preserved, for at most we possess only one-eighth part of the whole—probably considerably less. The discovery of this fragment shows the rich harvest we may expect from the mounds of Babylonia, which have not yet been by any means systematically explored. It is to be hoped that future explorations in that country, of whose ancient history we know as yet so little, will yield a good store of the riches which its libraries must have contained; for it is impossible that so great a nation should have passed away without leaving more than one record of the political events in which it had taken part.



OBVERSE.



1.  
 - uš - šu
 *him*

2.  
 ša - a - šu
 *that*



3.  
 šu - um - šu
 *his name*


4.  
 ku - um - ma
 *was exalted(?) and*


5.  
 u - mal a - a - bi - a
 *he filled, my enemies*


6.  
 tu - bil - la tu - ša - li - iṣ lib - bi
 *thou didst destroy, thou causedst my heart to rejoice*

7.  
 u me - šu *ka*tâ
 [*in*] *those days (my) hands*

 
 tu - šak - šid - ma tu - ni - hi
thou madest to capture, thou gavest rest


8. 
 [tu-] še - piš šarr - û - ti - a
 [thou] causedest to make, my kingdom



 tu - šar - bâ
 thou madest to increase

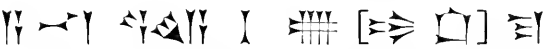
9. 
 [e-] li - šu - nu šarrâni
 over them kings

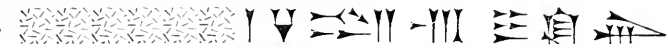

 ta - na - . - id kar - du - ti - šu
 thou exaltedst, his warriors


10. 
 me apkalli - šu alaki su
 his prince, his paths






 ki - ma - šu - tam
 like him











11. 
 bu - uš i - ta - a - am
 made, he divided,


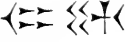



 a - na ummani - šu u - [tak - kil] - ma
 to his army he [trusted] and





12. 
 ša il - tâl i - ki - ir
 who prayed, hastened


 ma - har ilâni [rabûti]
 before the [great] gods




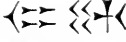
13.    
 šanatu šilaša'a sibuṭu'u
 year thirty-seventh of'




       [  ]
 D.P. Nabu - kudurri - ušur šar mât [Tin - tir - ki]
Nebuchadnezzar king of the country [of Babylon]







14.    
 Mi - šir a - na e - piš
 [to] Mišir to make






  [ ]
 taḥazi il - [lik - ma]
 war he w[ent]


REVERSE.

1.    
 [ummani-šu A-ma-] a - su šar Mi - šir
 [his army Amā]sis king of Mišir

  
 ipḥir - ma
collected and

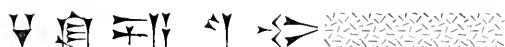
2.      
 [il-li] - ku u - ša - ra - bu - tu
 [his soldiers we]nt, they spread abroad.

   [] 
 I-a - a - te (?)
As for me (?)

3. 

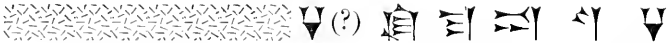
 na(?) - gi - i ni - su - tu

 a remote district,



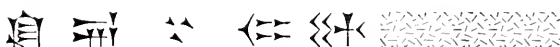
 ša ki - rib tam - tim

 which (is) within the sea

4. 


 ša - ki mâ - du - tam ša

 many from the



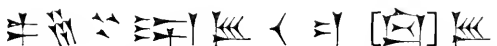
 ki - rib mât Mi - šir

 midst of the country of Mišir

5. 


 - na - ši kakki

 soldier(s),




 murniški u D.P. [narḫab]âti

 horses, and [chariots]

6. 


 ri - šu - ti - šu

 [for] his help








 id - kam - ma

 he assembled and








7. 

 u - ḫa - a ma - ḫar - šu



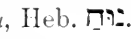


 looked before him

8.  I 
 - šu it - ta - kil - ma
 his [army] he trusted and
9.   
 - šak - kan te - e - mu
 *fi.reel* a command

The ends of the following seven lines are all that now appear:—

10. . 11. . 12.  . 13. .
14. . 15. 16. .

NOTES.

6. *Tušalla*, 2nd pers. sing. masc. aorist Pael of *bolū*
 Heb. .
- Tušališ*, 2nd pers. sing. masc. aorist Shaphel of *elišu*,
 Heb. .
7. *Tušakšid*, 2nd pers. sing. masc. aorist Shaphel of *kašadu*.
Tuūhi, 2nd pers. sing. masc. aorist Pael of *nišu*, Heb. .
8. *Tušepiš*, 2nd pers. sing. masc. aorist Shaphel of *epišu*.
Tušarba, 2nd pers. sing. masc. aorist Shaphel of *rabū*,
 Heb. .
9. *Tuūūd*, 2nd pers. sing. masc. aorist Kal of *uūadu*,
 Arab. .

10. *Apkallu* (𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 or 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭), corresponding with the Akkadian 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭- or 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭-, is formed from the Akkadian words *ab*, "grey-haired man" (Ass. *šibu*, Del. Lesest., p. 62, l. 96; W.A.I. II, 33, 10c) and *gal*, "great." The correctness of this is plain when we compare the passage from S 12 (W.A.I. V. 13, 34-35):—

𒀭𒀭 (?) ¹	𒀭𒀭-	𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭- 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭- 𒀭𒀭
		ki - ši - lu gal - lum
𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭	𒀭𒀭-	𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭- 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭
		ap - gal - lum

where the scribe has purposely made a wide space to show that he regarded them as two words.²

Alaku. The explanation of 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 is to be found in the beautiful hymn to Ninip. W.A.I. II, p. 19, l. 3, 4, which a duplicate brought to England by Mr. Rassam in 1878 (Rm. 126) corrects as follows:—

𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭	𒀭𒀭𒀭	𒀭𒀭𒀭	𒀭𒀭𒀭	𒀭𒀭𒀭	𒀭𒀭𒀭	𒀭𒀭𒀭	𒀭𒀭𒀭	𒀭𒀭𒀭	𒀭𒀭𒀭
GIRI-GIN-	NA -	ZU -	ŠŪ	AN -	KI -	A	BUL -	BUL	
ina	alaki -	ka,	šamû	u	iršitim,	inuššu?			

*in thy course, (as for) heaven and earth, where are they?*³

The Babylonian hymn to the Sun-god gives the same word with the elements transposed, and a slight difference of meaning:—

𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭	𒀭𒀭𒀭	𒀭𒀭𒀭	𒀭𒀭𒀭	𒀭𒀭𒀭	𒀭𒀭𒀭	𒀭𒀭𒀭	𒀭𒀭𒀭	𒀭𒀭𒀭	𒀭𒀭𒀭
AM	E -	BAR -	RA	GIN -	NA -	GIRI -	ZU	SI	ĜI -
bel	,,	alik	padan -	ka		lišir			

O lord of E-barra, may he direct thy straight path!

¹ Or 𒀭𒀭 (?).

² For the form 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭- see W.A.I. IV, pl. 14, No. 2 rev., 6, 7 : 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭- 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭. Ass.: *D.P. Gibil, apkallum* (𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭), *ša ina māti šakû*. "O Firegod, prince, who in the land riseth." The word also occurs in pl. 26, lines 18, 19 : *ana apkalli issi-ma*, "to the prince he spoke and". Here, unfortunately, the corresponding Akkadian word is broken away.

³ The rendering of this last word is doubtful; cf. W.A.I. IV, pl. 28; 11-2.

11. *It'am*, 3rd pers. sing. masc. Kal of *ta'amu*, Heb. אָמַם, "to divide," or "be twin," a word very rarely used as a verb. The meaning of the root is made clear from several passages in the Cuneiform Inscriptions, amongst which may be noted the translation of the sign ∇ *bar*, both simple and reduplicate, by *tu'amu* "double" (W.A.I. III, p. 70, l. 175 and 180). *Bar* is also compounded in Akk. with its synonym \equiv *tab*¹ (W.A.I. II, pl. 7, 28, 29, *cd.*), forming the word $\nabla \equiv \rightarrow \nabla$ *bar-tab-ba*, "double," which, with the word for "door" ($\equiv \nabla \nabla$) is translated in Assyrian by *tu'ma[tu]* "folding doors."²
12. *It'ul*, 3rd pers. sing. masc. Iptheel of *š'alu*, Heb. אָלַם, with *l* for *š* before the inserted *t*.
Ik'ir, 3rd pers. sing. masc. Kal of *k'aru*.

REVERSE.

1. *Šar Mišir*. Thus written in the original, without $\nabla \nabla$ *mātu*, "land," as one would have expected.
2. *Ušrabuṭu*, 3rd pers. plu. masc. aorist Pa'lel of *šarabuṭu*, "to stretch out," "to extend."

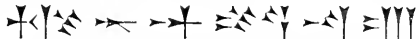

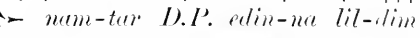
That this is a quadriliteral root, and not the Šhaphel of a trilateral one, we learn from several passages in the bilingual texts. The most important of these are, W.A.I. IV, pl. 2, l. 4, 5 and 41, 42, *ēnenene*, $\equiv \equiv \equiv \nabla$ ~~$\nabla \nabla \nabla$~~ ~~$\nabla \nabla \nabla$~~ (var. ~~$\nabla \nabla$~~ ~~$\nabla \nabla$~~) $\nabla \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \equiv$ *šumu*,³ *zakīku muttašrábituti*⁴ *šumu*, "They, vapour wide-outreaching (are) they!"


¹ See W.A.I. II, p. 30, l. 40, where ∇ (so to be corrected) has, among other renderings, those of *aḫu* and *tappú* (from the Akkadian *tabba* "brother," "companion").

² See also W.A.I. II, pl. 23, l. 24, *cd.*



³ $\nabla \nabla$ plainly in both cases, and not $\rightarrow \nabla \nabla$ (W.A.I. IV, pl. 2, col. v, line 42).

⁴ Thus, *mul-taš* ($\nabla \nabla$)-*ra-bi-tu-ti*, as W.A.I. IV, rightly gives, and not *mul-tar* ($\nabla \nabla$)-*ra-bi-tu-ti*, as M. Lenormant corrects. "Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.," Vol. VI, p. 174.

and K, 1284, l. 5, 6 
  *nam-tar D.P. edin-na lil-lim*
ni-gid-gid; Assyrian, *ša ina širim kima zakiki ittanašrabītu*,
 “(the pestilence) which like a vapour extends itself in
 the land.” (Études Accadiennes, II, 1, pp. 240, 241.)¹

3. *Nisutu*. From *nisú*, “to go afar.”  (Haupt).
6. *Idkamma*, 3rd pers. sing. masc. aorist Kal of *dakû*.
7. *Ukû*, see Lotz, “Die Inschriften Tiglathpileser’s I,” p. 112.
8. *Ittakil*, 3rd pers. sing. masc. aorist Iphtéal of *takahu*.

¹ The text there published seems to have been restored from a rough transcript.

[NOTE.—The system of transliteration adopted here (the use of *š* for *s* (), *s* for *ś* (), and *k* for *q*), is that of the German school of Assyriology, and is much more convenient than the system in use in England. To this is added also the use of *h* for *h* or *kh* (*g* for *h*, *h*, or *kh* in Akkadian and Sumerian), *ia* for *ya*, and *a'a* or *á* for *ai*, proposed by Dr. Paul Haupt (for the two last see his “Sumerischen Familiengesetze,” p. 63). Notes upon some of these alterations will be found in a future paper.]



DESCRIPTION OF THE SO-CALLED TOMB OF
ST. LUKE AT EPHEBUS,

CONTAINED IN A SERIES OF LETTERS,
BY G. WEBER,

WITH NOTES BY
W. HARRY RYLANDS, F.S.A. (*Secretary*).

Read 6th April, 1880.

It will no doubt be remembered that at the meeting of this Society held on 5th February, 1878, two papers were read bearing on this subject. The first, by Mr. William Simpson, "On the Supposed Tomb of St. Luke at Ephesus,"¹ was followed by one "On the Antiquities of Ephesus having Relation to Christianity,"² by Mr. J. T. Wood, F.S.A. A long and interesting discussion followed, in which the Rev. Dr. Currey (in the Chair), Mr. C. T. Newton, Mr. Richard Cull, F.S.A., and others, took part. The unanimous opinion appears to have been that there was no authority whatever for the statement that the tomb in question was that of St. Luke, although the possibility was admitted that the bull carved upon the stonework of the doorway might be connected with the dedication of a portion of the building to that evangelist.

This monument, if only possibly identified with the evangelist, the incidents of whose life and the manner of whose death even are matters of uncertainty, appeared to me to be of so much interest, that a collection of facts bearing on the subject, and forming a supplement to the papers

¹ Printed in the "Transactions," Vol. VI, pp. 323-326.

² Vol. VI, pp. 327-333.

of Mr. Simpson and Mr. Wood, must be of some value. It was therefore with pleasure that I undertook the task of collecting so far as was in my power any additional information to that sent by M. Weber.

In a long letter to the "Academy," 27th July, 1878, Dr. Jean Paul Richter refers to the papers read before the Society, and in describing the monument called by Mr. Wood the tomb of St. Luke, instances as Roman buildings of the same form the tomb of Costanza on the Via Nomentana, near Rome, and that of Helena, on the Via Labicana. He adds, "I am firmly convinced that the structure in question was dedicated to the evangelist as a 'memoria,' and that the big cross on the door-jamb of the circular building is in high relief, and certainly as old as the building itself."

In his reply,¹ Mr. Simpson points out that Dr. Richter had entirely overlooked one most important point in his communication to the Society, that the ruin as it now stands appeared to be formed of two buildings—a Christian chapel (which it was not disputed had possibly been dedicated to St. Luke) built into an ancient Greek tomb, and that he supposed the original construction to have been circular, with a passage concentric with the outer wall, from which a number of sepulchral cells radiated outwards. He also mentioned that the bull was probably that commonly known as the "Indian bull," having a hump similar to the Brahminie bull, commonly represented on coins found in Caria and that region of Asia Minor, the later sculptor copying the older form of animal.

On the question of the origin of the building Mr. Wood is quite as satisfied as Mr. Richter. He writes²: "In my book, 'Discoveries at Ephesus,' I have detailed my reasons for supposing that the building was not only associated with the memory of St. Luke, but that it might have been his tomb. One thing is quite certain: it never was a Greek building. There is no trace of Greek work either in the foundations or in the superstructure. From the details of the architecture found in connection with the building, I con-

¹ "Academy," 3rd August, 1878.

² *Ibid.*, 10th Aug., 1878, and "Athenæum," May 1st, 8th, June 5th and 19th, 1880.

sidered that it might have been erected towards the latter end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century. Professor Richter thinks it a little later. There is no occasion to compare the bull figured on the door-post with a 'Brahmanic' bull because it has a hump—it is simply the bull of the country.¹ The remains of the figure of the saint on the inner side of the door-post have been overlooked by both your correspondents. There is no reason to suppose that the 'recesses' in the foundations were 'sepulchral.' I believe they are the result of an arrangement in the substructure to economise masonry."

In his reply,² Mr. Simpson discusses the points in question, and I regret that the length of his letter prevents my printing it in full, but it will interest those who care to follow up the subject. No reply from the other correspondents appeared, and that of Mr. Simpson seems to have disposed of the subject so far as was possible from the information then in his possession.

In August, 1879, M. Weber, of Smyrna, having seen the above letters, wrote to Mr. Simpson with descriptions and drawings of the monument. This communication was kindly handed to me for the Society. It was still agreed, however, that some difficulties as to the original intention of the builders required clearing up, and accordingly I wrote M. Weber, at the suggestion of my friend Mr. A. S. Murray, if possible to have some excavations made. This he was fortunately able to do, and I am sure that the Members of the Society will join with me in the satisfaction I feel in publishing the results he has kindly enabled me to lay before them.

His first letter, which is as follows, bears date:—

"SMYRNA, *July*, 1879.

"In the 'Academy'³ of last year a correspondence appeared with reference to the so-called tomb of St. Luke.

¹ Cf. letter from Mr. George Dennis, "Academy," 24th July, 1880.

² "Academy," 17th August, 1878.

³ No. 325, 27th July, 1878; No. 326, 3rd August, 1878; No. 327, 10th August, 1878; No. 328, 17th August, 1878.

Mr. William Simpson concludes one of his letters with these words, 'A more careful plan than any we have yet got of this interesting monument would be of importance.'

"Taking a great interest in the ruins of Ephesus, and seeing that no one else would reply to this appeal, I resolved to do what was in my power, and the enclosed plan, which is very carefully made,¹ will help I think to settle the question whether the building is of purely Christian origin as stated by Dr. Richter and Mr. Wood, or if it is an ancient tomb that has been converted into a place of Christian worship as supposed by Mr. Simpson.

"Before proceeding, let me here state the description given by Fr. Adler, of Berlin,² who visited the ruins of Ephesus in company with Dr. E. Curtius and some other scholars, in September, 1871. He writes thus:—"There is a third tomb which bears the striking name of the Tomb of St. Luke. A cylindrical substructure remains of 20 metres [better 16 m.] in diameter, lined with slabs of white marble; the interior is covered with a regular vaulted passage, reposing in the centre upon a round strong pillar, and on the outer side on the thick exterior wall pierced by 12 [better 16] windows. This structure agrees quite well with that of the Gordian tomb (Torre di Schiavi), on the Via Prænestina, and the tomb of Romulus, son of Maxentius, on the Via Appia at Rome, but bears in the fine technical execution of the details, especially those of the plinths and the frames of the windows, the stamp of an older epoch, very likely that of the end of the first century A.D. The supposition is pretty obvious that the upper building was a peripteral or circular structure of 12 [better 16] columns, as in the so-called temples of Vesta at Rome and Tivoli. This portion has been destroyed at an early period, because in early Christian times the substructure has been broken into on the south side, in order to utilise anew the interior. A little chapel was arranged in a very indifferent style, the entrance being ornamented with two marble pillars *in antis*. The left one, which

¹ See annexed plates, which are copies of M. Weber's survey.

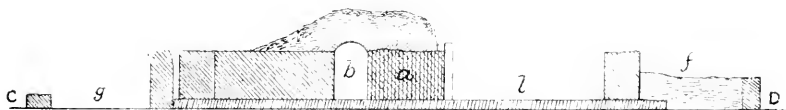
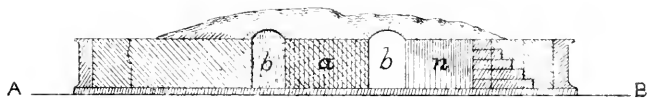
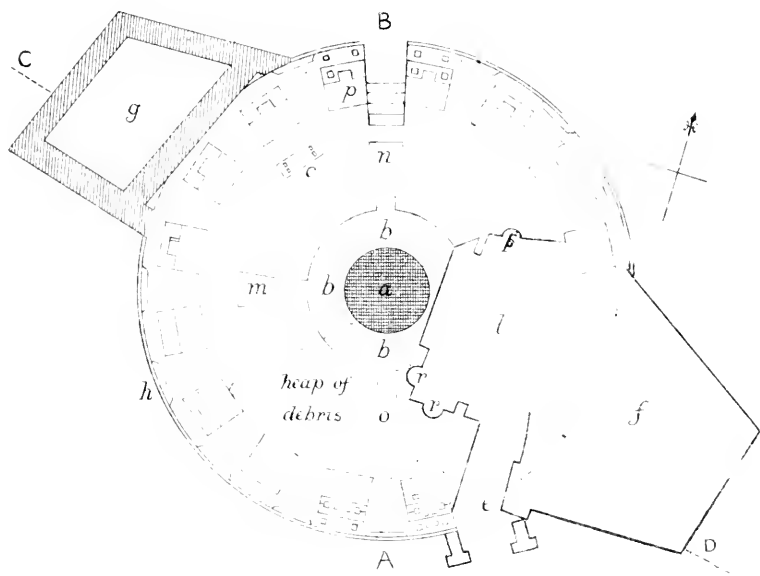
² "Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie Kleinasiens," by E. Curtius, p. 44

is without any sculpture, is now broken to pieces and lies on the ground: the other pillar, that on the right-hand side, is yet standing, and has carved upon it in front an old Christian cross, underneath which is a bull walking, the treatment of both of which is in true ancient style, so that from this the Christian origin and the traditional designation are out of the question.

“This description, when compared with the plan, gives at once in the main points the true character of the monument—that of an antique tomb of the first century, converted at a later time into a Christian chapel dedicated to St. Luke.

“I may add a few remarks on the description given by Fr. Adler. His measurements, as above stated, are too great: the diameter of the building is 15 metres 16 cent. The number of columns was not 12, but 16, with a like number of windows. Nearly the whole number of pillars of the basement now remain *in situ*. The jamb of the right side of the door, like that of the left, which has an incised cross upon it, now lies on the ground. The Christian origin of which M. Adler speaks, refers only to the chapel. And, lastly, there can be no *traditional* designation of a tomb of St. Luke, since Mr. Wood was the first who gave this name to the monument.”

“The following explanations will add to the clearness of my plan. One important point has been overlooked both by Dr. J. P. Richter and Mr. Wood, but is noted by M. Adler: it is the round pillar (*a*), 2 metres 55 cent. in diameter, situated in the centre of the monument. Also the vaulted concentric passage, 1 metre 8 cent. broad, marked *b b b*, of which a portion lies in the chapel of St. Luke and the other is blocked up with rubbish. I think this shows at once the difference of the two structures. To the north of this passage is an interesting niche (*n*), which widens at the end (from 0·65 cent. to 1 metre 12 cent.), 1 metre 14 cent. in height. It is vaulted over, like the concentric passage, with fine large bricks. This niche is the only one to be seen; if there were originally others, they can only have been on the west, south, and east sides. The two former points are blocked up; the



0 1 2 3 4 5 20 metres

THE SO-CALLED TOMB OF ST. LUKE AT EPHESUS

latter lies in the chapel. The peculiar form of this niche is another proof that it was never intended to economise masonry. The pillars on the outside are square, formed of two large blocks of limestone, as shown in Fig. 1, *p*. The marble facing, 43 cent. in thickness and for the most part thrown down, is very interesting. At *h* one of the windows is yet in its place, and Fig. 2 is an exact drawing of it. These windows form very graceful niches, and perfectly justify M. Adler's remark on the careful execution of this part of the monument.

“In Fig. 1, I have endeavoured to show the ingenious way in which the marble facing (*m*) was fastened to the blocks of limestone (*p*). On the upper side of both of them are small holes, sometimes four in number, often only two, a corresponding number of holes being of course in each case made in the covering slab (*n*). These were afterwards filled up with lead, as may be inferred from the little channels cut in the blocks and leading from outside the holes. The lead may perhaps account for the wilful destruction of this beautiful marble facing. Another curious feature is in the dovetailed cuttings on the upper side of some of the blocks (*a p*), probably added to give to the slab (*n*) and the whole construction more firmness in case of earthquakes.

“On the north there still exist the remains of a flight of steps between the two pillars, leading up into the peripteral temple: we are therefore justified in placing the entrance to the ancient monument at this point, the more so as it would then face the road which lay on that side, and not on the south.

“The two sections A B and C D show what remains of the monument at the present time; the letters correspond with those given in the ground plan.

“Around the tomb I found a few architectural remains which are represented in Figs. 3, 4, and 5.¹ To the south lies the base of a column, in diameter 64 cent.; it is shown in Fig. 1.

¹ Fig. 3 is no doubt a piece of the corona of a cornice—a somewhat similar piece, see Stuart's “Athens,” Vol. II, chap. ii, and plate xxv, figs. 1, 2, and 3. —W. H. R.

“Near to the entrance of the Christian chapel is a broken column of black marble, upon which is the following inscription:—

ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥ
ΧΑ^ΡΚΩΜΑ
ΤΑΔΟΣ.

which may be read *Διογένου Χαρκωματίδος*.

“The general plan, Fig. 2, shows the quadrangle originally surrounded on all sides by a colonnade, in the centre of which stood the circular building.

“All the parts here described form a combination of details, in which each item links perfectly with the remainder. If we now pass to the later monument, or the alterations made by the Byzantine, we are struck by the utter carelessness of the architect. The little chapel, only 6 metres in length, has been cut most irregularly into the east side. Three small niches (*r, r, r, r*), with their vaulted roofs, mark clearly the Christian destination of this building. Traces of a vault yet remain in the wall against the central pillar. But the most striking detail is perhaps the oblique position of the entrance (*e*), which I measured with the utmost care. A pillar has been taken out to make way for this passage, which passes straight to the centre of the chapel (*l*), and not radially with the centre of the original monument.

“Two other buildings (*f* and *g*) have been overlooked by Mr. Wood and all travellers. At *g* only the foundation walls remain; the one against the older building is much higher than the others, and shows the commencement of a vaulted roof (see section C D). At *f* the place is filled up with rubbish, the walls being nearly one metre in height.

“It is worth noting that the marble facing slabs had been taken away before the two additions (*f* and *g*) were built against the circular monument.

“All these later buildings are of very indifferent *appareil*, the material consisting of small stones intermixed with layers of brick, which contrasts very ill with the construction of the earlier building.

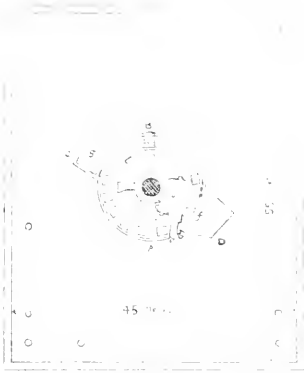


Fig 0. Ground Plan.

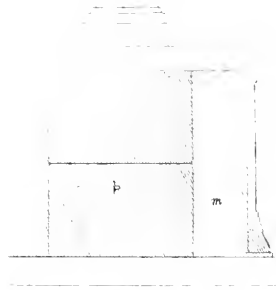


Fig 1 south face



Fig 5

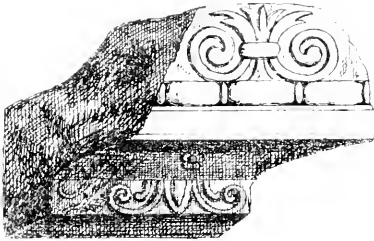


Fig 3.

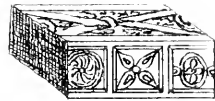


Fig 4

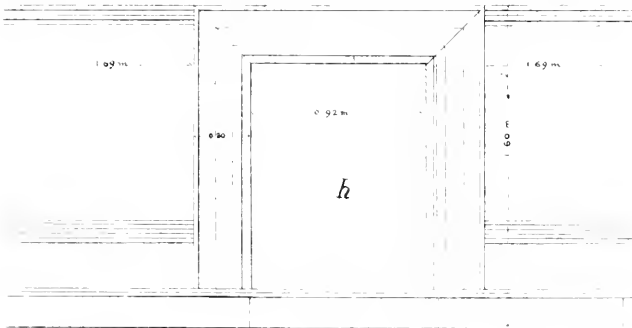


Fig 2.

THE SO-CALLED TOMB OF ST LUKE AT EPHESUS

“The only portion in which the Byzantine builder has shown a little care is in the door-jamb, having placed them against the beautiful marble lining he felt that *noblesse oblige*. As both of them are now lying on the ground, it is difficult to say exactly in what position they were originally placed, considering the bias of the entry. As for the ‘human figure which has been carved on the inner side of the door-jamb,’ it is a rough chipping out with a sharp instrument in outline as annexed. Around the head the strokes appear more regular, as if made with a kind of chisel, sufficient only to allow Mr. Wood to speak of a *nimbus*.¹



“From all these facts, I think we may fairly conclude that the ruin was a tomb or circular temple dating from the end of the first century, converted in the fourth into a Christian chapel dedicated to St. Luke. If the date of the older monument is so fixed, we need not look for a pure Greek origin for it, as the whole of the portion of the town in which it stands, according to the inscriptions found in the Odeon and the Woolmarket, had been restored by the Romans. It seems probable that this monument, like the circular tombs or *tumuli* towards the Odeon, belong to the same epoch of renovation. Still, as a Roman monument it may puzzle, for, as far as I am aware, there is no other building like it that has been preserved until now, to offer points of comparison.

“As for the bovine animal sculptured on the door-jamb, it is not the ‘bull of the country,’ as stated by Mr. Wood,² the buffalo of India, as I am reminded by Mr. Edward Purser, being nearly of the same form as that of Asia Minor; having no hump, and keeping its head in a horizontal position, the horns, which are long ones, lie on the back; altogether, the animal has a stupid and ferocious appearance.

“The face of the bull in the carving has been damaged, and no evidence remains of either eyes or nostrils.”

“The ruins were photographed by Trottmann, one of the sappers sent out to assist Mr. Wood in the work.”

¹ Cf. also, letter from Mr. George Dennis, “Academy,” 24th July, 1880.

² “Academy,” 10th August, 1878.

M. Weber, in accordance with my request, having kindly made a journey to Ephesus to again inspect the ruin and obtain the further notes required, sent me the result as follows:—

“SMYRNA,

“9th January, 1880.

“The cell (*n*) is certainly of the same epoch as the round building: the vaulting is similar to that of the concentric passage (*b*): the stones are of the same kind and form in both: in short, it is a part of the original plan and building: no difference is to be seen anywhere in the *appareil*. The best proof that it has not at a later date been cut into the original building is the existence of a second cell (*m*), as shown in the enclosed plan.¹

“I obtained a workman, and had the concentric passage cleared out (near *b*), which resulted in the uncovering of the entry of the second niche (*m*), situated exactly at right angles with the first one (*n*). It was filled up with earth and stones, which I had cleared out, sufficient to satisfy myself by measurements that this cell was the same in form as the first. The vault had been broken in, which will account for its being filled up.

“There remains also a cell (*o*) on the south side, which is still hidden. It is covered by a high heap of rubbish on one side, and on the other blocked up with the masonry of the Christian chapel, so that any excavation to clear out this would take some time.

“I have no doubt, however, that the evidence of the two cells (*m* and *n*) is sufficient not only to prove that the cells formed part of the original construction, but also that there were in all four cells leading out from the circular passage, the symmetry of the building at least seeming to require it.

“*À la rigueur*, one could suppose only three cells—the two first ones and that which has been cleared away to make space for the Christian chapel.

“On the top of the monument, towards the north-west, lies a hewn stone (1·30 metre long and 0·8 broad), with

¹ This new plan has been substituted in the plate for the one first sent by M. Weber.

several holes in it. In trying to raise it a corner broke off, and below was the cement in which it was embedded, so that we may fairly conclude that the stone in question was the last remnant of a circular *cella* which formed the background of the beautiful exterior colonnade."

So far M. Weber. From the above description it will be seen that the original building is, as stated by Mr. Simpson¹ in his letter to the "Academy," "of that kind known as *Polyandrion*, such as were erected in public places for those slain in battle, and constructed so as to receive a number of bodies";² and that this is "more strongly confirmed by referring to Mr. Newton's description of the Lion Tomb at Cnidus.³ He says that it is pierced with openings, which radiate like embrasures from the centre of the chamber to the outside of the basement. There can be no doubt but these passages were intended for receptacles for bodies.' He also states that 'such an arrangement of cells or *Θήκαι*, branching out from a principal chamber, may be seen in Hellenic tombs at Budrum and at Pyli, in the island of Cos.' The only difference between these tombs and the monument at Ephesus is that instead of a central chamber the latter had a circular passage."

Of the same class of building may be mentioned that at Samothrace, discovered in 1874,⁴ and first referred to by the Germans as an example of the same class as the Philippeion at Olympia, which was then only known from descriptions. The recent German excavations have, however, brought to light the original monument, the foundations of which now remaining leave no doubt that it was exactly the same form of building as the one at Ephesus.

Obviously this was a kind of monument which found great favour with the Romans, as may be seen from the temple at Tivoli; the tomb of Costanza, on the Via Nomentana, near Rome; the tomb of Helena, on the Via Labicana; the Gordian Tomb, on the Via Proenestina; and that of Romulus,

¹ "Academy," 3rd August, 1878.

² "Academy," 17th August, 1878.

³ "Travels and Discoveries in the Levant," Vol. 11, p. 224.

⁴ Conze, "Samothrake," pl. lvi.

son of Maxentius, on the Via Appia, at Rome. It must of course always be difficult to say whether a monument of this kind belongs to the time of the successors of Alexander the Great (B.C. 356–324), when it was a natural form of monument in Greece, or to a Roman period when it was an imitative structure.

Everything must depend on the skill with which the building is executed, and especially the style of the execution of the ornament. On this point all authorities agree in praising it, nor need we attach too much weight to the opinion of its being of Roman times, as this style of building was then only known from Roman examples. The apparently very careful drawings of ornament by M. Weber point unmistakably to the character of Greek ornament after the date of Alexander's time, and have nothing in common with the ornamentation used by the Romans.

With regard to the tradition that it is the Tomb of St. Luke, I have looked through a large number of writers who have visited Ephesus, and can find no such tradition mentioned by anyone.

As already stated, Mr. Richter is of opinion¹ that the cross is "certainly as old as the building itself"; and this cross, being the same shape as those found upon Christian lamps discovered at Ephesus, that the Christian origin of the one on the door-post is undoubted.


Of the Christian origin of the cross there seems no reasonable doubt. Its form is common upon Christian monuments. Sir Charles Fellows² mentions, on an island near the shore in the neighbourhood of Koógez, the ruins of an early Christian church. He gives a representation of a cross similar in form to that carved on the door-jamb, and states:—"The cross represented on the early Christian buildings is always of the form here represented, which is very similar to the one shown at Ravenna as a relic of that era."

The door-jamb itself originally belonged to an ancient building, and not to the Christian shrine. With all due respect to the opinion of Fr. Adler, who, as mentioned above, characterises the treatment of both the cross and bull as

¹ "Academy," 27th July, 1878. ² "Asia Minor" (Lond., 1839), pp. 250-51.

being in true ancient style, and therefore considers that their Christian origin are out of the question, there can, I think, be no reasonable doubt, as suspected by Mr. Simpson, that the cross was an addition of Christian times.

The symbol of St. Luke was an *ox* or *calf*, and not a "Carian bull," or, in fact, a bull of any kind. The head only was often represented alone, and the early images of the evangelical symbol are uniformly represented with wings.¹ It would hardly be correct, I think, to assume that every representation of a bull's head carved in ancient times referred to the evangelist; in fact, I cannot find that the four symbols of the evangelists were introduced into works of art earlier than the fifth century,² and it seems that they did not come into general use until the seventh. Also, "the general application of the four creatures to the four evangelists is of much earlier date than the separate and individual application of each symbol."³

Had this bull upon the door-jamb been of Christian origin, it would have been amply sufficient to denote the dedication of the shrine to St. Luke as a Christian without any addition,  but we find a small incised cross over the neck of the bull, rudely chipped out, only a few millimetres in depth. Had this been a portion of the original carving we should expect to find it, like the bull itself, cut in relief, and not *incised*.⁴ Nothing is seen of it in the photograph; but in the woodcut in Mr. Wood's work on Ephesus it is represented as being in relief. There can be no reasonable doubt that, according to a common custom with the early Christians, when utilizing Pagan objects, this small cross was cut into the slab over the ancient bull in order to mark it with the symbol of Christianity, and claim it as Christian property.

¹ Mrs. Jameson, "Sacred and Legendary Art," Vol. I, p. 136.

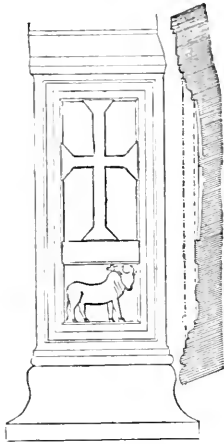
² *Ibid.*, p. 133. This was also the opinion of M. Ernest Renan, as expressed in his remarks after the reading of this paper. See "Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.," 1879-80, p. 51.

³ Dr. Richter ("Academy," 27th July, 1878) gives the date as the end of the fourth century, when, he says, "they recur again and again."

⁴ Cf. letter from Mr. George Dennis, "Academy," 24th July, 1880.

The supposition that the larger cross is also a later addition is borne out by the fact that it is sunk deep into the panel—lower than the lowest portion of the original mouldings, and the rough chipping of the flat ground is still visible even in the photograph.

As pointed out to me by my friend Mr A. S. Murray, no such deep cutting is apparent in the case of the bull, the lowest portion of the panel of which is on about the same level as the highest portion of the cross, the band which divides them being higher than either. Thus we may fairly take it that the cross alone is an addition, the bull (which unmistakably is of ancient date) being the only portion remaining of the ancient ornamentation within the panel, the upper portion (if any) having been chipped away to make place for the cross.¹ It may be worth noting that an ancient writer mentions that the custom was with the youths of Ephesus



to fight with bulls. The representation of the Carian bull upon coins may have been the survival of a symbol referring to such a custom.²

As regards the discovery of the monument by Mr. Wood, Chandler,³ who visited Asia Minor and Greece at the expense of the Dilettanti Society so far back as the year 1764, in his

¹ M. Weber mentions the fragments of a small bas-relief in the Museum of the Greek School at Smyrna, upon which is represented a bull charging in the neck with its horns an animal, probably a bear, standing upon its hind legs, a similar but smaller animal lies on its back beneath the bull. Upon the latter a man is seated as if upon a horse, and guides it with a bridle. In another portion of the same scene is represented a bull, which appears either to be led away, or to be fighting with a figure, of which only a small portion remains. Both the bulls have humps like that one in the panel.

² The annexed cut and section is from a carefully measured drawing by M. Weber, sent after this paper was read. He is of opinion that, as the mouldings do not agree with those of the blank windows of the *memoria*, both door-jambs belonged to another monument, and the crosses cut when they were transferred to the Christian monument.

³ "Travels in Asia Minor and Greece." By R. Chandler, D.D. London, 1817. Vol. I, p. 139.

description of Ephesus, has the following :—“ Going on from the Theatre you come to a narrow valley, which divides Mount Prion from Corissus. Near the entrance, in a small watercourse, was a marble with an inscription, which I copied (“*Inscr. Ant.*,” p. 11), and we could discern a few letters on another stone overwhelmed with rubbish. Close by were the ruins of a church, and a stone carved with a Greek cross. Within the valley you find broken columns and pieces of marble, with vestiges of an odéum or music theatre on the slope of Prion.” With so little information, it is difficult to identify the particular building mentioned by Chandler; but the position is so nearly that of the so-called tomb of St. Luke, coupled with the fact of that he mentions a stone with a cross, that perhaps he may have been describing this monument. On referring to Mr. Edward Falkener’s sketch-map¹—at about the spot where the monument stands—I noticed a building marked which appeared probably to represent the one in question. In reply to a note I addressed to Mr. Falkener, he was kind enough to send the information here printed as an appendix. The building is also given in its proper position in the plan appended to Mr. Hyde Clarke’s lecture on Ephesus.²

Thus it will be seen that some persons may be of opinion that in the case of this monument a better word than “discovery” might have been chosen.

¹ “Ephesus and the Temple of Diana.” London, 1862.

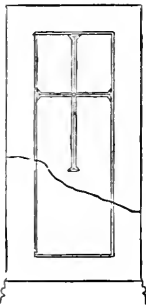
² Read before the Smyrna Literary and Scientific Institution, etc., and printed at Smyrna, 1863.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the above was written, M. Weber has sent further particulars, which are of interest:—

“The outer circle was divided into thirty-two equal parts. The whole basement, presenting outside a succession of broad slabs of marble corresponding to the stones inside (supporting the columns), sixteen in number, alternating with sixteen finely-framed windows. On this basement or platform the columns were raised.

“The left pilaster of the doorway is broken, but the under half is still standing *in situ*; and, as the case on which the marble facing rested is also still *in situ*, there is full evidence that the door-jambs are a later addition to the building. On examining the upper half of this jamb, to my great surprise, I found an interesting fact:—In the centre of the fracture, on the edges of both pieces of the door-jamb, is a hole with



two little channels leading to it; from this we may fairly conclude that this door-jamb was broken when put up in its present position; and, in order to be thus utilised, the two parts were joined with lead. The cross on the upper part of the front of this jamb is quite different in form from that over the bull on the other. It is sharply incised, in a triangular shape, 0·015 mm. wide, and 0·01 centim. deep. The whole surface of the stone is smooth, in keeping

with the general working of the stone.”




LETTER FROM EDWARD FALKENER,
UPON THE SO-CALLED TOMB OF ST. LUKE AT
EPHESUS.

GLAN-Y-MOR,
CARMARTHENSHIRE,
2nd April, 1880.

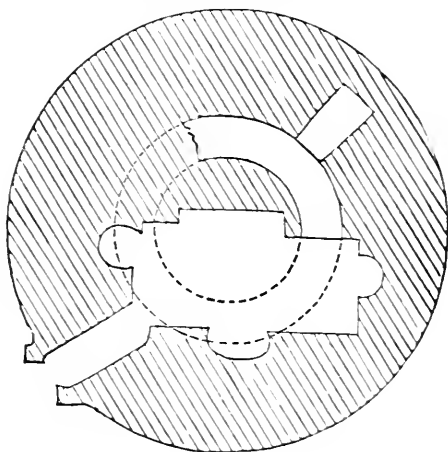
DEAR SIR,

You pay me the compliment of asking my opinion relative to the *so-called Tomb of St. Luke, at Ephesus*, enclosing copies of the papers read by Mr. Simpson and Mr. Wood before our Society, on the 5th of February, 1878. Having never seen Mr. Wood's *Ephesus*, and living here so far away from London, I cannot refer to that work and read what he has there written on the subject; but I conclude that everything there stated was collected together in the paper read before the Society on *The Antiquities of Ephesus having relation to Christianity*, and in that published in the *Sunday at Home*, March 24th, 1877.

In the first place, then, Mr. Wood says: "This building is situated near the Odeum, and is between that building and the Magnesian Gate." This is precisely the position of a monument shown in the "sketch-plan" of my *Ephesus*. Mr. Wood describes it as "of white marble, circular on plan, and fifty feet in diameter, . . . standing within a quadrangle more than 150 feet square, which was surrounded by a portico." In my work I speak of this monument as "a small monopteral building enclosed in a square peribolus,"¹ and on my sketch-plan, which is drawn to a very small scale, it measures 200 feet square (). There is no doubt, therefore, that the two descriptions apply to the same monument.

¹ "Ephesus and the Temple of Diana." London, 1862, p. 112.

With regard to the character of the monument as shown by its details, Mr. Wood describes it as "adorned by sixteen columns, which were raised upon a lofty basement, a large portion of which remains *in situ*, as well as one of the door-posts." He speaks of sinking a hole several feet deep below the marble pavement of the interior, which he calls a shrine, but without finding anything. Mr. Simpson, however, gives us a sketch of the door-post, and a plan of the central building itself, and says, "This sculptured pilaster seems to have marked an entrance which led into a small chapel, the plan of which makes it evident that it did not belong to the original design of the structure. The irregular form of what we may suppose to have been a Christian shrine bears no connection with the circular line of the monument. The one may be described as an invasion and a conversion of the other." He then narrates what *he* discovered in this monument, which will be better understood by his plan:—¹



SKETCH-PLAN OF POLYANDRION.

He describes "a tunnel-like passage, which seemed to me to be circular and concentric with the outer wall of marble slabs; and from this" (he says) "we may fairly conclude that it belonged to the first intention of the building. As this passage was blocked up with fallen earth, I could only pene-

¹ Trans. S.B.A., Vol. VI, p. 324.

trate through a small portion of its length, but in that I found a cell, which from its size was evidently intended for a tomb. This cell extended outwards between the passage and the external wall; and although only one cell was visible, I came to the conclusion that there were others, and that originally the passage had gone round, completing the circle, and that sepulchral cells similar to the one still to be seen had radiated from it along its whole extent." And he then goes on to quote a description of similar cells discovered by Mr. Newton in the "Lion" tomb at Cnidus.

Now, we cannot but feel that this circular gallery with radiating cells, discovered by Mr. Simpson, disposes entirely of the more modern shrine described by Mr. Wood; and if so, we must be convinced that the monument was not, as supposed by Mr. Wood, a shrine built in honour and memory of any one individual, but if radiating cells exist, that it was a *family monument*. Mr. Simpson speaks of it as of "Hellenic" period, while Mr. Wood ascribes it to the latter end of the third or beginning of the fourth century, at which age he fixes the double church of the Agora, although the one is of stone and marble, and the other of brick. From my recollection of it, however, I should ascribe it to the age of Tiberius, when so many buildings were erected in Asia Minor. Mr. Simpson says circular tombs of this kind are not common, but I would refer to the tombs of Augustus, Hadrian, Cæcilia Metella, Plautius, Scipio, which latter has several recesses or cells which contained six sarcophagi and numerous inscriptions; another tomb, supposed previously to be that of the Scipios—all at Rome; and the tomb at Tivoli so well known to artists.

We have to consider the supposed connection of this monument with St. Luke. "The wish is often father to the thought." Mr. Wood, with most commendable zeal, not content with his discovery of the Temple of Diana, has shown himself animated with a desire to make Christian discoveries. Mr. Wood says: "Now we know from Bible testimony that Ephesus was one of the seven cities in Asia Minor where Christian churches were established in early Christian times, and that even before St. Paul's conversion

there were many Christians in these cities, as well as in Judæa and Galilee and Samaria, in which places we are told the churches had rest." There is no authority whatever for this supposition. The only Christian whom St. Paul found at Ephesus when he first went there, was an eloquent, zealous, but half-converted Jew, Apollos, who had just arrived there, and even on his second visit to Ephesus in the following year he found only some apparent disciples of Apollos, who were ignorant even of the existence of the Holy Ghost.¹ Mr. Wood proceeds: "Another interesting antiquity of Ephesus is the font or basin which I found in the Forum. It is made of one solid block of breccia, is 15 feet in diameter, and is mounted on a short pedestal, which raises it about four feet above the level of the pavement. I have supposed that this was used as a *baptismal font* by the early Christians; the centre is raised sufficiently to enable the baptizer to stand dry-shod, and from fifteen to twenty persons might have been baptized at the same time!" I wonder whether this was total immersion? and I wonder also whether it is the same as the large basin which I found in the Agora, in the position marked *Fountains* on my large plan, one of which I supposed it to be? It being thirty-five years since I was at Ephesus, and having been there only a fortnight, I cannot speak with precision, but I believe the basin was broken, and that it had no hole in the centre for the insertion of a pipe.

So in like manner with this monument. Because Mr. Wood has found a cross, a bull, and the remains of a sculptured figure with a *nimbus*, he supposes the double fact of St. Luke's body having been removed here within the city, and this monument having been built over it, and of his having previously been buried at his death outside the city! And this without the slightest authority either in Scripture or tradition of St. Luke's ever having been to Ephesus! and, indeed, is it likely, or is it in accordance with early Christian practice, that if St. Luke had died there, and his place of burial were known, the Christians in the third or fourth century would have removed his bones, and placed a pagan-

¹ Acts xviii, 19, to xix, 3.

looking monument over them, instead of building a Christian church over the sacred grave where he was buried?

Carried away by his zeal, he not only discovers that St. Luke went to Ephesus! that he died and was buried there! and that his bones were removed 300 years afterwards to another place, and a pagan-looking monument built over them! but having discovered all this, he wishes an annual service to be held over this so-happily-discovered spot! Let us hear what he says: "The sarcophagus containing the bones of the saint would probably be found within the building I have described, and which may be termed the shrine, many feet below the marble pavement of the interior. I sank a hole here several feet deep without succeeding in finding the crown of the vault, which would probably be found on further exploration, and in which the sarcophagus was devoutly deposited by the early Christians, who, knowing how common it was to disturb the remains of the dead, and anxious that St. Luke's bones should not fall into the hands of the sacrilegious, took the precaution of placing the sarcophagus in a vaulted chamber deeper underground than was customary in these days. Not wishing to disturb St. Luke's remains, or to subject them to disturbance by others if they should be found, I consented only partly to comply with the wish of others, and did not persevere in the search beyond a certain depth It would be well if this tomb were placed under the care of one of the Christian communities of Smyrna, who would willingly take charge of it, and would in all probability appoint some religious service to be held at Ephesus on St. Luke's day"!

It is curious to notice in this passage the successive phases of Mr. Wood's pious reverence and belief. With the eye of faith he sees below him in the deep earth a vaulted chamber with its sacred sarcophagus inside, and he contemplates the devotional feeling with which the early Christians must have placed it there, and then, having excavated the ground without effect, the deeper he digs the deeper is his faith, and, full of admiration, he contemplates the excessive care with which the early Christians, like the Egyptians of old, must have taken to conceal the vault from profane eyes, and

entering into their feelings, he piously desists from further research; and as Joe Smith, the prophet of the Mormons, told his followers that it was unnecessary for him to walk upon the waters if they believed he was able to do so, so he tells us that if we believe, as we should do, that St. Luke's body lies buried there, it is unnecessary to find it, and we can at once perform pilgrimages, and offer adoration at his shrine.

That such pilgrimages will take place is not at all unlikely, for he goes on to say, as if in justification, "The Christians at Smyrna now celebrate certain days at Ephesus, special trains at cheap fares being provided for them by the railway authorities. The Roman Catholics set up an altar at the large mosque at Ayasalouk, where the archbishop performs Mass at least once a year, under the erroneous impression that the building was originally St. John's Church!¹ The Greeks hold services regularly on Sundays as well as on feast days and fast days in a little church which they have recently built on the hill at Ayasalouk over the remains of what was evidently an ancient Christian church. And the Armenians have a special service once a year at Ephesus, which they hold on the top of Mount Coressus amongst some large stones which they say mark the site of an ancient Christian church."

Still, however, there remains the fact of a cross and a bull having been sculptured on one panel, and a cross alone on the other panel of the door post. Mr. Wood, indeed, mentions that "on the inner face of the same door post had been carved a human figure the *nimbus* surrounding the head remains perfect to the present day. This figure, then, I presume must have been that of St. Luke the Evangelist." Mr. Simpson does not appear to have noticed this figure, neither has Dr. Richter. It must be observed, however, that this figure and these emblems being raised in sunk panels may have been sculptured when the ancient tomb was converted into a chapel, and possibly this small

¹ The absurdity of supposing that the beautiful mosque at Aiaslik was originally a Christian church is fully shown in my "Ephesus," pp. 152-7.

chapel may have been the church of St. Luke, though I should be sorry to vouch for such a theory: for we know that there existed at Ephesus churches to St. John, St. Luke, St. Paul, and St. Mark. But whether this were the case or not is immaterial, for it is, I think, very evident that the monument was originally a tomb erected by some ancient Ephesian family, the members of which would be buried in the monument itself, while their clients, freedmen, and slaves would be buried in those graves under the pavement of the peribolus, of which Mr. Wood in his zeal supposes "these were probably Christian graves, for which large sums of money would be paid"!

Mr. Wood discovered Christian inscriptions on the piers of a gateway in front of the Great Theatre. As well might it be attempted to prove that this theatre was built for "Passion Plays."

I have ventured to make these remarks, because you requested me to do so; otherwise I should have been content to hold my own opinion in private. At the same time, it appears to me that, in this age, we should not let our admiration of one who has distinguished himself by the discovery of one of the seven wonders of the world, carry us away into a blind acquiescence with what we can only regard as a theory, which, however excusable, justifiable, and commendable, is still but a pious conceit and delusion, founded on assumption, and destitute of proof.

Yours very faithfully.

EDWARD FALKENER.

W. H. RYLANDS, ESQ., F.S.A.



THE MONUMENTS OF THE HITTITES.

BY A. H. SAYCE.

Read 6th July, 1880.

FOUR years ago, in a paper published in the fifth volume of the Transactions of this Society (Part 1, 1876), I threw out a number of suggestions in regard to the mysterious inscriptions then known as Hamathite. Among these suggestions was one which I have since learned had been independently started by the Rev. William Wright, and which was confirmed almost immediately afterwards by the discovery of the site of Carehemish, the capital of the ancient Hittites, by Messrs. Skene and George Smith. It was to the effect that the so-called Hamathite inscriptions ought rather to be termed Hittite, that the hieroglyphics in which they were written were of Hittite invention, and that the existence of these inscriptions and hieroglyphics at Hamath indicated an early connection between this city and the Hittite people. Since the publication of my paper, proofs of the suggestion have been abundantly multiplied, and we may now consider the Hittite origin of the peculiar system of writing first noticed by modern travellers on the site of Hamath, to be among the ascertained facts of science. Henceforward, therefore, in speaking of it we must substitute Hittite for Hamathite.

At the time my paper was written, the only inscribed Hittite monuments with which we were acquainted were (1) five short inscriptions from Hamah (the ancient Hamath), three of which were almost identical; (2) eight clay impressions of seals found by Sir A. H. Layard in Sennacherib's palace, four of which were made by the same die; (3) a half-obliterated inscription from Aleppo, consisting of two short lines; and (4) an inscription copied first by Major Fischer in 1838, and subsequently by Mr. Davis, at Ibreez or Ivris, in the ancient Lykaonia, and published in the Transactions of

A. H. SAY

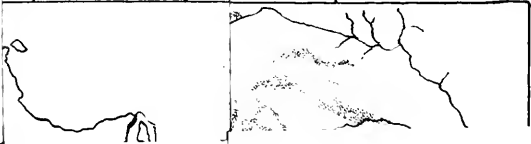
Transactions Soc. Bibl. Arch Vol. VII. pt 2

33

34

42

43



SKETCH-MAP TO ILLUSTRATE PAPER BY A. H. SAYCE ON THE HITTITE MONUMENTS.



this Society,¹ in which, however, only a character here and there could be recognized. With such scanty and uncertain materials, it was impossible to do more than make a few guesses.

We are better off now. Mr. Smith found on the site of Carchemish a broken statue, on the back of which was the latter portion of a Hittite inscription in five lines.² Since then excavations have been conducted on the same spot by Mr. Consul Henderson, and the first fruits of them reached the British Museum last summer in the shape of two monuments, both inscribed with Hittite characters, and one of them adorned with the mutilated sculpture of a human figure.³ Meanwhile I had made an important discovery. Texier, Hamilton, Perrot, and other travellers, had come across certain remarkable sculptures in different parts of Asia Minor, which bore some resemblance to Egyptian art on the one side, and still more to Assyrian art on the other, but yet had a very marked and peculiar character of their own. What made the matter the more interesting, was the fact that there were certain elements in early Greek art which could not be derived from a Phœnician source, but could be traced back to this peculiar art of Asia Minor. The chief monuments of the class to which I refer are found carved upon the rocks at Boghaz Keni, supposed to represent the classical Pteria, and at Eyuk, both of which are situated on the eastern bank of the Halys, and in the line of the high road from Sardes to Armenia. Besides these others are met with at Ghiaour-Kalessi in Phrygia, near Frahtin, and on the summit of one of the mountains of the Bulgar Dagh, in Lykaonia; and above all at Karabel, on the old road between Ephesus and Sardes. The remains of Hittite art and power found on the latter spot were carefully examined by myself

¹ "Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.," IV, 336-346.

² Although four copies of this inscription have been made, including one by Mr. George Smith, they are so imperfect, and differ so considerably, that until we are in possession of the original, or casts, it will be impossible to produce a correct representation.—W. H. R.

³ These are called J. I, and J. II, the letter J referring to Jerabis, the name of the mound in which they were discovered. In speaking of the Hamath stones, they are named, H. I. H. II, &c., according to the plates to be published with those of the Jerabis inscriptions, in Part 3 of the present volume of the "Transactions."—W. H. R.

last autumn. They are of special importance as proving that Hittite influence and culture once penetrated as far as the shores of the Ægean. One more Hittite monument may still be mentioned: this is the bas-relief of a king, first noticed by Mr. Badger, built into the wall of the castle of Birejik, and pictured by him in his work on the "Nestorians and their Ritual" (1852), Vol. I. p. 352. It is now in the British Museum, and entitled the "Monolith of a King."¹

I must first describe briefly the characteristics of the art which we must now term Hittite. It is modelled upon the bas-reliefs of Nineveh, or rather the gems of ancient Babylonia, and like them represents human figures and other objects in relief upon stone. But it has a peculiar roundness and thickness; the limbs of the figures are short and thick, and there is little attempt made to delineate the muscles. The feet are shod with boots which have the ends turned up, the head is usually covered with the so-called Phrygian cap, and a spear is often placed in one hand. A modification of the winged solar disk of Assyria is not unusual, and at Eyuk we find a representation of a double-headed eagle, which seems the prototype of the Seljukian eagle of later days. At Eyuk also we have two sphinxes, which, though modelled on an Egyptian model, differ profoundly from the Egyptian type, while the mode in which the feet are represented reminds us of the prehistoric statue of Niobe on Mount Sipylus.² At Boghaz Keui the female deities wear mural crowns, from which we may infer the Hittite origin of this decoration of the Ephesian Artemis. The mural crown seems to have been a specially Hittite invention. On the other hand, the general character of the sculptures at Boghaz Keui, where some of the deities for instance are represented as standing upon animals, shows its dependence not on Assyrian but on early Babylonian art.³

¹ See annexed plate.

² See Proceedings, Soc. Bibl. Arch., No. XX, January, 1881, in which an extract from a letter from Mr. George Dennis gives a woodcut of some characters he discovered on the Niobe, or, better, Kybele, of Mount Sipylus. Cf. "Le Sipylus et ses Monuments." Par G. Weber. Smyrna. 1880.—W. H. R.

³ It is consequently through the Hittites, and not through the Phœnicians, that the designs upon coins of Tarsus and Philadelphia, representing deities standing upon animals, must have made their way to those cities.



MONOLITH OF A KING.
FROM BIREJIK.
NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

The most striking peculiarity of the Hittite system of writing is that the characters are always in relief. We may infer from this that the earliest Hittite inscriptions were not upon stone, but plates of metal. This inference is supported by the fact that the Hittite copy of the treaty made with Ramses II of Egypt was engraved on a plate of silver.¹ According to the Egyptian monuments, this was of oblong shape, with a ring at the top for suspension, and M. Chabas has noticed that M. Renan has found monuments in the region of the Upper Lebanon where the points of attachment of metal plates may still be detected.

Our knowledge of the Hittites is almost entirely confined, at present, to what we know of them from the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments. From these we learn that from the 17th to the 12th centuries B.C. they were the leading people of Western Asia, holding the balance of power between Egypt on the one side and Assyria on the other, and that their two centres of power were Kadesh on the Orontes, and Carchemish, now Jerabis, on the Euphrates, about 16 miles south of Birejik. The southern capital, which stood on an island, underwent more than one siege at the hands of the Egyptians; but it disappears from history after the 13th century B.C. About this period the Semitic Arameans seem to have begun to push the Hittites further and further to the north. In the time of the Assyrian Empire Carchemish was the capital of the nation, which was, however, divided into several subordinate kingdoms, until the conquest of its last king Piširis in B.C. 717 by Sargon, who captured Carchemish with all its spoils, and made it the seat of an Assyrian satrap. The possession of Carchemish gave Assyria the command of the high-road to the West; the city became a busy centre of trade, and one of the standard weights of the empire was "the maneh of Carchemish."

The Hittite proper names preserved on the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments show that the Hittites did not speak a Semitic language.² The Hittite sculptures further show that they did not belong to the Semitic race. Their features and

¹ See "Records of the Past," Vol. IV, 25.

² See list of names at the end of this paper, pp. 288-293.

physical type are those of a northern people, and their northern origin is confirmed by their use of boots, which is at least as old as the beginning of their writing, since the boot is one of the commonest of the Hittite hieroglyphics. The boots are always represented with turned up toes, like the boots of the mountaineers of Asia Minor and Greece at the present day. Boots of the same form characterize some of the female figures on the tomb of the Harpies found at Xanthos in Lycia, as well as the Armenian inhabitants of Muzri on the Black Obelisk, and the Etruscans of Italy. Mr. Spiegelthal has seen an archaic marble base of a statue at Ephesus on which there were figures with the same kind of shoes.

The Hittites seem to have lived in a state of constant hostility to their Semitic neighbours. Tiglath-Pileser I (B.C. 1130) complains of their having overrun Šubarti or Syria; the Canaanite who betrayed Beth-el to the Ephraimites (Judg. i, 26) fled to "the land of the Hittites," and built there a city called Luz, as though he would have been safe nowhere else after his treachery; and the Syrians at once imagined that "the kings of the Hittites" had come against them when they heard a noise of chariots and horses during their siege of Samaria (2 Kings vii. 6). Hamath, which seems to have been Hittite, at all events originally, was the natural ally of David, the conqueror of the Syrians (2 Sam. viii. 9, 10), and at a subsequent time the Assyrian inscriptions show Hamath and Judah in alliance against the common Syrian enemy. The Hittites, it may be observed, were ruled by a number of different kings in the time of Solomon (1 Kings x. 29), but "the kings of Syria" already interposed between them and the north of Palestine.

So far as it is possible to infer from proper names, the language of the Hittites belonged to the same family of speech as the languages spoken by the Patinai (between the Orontes and the bay of Antioch), the Kilikians, Kuai, Šamahlai, Gangumai, Komagenians, Moschi and Tibareni, the proto-Armenians, and other tribes who occupied the country between the Caspian and the Halys on the one side, and Mesopotamia on the other. This family of speech has been

conveniently termed Alarodian; the still undeciphered inscriptions of the proto-Armenian kings of the Minni or Van are written in a dialect that must be included in it, and it is probable that Georgian is its principal modern representative. The Hittite nominative and genitive seem sometimes to have terminated in *s*, like the nominative and genitive of the proto-Armenians; thus the Hittite Piširis and Gar-gamis or Car-chemish may be compared with the Vannic Argistis and Menuas, which again may be compared with Ambris or Ambaris, the name of a king of the Tibareni and Kilikia in the reign of Sargon. The second part of the name of the Hittite capital, which is written Gar-gamis in the Assyrian inscriptions, may be identical with the name of the Gamgumai or Gamgamai, a tribe of Kappadokia. At any rate, it is highly probable that Sapalil, the name of a Hittite king contemporary with Ramses I of Egypt, is the same as Sapalulve king of the Patinians on the Orontes, in the reign of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser (B.C. 858-23).

If, as I believe, the whole of the vast district to the north and north-west of Mesopotamia was inhabited by a race kindred in blood and language, it becomes a question whether the remains in Asia Minor which I have referred to as Hittite, were really the productions of the Hittites themselves or of their kinsmen further north. On the whole, I am inclined to think that they are memorials of the Hittites themselves, partly because no other people in that part of the world seems to have had either the power or the culture needful for their creation, partly because the monuments found in Lykaonia and Lydia are plainly the monuments of a successful invasion, and the Hittites were the only people in Western Asia strong enough to undertake distant conquests. Moreover, the Egyptian inscriptions furnish us with direct evidence of a close connection existing between the Hittites and the natives of the extreme west of Asia Minor in the 14th century B.C. The Hittites were assisted in their long war against Ramses II by contingents from the Dardanians of the Troad and the Masu or Mysians, with their towns of Iluna or Ilion and Pidasa or Pedasos. It is therefore possible

that Mr. Gladstone may be right in seeing in the *Κήτιοι* of Homer (*Od.* xi, 521) the Hittites of Carchemish.¹

The influence of the Hittites may be traced through Asia Minor by the monuments they have left behind them, of which I have already given a list. Kappadokia, then occupied by the Muskai and Tublai, the Meshek and Tubal of the Old Testament, the Moschi and Tibareni of the classical writers, was more or less under their control, as is shown by the sculptures of Boghaz Keui and Eyuk; the Assyrian inscriptions prove that they were in close alliance with Kilikia; and we may trace their progress to Sardes and the Egean Sea along the two high roads from the East, the one (which was afterwards traversed by Kroesus when he marched against Cyrus) running from the lower Halys by Ghiaur-Kalessi, and the other, subsequently trodden by Xenophon and the Ten Thousand, passing through Lykaonia and the silver mines of the Bulgar Dagh.

The sculptures of Boghaz Keui should be studied in the drawings of Texier ("Description de l'Asie Mineure," three volumes, 1839-49), and the more accurate photographs of Perrot ("Exploration archéologique de la Bithynie et de la Galatie," 1862). Besides referring to these easily-accessible books, I need say little more of them, except that Perrot observed an inscription of ten or eleven lines carved in relief on a rock at Boghaz Keui, the photograph of which, given in Plate 35, shows that it consists of Hittite hieroglyphics




The sculptures themselves represent a series of divinities, among which are Assyrian or Babylonian winged demons with leopards' heads, and, carried by a figure, a winged solar disk, in which is the representation of a deity standing on what we may term a Hittite boot. The pattern on the dress should be noticed, as it is a pattern which is frequently reproduced on the objects found by Dr. Schliemann at Hisarlik.

It may be observed that somewhat similar figures are

¹ "Homeric Synchronism." Svo., 1876., pp. 174, 182.

represented on the curious monument copied by Hamilton at Bey Shahr, to the west of Ikonium, which may therefore be of Hittite origin.

The divinities are all given their appropriate symbols, and Hittite characters are attached to each of them, evidently expressing their names. Each group of characters begins with the same hieroglyphic which must therefore be the determinative prefix of divinity. I had observed  the same symbol in the inscriptions from Hamath, occupying a position which seemed to mark it out as a determinative of some kind, but from its apparent resemblance to the Egyptian determinative of "country," I had fancied it might denote a city. The discovery of the meaning of this character is highly important, affording, as it does, a solid starting-point for ascertaining the values and meanings of the Hittite hieroglyphics. As prefixed to the names of deities, it may be expected to occur in most inscriptions, and if we can once determine the native name of the chief divinity of Carchemish, a path will be opened up for the decipherment of the inscriptions. The following are the names of the deities found in the inscriptions at present known:—¹

AT BOGHAZ KEUI:—



This is the name of a goddess, who wears the mural crown.



The name of another goddess, also with a mural crown.



The name of a third goddess, with a smaller mural crown.



The name of a god, with the same cap as is worn by the figure within the solar disk, and a dress reaching to the ankles.

¹ The symbols are copied from those borne in standard form, figured by Texier, Vol. I, plates 75, 76, 77, 79, unless otherwise specified.





The name of a god, who carries a scythe in his hand, and wears a short tunic like that of the figure at Karabel.



The name of a god, who carries a club, and has a short tunic.



The name of a god, with the solar disk above the head, and a curved staff in the right hand. The deity, however, may be the goddess Kybelê. I think the same name is to be found in the first line of the inscription at Ibriz, where Mr. Davis's copy has  which may, however, be corrected into  the name of the moon-god known as *Men* throughout Asia Minor. However, as we shall see, the deity represented at Ibreez is the sun-god, the Kilikian Sandan.


The name of a god, who carries a boy under the arm, and has the double-headed eagle below. The solar disk with various symbols beneath is behind his back. In another place the same god stands upon the back of a leopard, has a crooked staff in one hand, and a double-headed axe in the other, and carries an axe in the belt. Two examples of this sign are given, the first from Perrot, Plate 45, and the second from Texier, Plate 79.




The name of another god, who stands on the heads of two priests, has a goat at the side, a club in the right hand, a crooked staff slung behind the back, and a double-headed axe in the belt. Like the preceding god he wears a short tunic. On a coin of Laodikea in Phrygia, *Zeús 'Aσeus* is represented as holding a boy in the right hand, and extending the left to a goat placed in front of him. (Mionnet, IV. p. 313.)



The name of a god, with sword and club, in a short tunic, and standing upon a hill.




 The name of a goddess, with mural crown, who stands on the back of a leopard facing the god who stands on the heads of the two priests. She is apparently the chief goddess.


 The name of another goddess (Perrot, Plate 48). The rock is broken away below, so it is impossible to say whether this is complete, or was carried in the hand.


Other figures bear in their hands the following symbols.




AT HAMATH:—


 This name appears four times, thrice in the same inscription. As the last character (H. V. 2) is once  instead of  it must be a grammatical suffix.

 This name seems to appear in two inscriptions, but only the first character is clear in one instance, H. V. line 2.

 This name appears only once. H. V. line 3.

 This name follows near to the first (H. III, 1). It occupies a similar position in the inscriptions from Aleppo and Carchemish, and may therefore be merely an epithet such as “great god.” One form of the character forming it closely resembles a two-leaved gate. We are reminded that Babia, from *Bab*, “gate,” was the Semitic translation of the name of the great goddess of Carchemish.

AT ALEPPO:—

 The last character, which is no doubt incorrectly copied,¹ does not seem to form part of the name. The two characters just discovered follow immediately. (George Smith's copy.)

¹ It assumes quite a different form in the copy published by M. Clermont-Ganneau. “Pales. Explor., Quart. Statement,” 1873, p. 73.—W. II. R.


AT CARCHEMISH:—

In the inscription on the back of black basalt figure, copied by Mr. George Smith, lines 1 and 5.



This name appears twice. As it is also found in the other inscription from Carchemish, it may represent the principal deity of the city.



This name appears once. It may, however, be merely the word "god," with a grammatical suffix, the character being the same as the character  at Hamath. (George Smith's copy, line 4.)

IN THE TWO INSCRIPTIONS NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM,
FROM CARCHEMISH:—



This name, which is the same as that in Mr. Smith's inscription, occurs twice,¹ the bird looking like a duck in the second instance.



This name occurs once. It may be the same as one of the divine names found at Hamath. If the first character is the crescent moon it may represent the moon-god Men. (J. I. Col. D. line 1.)



This is the same name as that in the two previous inscriptions. The eagle, however, has the form of a duck.



This name appears once. The symbol is not unlike that which denotes the god at Boghaz Keui who carries a club. Statue inscription, J. II, line 2.






AT EYUK:—



This is the name of a goddess, but unfortunately the character or characters expressing it are too badly copied to be of any use. Perrot, plate 48. The hand of the female figure is shown in the cut.

What may have been the origin of this curious determinative prefix I was long unable to say. At Carchemish it

¹ J. I. Col. A, line 4, and Col. D, line 2.

has the form  or  or  as well as ; at Hamath it once appears as . At Boghaz Keui the sun-god, who on the left side of the rocky amphitheatre has the winged solar disk above the head, and supports his name in one hand, carrying a curved staff in the other, on the left side of the amphitheatre holds the symbols of his divinity in his hand, with the curious figure which seems to represent Attis¹ standing on a boot between them, and the winged solar disk above, in the place usually occupied by the determinative prefix of divinity. We may therefore conclude that the prefix in question is derived from the winged solar disk, and a comparison of the forms of the two symbols as they occur on Hittite monuments will at once show that this must have really been the case. It is easy to understand how a simplified form of the winged solar disk should have come to denote divinity in general. If we only knew the native pronunciation of the chief divinity or divinities of Carchemish, the determination of this single character would give us a clue to the decipherment of the inscriptions. Unfortunately this is far from being the case.

It is, however, possible that the name under which the Asiatic goddess, termed Istar by the Assyrians, Ashtoreth by the Phœnicians, Kybelê or Kybêlê or Omphalê by the nations of Western Asia Minor, was known to the Hittites of Carchemish was Athê. Philo Byblius, according to Stephanus Byzantinus (*s. v. Λαοδίκεια*), states that the Syrians used the word *ἄθας* or *ἄτη* to denote "god,"² and since this word cannot well be explained from a Semitic source, it may have belonged to the lost Hittite language. Now the name *עֵתָה* or *עֵתִי* is actually found in the inscriptions of Palmyra as the name of a divinity; and, what is more, on the coins of Hierapolis or Bambykê (now Membij), which supplanted Carchemish both in name and actual existence, the simple *עֵתִי* represents the same divinity as the compound *עֵתֵרֵעֵתָה*.³ The latter, however, is the well known Atargatis or Derketo

¹ On the coins of Antioch ad Mæandrum Attis, the sun-god, the son and bridegroom of Kybelê, is represented as holding the mask of Kybelê in the two hands above his head. (Waddington, "Revue numismatique," 1851, p. 235, pl. xii, No. 1.) The mask, therefore, here takes the place of the winged disk.

² See De Lagarde, "Gesamm. Abhandlungen," p. 238.

³ J. P. Six, "Numismatic Chronicle," 1878, pp. 106-110.

of classical writers, by which name the Asiatic goddess was frequently known to them, and it is the figure of this goddess that accompanies the legend עתי on the coins of Hierapolis already mentioned. The Apology of Melito states that 'Ati was the goddess of Abiabene, east of the Tigris, and Γάτις, the Greek equivalent of עתי, is made a deified queen by Antipater of Tarsus.¹ Atargatis, that is, 'Atar-'Ati, may be represented by the goddess "Antarata² of the Hittites," mentioned in the treaty concluded between the Hittites and Ramses II. Besides Atargatis, another deity, whose name is compounded with that of 'Ati, appears on the coins of Hierapolis. This is יכוננתה or Yacûn-'Atah, the first element of which certainly has a Semitic sound.³

Now if we turn to the extreme north-western corner of Asia Minor, to that very district from which the Hittites received help in their wars with Egypt, we shall find, as Keller has pointed out,⁴ the worship of a goddess Atê. According to Apollodorus,⁵ Lykophron,⁶ Eustathius,⁶ Hesychius,⁷ and Stephanus Byzantinus,⁹ Ilium had been founded by Ilus, on the hill of the Phrygian goddess Atê, where a dappled cow had lain down. The palladium which was preserved in Troy was the meteoric stone which symbolized Atê, like the stone "which fell down from heaven" at Ephesus. This goddess Atê is represented on a coin as wearing a Phrygian cap, and her identification with the Greek Athena was merely due to the similarity of name. It is possible that Atê was the female deity answering to the sun-god Atys or Attis, whose cult prevailed throughout the greater part of Asia Minor. However this may be, it is curious to find a goddess with a name so closely resembling that of the goddess of

¹ Ap. Athen. viii, p. 346.

² See the translation of this document, "Records of the Past," Vol. IV, p. 31, where Mr. C. W. Goodwin reads the name Astarata, which is identified by Dr. Birch with Ashtaroth.—W. H. R.

³ We shall see later on that the native Hittite name of Attis seems to have been Adad or Dada, that his daughter was the goddess Simi, and that Aramis was probably the name of the supreme god of Carehemish.

⁴ "Die Entdeckung Ilium's zu Hissarlik," 1875.

⁵ iii, 2, 3.

⁶ "Alexandra," 29.

⁷ Ad Il., xix, 136.

⁸ S. v. Ἀτιόλοφος.

⁹ S. v. Ἴλιον.

Hierapolis, in the country which the monument of Ghiaour-Kalessi, as well as the Egyptian annals, show to have been in contact with the Hittites, while there is some probability that the languages of Carchemish and Mysia were related.

It is, therefore, possible that the name of the chief divinity worshipped at Carchemish, from whose cult the city afterwards derived its Greek title of Hierapolis, was 'Ati or 'Atê. In this case the name may be represented by the two characters composing the name of the divinity which makes its appearance in each of the Carchemish inscriptions. It is also possible that the word simply signified "deity," as Philo Byblius avers, and that it is only such names as 'Atar and Yacûn which we can expect to find in the characters following the determinative prefix.

I must now return to the sculptures of Boghaz Keui, which have enabled us to determine the value of the one Hittite character we at present know. These sculptures are characteristic specimens of Hittite art, and would alone prove its derivation from the art of Babylonia. I say Babylonia and not Assyria, since it is with the engraved gems of Babylonia, rather than with the monuments of Assyria, that it claims direct relationship. Thus the animals upon which the divinities are made to ride, or the hills on which they stand, are copied from the cylinders of Babylonia, not from the bas-reliefs of Nineveh.¹ This is important as showing that Hittite culture originated in what may be termed the Babylonian period, before the rise of Assyria in the 14th century B.C. It is in harmony with the fact that already in the astrological tablets of Sargon of Agané, in the 19th century B.C., the Hittites are regarded as a formidable power. It is true that in passing to the Hittites, Babylonian art underwent considerable modification; but this only proves the strong originality of the people who left so visible an impress of themselves upon what they had in the first instance borrowed from others. The mural crowns, for example, worn by the god-

¹ It is unfortunate that no Hittite engraved gems or similar small objects have yet been discovered at Carchemish. Mr. R. P. Greg, however, possesses a seal which came from Aleppo, and has a scarabæus engraved upon it in the Hittite style. I would, therefore, refer it to a Hittite origin.

deesses at Boghaz Keui, are a Hittite invention, and must have been handed on by them to the nations of the far west. The origin of the mural crown of the Ephesian Artemis, the Asiatic goddess, has thus been discovered.

The remains at Eyük are quite as remarkable as those at Boghaz Keui. Here also the Hittites or the Moschians, who, as we learn from the Assyrian inscriptions, once lived in the neighbourhood, have left behind them the remains of a palace built after the model of an Assyrian one. Full details of the palace, and the sculptures still to be seen on its walls, are given by Van Lennep, and above all by Perrot, to whose works, as well as to Murray's "Handbook to Turkey in Asia," I would refer those who are interested in the subject. I need only say that the most striking portion of the ruins consists of the gateway formed by two blocks of black granite, together with a wall which runs at right angles to one of them on the left or western side. The outer faces of the gate-posts are carved into the likeness of the heads and feet of sphinxes, but the sphinxes, though doubtless inspired by the art of Egypt, are profoundly different from those of the valley of the Nile, and show the extent to which Egyptian art had been modified at Carchemish. Only the lower portion of the wall is left, but this is covered, like the walls of the palaces of Nineveh, with bas-reliefs. Here we may see the same figure as that which occurs at Boghaz Keui, with the long robe, the crooked staff, and the winged solar disk above the head, only that the latter is absent at Eyük. In front is an altar, and hard by another figure leading a goat by the horn, and followed by three oxen. There we may observe a bull mounted on a pedestal, there again a bull with a chest on its back and a circular ring in front. Elsewhere the building of the palace itself is depicted, two of the masons having the characteristic Hittite ear-rings in their ears, and near at hand is a musician playing on a flute. Behind is a snake-charmer, with a snake curled round his body and a guitar in his hand, and at his side a man who holds a long-tailed monkey. It is no doubt remarkable to find a monkey represented in so cold and northern a country as that in which this palace was built, but it is equally remarkable that the Hittite prince, with

Phrygian cap and "tip-tilted" boots, portrayed in the bas-reliefs from Nimroud, is followed by another Hittite who carries with him two long-tailed monkeys. This was in the time of Assur-natsir-pal. His son, Shalmaneser, states on the Black Obelisk that monkeys and apes were brought by tribute bearers, clad in the Hittite dress, from the land of Muzri. Now Muzri lay to the west of Armenia, and embraced just that part of Kappadokia which lay close to Eyuk.¹

The wall on the eastern side of the gateway at Eyuk is ruined, but on what is left may be seen a troop of soldiers dressed in short tunics like the figures at Karabel and Ghiaur-Kalessi. On the inner face of the right hand monolith which forms the gate-post, is a carving of the double-headed eagle, which has exactly the same form as at Boghaz Keui. If Boghaz Keui represents the Pteria of the Greeks, it is possible that, as Longperier suggested,² the city may have been symbolised by it, *pterys* being the Greek name of the *pterys aquilina* or fern with leaves like a double eagle. However this may be, the Seljukian Sultans adopted the old symbol of the Hittites after taking possession of Kappadokia and Lykaonia in the eleventh century, and from them it was carried by the Crusaders into Europe. The first bronze coin with the double eagle upon it is one struck by the Sultan Malik es Salah Mahmud in 1217 A.D., and the first time the symbol appears in the arms of the German Emperor is in the year 1345. I am strongly inclined to believe that it originally denoted the winged thunderbolt; at any rate there is a considerable resemblance between the Hittite symbol and the winged thunderbolt found upon the coins of Elis, Sicily, and other places. That Asia Minor was the original home of the latter symbol is more than probable; indeed, it has been found by Dr. Schliemann on terra-cotta tablets in the Greek stratum at Hissarlik. Examples are figured on page xxv of his "Troy and its Remains." I may add that

¹ On the bronze gates of Balawat the natives of Armenia and Van are represented with the tunics, bare legs, and tip-tilted shoes that, as we have seen, distinguished the Hittites and their kinsmen.










² "Revue archéologique," 1845, pp. 77-85.

the thunderbolt carried by Merodach has somewhat the same form on the monuments of Assyria and Babylonia, as may be seen from the representation of Merodach pursuing the winged dragon on one of the Assyrian bas-reliefs now in the British Museum.¹

The silver mines of the Bulgar Daglı in Lykaonia, the peculiar language of which survived to the time of St. Paul (Acts xiv, 11), were another locality which attracted the Hittites. They seem to have had a special partiality for this metal. The tablet on which their treaty with Ramses II was engraved was of silver, and, as before mentioned, M. Renan has observed niches in the rocks of Syria which seem to have been intended for similar inscribed memorials. Mr. Head, again, has shown that what the Assyrians called "the mina of Carchemish," was carried by the Hittites through Asia Minor, and became the standard according to which the electrum and silver coins of the Lydian kings Gyges and Kroesus were struck. Ibreez or Ivris, where the Hittites have left a conspicuous monument of themselves, lies under the heights of the Bulgar Daglı, about three hours to the southeast of Eregli. The monument was first noticed by Otter in 1736, but Fischer was the first to make a drawing of it, which he communicated to Dr. Kiepert, who has published it in Ritter's "Erdkunde," III, 18. ("Asia Minor," Vol. I.) It has since been visited by the Rev. E. J. Davis, who has published an account of it, together with a drawing, much superior to that of Fischer's, in the Transactions of this Society² (1876). A king is represented in the act of worshipping a god, who wears a short tunic, the distinctive tiara on the head, and tip-tilted boots on the feet, and carries a handful of wheat in the left hand and a bunch of grapes in the right. Since we find a similar deity represented on the coins of Tarsus, with grapes in one hand and ears of corn in the

¹ Among the terra-cotta images of the Asiatic goddess discovered by Major di Cesnola about four hours distant from Salamis in Cyprus, is one in which the mural crown of the deity is supported on a row of eagles. These eagles, though not double-headed, are in the Hittite style. On another image the lowermost of the three necklaces which adorn the goddess (as also at Hissarlık) has the winged solar disk hanging from it.

² "Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.," IV, p. 336.

other, and surmounted by the legend "Baal of Tarsus" (*Baal Tars*), it is clear that he is the sun-god of the Hittites and their neighbours, called Sandan by the Kilikians. Three inscriptions accompany the figure, but little can be made out of the copies of them. However, by comparing the two copies of Fischer and Davis, I have been able to restore the character  in the first line of the inscription between the face and hand of the god, as well as the two characters   following one another below. The whole of the last line of the same inscription I have also been able to restore; it should run     part of which may correspond with the word (or words)   found in one of the inscriptions from Carchemish. (J. I, Col. D, line 4.)

Mr. Davis further heard from a friend of a Hittite inscription of five lines carved on a tablet cut out of the rock on the summit of a hill about midway between Chifteh Khan and the silver mines of Bulgar. The inscription is however almost effaced, but some of the characters copied by Mr. Davis's friend show that it was Hittite. The copy is engraved in Davis's "Life in Asiatic Turkey" (1879), p. 222.¹

Mr. Edmund Calvert, H.B.M. Consul in Rhodes, has informed me of another Hittite monument in the same neighbourhood. Some years ago a trader told him that near Frahtin, which seems to be not far from Ibreez, he had seen a rock-sculpture representing a large figure in pointed tiara and tip-tilted shoes, which must be the portrait of a deity, and two smaller figures standing before it. The large figure of the god was on the right, his two worshippers on the left, in the reverse position to that of the figures at Ibreez. The sculpture was accompanied by characters, one or two of which Mr. Calvert drew for me from memory, and they turned out to be Hittite.

I now come to two monuments which are for several reasons the most interesting that the Hittites have left behind them in Asia Minor. These are in the narrow pass of Karabel, about 25 miles inland from Smyrna, and near Nimphi,

¹ The inscription, it may be observed, has been printed upside down.

which leads from the plain of the Hermus into the plain of the Kayster. One of these monuments was discovered by Renouard in 1839, and was afterwards copied by Texier. It has been frequently visited since, and a photograph was taken of it a few years ago, thanks to Dr. Hyde Clarke.¹ It is about 140 feet above the path, and represents the figure of a man, cut out of the rock, and standing in a niche. He faces southwards, holds a spear in the left hand, has a bow slung at the back, and wears the Hittite tunic, pointed tiara and tip-tilted boots. As soon as the monument was discovered it was at once recognized as one of the two which Herodotus tells us were carved on the rocks by the side of the two roads that ran from Smyrna to Sardes, and from Ephesus to Phokæa. After his visit to Egypt the Greek historian imagined them to be figures of Sesostris or Ramses II; but he states that the natives of Ionia could give no account of them. One of the figures he further describes as carrying a spear in the right hand and having an inscription in hieroglyphics across the breast. This figure was plainly not the one discovered by Renouard, since it held the spear in the left hand, and the characters which according to Texier and Kiepert accompanied it were carved in relief between the head and spear. Unfortunately the characters as copied by the French and German scholars were too vague and indistinct to be recognized.

Last summer, when I discovered the Hittite origin of the sculptures of Boghaz Keni and Eyuk, I recognized at the same time the Hittite character of the sculpture of Karabel. If my discovery, however, were a real one, it was necessary that the hieroglyphics accompanying the latter should turn out to be Hittite. Accordingly I visited the spot last September, and took squeezes, and made careful copies of the inscription. One character in the last line is altogether obliterated, and the character next to it is very doubtful; but all the other characters are clear, and their duplicates may be seen on the monuments of Carchemish and Hamath. The Hittite origin of the monument, therefore, no longer

¹ See annexed plate, taken from the photograph.

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute

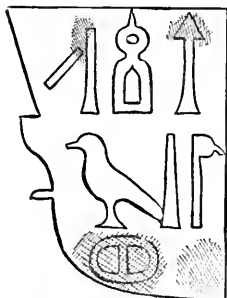






THE PSEUDO-BERG TRIS

FOUND ON THE ROCK IN THE MOUNTAINS OF

THE MOUNTAINS OF

admits of doubt. The following is an exact copy of the inscription :—



The shaded character may, however, be either  or , though I do not think that it can be the latter. The first character on the left in the first line probably represents  or .

The second pseudo-Sesostris was long sought in vain. But it was at last discovered, first by Dr. Beddoe and his party in 1856, and then by Mr. Karl Humann, a Prussian engineer. An incorrect drawing of it by Mr. K. Humann, who saw it in June, 1876, was published by Prof. E. Curtius in the "Archäologische Zeitung," 1876, pp. 50, 51, but the sketch of it, made by myself,¹ is the first really trustworthy one that has been given to the public. It will be seen that the figure is shockingly mutilated, the last damage to it having been occasioned by the smoke of a Yuruk's fire, whose tent was pitched against it when Mr. Spiegelthal visited the spot three or four years ago. It is, however, a mere duplicate of the first, except that the spear seems to be held in the right hand, the figure facing northward instead of southward, and as there are no traces of an inscription at the side, the characters probably ran across the breast, which is now broken away. In fact this must be the particular figure described by Herodotus. Instead of being a monument of Sesostris, it was really a monument of the power of his rivals and enemies, the Hittites. They must have penetrated to the shores of the Ægean itself, and held the pass which commanded the rich vallies of Lydia. Here, therefore, they set up their memorials as a visible sign of empire. For the two figures are not more than a few yards distant from each other, though the one is high above the path, while the other is beside it, carved in a niche cut out of a single huge boulder of rock. The ancient path, of

¹ See annexed plate.

which I detected traces, ran just in front of the carved side of the monolith, which was therefore more conspicuous to the passer by than the other figure overhead. The modern track, however, runs along the back of the stone, which is buried in bushes, and this accounts for the fact that the earlier visitors to Karabel did not discover its existence.

The two figures must have served as sign-posts, the one pointing towards Ephesus to the south, and the other towards Sardes to the north. The analogy of the similar monuments left by the Egyptians and the Assyrians, would lead us to infer that the figures represent the Hittite monarch who conducted the successful expedition to the west, and that the hieroglyphics I copied contain his name and titles. The earliest example of a sculpture of the kind of which we know, was the image of himself "set up" by Sargon I, of Agané (about 1900 B.C.), on the shores of the Mediterranean, and, as we shall see, there are several indications that it was about this time or a little earlier that the Hittites received and adopted the elements of Babylonian art and civilization.

The spot in which the two figures were carved was probably occupied by a Hittite garrison, as it commanded the approach to the principal plains of western Asia Minor, and was the meeting-place of two paths: the one, now called the *Karabel-déré*, running from Ephesus to Phokæa, and the other, now called the *Bel-kairé*, running from Smyrna to Sardes. At the northern entrance to the pass I discovered on the eastern side of the road an artificial tumulus, just above the modern Turkish guard-house, and on the same side, just within the pass, an artificially smoothed piece of cliff, which may once have borne an inscription. Mr. Karl Humann states that at Karijalia, three hours to the south of Nimphi, and consequently on the line of the *Karabel-déré*, he came across ancient rock-tombs and niches cut out of the cliff.

Figures almost identical with those of Karabel, and like them carved in niches cut out of the rock, were discovered by Perrot and Guillaume at Ghiaur-Kalessi, nine hours to the south-west of Angora or Ancyra, and near the villages of Kara-omerlu and Hoïadjä or Ohiaja. They therefore stand on the line of the old road that ran from Ancyra to Pessinus









by Gordium, and so communicated with Boghaz Keui on the east and Sardes on the west. It was along this road that Kroesus marched when he went against Cyrus, and along which he returned to Sardes after the battle at Pteria. The figures, each about nine feet high, are duplicates one of the other, except that the one is beardless while the other has a beard. The cyclopæan wall of a fortress leans against the rock on which they are sculptured. This wall is of a very peculiar construction, belonging to what is called the third polygonal system, in which the stones are polygonal, but the lateral joints and external faces are dressed. Now the walls of the Hittite fortress at Boghaz Keui are built in precisely the same way.

I learn from Mr. Boscawen that Hittite monuments have been discovered near the pass that leads through the Taurus range north of Merash, and therefore connects the Hittite capital with the district of the Halys. I am also inclined to think that another road led from Carchemish to the Mediterranean, past what was afterwards the site of Antioch, since Chesney ("Expedition to the Euphrates and Tigris," I, p. 425) states that outside the Bab Bulus or gate of St. Paul on the southern side of Antioch there is "in the vicinity a colossal head, probably that of a sphinx; also a full-length Egyptian figure, both in bold relief, cut in the solid rock evidently at a remote period." As the Egyptians were never in this part of the world, I believe the monuments will be found to be of Hittite origin.

It is difficult to determine the period to which the Hittite Empire in Asia Minor must be assigned. In the astrological tablets compiled for the library of Sargon of Agané (about B.C. 1900), the Hittites are already spoken of as formidable rivals of the Babylonians in the north-west, at a time when the kingdom of Assyria did not as yet exist. They must therefore have already been established in the neighbourhood of Carchemish. In the time of Thothmes I, the people of Aram Naharaim, the Assyrian Nahri, who lived in the northern part of Mesopotamia and the southern districts of Armenia, and seem to have spoken dialects allied to that of the Hittites, are the only enemies the Egyptian monarch has to face in this quarter of the world. Their place is taken by

the Rutennu or Syrians, in the wars with Thothmes II; and it is not until the reign of Thothmes III, when Babylon, Assur, and Nineveh paid tribute to the Egyptians, that the Hittites first appear upon the scene. At the beginning of the nineteenth dynasty, their power had extended itself over the whole of the neighbouring populations. In the time of Ramses I, Sapalili was the Hittite king, a name which we may compare with that of Sapalulve, borne by a king of the Patinai, in the time of Shalmaneser I. He was succeeded by his son Maura-sira, who left two sons behind him, the eldest being Mautenara, the antagonist of Seti I, and the younger Kheta-sira. The latter, after twenty years of struggle with Ramses II, concluded a treaty of peace upon equal terms with the Egyptian king, Ramses marrying his daughter and becoming his ally. At the battle of Kadesh, Saptar and Mafarima appear as brothers of the Hittite king. It was in the time of Ramses II, the Greek Sesostris, that Hittite power and dominion were at their height. The date of Ramses is placed B.C. 1395 by Mariette, B.C. 1370 by Lepsius, B.C. 1333 by Brugsch, and B.C. 1180 by Leiblein, so that we shall not be far wrong in assigning the age of Hittite predominance to the end of the 14th century B.C. At that time their empire included the southern capital of Kadesh, on an island in the Orontes, from which they were afterward driven by the Semites, and probably extended as far south as Hamath. At all events, the Hittite inscriptions found at Hamath imply that it was once under Hittite influence, while we find Hamath opposed to the Semitic kingdom of Damascus, and worshipping a deity Ashima (2 Kings xvii, 30), whose name does not seem Semitic.¹ At an earlier period, as we learn from the Old Testament, a Hittite tribe had penetrated as far south as the neighbourhood of Hebron, where one of their cities was called Kirjath-Sepher or "Booktown." This supports Mariette's theory that the

¹ Can it be identified with the name of the goddess Simi, daughter of the supreme god Adad or Hadad, who, according to Melito, in his *Apology* ("Spicileg. Solesmense," II, p. XLIV), put an end to the attacks of a demon by filling the pit in which he lived with sea water? If  corresponds with the Kypriote  *si*, and  with the Kypriote  *mo*, the first part of the name of one of the deities mentioned in the Hamath inscriptions would be Simo.

leaders of one at least of the Hyksos dynasties were Hittites, especially as Numb. xiii, 22, may imply that the builders of Zoan or Tanis, the Hyksos capital, were the same as the builders of Hebron. Jerusalem is said to have had an Amorite father and Hittite mother (Ezek. xvi, 3), reminding us of Manetho's statement, that the Hyksos on leaving Egypt had withdrawn to Jerusalem, and when the Canaanite of Beth-el fled from the Israelites (Judges i, 26), he betook himself to the land of the Hittites, which we may presume was still near at hand, and a secure refuge from hostile Semites. In the time of Ramses II the Hittites were able to summon to their help the Masu or Mysians, the Dardani of the Troad, with their towns Iluna¹ or Ilion, and Pidasia or Pedasus, as well as the Kaskas, who are evidently the Kaskai of the Assyrian inscriptions, the Kolkhians of classical writers. When Herodotus says (II, 104) that the Kolkhians formed part of the army of Sesostris, he makes the same mistake as when he ascribes to Sesostris the monuments in Karabel erected by the Hittite rivals of Egypt. The Paschal Chronicle states that the Dardani were descended from Heth; I should not think this worth notice, were it not that the Chronicle seems to have borrowed some of its materials from a writer of Asia Minor. At any rate, it must have been from this source that the Chronicle has derived the account of the statue of Perseus erected just outside the city of Ikonium, in Lykaonia, formerly called Amandra, which seems to have been an old Hittite monument similar to those of Karabel. According to Tiglath-Pileser I (B.C. 1130), the Hittites held Subarti or Semitic Syria under their sway in his time, and garrisoned it with 4,000 Kaskian and Urutasian soldiers. Fifty years previously the allied tribe of Muskai or Moskhians (Meshech) had seized the countries of Alzu (? Halys) and Purukhunu on the Upper Euphrates, but they were defeated by the Assyrian king with their five kings and army of 20,000 men. The appearance of Tiglath-Pileser I was the beginning of the overthrow of the Hittites by their Semitic neighbours, whom they had so long dominated over and threatened. In the time of Solomon (1 Kings x, 29), and of Ahab or his son Jehoram (2 Kings vii, 6), the Hittites were divided into a

¹ Read Mauna (Maconia) by Brugsch.

number of small principalities, though from the Assyrian inscriptions it would appear that Carhemish still exercised a sort of suzerainty over them. But the growing power of Assyria proved too much for the people, who had once treated on equal terms with Egypt in its age of empire. Assur-natsirpal (B.C. 883–858) compelled Sangara the king of Carhemish to pay tribute, and his son Shalmaneser II (858–823) defeated him in battle, and wrested from him among other places the city of Pitru or Pethor, at the junction of the Sajur and Euphrates. Carhemish was finally taken by Sargon in B.C. 717, its last king Piširis put to death, and the old Hittite capital placed under an Assyrian governor. The trade of which it was the centre fell into Semitic hands, and the long struggle for supremacy in Western Asia between the Semites and the Hittites ended in the final victory of the Semitic race.

The period therefore to which we must assign the extension of Hittite power into the west of Asia Minor, cannot be later than the 12th century B.C., and may be as early as the 15th. The remains found by Dr. Schliemann at Hissarlik show no traces of Assyrian, Egyptian, or Phœnician influence, but they point unmistakably to Babylonian and Hittite influence. The cylinders made in imitation of those of Babylonia, a figure of Artemis Nana resembling those which M. Lenormant has traced from Chaldea to the islands of the Ægean and Mykenæ, and some of the patterns with which the Trojan remains are adorned, show that Babylonian art, as modified by the Hittites, had been brought as far as the Troad. Indeed, it is possible that some of the rude drawings on the terra cotta dishes discovered at Hissarlik may have been suggested by the Hittite hieroglyphs. It is also possible that the Lydian tradition recounted by Herodotus, which derived the Heraklid dynasty from Ninus the son of Belus, was an echo of the fact that Sardes had once been in Hittite hands. We now know from the Assyrian inscriptions that the Assyrians never penetrated westward of the Halys before the reign of Assurbanipal, in whose time the very name of Luddi or Lydia first became known to them; consequently the belief that the tradition recorded by the







Greek historian pointed to an early Assyrian occupation of the country must be given up. The Hittites, however, brought with them the elements of Babylonian culture, and came from Carchemish, which Ammianus Marcellinus calls Ninus Vetus, "the Old Nineveh" (XIV, 8; see too Philostr. "Vita Apoll. Tyan." I, 19, and Diod. II, 3, 7). If any confidence can be placed in the dates of Herodotus, the Heraklid dynasty would have been established about B.C. 1200, 505 years before the accession of Gyges, the Gugu of the Assyrian inscriptions, and the Gog of the Old Testament, who sent tribute to Assurbanipal. The name of the dynasty preserved a reminiscence of the introduction of the Babylonian sun-god into Lydia by the Hittites, and it is possible that Omphalê may have been the Hittite name of the goddess whose worship was carried by them throughout Asia Minor, and who appears under the various names of Kybelê, Kybêbê, Mâ, and the Ephesian Artemis. Her handmaids and ministers, the Amazons, are certainly of Hittite origin, and are usually connected with places where there are Hittite remains. Thus the foundation of Ephesus and Smyrna is ascribed to them, and their chief seat was believed to have been on the banks of the Thermôdôn, in the neighbourhood of Boghaz Keui.¹

As I have already said, it was Babylonian culture which the Hittites carried with them to the nations of the west. The sphinxes at Eyuk, indeed, show that they did not remain

¹ According to the "Etymologicum Magnum" (*s. v.* *Κάϋστρος*) the Lydian hero Kayster, the eponym of the Kaystrian plain, went to Syria, and there had Semiramis by Derketo. Since Derketo was the goddess of Carchemish, Syria must mean the Hittite territory. Xanthus, the Lydian historian (Athen.: *Deipnos*. VIII, 37, p. 346), declared that Derketo had been drowned in the lake of Askalon by the Lydian Mopsus. Stephanus Byzantinus (*s. v.* *Ἀσκάλων*), following the same story, made the Lydian Askalos, the son of Hymeneus and brother of Tantalus, the founder of Askalon, and declared that he had been sent thither as general by the Lydian king Akiamus. These legends relate to the mythical period of Lydian history before the rise of the Heraklid dynasty, and seem to be a reminiscence of the occupation of Lydia by the Hittites. We may conjecture that the rise of the Heraklids was coeval with the overthrow of Hittite domination in the country. I imagine that Askalon has crept into the legend by mistake for some city or country of similar name, and that the version of the story given in the "Etymologicum Magnum" is geographically the most correct.

altogether unaffected by the art of the Egyptians, with whom at one time they had been brought into such close contact, and it is possible that the invention of their hieroglyphics was suggested by the sight of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, just as Doalü's invention of the Vei-negro syllabary was suggested by the sight of European writing. But the art and culture of the Hittites remained mainly Babylonian. It was not Assyrian, which proves that the rise of Hittite power took place before the appearance of Assyria on the scene of history, and it was considerably modified in the borrowing. But its general character, as well as such details as the representation of deities riding upon lions, or standing upon hills, can find their analogue only on the engraved cylinders of ancient Chaldea. A good deal in it, no doubt, was of native origin; the mural crown, for instance, which the goddesses wear on the rocks of Boghaz Keui, must have been an invention of the Hittites, from whom it was received by the worshippers of the Ephesian Artemis.¹ Like the art, the pantheon and mythology of Carchemish seem also to have been influenced by Babylonia. The goddess whose worship caused Carchemish and its supplanter Bambykê to be named Hierapolis, was the Nana or Istar of Babylonia, and the pseudo-Lucian ("De Dea Syr.," 12, 13) tells us that the Chaldean story of the Deluge, along with the name of the Chaldean Noah, Sisÿthes, had been imported into the Hittite capital, near which the gulf opened which swallowed up the waters.

It is now time to turn to the Hittite inscriptions themselves. The first fact that can be established in regard to them is that they are of native invention. Not only do they

¹ The so-called *swastika*, , found so plentifully on objects from Hissarlik, as well as on the prehistoric pottery of Kyprus and Attica, is, I believe, of Hittite origin. As it occurs on the triangular pelvis of a leaden figure of the Babylonian Artemis Nana discovered by Dr. Schliemann at Troy, it would seem to have been a symbol of generation. Now it bears a close resemblance in form to the so-called Kypriote character  or  (*ue*), which appears as  in the inscriptions of Golgi. This Kyriote character is identical with the common Hittite character  or , which Dr. Hyde Clarke once suggested to me denoted the organs of generation.

differ from the Egyptian hieroglyphics on the one hand, or the primitive pictures out of which the cuneiform characters were developed on the other, but several of them, such as the tip-tilted boot¹ or the head crowned with the Hittite tiara, prove that they could not have been derived from a foreign source. In the second place, we can trace the simplification of many of them into what may be termed hieratic types. While the characters found on the Hittite monuments of Asia Minor agree with those of Carchemish, the characters found in the inscriptions of Hamath and the seal impressions from the palace of Sennacherib are considerably simplified. The more difficult hieroglyphics, such as the heads of animals, have been replaced by conventional groups of lines, and a tendency has set in to substitute straight lines for curves.²

As Dr. Hayes Ward first pointed out, the inscriptions are always written in boustrophedon fashion, and are read from the side towards which the characters look. In each line, when two or more characters are placed one below the other, we have to begin with the character at the top, as is shown partly by the position of the characters which seem to denote suffixes, partly by a comparison of the following passage in one of the inscriptions from Carchemish, now in the British Museum:—³



Col. A, line 4.




















Col. D, line 1.



















Col. C, line 2.

¹ The annexed cuts are the boots worn by figures reproduced by Texier.

² The forms of several other characters also have undergone a change. Thus the Hamathite  represents the Carchemish ; Ham.  (the arm); Ham.  represents the Car. ; Ham.  represents Car. ; Ham.  represents Car. . We find differences in the characters belonging to Carchemish itself; thus the inscriptions copied there by Mr. Smith has  corresponding to the  of the seals; but the inscriptions now in the British Museum apparently represent the same character under the form of , which elsewhere appears as  or . At Carchemish  represents the  of the seals and the Hamathite inscriptions.

³ This is an interesting example of a hieratic form, and the way in which the original pictorial characters become changed into conventional ones. It will also be noticed that the phonetic complement or grammatical suffix  is omitted.

It is evident that a large number of the characters are simple ideographs. Thus the elaborate character in one of the Carchemish inscriptions (J. II. line 5), which represents the heads and shoulders of two men with the arms crossed,  seems to indicate the making of a treaty, and the picture of an arm holding a dagger in the hand, which occurs not unfrequently, probably expresses the idea of killing or conquering. But these ideographs must also have some special pronunciation which was given to them more often than any other, and, as in Assyrian and Egyptian, this value could probably be employed phonetically. At all events it is clear that a good many of the characters were used phonetically to express syllables. The necessity of expressing proper names would alone have required this. But many of the characters which occur frequently are plainly what would be termed phonetic complements in Assyrian; that is to say, they denote the grammatical suffix of the word denoted by the ideograph to which they are attached. It is important to notice that these suffixes are almost invariably, if not invariably, affixed and not prefixed. This by itself would be enough to show that the language of the Hittites was not Semitic, since the Semitic flexional suffixes as often precede as follow the root. Sometimes two ideographs which follow one another have each the same suffix attached to them: at other times it is to what looks like two groups of words that they are appended. The commonest of these suffixes, or rather of the characters which express them, are the yoke , the boot , and the character  or . At Carchemish we find the latter thrice taking the place of the boot, while at Hamath it is replaced by . In the parallel passages quoted above we find the arm  substituted in the one case, for the yoke in the other. All these suffixes, I believe, belong to the noun; there are two others which seem to belong to the verb. One of these is the crescent  or : the other the compound  which is very often doubled. The position of the latter appears immaterial; thus at Carchemish (J.I. Col. B. line 5) we have  ^{21 21} and at Hamath  (H.V. line 1), where the arm probably denotes action. Another suffix is  which follows the name of a deity and must therefore be classed

among the suffixes of the noun. I am not sure whether the two common characters  and , the latter of which is shown by the Assyrian sculptures to have been a picture of the Hittite basket, are not also to be reckoned among the flexions of the noun. We meet with them several times in combination; indeed, taking all the inscriptions together, the combination  is more frequent than any other. The combination must denote some word, written phonetically.

It has been conjectured that the word in question was the preposition "of." But, apart from the fact that the Hittite noun appears to have denoted its cases by flexional terminations, like the noun in the Vannic inscriptions, my discovery of the determinative prefix of divinity proves that such could not have been the case.¹ The following examples will show that it stands between the names of two divinities:—

Hamath:—



Aleppo:—




Mr. Smith's, Carchemish:—









Carchemish:—








This comparison made me first think that the word might signify "and." But the fact that at Carchemish the yoke replaces , added to the further fact that the use of these two characters makes it clear that they had not the same sounds, has suggested to me that the word might signify "son," the variant form of the word with the yoke as second character being "daughter." In this case the yoke would denote the feminine suffix. I must add, however, that the frequent occurrence of the word in the inscriptions tells against this explanation, especially as it is

preceded and followed by a variety of different words in the same inscription. It may, of course, signify "king."

¹ It is equally shown that the two characters cannot denote the plural, as I conjectured in my former paper on the Hamathite Inscriptions.

The existence of a determinative prefix of divinity shows that such prefixes or affixes existed in Hittite as in cuneiform and Egyptian. I am inclined to believe that the curious character  or  was the determinative prefix of "man." At all events, it occurs on each of the seal inscriptions in three cases at the beginning of a name, and in another case after the character  which I believe to mean "a tablet" or "seal." The latter character has pretty nearly the shape of the silver tablet on which the Hittite copy of the treaty with Ramses II was preserved, according to the representations of it drawn by the Egyptian scribes, the handles at the sides being the two rings by which it was kept in place, and the two lines at the top denoting the strings by which it was hung. On one of the seals  is followed by  which I think must be the hieratic form of some animal's head; on another it is followed by itself. In this case it would have represented some phonetic value. It so closely resembles the character , found in the Kappadokian inscription copied by Hamilton at Eyuk, in the close neighbourhood of the Hittite monuments, that I am inclined to think them identical, and in the Kypriote syllabary a character with the same form as the Kappadokian one has the value of *ma*.¹

This brings me to a suggestion I made in the last paper I laid before this Society on the subject we are now considering. I then proposed to derive the mysterious Kypriote syllabary from the Hittite hieroglyphics, and drew up a table of possible equivalents. But the attempt was premature, and I subsequently withdrew it, having been converted to the view of Dr. Deecke, who found the origin of the Kypriote characters in the cuneiform syllabary of Nineveh. The fresh materials however which have been accumulating during the last three years have again made me change my opinion and

¹ The position of the character which represents a head and arm with the hand pointing to the mouth  seems to imply that it signifies "to speak" or "say," the four lines denoting the third person singular. The simple outstretched arm  may denote "action" or "doing," the arm with a dagger  the act of "slaying," the arm upraised  "prayer," and the two heads and shoulders with the arms crossed "to make peace" or "alliance." In  we may see the sacred tree.

return to my old suggestion. On the one hand, the inscriptions of Hamath, which were the only ones I had to work at four years ago, present us, as I now know, only with late hieratic forms of the Hittite hieroglyphs, forms too that belong to the southern branch of Hittite writing rather than to the western branch, with which alone the populations of Asia Minor were brought into contact. On the other hand, as I have indicated at length in an Appendix written for Dr. Schliemann's forthcoming work on his excavations at Hissarlik, the Kypriote syllabary is but a local form of a syllabary once in use throughout Asia Minor before the introduction of the simpler Greek alphabet. It does not contain all the characters in use on the mainland, and the oldest Kypriote forms of many of them are later than those found at Hissarlik, or in the alphabets of Kappadokia,¹ Mysia, Lydia,² Karia, Lykia, Pamphylia, and Kilikia, which preserved a considerable number of the characters of the old syllabary, in order to express sounds not provided for in the Greek alphabet. Consequently we must seek the origin of the syllabary not in Kyprus but in Asia Minor, and compare the Hittite characters rather with those of the syllabary of the mainland than with those of the syllabary of the island.

Considering the influence exercised by the Hittites upon the art and mythology of Asia Minor, it would have been astonishing if they had not communicated to them the knowledge of writing, for which they were already famous. The source of the syllabary of Asia Minor therefore must naturally be sought either in Kappadokia or in Lykonian, where the chief Hittite monuments are to be found, and the Kyprian form of it would have been derived from Kilikia. The chief objection, accordingly, to my suggestion of the original identity of the Hittite and Kyprian modes of writing, has thus been removed; the geographical and chronological distance

¹ At present known only from the single inscription copied by Hamilton at Eyuk.

² Known only from the fragmentary inscription from one of the old bases of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, published by Mr. Newton in the Transactions of this Society, IV, p. 334 (1876), which I have shown in the Appendix to Dr. Schliemann's work to be a specimen of Lydian writing.

between them that existed when my suggestion was made has now been filled up, and we can trace the so-called Kypriote syllabary back to the very spots in which the Hittites erected their monuments, and to the very time when they did so.

The discovery that this syllabary was really the syllabary of Asia Minor, overthrows Dr. Deecke's ingenious attempt to derive it from the Assyrian characters introduced into Kyprus in the reign of Sargon. But there was much else in Dr. Deecke's theory which made it hard of acceptance when closely examined. Thus a genuine resemblance existed between only two of the characters in the syllabaries of Kyprus and Nineveh, and even this resemblance ceased to exist when we turned to the oldest accessible form of one of them ($\overline{\text{T}}$ *pa*) in the Kypriote syllabary. Moreover, Dr. Deecke had to mix together forms of characters belonging to different periods and localities of cuneiform writing, and even so was obliged to invent intermediate forms to bridge over the distance between a Kypriote letter and its supposed cuneiform equivalent. It has been pertinently asked whether, considering the immense number of cuneiform characters to choose from, there could have been any necessity for such violent processes, had Dr. Deecke's theory had any solid basis.¹ But a main argument against it still remains. The Kypriote syllabary draws no distinction between *b*, *p*, and *ph*; *d*, *t*, and *th*; *g*, *k*, and *kh*, while it does draw a careful distinction between *m* and *v*, the semi-vowel *y* and a simple vowel, and has separate characters to express the sound of *o*. The cuneiform syllabary, on the contrary, distinguishes between *b* and *p*; *d*, *t*, and *t*; and *g*, *k*, and *kh*, besides representing also the sound of *e*, whereas it makes no distinction between *m* and *v*, or a vowel with or without *y*. It is curious that the very little we know of Hittite phonology seems to show that the peculiarities of the Kypriote syllabary may have had their origin in the peculiarities of Hittite pronunciation. The name of the Hittite capital, Carchemish, is written with *g* in Assyrian (*Gargamis*), *k* in Egyptian, and *c* in Hebrew, as if the guttural
















¹ Bréal, "Sur le Deciffrement des Inscriptions cypriotes," in the "Journal des Savants." August and September, 1877.

were an intermediate sound, which foreigners had great difficulty in catching.¹ I may add that the boustrophedon fashion in which the Hittite inscriptions are always written, may throw light on the fact that early Greek inscriptions are so often written in this way. The fact is a puzzling one, since the Semites, from whom the Greeks received their alphabet, always wrote from right to left. If, however, the Asiatic Greeks had been accustomed to writing *boustrophedon* before they learnt the new alphabet, an explanation of the fact would be given.² Similarly I believe that the names given by the Phœnicians, or rather the Aramæans of the Gulf of Antioch, to their letters were derived from the Hittite hieroglyphs, with which they had been familiar before the importation of the Egyptian alphabet by the Phœnicians of the Delta.



Our knowledge neither of Hittite nor of Asia Minor epigraphy is as yet sufficient to enable us to undertake a satisfactory comparison of the two modes of writing. But in some cases, where we can arrive at the primitive form of a Kypriote character by comparing it with the forms used on the mainland, the resemblance to Hittite hieroglyphs is so exact that it is difficult not to assume identity. I have incidentally alluded to one or two of these cases in the course of the present paper. But I will mention three more which are

¹ So, again, a similar intermediate sound between *t* and *d* seems to be presupposed by the Assyrian *Milidi* and its classical equivalent *Melite(ne)*, and it is at least worth notice that just as *n* is not expressed in writing before a guttural or a dental in Kypriote, the name of the king of Carhemish who lived in the time of Assur-natsir-pal and Shalmaneser I, is indifferently spelt 'Sangara and 'Sagara. But it must be allowed that the omission of the nasal before a dental was a peculiarity of the Pamphylian dialect, which may easily have been shared by that of Cyprus; thus in the inscription of Silyon, **ΑΤΡΟΠΟΙΣΙ** represents *ἀνθρώποισι*, and **ΑΔΡΙΟΝΑ** *ἀνδριῶνα* (that is *ἀνδριάντα*).

² It must not be forgotten that while the inscriptions written in the Kypriote syllabary usually run from right to left, those of Paphos run from left to right. In this we may see another proof that the Kypriote syllabary is not derived from the Assyrian, which was always written from left to right; while the fact that it is precisely at Paphos, the centre of the Semites in the island, that the inscriptions read from left to right, equally shows its independence of the Semitic alphabet. On the other hand, the clay impressions of seals found by Sir A. H. Layard, show that a Hittite inscription of a single line might be indifferently written from left to right, or from right to left.

at any rate very remarkable. The Hittite  appears in the inscriptions at Ibreez, as copied by Fischer, under the form of . Now, this is precisely the form of a character which is found in the alphabets of Karia, Pamphylia, and Kilikia, that is to say, of the very locality in which the Hittite monuments of Ibreez and Bulgar Dagh exist. It may be the Kypriote character *ko*, which sometimes has the form , or it may be the Kypriote *ra* (); but more probably it is one which has not been included in the Kypriote syllabary at all. If it is *ko*, we should be able to read the first three characters of a legend on the coins of the Pamphylian town of Sidê as *Ta-r-ko*, and compare the name of a god who enters into the composition of the Gangunian and Milidian names Tarkhu-lara and Tarkhu-nasi, mentioned by Tiglath-Pileser II and Sargon. The first character in the legend is usually written , but once appears as , once as , with which I would compare , found as a variant form of the Kypriote *ta*. Now , I believe, corresponds with the outstretched arm of the Hittite inscriptions, just as the Kypriote  (*su*) corresponds with the outstretched arm holding a dagger which protrudes below the hand, and  (*re*) corresponds with the outstretched arm with a hatchet in the hand. The third case to which I have referred is the Hittite character , which seems identical with the Kypriote  (*ne*). The resemblance might be set down to chance, were it not that a variant form of the Kypriote character is , just as a variant form of the Hittite character is also .¹ Of course, in modifying the Hittite hieroglyphics into the syllabary of Asia Minor, the western hieratic forms of the characters would have been taken—not, however, it must be remembered, the southern hieratic forms which we find at Hamath—while determinative prefixes and characters employed only as ideographs would be discarded.

All that now remains for me to do is to say a few words about the language of the Hittites, and of this, unfortunately,

¹ Another striking comparison exists between the Hittite  and the Kypriote  (*su*).

we know next to nothing. Such Hittite names as Kheta-sira ("prince (?) of the Hittites"), Khilip-sira ("prince (?) of Aleppo"), Kauri-sira ("prince of the Kuans" (?), show that, like Aryan, the language of the Hittites placed the defining word before that which it defined. Consequently it was not a Semitic dialect. This conclusion is confirmed by the Hittite personal and local names preserved in the Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions. None of these can be explained as Semitic, while they agree closely with the proper names of the neighbouring populations—the Patinians on the Afrin and Orontes; the Gamgumians and Samahliaus further north; the Kuans and Lakians east of Kilikia; the Kilikians themselves; the people of Kumnuh or Komagene, which in the Assyrian period lay between Milid or Melitene and the western bank of the Euphrates; the Moschians and Tibarenians (Meshech and Tubal), who extended to the frontiers of Komagene; the Komarians in Kappadokia; and the proto-Armenians of the Vannic inscriptions. It is probable that allied dialects were spoken in Nahri or northern Mesopotamia, and throughout a large portion of Asia Minor. At all events, there is a great similarity between typically Asia Minor names and Vannic names—between, for instance, the Phrygian Agdistis¹ and the Vannic Argistis. As M. Lenormant was the first to point out, the language of the Vannic inscriptions seems to belong to the Alarodian family of speech, of which Georgian is the best known living example, and in the modern Georgians we may perhaps see the physical type of the Hittites and their kindred.

Since the district in which Eyuk and Boghaz Keui are situated fell within the boundaries of Kammanu or Komania, it is plain that the White Syrians whom Strabo places in this region must be Hittites. The origin of the Greek geographer's mistake in calling them Syrians is easily intelligible, since they came from a country which in his days was only known as Syria, and where the very name of Hittite had been forgotten. Indeed, they are specially contrasted with the Black Syrians, who are said to live east of the Amanus, and must

¹ Pausanias, VII, 17, 5.

consequently be Arameans.¹ The country of Kammanu subsequently formed part of Kappadokia, called Katpaducea (Katapatuka) in the Persian inscriptions, which I would compare with Kat-aonia, in the south of Kappadokia. The Egyptian monuments mention the Kati or Kiti, allies of the Hittites, as living in this very region, and the termination of the word Kat-aonia (for Kat-avonia) is probably merely derivative, since we find the same termination in the name of Lyk-aonia, where a peculiar language was spoken down to the days of St. Paul. According to Strabo, the language of the Kataonians was the same as that of the white Syrians. It is unfortunate that we know next to nothing of the language of the Kappadokians or of the Moschi, who, as we have seen, lived in the same locality, and seem to have spoken a language allied to that of the Kappadokians and the Hittites. According to Apuleius,² wild rue was called *moly* by the Kappadokians, according to Hesychius their word for "a mouse" was *νηξίς*, while Pliny³ asserts that the pits in which they preserved their corn were called *siri*, as among the Thrakians. *Abaklès* was the title given to the supreme pontiff of the goddess Ma at Komana, who was served by an army of 6,000 priests. Omanos again was a Kappadokian god associated with Anaitis or Artemis;⁴ and though Burnouf has attempted to explain this name by the Persian Bahman, the Zend Vohû-Manô, I am inclined to think it is a native word. At all events the same termination appears in the name of Lairbênos, which, as Mr. Ramsay has pointed out to me, is found with the figure of the sun-god on the coins of Hierapolis, which succeeded to the position and the religion of Carchemish; and I would compare the first

¹ Strabo, pp. 533, 544, 737. See Schol. ad Apoll. Rhod., I, 948. Similarly Herodotus (I, 72, vii, 72) makes the inhabitants of Kappadokia and Kilikia Syrians; and Pindar (Fr. 150, Bergk) speaks of "a spear-armed Syrian host" at the mouth of the Thermôdon. Sinôpè, according to Skymnus of Khios (943) was founded among the Syrians, and a promontory a little to the north of Sinôpè was called *Syrias*. The coins of Sinôpè, Sidê, and Kotyora (Gazir) have Aramaic legends (Brandis, "Münzwesen," 308, 427), though as they are not earlier than the 4th century B.C., this does not prove much.

² "Med. Herb.," 89.

³ N. H. XIII, 73.

⁴ Strabo, XI, p. 511; XV, p. 733.

part of the name with the second element in the name of the Gamgumian king Tarkhu-lara. Since we have also Tarkhunazi quoted on the Assyrian monuments as the name of a king of Milid or Melitene in the time of Sargon, it would seem that Tarkhu was the name of a deity (compare the Hittite name Thargatha-zas mentioned in the Egyptian inscriptions, and the goddess Atargatis or Derketo of Hierapolis). Another Kappadokian deity was Disandan (or Dibdan according to a variant reading), identified with the Greek Herakles, who is stated to have been also worshipped by the Ilians—another mark of connection between the Dardanians of the Troad and the Hittites of Kappadokia.¹ As Meyer has shown,² Sandan or Sandes, with whom Di-Şandan is identical, was a Kilikian divinity, and was worshipped in Kilikia under the title of Morrheus.³ According to Apollodorus (III, 14, 3, 1), Sandakos came from Syria (? Carehemish), and founded the city of Kelenderis in Kilikia, having married Pharnakê the daughter of king Megessaros, by whom he had Kinyras. With Megessaros we may compare the names of the Hittite antagonists of Ramses II and his father, which terminate in *sira*, while Valdemar Schmidt⁴ has pointed out that the names of Śanda-şarvi or Śandakhirvi, king of Kilikia in the time of Assur-bani-pal, and of Śandu-arri, king of Cundi and Śizu in the time of Esar-haddon, are evidently compounded with that of the god Sanda or Sandan. Σάνδυξ, it may be observed, was the name given by the Lydians to the linen garments with which Omphalê clothed Heraklê.⁵ Sandes is also mentioned by Stephanus Byzantinus, who states that the Kilikian town of Adana was founded by Adanos and the river Saros, after they had been defeated by the Tarsians. Adanos, he adds, was son of the Earth and Sky, like the other Kilikian deities Ostasos, Sandês, Kronos, Rhea, Iapetos, and Olymbros. These few names and words, along with *μóσσυν*, which we are told was

¹ G. Syncell., "Chronograph." p. 290, ed. Dindorf.

² Z.D.M.G., XXXI, 4 (1877).

³ Nonnus : Dion., XXXIV, 188.

⁴ "Assyriens og Aegyptens gamle Historie." (1877) II, p. 704.

⁵ Johannes Lydus, "De magistr.," III, 61.

used by the Moschi with the signification of "a wooden house,"¹ are all that is left of the language of Kappadokia and the adjacent districts.²

An examination of the Hittite proper names, however, as recorded by the Egyptian and Assyrian scribes, gives us a little insight into the grammatical character of the language. We have already seen that the defining word preceded the defined, as in Aryan, or in the language of the Vannic inscriptions; it is further clear that *-s*, as in Vannic, marked the termination of the nominative. Thus we have nouns in *-as* like Thargatha-t'as, T'aua-t'as, Tharg-annas, and Annas; nouns in *-us*, like Garbitus, Samarius; and finally a large number of nouns in *-is*, like Pais, Piširis, the name of the last Hittite king, or the name of Carchemish itself. Carchemish, or Gargamis, however, may be a compound, the second element of which is in the genitive, since it seems to occur in a reduplicated form in the name of the Gangumians. A

¹ Dion. H., I, 26; Strab., 549.

² It is possible that the god Adad or Hadad, the Syrian deity corresponding to the Assyrian Rimmon, the air-god, was originally Hittite. Though the name is found in the Biblical Hadadezer (the Hadad-idri of the inscriptions of Shalmaneser I, as Dr. Schrader was the first to point out, "Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung," 1878, pp. 538, 539), and though we have the express testimony of the Assyrian inscriptions (Smith's "Assurbanipal," 271, 106) that Dadda (*i.e.*, Hadad) was the Assyrian equivalent of Rimmon, it may nevertheless have been borrowed by the Arameans from their Hittite neighbours. At any rate, Macrobius ("Saturn., I, 23) states that it signified "one" in the Assyrian—that is, the Syrian—language; and Zech. xii, 11, shows that Hadad-Rimmon was identical with the Accadian Sun-god Tammuz (Adonis) or Dumuzi, which meant "the one" or "only son" in the old language of Chaldea. Now it is impossible to find in the Semitic dialects a word Hadad or Dadda, "one," while Shalmaneser I speaks of the "god Rimmon (? Dadda) of Khalvan," or Aleppo; and Car-Rimmon, "the fortress of Rimmon," is mentioned as a Hittite town. Since Atys or Attis, written Attès in the Lykian inscriptions, is the equivalent of Tammuz or Adonis in Asia Minor, I cannot help asking whether the Syrian Adad is not the same name, and equally derived from a Hittite source? We learn from coins of a prince Abd-Hadad, "servant of Hadad," who ruled from Damaskus to Hierapolis in the 4th century (Waddington, "Revue numismatique," new sér. V (1861), pp. 9, *sq.*). Dadi was also the name of a king of Khubuscia in northern Nahri, between Van and Kolkhis, in the time of Samas-Rimmon; and Giri-Dadi of Assaya, on the eastern frontier of Komagene, from whom Assur-natsir-pal received tribute, is the same as Cigiri-Dadi, who gave tribute to Assur-natsir-pal's son Shalmaneser, and whose name I have misread Cigiri-Rimmon in the "Records of the Past," III, p. 87.

good many local names end in *g* or *k*, like Mabog (Bambykê), Sathekh-beg, Suki-beki, Amar-seki, Dabig, and Allig, or in *van*, as Khalvan (the Assyrian form of Aleppo), Lairbênos (?), Kataonia, Lykaonia, Nebisuanna; while we have other nouns terminating in *-ra*, as Kheta-sira and the like, Mauthenara, Sangara, Maurmar. Another termination is *ba*, which we also find in Vannic. If Thargatha and Atargatis or Derketo are really feminine forms corresponding with the masculine Tarkhu, we should have a feminine suffix *-tha*, as in Semitic. But the correspondence is very doubtful.¹

Awaiting the decipherment of the inscriptions, this is the utmost that can at present be ascertained regarding the language of the Hittites. But it is sufficient to show that the language was allied to those spoken by the neighbouring populations, and probably also to proto-Armenian and perhaps Lykian; that it was moreover a flecational language, and above all that it was not Semitic. As Brugsch Bey very justly says, the Hittite "names do not bear a Semitic, or at any rate not a pure Semitic stamp."

I have thought it useful to add by way of appendix the various Hittite names, both personal and local, which occur in the Old Testament and the Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions. I have included the names of some Hamathite princes, partly because the Hittite inscriptions found on the site of Hamath show that Hittite influence once prevailed there, partly because the name of Tou or Toi is non-Semitic, although as far back at least as the eighth century B.C. Hamath had become completely Semitic.

¹ A remarkable similarity also shows itself between some of the Hittite names and terminations and those of places mentioned on the Assyrian monuments as situated to the south-west of the Caspian. Thus we have a Khalvan on the east of the Tigris, as well as among the Hittites. It is just possible that the name of the Khalybes may be the same word, if we remember that Khilib was the Egyptian equivalent of the Assyrian Khalvan.

APPENDIX.

FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT :—

Ephron	Jotham	Elon
Zohar	Uriah	Beeri (?)
Tou or Toi	Judith or Adah	Luz (perhaps Semitic)

FROM THE EGYPTIAN INSCRIPTIONS :—¹*Personal Names.*

Aagam or 'Akama (from Panas)	Pais
Aakitasebu	Samarius
Garbatus (comp. Garparunda)	Saplil (compare Sapalulvi)
Kamaiz (leader of the mercenaries at the battle of Kadesh)	Sapzar
Kauī-sira	Tartisebu (Brugsch, Tartibus)
Kheta-sira	Thaadar or Thaadil (leader of the mercenaries at the battle of Kadesh)
Khilip-sira ("writer of books")	Thaadir or Thaadil (cf. Dadilu of the Kolkhians, and Dadi)
Maizarima	Tharganunas or Thargannas (comp. Tarkhu-lara)
Maurā-sira	Thargatha-zas (from Nakbesu)
Mauthanara	Zaua-zas or Zava-zas (from Tanisa)
Nebisuana or Reba-senen (from Annas or Anunas, cf. Syennesis of Kilikia)	
Nezera	

Local Names.

Aanreka	Aiber or Aibel	Amana (Amanus, Ass. Khamauu)
Aares	Aimar	Amar-seki (cf. Aimar)
Abatha	Aimaru (Br. Aimal)	Amau
Abellenu (cf. Aubillina)	Airanel or Ailaner (two towns of this name)	Anauban
Abetha	Aithua	Anaukas
Abir(na)th	Akateri or Akaterith	Anautasenu
Aburt	Amak	Ann'auī (cf. Annas)
Ai		

¹ The letter transcribed z after Brugsch, written t by other Egyptologists, should be transcribed t.

An-riz	Kabes	Khisasap (cf. Sap-lili)
Anunas or Annas	Kabusiü (Br. Kabur)	Kushpata
Anzakeb (cf. An-riz and Ithakab)	Kadesh (the name seems to be Semitic, from which it may be inferred that it was of Semitic foundation, and subsequently occupied by the Hittites. It is curious that this southern capital of the Hittites has the same meaning as Hierapolis. Can this also be the meaning of Gargamis?)	Legaba
Apakha (Br. Arrapikha)	Kainab or Kainap	Lerti (cf. Tarkhu-lara)
Ar	Kairuga	Magnas
Ares (two towns of this name)	Kannu or Kanu	Mairrekhnas
Aripenekha	Kanretu	Ma-shaua
Arnema	Kar-shaua (cf. Ma-shaua)	Mat(b)uri
Arnir	Kartha-meruth (Semitic Kirjath-meroth)	Matenau (Brugsch, Athena). This is the Mitani or Mutunu of the Assyrian inscriptions, just opposite Carchemish
Artha	Karuna	Maurika
Arukan (Br. Alikan)	Kati or Keti (cf. Kataonia), bordering on Carchemish	Maur-mar (cf. Maura-sira)
Arzakana (cf. Ass. Arazik)	Katina	Mauthi
Ashameth	Kaz	Murunasa, (Br. Maul-nus)
Asitha	Kazawatana or Kizawadana	Mushanath (cf. Moschi, Musak)
Atha-kar (? "city of the goddess Athe")	Kazel	Nakbesu (Brugsch, Nagebus)
Athe-bena (cf. Lair-bênos)	Kel-maitha (cf. Ass. Kulmadara)	Nathkina
Athetama	Kinisen - en (Br. Kil-senen)	Natub
Athini	Khaitu	Nenuran'aantha
Athrithan (cf. Athrun)	Khalros (cf. Khalvan)	Nepiriuriu
Athrun	Khareb (? Aleppo)	Ni (Carchemish was called Ninus Vetus)
Atugaren	Kharkakhi or Kharkaka	Nireb
Atur or Adur	Khatha'ai (cf. Kheta)	Nishapa (? Nisibis, Ass. Nazi-bina)
Aubillina	Khatuma	Nuzana or Nuzan
'Aukam	Khazreza'a	Pabekh (com. Dabigu)
'Aumai	Khilbu or Khilipu, Ass. Khalvan (Aleppo)	Panas
'Aunfer		Papaa
'Aurma		Papabi
'Aurna (cf. Ass. Arna)		Pazalu
'Authir		Pederi (cf. Ass. Pitru, Pethor)
Azana		Perikara (Br. Pikaz)
Bagaru (Br. Bizar)		Piauanel
Bursu		Pilka or Pairaka
Farua		Pir-kheta
Ga-auru (Br. Zaur)		Pukiu
Gagama (Br. Zizi..., cf. Gangumai)		
Garnai (Br. Samai)		
Hamath (probably also a Semitic foundation)		
Ithakab (cf. Anzakeb)		
Iurima (cf. Maizi-rima)		

Puroth	Tariza. "or country of Riza"	Tul-bentha (Semitic "mound of the daughter")
Retama	Tarshebi (cf. Tartisebu)	Tunep
Ruanis	Tarshka	Unai
Sakti	Ta-sukha (?the Shuites)	Uniuka (cf. Ass. Unki, mod. Umk)
Salomaski or Sarmaski	Ta-Taru (Br. Ithal)	Unum
Sarapaina	Ta-zeker, or country of Zeker	Zagerel
Sarasu or Sarsu	Tazet	Zaiath-khirrii (Goodwin, Taitatkherri)
Sari (Br. Sali)	Thalekh	Zaina....
Sathekh-beg (cf. Suki-beki)	Thamakur	Zakal
Shabi	Theleb (= Thalaba)	Zamauka
Shainarkai	Thel-manna (Tel-manna, cf. Ass. Many)	Zanruisu or Zarruisu
Shaurantha	Thenuzuru	Zaranda (Goodwin, Taaranta, "of the Orontes")
Suka (cf. Suki-beki)	Thepkanna	Zarnas
Sukaua	Thethup (cf. Aup)	Zazker
Suki-beki	Thinnur	Zetharseth (two towns of this name)
Susaron	Thuka	Ziras
Sur (cf. Ass. Šurunu)	Thukam-ros (cf. Khal-ros and Taniros)	Zizal
Ta-basu (Br. I-bil)	Thutkana	
Ta-kanasa (Br. Akas)	Tuaub or Tuaup, or Aup	
Taniros, or country of Niros	Tubakhi (a little north of Kadesh)	
Tanisa, or the country of Nisa		

To these Brugsch would add—

Abel	Kasanalitha	Parihi
Azar or Azal	Kasari'a	Rihuza
Kalipa	Kasiribana	Saabitha
Kama-sapui	Kauzas	Samasana
Karika	Kazaa	
Karomana	Khiriza	

FROM THE ASSYRIAN INSCRIPTIONS:—

Personal Names.

Šangara or Šagara, 876-854, ¹ of Carchemish (cf. the river-names Šagura and Sangarius)	Mutallu, 858, Gamgumian (cf. Mauthenar)
Piširiš or Piširiš, or Piširi, 732-717, Carchemish (cf. Kheta-sira, &c.)	Tarkhu-lara, 742-738, Gamg. (cf. Tarkhu-nazi)
	Mutalla, 711, Gamg. (cf. Mutallu)

¹ The numbers denote the date B.C. at which the persons named are mentioned in the inscriptions.

- Garparuda or Garparunda, 854, Gamg.
(cf. Girparuda of the Patinians, and names of Asia Minor terminating in -nda)
- Khaian or Khanu, son of Gabbar, 858-854 (of Šamalla and Amanus)
- Panammu, 748-732 (of Samalla)
- Lubarna or Luburna, or Libarna I, 872, Patinian
- Lubarna II, 832, Pat.
- Sapalulvi, 858, Pat. (cf. Sapa-lili)
- Girparuda, 854, Pat.
- Šurri(la), cir. 850, Pat.
- Šaši, son of Mat-uzza, cir. 850, Pat.
- Tutamu, 740, Pat.
- Catî, 854-834, of the Kue, and Cirri his brother
- Uricci or Uriacci, 738, of the Kue
- Tuliâ, 850, of Tanacun among the Kue
- Cili-anteru, son of Cali-anteru,¹ son of Šaru-pin-sihusuni, 1130, of Komagene (cf. names in Asia Minor terminating in -andros)
- Sadi-anteru, son of Khattukhi, 1130, of Komagene (cf. Sadi-attes)
- Catu-zilu or Kata-zilu, 858, Komagenian
- Kundaspi, 854, Kom.
- Kustaspi, 740-732, Kom. (the Aryan Hystaspis)
- Mutallu, cir. 715, Kom. (cf. Mutallu of Gamgumia)
- Pikhirim, 854, of Kilikia
- Ambaris or Amris, 712, of Kilikia and Tubal
- Šandu-arri, 678, of Kilikia(?)
- Šanda-sarvi, 660, of Kilikia (cf. Šandulitir, the name of a city on the Black Sea)
- Tarkondimôtus, in Greek inscription, Kilikia (cf. Tarkhu-lara)
- Syennesis, Kilikia
- Lalli, 854, of Milid
- Sulumal, 738, of Milid
- Tarkhu-nazi, 712, of Milid
- Buranate, 850, Yazbucian
- Uas-survi, 738, Tibareni (cf. Šanda-sarvi)
- Ambaris or Amris, 716, Tib., son of Khulli
- Mugalli, 660, Tib.
- Dadilu, 738, Kaskai or Kolkhians
- Mita, 716, of the Moschi (cf. Midas)
- Gunzinan, of Khamman
- Udaci, 834, of Van
- Lutipri, of Van (the Mannai or Minnians)
- Šar-duris or Še-duris, of Van
- Mennas, of Van
- Argistis, of Van
- Ispuinis, of Van
- Iranzu, 720, of Van, and his son Aza
- Ullusun, 715, of Van
- Akhseri, 660, of Van
- Vaalli, 650, of Van (cf. Khulli)
- Arame or Arrame, 850, of Ararat (cf. Aram the son of Aguši or Guši, of Arne in Komagene, B.C. 854)
- Bakhian, 850, of the Hittites
- Aramis-sar-ilani, "Aramis king of the gods" (a Hittite after the Assyrian conquest of Carchemish. Aramis would be the name of the chief Hittite god. Cf. the Armenian Arame).
- Irkhulena, 854, of Hamath
- Urzâ, 715, of Ararat

¹ *An* may, however, be intended to represent the determinative prefix of divinity. In this case we should have a god Teru or Terus (cf. Tros and Tirus).

Local Names.

Gargamis	Munzigani	Khilak or Khilucci
Mitani or Mutunu	Kharmurga	(Kilikia, Khelekh on coins)
Pitru (Pethor, at the junction of the Sajur and Euphrates; there was a Piterra on the Tigris in south-eastern Armenia)	Akhanu or Yakhanu	Tarzi (Tarsus)
Arazik	{ Khazazu (?Azaz)	Yarak
Šagura or Šaugura (the Sajur)	{ Aribue and Lukhit	Yahtur
Šazabe	{ Patinai	Adavas and Kharmas (in Armenia)
Šurunu	{ Aprie (the Afrin)	Nipur (the Taurus)
Paripa	{ Arante (the Orontes)	Kasiyari (Mons Masius)
Mabasere	{ Kunulua or Kinalia (Gindarus)	Tul-Baršip (Barsampse)
Dabigu	{ Tayā or Tae, Khata-tirra	Yasbukai
Khalvan (Aleppo)	{ Nulia, Kulmadara	Alzu
Manya	Butāmu, Pat. (cf. Nahr-el-Butuyune)	Purukhumzu
....sagukāna	Tarma - nazi, Pat. (cf. Tarkhu-nazi)	
Ruguliti	Atalur (sea-coast of the Patinians)	
Nappigi	Unki, Pat. (Umk)	North of Kilikia :—
Alligu (Ledjah)	Alizir, Pat.	Tumurra
Milid, Melitene (cf. Mount Mildis)	Uetas, in Melitene	Sarum
{ Kummukh (Koma-gene)	Khamman (cf. Khamanu or Amanus)	Ezama
{ Tilule	{ Gamgamai	Kipsu
{ Seris	{ Markašī	Khalbuda
{ Urrakhinas	Timur	Kua (cf. Kue)
{ Panari	{ Kue	Kana
{ Mildis (cf. Milid)	{ Kharrua	
{ Khanirabi	{ Usnani	
{ Tul-garimmi (Togar-mah)	{ Lutibu (cf. Lutipri)	
	{ Šamahlai or Šamallai	
	Yakhanai	
	Kammanu or Komania	

Kings of Nahri, B.C. 820 :—

Sirasvi, of the Babarurai	Ardara, of Ustassi
Amakhar, of Kharmis-andi	Suma, of the Cinuceai
Zarisu, of the Paršaniyai (cf. Paršuas, Parthians)	Tatai, of the Ginginai
Zarisu, of the Khundurui	Biširain, of the Arimai
Sanisu, of the Cipabarutacai	Parusta, of the Cimarusa
	Aspastatauk, of the Huilai

Amamas, of the lesser Cingistilin
 Khaššikhu, of the Matsirausai
 Mamanis of the Luksai
 Zabel, of the Dimamai
 Sirasu, of the Šinguriai (cf. Šangara
 and Šangura)
 Gista, of the Abdanai
 Adadanu, of the Ašatai
 Urši, of the Ginkhukhtai

Bara, of the Ginzinai (cf. Gunzinan)
 Arna, of the Cindutansai
 Dirnacus, of the Marruai
 Zaban, of Zuza-rurai
 Irtizati, of the Ginkhidai
 Bazzuta, of the Taurlai
 Sua, of the Nanikirai
 Šatiriai
 Arta-širari

Districts of Nahri in B.C. 1130:—

Dayaeni
 Amaššihuni
 Nazabia (? Nisibis)
 Hugina
 Albaya
 Cirini
 Adaeni
 Abaeni
 Sururia
 Huiram

Paiteri
 Khimua
 Pigikanni
 Culimazzini
 Adhurgini
 Pilakini
 Andiabi (cf. Kharmis-
 andi; Kharmis is the
 cuneiform name of
 the Hermus).

Unzamuni
 Huzula
 Kidari
 Tuali
 Tunube (cf. Tunep)
 Numme



THE BILINGUAL HITTITE AND CUNEIFORM
INSCRIPTION OF TARKONDÉMOS.

By A. H. SAYCE.

Read 2nd November, 1880.

WHEN I expressed my conviction at the last meeting of this Society that the Hittite hieroglyphics would yet be read, I had little idea that I was about to fall across what will, I hope, prove the Rosetta Stone of Hittite decipherment. Before a month was over I found myself on the track of that much-desired object—a bilingual inscription. In an article on the cuneiform inscriptions of Van in the “*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*,” xxvi, 3. 4 (1872), the late Dr. A. D. Mordtmann described a round silver plate,¹ in form like half an orange, which must have served as the knob of a staff or dagger. Round the rim of this plate or boss runs a cuneiform inscription, the characters of which Dr. Mordtmann ascribed to the syllabary in use at Van. When I first read his description of the plate eight years ago, my attention had not been called to the subject of Hittite writing; indeed, it was not yet known that the Hittites had a peculiar system of writing at all, and the account had since faded out of my memory. During the past year, however, I have been subjecting the Vannic inscriptions to a close examination, one of the results of which has been the compilation of a grammar of the language in which they are written, and the determination of the greater part of their

¹ It must not be forgotten that the original silver boss is *concave*, the figure and hieroglyphics being incised; hence they are reversed. In the description by Professor Sayce and others is followed the *convex* impression of the silver *matrix*, in which the characters, &c., are necessarily raised. For the discussion on this Paper see “*Proceedings*,” No. XVIII, 2nd Nov., 1881.—W. H. R.

vocabulary. Another result has been the re-perusal of Dr. Mordtmann's description of the silver boss, and the discovery of its real character and value.

The boss, he tells us, was at the time he saw it in the possession of M. Alexander Jovanoff, the numismatist of Constantinople, who had obtained it at Smyrna. It was $16\frac{2}{3}$ "English lines" in diameter, $4\frac{1}{3}$ "lines" in height, and very thin. The outer surface was divided into two fields, the inner and larger of which had the figure of a warrior standing erect in the middle, holding a spear in the left hand, and pressing the right against his breast. He was clothed in a tunic, over which a fringed cloak was thrown; a close-fitting cap was on his head, boots with turned-up ends on the feet, a dirk or dagger fastened in the belt, and the legs bare. On each side of the figure was a series of "symbols," the series on each side being the same, except that on the right side the upper "symbols" were smaller, and the lower "symbols" larger than the corresponding ones on the left side. "Above," Dr. Mordtmann continued, "on both sides of the head of the figure is a goat's head; beneath it comes a symbol difficult to determine—perhaps it is a *puendum muliebre*. Below again are four vertical lines and one horizontal line, which I conjecture must represent grains of wheat; next, between the shoulder and the spear, we have a sort of obelisk, and on the other side of the spear two smaller obelisks; then, lastly, comes a palm-branch." He subsequently explains that the obelisks are a close copy of the curious shafts of rock which rise from the ground in the volcanic district west of Cæsarea, in Kappadokia.

The statement that the plate was of silver, the favourite Hittite metal, at once arrested my attention. As I read on it became clear that it really was a work of Hittite art which was being described. The dress, the posture, and the characteristic art of the central figure were all what we now know to be Hittite. The warrior both in form and in costume resembled the sculptured figures of Eyuk and Boghaz Keui, of Gliaur Kalessi and Karabel, to which may now be added Carchemish also, Mr. Boscawen having copied there a broken slab, on which are the lower parts of two

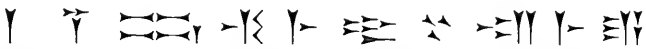
warriors exactly similar to those represented at Karabel. But what was of more importance, Dr. Mordtmann's "symbols" I saw at once to be Hittite characters. The first two of them occupied the same place as the characters attached to the pseudo-Sesostris at Karabel, and the animal's head, the four vertical lines, and the obelisks had all been made familiar to me by the inscriptions of Carchemish. The fact was clear: the boss contained a twice-repeated Hittite legend, the translation of which was given by the cuneiform characters which ran round the rim, and occupied the outer of the two fields into which the plate was divided.

The first thing necessary was to obtain a copy of this precious object. But this was not easy. Dr. Mordtmann stated that he had published a facsimile and an account of it in 1862 in the "Numismatic Journal which appears in Hanover." I at once commenced a hunt for the Journal in the Bodleian Library, but in vain. No such periodical existed, and it was not until I had wasted several mornings in the search that Dr. Neubauer and myself at last discovered that what Dr. Mordtmann meant was not a Journal at all, but the "Münzstudien" (iii, 7, 8, 9), published at Leipzig, not Hanover, in 1863, not 1862. In this he had given a copy of the boss (Pl. iii. 1), together with an account of it (pp. 121-132), which is more correct in several respects than his later description in the *Z. D. M. G.* The copy proved that I was right in seeing Hittite characters in Dr. Mordtmann's "symbols."

I could not, however, be sure that the copy was perfectly accurate. My examination of the Vannic inscriptions had taught me that Dr. Mordtmann's copies of cuneiform characters were not always to be trusted, and some of the forms of the cuneiform characters given in his copy of the silver boss were unusual. In a letter to the "Academy" (21st August), therefore, I asked if any of its readers knew of the present whereabouts of the original. A reply soon came from Mr. Barclay V. Head. He told me that, though the original was unknown to him, an electrotype facsimile of it existed in the British Museum, for which it had been made by Mr. Ready twenty years ago. The original had at that time been

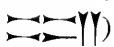
offered to the Museum, but refused, suspicions being entertained of its genuineness. Mr. Head also sent me a wax cast of the electrotype, which agreed in every particular with Dr. Mordtmann's copy. But even now I felt doubtful whether I had an exact copy of the original plate. Mr. Ready had forgotten the circumstances under which the electrotype was made, and I fancied that it might have been a cast manufactured at Constantinople, and not the silver boss itself, which had been forwarded to the Museum. All doubts, however, were removed by M. Fr. Lenormant, who told me that he had himself seen the original at Constantinople some twenty years ago, and had there made a cast of it, which he kindly sent to me. M. Lenormant's cast and Mr. Ready's electrotype agree in every particular, and we may now therefore consider that we possess a copy of the boss, which is for the purposes of science as good as the original itself.

Once satisfied of the correctness of the copy, we have little difficulty in reading the cuneiform legend. This runs:—





 D.P. Tar - rik - tim - me sar mat Er - me - e

Tarrik-timme king of the country of Ermê.

The forms of the characters refer us to the age of Sargon. The last character has the archaising form found, for instance, on the stêlê of that monarch discovered in Kypros, the ideograph used to denote "king" belongs to the same period, and the third character (which ought to be ) has been slightly changed in form, either through the unskilfulness of the engraver, or out of that affectation of antiquity and love of variety which caused the cuneiform characters in the so-called hieratic writing of Nineveh to be modified at the pleasure of the scribe. The age of Sargon would agree well with historical probabilities. It was in his time that Assyrian culture first gained a permanent footing in the west, while the overthrow of Carchemish and the last relics of Hittite power in B.C. 717 would naturally lead to the disuse of the Hittite mode of writing and the spread of the cuneiform characters employed by the Assyrian conquerors.

At this period, and at this period only, can we expect to find the two systems of writing used side by side. It must be remembered, too, that Kypros and Kilikia were in close connection with each other, and that it is on the Kyprian stêlê of Sargon that the peculiar form of the last character found on the boss recurs, while the owner of the boss was probably a Kilikian prince. His name is aptly compared by Dr. Mordtmann with that of the Kilikian king *Ταρκονδίματος* and his son of the same name, mentioned by Dio Cassius and Tacitus as living in the time of Augustus. The name, which is also found on coins, is made *Ταρκόνδημος* by Plutarch ("in Anton.," 61), and a Tarkodimatos, bishop of Ægæ, in Kilikia, is found in Theodoret ("Hist. Eccles.," p. 539). Tarkondêmos would exactly represent the Tarrik-timme of the inscription. As I stated in my paper on "The Monuments of the Hittites," Tarkon or Tarku is probably identical with the first element in the names of Tarkhu-lara and Tarkhuzazi, kings of the Gamgumai and of Melitene in the eighth century B.C. The nasal of the Greek form of the name probably means only that the dental following it was pronounced hard.

The localisation of the country over which Tarkondêmos ruled is a matter of greater difficulty. It is tempting to identify it with the land of Urume mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions, since Tiglath-Pileser I (B.C. 1130) says¹ that in his time "4,000 Kaskayans or Kôlkhians and Urumayans,² as soldiers of the Hittites," garrisoned the conquered country of Šubarti or Semitic Aram, which had previously been subject to "Assur." However, the inscription of Assur-natsirpal (W.A.I. I. 20, 13) shows that Urume lay to the southwest of Lake Van, and therefore too far to the east for a king who bears a distinctively Kilikian name. It may be the Urme of the Vannic inscriptions (Schulz, xii, 22), which Mordtmann identifies with the modern Urumiyeh. Moreover, had Urume been the country named on the boss, we should have expected  *ur*, and not  *er*. The

¹ W.A.I. I. 10, 11. 100 *sq.*



² I have miscalled them Urutassians in my former Paper.





SILVER BOSS
BEARING THE NAME OF
TARKONDĒMOS,

FORMERLY IN THE POSSESSION OF M. ALEXANDER JOVANOFF
OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

same objection lies against identifying the kingdom of Tarkondêmos with Urima, the modern Urum, on the Euphrates, north of Carchemish. I would therefore place it in the neighbourhood of the Kilikian range of mountains called Arima by the classical geographers. It is here that Kallisthenês placed the semi-mythical Arimi of Homer (Strab., xiii, 4, 6), near the River Kalykadnos and the Cave of Korykos.

It is now time to analyse the twice-repeated Hittite transcript of the cuneiform legend. It is clear that the scribe or engraver first wrote the characters on the right side, then those on the left, since the Hittite characters always read in the direction in which the animal heads look, and in this particular inscription the animal's head at the commencement looks towards the right. A comparison of the characters with those accompanying the figure of the pseudo-Sesostris at Karabel shows that he must have begun with the two upper ones—between the spear and the shoulder of the central figure; next he must have made the obelisk-like character between the spear and the lower part of the figure; and then, in accordance with the *boustrophedon* manner of writing which distinguishes all the known Hittite inscriptions, have recommenced outside the spear from the bottom of the boss, working upwards from below. Consequently, the “four vertical lines,” as Mordtmann called them, will be the last character in the legend. We should further expect that the royal name would be included in the space between the spear and shoulder, where the characters come, as it were, out of the mouth of the figure, while the character enclosed between the legs  and the lower part of the spear would denote the kingly title. In this case, what Mordtmann termed an obelisk would be the ideograph for “king,” the double obelisk  signifying “country.”














Now, a study of the Carchemish inscriptions had already led me to the same conclusion. In these inscriptions (J. II, 1, 1,) we find the double obelisk in a position which made me fancy that it denoted a country, while it seems

to interchange with a triple obelisk ¹ the form of which exactly resembles that of the primitive hieroglyphic from which the ideograph of "country" and "mountain" () was derived in the cuneiform system of writing. Dr. Mordtmann's comparison of it with the peculiar shape assumed by the rocks in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea confirms this identification, and suggests the possibility that Kappadokia was the locality in which the Hittite hieroglyphics were originally invented. However this may be, the double obelisk, wherever it occurred, was, I found, preceded by what looked like a single obelisk, which if the double obelisk meant "country" must signify "king." The boss of Tarkondêmos confirms both conclusions, and the matter is raised above doubt by the further fact that the ideograph of "king" really represents the royal head-dress. We have only to compare its form on the boss and in the Carchemish inscriptions with the head-dress of the chief figures at Boghaz Keui,¹ to perceive at once that this is the case. Just as the rocky district of the north, from which the Hittites had come, suggested to them their ideograph of country, so the pointed cap worn by their kings suggested to them the mode of representing the royal title.








Further confirmation of this identification is afforded by the inscriptions of Hamath. Here the published copies had given the picture of a palm branch, where a comparison with the monuments of Carchemish would have led us to expect the royal cap. Before the discovery of the Carchemish inscriptions, the position of this palm branch had more than once induced me to believe that it must denote the idea of "king," but I could not in any way associate this idea with the object supposed to be depicted by the hieroglyph. A careful examination, however, of the casts of the Hamath inscriptions has shown Mr. Rylands that the hieroglyph in question is not the picture of a palm branch at all, but probably a reproduction of the royal cap as represented at Boghaz Keui. At Hamath therefore, as well as at Carchemish and in Kilikia, the idea of "king" was represented in the same way.







¹ George Smith's copy of black basalt figure, line 2.










² See Texier, Plate 78.


Now that we have identified the Hittite representatives of "king" and "country," there is little difficulty in determining the two groups of characters between which they come. The two hieroglyphs which precede the ideograph of "king" must contain the royal name read from top to bottom; the two which follow the ideograph of "country," that of the territory of Tarkondêmos, read from bottom to top. Consequently,  is *tarku* or *tarrik*,  *timme*,  *er*, and   or   *me*. The last character, without the little side-stroke, is of frequent occurrence in the Hittite inscriptions, and we find the side stroke itself added to characters in several cases where the end of a sentence or paragraph seems to be noted (*see* J. I, Col. A, 4, Col. C, 1, D 2; J. II, 3, 4; H. i, 1, 2, ii, 2, 1, 2, iii, 2, iv, 1, 2, v, 3, 4; and "Karabel," 1). Since   (also written    ) is attached as a phonetic complement to the ideograph which I have conjectured to mean "he says," the third person singular of the verb which bore this signification would have ended in *-me*.




The first character in the name of Tarkondêmos is called a goat's head by Dr. Mordtmann in the "Journal of the German Oriental Society," but I think he was more correct in his article in the "Münzstudien," where he terms it a "horse's head." At all events, I can see no semblance of a goat's horn in it, and the eye and nose are those of a horse rather than of a goat, while the little semicircle which has been assumed to be a beard is more probably an indication of the neck, which is indicated in a similar way in one of the animal heads on the Carchemish monuments (*see* J. II). The Rev. B. H. Cooper, however, reminds us that the valley of the Kalykadnos was famous for its breed of goats. The inscription shows us that, as in the cuneiform inscriptions of ancient Babylonia, the name of an individual was not marked by any determinative. We cannot therefore expect to find such a determinative either in the monumental inscriptions or in the seal impressions found at Kouyunjik. These seal impressions, I may observe, do not appear to have belonged to royal personages, since the ideograph of "king" does not

occur on them, but to Hittite merchants, who traded in Nineveh. The same is the case with the Phœnician seal impressions found along with them.¹ One of the seal impressions contains the character   *me*; another has , which I fancy must be the  of Hamath, or  of Carchemish, the  of our Kilikian boss. Mr. Rylands believes that the sign  represents the bent leg and foot of a doe, or wild goat.²


Armed with the key afforded us by the bilingual inscription of Tarkondêmos, we can now attack the Hittite inscriptions with a fair chance of success. The first result obtained from the determination of the two important characters for "king" and "country" is that the two long inscriptions from Carchemish both belong to the same monarch, whose name is written      ; that the first six characters of the other inscription from Carchemish contain the name of another sovereign; that a royal name is hidden among the characters attached to the pseudo-Sesostris; and that royal names also occur in the inscriptions from Hamath. With the help of the Assyrian records we ought in time to be able to make them out.

By the side of the royal cap () the Phrygian cap () is also met with in the inscriptions used as an ideograph. It seems to have the same meaning of "king" or "lord," though the one hieroglyph may have denoted a "rex" (Assyr., *sarru*; Heb., *melech*), the other a "regulus" (Assyr., *malieu*; Heb., *sar*). In Mr. Boscawen's copy of the Aleppo inscription  occurs three times where we should have expected  and in one case we have   which seems to mean "king of kings." If so,   will be the ideograph of plurality. The single crescent () is used in the Hamath inscriptions

¹ The name which occurs on the Phœnician seal impressions is  (Akar-ezer, עכרעזר), not Attar-asar, as it has been read.

² On one of the seals we find , , which also occurs in the Carchemish inscriptions. It may be a picture of the girdle of the priestess of the Asiatic goddess which is thus represented in a sculpture at Carchemish, copied by Mr. Boscawen. 

before the ideograph of "king" in such a way as to make me suspect that it here denotes the name of an individual.¹

A character, which I believe to signify "above," is sometimes associated with the royal cap. This has the shape of a basket handle (); but Mr. Boscawen has pointed out to me that it represents the eyebrow on one of the figures at Boghaz Keui. To this day the Georgian women paint their eyebrows black in such a manner as to draw a continuous line or bar from one side of the forehead to the other. This black bar would have exactly the appearance of the character now under notice.

Mr. Rylands has been the first to observe that the peculiar shape given to the picture of the arm in the inscriptions is similar to the hand and arm of a figure in the sculptures at Boghaz Keui; it is plainly due to the fact that the picture is really one of a long-sleeved glove which had a thumb but no fingers. The use of gloves, like that of boots, is one more proof of the northern origin of the Hittites, who must have descended from the mountains of Armenia and Kappadokia at an early date. After establishing themselves at Carchemish, they subdued the Semitic population, and planted themselves in Kadesh on the Orontes, and even in Hamath—one branch of them settling west of the Afrin, where they were known to the Assyrians as the Patinai, and another branch penetrating as far as the southern part of Palestine. We have only to glance at the costume and arms of the natives of Van as depicted on the Balawat bronzes to see that they were cousins of the Hittites, and the striking resemblance between the helmets worn by the latter and those of the early Greeks probably results from the fact that the Greek helmet was really of Hittite origin. Herodotus (I, 171) expressly states that the Greeks had borrowed their helmets as well as the "emblems" on their shields from the Karians, and the Karians, as we now know, were once subject to Hittite influence. I am tempted to see in the emblems or symbols on the shields

¹ It is similarly used in the Carchemish inscriptions (J. I, Col. D, 1, 5, Col. II, 3, 4). In George Smith's copy of the black basalt figure (J. III), line 3, it is followed by the picture of a man, and that again by the ideograph of "king."

a reminiscence of the Hittite hieroglyphics. The Egyptian text of the treaty between Ramses II and the Hittites states that a silver plate was attached to the Hittite copy, in the centre of which was a figure of the god Sutekh, like the figure of the warrior in the centre of the boss of Tarkondêmos, round which ran the Hittite inscription: "This is the (figure) of the god Sutekh, the king of heaven and (earth)."¹ Such a device might well have suggested the ornamentation of the shield. As for the helmet, it was disused by the Hittites under the burning sun of the south. In their wars with the Egyptians they contented themselves with a close-fitting cap like that worn by the figure on the Kilikian boss.

A tradition of the Hittite conquest of Asia Minor may be preserved in the statement of Eusebius ("Chron.," *post.* p. 303 ed. Mai), that Sardes was captured for the first time by the Kimmerians in B.C. 1078, as well as in the statement of Strabo (I. 3, 16), that Lygdamis with a horde of Kimmerians made his way to Lydia and conquered Sardes, though he himself remained in Kilikia, where he lost his life. Now we know both from the Assyrian inscriptions and from Herodotus that the Kimmerians did not appear upon the stage of history till the seventh century B.C., when they were driven by the Skyths from their old seats on the Sea of Azof, and, after passing through the country which was once the home of the Hittites, were defeated by Esar-haddon in Khubuscia, on the northern frontier of Assyria, and driven westward. A Lydian historian might well have confounded the early Hittite invaders with the Kimmerians, who came in later days from the same regions.

However this may be, I believe I have found notices of the Hittites, or at all events of a tribe with a similar name, in the Vannic inscriptions. In these the Vannic kings Menuas and Argistis speak of a people called Khâtima or Khâti

¹ In his notes to the forthcoming new edition of the English translation of his "History of Egypt," Brugsch Bey states that a more correct rendering of the Egyptian text would be: "That which is found in the middle of this silver tablet, and on the front side of it, represents the image of the god Sutekh embracing the image of the great king of the land of Khita, and surrounded by an in-cription as follows:—'This is the image of the god Sutekh, king of heaven, protector of this agreement.'"

against whom they made campaigns. As *-ma* is a Vannic suffix, I am uncertain whether the name is Khâti or Khâtima. If the former, it is the same as the Assyrian Khatti, the Egyptian Kheta; if the latter, we may compare the name of the Skythini, a tribe met with by Xenophon ("Anab.," IV, 7) on the northern frontiers of the Khalybes.¹ Mennas (Schulz, xxxix, 6-9) states that he successfully attacked the territory of Sadahada, the ruler of Khâtima, partly slaying and partly capturing 2,113 soldiers of Khâtima and Alzu. Alzu is mentioned by Tiglath-Pileser I in conjunction with Purukhumzu as close to the Hittite frontier (W.A.I. I, 10, 90, *sq.*). At Palu (Layard's "Inscriptions," 74, 11,) Mennas again mentions "the land of Khâtima," and Argistis (Schulz, iii, 12, 15) tells us that during his campaign in Khâtima he overran the land of Niribai, the Nirbi perhaps of the Assyrian inscriptions, and plundered the city of Medatea,² which belonged to "the son of Parate."

The frequent employment of ideographs in these cuneiform inscriptions of Van, and the manner in which they are used, make me believe that the natives of the country had been acquainted with the Hittite hieroglyphics, or at least with hieroglyphics closely allied to them, before they borrowed the Assyrian syllabary in the eighth century B.C. I look forward therefore to the future discovery of Hittite inscriptions in this part of the world. It seems only necessary to direct attention to a subject for proofs and examples to be found. During the past summer Colonel Wilson has discovered two new Hittite inscriptions on a rock at Ghurun, where the Euphrates issues out of a ravine six feet wide into a small plain. Ghurun lies within the frontiers of the ancient Kappadokia or Armenia Minor, and on the Tokhma Su, which joins the main stream of the Euphrates near Malatiyeh. The Hittite road from Malatiyeh to Boghaz Keui would therefore have passed through it. According to Colonel

¹ The name of Khaldæi given to the Khalybes by the Greeks seems to be derived from their worship of Khaldi, the supreme god of the people of Van and the neighbouring tribes.

² We should probably read Melitea or Malatiyeh. The copyists of the Vannic inscriptions have invariably confused together the two characters *da* and *li*.

Wilson, the gorge through which the river flows is so narrow, that he could touch both sides of it at once with his outstretched arms. On the right hand side the lofty rocks open out almost at right angles to the stream, and then curving round, continue parallel to it. On the left bank the cliff is much closer to the river. One of the inscriptions is high up on the rock on the right hand bank, and not far from the point where the line of cliff leaves the stream. The other is on an isolated block of stone, which lies on the ground in front of the cliff, and has fallen probably from above. Only one character in this inscription is legible, though there are traces of several lines now worn away. As the inscription continues down to the ground, Colonel Wilson thought that another portion of it may exist on the buried under surface of the stone. But he had no time to verify this conjecture, or to copy the other inscriptions on the face of the cliff. One of his subordinate officers has discovered rock-sculptures of great extent, and probably of Hittite origin, in the mountains inland from Alexandretta. Hittite remains have also been found by Mr. Boscawen in the pass south of Merash, showing that the road from Carchemish to the Halys passed this way, and he has traced the high road from Carchemish to the Bay of Antioch as far west as Tel-Erfad, the ancient Arpad, where there is a large mound covering the remains of the ancient city. The road must have continued in a south-west direction, since the sculptures noticed by Colonel Chesney, as described in my last Paper, a little outside the southern walls of Antioch, are clearly of Hittite origin. Another road ran round the northern head of the Bay into Kilikia. Here it bifurcated, one road leading northward by Tarsos, where the so-called tomb of Sardanapalos may be of Hittite workmanship, and the other running westward along the sea-coast. Mr. Boscawen has drawn my attention to a drawing given in Victor Langlois' "*Voyage dans le Cilicie et dans les Montagnes du Taurus*" (1861), p. 169, which represents the broken lintel-stone of a gate on the road between Lamas and Kannidelli (*see* also p. 228). There are some characters sculptured on this lintel-stone which are plainly Hittite, one of them being the character which we

now know to denote "country." On page 207 M. Langlois mentions what is evidently the figure of a Hittite warrior carved on a rock-tomb in the necropolis of Korykos.

The footsteps of the Hittites may be traced by the presence of their favourite metal silver. It is in the near neighbourhood of silver mines that some of their chief memorials are found, and their occupation of Asia Minor may have been to a certain extent due to their search for the precious metal. Wherever there are old silver mines in Asia Minor we may expect to meet with traces of them. One or two of the old mines which were probably worked by them I discovered last year in the Gumush Dagħ or "Silver Mountains," on the north side of the Mæandrian plain. If they had really been worked by the Hittites we should be at no loss to understand how Hittite helmets and shields made their way into Karia. Brugsch Bey's last discovery in Egyptian geography has been that the name of the country in alliance with the Hittites hitherto read Iluna and identified with Ilion is really Mauna or Mæonia, the ancient name of Lydia. At the time therefore that the Hittites were carrying on their wars with the Egyptians, their satraps were residing at Sardes, and sending the gold of Lydia and the silver of Karia to the rulers of Carchemish and Kadesh. This must be the date to which we should assign the sculptures of Karabel.

Before concluding what must be regarded as an appendix to the Paper read before this Society last July,¹ I must say a word or two about the Hittite system of writing itself. Pliny tells us in a well-known passage (N. H., vii, 57): "Litteras semper arbitror Assyrias fuisse; sed alii apud Ægyptios a Mercurio, ut Gellius; alii apud Syros repertas volunt." We now know that the advocates of both the Assyrian and the Egyptian invention of writing were right: in both countries systems of writing, which, with all deference to the high authority of Professor Lepsius, I must consider as independent from their first origin, existed from time immemorial. The probability therefore arises that the advocates of the Syrian invention of writing also had truth on

¹ Present Volume, p. 249, &c.

their side. The "Syrians" can hardly be the Phœnicians, as is generally supposed: since where Pliny elsewhere speaks of the invention of letters he mentions the Phœnicians under their proper name. I am accordingly inclined to see in them the Hittites, confused with the Arameans they had conquered, as we know them to have been by Strabo and other classical authors. In this case the passage of Pliny would be a record of the three independent modes of writing which the East invented, and would contain a half-forgotten tradition of that strange system of hieroglyphics from which in all probability the syllabary of Asia Minor and Kypros was derived.



THE SITE OF THE TEMPLE OF THE JEWS.

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WARREN, R.E.

Read 1st June, 1880.

AROUND two spots at Jerusalem (the Temple of the Jews and the Holy Sepulchre) has hitherto all interest been centered, and around these spots have raged the fiercest battles of the pen.

The public, ever ready to take up some new thing, was about fifty years ago recommended to search for a new site for the Holy Sepulchre, it being urged that the present site is not authentic, and, in 1847, a startling and amazing theory was brought forward to meet this public want.

It was proposed that the dome of Abd-el-Melek over the present sacred rock of the Moslems was in reality a Christian building erected over the Holy Sepulchre by Constantine; that at some unknown period, and for an unknown reason, the Moslems had given up their original sacred rock (in some at present unknown spot), and, ousting out the Christians, had possessed themselves of the tomb of a malefactor, Judas Iscariot (for the Moslems assert that Judas suffered in lieu of Christ, and was buried instead), and had straightway invested this tomb with all the attributes of their sacred rock, calling it the centre of the world, paradise on earth, &c., while the Christians, when ousted from their sepulchre, had built a spurious sepulchre on the present site, and that both the Christians and Moslems had either agreed together to keep this grand transference a close secret throughout all ages, or else had at once forgotten all the circumstances.

We certainly do hear of many marvellous occurrences in Eastern tales, but we are seldom asked to *believe* anything so unusual and original; and the fact that so many of the public

have eagerly accepted this extraordinary proposal, is only additional proof that the public palate enjoys being tickled by something sensational.

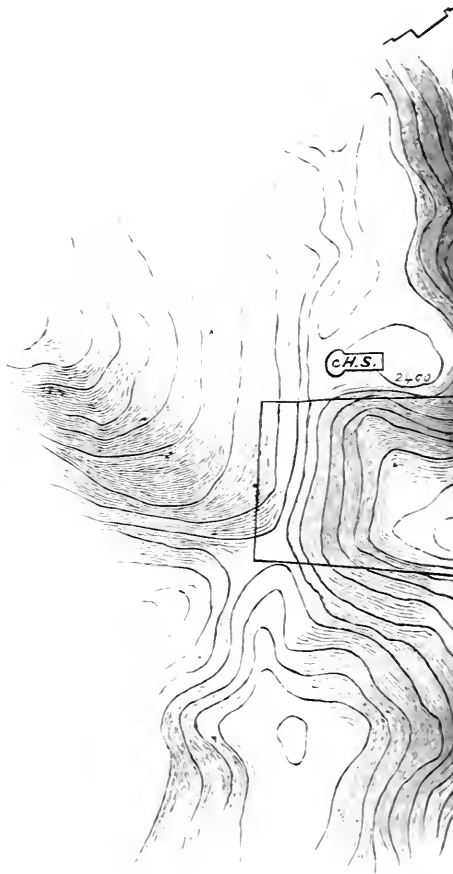
My business here this evening is not for the purpose of launching forth into any startling theories, but rather to point out that the explorations at Jerusalem indicate very clearly that the traditionary sites of the two centres of paramount interest are probably nearly correct; that the invention of the cross probably took place close to the site of the Holy Sepulchre; and that the Temple of the Jews probably stood close to the sacred rock of the Moslems. But though I cannot tickle your palate with any sensational proposals, I can at least sooth it with the assurance that during the last fifteen years our knowledge of the topography of Jerusalem has advanced with enormous strides; that we have almost certain contours of the ancient hills of Jerusalem; that we can point out the site of Zion of the Bible, the city of David of the Maccabees, the Akra of Josephus; we can show the position of the Antonia or Baris, of the outer wall, of the courts of the Temple, and even of the underground passages of the Temple itself, portions of which I contend are still *in situ*, viz., the northern scarp of the outer court, the gate Tadi, the great tunnel leading from Mokad to Tadi, the foundations of Mokad, the house of baptism where the priests washed, and the vaults under the altar.

My business to-night is more particularly with regard to the site of the Temple of the Jews, but in order to arrive at it I must for a few minutes dwell upon the ground topography of Jerusalem.

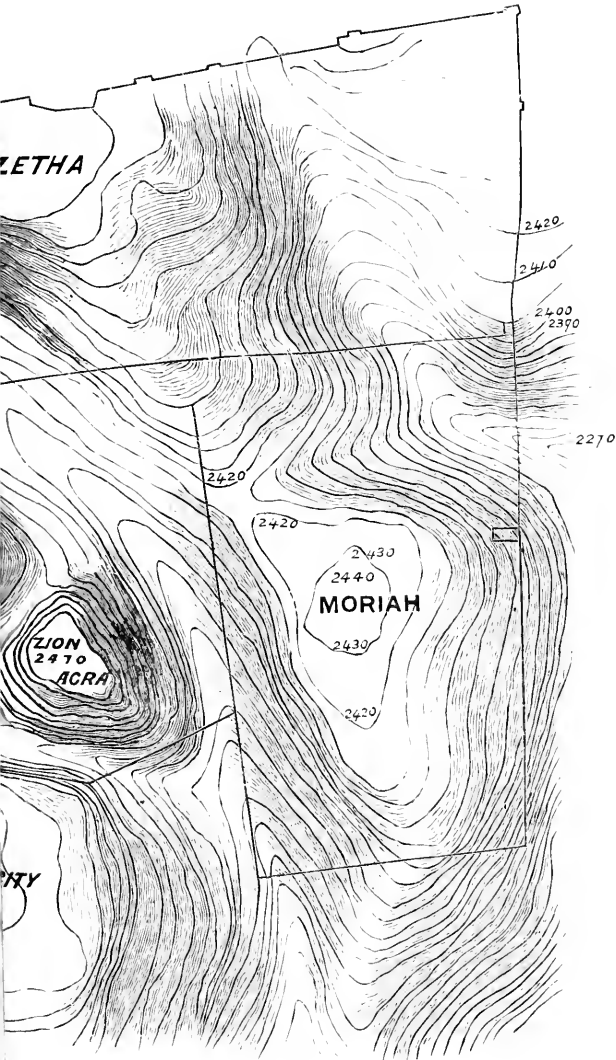
One of the principal results of the explorations at Jerusalem is the final settlement of the old controversy concerning the position and contour of the hills on which the Holy City was built.

It will be seen on reference to the Ordnance Survey of 1865, that the present actual surface of the ground as there depicted, gave but a faint and incorrect indication of the rock contours which are now known to exist underneath the heaps of rubbish; and so long as this uncertainty continued, it was open to the various theorists to mark out on their

ROCK CON



S, JERUSALEM, 1876.





maps imaginary hills, as best suited their respective proposals. Now, however, that the *general* contour of the ground as it existed in early days is absolutely fixed, it is no longer practicable for theorists to assume features on the ground which do not exist, and consequently the suitability of the various theories can be discussed and commented upon with an amount of precision which in former years the subject was not capable of.

The excavations of 1867 to 1870 have proved, and every item of information which has since been obtained has assisted to confirm the fact, that the hills on which Jerusalem stood were distinct and clearly defined, that between the temple and the two western hills there is a valley upwards of a hundred feet deep, and that between the two western hills there is likewise a broad valley full sixty deep. The general configuration of the ground is given on the annexed contour map, which I constructed in 1876 to accompany a paper which I then prepared on the site of the Holy Sepulchre, and the recent additional rock levels obtained by Lieutenant Conder fully confirms the correctness of the general outline.

It will be seen on this plan that the Temple area or Noble Sanctuary is to the east, that to the south-west is the Upper City, and to the north-west the Lower City, supporting the Akra (or Zion), which was cut down in the time of Simon Maccabeus because it dominated the Temple.

Now I am about to point out to you that, knowing the contour of the hills in early days, we are enabled clearly to fix this position I have assigned to Zion; but I must first brush away a misconception concerning Zion, which with some theorists has led to indescribable confusion in attempting to solve the topographic problem of the Holy City.

The difficulty is simply this.

- a. The books of the Old Testament concur in stating that the City of David was Zion, a hill totally distinct from the Temple Mount.
- b. The Book of Maccabees, though it certainly considers the City of David to be distinct from the Temple Mount, unfortunately confounds the name Sion with the latter, in direct opposition to the Scriptures.

It may appear strange to Biblical Archæologists, but there are theorists who deliberately cast on one side the Biblical statement (so often reiterated) that the City of David is Zion, and, assuming that this statement is an error, follow the Book of Maccabees in confusing the Temple Mount with Zion.

The result of this action is so confounding to the topography of Jerusalem, that it has to be followed up with further alteration of the Biblical records to so great an extent that one well-known theorist acknowledges that, in order to support his argument, he has to do "considerable violence to the text" of the Book of Exodus, he essays to prove that the Book of Ezekiel is wrong, and accuses the Book of Chronicles of exaggeration.

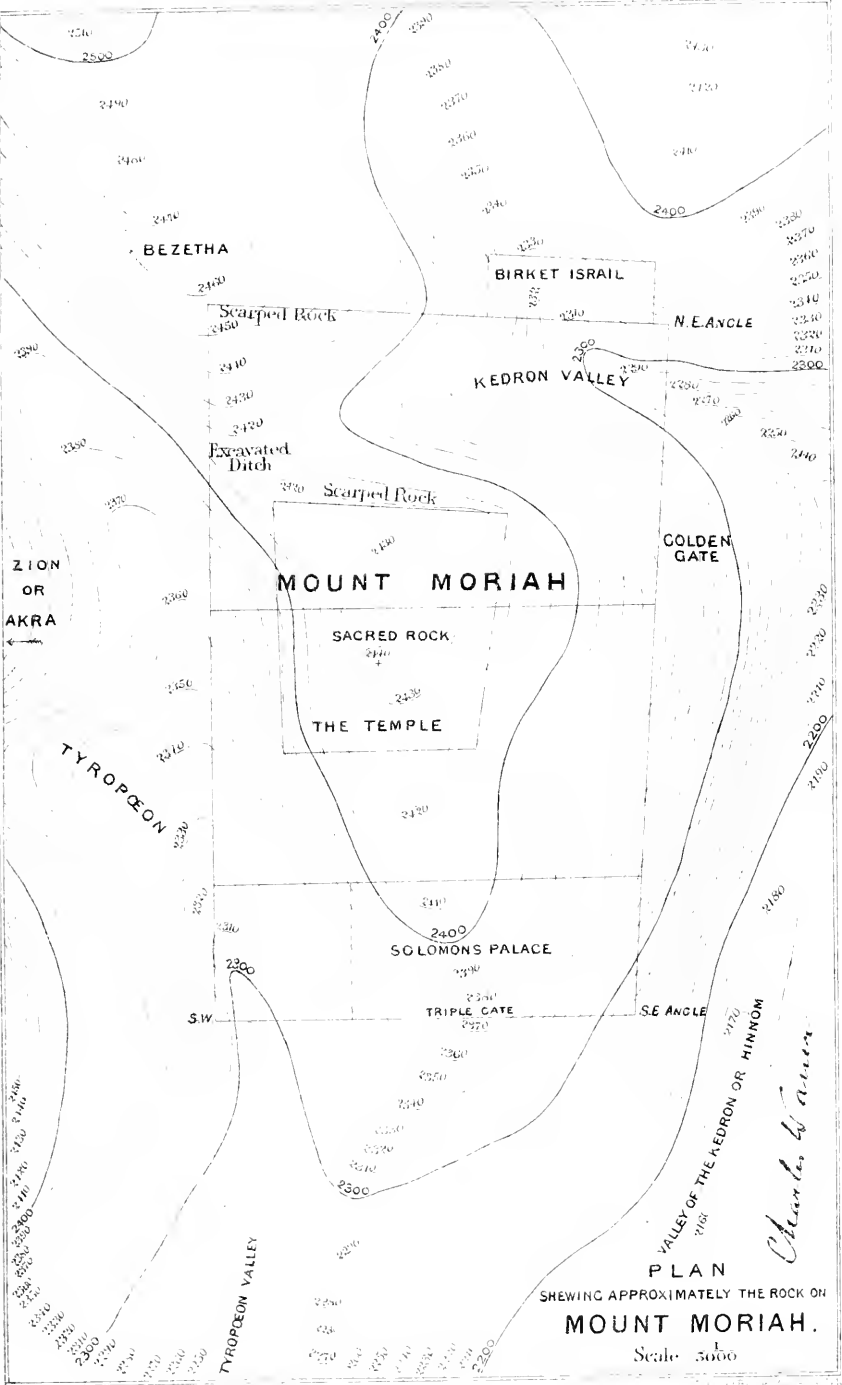
In this matter I also propose to rest my statement on an assumption: I propose to assume that the statements made in the Bible are to be relied on, and that the City of David actually is Zion, "*The City of David, which is Zion.*"

If this be so, it follows that Zion cannot be Moriah (the Temple Mount), because it is distinctly and repeatedly shown that the City of David and the Temple Mount were distinct: as for example when the ark was brought up to the Temple: "Then Solomon assembled the elders of Israel, and all the heads of the tribes, the chiefs of the fathers of Israel, unto King Solomon in Jerusalem, that they might bring up the ark of the covenant of the Lord *out of the city of David, which is Zion.*"

Now then, being satisfied that Zion and the Temple Mount are distinct, I must assume the writer of 1 Maccabees to be either in error or to have adopted a poetical license in calling them one, and I look for the reason.

This reason is not difficult to arrive at. It is the effect of poetry on the minds of the people.

King David was the great poet of the nation. King David sung the praises of the western hill Zion, on which the ark of the covenant reposed. For many years before there was any thought in the mind of man of building a temple on the eastern hill, during these years the songs of David became household words, and the name of Zion



PLAN
 SHEWING APPROXIMATELY THE ROCK ON
MOUNT MORIAH.
 Scale 1/5000

became indissolubly connected with God's hill. When therefore, after the transference of the ark from Zion to Moriah after the destruction of the Temple and the captivity, the people came again to their beloved Jerusalem, they knew from the songs of David that the ark had been on Zion; they forgot the transference, and, finding the Temple in existence, naturally concluded that it was Zion.

As an example of the correctness of this proposition, I would point out to you that exactly the same effect is produced in reading the Psalms on our own minds by the songs of David, so much so, that the majority of persons are under the impression that the Temple was built on Zion, and I have no doubt that there are many in this room who have at one time shared this impression. All, however, who study the topography of the Bible must acknowledge that, according to the Bible, Zion was the city of David, and was quite distinct from the Temple Mount.

I will proceed to point out the concord which exists among the historical writers, now that the poetical expression in the Book of Maccabees has been cast.

Josephus states that Jerusalem was built on three hills, viz., the upper city, the lower city (which sustained the Akra or citadel), and the Temple Mount. Now, as I have pointed out already, the position of these three hills is known at the present time, and can be shown by the contours. About the Temple Mount all agree, about the upper city all agree, but about the lower city there is a great divergence of opinion. Forgetting that it was a hill, some put it north of the Temple, south of the Temple—anywhere in fact but in its right place.

There is but one place where it can be, viz., north of the upper city, and north-west of the Temple Mount, where we know a hill exists, for there is no other place where there is a separate hill near the Temple. The only real question is as to where on this hill the Akra or citadel was—whether high up or low down, and this is settled by an account we have both in the Maccabees and Josephus, and which not only fixes the Akra, but shows us pretty clearly in what part of the Temple Mount the Temple itself was.

We are told (Josephus xii. 9, §3; 1 Maccabees i. 36) that after the Jews had driven the Macedonian garrison out of the upper city into the Akra, the former were molested when going down to the Temple by the latter running out at them.

This clearly places Akra in such a position to the Temple and the upper city as would enable the Macedonians to run out from Akra and capture or ill-treat those who were proceeding from the upper city to the Temple.

Now the distance from the former to the latter is only about two hundred yards at most, and as the Macedonians would not, with any regard to their own safety, come close under the walls of either, it follows that there was only a short space where the suppliants were liable to be captured, and then only by such a disposition of the stronghold as would allow the summits of the hills to form the apices of an equilateral triangle. In fact the difficulty can only be solved by placing the Temple on the summit of the eastern hill near the sacred rock, and by placing the Akra on Zion, about two hundred yards to the left of the centre of a line joining the upper city to the Temple.

Now Josephus tells us that the lower city was no other than the Akra or *City of David*: while 1 Maccabees says that the Akra was the City of David. And, further, there are parallel passages in which the City of David is called Akra by 1 Maccabees (i. 30-34), and the lower city by Josephus ("Ant." xii. 5, §4). We are therefore quite certain that both, according to Josephus and the Maccabees, the lower city or Akra was acknowledged to be the *City of David*.

I must further point out that Josephus was very precise in the expressions he used, although translated indiscriminately in Whiston's and Trail's works. He calls the fort of the lower city Akra; the fort of the upper city Phronion; the fort of the Temple Baris or Antonia; other forts by other names.

Now, if the Akra was the city of David, and the city of David was Zion, it follows that Akra was Zion. Then the question arises, Where is Zion now? can it be seen? The answer to this is that Akra, when taken from the Macedonians by Simon Maccabeus, was cut down because it

dominated the Temple. The rock itself on which the stronghold was built was removed, and the *débris* thrown into the adjoining valley. By this removal of Mount Zion, the hill on which it rested became emphatically the *lower city*.

Time will not permit of my pointing out its innumerable local indications, which prove that this is the only solution of the difficulty regarding the position of Zion which will admit of the full concurrence of all historical accounts.

Having pointed out the position of Zion, I must now draw your attention to the fact that in the days of David, when Zion was the seat of the Ark of the Covenant, Moriah was a bare hill outside the city walls, a portion of which was used by Araunah the Jebusite as a threshing floor.

This contoured plan shows you Moriah as it appeared in those days, except that I have shown the magnificent walls with which it is at present begirt, and within which the earth was made up until on a level with the top of the mountain.

On this hill was the threshing floor of Araunah, placed, as all such floors must be, so as to catch the faintest breath of wind in order that the chaff may be carried away.

Before, however, entering upon this subject, I must describe the walls and courts of the Temple. Josephus tells us ("Ant.," viii, 3, § 9) that Solomon, in building the Temple, filled up great valleys with earth, so as to make it on a level with the top of the mountain on which it was built, and again ("Ant.," xv, 11, § 3) he tells us that Solomon encompassed this hill with a wall—that he built a wall from the bottom of the valley, and that on the south side he laid rocks together and bound them with lead, and that when he had brought it up to the level of the top of the hill, he filled up the hollow places and made the upper surface on a level. Again, he tells us that Herod the Great doubled the size of the Temple courts, but yet that after Herod's time (viz., in the time of Herod Agrippa) the wall for 400 cubits (built by King Solomon), belonging to the outer court on the east side ("Ant.," xx, 10, § 7), still existed as the outer wall of the Temple.

We are thus certain that down to the time of the destruction of the Temple, the great wall of Solomon still existed.

Now we have at the present time a wall exactly corresponding to the description of Josephus, and bearing in itself the marks of different ages when it was built.

This wall is, as Josephus states, built from the bottom of the valley, and is the most stupendous piece of masonry on the face of the earth. It has two right angles, viz., at the S.W. and N.E.; at the S.E. it is $92^{\circ} 50'$, and at the N.W. $87^{\circ} 10'$. Its southern side is 922 feet long, its western and eastern respectively 1,530 and 1,600 feet, and its northern 1,042 feet.

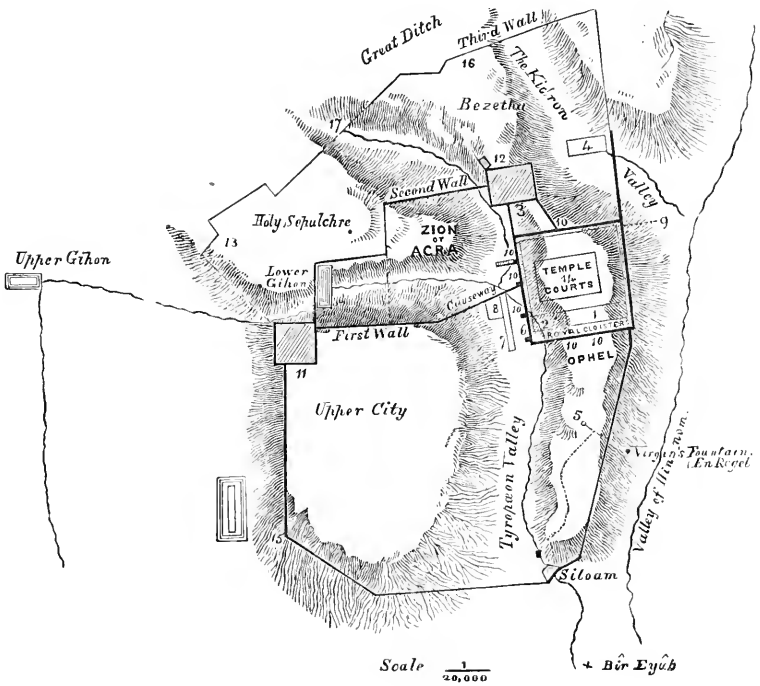
It will be seen on reference to the plan that this magnificent wall crossed a great valley to the N.E., and is there built up to a height of at least 200 feet; at the S.E. it is built up from a low point in the Kedron Valley; and on the S.W. crosses the Tyropœon Valley—thus fully justifying the description of Josephus.

Now, first a word regarding the dimensions of the Temple courts. Much stress has been laid upon the supposition that Josephus says explicitly that Herod's Temple was a stadium or furlong a side, and that therefore the sides could not have coincided with the present walls; but this is a wrong interpretation of Josephus' account. Josephus certainly does contradict himself; but if his words are of any value at all, if the question of 600 feet is to be taken into account in any manner, then it must be agreed that it was Solomon's courts that were 600 feet per side.

He tells us that the porch of Solomon was 400 cubits in length, and again that the Temple court of Solomon was 400 cubits a side. He then tells us that Herod doubled the area of Solomon's Temple, and that then the Temple enclosure with the Antonia was six stadia in circuit.

If we abstract the accounts, we shall find that in these accounts he explicitly states that the walls of Solomon were a stadium a side. In one account he states that the walls of Herod's Temple, including the Antonia, were six stadia in compass, and in one account he says that the Stoa Basilica of Herod was a stadium in length. If this means anything, it appears to me that it means that the original walls were a stadium a side, and that Herod doubled the area, and if so

SKETCH OF JERUSALEM AT THE TIME OF VESPASIAN.



CHARLES WARREN.

then the sides could not still have remained a stadium each, but would have measured six stadia about in compass.

My proposal regarding this is, that Solomon's palace lay at the south-east angle of his temple, and that after the return from the captivity the palace was in ruins, and that Herod in enlarging the Temple took it into the area, together with a portion of the ground at the south-west angle, thus doubling the former area.

Although we have nothing absolutely reliable in Josephus as to the exact size in fact of the Temple courts, yet we have the best authority—the venerable outer walls of the Temple courts themselves.

We find these walls of imposing height, built of enormous stones, and we know that Solomon and Herod built such walls on this spot, but no one else. True it is that Justinian built here in the sixth century, but it can be readily calculated that the stones he used in his Mary Church were not a tenth the size of those found among the marginal drafted stones of the present walls. If, then, only Solomon and Herod built such walls here, to them must we ascribe this work.

Let this be granted, and I will show how completely they correspond with the Temple walls described by Josephus, so that there seems no possibility of a doubt they are the veritable outer Temple walls.

Let us first take the southern wall as it now stands—922 feet in length, with a considerable amount of the marginal drafted stones still showing above ground.

This wall is built across the hill of Mount Moriah, and presents to view a mass of masonry of many descriptions raised to a height of about 60 to 80 feet above the present level of ground. The present surface of ground is nearly level, and whether any depth of wall existed below was merely a matter of conjecture, until the year 1867, when the Palestine Exploration Fund carried on its extensive excavations, and proved that the greater bulk of the wall was concealed by an accumulation of rubbish, and that in some parts this wonderful old wall is over 140 feet in height, and could not have been less than 200 feet when the cloisters were in existence.

The general level of the present surface of the ground outside the south wall is about 2,380 feet, the banked up level within the Sanctuary being 40 feet higher, or 2,420 feet. The lowest level of the foundations on the eastern side is 2,277 feet, and on the western side 2,290 feet.

This is due to the fact that the rock at the triple gate, or about 300 feet from the south-east angle, is at the level 2,378, and falls rapidly on either side east and west to Kedron and Tyropœon.

The excavations have proved that from the lowest foundations up to the level 2,380, the whole wall is built of the large marginal drafted stones, which must be attributed to Solomon or Herod.

At this level is found the great course of stones, marginal-drafted, 6 feet in height, averaging from 60 to 100 tons in weight, and stretching from the S.E. angle for 600 feet to the double gate. This great course is broken away in parts. Above this course are seven courses of marginal-drafted stones at the S.E. angle (the pinnacle of the temple of the Bordeaux pilgrim), and seven courses of marginal-drafted stones at the S.W. angle.

All in between and above this is a late reconstruction, some of it, the large stones without marginal drafts, of the time of Justinian; above this, again, the smaller stones with marginal drafts, of the middle ages; and, above all, is Saracenic work of late date.

It may therefore be said that, with the exception of the portions at the S.E. and S.W. angles, and the foundations of the Temple and double gates, nothing now remains of the work of Herod or Solomon in the south wall above the level of the great course.

It is therefore at the level of the great course above the present surface of the ground and for 100 feet beneath it, that the real old work is to be found; and for the bringing to light of these matters the credit is due to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Let me briefly summarise the discoveries at the south wall.

1. The existence of the great or master course.

2. The great depth of foundation of the ancient wall to east and west, presenting formerly faces of 200 feet in height, which were once exposed to view before the rubbish filled up the valleys about Jerusalem.

3. The ascertaining that the triple and double gates stand on the foundations of two gates dividing the south wall, forming the southern gates of the Temple, leading up by ramps to the level of the Noble Sanctuary.

4. The discovery of the great passage for the blood under the single gate.

5. The ascertaining that the Temple wall to south-west is extended over the Tyropœon Valley to west, over the ancient water ducts of the city.

6. The discovery of the rock-cut aqueduct which carried pure water through the city to the west of the Temple, with the old pavement of the city, and shafts from it down to the aqueduct.

7. The discovery of the pier and voussoirs of the great arch which connected the Stoa Basilica with the suburbs of the city.

8. The discovery of the mason's marks (in Phœnician characters) on the stones of the wall at the foundations of the S.E. angle.

9. The discovery of the wall of Ophel, joining the Temple wall at the S.E. angle, exactly as described by Josephus.

10. The discovery of the tower "which lieth out," joined to the Ophel wall near the S.E. angle.

11. The discovery of a cavern with fuller's vats, close to the traditional spot where St. James was thrown over the Temple wall, and despatched by a fuller's baton.

We have in these discoveries a complete concurrence with the accounts of the south wall given both in the Talmud and Josephus; as, for example,—“But the fourth front of the Temple, which was southward, had indeed gates in its middle, as also it had the royal cloisters, with three walks which reached in length from the east valley unto that on the west, for it was impossible it could reach any further. And this cloister deserves to be mentioned better than any other under the sun; for while the valley was very deep, and its bottom could not be seen if you looked from above into

the depth, this further vastly high elevation of the cloister stood upon that height, insomuch that if any one looked down from the top of the battlements, or down both these altitudes, he would be giddy, while his sight could not reach to such an immense depth."

If any of you have looked over a wall 200 feet high, you will know that Josephus is not exaggerating.

The east wall of the sanctuary overlooks the Kedron, and as even now seen, above the accumulation of rubbish, is a most wondrous piece of masonry, being over 90 feet in height.

The Moslem churchyard runs the length of this wall, and we had considerable difficulty and ran great personal risk in working underneath it, for the Moslems naturally have a strong feeling with regard to their graves.

I have already referred to the S.E. angle itself. From here we mined up along the rock at the foot of the wall for 150 feet, finding it rise towards the Golden Gate.

Near the Golden Gate we attempted to get to the wall, and I was the more anxious to do this because I believe the old wall of Solomon to exist here. We found the rock, however, to rise too rapidly, and feared to get too close to the graves.

To the north of the Golden Gate we again sunk shafts under the graveyard, and found that the old wall exists to the enormous depth of 125 feet below the rubbish, with stones of very great size. This was our deepest shaft, and our work here has been described by Colonel Wilson as "without parallel in the history of excavation."

We are told by Josephus that the cloister that ran along the east wall for 600 feet was built by King Solomon, and was incorporated by King Herod into his enlarged Temple courts. This wall, then, without doubt, is Solomonic, and it is most tantalising that the graveyard should be just where we most want to examine it. The Golden Gate is at the junction of the north and east cloisters, and here we have discovered the old foundations still *in situ*. The Talmud tells us that through this gate could be seen the high priest who burnt the heifer, and his associates, going to the Mount of Olives. It is supposed that there were steps on arches for

this purpose, and it is remarkable that just where this should have occurred there is a break (*vide* Ordnance Survey plans) in the retaining walls of the Kedron Valley.

From the Golden Gate we proceed to the northern wall of the Temple, which is represented by the scarp, which I discovered on the northern edge of the Dome of the Rock platform. This scarp appears to run all along the northern edge of the platform to the west, cutting through the ridge of the mountain of Moriah, and thus cutting off the Antonia from the Temple. In front of this scarp is a deep natural valley, falling to a depth of 200 feet. This is the valley and ditch which Pompey filled up when he assaulted the Temple, and the existence of this feature alone is sufficient to prove that the Temple stood on the Dome of the Rock platform, and to overthrow Mr. Fergusson's theory, for there is no other ditch or valley running east and west in the Sanctuary, and it is expressly stated that on the north part of the Temple there was a deep ditch.

In the centre of this scarp was the Gate Tadi, and its position can now be indicated where the two tunnels No. 1 and No. 3 come together in the ditch. We are told that Tadi was underground.

On the western side we have a multiplicity of indications that this is the old Temple wall of Herod. Here I laid bare the wall to its foundations in several places, and found it to be covered up to an average of 50 feet.

We have the four gates spoken of by Josephus, viz., from Bab al Mathra, leading by steps up to Zion or Akra; from Wilson's arch, leading by a causeway to the King's Palace in the upper city; from Barclay's gate and Robinson's arch, leading to the suburbs. Below Wilson's arch were found the voussoirs of an older arch, and below Robinson's arch were found the old voussoirs on a pavement 50 feet below ground, and below again a voussoir of a still older bridge, broken into the covering of an aqueduct, which has unmistakable signs that it was in existence before the Temple wall or work was built.

The walls are, all below a certain line, built of the ancient "bevelled" stones, but in certain places they are roughly

faced, a circumstance which favours my supposition that when the S.W. angle was built by Herod, the rubbish had accumulated in the valley sufficiently to prevent the lower courses being seen.

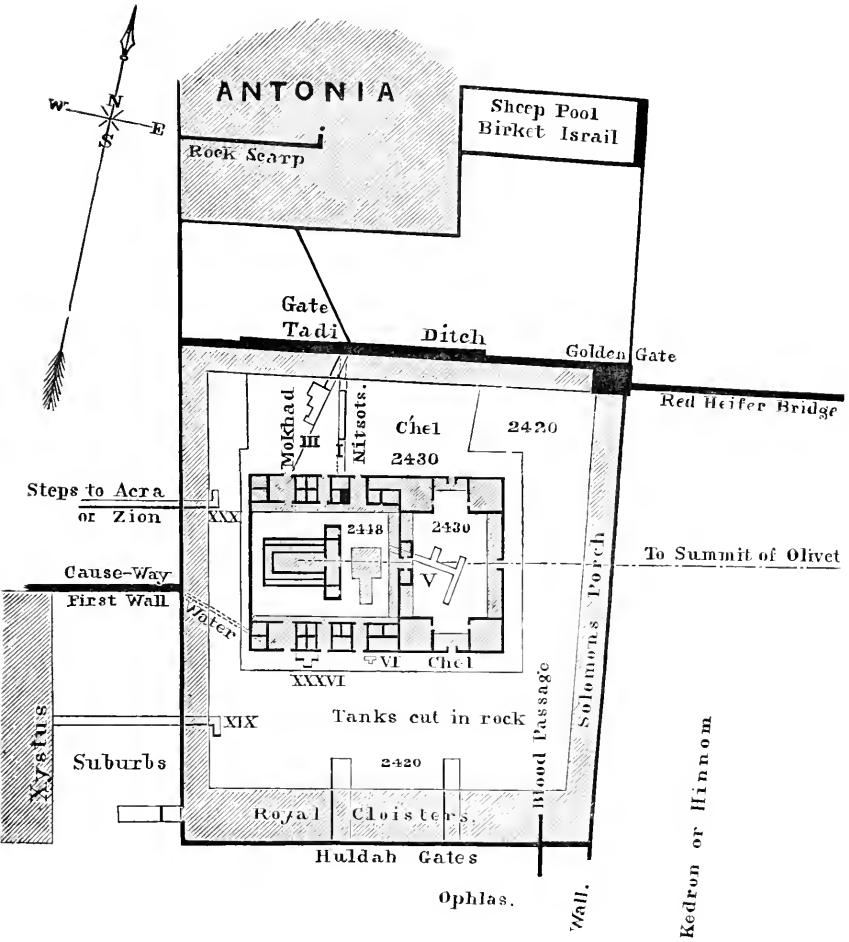
To the west of this wall runs the aqueduct, which I believe was fed by the ancient fountain of Jerusalem—the Hamam-es-Shefa. It has been generally supposed that the Virgin's Fount is the only natural spring, but I think it probable that it is mainly fed by the old fountain at the foot of Zion, part of which at the Hamam-es-Shefa is still used for the baths.

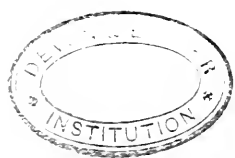
I will now speak with reference to the position of the Temple itself with the inner courts. That it was somewhere within the area enclosed by the present Sanctuary walls all are agreed, but upon the exact site the fiercest battles of the pen have been fought.

Some authorities, giving the outer courts a length of but 600 feet, occupy the south-west angle, placing the Temple down in the valley: others, with the same dimension, occupy the south-east angle under equal difficulties; while others place the altar on the Sacred Rock of the Moslems, and occupy a middle portion of the Sanctuary; others, again, require the whole area.

Now, let us turn to this contoured plan of the Sanctuary which I have made from the rock levels found in the excavations and cisterns, and note the position. The rock summit runs from north-west angle in nearly a straight line towards a point in the south wall near the south-east angle, rising somewhat to the centre at the Dome of the Rock, and then sinking rapidly to the south-east. On either side of this ridge or brow the rock falls rapidly towards the Tyropœon on the west, and to the Kedron on the east. Not in a gentle slope, but in a steep descent, so steep that it would have been difficult to have climbed up in early days without using the hands as well as the feet. Let us now suppose it to be denuded of earth as it was in those early days, and examine it as to the position of the threshing floor of Araunah the Jebusite, on which the altar of the successive Temples afterwards stood.

THE TEMPLE COURTS, JERUSALEM.





This will not be a difficult matter, for we know that threshing floors are and must be level or nearly so in order that the corn may be threshed out on them. They are also usually when on a hill placed in a prominent position, on which the wind could play freely, for there were no winnowing machines in those days. To the effect of the wind on the chaff of the summer threshing floors we have several allusions in the Bible. We thus obtain a limit within which this floor of Araunah must have stood—namely, somewhere on the mountain ridge near the summit; in other words, somewhere within the present area of the Dome of the Rock platform.

Now, on the level rock here there is a cave (the Sakhrāh) similar to those in which they garner corn to the present day in Palestine, and we have, on the authority of Dean Stanley, the suggestion that it was within this cave that Araunah and his four sons hid themselves when they saw the angel of the Lord. If, then, this be so, the threshing-floor would probably be in front of the door of the cave, to the south-east, where I have shown the altar on the plan.

So far we have some strong reasons for the position taken up. Next let us search for any indications that the Temple was built on the summit of the hill.

It is true that Mr. Fergusson states that we have no authority for such a proposal: I produce, however, the Bible, the Talmud, and Josephus, which give this position for the Temple, and I can find no statement anywhere that it was in a valley.

In Ezekiel xliii, 12, it is stated, "This is the law of the house, upon the top of the mountain the whole limit thereof round about shall be most holy."

The Talmud always terms it the *Mountain of the House* and described the courts rising one above the other until the highest platform is reached, viz., that of the Holy of Holies; and, as the writers assert, that rock was exposed in the Holy of Holies, they necessarily considered that this was the highest point of the mountain.

Josephus is most positive in his statements.

Ant. viii, 3, 9: "When Solomon had filled up great valleys with earth, and had elevated the ground [for] four

hundred cubits, he made it to be on a level with *the top of the mountain* on which the temple was built.

“Bel.” v. 5, § 1: “Now this temple was built upon a strong hill. At first the *plain of the top* was hardly sufficient for the *holy house and the altar.*”

These accounts exactly describe a temple built on the Dome of the Rock platform, and in no other portion of the Sanctuary. The last expression, “the plain of the top,” is most expressive of the flat summit about the Sakhrah.

If we examine this summit as it now is, we shall find a most interesting confirmation of the proposition that the early buildings stood here—which I do not think has hitherto been alluded to.

In the first place, it has often been urged in favour of the placing of the Temple at the S.W. angle that there is there a right angle, but I do not think it has ever been remarked that there are two right angles to the Sanctuary—viz., at the S.W. angle and at the N.E. angle; and that while the modern buildings, including the Aksa Mosque and Dome of the Rock, are built with reference to the west and south walls forming the S.W. angle, all the older walls and rock cuttings about the platform are cut with regard to the north and east walls, which include the N.E. angle.

It will be found that the rock scarp of the Antonia, and the scarp at the northern end of the Dome of the Rock platform, are both *perpendicular* to the eastern wall, while the straight cutting on the sacred rock is *parallel* to the east wall.

I submit that this cannot be a mere accident, but points to the fact that the ancient buildings on this platform, and to the north of it, of which the rock cuttings indicate the foundations, were erected with reference to, and perhaps at the same time as, the *east wall*.

Now the Saracenic building, the Dome of the Rock, is built skew to these lines, but, on the other hand, is built with reference to the Aksa Mosque and south and west walls; and Mr. Fergusson asserts that the Mosque at Aksa is Saracenic, but that the Dome of the Rock is Christian, and was built in connection with a basilica and other buildings of which the Golden Gate was one, and therefore was (if his

theory is correct) referable to the east wall, together with these buildings.

Here we have a crucial test of Mr. Fergusson's theory. If the Dome of the Rock were Christian, of the time of Constantine, it ought to have been built square to the hypothetical buildings of which Mr. Fergusson would point out the foundations. This is so evident that Mr. Fergusson (or his draftsman) has in plate vii, "Temples of the Jews," actually drawn it so; that is to say, he has actually slewed round an existing building nearly 3° , so as to make it square to the east wall.

I have to bring this matter particularly before you as archæologists, because I think that in itself it is enough to show that the Dome of the Rock is of more recent construction than the time of Constantine.

You have only to look at the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem, and see for yourselves that the old cutting of the Sacred Rock is parallel to the east side of the Sanctuary wall, while the Dome of the Rock is square only to the south and west sides of the Sanctuary and the more modern buildings there.

I will now point out the position of the Temple, and give four principal reasons for this disposition.

1. That the threshing floor should be on the flat summit in proximity to the cave.

2. That it should be so placed that the Macedonians located in Akra could have waylaid the Hebrews going to it from the upper city, as it is recorded they did do.

3. That it should be so placed that Agrippa could see into the courts from his palace in the west angle of the upper city.

4. So that there should be a ditch and valley immediately north of the northern side of courts.

Now there is only one place where all these requirements are met, and that is a few feet south of the Sacred Rock, with the south-west angle of the Temple coincident, or nearly so, with the south-west angle of the platform of the Dome of the Rock.

So placed, it seems exactly to suit the descriptions and historical accounts given in the Bible, the Book of Maccabees,

the Talmud, Josephus, and the writers of the early Christian period.

Moreover, if the plan of Dr. Lightfoot be applied to this Noble Sanctuary, so that the four sides of his outer court coincide with the outer walls of the Sanctuary and north side of the Dome of the Rock platform, his position of the Temple exactly coincides with the position I have assigned. This is in itself most significant, because he made his plan in the year 1664, before anything was known as to the correct dimensions of this great Noble Sanctuary, and according to his own account without any knowledge of it, basing it upon his reading of the Talmud and Josephus.

Having thus placed the Temple, I will note the coincidences on the ground.

A line through the Holy of Holies will cut a point near the summit of Olivet, the traditionary spot where the red heifer was burnt, so that the priest stationed there could look over the eastern wall of the outer court into the Holy of Holies while he officiated.

The altar stands on the western end of vault No. 5, a remarkable underground passage, which may well have served as a communication under the courts of the Temple, in connection with the great water system for keeping clean the Temple courts and carrying off the blood.

The gate Nitsots falls in such a manner that the Sakhras cave opens into it. This cave would appear to be continued through into vault No. 1, forming a passage to the gate Tadi, of which I have already spoken of as existing in the northern scarp of the Temple wall. This is probably the passage into the chel mentioned in the Talmud as leading from Nitsots.

The production of the vault No. 3, which is unquestionably an old passage, falls in the south under the gate Makad, and to the north joins the gate Tadi at the northern scarp. Attached to this passage is a chamber which closely agrees with the House of Baptism mentioned in the Talmud, where the priests washed themselves. It is there stated that from the House Mokad they descended to the House of Baptism through the gallery which ran under the chel (where there

were candles flaming on each side), and that they then passed through Tedi.

On the southern side of the inner court the chamber of the draw-well is just over cistern No. 6, which is connected with the water supply from Solomon's pools. Dr. Lightfoot supposed that the House of Abtinas was over the draw-well, and the Talmud tells us that the priests guarded the Sanctuary in these places, viz., at the House of Abtinas, in the House of Nitsots, and in the House of Mokad. No reason is given for this, but with my reconstruction of the Temple the reason is apparent.

These three places were the three points where there were subterranean approaches to the inner court, and consequently they required more careful watching, and priests were placed there instead of Levites.

I must bring to your notice that these historical and topographical accounts I have alluded to can only refer to a temple built on the Dome of the Roek platform, and that with the position assigned to the Temple by Mr. Fergusson, it is necessary to ignore, curtail, or omit mention of many of them. I have not time here to point out more than the salient objections to Mr. Fergusson's proposals, but I may say that there are at least sixty good reasons which prove that his position is quite impossible; and I have now in the press a volume on the subject, in which I give in detail many of the points I have only been able to glance at in this paper.

I shall devote the remainder of this paper to a few remarks upon a recent paper of Colonel Wilson on the Masonry of the Haram Wall, but shall not have time to take his arguments *in extenso*: many of them have, however, been already met and answered by Lieutenant Conder.

Colonel Wilson, previous to the publication of this paper, had not expressed any decided views regarding the construction of the Haram Wall, and had not appeared as a partizan or theorist, although he was generally supposed, from the tenor of his remarks, to favour Mr. Fergusson's view: his recent decided expression of opinion will, therefore, be hailed with pleasure by all who are interested in the topo-

graphy of Jerusalem, more especially as he appears to come forward as a follower of Mr. Fergusson in support of his ingenious theories — theories which at the present time require an able man to reconstruct them.

In considering Colonel Wilson's paper, there are apparent inconsistencies and discrepancies which I will point out, and I wish Colonel Wilson were here himself to clear them up; but perhaps Mr. Fergusson or others who share the same view may be able to do so.

He proposes that the S.W. angle is the angle of the Temple built by Herod; that the Temple stood near this angle; that the S.E. angle was built by Nehemiah; that Zion and Moriah are identical; and that the great course in the south wall was built in the time of Justinian: so far he agrees with Mr. Fergusson.

If we attempt to follow him beyond this we find ourselves involved in discrepancies.

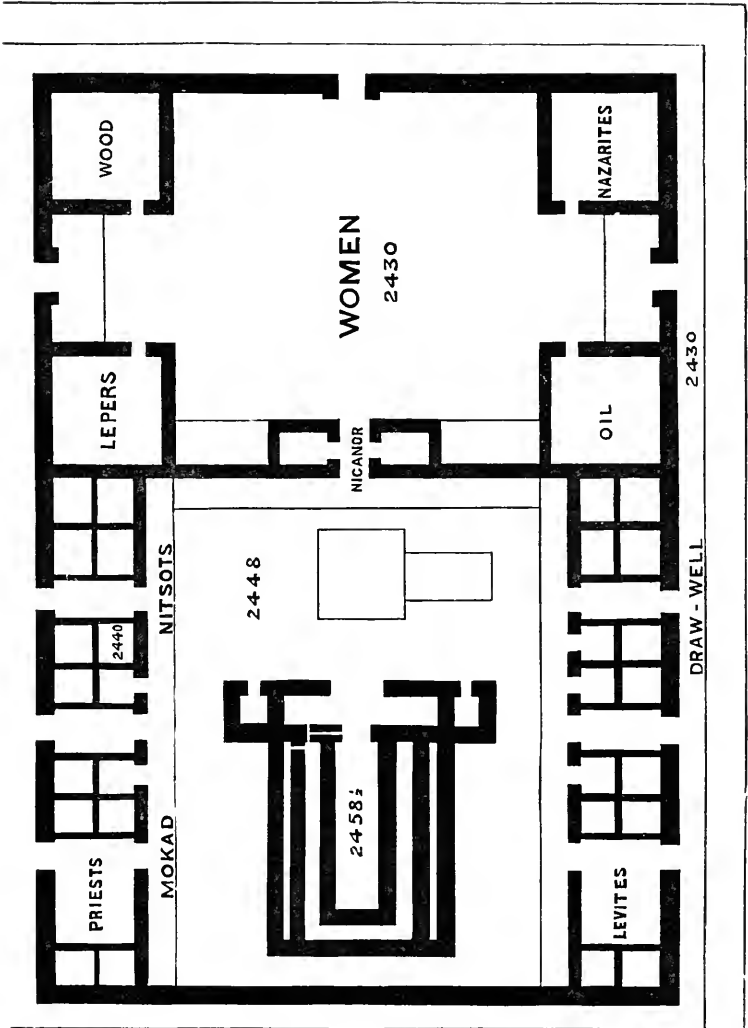
He tells us that there was but one epoch when the large marginal-drafted stones were used, and that that epoch was the time of Herod, at which period, he states, the whole of the Haram wall was built: and yet in other passages he proposes that the S.E. angle was of the time of Nehemiah, that the stones of the Wailing Place are pre-Herodian, that the great course and courses of marginal-drafted stones above it are of the time of Justinian, and that the east wall from Golden Gate to "Castle of Antonia" (also of marginal-drafted stones) has characteristics different to any others.

We have thus the proposition that the whole Haram wall was built by Herod, and yet that portions are pre-Herodian, of the time of Nehemiah, of Herod, of Justinian, and of some other epoch not stated. We have the assertion that the large marginal-drafted stones are of but one epoch, and yet that they were used from the time of Nehemiah to Justinian, over a space of 1,000 years; and, moreover, we have the proposition that the largest masonry in the Haram wall, the great course, was of the time of Justinian.

It is difficult to deal with an argument which has two faces of such different complexions, and I will therefore rest content with pointing out these discrepancies until such time as they are cleared up.

THE TEMPLE OF HEROD.

EAST





In another passage, Colonel Wilson appears to regard as a certainty the existence of the original wall of Solomon's Temple near the S.W. angle, but this Lieutenant Conder has already pointed out to be merely a speculation. In another passage he suggests that the bridge broken down by Pompey was made of wood, but this is not warranted by the historical account.

Again, Colonel Wilson assumes that there was a broad flight of steps carried on arches, leading from Robinson's Arch to the upper city, and says that the excavations throw no light upon the character of the roadway. From this it might be inferred that such a roadway to the upper city existed, and that I failed to find it, whereas the fact is that the researches I made prove almost incontestably that no such roadway existed, and that Robinson's Arch led merely down to the lower city.

Colonel Wilson essays to prove that the great course in the south wall was not built by Solomon, by assuming it to be certain that if King Herod were the builder of the southwestern angle he would have continued it on there, and would not have allowed his masonry to fall short of any previously in the wall, and thus drives the date of building of this grand course down to the time of Justinian, and consequently assumes that Justinian used larger masses of stone than either Solomon or Herod. I have to submit that we have no authority for such a supposition, and that according to the account of Procopius the stones used by Justinian were comparatively small—capable of being carried in ox waggons—say of six to eight tons in weight, while those of the *grand course* could not have been carried in ox waggons at all, some of them weighing from 75 to 100 tons each.

There is not time for me to consider these matters *seriatim*, and I hope that I have already shown in the earlier part of this paper that such a position for the Temple as that proposed by Colonel Wilson and Mr. Fergusson is quite untenable, but at the same time I feel it necessary to notice Colonel Wilson's very able paper, as the subject is one so very little entered into by the general public, that the discrepancies I have alluded to might not otherwise be noticed.

I look upon it as very fortunate for the topography of the Holy City that there is this divergence of views, as it tends to keep up an interest in the matter, and will no doubt ultimately lead to positive conclusions in which all may concur.

In the meantime the excavations I carried out have entirely demolished Mr. Fergusson's theories, and he has in self-defence, in "the Temple of the Jews," asserted that my measurements are inaccurate, stating that Colonel Wilson is his authority for this.

Fortunately in these cases there happen to be independent measurements taken by others which entirely confirm the correctness of my figures. In the case of my measurements of Wilson's Arch, Lieutenant Conder's independent measurements agree with mine below ground, while I have just heard from Jerusalem that Herr Schick's measurements above ground also agree with mine, and I am now publishing in detail an account showing clearly that this attack upon me cannot be sustained.

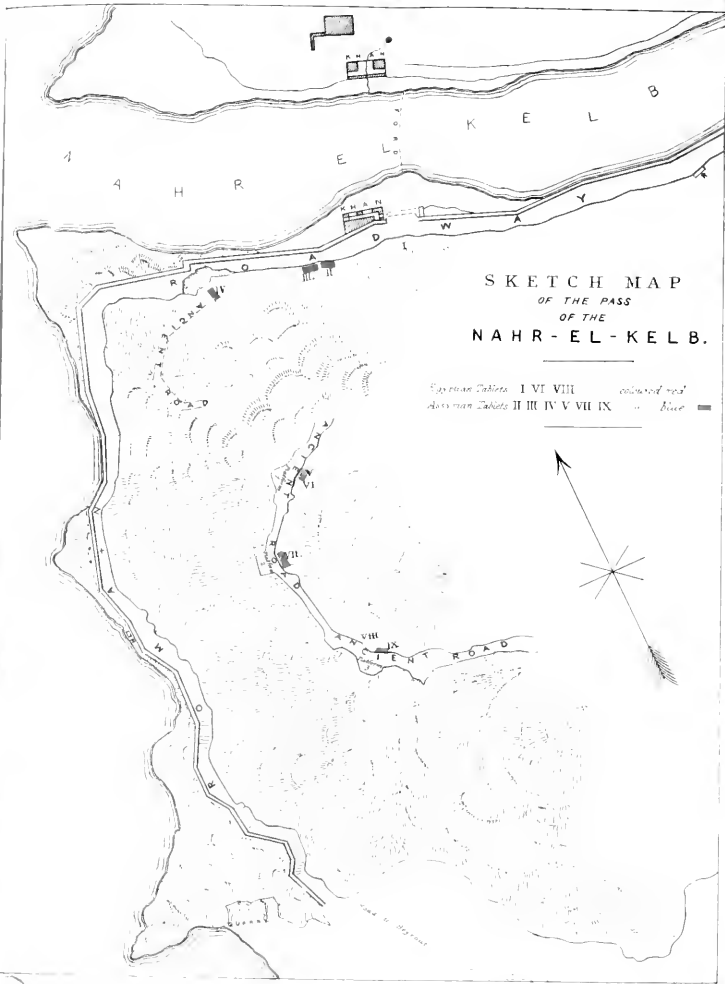
I am happy to inform you that the full record of the Jerusalem excavations, which the Palestine Exploration Fund has never hitherto found funds to publish, is now to be given to the world, and I have been commissioned to elaborate it, and trust that before the end of the year you will be in possession of a volume giving in detail the accounts of the excavations about the Noble Sanctuary, which, as archaeologists, you may find of value to you.



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SKETCH MAP
 OF THE PASS
 OF THE
 NAHR-EL-KELB.

Exp. sites Tablets I VI VIII colored red
 also seen Tablets II III IV V VII IX " blue

THE MONUMENTS AND INSCRIPTIONS ON THE ROCKS AT NAHR-EL-KELB.

BY W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN.

Read 6th January, 1880.













THIS paper is founded on notes and memoranda obtained during two visits to the rocky pass of the Nahr-el-Kelb, or "Dog River," about seven miles from Beyrut. On my arrival in Beyrut on the 23rd September, I at once commenced making arrangements to visit the pass; and on the 25th made my first excursion there. Although on this occasion I succeeded in obtaining drawings of two of the rock sculptures, and a general survey of the pass, I found that to make as thorough an examination as I wished, a second and more prepared excursion was necessary. I therefore, on October the 1st, made a second visit, and by commencing work early in the morning, I was able to get the greater part done before noon. It is from these two visits that I have obtained the notes, &c., which form the basis of this paper. As my second visit partook of the character of a forced march, a great portion of the distance being accomplished at full gallop, it will be useless to gauge from it the distance or describe the route; I have therefore here given the times as noted on the first occasion. A ride of three-quarters of an hour took us from our house, in the southern part of Beyrut, to the bridge which crosses the Nahr Beyrut (the Magoras of Strabo), a stream of considerable size in winter and spring, when flushed with the rains or melting snows of the Lebanon range, but at the time of my visit nearly dry, save a small rill some two yards wide. The bridge is well built, and consists of seven arches with broad stone piers. It is, like many of the other works in Beyrut, attributed to the celebrated Fakir-ed-Din, a governor of the Lebanon in the middle of the seventeenth century. To the

left of the road from Beyrut to the bridge, stretches a low sandy plain, extending inland as far as the foot of the hills, and watered by the Nahr Beyrut and its tributaries. This land is covered with small white houses, surrounded by gardens and orchards of fig and apple trees, which supply the markets of Beyrut. The poorer classes of the Arab workmen who tend these gardens, live in booths or huts composed of a framework of sticks and canes, with walls and roofs of the tall grass which grows everywhere in great profusion. On our return home one evening, we found one of these fragile structures in flames, and in a few minutes it was demolished and rendered a heap of ashes.

A ride of fifteen minutes from the bridge,¹ along a lane edged with the *cactus indicus*, or prickly pear, brought us to the shore of the bay, along which lay our way for about two hours. The point at which we entered the bay was a little to the south of its apex, and we now saw, due north of us, the ridge of water-worn rocks which forms the southern extremity of the pass of the Nahr-el-Kelb. In traversing this shore-road we crossed two streams, which flow down from the neighbouring hills. The first of these, called the *Nahr-el-Maut*, or "*River of Death*," was crossed soon after entering the bay. It has its fountains in the hills near the village of Brumonāna, and derives its name from the dead, stagnant pools which are situated in its delta.²

The second stream was the Nahr Antileyas, so called from the village lying about its fountains. We now reached the edge of the ridge of rocks which forms the northern limb

¹ At the head and along the banks of the Beyrut river are traces of Roman aqueducts and irrigation canals.

² It is extremely interesting to find this name given to a stream, on account of its stagnant and marshy nature, as it explains a passage in one of the Izdubar Legends (Tablet X). The stream down which Izdubar (Nimrod) sails in the boat of *Urkhamsi*, the Assyrian Charon, is called the river of the       *miami mituti*, or "waters of death," and it was the way from Erech (Warka), the capital of Izdubar, to the abode of *Tamzi* or Khasis-Adra, the Assyrian Noah, which was situated       *ina pi nahri*, "at the mouth of the rivers." It is therefore evidently one of the lower branches of the Euphrates flowing through the Afadj, and deriving its name from a series of stagnant reaches and marshes similar to those which gave a name to this Syrian stream.

of the bay of Beyrut or St. George's Bay.¹ After crossing this ridge we soon struck upon the southern end of the Roman road traversing the pass, and which forms a means of crossing the rocky promontory forming the southern wall of the mouth of the Nahr-el-Kelb.

The promontory is composed of large honeycombed masses of limestone rock, torn and broken into every shape and form by some convulsion of nature. The grey sides of the walls of the roadway being stained in many places by the iron oxide, especially where the clefts in the rocks have become the channels for small mountain rills, presented a variety of extremely strange pictures. Perfectly barren, and broken into immense boulders, lie piled one on the top of the other like some huge cairn, and stained with the blood-red of the iron oxide, one could not help associating the dull, silent statues, which from the upper ledge of the rock and looked down on all with a stony calmness, with some mighty conflict which in a bygone past had raged in this rugged spot. It was no doubt owing to this cairnlike appearance which many of the groups of rocks assume, that Maundrell, in his description of the sculptures in 1697 A.D., suggests them to be "perhaps the representation of some persons buried hereabout; whose Sepulchers might probably also be discover'd by the diligent Observer." It is this extremely intelligent traveller who has the merit, certainly, of first describing the features of two most interesting sites which have since his day been the field of much valuable discovery—namely, the pass of the Nahr-el-Kelb, and the ruins and mounds at Jerabolus on the Euphrates, which we now know to be the site of the great Hittite capital city, Carchemish.²

Maundrell, in his diary of March 17, says, "We observ'd in the sides of the Rock above us, several Tables of figures carv'd, which seem'd to promise something of Antiquity. To be satisfied of which, some of us clamber'd up to the place, and found there some signs as if the old way had gone

¹ So called from the legend of the Dragon having been slain by St. George on the shores of the bay. The ruins of a chapel erected on the spot where he washed his hands after the fray are still shown. (See Robinson, III, 12.)

² Journey from Aleppo to the Euphrates. Oxford, 1740, p. 37.

in that Region, before *Antoninus* cut the other more convenient passage a little lower. In several places hereabouts we saw strange antique figures of Men, carv'd in the natural Rock in Mezzo-Relievo, and in bigness equal to life. Close by each figure was a large Table plain'd in the side of the Rock, and border'd round with Mouldings. Both the Effigies and the Tables appear'd to have been anciently inscrib'd all over: But the characters are now so defac'd that nothing but the footsteps of them were visible. Only there was one of the figures that had both its lineaments and its Inscriptions entire."

Soon after the southern extremity of the Roman road is reached, the ascent begins, and the highest point is reached. This spot is nearly opposite Tablet No. 7, certainly not less than a hundred feet above the sea, and from it a fine view of the coast as far as *Jebeil* (*Gebal*) is obtained. Above, on the line of the ancient roadway, are to be seen five of the sculptures, two Egyptian, and three Assyrian. The road now descends somewhat rapidly to the extreme point of the promontory, when an abrupt turn to the right brings us to the northern face of the pass; and here the descent is very steep and slippery, continuing so until the ford is reached. Having traversed about twenty yards of this roadway, we are faced by a sculptured tablet of Assyrian workmanship (No. 4), standing to the right of the roadway on the rock which forms the corner-stone, where the ancient Egypto-Assyrian road turned east to descend to the ford. From this point to the ford the ancient and the Roman road coincided. Between twenty and thirty yards further along this roadway a second pair of tablets, ranged side by side (Nos. 2 and 3), are to be seen on the rock wall of the pass; and a few yards further on, directly opposite the ford, an Egyptian tablet is found cut on the rock. The Roman road continues along the pass for about six hundred yards, and then crosses the river by a bridge. This bridge is of ancient construction, but has been repaired and altered by the Turkish authorities since it was built by the Romans. Dr. Robinson mentions having seen an Arabic inscription in a field near the bridge, on the face of a low rock, which mentions repairs having



HAH-FU KEEP

1890. W. M. G. P. 1890. W. M. G. P. 1890.

been done to the bridge by Sultan Selim I, about A.D. 1517.¹ The roadway also has been repaired and improved of late years, both by the Turkish authorities and the French army of occupation in 1860-61.

The brief examination which I made of the tablets upon the occasion of my first visit, convinced me that certainly, as regards the Assyrian monuments, we have a chronological sequence commencing with Tablets Nos. 2 and 3, and ending with Tablet No. 9, at the highest point of the ancient roadway. This series begins with the tablets of the early Assyrian empire, B.C. 1300-1050, and terminates with a royal record of Esarhaddon, erected on the termination of his tenth expedition against the Egyptian king Tirhakah. To examine these tablets it is therefore best to commence with the one immediately opposite the ford (No. 1), and proceed in a reverse direction to that taken in coming from Beirut.

The following table will show the order of the monuments, as well as the period to which my examination would lead me to assign them:—

No.	NATION.	SHAPE.	HEIGHT.	BREADTH.	DEPTH.	DATE AND REMARKS.
I	Egyptian	Square headed	7 ft. 6 in.	3 ft. 8 in.	6 in. ²	{ Rameses II. Dedicated to Phtha ³
II	Assyrian	Square headed	6 7	4 5	4½	{ Assur-ris-ilim (?) (B.C. 1140)
III	Assyrian ⁴	Square headed	5 1	2 4	5	{ Tiglath-pileser I. (B.C. 1100)
IV	Assyrian	Round headed	6 1	2 6½	4½	{ Assurnazirpal. (B.C. 885)
V	Assyrian	Round headed	6 4	2 9½	5	{ Shalmaneser III. (B.C. 860)
VI	Egyptian	Square headed	7 6	3 8	5½	{ Rameses II. Dedicated to Ra ³
VII	Assyrian	Round headed	7 3	3 8½	5½	{ Sennacherib. (B.C. 702)
VIII	Egyptian	Square headed	7 6	3 8	5½	{ Rameses II. Dedicated to Ammon
IX	Assyrian	Round headed	6 0	3 1	6	{ Esarhaddon. (P.C. 681) ⁵

¹ Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine* in 1852, p. 618. Cf. *Trans. Royal Soc. Lit., 4to., Vol. III., 1839, pl. 2, No. 8.*

² Surface cleaned for French inscription, and therefore deeper than Nos. 6, 8.

³ These dedications are assigned by Dr. Lepsius, who examined the tablets in 1845. *Briefe aus Aegypten*, 402.

⁴ I discovered the remains of another Assyrian monument there, almost destroyed.—A. II. S.

⁵ Portion of inscription remaining proves erection in B.C. 672-1.

Tablet No. 1 is an Egyptian record, and it has been taken by the French troops forming the army of occupation in (1860-61) Syria during the Druze massacres, to receive a French inscription recording their presence. The surface of the tablet has been cleaned and smoothed, to receive a coat of yellow paint or stucco, and an inscription in French cut upon it! The preparation of the surface of the tablet has entirely removed any traces of the ancient Egyptian text which may have existed, perhaps, very faintly. Neither the jambs or lintel bear any marks which will afford a clue. It is similar in shape and workmanship to Tablet Nos. 6 and 8, and was of similar dimensions. Dr. Lepsius, who examined these records in 1845, on his return from Egypt, states that this tablet, as well as the other two higher up the ancient roadway (Nos. 6, 8), are the work of Rameses II, "the great Sesostris,"¹ they being royal *ex votos* for the victories over the *Khita* and *Upper Rutenu*. It is fortunate that an examination of the tablets was made by such competent authorities as the late Joseph Bonomi, in 1834,² and Dr. Lepsius, in 1845, at periods prior to mutilation.



The next monuments we encounter are a pair of square tablets which have within a framework, representations of Assyrian royal personages. They clearly exhibit a style of workmanship much earlier than any of the others, the figures are low and squat in shape, and there has been none of that attention to details of decoration of dress, hair or beard, which marks the works of the middle or late Assyrian empires. There is in the British Museum a stone³ bearing a representation of an early Babylonian king, contemporary with the Assyrian monarch Tiglath-pileser I (B.C. 1120), to which the first pair of Assyrian tablets

¹ Herodotus states (2, 102-106) that Sesostris in his expeditions to Asia Minor and Thrace, left as records *stelæ* and *figures* (στῆλαι, τύποι); such we find as the pseudo Sesostris, now supposed to be of Lydio-Syrian or Hittite origin. Most of these records had disappeared in the time of Herodotus, but he states that in Palestine or Syria he had seen some with inscriptions (ἐν δὲ τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ).

² Described in *Trans. of the Royal Society of Literature*, vol. iii., pp. 105-107.

³ Assyrian Side Room. Relief and inscription of Merodach-nadin-akhi, king of Babylon, *cir.* B.C. 1100.

exhibit a marked resemblance in workmanship, and the disproportionate treatment of the human figure.

One of these tablets must certainly, I think, be assigned to Tiglath-pileser I, a monarch whose reign forms the zenith of the early Assyrian empire. After his successful expedition against the Khatti or Syrians, and the subjugation of Carchemish  "Kar-ga-mis," he visited the western Lebanon, for the purpose of obtaining cedar wood to decorate the temples and palaces of Assur or Kalah-Shergat. During this expedition he passed through Arvad  Ar-va-da, or "Aradus," the northernmost Phœnician town, and entering into a ship of the people of Arvad, he rode on the sea, and slew a porpoise,¹ which he records as a most heroic feat. In his visit to Lebanon he would follow the coast route, the modern Tripolis road, and would come into the region of the Nahr-el-Kelb. The cylinder inscriptions of this king do not mention any visit to the cities of the Phœnician plain, but it is probable that records may be found in the mounds of Kalah-Shergat, which will enable us to fix more accurately the date of the king's visit to the pass and the erection of his statue. In his inscriptions he claims the title of conqueror of "the land from the sea of the setting sun to the sources of the Tigris"; at the latter place, the fountains of the Debeneh-Su,² he erected a statue of himself. It is therefore not extravagant to assign one of these tablets to him, as erected at the western limit of his conquests. This pair of Assyrian tablets have evidently been influenced in their erection by the neighbouring Egyptian square-headed one, and it was probably the presence of this record, which two centuries before had been erected by the conqueror of the Khita, that caused the desire in the mind of the king of Assyria to place a record of similar victories on the rock "facing the great sea," in a spot which formed one of the goals of the victors of Assyria.

¹ Called in the inscriptions *nakharu*, evidently connected with the root נחר, "to blow," "snort."

² The river *Subnat* is evidently to be identified with the Debeneh-Su, whose head waters are near lake Edgik in Kurdistan. (See Taylor's Travels in Kurdistan, Jour. R. Geo. S., vol. xxxv, for 1865, where are several Assyrian statues.)

With regard to the second of this pair of Assyrian tablets, it is difficult in our present paucity of early Assyrian records to tell to which king of the early empire it is to be assigned. From its position close alongside the other tablet it is certainly the work of a near relation, and we are therefore at liberty to assign either No. 1 to the father of Tiglath-pileser I, that is to $\text{𐎶 𐎵𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠}$, *Assur-ris-ilim* ("Assur is chief among the gods," or by assigning No. 1 to Tiglath-pileser, No. 2, which is higher up the road, becomes the record of Assur-bel-Kala $\text{𐎶 𐎵𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎺𐎠}$ *Assur-bel-kala*, "Assur is lord of all," his son.¹ Both these monarchs in their very fragmentary inscriptions claim to have visited the shores of "the great sea of the setting sun," but until more historic literature is obtained of the early empire, it is impossible to clearly identify the tablets as the work of any particular king, although there can be no doubt whatever of their being the work of kings of the early empire. We now pass some thirty yards higher up the pass, to the point where the Egypto-Assyrian roadway joins the lower one, and on the wing-rock some seven feet from the level of the lower road, facing north-west, is placed a third Assyrian memorial tablet of Assyrian workmanship (Tablet No. 4). The preparation of the rock around the tablet, and the workmanship of the sculpture itself, at once show it to be a work of a more advanced art period than those which have just been examined.

It resembles in shape the statue erected by Assur-nazir-pal (B.C. 885)² or Samsi-Rammanu (B.C. 825)³ in the temple of the war-god at Calah (Nimroud), and in workmanship and present condition may be compared with the memorial

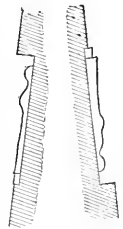
¹ On the bowls from Sheriff Khan, and on fragments in the British Museum.

² In the Assyrian Transept, British Museum, is a high-arched slab, having in front a bas-relief of the king, with various sacred symbols, and on the sides and back an invocation to the Assyrian gods, and a chronicle of the king's conquests. Before it stands an altar, which was originally so placed, at the entrance to the temple of the "God of War." *Vide* plate, "Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.," Vol. V, p. 278.

³ A four-sided and arch-headed *stele* of this king, otherwise called Samsivul, son of Sennacherib, is placed in the Assyrian Side Room, British Museum. *Vide* "Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.," Vol. V, p. 225.

tablets of Assur-nazir-pal and Shalmanesar II (B.C. 860)¹ from Khurkh on the Tigris. This tablet is 6 feet 1 inch high, and 2 feet 6½ inches wide at the foot. The depth of the tablet is 4½ inches at the top, but it is deeper at the top. By an ingenious arrangement, the royal sculptors of these tablets have so contrived them that the water is carried off as much as possible. Firstly, by selecting a rock with an inclination from the upper part either to or from the spectator. They then, to preserve the head portion of the tablet, cut it in such a way that the water falling from the top will clear the upper portion of the figure.

Tablet No. 4 certainly pairs with No. 5, which is situated on the higher portion of the ancient roadway, and both these tablets may be assigned to the middle Assyrian empire, and with certainty to the reigns of Assur-nazir-pal (𐎶 𐎠 𐎵 𐎠 𐎶 𐎠 𐎶 Assur-natsir-abla) B.C. 885-860, and his warlike son Shalmanesar II (B.C. 860-825)



(𐎶 𐎠 𐎵 𐎠 𐎶 𐎠 𐎶 Shalmanesar). Of the erection of both of these tablets we have distinct records in the Assyrian inscriptions. That erected by Assur-nazir-pal was to record the accomplishment of his great campaign in B.C. 880, when he finished a victorious march through Syria by receiving the tribute of the people of Arvad (Aradus), Gebal (Jebeil),² Sidon (Saïd),³ Tyre (Sur),⁴ &c. He then states that he erected an image of his majesty over against the great sea, and offered victims and libations to his gods. Tablet No. 4 may, I think, be safely assigned to Assur-nazir-pal, whose work at Nimroud it closely resembles.

¹ In the Nimroud Saloon (central), British Museum, are two tablets with figures and inscriptions, one representing Shalmanesar II, and the other Assur-nazir-pal. *Vide* "Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.," plate, Vol. VI, p. 88.

² 𐎶 𐎠 𐎵 𐎠 𐎶 𐎠 𐎶 *Gu-ub-lai* (Hebrew גִּבְלַיִם).

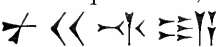



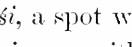
³ 𐎶 𐎠 𐎵 𐎠 𐎶 𐎠 𐎶 *Zi-du-na-ai* (Sidon).

⁴ 𐎶 𐎠 𐎵 𐎠 𐎶 𐎠 𐎶 *Zur-ra-ai* (Tyre). Nimroud Pavement Inscriptions.

We now come to No. 5, which certainly pairs with No. 4, and is the work of Shalmanesar II, the monarch to whose lavish patronage of art we owe those splendid trophies (the bronze gates) from Ballawat. The discovery of these records seems to have come at a time most opportune, at a time when the reading of the inscriptions was being placed on a firm basis, and when illustrative materials, either as sculpture or painted walls, such as have done so much for Egypt, were much needed. When first these bronze gates were brought to England, most of us who examined them were thrown on the wrong scent as to their author by the discovery of the tablets of Assur-nazir-pal in the temple to which the gates formed the entrance. I at the time hastily asserted a scene on these gates to be a representation of the erection and consecration of Tablet No. 4 by the Assyrian king.¹ The inscription on the bronze gates reading

šalam sarruti ya ina eli tianti [Na-a-rî] u-zi-ir niği ana ili a-bil,
 “An image of my majesty over against the sea of the Náiri
 I placed, and victims to the gods I brought.” The portion
 marked being much worn, I hastily restored Akhari, “the
 west,” “the Phœnicians.” The fragment now being cleaned,
 we are able to rectify this error. I am anxious to correct
 my mistake, as I find Mr. W. Simpson, in his notice of the
 late Mr. Joseph Bonomi, has followed my lead, and stated
 that one of the statues here (Nahr-el-Kelb) was erected by
 Assur-bani-pal (?) (Assur-nazir-pal), is represented on the
 Ballawat gates. The scene we now know represents the
 erection of a statue on the shores of Lake Van. Other
 examples represent the carving of statues at the head-waters
 of the Tigris, &c. Although the Ballawat gates do not
 furnish us with a representation of these particular statues,
 they do, however, furnish a series of pictures which enable
 us very clearly to understand the ceremonies which took
 place at the dedication of similar works.

¹ “Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.,” Vol. VI, p. 563.

In the inscription of Shalmanesar II, we have mention of the erection, at two periods, of statues of the conqueror in the regions of Syria and Lebanon. In his first expedition, in B.C. 860-859, the king marched to the shores of "the sea of the west," and received tribute of the kings of Tyre and Sidon, and erected an image of his royalty on the shores of the sea. I may here mention that one of the fragments of the bronze gates from Ballawat, in the possession of Mrs. Rassam, has upon it a representation of Assyrian soldiers carrying down beams of cedar wood from Lebanon, part of the army of the first expedition; above are the remains of this inscription:  *zalam sarruti ya*, "a statue of my royalty"; and when perfect we may conclude that there was here a representation of the king's image at Nahr-el-Kelb. Accounts of this expedition are to be found on the Black Obelisk (Layard), and on the tablet from Kurkh (W.A.I. III). There is a fragment of an inscription of this king published in W.A.I. III, pl. 6, referring to the eighteenth campaign, B.C. 841, which states that after a successful expedition against the Syrian kings headed by  *Khu-za-el*, "Hazael," king of Damascus, and the reception of tribute from  *Yauá abil Khu-um-ri*, "Jehu, son of Omri," and the inhabitants of Tyre, Sidon, and Gebal, a statue of the king was erected in or near Lebanon () *Labnan*, where he had gone to obtain cedars, on the mountain of  *Bálli-Rási*, a spot with a most Phœnician sound. A few words remaining on either of the statues Nos. 4 or 5 would have solved this difficulty, but such do not exist.


The Tablet No. 6 is an Egyptian one, dedicated, as Dr. Lepsius states, to the Egyptian sun-god Ra, by Rameses II. Of the Egyptian tablets which are here, this one is by far the best preserved, and most certainly there are traces of its having borne a hieroglyphic inscription; in the upper portion is a tableau representing Rameses II standing in adoration before a seated deity. I must here differ from those who


emphatically state that they can see no traces of inscriptions on these tablets.

Dr. Robinson, who visited the pass in 1852, states ("Researches," iii. p. 620), "In the corners of the three Egyptian tablets, there are holes, as for metal cramps; as if a metal plate or marble tablet, perhaps with sculptures or an inscription, had been fastened within the border, covering the interior surface. In that case, the rock surface of these three tablets was never sculptured. I (Dr. R.) must here express my assent to the negative testimony of Mr. v. Wildenbruch, in which Dr. Eli Smith and Consul Schultz concurred, that he was able to distinguish on these three tablets no hieroglyphics; although he thought the sunken human figures could be recognized. I must confess, that for myself, (Dr. R.) on neither of my visits (March 3rd and June 19th), although both were made at midday and under a brilliant sun, could I distinguish either hieroglyphics or other figures. It may be possible, however, that with the sun in another direction, and with a different condition of light and shade, and less of glare, such outlines can be traced. But then, how are the cramps at the corners to be accounted for? At any rate, I cannot but think, that fancy has had much to do in making out the reputed *copies* of these Egyptian tablets." Such is the testimony of Dr. Robinson, one whose close attention to the minute detail of a traveller's and explorer's life, would render him no mean authority; but still I must differ from him in regard to this point. My first visit brought me to the pass at about ten o'clock, when I examined the Egyptian tablets Nos. 6 and 8, and must certainly affirm that I could distinctly trace indications of the body of the tablet, as well as the jambs, having been covered with hieroglyphics. In No. 8 they were not so apparent as in No. 6, but here also *the water-worn honeycomb cells* which covered the surface of the tablet had a regularity of arrangement which could *not* be accidental. Moreover, they varied in shape considerably, and one could clearly trace the occurrence two and three times, and even more, of a similar cell, which could not have been produced but by the water-wearing of a similar shaped

character.¹ Standing a short distance away from No. 6, a distinct grouping of two, three, and more cells could be discerned both on the flat surface and jambs. But notwithstanding this evident indication of there *having been inscriptions*, it was totally impossible to copy any one group with certainty. Even in one place where I thought I could recognize the cartouche, I could not distinctly make out the characters. With regard to the groups of figures on these tablets, No. 6 is very clear, and I have a paper impression of it; but No. 8 is not so clear, and I was at first inclined to doubt it, when an Arab, who was with me and saw my drawing, pointed out to me there were many outlines of a similar group on No. 8. On the lower tier of the cornice of No. 6, the winged circle was distinctly to be traced, and the feathering on the upper portion. In the case of all the Assyrian tablets I am not so certain about inscriptions, as they have suffered much from exposure; but on Nos. 5 and 7 there were such marks as led me to consider them to have been inscribed. This peculiar formation of the water cells which honeycomb the surface of the tablets, is exactly the phenomenon which Maundrell styles “nothing but the footsteps of them [the characters] were visible.” The worn left-hand side of No. 9, which we know to have been inscribed, presents an exactly similar appearance to the surface of Nos. 5 and 7. As to the tablets on the lower road having been inscribed, I am not in a position to affirm one way or the other—they are too much mutilated. The markings of the decayed portions of the Assyrian tablets are quite distinct from those which cover the Egyptian.²


The cramps on the Egyptians tablets seem to have caused considerable confusion to Dr. Robinson and others. “It has

¹ Among the few characters I could recognize were  often repeated,

 These characters were all worn round at the edges, and all sharpness gone, but these shapes appeared to have once existed there. I may add I had no *copy* by me to guide my identification.

² My first examination of the tablets was over a period extending from 10 A.M. to 1 P.M., and my second from 7 A.M. to 12 A.M.; on both occasions I saw clearly the above indications.

been suggested," he says [note, p. 621], "that the cramps served for hanging doors, in order to protect the tablets. But nothing of the kind is elsewhere found; and besides, in that case, the cramps would have been inserted on the borders of the tablets, and not *within* them." As to similar examples of rock tablets, I am unable to produce any, but surely such examples of the plain socket hinge as the Egyptian stone door in the central gallery of the British Museum, or the Ballawat gates, and the stone sockets from Nimroud and Babylon, prove the use of a hinge such as would require its sockets inside the frame.

Tablet No. 7, which stands between the two Assyrio-Egyptian groups, has, by nearly all who have examined these records, been assigned to the Assyrian king  *Sin-akhi-iriba*, Sennacherib (B.C. 703). The work of this sculpture is most distinct, and the size of the tablet 7 ft. 3 in. by 38 ft. 8 in. interior, together with a plinth, mark it as belonging to a period of the best art; and although there is no record of its erection by Sennacherib, its resemblance to the Bavian tablets, and the figures of the king from the Koyunjik sculptures would lead one to assign it to that king.¹

Sennacherib visited south-west Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, at least three times in his reign. In B.C. 702-3, when he defeated the Palestine and Egyptian allies at the battle of Eltekeh, in the province of Dan, an account of which expedition is given in the Taylor Cylinder. There were at least two more expeditions later in the reign. The second, that in which the siege of Lakish forms a prominent feature. There are in the British Museum a series of sculptured slabs,² once forming the decorations of the Koyunjik palace, which record the chief events in this campaign.

It has been customary by chronologists to make these slabs a pictorial illustration of the campaign mentioned in

¹ Strangely, Sir A. H. Layard assigns all these tablets at Nahr-el-Kelb to Sennacherib. "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 210.

² "Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.," Vol. VI, plate, p. 84.

scripture (2 Kings xviii–xix), but I am inclined to regard it as a second campaign, of which a continuation, a third Syrian war, was the disastrous one. My reason is this, the slabs in the British Museum are of such a size and such workmanship, as could not have been executed in a short period, and the defeat in Syria was soon followed by the revolt in Nineveh. We have as yet no sculptured record of the campaign given in the Taylor Cylinder, and in the text there is no mention of the erection of a royal statue on the shores of the great sea; but this is not strange. In the inscriptions of Sennacherib and his successors a more florid style of literature had grown up than that which was in vogue in the time of Shalmanesar and the kings of the middle empire. The former style was almost a diurnal one; each halt, each river crossed, each city captured, the exact amount of spoil, &c., was noted, and recorded in the royal annals, but in the latter style these minute details are omitted. A style of historic writing had been formed which left these details in the terra cotta reports and blue books in the record office of Nineveh, while a gilded abstract only was given on the cylinders as the annals of the king. To find a record of such a work as the erection of this statue, we must look to the numerous report tablets from the palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh.




Of the last Egyptian, Tablet No. 8, which Dr. Lepsius states to have been dedicated to the Theban Ammon, a sufficient notice has been given above, and we now pass at once to the most interesting monument of the series, the tablet of Esarhaddon, the son of Sennacherib, the father of Assur-ban-i-pal (Sardanapalus).

This tablet is placed extremely close to the Egyptian one No. 8, the distance between them being only 14 inches. The interior measurement is 6 ft. high by 3 ft. 1 in. broad, and the lower depth of the cutting is 6 inches, it being somewhat deeper at the top. The monument is the one of which Maundrell states, "there was one of the figures that had both its lineaments and its Inscriptions entire." There is now in the British Museum a plaster cast of this tablet, which was taken by Mr. Bonomi in 1834, and presented to the Museum,

I believe, by the Duke of Northumberland.¹ In the possession of this cast the British Museum authorities are fortunate, for they *now* have in it a *much better* copy than the original tablet. The forty-five years' exposure to the ravages of wind and rain, which the rock has undergone since the time Mr. Bonomi took the mould for the cast, has obliterated much that was then visible, and I failed to recognize portions of the text I know to be extant in the cast. I must therefore ask the members of the Society to remember that I am describing that which I saw in 1879, not what was to be seen in 1834. From the paper impressions which I have obtained, as well as a copy I made of all I could see on the tablet, and a comparison with the text of the cast in the Museum, there is no doubt that a considerable portion of the text may be recovered. Fortunately, sufficient still remains to give the date when this tablet was erected, and the expedition of which it was the triumphal record.

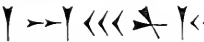
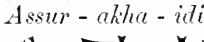

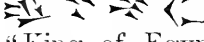
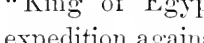
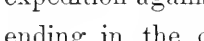
In the upper left hand corner of this tablet are a number of sacred emblems of the "sun," "crescent moon," and the seven stars of the Pleiades, and other strange signs.² The royal head-dress, the hair, the beard, the portions of the embroidered robe not worn away—all show the greatest attention to detail; and the sculpture when perfect must have been a very fine example of Assyrian workmanship, as some of the remaining portions exhibit an amount of fine carving rarely expended on rock sculptures, which were usually bold in outline and scant in detail. Strange to say, in direct opposition to this attention to work on the part of the Assyrian artist, the selection of the stone exhibits a decided mal-judgment. A portion of rock has been chosen which was covered with a thin superficial layer of fine limestone, almost a marble. The cutting of the bas-relief has worn this covering thin, and the result is that in all the thin

¹ This cast is now in the Koyunjik Gallery of the British Museum.

² The appearance of such signs as   and  which have a marked resemblance to the characters on the Hittite monuments from Hamath and Carchemish, when coupled with the appearance of the fir branch in the king's hand, seems to indicate that the Hittite symbols had a signification which was understood by the Assyrians and Babylonians, if not adopted from them.

and exposed portions this layer has flaked off or worn away, only the thicker portions remaining. The decay has been most destructive on the left hand side of the tablet. This decay must have been very slow at first, as it is evident that at the time of Mr. Bonomi's visit and copying of the tablet, a considerable portion of text remained on this side, and that the layer of finer stone was not entirely gone; it has now on that side almost entirely disappeared. In Tablet No. 7 there are traces of a similar surface of fine stone, but it has entirely gone.¹ It is evident that in 1697, when Maundrell inspected the tablets, inscriptions would be extant on more than one, but of course in mutilated conditions.

The sculpture represents the king standing arrayed in royal robes, and wearing the royal tiara, or triple crown, richly decorated with floriated rosettes. The right hand is elevated towards the sacred emblems, and the king appears to hold in his hand a branch of the fir tree.

In the present paper I cannot furnish the text of the inscription, as I wish to compare my copy with the Museum cast, and to thus make at some time a more complete text. Still, however, the occurrence of such names as  *Sin-akhi-iriba*, and  *Assur-akha-idina*, together with the royal titles of  *sar Babili*, "King of Babylon,"  *sar mat Muzur-u-Kusi*, "King of Egypt and Ethiopia," and the mention of an expedition against  *Tar-ku*, "Tirhakah," ending in the capture and sack of  *al Mi-im-pi alu sarruti su*, "the city of Memphis, his royal city," furnish sufficient material to find accurately the date of the erection of this record.

Esarhaddon, the third and faithful son of Sennacherib, came to the throne in B.C. 681, as we know by the eponym canon, and reigned until 668 B.C., when he was succeeded by his son Assur-bani-pal; his reign therefore extended over a period

¹ Notice also the bad stone with a clear flaw selected for the Black Obelisk.

² No king until the time of Esarhaddon claims this title, and he not until after B.C. 672-1.

of seventeen years, and of half of this period we have fairly complete annals in the two cylinder inscriptions in the British Museum. From a small fragment¹ we learn the outline of the events of his tenth year (B.C. 672-1). This text I published in the Transactions of the Society,² and it states that Tarku, who had been troublesome in the former reign, had stirred up a revolt in Phœnicia by inducing Baal king of Tyre to revolt from the allegiance he had pledged to Assyria.³ By this means the Egyptian king thought to create a block on the Assyrio-Egyptian road, and employ the Assyrian armies until he had sufficiently established himself in Egypt.

The news of the revolt being brought to Assyria, the king gathered his army in the commencement of the year, in the month Nisan, and prepared to march at once against Egypt by the shorter route of crossing the Syrian desert, *via* Tadmor, to the city of Aphek, on the borders of Samaria,⁴ and thence to the frontiers of Egypt, as far as the city of Raphia (𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 *Ra-pi-khi*). Then by a forced march made through the desert, the rear of the Egyptians was turned, and this well planned campaign, as we know from the annals of Assurbanipal, ended in the capture of Memphis, and the overthrow of the Ethiopian dynasty. Tirhakah fled into the remote regions of Ethiopia, and the government of Egypt was divided into twenty sub-Assyrian provinces, under mixed rulers, at the head of whom was an Egyptian prince named Necho.

After regulating the affairs of Egypt, the Assyrian army returned laden with the rich spoils of the temples and palaces of Memphis. *En route* tribute was gathered from all the principal cities of Palestine and Phœnicia, and possibly from Cyprus. The fact that the inscription on the statue at Nahr-el-Kelb commences with an enumeration of the titles, &c., of the god Hea 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 (Oannes), the Assyrian Neptune,

¹ S 2027.

² "Transactions," Vol. IV, pp. 84-97.

³ Sidon had fallen early in the king's reign (see Cylinder Inscription). The king claims the title of *Kasid Ziduni*, "conqueror of Sidon." Tyre was just recovering from its capture at the end of the reign of Shalmanesar III. (B.C. 723).

⁴ 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 *Ap-ku*, or Aphek; said to be *Sa pati Sa-mi-ri-na*, "on the borders of Samaria."

who is here called 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤋 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤋 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤋 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤋 *ilu tiamti*, "god of the sea," seems to indicate that the king had just accomplished a successful sea voyage. We know that when the Phœnician king of Zidon, *Abdimilkut*, fled to Cyprus in B.C. 680-79, that Esarhaddon states that like a fish he crossed over after him, and brought him back and cut off his head. So we may conclude that this special invocation here supposes an expedition to the land of 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤋 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤋 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤋 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤋 *Ya-at-na-na*, "Cyprus," to gather tribute. The small bay at the mouth of the Nahr-el-Kelb, or the Bay of Juneh, a few miles north, both form at the present day harbours of refuge for craft of considerable draught, and would well hold the Assyrian fleet. It is possible that the Assyrian king had prepared to bring the rich and heavy spoils of his Egyptian campaign, and the tributes of Tyre and other cities, in ships taken from the Egyptians instead of over the land route, and especially so as he would have to cross such difficult portions of the road as this pass. It has long been my opinion that in the march from Aradus, in the Syrian campaign of these kings, the flank of the army was protected by a coasting fleet composed of ships seized *en route*.

From these facts, we may conclude that this statue was erected in B.C. 671, to commemorate the successful termination of Esarhaddon's Egyptian campaign. With the statue of the conqueror of Memphis ends this historic sculpture gallery. It is a chance coincidence, but at the same time a strange one, that seven centuries before this last victorious record was carved on the rock wall, the first royal record of an Egyptian king was carved there as a votive offering to Phtha, the god of Memphis—of Memphis in its glory. With Memphis the series began; with the fall of Memphis it ends. How plainly now do we see, in the small act of placing his statue so close alongside the Egyptian record, the proud assertion of the victor's power!

"Oh, heaven! that one might read the book of fate,
And see the revolution of the times!"

Having now completed an examination of the statues and tablets, I would call your attention to the two roadways

which have crossed the point. Near to Tablet No. 4 there are clear indications that here a more ancient way than the Roman road has descended the northern face of the cliff. This ancient roadway was steep and rugged, and wound round the north-west extremity of the promontory about 30 feet above the present road. It then takes an abrupt turning to the south-east, and is lost among the fallen rocks. It can again be traced with comparative clearness from about 150 feet north-east of Tablets Nos. 5 and 6, past them and also along the front of Nos. 7, 8, and 9, when it takes a sharp curve to the east, and appears to pass over the top of the cliff. It would seem to have passed inland to avoid the cliffs, which form the southern wall of the promontory. About half a mile south-east of the spot where the Roman road ends, and when just clear of the rocks, there is the appearance of an ancient way descending the cliffs on the east to the shore. This way is now blocked by fallen rocks, and torn by broken portions, and even in its best days must have been a very rough and difficult road, and one of the class called in the Assyrian dictionaries *du-ra-qu*, "a stepped roadway" (Heb. גַּרְגָּר, *gradus*), and extremely difficult for chariots and horses laden with material of war to cross. The ancient roadway reaches its highest point a few yards south of the statue of Esarhaddon (No. 9), and from this position a fine view is obtained along the coast northwards as far as Jebel, and over the mouth of the Nahr Ibrahim or Adonis river, with lofty Jebel Sūmin on the north-east or (rather N.N.E.—30 points).


During my examination of this ancient roadway in its upper portion, I was struck by the fact that opposite each of the statues or group of statues there appeared to be a space, which had once been clear, and on further examination I found indications that although now covered by fallen rocks and *débris*, and in parts themselves torn and broken by earthquakes, there had once been cleared spaces wider than the road before these statues.¹ There were evidently plat-

¹ Arab cupidity has led them to undermine and dig all round these statues, in one case a hole twelve feet into the rock was cut. The platforms also are broken away for the same reason.

forms on which were celebrated religious services by the kings who have erected here their memorials, or by their issue, to the memory of those who had preceded them.

Of one of these religious ceremonies a representation is found on the Ballawat gates. In that scene, which represents a group of priests sacrificing before a statue of Shalmanesar III, erected on the shores of Lake Van, we see very clearly depicted the ceremony which took place when these statues were dedicated. With portable brazen altars, and clad in sacrificial robes, the priests stand before the statue, and probably chant some regular liturgy, while minor officials cast portions of the victims,—sheep and oxen,—into the sea. Some such similar scene as this took place on the erection of each of the Assyrian statues at Nahr-el-Kelb.

The Roman roadway which winds round the pass, and crosses the Nahr-el-Kelb by a bridge, about half a mile from its mouth, is a work exhibiting considerable engineering skill, and was cut by the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and an inscription recording its completion is carved on the rock above the ford. I copied the text, and revised my copy by that of Dr. Robinson.¹

IMP . CAES . M . AVRELIUS
ANTONINVS PIVS FELIX AVGVSTVS
PART . MAX . BRIT . MAX GERM . MAXIMVS
PONTIFEX MAXIMVS
MONTIBVS IMINENTIBVS
LICO FLYMINI CAESIS VIAM DELATAVIT
PER 
ANTONINIANAM SVAM ¹

Dr. Robinson states that the date of this inscription is about A.D. 179, or shortly before the emperor's death, which took place in A.D. 180. There is another inscription of the same ruler nearer the sea, but this I did not copy.²

¹ Robinson, p. 618, has the following: "I have merely separated the words, which in the original run together; and have added dots to mark parts of words. This inscription (as also the following one) has been copied by Maundrell, Seetzen, Burekhardt, Wilson, and others; the copy in the text is that of Burekhardt. The form *delatavit* for *dilatavit* belongs probably to the stone-cutter."—W.H.R.

² "Biblical Researches," III, pp. 618-19.

There is a small fragment of a column (R),¹ with a few letters upon it, which projects from a rock near the southern end of the Roman road, but there is not sufficient remaining to make a copy of, but from the presence of the letters L.C.A., I am inclined to think that Dr. Robinson's suggestion as to its being portion of a milestone is correct. With this ends my description of the monuments in the pass.

Before concluding this paper, there is one point which I would bring before the members of this Society. It has been suggested by some, that the Assyrian armies on the march crossed the north-west Lebanon, and came down the valley of the Nahr-el-Kelb. There is one little fact which seems to me perfectly conclusive that the shore route, the route of the present day, was the way as far as Aradus; there is not a single trace of a monument, Assyrian or Egyptian, on the east side above the ford which crosses the Nahr-el-Kelb, and which was the ancient mode of crossing the stream prior to the construction of the bridge by the Romans.²

¹ See sketch map.

² Burton, *Unexplored Syria*, vol. i, pp. 122-23. We were anxious to ascertain if the Assyrian tablets at the Lycus mouth, and said to date from *Sin-akhi-iriba* (Sennacherib) 2570 years ago, were the memorials of armies marching by the short cut to the sea coast from Báalbak, *via* Zalah and down stream, or if they followed the road preferred by the moderns, through El Bukay'an, "the low plain," the entrance to Hamath, which separates the Lebanon from the Jebel-el-Hulah, to the port of Tripoli (Tarabalus-el-Sham), and thence down coast. We carefully inspected every ruin and remarkable rock, hoping, in vain, to detect corresponding sculptures. Until these be found, we must believe that the invader took the longer route by the original iron gate of Syria.



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PART 3.

THE STÈLE OF MENTUHOTEP.

BY E. L. LUSHINGTON, D.C.L., LL.D., &c.

Read 7th June, 1881.

THE stèle which I have attempted to translate is one of the many treasures rescued by the lamented scholar and discoverer, Mariette, from the ruins of Abydos. The text is given at pl. 23 of the second volume of his great work, "Abydos"; and also in pl. 303-4 of de Rougé's "Inscriptions copied in Egypt," being the last in the series. Special notice of it will be found in "Mar. Abydos," vol. ii, p. 34; and also, with a brief summary of its contents, "Abydos," vol. iii, p. 144. Several portions are translated by Brugsch in his "Gesch. Aeg.," p. 132, E.T. (second edition), vol. i, p. 161. It records the honours and services of Mentuhotep, a favoured officer of Usertesen, the second king of the XIIth dynasty, son, co-regent, and successor of his father, Amenemha, founder of the dynasty, who in the twenty-first year of his reign associated Usertesen in the sovereignty with himself, a fact attested by the inscription published, Mar. "Ab.," p. 22, which is dated the thirtieth year of Amenemha, the tenth of Usertesen.

At the top of our stèle is the solar disk, with two uræi and prominent outspread wings; below the middle point the square royal scutcheon, above which stands a hawk with the double crown; on the upper part of the scutcheon are the words "Life of the Born," one of Usertesen's kingly titles. The hawk looks towards the right of the spectator; in front of it, upholding the was sceptre with symbol of life affixed, stands a swathed Osiris, "dweller of the west, lord of Abydos." On the other side behind it, "Son of Ra, Usertesen, the gracious god, lord of two regions, giving life, stability, strength, health as Ra for ever." Below the extremity of the wings on each side, the characters expressing Hut (Edfu), the city of Hor Hut, lord of the mesen (shrine). This representation fills the arched summit of the stèle; the lower portion, engraved with hieroglyphics, is square, containing twenty-three horizontal lines. The space facing the last eleven lines is shortened to the spectator's left by the sculptured figure of Mentuhotep, holding in one hand an upright staff as tall as himself, in the other a sceptre of the shape which is read as the word *χερη*. A collar, hanging from his neck, ends in a face with slightly bent horns, outstanding ears, and pendant bands. His feet extend about the width of two lines below the last line of the inscription.

Careful attention has been bestowed by several eminent scholars on the various official titles handed down from the earlier dynasties, but much of the subject remains still not a little obscure. In deference to the high authority of Dr. Brugsch, I have provisionally adopted some of the renderings which, as far as my knowledge extends, he was the first to introduce. It is to be hoped that in the concluding portion of his *Lexicon* he will not fail to elucidate this difficult matter, and show convincing reasons for his interpretation. I am largely indebted to him (as what student of Egyptian is not!) for light thrown on philological as well as geographical problems, both in the *Lexicon* and the *Dictionary of Geography*; this general acknowledgment of gratitude may perhaps excuse me from referring by page to his works in every case where they have been helpful to me. The present attempt has undoubtedly many deficiencies, and

probably several errors, the correction of which will be welcome to me from any quarter. The words of Mariette, "Abydos," vol. iii, p. 144, "Un monument digne d'être étudié à fond," inspired the wish to venture on the effort: would that it were worthier to be offered as a tribute to the memory of that indefatigable and clear-sighted explorer, who has been removed too early for the wishes of his friends and the interests of science, but not before he has established a title to deserved renown which will not pass away.

TRANSLATION.

LINE

1. Living Horus, life of the born, lord of both crowns, life of the born, king of upper and lower region (Ra- χ eper-ka) gracious god, lord of two lands, son of Ra (Usertesén) giver of life, stability, strength, health, glad of heart as Ra for ever.
2. The princely ruler, (*a*) rampart of wisdom, door of the inner chamber, Prophet of Truth, who appointed laws, advanced dignities, fixed landmarks for boundaries of domains, parting off the first from its neighbour, (*b*) pilot of mankind, giving content to the whole country, a man of truth,
3. foremost amid the inhabitants of both regions, just and true as (*c*) Thoth, his brother in contenting the regions, leader in all commissions of Pharaoh, supreme in dividing words, putting things in their fit place, treasurer and guardian of the seal, Mentuhotep:
4. princely ruler, overseer of all royal works, administering the orders of the divine cycle, directing the land according to his knowledge (*d*) as the voice of God—he gave protection to the fallen, succour to the needy:
5. he made rival brothers come forth content with what proceeded from his mouth: a scroll of Thoth was on his tongue, exact beyond the perfect index of the balance, brother to the king in (*e*) upholding his name, steadfast







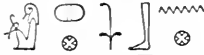


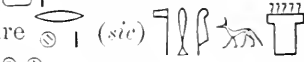
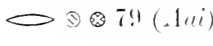



LINE


6. in listening to words even as a god in his hour, skilful in work of his fingers, he fulfilled his office as its guardian, filling the king's heart, foremost in the land, dear to him among the chiefs,
7. powerful in act among the nobles, occupying a seat (*f*) joined to the seat of Horus; (*g*) a man of the single ones (*h*) to his heart's desire (?), governor over the rural domains of the hall; finding the talk of the palace, he knew what was in all hearts.
8. he brought a man into being true; (*i*) finding things wrong he strove to baffle such as spoke not truth, nor walked according to truth (?); steadfast in heart, unrivalled, gracious in listening,
9. (*j*) sage in speech, a noble (*k*) regulating ordinances, honouring the god, foremost of thousands, as beneficent man he knew his name, (*l*) image of truth beloved, void of evil doing;
10. hastening his steps to the courtiers, he defeated traitors to Pharaoh—Auditor in the court of thirty, he put a (*m*) curb on the people of strange lands, quieted the Herusha, stilled
11. the negroes in their (*n*) valleys: powerful in act through both parts of Egypt, supreme in the cities of Aean and Teshert; he issued edicts to the South, apportioned taxes to the North, everyone walked
12. in his light, a pilot to mankind, appointing works, promoting offices, lord of counsel, mighty in love (? effecting his wishes) brother to Pharaoh in the great palace, princely guardian of the seal, Mentuhotep: (*o*) he says—
13. I am a noble, loved of his lord, doing the hests of his god in the course of every day, princely ruler, high priest, superior of every tunic of Horus (*p*) (?); *ses'tu* (?) official to the cabinet, serving the god, head of rural domain, Mentuhotep.
14. Prince in seats reserved, it was spoken according to his voice in the royal hall to silence the courtiers—single to the king, with no peer, he (*q*) upbore truth

LINE

15. into the palace, mighty spokesman of good, single in greatness, giving life to mankind, nobles came to him bowing at the gate
16. of the palace, door of the inner chamber, prophet of Ma, pillar in Teshert, overseer of western lands, chief of nobles of South and North, (*r*) loved by the god, brotherly allied to the god (?) divine servant,
17. superior of mysteries in house of life at Cha Chont (*s*), overseer of the hall of Horus with face uncovered (*t*) (?), great head prophet of the royal grace, attached to Horus himself (?) * * * * *
18. overseer of granaries, of double treasury of gold, overseer of the royal archives in presence, keeper of seal, single superior of mystery of words divine, Mentuhotep. He says,
19. O all ye princes, all emissaries of Pharaoh, all ye powerful in act, every officer of the king, in love to him His Majesty in the temple of this god
20. As ye wish settled state on earth, favours enduring, (the succession of) your children to your seats, (*u*) say words of respect to this tomb in
21. the place of eternity: I was a spirit elect, who knew how to guide his speech (*r*); I know honour in Hades, for seeing my name is recorded as good, I am.
22. near the great god lord of heaven, near the great god lord of Abydos, I initiated the labour in the divine abode, I built his house. I dug the well at the command of my lord Horus.
23. I, princely ruler, keeper of the seal, single overseer of temples, overseer of marshes for sport, overseer of the double storehouse for gold, overseer of the seal, Mentuhotep, son of Asenka, justified.

NOTES.

(a).  is the reading of Mariette and de Rougé alike. This and other titles found here occur also in monuments of earlier date. In Una's tablet we read, lines 4, 12,  lines 4, 9, 13,  de Rougé. "Mon., 6 prem. dyn. 121, sees here the familiar character \odot *sep.* time, and Dr. Birch (RP. 2. 4) conjectures the meaning *scribe for a time*. But Una's text in Mariette, "Abydos," vol. ii, p. 44, gives a different character in lines 9 and 13,  which is confirmed by Brugsch, "Wörterb.," vol. v. p. 391, who explains this as =  χun , *within*, see "Wörterb.," pp. 1094-5. This reading seems also confirmed by Mariette, "Abydos," vol. iii, p. 281 (1844), where.  occurs twice. Lepsius, "Denkm.," ii, 142*d*,  In the inscriptions of the Louvre, edited by Pierret, Et. Eg. 8, several analogous instances occur, p. 5, C. 13,  11 C. 74,  24 (*sans* No.) the first titles of an officer named User are  again 35 C. 176  79 (*Aai*)  108 C. 2  which seem to show that the characters \circ and \odot might be sometimes confounded. Whatever may be its meaning,  as a title of honour lasted many centuries. A tomb not earlier than the Saitic times assigns it to a minister of Amen Ra, named Tetbast Aufan χ .—Mariette, "Abydos," vol. iii, p. 481.

(b). Thus translated by Brugsch, "Wörterb.," vol. v, p. 55. Or the force of  *pilot*; literally, "at the two eyes;" see Brugsch, "Wörterb.," vol. v, p. 73, who refers to Lepsius, "Denkm.," ii. p. 76*e*, where it stands over the head of a man in the ship holding a wand of authority, and p. 116, where it comes twice close to the figure of a ship.



(c). *Tahuti, de Rougé*, which seems preferable to Mariette The phrase literally “dividing words,” is very common; the sense of “judging between opposed statements” seems the most natural explanation.





(d). No variation in Mariette or de Rougé. Brugsch, “*Gesch. Aeg.*” p. 133, renders the words “instructed the land according to the best of his knowledge,” taking apparently for a compound preposition. This form, not known to me, is perhaps to be found elsewhere. I should have rather expected to be a noun.




(e). Mariette, de Rougé, which seems more likely to be right, “do homage, support, protect,” the common meaning: but is which follows, his name? or should the be taken with and with ? The great Antef stèle (Louvre, C. 26, Pierret, “*Et.*” vol. viii, p. 25), has twice the phrase lines 13 and 17, *setting the mind, careful, in hearing*.

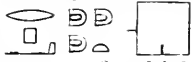






(f). the expression appears to have a kind of prepositional force, conveying the same idea as associated with Pharaoh; explained by de Rougé, “*Mon.*,” p. 58, R.I., 77. We also find Mariette, “*Abydos*,” 3, 165, and if Champollion’s copy, N.D., 2, 386, (*cf.* Lepsius, “*Denkm.*,” ii, 123) is correct.



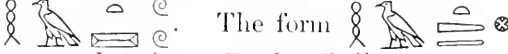

(g). a man of the surpassingly noble, unparagoned, *die einzigen*, as Brugsch, “*Wörterb.*” vol. v, p. 303, rightly explains it. is common with this force, *cf.* l. 14. “the King’s one;” the plural is otherwise unknown to me.



(h). A phrase follows which perplexes me: de Rougé gives . Instead of the first character, Mariette has : the upper part, supplied by de Rougé, was perhaps imperfectly visible in the original.



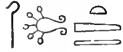


The character is nearly the same as the known determinative of  and other words, meaning *darkness, night*. In Mariette's "Abydos," vol. iii, it occurs repeatedly as denoting an office which both men and women could hold, e.g., p. 336,  and . Again, pp. 143, 192, 201, 313. (In the funereal formula given at pp. 133, (602), it obviously *does* mean . Compare Mariette's "Abydos," vol. ii, p. 22; both monuments belong to the XIIth dynasty.)




If  could be considered equivalent to  (a suggestion which I owe to the kindness of Dr. Birch), the word  *desire*, being well known, we might understand *as his heart desired*.





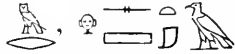

The following words are found also. Lepsius, "Denkm.," ii, p. 129,  with other titles of Nehera-se-*chnumhotep*, one of which resembles our text in the  following  and is repeated in another inscription, Lepsius, "Denkm.," ii, p. 135*h*,  (Stèle of Aikamefert). The character  or  is found often with phonetic , the determinatives vary in shape, but seem alike to denote *a field or ground divided into portions*.







Lepsius, "Denkm.," ii, p. 3, we find  and , again, Lepsius, "Denkm.," 2, 6, . The form  is the name of a city; Lepsius, "Denkm.," ii, p. 28; see Brugsch. "Diet. Geogr.," p. 473; Lepsius, "Denkm.," ii,


p. 94d,  p. 110c,  p. 114a.



 comes twice in a fragmentary inscription. Lepsius, "Denkm.," ii, p. 72a, a like determinative follows the word *sechet*,  Lepsius, "Denkm.," ii, p. 3, has  Br. W.B. 6, 773, regards  as = 


The same combination that occurs in line 13 of our text, , also meets us in other earlier monuments; Lepsius, "Denkm.," ii, p. 3,  Amen, lord of the manor; Lepsius, "Denkm.," ii, p. 27,  also 36c, 39a-b, 43,c, 87; also found in Pierret. Et. 8, p. 8, A 91, and p. 74, B 1.


Both  and  naturally seem to express lordship or superintendence over the domain. The following  while not necessary, may be rendered *over, with regard to*. De Rougé, "Mon.," p. 86; cf. Pierret, "Voc.," p. 370, gives to  the meaning "rural domain," but the way in which it stands first, by itself, corresponding to  &c., seems to show that there are two words, *over the rural domain*—that  denotes not a place, but a personal title.

(i).  A difficult passage, with no difference in the reading between Mariette and de Rougé. Still  seems so hopeless, that I cannot but suppose  should be read, a determinative frequently following  What is ? There is no doubt that *packages, bundles*, is a regular meaning of the word. Brugsch, "Wörterb.," p. 1508; Lepsius, "Denkm.," ii p. 62. Men are pictured carrying bags, with the description above  bringing packages to the scribe by the taskmasters of the workmen. See




Dümichen, "Hist. Inschrif." pp. 17, 12: conquered peoples come  under their burdens, laden with gold, silver, &c., and Dümichen, "Hist. Inschrif.." vol. ii, p. 16—

 But here a different sense seems required, a predicate to  is wanted. It is possible to connect


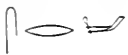
the word with one of similar sound,  Brugsch, 1504, where squeezing or pressure (*stijling*) is a prominent idea. May it here signify *disorganised, entangled, wrong?* One would certainly expect a different determinative with this meaning, but usage in that respect is apt to be capricious. In Pleyte's "Rouleau Magique," containing prescriptions for charming away disease, the word occurs coupled with several other expressions for bodily maladies (page 83).


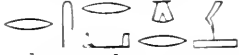

 (cf. Brugsch, vol. vi, p. 502.)

 . Of the words that



follow,  has the meaning *seize, take hold of*, or (mostly with  as determinative) *deceive, deceit*.  may be

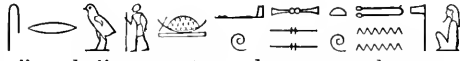


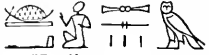


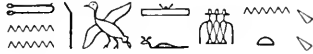
taken as adverbial to  or it may be supposed that the bird is determinative of evil, and  belongs to



what follows. On the first hypothesis  may be held a form of  arrange, put in order, set right, the fraud that spoke not truth, and came not bearing truth. This suggested explanation I owe to the kindness of Dr. Birch.

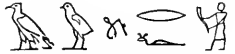


My own hesitating conjecture was, taking  as determinative, to understand  , wakeful to seize, to have captured him who spoke not truth, &c. No doubt  might be expected as determinative, and perhaps this

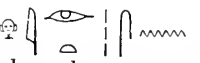


may be an inadmissible guess. I cannot feel confident that the right interpretation is yet discovered. The words given above may vaguely convey the general meaning.




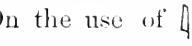

(j). The beginning of this line in Mariette is  in de Rougé, , no doubt this is right.


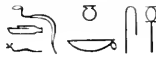
(k).  In Mariette, "Abydos," vol. ii, pp. 24, 7, the same phrase occurs, with the variation  which illustrates the frequent omission of determinatives in these early inscriptions, and shows that  refers to the king. The difficult phrase preceding is found in the lowest line of a long very imperfect inscription, Lepsius, "Denkm.," ii, p. 135h,  and seems also to occur Pierret, "Et." 8. p. 63, C. 170. Comparing the instructive criticisms of Mr. le-Page Renouf, "Zeitschrift," 1872. 91, &c. Brugsch, "Wörterb.," pp. 1597, 1708, vol. v, 290, 441, I can but offer the conjecture that the words, literally, fasten a knot or tie, here mean, regulate, set in regular form, the royal edicts—Cf. Brugsch, "Wörterb.," p. 1600 on  For  see "Wörterb.," p. 1550; it occurs also "Ab.," vol. 2, p. 24, 



(l).  Mariette and de Rougé. The reading  is supplied by the parallel passage, "Ab." vol. ii, p. 24, 8.


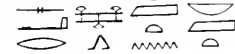

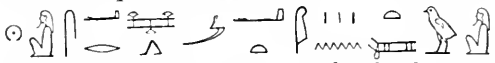

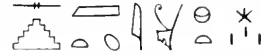


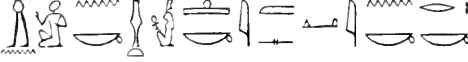
(m).  A word, I believe, unknown hitherto, cf. Brugsch, vol. v, pp. 11, 14, who compares  in the inscription of Antefaa, translated by Dr. Birch in the "Transactions," Vol. IV, p. 191. Compare too  in the great Antef Stèle, l. 18, and Maspero, Rec. Trav. 2, 109, not. 7.







(n). Mariette and de Rougé both  The word *rites, ceremonies* is surely out of place here; must not it be  or  valley or upland? If Brugsch is right, the same word is disguised in this line again,


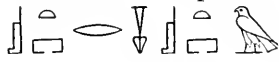





 as he reads it, "Wörterb.," vol. v. p. 172, where it may be observed the character  is used as determinative, in the same way as with  On the use of  for Egypt, see Brugsch, "Dict. Geogr.," p. 1400; for  "Dict. Geogr.," p. 969.

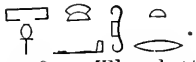

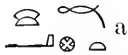

(o). A curious difference is here between Mariette , &c., and de Rougé , which seems undoubtedly right.








(p).  Lepsius, "Denkm.," ii, 135*a* & *b*, among the titles of Tahuthotep has  cf. Chabas, "Mél. Egypt.," 3rd series, vol. ii, p. 109, who translates it, *master of every tunic*, so too χ numhotep, Lepsius "Denkm.," ii, 129. Again in the VIth Dynasty, Una and Pepinex τ have the same title: Mariette, "Abydos.," vol. iii, 90 and 91.


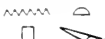
(q).  *sār māt*, uplift or conduct truth, a frequently recurring phrase, both on monumental inscriptions and in the "Book of the Dead," 71, 4,  present truth to the lord of truth, 79, 5,  I uplift truth to you. In Pap. Sall. IV, p. 16, 9 Mechir, 10th, Ra raises up truth to Tum , on which passage Chabas, "Cal.," p. 77, remarks, both gods and kings are often represented holding up as offering to a god the symbol of truth. A remarkable form  is found, Ros., "M. d. Cult.," 40, where the goddess Ma appears walking among other deities, who conduct her to Ra  Tho θ leads the way, whom Ma follows. In a tomb described by Champollion, N.D. 536 and 852, Tho θ presents to the departed spirit  with one hand.  with the other, addressing him  &c.

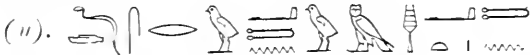



This has suggested to me an explanation, which I propose with diffidence, of a phrase, hitherto translated differently, in the Todtenbuch, C. 15, l. 27,  M. Lefébure, who reproduces here the text of Lepsius, and gives no different reading from the various copies consulted by him, seems not to have regarded the  which appears in very minute characters under  as having a meaning of its own, separate from the name of Thoth; he renders the passage “Je vois Horus avec son rame, Thoth avec ses bras.” M. Pierret, “Voc. Hier.” p. 263, quoting the words, omits , translating “Je vois Horus qui joue de la lyre, Thoth étant avec ses mains.” That the presence of the goddess Ma may not be thus negatived is shown by the inscription of Amenhotep son of Hapu, published by Mariette, “Karnak,” 36, line 23, where in a long passage corresponding to this chapter, we read  thou seest Horus at the (oar(?) tiller-rove(?)), (the difficult word *nefrīt* I will not discuss), Thoth with Ma in his arms or hands, as the words may not unnaturally mean. The same combination appears in a fragmentary inscription given by Dümichen H I. 2, 43b, from Paur's tomb at Thebes, where the phrases that follow likewise recall this passage of the Todtenbuch. I have had no means of consulting other versions of this chapter, but Mr. Le Page Renouf has kindly informed me that as far as he can judge from his inquiries, the goddess Ma is never omitted in this passage. He understands the words in a different sense from that which had occurred to me, referring  to Horus rather than to Thoth, and I will not contest the probability that his view may be perfectly right. By his permission I append his translation, “Thou seest Horus at the helm-rope, Thoth and Maāt being on his two hands,” *i.e.*, “one on the right, and one on the left hand,” or “one on each side of him.”

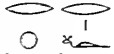
 grant that I may be in the place of the favoured, in the seat joined to the truths; may I unite with Ra. A passage which also illustrates the phrase occurring in line 7 of our inscription  unless  ought to be  (?) "the blissful seat of the truths." On the other hand, should the dual  be coupled with  governed by  ?

(s). . The house of life, or sacred college of $\chi\alpha\chi\text{ont}$ (?). The latter part of this group is known as χont , Nubia; see D.G., 615. Various places beginning with  are given by Brugsch, p. 558, &c., among them  and  North and South Cha, to which a third Cha of Nubia might be added. "Splendour of Nubia" is what the combined characters originally might convey.




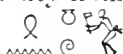
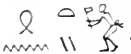

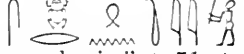
(t).  The word *keft* has the sense uncovered, bare, as is shown by Brugsch, "Wörterb.," p. 1493, from pictures in Seti's tomb; but I know not why it is here joined with the name of Horus, nor am I sure of the following words being rightly translated  divine servant supremely great in royal grace, attached to the very person of the god (lit., joined to the limbs);  more commonly  or  is used for a royal pavilion, for a palm-tree, for grace or favour (see Brugsch, "Wörterb.," pp. 65-7). Is it possible that  can mean the queen? This would suit the immediately following words; see Brugsch, "Wörterb.," 1215, and "Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache," 1871, p. 125, and compare Pierret, "Et. Eg.," 8, 38, 





 words quoted by Brugsch, "Wörterb.," vol. vi, p. 666, referring to a similar title at Meidum, but giving no explanation, nor can I suggest one.  pierce, is given; "Wörterb.," p. 754.

(u).  answers to the common formula  who pass by this tomb, as it stands in Mariette. "Abydos," vol. ii, p. 24, 12. Is this a different notion, *say words of honour, well-wishing*,  being connected with  sacred, reserved, or is it a slip of the engraver?

(v).  knew his mouth, *i.e.*, how to direct it, may perhaps be the true meaning of this expression, which I do not remember to have met with formerly, but find in a text from Abydos lately published by M. Piehl in Z. A. 1881, p. 18, who renders it "sachant de bouche," and given also in the "Recueil de Travaux," vol. iii, pp. 115-16.

POSTSCRIPT.

I take this opportunity of retracting the suspicion expressed in my note at p. 532. Vol. VI. that the words found, Lepsius, "Denkm.," 3. 16, a. 3, may have been not exactly copied: they are confirmed by de Rougé, Ins. 250, being  The first word  must be =  of which several forms are given by Brugsch, "Wörterb.," 914, but this particular one I do not find noticed. "They (Ra and Amen) beat down his foe for him," or "repel calamity from him." Compare Brugsch, "Wörterb.," 1398, on  ,  and "Wörterb.," 5, 255, a phrase quoted from the Prisse Papyrus  "create trouble." Cf. also Chabas, "Égyptologie," 2. 71-2.

On , discussed in note *h*, compare Brugsch, "Wörterb.," Supplement, 356, 831, 878, who cites a plural form, unknown to me before,  (to be read *heruateb* or *hiru*?) This may be compared to , and seems to me in favour of the view that  denotes rather the occupant than the place occupied.

Since note 9 was printed, I have been able to consult two copies of Todtenbuch, *e*, 15, one in the hieratic ritual published by de Rougé, the other in the Leyden papyri, by Leemans; both unmistakably give the name of Ma following that of Thoth.

The two plates in Mariette's Abydos, Vol. 2, 24-5, immediately following the inscription of Mentuhotep, contain the record of Ra-s-hotep-het (or ab), who held high offices under Usertesen III and Amenemha III. In plate 24 especially, very striking parallels occur to the phrases found in our stèle, some of the regular routine character, others rarer and more difficult. Compare the summary notice in Mariette's Abydos, Vol. 3, 183.



THE ASSYRIAN NUMERALS.

By GEORGE BERTIN, M.R.A.S.

Read 2nd March, 1880.

IN this paper I have tried to bring together all that is now known about the Assyrian numerals, comparing them with those of other Semitic dialects, without having in view any special theory, and though I have done my best to make the list as complete as possible, it is to be feared that some forms have been overlooked, but I hope that, notwithstanding any omission, any one taking up the subject will find in this attempt a basis for his researches.

NOTA FOR REFERENCES.—For every *Assyrian* word quoted I indicate the references in the note, so that the reader can easily ascertain it. My authorities are: for *Hebrew*, Gesenius's Hebrew Grammar, edited by Roediger, Andover, 1846, and Dictionary, translated by S. Prideaux Tregelles, London.

For *Arabic*, Palmer's Grammar, London, 1874; for vulgar Arabic, Chaussin de Perceval's Grammaire Arabe, Paris, 1858.

For *Syriac*, Dr. Hoffmann's Grammar, translated by H. Cowper, London, 1858.

For *Sabæan*, M. Halévy's Études Sabéennes, in the Journal Asiatique, 7^e Série, tome I, et seq.

For *Egyptian*, Le Page Renouf's Grammar, London, 1875.

For *Coptic*, H. Tattam's Grammar, London, 1830.

For the *Berberé*, Hanoteau, Grammaire Kabyle, Alger, 1858, and Grammaire Tamachek (Tuareg), Paris, 1860.

For *Æthiopic*, Ludolf's Grammar, Frankfurt, 1702, and Dict., ib., 1699.

For *Ambharic*, Ludolf's Grammar and Dict., Frankfurt, 1698; and for the more modern forms Isenberg's Grammar, 1842.

I.

There are, of course, in Assyrian several words for the cardinal number, *one*, which, as in all other languages, have been taken from various roots, having no connection with one another. The word which seems to have been most used is $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}^1$ *is-tin*, more especially attached to masculine nouns, and, although this word has been the means of explaining the Hebrew word for eleven עֶשְׂרֵי עֶשֶׂר , the root is, nevertheless, still difficult to explain. The form is found written $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}$ or $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}^1$ *is-tin*, and $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}$ *e-is-tin*.² The ideogram with the phonetic complement $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}^3$ *ist-en* also often occurs. With the case ending *u* we find $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}^2$ *is-ta-nu*, $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}^4$ *is-ta-a-nu*, and $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}^2$ *es-ta-a-nu*.

These various forms seem to indicate, 1st, that the ending *in*, or *en* as in the phonetic complement, does not belong to the root; and, 2nd, that the vowel of the second syllable was originally a long *a*.

Professor Sayce has already adopted this view, and saw in this word the root *es*, to which was added a *t*, as in the case of other numerals. In this root I would rather see the same as in the Hebrew אִישׁ used with אֶחָד or רֵעַ for "one . . . another."⁵ The form $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}$ *e-is-tin*, explains the presence of the *y* in Hebrew, though it is not sounded. This root had at first the meaning of "man," or "male-being."

As no Semitic language gives an explanation of the final *n*, or rather the syllable *in*, *en*, or *an*, we must, I think, turn to the Akkadian, the tongue of the inventors of the cuneiform characters, and civilisers of Chaldea.

¹ Trans. S.B.A., Vol. V, Part 1, p. 17. Trilingual Inscription of Van.

² This has been found by Professor Sayce, who kindly communicated it to me.

³ Beh. Inscr. l. 12; W.A.I. IV, 31, col. 1, l. 42, and col. 2, l. 39; Smith's Sen. 34 and 39, etc.

⁴ W.A.I. IV, 16, col. 1, l. 8.

⁵ Gesenius's Dict., *sub voc.* אִישׁ p. 40, *b*.

weakened into *i*, as in Arabic احدى^١ The medial vowel also being weakened, and the *d* assimilated to the final *t*, or dropped, as in Hebrew אהי^٢ would give אהי-ת, and as with the case ending the medial vowel is dropped, we should have אהי-תו in place of אהי-תו.^٢

The Hebrew אהי gives us אה, which has been considered a shortened form of אהי,^٣ but which appears to me, on the contrary, to show the primitive form of the root for "one," the א being prosthetic. We have in the same way in Hebrew ארבע, in Arabic اربع^٤ and اثنان^٤, which lose the prosthetic vowel to form the ordinal numbers. This אה may therefore be considered as the primitive root-form; the variant just mentioned אה אה אה אה hadat, for אה אה אה אה ahadat, gives us the short form as in Hebrew, and recalls at once the root qat (hand).^٤

We find the root *id* or *ed* in אה אה^٥ e-du, "one," with the meaning of *solus*, "by oneself," אה אה אה אה^٦ e-du-u, "first," and the adverb אה אה^٧ e-dis. This root *id* or *ed* is considered by most Assyriologists to have been borrowed from the Akkadian, though we find it in all other Semitic tongues (Heb. א, Syriac א, Eth. አድ, Arabic ايد). In the Semitic tongues this root seems to have carried the idea of "hand," "strength," and we find it with this meaning in Assyrian.^٨ The word *id* or *ed* may have existed independently in Akkadian and in other Semitic tongues, and it is not

¹ What also happened in Ethiopic አሐቲ *ahati*. The Amharic gives a decayed form አኒድ and አኒድ

² Given by M. Ménant and Professor Sayce. But I have never found these forms myself.

³ Gesenius's Dict., p. 261a.

⁴ Compare also אה אה אה אה *a-ha-an-na-a*, "to the other side" (Smith's Sennacherib, 97), and אה אה אה אה *a-na a-ha-mis*, "to each other" (Smith's Sen., 128).

⁵ Smith's Sen., 34.

⁶ Smith's Sen., 93.

⁷ Smith's Sen., 74, 77, 129, etc.

⁸ In Smith's Sen. אה אה אה *i-da*, followed with a suffix, pp. 116 and 123, W.A.L. 69, 17. אה אה אה *e-dis-su*, "alone."

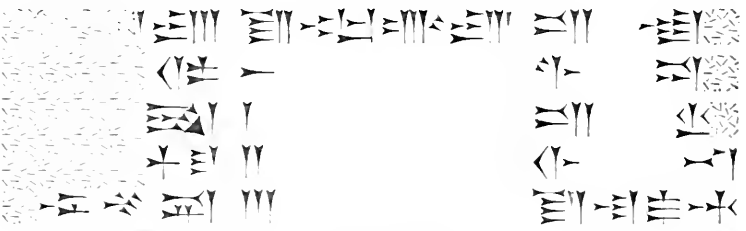
necessary to suppose that it passed from one tongue into the others.¹

In Assyrian, as in Hebrew, the root *ris* "head" has been adopted. We have ² *ris-tu-a-nu* "first," with also the meaning of "eldest son," "the first born"; again ³ *ris-tu-u* is also translated by "eldest."

Another word, much more generally used for "first," is ⁴ *mah-ru-u*, often written ⁵ *mah-ri-e*, or ⁶ *mah-ri-i*, or ⁷ *mah-ro-a*, with a plural masculine ⁸ *mah-ru-ti*.

Many examples of the feminine form ⁹ *mah-ri-ti* are found. This word means "former" rather than "first," being the adjective derived from the root MĤR ¹⁰ *maharu*, or ¹⁰ *ma-har*, "presence"; and we have accordingly ¹¹ *a-di mah-ri-ya*, "to my presence" ¹² *mah-ri* "before me." ¹³ *ma-hu-ar-su*, "before him"; also ¹⁴ *mi-hi-ir-ti-su-nu*, "their front."

I must here notice a very interesting fragment in the British Museum,¹⁵ No. K. 4604, to which Mr. Sayce has called my attention:—



¹ I came to this conclusion before reading the paper of M. Lenormant, S.B.A. Vol. VI. part 2, who takes this view.

² Given by M. Ménant and Professor Sayce; *ris*, has also the meaning of "beginning." Smith's Sen., 24.

³ Smith's Sen., 31.

⁴ Smith's Sen., 57.

⁵ Smith's Sen., 71.

⁷ Smith's Sen., 32.

⁷ Smith's Sen., 40.

⁸ Smith's Sen., 40 and 82.

⁹ Smith's Sen., 63, 117, 143, &c.

¹⁰ W.A.L. IV., 14. l. 14 and 16.

¹¹ Smith's Sen., 65.

¹² Smith's Sen., 141.

¹³ Smith's Sen., 11 and 63.

¹⁴ Smith's Sen., 94.

¹⁵ Now published, W.A.L. V. 12.

This tablet seems to give in the left column the Sumerian words, and in the right the Assyrian, and in the middle column, as usual, the Akkadian ideograms. The first line of the Assyrian (*ist*, with the final *u*) Mr. Pinches has restored $\text{𐎠𐎵} \text{ 𐎠𐎶} \text{ 𐎠𐎶}$ *is-tu-u*; the Sumerian is unfortunately broken, and the expression which takes the place of the ideogram is obscure. The second line gives a new expression *pi-du* (perhaps *pi-du-u*), which would belong to the unused root פדר “to cut,” “to divide.” The numbers being a means of distinguishing and of classifying, we have in Hebrew פְּדוּת “separation,” with a meaning of separating the good from the bad. Or it might be connected to פתח “to open,” פִּי- $\text{𐎠𐎶} \text{ 𐎠𐎶} \text{ 𐎠𐎶}$ *pituu*, from which was developed the meaning of “what is exposed, comes forward,” פִּי: $\text{𐎠𐎶} \text{ 𐎠𐎶}$ ¹ *pa-ad*, “in front of,” פִּי $\text{𐎠𐎶} \text{ 𐎠𐎶}$ 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶 ² *ana pite*, “in front”; this word might then be related to the Egyptian *api*, “first,” 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶 .

II.

The root chosen for the numeral “two” is singularly alike in various Semitic tongues. The tablet above mentioned gives us $\text{𐎠𐎶} \text{ 𐎠𐎶}$,³ *si-na*, which is also found in the texts.

We have in Hebrew שְׁנַיִם, Syriac ܫܢܝܝܢ, Chaldaic ܫܢܝܝܢ, Arabic اثنان, Sab. 𐩦𐩣𐩪. It has suffered less change in the Hamitic tongues: Egyptian 𓂏 *sen* 𓂏 ,⁴ Coptic 𐩪𐩣𐩪, Berbere *sin* and *sen*, in Touareg sometimes *essin*, and a curious double feminine *senatet*.

In Assyrian, besides *sina*, there is $\text{𐎶} \text{ 𐎠𐎶} \text{ 𐎠𐎶}$ ⁵ *sa-ni-e* written ideographically, with a phonetic complement $\text{𐎠𐎶} \text{ 𐎠𐎶}$,⁶

¹ Smith's *Sen.*, p. 87.

² Smith's *Sen.*, p. 121. In the group $\text{𐎠𐎶} \text{ 𐎠𐎶}$ the first character might, however, be read *a*, *adu* would then be a variant for *edu*, but the value of *a* for 𐎠𐎶 is rare.

³ W.A.I. IV, pl. 2, col. 5, l. 59, and pl. 7, col. 1, l. 21, and pl. 22, l. 53, etc.

⁴ De Rougé's *Chrest.*

⁵ One of the first forms known. See Oppert's, Ménant's, Sayce's Grammars.

⁶ Smith's *Sen.*, 43, and without the phonetic complement; do. 132, W.A.I. IV, 31, gives it twice written $\text{𐎠𐎶} \text{ 𐎠𐎶}$.

with an emphatic plural, as in Hebrew and Arabic. Mr. Sayce has also found *sinu*, and the feminine form *sanut*.

Though philologists might be inclined to see in this root the plural of the root *es*, "one," I think it is more likely to be associated with the root¹ שָׁרַף or שָׁרַף, evidently related to שָׁרַף and שָׁרַף² (divide, make in lots).³

In Assyrian we have a derivative 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *la-sa-na-an* (unequalled), often used as qualificative for the kings of Assyria and the gods.

III.

As shown by the same tablet, we have for "three" the same root as in Hebrew שָׁלַשׁ. In the Assyrian 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *sal-si*, the root appears without the final *t*; also in the ordinal number 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵,⁴ *sal-su*. The proper form would be 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *sa-la-us-ti*; but, as according to the laws of the Assyrian tongue, *s* before *t* became *l*, we have also 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵⁵ *se-lal-ti*, (the philological tablet naturally gave the form without the change.) It is worthy of notice that the vowel of the first syllable is here *e* instead of *a*.⁶

This root was either chosen for "three" at a later period, or has undergone such changes that it is difficult to detect in some dialects; but it is more evident in the nearer dialects.

¹ Gesenius (Gr. p. 184) says that this etymology is clear; for the relation of שָׁרַף and שָׁרַף Gesenius admits it in the same passage of his grammar. The verbal form of this root is found (W.A.I. II, 39, 9) written 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *su-un-nu*.


² We have in Egyptian 𐎶𐎵 *nem* for "second," used especially as adverb *iterum*.


³ Accordingly *sanitu* or *saniti* indicate repetition; *sanitū salsi*, "three times." Bih. I. 51, written 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *sa-ni-tū III*.

⁴ W.A.I. IV, 5, l. 18.







⁵ W.A.I. IV, 5, l. 64, and 15, l. 7, 8. We have also a verb 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *sa-la-su*, "to repeat three times," W.A.I. II, 39, l. 10, written there 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *sal-lis* (imperative Pael).

⁶ The form which seems to have been most in use is 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *sal-si* (Smith's Sen., 53). We have the ideogram with a phonetic complement 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, noted in Norris A. D., and 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, W.A.I. IV, 31. It must be remembered that the forms of the numeral with the servile *t* are in Assyrian, as in other Semitic tongues, used for the masculine from three to ten.

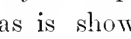
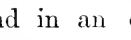
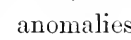
Aram. ܠܗܠܗ in Sab. 818, and in Arabic ثلاث. But in Eth. ለሠላሴ, Amharic ስላሳ, Egyptian  *χemet*, Coptic Ⲙⲟⲩⲉⲧ. Tuareg *kerad*, and Beni Mzab dialect *shared*.

If *salus* be an abbreviation for *sal-sal*, a root reduplicated for emphasis, as proposed by Prof. Sayce,¹ we should have the root , meaning "what comes after."

IV.

Arbā  "four." The ideogram  seems to have been used sometimes for *arba*, as in the compounds   *arba-ilu*, "the city of Arbela, in Akkadian  "the four winds" (in Assyrian *sāri irbitti*), and  "four-footed animal" (in Assyrian *sa irba sepā-su*).

The initial *a*, though it appears in Hebrew ארבע and Arabic أربع does not belong to the root, as is seen by the fact that it disappears in the ordinal form.⁶

The Assyrians appear to have endeavoured to express the letter *y*, as is shown in the form  *arba-h*, and in an old inscription  *arba-im*, where, as only seldom happens, the vowel *a* is retained before *i*. Mr. Sayce has also found *irbaim* on a fragment of Babylonian brick. The prosthetic *a* is there weakened into *i*, as often happens. The feminine form offers the same anomalies. We have 


¹ In his Comparative Assyrian Grammar.

² Smith's Sen., p. 141; Ménant's Sargon.

³ W.A.I. II, 70, in bilingual legends.

⁴ W.A.I. IV, 19, l. 7.

⁵ Unpublished tablet in the Brit. Mus., Rm. 110.

⁶ The prosthetic letter disappears also in Assyrian  "fourth." With initial *i* is the form exclusively used to derive the number "forty." See also Gesenius's Diet, *sub voc.*

⁷ W.A.I. I, 3, No. 7, l. 5.

⁸ Black Obelisk, l. 16.

arbata, and $\overline{\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶}} \approx \overline{\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶}} \text{ 𐎶𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶} \text{ 𐎶}$ *irbitti*¹, which is written for *ir-bi-tu*.² and, without the case-ending. $\overline{\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶}} \approx \overline{\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶}}$ ³ *ir-bit*.

We have seen that the initial vowel does not belong to the root, and as we find the root *rab* in all the Semitic tongues, with the meaning of "great," in Assyrian *rabu*, "great," *rabbu*, "giant,"⁴ it is likely that the word for "four" in the Semitic tongues comes from this root. In Hebrew רַב "much," from רַבַּר "to be increased," רַבְרַב "to be multiplied," Chaldean רַב "greatness," etc.

This root seems to have been adopted at a later period, for it is only found in strictly Semitic tongues.⁵

In Amharic it became $\lambda\zeta\theta\dot{\tau}$, but seems to have borrowed the $\lambda\alpha\dot{\tau}$ from the Egyptian $\overline{\text{𓂏𓂏}} \text{ 𓂏}$ *ajt*, $\overline{\text{𓂏𓂏}} \text{ 𓂏}$ *ajtu*, and $\overline{\text{𓂏𓂏}} \text{ 𓂏}$ *jtū*, Coptic ϣϥⲟ or ϣϥⲉ . The Berbere *okkoz* stands alone.

We have the ideogram with a phonetic complement thus $\overline{\text{𐎶}} \approx \overline{\text{𐎶}}$ ⁶ and $\overline{\text{𐎶}} \approx \overline{\text{𐎶}}$ ⁷

The oldest Ethiopic form is without the prosthetic *a* $\zeta\theta\dot{\tau}$ and $\alpha\theta\dot{\tau}$. It is later that it appeared as $\lambda\zeta\theta\dot{\tau}$ (the form used with the feminine).

V.

The word for five is remarkably similar in nearly all the Semitic tongues. In Hebrew חָמֵשׁ , in Arabic خَمْس , etc., in Amharic the *h* is weakened $\lambda\varphi\eta\dot{\tau}$, in Falasha it becomes *angu*.⁸

¹ W.A.I. I, 19, l. 8; Trans. of S.B.A., Vol. V, p. 5.

² Very often the feminine form is written $\approx \text{𐎶𐎶𐎶}$ *irbit-ti*, Smith's Sen., p. 3, 5, 7, etc.; W.A.I. II, 57, l. 1.

³ Trans. S.B.A., Vol. V, Part 2, page 8.

⁴ רַבְרַב is also the name of a giant, Jos-h. 14-15, etc.

⁵ Syr. ܪܒܐ Sab. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 Arabic أربع

⁶ Smith's Sen., 73.

⁷ W.A.I. IV, 31, cols. 1 & 2.

⁸ In Ethiopic ኣንግ ; In Sab. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 ; in Syriae ܪܒܐ .

The Egyptian 𓆎 or \star *tua*,¹ and Coptic ⲧⲓⲟⲩ , differ, however, though in Berbere we have *semmus* and *semmes*.

In Assyrian the root was as in Hebrew *hms*. We have 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎢𐎽 ² *ha-mil-ti* (*s* becoming *l* before *t*) and with the *m* weakened into *n* 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎢𐎽 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎢𐎽 ³ *ha-an-sa-ti*.

The early use of this root *hms* for five shows that its meaning must have been independent of the numeral, and we find⁴ this to be proved by comparing it with קַפִּי “fist”⁵ (representing the hand with the five fingers). The interchange of *h* and *k* in the Semitic tongues is not rare:—
 קַטַּב “to cut wood,” קָטַב “to cut,” קָלַשׁ “to prostrate,” “to vanquish,” קָלַם “to scorn,” קָבַר “to open,” בִּקַּר “to inspect,” בִּקַּר “to inquire,” “to inspect,” and בִּחַר “to try,” “to examine,” “to search,” בִּחַר . The interchange of *h* and *k* is well known.

The ideogram for “five” is written without a phonetic complement 𐎶𐎵 ,⁶ or with a repetition of the last syllable, we have 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *hamsu*.⁷

VI.

Although for the numeral “six” we find the root *ss* used in all the Semitic and Hamatic tongues, it has been one of the most puzzling words to philologists, and they have even tried to seek its origin in the Aryan tongues, comparing the Hebrew שֵׁשׁ with the Sansc. *shash*, the Zend *qsuas*, the Greek ἕξ the Latin *sex*.⁸

This root, however, appears to me to be purely Semitic,

¹ Dr. S. Birch says that the word *tua* (five) can be traced to the Egyptian word for “hand.”

² W.A.I. III, 62, l. 51.

³ W.A.I. II, 14, l. 21.


⁴ Gesenius's Gr., p. 184. He adds that this derivation offers no doubt.

⁵ In Egyptian a cognate word 𓆎 𓆎 *hati* means “first.” It seems to be our word “hand” taken as unit.

⁶ Smith's Sen., 79.

⁷ In W.A.I. IV, 31, twice it occurs.

⁸ Gesenius says (Gram. p. 184) “that at first sight there seems to be a connection between Aryan and Semitic numerals from 1 to 7, but a strenuous analysis makes all these phenomena doubtful.”

and one of the most ancient. In Egyptian $\parallel\parallel$ *sas*, or *ss*¹, becomes at a later period \times  *suu*, hence the Coptic $\text{COO}\tau$ but in Coptic the complete root re-appears in "seven" $\text{C}\Psi\text{C}\Psi$ *i.e.* 6+1. In Hebrew we have שׁוּשׁ (notice that in the feminine form the שׁ is doubled (שׁשׁוּה) as in the ordinal number שׁשׁוּי

In Syriac ܫܘܫܘܢܐ has the *shin* weakened into *taf*, as in Arabic, where the س is doubled (سست) The Arabic gives for the ordinal numeral the form سادس which is most curiously found in Assyrian without the final *s* $\text{S}\Psi\Psi$ $\text{S}\Psi\Psi$ ² *su-du*, "one sixth," and with the *s* in Ethiopic ሥድስ ³ A similar form is found in Sabean $\text{S}\Psi\Psi$ *sdt*; the Aram. שׁשׁוּת is like the Arabic. Strangely enough, this form is also found in the Tonareg *sedis*,⁴ "five." The Beni-Mazab dialect gives *sez*, feminine *sesset*.

In Assyrian we have $\text{S}\Psi$ - $\text{S}\Psi\Psi$ ⁵ *si-is*; and though the forms $\text{S}\Psi$ - $\text{S}\Psi$ *si-su* and $\text{S}\Psi$ - $\text{S}\Psi$ $\text{S}\Psi\Psi$ ⁶ *si-sa-tu* occur, the ordinal form $\text{S}\Psi\Psi\Psi$ $\text{S}\Psi\Psi$ ⁷ *sis-su* shows that the sound *s* was doubled, as in Hebrew.⁸ The double letters were often written in the simple form in the inscriptions, for example $\text{S}\Psi\Psi$ $\text{S}\Psi$ *su-us-su*, and $\text{S}\Psi$ $\text{S}\Psi$ *su-su*, for 60, or the *soos*.

Several philologists have thought that the etymology of this word was to be obtained through the form *sadis*, in which

¹ This form has been doubted by De Rougé, but Goodwin (Z. d. A. S., 1867, p. 100) notices that traces are found in the Coptic $\text{C}\Psi\text{C}\Psi$ found in composition $\text{C}\Psi\text{C}\Psi$ - $\text{C}\Psi\text{C}\Psi$ for 76.

² Trans. of the A.S., vol. xv, p. 220, and Sayce's A. Gram., p. 56.

³ The form ሥድስ , which existed in old Ethiopic, is considered as a contracted form, but it might be the primitive, the other would have been formed by inserting a *t* or *d*, to keep the triliteral harmony of the numeral, or to particularize the form for the numeral. Though in Sabaean, related to Arabic and Ethiopic, we have $\text{S}\Psi\Psi$

⁴ The primitive root re-appears, as in Coptic, for 7, *essaa*, *i.e.* 6+1.

⁵ Ménant's Grammar.

⁶ Sayce's and Ménant's Grammar.

⁷ W.A.I. IV, 5, 24.

⁸ The ideogram appears without phonetic complement (Smith's Sen., 89 and 99); but the phonetic complement in W.A.I. IV, 31, $\text{S}\Psi\Psi$ $\text{S}\Psi$ shows that the *s* is doubled.

they saw an abbreviation of *sad-sad* for *sal-sal*, that is, 3 + 3; but as we have seen the form *salas* is to be explained by a reduplication, and it is not likely that *sal-sal* would have given *salas* for "three," and *sadis* for "six." *Sadis* seems to be a decayed form, all the stages of which can be traced in the different Semitic dialects.

The five first numerals which have been here analysed show beyond doubt that they were derived from a system of reckoning by the fingers, as is commonly found amongst all primitive people. We have for "one" *had*, "the hand"; for "two" *sin*, "double" (*i.e.*, repetition); for "three" *salas*, "after," "what comes after"; for "four" *rabā*, "great"; for "five" *hamis*, "the fist," that is the whole hand, or the sum of five fingers. After "five" it was necessary to pass to the other hand. We can therefore compare without difficulty the root שׁוּ with אֲשֵׁר¹ "the other." In Hebrew the meaning of the word is evident, and we find אֲשֵׁר . . . אֲשֵׁר. This word meant primitively "a living being," "somebody," and afterwards by extension "man" and "woman." It is even often used with the meaning of "another" and "the other" for inanimate objects. (*See Gesenius' Dict.*)

In this study I have only referred once or twice to the modern dialects of Abyssinia. I should not have mentioned them at all if it had not been for the fact that we find in these dialects remnants of forms which have long disappeared from the other Semitic tongues. A short study by M. A. d'Abbadie² affords materials for comparison. He gives the numerals in eleven different dialects: Kamtiga,³ Agaw, Yamma, Naha, She, Doqua, Gazamba, Dawrawa,⁴ Kaffa, Gongga, and Bija. These dialects are naturally enough much influenced by the neighbouring tongues, and therefore account must be taken of this influence, so if we find in Kamtiga *arba* for forty, while

¹ This word has been wrongly considered as a feminine form for אֲשֵׁר. There seem to have existed two distinct words in Hebrew, which were afterwards confounded.

² "Notice sur les Langues de Kam." in *Actes de la Société Philologique*, t. 1, p. 67, *et seq.* M. d'Abbadie has lived in this part of Africa for some years.

³ The Waag of Dr. Latham.

⁴ The Wratta of Dr. Latham.

four is *sits*, we must look to *arba* as a later Arabic introduction: but when we find the word to be the same here as in early Semitic tongues, though it has already disappeared in Arabic, we may fairly conclude that we have the remains of the primitive root word. It may therefore be said that the Abyssinian dialects present all the various forms, from the earliest to the latest, in the various dialectic changes mentioned for the numeral "one."

In Yamma we have *iso* for "one," in Naha *isiq*, where the *ig* is a formative termination; the *t* of the Assyrian appears in the Dawrowa, *ista*. M. d'Abbadie notices that the numerals are found in series of five. The same is the case in the Semitic tongues, and in this we find another proof of the truth of what has been said above of the origin of the number "six." So in the Yamma *issun*, *n* being formative suffix, brings to mind the Semitic primitive root for six *SS*. To some of these dialects of Abyssinia the second set of five numerals is formed by adding a word to the first five; so that, in Agaw, added to *laga*, "two," becomes *lagta*, "seven"; *Soqa*, "three"; *šoqota*, "eight." This enables us to discover that the primitive word for one, although it may have disappeared as a single numeral, has been retained in composition for "six," as is the case with *izi-pina* in Doqua, *usu-puna* in Dawrowa, *asa-gur* in Bija. In the last dialect the numeral "one" is now *gel*, so the original word for "one," *asa* has been retained in formation. The second series of five, I think, follow exactly the same process found in Assyrian, as may be seen in the words, in Bija, *asa-ramab*, for 7, *asi-mhayb*, 8, *aš-aleq*, 9. The suffix *gur* may be a form of *gel*, and *ramab*, *mhayb* *aleq* being derived from the numerals for 2, 3, and 4, and *asa*, having the meaning of "the other," we have, as in Assyrian, "the other one," "the other two," etc., which would be exactly the same process employed in the other tongues of the Semitico-Hamitic family.

VII.

This number seven, being a sacred number, occurs very often in bilingual mythological texts. Amongst many others may be mentioned the tablet of the "Seven Evil Spirits."¹

¹ W.A.L. IV, 5 & 6.

The shorter form is $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{ 𐎶𐎵}^1$ *ši-ba*, and $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{ 𐎶}^2$ *si-bi*. The primitive form, with the addition of the *t* used for the masculine, occurs oftener. We have $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{ 𐎶𐎶𐎶}^3$ *ši-bit*, and with a suffix $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{ 𐎶𐎶𐎶} \text{ 𐎶𐎶}^4$ *ši-bit-ti*, no doubt for *si-bī-ti*, or *si-bī'-ti*, the *t* being doubled to express that the vowel is long, as is shown by the ideograph with a phonetic complement $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{ 𐎶}^5$ and $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{ 𐎶}^6$, and the ordinal form $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{ 𐎶𐎶} \text{ 𐎶}^7$ *ši-bu-u*.

As Prof. Sayce has noticed,⁸ the *š* in *šiba*, and in *šamma*, "eight," is the remnant of *sis* "six,"⁹ and *ba*, an abbreviation for *ra-bā* 𐎶𐎵 ; in the numeral *šiba* "seven" we have, therefore, "six extended," or "great six."

This derivation is, I think, clearly shown in Egyptian $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{ 𐎶}$ *sexeť*, and still more in Coptic ⲄⲁⲄⲉⲧ , as noticed before. The same process has been used amongst the Berberes *sa-a*, Touarez *essa-a*. In all the Hamitic tongues 6+1 is used for seven.

The pure Semitic tongues have followed the same process as the Assyrians, and give for the numeral seven, "great six," with the identical forms: Heb. שבע , Syriac ܫܒܥ , Arabic سبع , Eth. ሥባ , etc.

VIII.

For "eight" $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶} \text{ 𐎶𐎵}^1$ *šam-na*, and $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶} \text{ 𐎶𐎶} \text{ 𐎶}^2$ *šū-nu-nu*, the same process is followed, and we have 6 + 2.¹¹ It has been found out already that the root *nem* and *men*¹² is

¹ W.A.I. II, 19, col. 2, l. 14 & 66. M. Ménant gives also $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{ 𐎶}$ *si-ba*.

² W.A.I. IV, 26, 50.

³ W.A.I. IV, 1, col. 3, l. 14, *et seq.*

⁴ W.A.I. IV, 5, col. 1, 71, etc.

⁵ Smith's *Scn.*, 106.

⁶ W.A.I. IV, 31, l. 45.

⁷ W.A.I. IV, 5, l. 20.

⁸ In his *Assyr. Comp. Grammar*.

⁹ We have already seen that *sas* in Egyptian became *suu*.

¹⁰ Given by M. Ménant. Prof. Sayce gives *šam-na*, but $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶} \text{ 𐎶𐎶} \text{ 𐎶}$ *šū-ma-nu*, for 𐎶 .

¹¹ This etymology is the one given by Prof. Sayce.

¹² Beside *nem* "second" in Egyptian, we have in Amharic ሥካር .

used for "two." The Coptic $\alpha\mu\epsilon\epsilon\eta\eta$ or $\alpha\mu\epsilon\epsilon\omicron\eta\eta$ is again of assistance, as it appears to be very near the Assyrian. In the Egyptian $\text{𓆎} \text{Ⲫ}$ χ *mennu*¹ the *s* became χ , and in the Berbere it becomes *t*, Touareg *ettam*, Beni-Mzab *tam*.

Again, in the other Semitic tongues the forms are identical with the Assyrian: Heb. שְׁנַיִם , Syr. ܠܡܢܐ , Arabic ثمان , Eth. ሰዎን , Ahm. ሰዎንተ , Sab. 𐩦𐩣𐩪 .

IX.

The number "nine" has only recently been found in the Assyrian texts, but has long ago been restored *tisu* or *tisit*. Mr. Pinches had kindly communicated to me an unpublished bilingual fragment² in which the ideograph 𐎶𐎶𐎶 is found translated $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶} \text{ti-sit}$; we should have therefore for the form without the final *t*, *tis* or *tisa*, which exactly corresponds with the Hebrew תשע , the Syriac ܠܘܥ , the Arabic تسع ; the Amharic ዘሐጠኝ ³ differs.

Professor Sayce proposed 10-1 as the etymology of תשע , regarding שע as the remnant of עשר .

The Egyptian gives *patu*, and at a later period Ⲡ or Ⲡ *pset*, hence the Coptic ϥⲓⲧ and ϥⲓϥ . This root *pat* might be compared with פתת ⁴ "to divide," "to break in pieces" פת "bit" פֶּת "space." It would then mean the furthest division of the fingers, *i.e.*, "nine." I give this explanation only as a suggestion.

The Berbere dialects come nearer to the Assyrian: Touareg, *tezzaa*, Beni Mzab *tes*, feminine *tesset*.

¹ $\text{𐎶𐎶} \text{Ⲫ} \text{Ⲙ} \text{𐎶𐎶}$ *sesennu* is also found (de Rongé's Chrest.); in that case we have clearly *su 6 + sen 2*.

² British Museum, S. 699.

³ This seems to be a later decay, or a foreign introduction, as we have in Ethiopic ተሰዐ , in Sabaean 𐩦𐩣𐩪 .

⁴ We have seen before that this root seems to exist in Assyrian in the word $\text{𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶}$ *pi-du*, which translate the ideograph 𐎶 (p. 6).

X.

The number "ten" was in Assyrian *esru*, as in Hebrew עשר, in Syriac ܕܫܪ, in Arabic عَشْر, and has been derived from the root אָסַר "to unite together," representing the two hands, *i.e.* the ten fingers.¹ This new word might be the origin of the root עָשַׂר meaning "to be rich."

In Assyrian we have only this word, with the final *t*, which has been retained even in the compound numerals <<< 𐎶𐎶𐎶² *es-rit*, written also 𐎶𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎶³ *e-se-rit*, no doubt to represent the *y* distinctly.⁴

The Hamitic tongues have chosen another root, *me*, "many, a great number," which the pure Semites took for 100. We have in Egyptian 𓄏 *met*, in Coptic 𐌪𐌸𐌳 and 𐌪𐌸𐌳, in Berbere *meraou*.

XI.

In the compound numbers formed with ten and the units, the Assyrians, like the Hebrews and the Arabs, placed the units before the ten, as is shown by the reading 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎶⁵ *ha-mis-se-rit*, for *hamis-eserit*, 5 + 10, and 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 <<< 𐎶𐎶⁶ *is-tin-es-rit*, 1 + 10.⁶ We have here the explanation of the character for eleven, found in the so-much-discussed tablet of Cambyses. As Mr. Pinches has noticed in his paper, the tablets were written under dictation. When the dictator said *esten-esrit*, the scribe wrote first 𐎶 *esten*, and, having no room for < *esrit*, he was obliged to put the latter nearly over the former, thus, 𐎶𐎶.

The numerals 12, 13, 14, and 16 to 19, have not yet been found in the Inscriptions.

¹ Gesenius's Grammar, p. 184, "clear etymology." See also Gesenius's Dict.

² Given by Ménant, and in composition, Trans. S.B.A., Vol. V, Part I, page 17.

³ W.A.I. III, 62, l. 50.

⁴ Hincks gave *is-ri-ti* for 10, "tenthly," in the Literary Gazette, April, 1854.

⁵ W.A.I. II, 62, l. 49.

⁶ Trans. S.B.A., Vol. V, Part I, p. 17.

XII.

In the case of the numerals above nineteen, the Assyrians followed exactly the same formation as the Hebrews and the Arabs.

Twenty is the dual of ten $\lll \equiv \equiv \parallel \parallel \parallel$ ¹ *es-ra-a*, which gives the primitive form *esru* for "ten." After twenty they are formed from the units.

Thirty is $\simeq \rightarrow \equiv \parallel \nabla \parallel \parallel$ ² *se-la-su-a*.

Forty is $\equiv \equiv \equiv \rightarrow \rightarrow \parallel \nabla \rightarrow \rightarrow \parallel \equiv \equiv \parallel \parallel$ ³ *ir-ba-h-ya*, with a variant $\equiv \equiv \equiv \rightarrow \rightarrow \parallel \parallel$ *ir-ba-a*.

Fifty is $\parallel \parallel \lll \rightarrow \rightarrow \parallel \nabla \parallel \parallel$ ⁴ *ha-an-su-a*.

For sixty the *sošs* was used, and we find $\equiv \parallel \equiv \parallel \parallel \parallel$ ⁵ *su-us-su*, with a variant $\equiv \parallel \equiv \parallel \parallel \simeq$ *su-us-se*. The *sošs* is, however, constantly written with a single *s*.⁶ The next paragraph of the tablet already mentioned (K. 4604), gives for the single \parallel in the Assyrian column $\parallel \equiv \parallel \lll$ 1 *su-si*; for $\parallel \parallel$ it gives $\parallel \parallel \equiv \parallel \lll$ 2 *su-si*. A similar arrangement is given for 3, 4, where the tablet is broken.

The sexagesimal system, which may be of Akkadian origin, has caused much confusion in the use of the units and the tens.

The numerals 70, 80, and 90, although never found, have been restored thus:—

"Seventy," *šibaa* or *sibaa*.

"Eighty," *šammaa* or *sumnaa*.

"Ninety," *tisaa*.

For seventy, M. Ménéant gives $\lll \rightarrow \rightarrow \parallel \equiv \parallel \parallel$ *si-ib-ba-a*.⁷

¹ W.A.I. II, 62, l. 48.

² W.A.I. II, 62, l. 47. We have already seen *e* in the first syllable in *selatti*.

³ W.A.I. II, 62, l. 46.

⁴ W.A.I. II, 62, l. 45.

⁵ W.A.I. II, 62, l. 44. M. Ménéant gives also $\lll \rightarrow \nabla \parallel \parallel$ *si-sa-a*.

⁶ It occurs in many inscriptions; in the one of Tiglath Pileser I, W.A.I. I, 9-11, amongst many.

⁷ Gram. Assyr. (ed. 1868), p. 92. But this seems to be a verbal form analogous to *šamma* and *sullis*, and perhaps meant "to do seven times," but as the reference to the text is not given, it cannot be verified.

XIII.

The sign Υ , which is the ideogram for 100, has also the phonetic value of *mā*, "hundred," in Assyrian. This has suggested that the Assyrian word for "hundred" might have been borrowed from the Akkadians; but we have in Hebrew מֵאָה , in Syriac ܡܝܐ , in Arabic مِائَة , or مِئَة . The final ה in Hebrew, and ة in Arabic, indicate a *t*; I therefore think that this numeral is connected with the root *mat* or *mad*, which is found in Hebrew מַד as a substantive "strength," and as an adverb "very," "greatly."

In Assyrian 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 *ma-at-tū*, "great," and 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 *ma-h-du-tū* "many," which is one of the readings of Υ ,¹ a sign of the plural, and of Υ .²

In Egyptian we find the same root used for "ten," *met*, and in Coptic ⲙⲉⲧ or ⲙⲉⲧⲧ is "ten"; but for "hundred," ⲉⲛⲏ *sa-a* is used in Egyptian, and ⲉⲛⲏ in Coptic.

In the first stage of a language the numerals have an uncertain value. The highest number realised is expressed by "many" and "numerous."³ It is, therefore, not surprising to see the same root used in one branch of the family for "ten," and in another for "hundred." In this case the agreement between the various purely Semitic tongues shows that the use of this root was fixed just after the separation of the Semitic from the Hamitic branch.

It is worthy of note that the Amharic, which gives for "hundred" መሺት so closely related to the Egyptian *meti* (ten), has for "thousand" ሺሕ closely related to the Egyptian *saā* "hundred."






In Berbere we have for "hundred" the same root as in the purely Semitic tongues, but with an initial *t*. Touareg *timidi*, plural *temad*; in Beni Mzab it became *touinest*.

¹ W.A.I. II, l. 139. In Ethiopic we have መሺት 100.




² It is worthy of notice that the sign Υ is a compound of Υ and \lll , the Akkadian form of the plural.

³ See Tylor's "Primitive Culture."

XIV.





















The numeral "thousand" is in Assyrian    *a-la-pu*, a root also found in the other Semitic tongues (Heb. אֶלֶף, Syriac ܐܠܦܐ or ܐܠܦܝܘܬܐ, etc.) This word has been explained by the root אֶלֶף "to join together," "to associate," hence "family," "tribe," and "great many."¹ The same peculiarity is to be observed in this root as in the preceding. In Ethiopic ለገሰ is "ten thousands," in Egyptian   *hejennu* is "hundred thousand," as in Berbere *efed*, plural *efedau*. This root does not appear in the Coptic.

ORDINALS.




The ordinal numbers are seldom written phonetically, being generally expressed by the cardinal ideogram followed by  as   for "third."

I have given above the various forms for "first." The tablet lithographed in W.A.I. IV, pl. 5, gives us the others from second to seventh.

LINE

16.    *sa-nu-u*, "second."18.   *sal-su*, "third," with a variant   *sal-si*.²20.     *ri-bu-u*, "fourth."22.    *ha-us-sa*.³ "fifth"; in other texts   *ha-an-sa*.24.     *sis*, "sixth," unfortunately broken; but it may be restored *sis-su* or *sis-su-u*.26.     *si-bu-u*, "seventh."

"Eighth" and "ninth" have not been found, but may be restored by analogy, *šumanū* and *tisū*.

¹ Gesenius's Diet., *sub voc.*²    *sal-sa-a* is found W.A.I. III, 32, col. 6, l. 1.³ Where the *m* is assimilated to the *s*. In W.A.I.    is given in error.

The phonetic form of the ordinals being merely the cardinals with the last vowel lengthened, and this not being always clearly expressed, they are often confounded with the cardinal forms without the final *t*.

The word for "tenth" has not been found, but is usually restored in *esruu*.

We have, however, "thirtieth:"

𐎶 𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *sa-la-se-e*, W.A.I. IV, 23, l. 5.

Before concluding, I wish to acknowledge the kindness of Prof. Sayce, who has communicated to me some of his notes, and the help I have received from Mr. Pinches, of the British Museum, to whom I owe many of my references.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

Since the foregoing pages were written, Mr. Pinches has communicated to me the following interesting fragment (Rm. 2, 200), yet unpublished, which he has completed by means of other tablets:—

[𐎶𐎵]	𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶	<i>mis-la-nu</i> , "a half."
[𐎶𐎵]	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶	<i>sal-sa-a-ti</i> , "a third."
[𐎶𐎵]	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	<i>ri-ba-a-tum</i> , "a fourth."
[𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵]	𐎶𐎵(?) 𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	<i>has-sa-a-tum</i> , "a fifth."
[𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵]	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵(?) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵	<i>us-ra(?) -a-tum</i> , "a tenth."
[𐎶𐎵𐎶]	<	<<< 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶	<i>es-ri-tum</i> , "tenth."
[𐎶𐎵]	𐎶𐎵	𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶	<i>si-ni-pa-tum</i> , "two-thirds."

The Assyrian column, after *mislannu*, the well-known word for "a half," gives the feminine form of the ordinal, which seem to have been used to denote fractional numbers.

The last word, *sinipatum*, is one of those Akkadian words borrowed by the Assyrians to express compound fractions, and occurs several times in the texts.



THE CAMPAIGN OF RÂMESES II IN HIS FIFTH YEAR AGAINST KADESH ON ORONTES.

BY THE REV. HENRY GEORGE TOMKINS.

Read 1st November, 1881.

NOT without hope of adding to the desire of exploration on the Orontes, I submit a few remarks on the renowned campaign of Râmeses II, with special regard to its local associations.

I.—THE ALLIES.

Writers have differed widely as to the homes of the various tribes allied against Râmeses. Some have been traced far afield into Asia Minor, but I think we must first search carefully within a narrower horizon.

Kheta is the first name, doubtless the Biblical Kheth, and Khatti of Assyrian records.

Naharaïn (Naharina) is Aram Naharaïm, and Arethu is by common consent, I think, Arvad.

Ṭertēni, which has been referred to the Dardanians, recalls to Dr. Haigh the name of the mountain range Durdun Dagh, bounding Syria to the N.W.

Masu seems here more naturally to refer to the Biblical Mash, and Mount Masius, than to Mysia, so far away at the north-western extremity of Asia.¹

There is, however, a Maâsh between Aleppo and Azaz, quite within the closest limits of the league.

Patas, or Pidasa, has been taken as Pedasa in Caria, or Pedasus in Mysia; more probably the former.

Aruna (rather than Iriuna, but now read by Brugsch Maïna) suggests to me the Aruni of Assurnazirpal's wars, a region of Naïri, about the Upper Euphrates.

Leka may be the Lake of Assurnazirpal, west of Euphrates,

¹ Professor Sayce writes to me: "It seems to me that Derdeni and Masu must be maritime nations. The Hittite monuments in Lydia and Mysia show that Hittite influence extended thus far."

as Dr. Haigh suggested in 1874. The same solution has been independently proposed by Dr. Schrader, and seems very probable.

Kerkesh I had taken for Kirkesium, on the Euphrates, but Professor Sayce reminds me that in Assyrian this was Sirki; it is now Kerkisiyeh. Perhaps Kerkesh was Gergesa (Brugsch). Was it not Kar-kesh, the fortified sanctuary of Kesh, the goddess of Kadesh?

Kairkamasha is of course Karkemish, Assyrian Gar-gamis. Katsuatana Dr. Haigh proposed to identify with Zaweitineh, about twenty miles north-west of Kadesh, but afterwards doubted this.

Mashanat reminds me of Meskeyne, on the Euphrates, and of a Meskinch a few miles east of the Lake of Kadesh. Its termination Anat may refer to the goddess of that name.


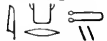




Akarith is mentioned in an inscription of Amenhotep II after Anat (Anatho on Euphrates, about the latitude of Palmyra) and Ni¹ (the Ninni of Shalmaneser II, I suppose). I do not think it is identified with any modern place.²

Khilbu is acknowledged to be Aleppo.

Kati, which Mr. Goodwin would have to be Gath, is said by Brugsch to be Galilee; but I see that Professor Sayce gives it as "bordering on Carchemish."

Anaugas seems to have been on the coast near the border of Egypt, and if so, Kati, if indeed Gath, would be near; and the league would represent the potentates from the extreme south of Palestine to the north-west border of Syria, and on the east far down the great River Euphrates, if not across the uplands to the chain of Masius. This covers all that is called Syria, and on any theory at least as much ground as this would be included.

¹ "Ni reminds us of the statement that Carchemish was once known as *Ninus Vetus*."—Professor Sayce.

² But may it not be etymologically akin to the Assyrian *Akharu*, "the back," i.e., the west=Heb. אַחֲרַיִת, *akh'rith*? It is written in hieroglyphics . "This must be a variant," says Dr. Haigh, "of  (Amenhotep II)  (Amenhotep III)  (Râmeses II); certainly in Mesopotamia; perhaps Tekrit, on the Tigris." This constant  (Ka) is perhaps fatal to the explanation by Akharu, which has .

The last name on this formidable muster was the very heart of all, Kadesh, that is Kadesh on the Orontes, the southern fortified sanctuary of the Kheta, as Karkemish was their northern capital on the Euphrates. Of this we shall have more to say presently.

The chieftains bore names which have been as yet very imperfectly explained.

In the royal house of Kheta we will go back a little way.

Saplel had been king in the time of Râmeses I. His name naturally reminded Dr. Haigh and Professor Sayce of the Sapalulme (or Sapalulve) of Shalmaneser's wars, king of Patina of the Hittites; and it may remind us of the Sapsar or Sapsira among the foes of Râmeses II, and also of divine names from the Sap-ak of the Susians, to the Sap of the eastern foreigners on the borders of Egypt, and the town of Khisa-sap mentioned in the treaty; and moreover of other names which I will not stay to recount.

The son of Saplel was Maür-sira, whose name recalls the local names Maür-mar (272) and Maür-ika (349) of the Karnak lists, and also Maür-nus, among the foes of Râmeses III.

The sons of Maür-sira were two: first, Maüth-nar (read by Maspero Motour). Compare with this Maüthi (218, Karnak lists), and possibly the Motauara, a tribe of the Ansairiyeh of our day; and second, Kheta-sira, the enemy, ally, and father-in-law of Râmeses II. Professor Sayce has noted the names of Kheta-sira and his scribe Kau-i-sira (the latter as connected with the Kaluians or Kuians of Assyrian annals); and Canon Cook has compared these names with the Biblical Si-sera.

Paüs, or Pisa, may be compared with the Pisisis of the wars of Tiglath Pileser I, and another, the last Hittite king of Karkemish, conquered by Sargon.

We will next take Tharg-an and Tharg-an-nasa. Is the former element the Tarkhu in Tarkhu-lara, and the Tarrik in Tarrik-timme of the silver pommel? Since first writing this, I find that Professor Sayce has independently proposed the same suggestion, and so also has Mr. Boscawen. Whether related to the Thargal, Kedorla'omer's tributary, I know not.

In Tharg-annasa, the latter element is, I suppose,

Annasa, the home of the chieftain Rab-basunna. Is Basunna the Batsna of the Karnak lists (23)? and is it possibly the Bezun near Afka of the present day?

Next, Garb-batusa may be classed with Garp-arunda and Garp-aruda of Shalmaneser II.

Now let us couple Rab-naür and Rab-basunna, beginning with Semitic Rab. It may be rash to suggest a possible relation of Uaür (or Uaül) to the Nahr el Auwaly (Bostrenus) near Sidon.

Thia-tar may be referred to the Thia (74) of the Karnak lists. Is this Thiar (Dæara) on the Euphrates, a little south of 37°? Thia-tar may be classed with Ta-tar, and both perhaps with Tar-thisbu, the herald of Khetasira.

The name Zuazas may suggest a Bit-zualzas mentioned by Tiglath Pileser II.

May not Samar-sa (or Samarius) be connected with Shomariyeh, which stands with a great tell near the lake of Kadesh? And when we read of Matsrima of the Kheta (which has been connected with the Biblical Mitsraïm), is it not curious to find to-day a place called Mesrima near Aleppo, in the very focus of the Hittite region?

Lastly, Raür suggests the Ruri of Assurnazirpal.

Considering the close relation between personal and local names, I think the maps and topographic exploration on the one hand, and the intersection of Egyptian and Assyrian records on the other, are likely yet to throw much light on these interesting groups of names and homes of heroes of old.

II.—THE GROUND.

The Kadesh, which was the object of attack in this campaign, lay at all events on the river Orontes. The name is applied to a town and territory taken by Thothmes III, and the town was fortified in his time with a new wall. Was it the same district as the land of Anrutha, on the shore of the lake Nesroan, or Nesruna, taken by Thothmes III? If so, this involves the further inference that this region must be the "land of Takhis," which is also said to have been "situated on the bank of the Nasruna;" and the lake of

Homs must be that of Nasruna.¹ Dr. Haigh, it is true, identifies Nesruna with the lake of Huleh, but it is on the strength of the identity of Anrutha with the Khanretsa of the Mohar, which was "on the borders of Auba." This identity I think very doubtful. Kadesh on the Orontes seems to be once only mentioned in the Bible, under the obscure words "the land of Takhtim Khodshi," 2 Sam., xxiv, 6. When David numbered the people his officers "came to Gilead, and to the land of Takhtim Khodshi." which Messrs. Cheyne and Driver, following the guidance of four codices of the LXX, would read "the land of the Hittites unto Kadesh."

The Orontes, on its northward course issuing from between the Lebanon (W.) and Antilebanon (E.), after passing Riblah (E.), in about nine miles reaches the marshy borders of a mere, about six miles long and two miles broad, the lake of Hom, formerly called the lake of Kadesh. This was formed by dyking up the Orontes at its northern outlet from the long flat valley. The great dam of hard concrete, "mixed up with, and faced by, blocks of basalt," is nearly twenty feet high in the centre, and five hundred yards in length," says Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake. The water stood about twelve feet higher than the river at the base when he was there, and in winter would be sixteen or seventeen feet higher than the river-level. The lake was then several feet higher than the housetops at Saddi, a little way below on the west side of the river. "Were this barrage ever to give way," writes the lamented traveller, "the destruction of life and property down the valley of the Orontes would be terrible."

Now this great fall of the ground, especially when the walls and towers of Kadesh were added, explains to me how a large force might lie beyond or "behind Kadesh the wicked," concealed from the view of the Egyptians advancing from the south, down the valley, and through the plain of the Orontes.

Professor Sayce, who has lately examined the singular concrete walls, revetted with marble, of that large and mysterious edifice the Dimek Tash, at Tarsus, has remarked

¹ I fancy this lake must have derived its name from the solar eagle-god, *Nasr*.

to me the apparent similarity of structure in this great engineering work on the Orontes. Perhaps both were the work of the same people.

Below the lake the river flows through the fertile plain of Homs, between gardens irrigated by its waters. What was the situation of Kadesh in relation to the lake?

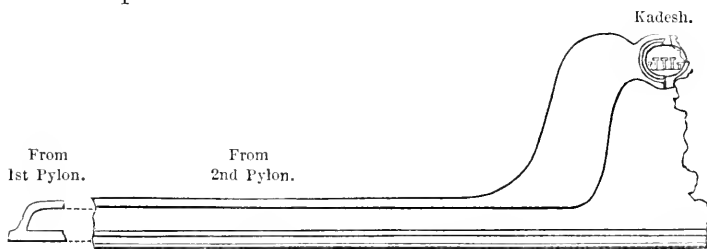
Dr. Haigh wrote in 1874: "This city was built on an island in the Orontes, and there can be no doubt of its identity with the ruins of an island in the lake of Kedes, about six miles above Hums; an embankment (once traditionally referred to Alexander the Great) having formed the lake, and reduced the extent of the island." This probably refers to the island near the south-western end of the lake.

I think, however, that the great battle-pieces of Râmeses II are intended to represent the fortified stronghold of Kadesh as planted on its moated island at the north-east end of the lake, and forming part of the great engineering works which hold up and regulate the water.

The bearings of these tableaux are given by two data:—

1. The Kheta king threw out his force on the south of Kadesh across the moat to destroy the brigade of Phra. Now these masses of Hittite troops appear on the *near* side of the fortress, having crossed the southern bridge.

2. In the battle-piece of the Ramesseum a straight canal leads out of the river far above the lake, to the left, and runs on across the picture, towards the foreground. Now this must run from the Orontes south of the lake, north-eastwards across the plain.



The fortified town, marked as "town of Kadesh," is thus distinctly depicted as at the north-eastern end of the lake,

which is five times as long as the diameter of the town itself. This tableau must thus be viewed as having its top towards the north, just as in our maps, and thus we have the direction of all the movements, which agree with those shown in the grand battle-piece of Abusimbel, and the straight canal explains a difficulty in that picture, without which it would be very perplexing, as we shall presently see.

But we must now enlarge our view.

By what route did Râmeses march to Kadesh? Brugsch tells us that "the old royal route led along the coast through the land of Kharu" (the Akharru of the Assyrians), "Askelon, Joppa, Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus were the principal places on the royal road, along which the sea was always in sight, till in the valley of the Eleutherus, at the northern slope of Lebanon, the ancient road took an eastern direction, so as to pass in the neighbourhood of the fortress and river of Shabatoon (the river Sabbaticus of the ancients), and in the environs of the mountain fortress Aranam (the Mariamme of the Greeks and Romans?) to debouch in the wide plain of Kadesh at Arunath (Orontes), and thence to lead into the heart of the country of the Amorites."

Now it seems that Râmeses followed this route, and he is said on this occasion to have erected one of the tablets at the Nahr el Kelb.

Two places which have been mentioned are of cardinal importance, namely, Shabtuna and Arnama. Brugsch has identified the former with the Sabbatic river, a great intermittent spring near the convent of St. George; but I think this, some twenty-three miles from the northern end of the lake, is too far, and probably in the wrong direction. M. Maspero, on the other hand, says that Shabtuna was "a little way to the south-west of Kadesh, and in view of the town": and has kindly explained to me his reason for this conclusion. "It is not myself," he says, "it is one of our consular officers in Syria, M. Colonna Ceccaldi, deceased last year, who discovered the site of Shabtûna. He established on the spot the existence of a Wady Shabtûn, and published a note on the subject in the *Revue Archéologique* between 1860 and 1870—you will forgive my want of precision, my books have not

yet arrived. As the Wady Shabtoun seems to me to answer exactly to the strategic conditions required for Shabtuna by the narrative of the battle of Kadesh, I adopted in my history the opinion of M. Colonna Ceccaldi. I have nothing to say to you," adds M. Maspero, "on Arnama."

I trust that this Wady Shabtūn may ere long be carefully examined. Names of a similar cast occur in this region, as the Shebate hills, south-east of Aleppo; Wady Shabât, near Baalbek; Beit S'bat, near Safita, west of Homs. In the last name I suppose we have the god Sabazius, a great sun-god.

But among modern names I cannot find the unaltered name Shabtūn elsewhere than in M. Colonna Ceccaldi's Wady, and I think M. Maspero must be right.

Whether Arnama may have been the Mariamne, "some miles west of Emesa (Homs)," as Brugseh hints, I know not. But may not that name have originated in the *Meriamun* of the great Egyptian? In that case it would be "the city of Râmeses *Meriamun* in 'Tsahi" mentioned in the narrative. This seems to me likely enough. But Arnama was probably the Ranama of the Karnak lists (59), and surely it must be the Arnema whose "Sutekh" is invoked in the treaty, and is it not also the Harnemma of the Mohar's travels?

I do not think Mariamne has been identified with any modern site, but some strong position (such as that of Kulaat el Hus'n), commanding the road from the coast to the Orontes valley, would well suit the Pharaonic fortress.

Râmeses may well have given his own name to the old post erected by Thothmes III at the foot of Lebanon.

We will now quickly trace the events of this short campaign. The records when examined harmonize very well, and will be found to agree with the pictorial details.

After leaving the city of Râmeses Meriamun, the Pharaoh was encamped "on the *heights* to the south of the city of Kadesh," on the 9th of the month Epiphi.

At sunrise he "went further upwards, and came to the south of the town of Shabatun," where his brigade of Amun halted. Here two Shasu (Arab) spies brought false news that the king of Kheta was far away "in the land of Khilibu to the north of Tunep." But in truth he lay ambushed in

great force "behind the town of Kadesh," "to the north-west." Râmeses fell into the trap.

His plan of attack seems clearly to have been on two lines. He himself led the left on the north-western side of the lake, personally commanding the brigade of Amun in advance, now halted to the south of Shabatun ("a little way to the south-west of Kadesh, and in view of the town," says Maspero). The brigade of Phra, "crossing the valley to the south of Shabatun," as de Rougé translates, *continued its march* (then follows a *hiatus valde deflendus*).

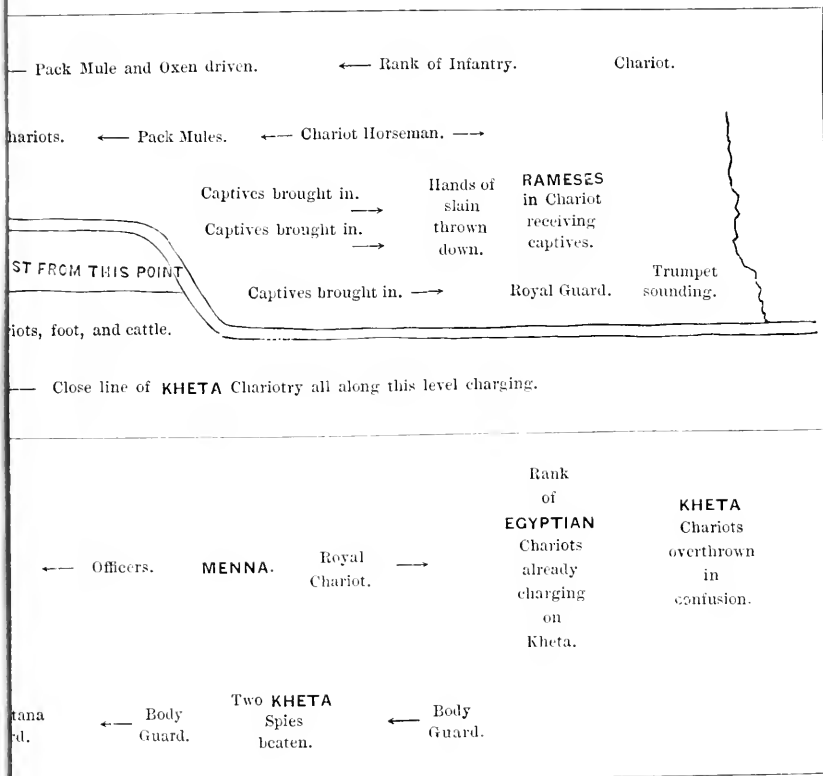
It is clear that this continued march led the brigade of Phra round the lake to the south of Kadesh, to outflank the garrison and cut off a retreat. "The brigade of Ptah was *in the centre near the town of Arnama.*" (Oh that we knew where this was!) "The brigade of Sutekh (or Set) followed the route" (forming the reserve, I suppose). Professor Lushington translates "the brigade of Set on the border of the land of Amairo." But the text seems confused here, for de Rougé renders "the king had given orders to all the chiefs of his armies who were in the valleys of the land of Amaur," but Brugsch translates, "and the king called together all the chief men of his warriors. Behold! they were at the lake of the land of the Amorites." These variations are perhaps of no great account. At all events it is very interesting that Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake found on the western shore of the lake near its south end "the little village of 'Amari," and some distance ("fifty minutes") further to the north-east "a large arm of the lake stretches a mile to the north." Is this arm "the dyke west of the town Shabutana" of Professor Lushington's translation? There is a place called Zayti to the east of this water. This then was the position when Râmeses, deceived by the spies, pushed rashly on with his body-guard far ahead of his brigade of Amun, as far as some point to the north-west of Kadesh, where he halted to rest.

His scouts brought in two Kheta spies, who, when well beaten, let out the secret of the ambushade.

An officer was at once sent to the south of Shabatun, to hasten up the brigade of Amun to the Pharaoh's support.

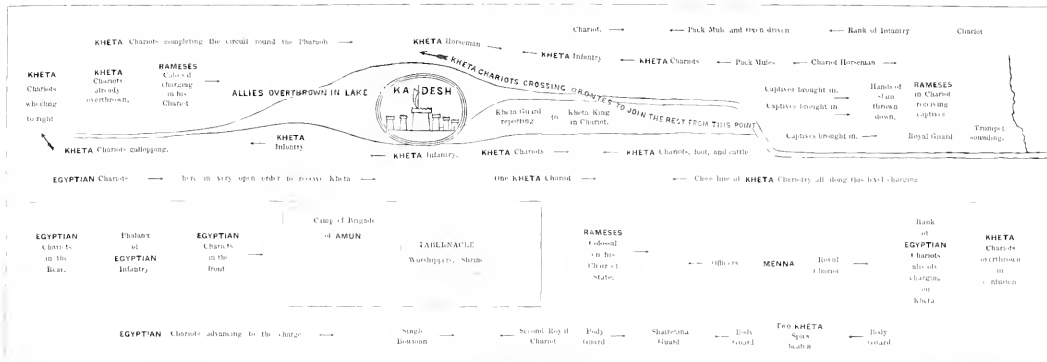
OF ABU-SIMBEL.

Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch., Vol. VII, page 398.



EXPLANATION OF THE GREAT BATTLE-PIECE OF ABU-SIMBEL.

From Soc. Bibl. Arch., Vol. VII, page 398.



Meanwhile the king of Kheta was not idle. He had "passed over the ditch to the south of Kadesh," and now brought down a strong force on the unprepared legion of Phra, throwing it by this flank attack into utter confusion "on the road upwards to the place where the king (Râmeses) was."

Then he wheeled a force of two thousand five hundred chariots between the Pharaoh and his own army, entirely cutting him off on the west of the lake "on the plain of the land of Kadesh." But Râmeses with desperate bravery charged the thick of his enemy, throwing them into panic. His guard rallied to his support. Six times he renewed his charge, the disordered enemy falling into the lake. Time was gained, and the day saved. The brigade of Amun came up and fell on, and night fell on a drawn battle. But in the morning the Pharaoh drew out his whole army and attacked the allies, who seem soon to have given way, and a herald brought in their terms of submission.

Râmeses made peace, and returned in triumph to the Delta.

The great battle-piece of Abusimbel gives in a masterly way the day of peril and victory.

We must regard it in the main as two pictures divided by a horizontal line *just above the Egyptian camp*, and there are small episodes which dislocate the order of time, as in old picture-bibles.

In the upper portion we see the blue stream of Orontes flowing in on the left, and inclining gently upwards, till it widens into a lake, near whose further end an oval-shaped walled island bears the towered fortress of Kadesh. Beyond this the lake narrows again into the river's course, which, trending slightly downwards, makes a decided turn in the same direction at about the lake's length beyond Kadesh, then flows straight out of the picture to the right. On the further left, beyond the Orontes, we see Râmeses encompassed by his enemies turning at bay; for on the nearer shore the masses of infantry have crossed the southern moat of Kadesh (as the narrative tells us), and are marching to cut off the brigade of Phra. In advance of the infantry, Hittite chariots are careering along up the nearer bank of Orontes, until at a ford wheeling to their own right,

they surround the Pharaoh, and speed away in unbroken sweep along the distant border of the plain beyond the lake, whilst to meet them, other chariots and infantry of the allies are crossing the stream below the lake where still the Orontes may be crossed below Saddeh, and, joining forces, complete the circuit that hemmed in Rameses with two thousand five hundred chariots. The Kheta king, Maütur, in his chariot, with his staff outside the main-gate of Kadesh across the river (as the story tells us) is directing the attack. In the foreground, however, of the *upper* picture, a column of Egyptian chariots, thrown in front into very open order, is advancing to the charge towards the right. But a dense line of splendid Hittite chariotry is rushing on them along the plain. This is the overwhelming attack on the brigade of Phra. Borne down and outflanked, they could but give way.

Meanwhile, beyond the Orontes the Pharaoh, quite cut off, charges furiously, and drives his foes in wild panic into the waters of the lake, where they swim or drown, some rescued by their friends, but many lost.

One thing looks strange. The Egyptian chariots are advancing to the charge, while, close beyond, the long column of Hittite chariots and battalions of infantry are advancing towards the left, regardless of the Egyptians. But this is cleared up by the great battle-piece of the Ramesseum, where we learn to interpose a straight canal, with well-marked embankments, between these lines of action, flowing from the higher stream of Orontes, straight across the plain, and nearly parallel with the river. This explains the severance.

On the right of the upper picture time is taken by the forelock, and the Pharaoh's victory anticipated, for there he turns in his chariot to see the heaps of hands thrown on the ground, and living prisoners brought in, while a lusty trumpeter blows a peal of triumph. This is on the further side of the river, and beyond the bend of the stream, and shows that the decisive action of the second day was fought to the north-west of Kadesh.

And now we come to the lower picture, which I think we must separate in our fancy, and set further to the south, a good way up the course of the Orontes.

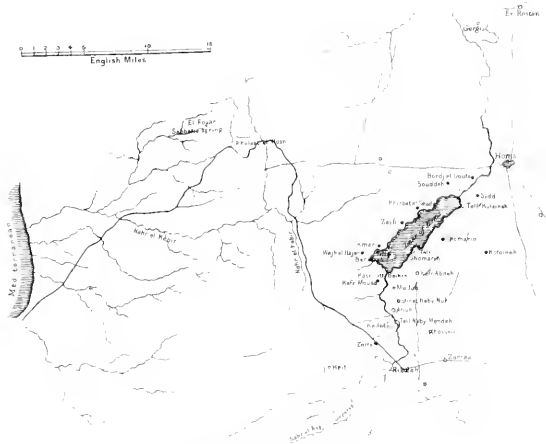
fro

t^o



THE LAKE of HOMS

from Rey, Tyrwhitt Drake, and Conder.



This grand display of Egyptian military life, wisely brought into the pictorial foreground, prepares us for the rescue, the battle, and the triumph. For here we have the busy camp of the brigade of Amun towards the left, and in its rear and on the right flank the mass of infantry and a column of Egyptian chariots; and to the right of the tableau a separate subject,—the colossal figure of the Pharaoh seated and resting on his royal seat, probably as described at the time when near Kadesh the Hittite spies were compelled to disclose the alarming truth; for here are the spies beaten in the midst of the body-guard of Shairetana mercenaries, and the high officers are entreating the Pharaoh to mount his war-chariot, while the grooms hold the prancing horses, and Menna the charioteer has the reins ready in his hands. The trumpet is sounding, and a line of chariots of the guard are dashing among the Hittites, who of course are already overthrown and scattered on the ground.

Such is the vast battle-piece of Abusimbel, which, says Miss Edwards, “covers an area of 57 feet and 7 inches in length, by 25 feet 4 inches in height, and contains over 1,100 figures.”

I think that when studied in connection with the poem of Pentaur and the narrative given by Brugsch, these will be found quite coherent, and the tableau of the Ramesseum, as I have said, materially explains the whole.

Since the above paper was written Lieutenant Conder, R.E., has sent home his account of observations on the ground, in the expectation of which I had delayed my paper. I am sorry to say that I do not think him right in assigning Tell Neby Mendeh as the site of Kadesh, which I still think must be sought in immediate connection with the lake itself, and not several miles away on the upper course of the Orontes. It also seems to me, for the reasons I have stated, that the Egyptian data designate the northern end of the lake as the old site of the fortress, and I much regret that Mr. Conder was unable to explore carefully the whole extent of the great dyke, which, he says, “is in the shape of a very flat V, with the point towards the lake,” with “a pillar or vertical pier of masonry near the centre of the dam.”

Lieutenant Conder was so impressed with the belief that Tell Neby Mendeh is the ancient Kadesh, that he viewed the lake itself, with its island to the south, and dyke to the north, under this settled prepossession.

But it seems to me impossible to reconcile the Egyptian pictures with this hypothesis, and especially that of the Ramesseum, where a large lake is given, some five times the length of the fortress, and surely not intended to represent a pool of "some 50 *yards* across" to the south-east of a mound 100 feet high and 400 *yards* across. The report of Lieutenant Conder is exceedingly interesting, and gives much good information, but I think Kadesh is yet to be found. The *name* seems to pervade the neighbourhood in a very natural way, for de Rougé, as quoted by Miss Edwards, wrote some time ago that there yet exists to-day a town of Kades near a bend of the Orontes, in the vicinity of Homs, and the lake, says Lieutenant Conder, "according to Abu el Feda the geographer, was called in his times Bahr el Kades."

The name Neby Mindoh (Captain Burton says, "I found it called Mindau or Mindoh") seems to me interesting. Is not the Saint really Mentu the ancient war-god, just as Neby Shît may probably be Set, Sut, or Sutekh?

Is it possible that the great square platform, with square tower foundations at the angles, called Tell S'finet Nuh, marks the site of an Egyptian entrenched camp?

Ain et Tannûr recalls the name Thinnûr of the Karnak lists (322).

The Tell Kotcineh at the south-east end of the great dyke, "with a flat top, and evidently artificial," is marked by Arrowsmith "Katani," and must be the "Kattinie" of Rey. Katina is among the Hittite names in Professor Sayce's list.

The visits of Dr. Porter, Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, and Lieutenant Conder, in reality rather sharpen than satisfy our hunger for information on this ancient river and its border-regions; and if in this imperfect paper I have set before you the old northern border-dish of spurs instead of meat, as an incitement to further forays, it is the best that I can do.

APPENDIX.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL NAMES MENTIONED
IN THE FOREGOING PAPER.

A.—Local Names.

- | | | |
|-----------------------|--|----------------------------|
| 1. Akerith | | |
| 2. Aleppo | | <i>Khirebu or Khilebu.</i> |
| 3. Aruna, or
Maïna | | |
| 4. Arvad | | <i>Arethu.</i> |
| 5. Annusa | | |
| 6. Karkemish | | <i>Kairkamasha.</i> |
| 7. Katsauatana | | |
| 8. Kerkesh | | |
| 9. Kadesh | | <i>Katesh.</i> |
| 10. Leka | | |
| 11. Masu | | |
| 12. Naharina | | |
| 13. Patasu | | |
| 14. Raür | | |
| 15. T̄ert̄eni | | |

B.—*Personal Names.*

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| 1. Agma | |
| 2. Garbatusa | |
| 3. Kamaits | |
| 4. Khetasar | |
| 5. Khirpsar | |
| 6. Matsrima | |
| 7. Maütlmar | |
| 8. Matirsar | |
| 9. Paisa | |
| 10. Rabbasunna | |
| 11. Samarsa | |
| 12. Saplul | |
| 13. Sapsar | |
| 14. Thargatlatsaa | |
| 15. Thargan | |
| 16. Thargannas | |
| 17. Thiațar | |
| 18. Tațar | |
| 19. Tsuatsasa | |

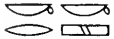
Note A., p. 403. *Takhtim Khodshi*. The four MSS. of the LXX, followed by Messrs. Cheyne and Driver (after Hitzig and Wellhausen), appear to have followed the Hebrew תחתים חדשי instead of קדשיה.

Note B., p. 404. *Kal'at el Hus'n*. Commander Cameron (*Our Future Highway*, I, 108) gives a woodcut of this fortress, and writes: "Its earliest founders are supposed to have been the Egyptians, before the days of Moses, who erected it when they conquered the Hittites, at that time a numerous and powerful nation. Some traces of Egyptian architecture still exist," &c. These traces should be carefully examined and photographed. Lieutenant Conder, R.E., gives an account of the masonry (*Pal. Explor. Fund. Quart. Stat.*, July, 1881, p. 175), but says nothing of Egyptian work. Burton and Tyrwhitt Drake also give a woodcut (*Unexpl. Syria*, I, 141). Professor Friedrich Delitzsch has suggested the identification of Kal'at el Husn with the Usnu of Assyrian conquest (*Wo lag das Paradies?* 282).

Note C., p. 402. *Neby Shit*. The name of Set, the god of the Hykshôs and Hittites, seems to occur at least in two places: one between Ba'albek and Damascus (Porter, *Handbook*, 1875, p. 520), and the other, to which Lieutenant Conder has kindly drawn my attention, between Yebnah and Asdûd, in the plain of Philistia. On the relation between Set and the Biblical Seth, see the observations of M. Lenormant (*Les Origines de l'Histoire*, I, p. 218).

Note D., p. 402. *S'fnet Neby Nuh*. Lieutenant Conder mentions (*Pal. Explor. Fund. Quart. Stat.*, July, 1881, p. 169), with regard to this ancient quadrangular entrenchment, that "the direction of the sides is about north-east and south-west." This looks more like the emplacement of a Babylonian or Assyrian camp than anything Egyptian.

POSTSCRIPT.

Kerkesh. If we read with de Rougé, in two places,  it seems well worth notice that in Rey's map we find *Gergis* about fifteen miles north of the Lake of Homs, on the west side of the Orontes, and a little way south-west of er-Restan (ancient Arethusa).

It has been conjectured that the גרגשי, LXX, Γεργεσαῖοι of the Pentateuch, were "a part of the large family of the Hivites, as they are omitted in nine out of ten places in which the nations or families of Canaan are mentioned; while in the tenth they are mentioned, and the Hivites omitted." (Kitto's *Cyc. of Bib. Lit.*) Now, Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch has given his reasons for believing that the name generally read Khammâtu, and, identified with Hamath, should be read Khavvâtu, and identified with חַוְוִי, the Kh'vvi ('Hivite') of the Pentateuch, Amâtu being the capital city Hamah of our day.

In the tenth chapter of Genesis the Gergeshite is followed by the Khivvite, and it seems to me that the *Gergis* by the Orontes, between Hamah and Homs, may very fitly represent the Kerkesh of the Kheta alliance and the Gergeshite of Holy Scripture.

N.B.—My map is based on that of Rey, with details from Tyrwhitt Drake as to the north-western side of the lake, and from Lieutenant Conder, R.E., as to the south and east. Much interesting information as to this part of Syria is given by Commander Cameron, R.N., in his work, *Our Future Highway*. Macmillan. 1880.



A CONTRACT TABLET
FROM THE 17TH YEAR OF NABONIDUS.

BY REV. J. N. STRASSMAIER, S.J.

Read 6th July, 1880.

AMONG the various Assyrian and Babylonian tablets, a very considerable number contain nothing else than private contracts which have no interest for the general public. It has been stated that several thousands of these tablets are known in Europe, and it is probable that further excavations may bring still more to light. Nevertheless, very few of them have yet been published, and most of them have been used only on account of their dates. But besides the chronological interest, there are many other points upon which these inscriptions deserve our attention, as they furnish most valuable material of the Assyrian and Babylonian language, and enable us to form a fair judgment of the legal and social conditions under the Babylonian and Persian Empire. As long, however, as the whole collection of these documents is not published, it is impossible for Assyriologists to discuss successfully these questions. MM. Oppert and Ménant have made the first attempt towards an explanation of these texts, and in their publications many valuable remarks may be found, although some points are not yet definitely settled.

As I had during last winter the opportunity of examining the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions at Paris, in the collections of the Louvre and National Library, where several contract tablets are kept, I think it may be of some interest to select one text, which contains a rather unusual form of contract. The tablet is in the collection of the Louvre, marked MNB, 1133, and is sealed on the edges with four

seals; the text is pretty well preserved, as but few lines are slightly damaged, and the meaning of the lost words is almost with certainty to be given from the context. It seems to me impossible still to give an exact literal translation of such documents, as the meaning of the many technical expressions used cannot be obtained except from the context, and further comparisons of parallel passages may suggest many improvements on a first attempt of translation. But even a general rendering, correct in the main parts, will afford an interesting insight into the social conditions of the Babylonian Empire at the time of the prophet Daniel. This prophet was at Babylon in the year when this tablet was written in the royal city, as it is dated from the 17th year of Nabonidus, which king is identified by Josephus ("Antiq., Jud.," X. 11) with Balthassar, the last king of Babylon before the Persian conquest by Cyrus and Darius the Mede.

The substance of this contract may be proposed thus according to the whole context: Bel-aḥe-iddin buys the house of Bel-rimanni for 11 manas 18 drachmas, under the condition that he might take possession of it within four years. During this time the money is deposited with Nabu-aḥe-iddin, and the owner of the house may remain until Bel-aḥe-iddin actually takes possession of the house. If meanwhile both the purchaser and the trustee of the money die, Bel-rimanni shall nevertheless receive the money, and their heirs may not claim this deposit for themselves. In the case that Itti-Marduk-balaṭ, the son and heir of Nabu-aḥe-iddin, should not repay the money, Bel-rimanni may even enact a lawsuit against him, and the decision of the judges shall be in favour of Bel-rimanni. This contract is, as usually, signed by the scribe and sealed by the judges.

The text is as follow:—

TRANSLITERATION.

1. 11 ma-na 18 tu kašpu šu-ḥi-in-du
2. ka-ni-ik-tum ri-iḥ-tum šim biti
3. ša Bel-ri-man-ni ablu-šu ša Mu-še-zib-Bel
4. abal Da-Marduk, ša Bel-aḥe-iddin ablu-šu ša
5. Marduk-zir-ib-ni abal E-gi-bi

6. ma-ḫi-ri i-bu-šu-ma kašpu a-an 11 ma-na 18 ṭu kašpu
7. ina pa-ni Nabu-aḫe-iddin abal E-gi-bi te-šu-tum
8. amelu išu-u ša biti ib-di-du a-di eli ša Bel-aḫe-iddin
9. amelu ma-ḫi-ra-nu bit ša ablu-šu mi-i-tum amelu išu-u
10. ina eli šu-ḫi-in-du šu-a-tim la ib-ba-šu-u
11. šī (?) -nin-ni ina 4 ga (?) šanāti ar-ki
12. mi-tu-tu ša Bel-aḫe-iddin u Nabu-aḫe-iddin
13. ša šu-ḫi-in-du ina pani-šu ḫu-da-tum, Bel-ri-man-ni a-na
14. šu-ḫi-in-di-šu Itti-Marduk-balaṭ ablu-šu
15. ša Nabu-aḫe-iddin aš-ša la amelu . . .
16. . . . šu-ḫi-in-du la u-tir-ma la id-din
17. a- . . . -di ameli rabūti u ameli dayani ik-šu-du amelu . . .
18. a-na Zir-ya amelu ašlaku Bit Saggil iq-bu-u
19. um-ma : ra-šu-tu ša e-lat ina eli šu-ḫi-in-du ša ablu-šu
i-ba-aš-ši-i
20. Zir-ya iq-bu-u-ma ki-i ra-šu-tu ša e-lat (?) ū ša
21. ša-nam-ma ina eli i-ba-aš-šu-u la i-di šu-ḫi-in-du ša ablu-šu
22. ina kanaki-šu Itti-Marduk-balaṭ ina ma-ḫar Ki-rib-tu
23. amelu ki-zu-u, Edir-Bel amelu ki-zu-u, Nirgal-aḫ-ušur,
24. u Zikir-ukin ameli dayani u-tir-ma a-na Bel-ri-man-ni
25. id-din ; Da-Marduk dup-šar, abal Banu-šin-ilu (?) ;
26. alu E-šar E-ki, araḫ Elul, umu 5 kan šanat 17 kan
27. Nabu-nahid, šar *Din-tir-ki*

kanaku	kanaku	kanaku	kanaku
Nirgal-aḫ-ušur	Zikir-ukin	Ki-rib-tu	Edir-Bel
amelu dayan	amelu dayan		amelu ki-zu-u

TRANSLATION.

11 manas 18 drachmas of silver, a deposit, sealed and assured, the price of the house of Bel-rimanni, the son of Mušezib-Bel, son of Da-Marduk, which Bel-aḫe-iddin, the son of Marduk-zir-ibni, son of Egibi, buys; and this sum of money, 11 manas 18 drachmas of silver is entrusted to Nabu-aḫe-iddin, son of Egibi. The owner of the house will remain in possession as long as Bel-aḫe-iddin, the purchaser of the house, whose son is dead, does not actually take possession of the house for this deposit, (the option shall last) for four years.

After the death of Bel-aḫe-iddin and Nabu-aḫe-iddin, to whom the deposit is entrusted, Bel-rimanni (shall receive) his deposit.

Itti-Marduk-balat, the son of Nabu-ahe-iddin (shall repay) it, but if he, the actual holder, does not give back nor render the deposit, they shall bring him before the tribunal of the chief magistrate and judges, to Zirya, the intendant (?) of the temple Saqal, and he will say thus: the inheritance of the property including the deposit belongs to his (i.e., the testator's) son; Zirya will decide, that he does not know this kind of inheritance of the testator's property, nor about the right of taking possession of it, as if the deposit would belong to the son. Itti-Marduk-balat will render it with his seal in presence of Kiribtu, the magistrate, Edir-Bel, the magistrate, Nirgal-aḥ-uṣur and Zikir-ukin, the judges, and will give it to Bel-rimamū.

Da-Marduk, the scribe, son of Bawu-sin-ilu.

The royal city of Babylon, in the month Elul, the 5th day, the 17th year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon.

The seal of Nirgal-aḥ-uṣur, the judge; (the impression is rather effaced); the seal of Zikir-ukin, the judge; (represents a priest standing before a large bird, over which is a star).

The seal of Kiribtu; (a priest standing before an altar, over which on the top of a pole a cock is seated).

The seal of Edir-Bel, the magistrate; (a priest before an animal seated on an altar, behind which two poles are standing).



THE PAPYRUS OF BEK-EN-AMEN

(WRITTEN IN HIERATIC SCRIPT)

IN THE MUNICIPAL MUSEUM OF BOLOGNA,
No. 1,086.

BY GIOVANNI KMINEK-SZEDLO.

Read 1st June, 1880.

THOUGH this Papyrus has been already studied and commented upon by a more able interpreter of the cursive character, the learned Egyptologist M. F. Chabas,¹ I have not had the good fortune to see his work, but, taking advantage of the publication of Dr. Arthur Lincke,² I have transcribed this important document into hieroglyphic characters.

The manuscript purchased in Egypt by the Chancellor of the Consul-General of Austria, Giuseppe Nizzoli, was left with the other antiquities forming his collection by the artist Palagi, to his native town, Bologna.

The text, which extends to twenty-five lines, is written in the most beautiful hieratic or cursive character. At some time the papyrus has been rolled up twenty-five times, and afterwards bent in the centre, as the marks of the folds are still visible. Probably folded in this manner, and sealed,³ the letter was originally sent.

¹ "Mélange Egyptologiques," III Serie, I, pp. 226-246.

² Correspondenzen aus der Zeit der Ramessiden, 1878.

³ The seal bore



The following address was written on the outside fold:¹—



The scribe of the table.



Bekenamen



to the prophet Ramessu of Pa-Thoth [Hermopolis].

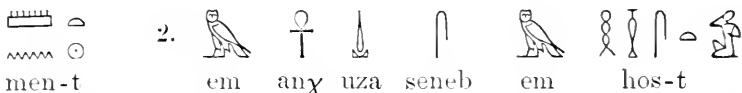
The following translation is made according to the modifications suggested by Dr. Lincke:—



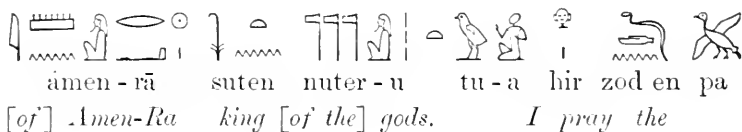
1. Scribe [of the] table of offerings Bek-en-Amen. Consults



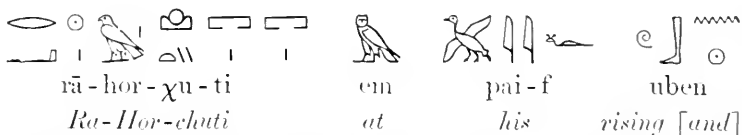
en atef nuter-hon rā-mes per-tehuti her
the father prophet Rameses [of] Pertehuti [Be]



men-t em anχ uza seneb em hos-t
satisfied ever [enjoy] life strong [and] healthy with the favour



[of] Amen-Ra king [of the] gods. I pray the



rā-hor-χu-ti em pai-f uben
Ra-Hor-chuti at his rising [and]

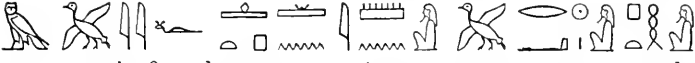
¹ Transcribed into hieroglyphics, see Chabas, p. 230.

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Hieratic script on papyrus, consisting of approximately 25 lines of text. The script is dense and cursive, typical of ancient Egyptian administrative or legal documents. The text is written in black ink on a light-colored papyrus strip.


HIERATIC PAPYRUS OF BEK-EN AMEN
 Municipal Museum of
 Bologna No. 1086

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3. 

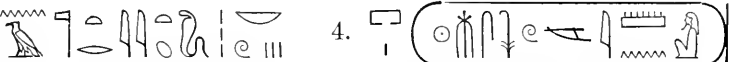
em pai - f hotep en amen pa ra ptah

at his setting the Ammon, the Ra Ptah



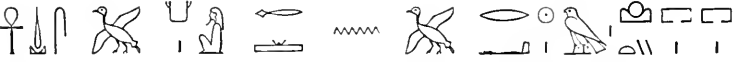
en ra - messu - mer - amen a. u. s. en na nuter - u

of Ramessu - mer - Amen l. h. s. the gods




na nuteri - t - u neb - u per - ra - messu - mer - amen

the goddesses all [of] the town Per - Ramessu - mer - Amen




a. u. s. pa ka aa en pa ra - hor - chu - ti

l. h. s., the person great of Ra - Hor - chuti



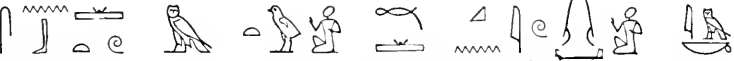
ammā - nek seneb ammā - nek anḫ

may thou [be] healthy, may thou live




ammā - nek uza ammā petra - tu

[and] may thou [be] strong. May [thy] seeing again




seneb - tu em tu - à meh genäu am - k

[be] happy. I am filled [with] the thought of thee.




ki - zod er - enti sotem - à pa hab


Of another thing let us speak. Then the message




 ā-ār-tu-k hir nutnu χet-u em pa rā
made [by] thee to consult the god Ra [and]



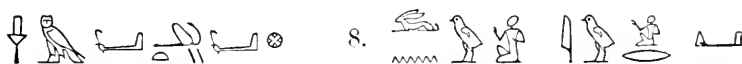
 ptah ā-ār-tu nutnu χet-u tu-k χer bu
Ptah, granted [may the] advice [be] to thee. Now not

7. 

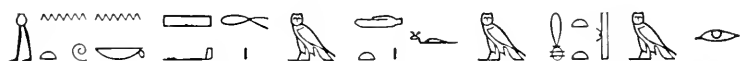
 reχ-a er zod ār pai-ā āzdu
knowing to say [the] doings [of] my boy



 peh-t er-k ia-ā-ār-ā habu-f er
sent to thee so that I cause him to go to




 seχem-pehti 8. unu-ā àu-à er dut
Sechempehti [and] am I going to



 àn-tu-nek šā em dot-f em ma-tet em ār
send to thee [a] letter by his hand. Equally do not




 ruà-k hir hab-à em duni sop-son
turn away from message my with disdain,

9. 


 sotem-à du-k er-enti àri-à sem
[in order that] I shall hear thy doing. I am taking proceedings




 pa ḫal en per-tehuti à-habu-k
against the Syrian of Per-tehuti, send




 na hir er-f gem-à su 10. àu-f dud-tu
me [news] about him. I find this he [has been] employed



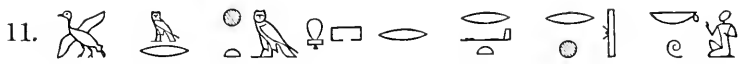
 er huuti en per-tehuti er ḫet-k em
as a workman at Per-tehuti under thy direction in




 renpi-t III ab II šemu har-u X em ta honu en
the year III month Payni, day X with the slaves of the




 sebi-u menšu-u ân
conductors [of the] transport-boats [I caused] to be conducted [to me]

11. 

 pa mer ḫetem er er-dut rex ku-à
the chief [of the] police, so that he could [tell] me his



 ran-f ḫal nagarii sa
name Syrian. [He is called] Nagarii, [is] son [of]



 sâlrâz mer-t-f qeti
Salraz [and] his mother [is of] Qeti

12. en ment
 aratu
 hon en
 sebi
in the country [of] Aratu [He is the] slave of the conductor

menšu
 en pi
 pen
 menš en
[of the] transport-boats of this country on the boat of the

her-menšu
captain
 kanuro
Kanuro
 au
and
 tai-f
his

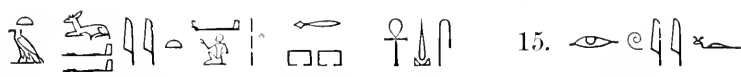
13. hii
keepers
 hir zod
spoke
 em her-rot em
to the chief of
 uāu
the officers

ta šes-u
of the troops
 xā-em-āp
Chaemap
 en ta
of the detachments [of the]


per-āo
Pharaoh l.h.s.
 ā.u.s.
to
 er
take
 šep
him
 su
[and]
 er dut
to cause him

āzai-f
to be delivered up
 tu-ā
I
 hunnu-k
went also
 en
to the


her-rot em
chief of the
 uāu
officers
 ta šes-u
of the troops
 xā-em-āp
Chaemap
 en
of the




 ta fuaai-t-u per-ao a. u. s. 15. arui-f
regiment [of the] Pharaoh l. h. s. He



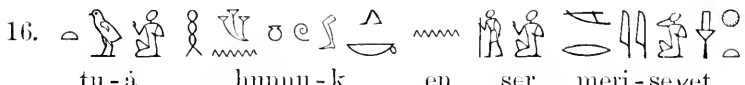
 sexa-f em du-a zodu-f na em ka
turned a deaf ear to me [and] said he [to] me exclaiming:




 zod em ser meri-sexet
speak to the governor Merisechet



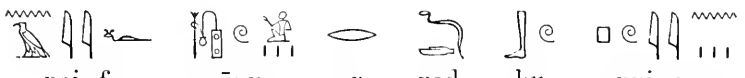
 er sep su er azai-f
so that he [may] take him to deliver him up.

16. 


 tu-a hunu-k en ser meri-sexet
I went also to the governor Merisechet



 arui-f sexa airomau
he turned a deaf ear to me with



 nai-f anu er zod bu pu-an
his scribes saying it is not us [that]

17. 

 petra-f tu-a em-sa pa her sektu-n
it concerns I [also] went to the chief boatman

em	sesemnu	er	zod	ammā	tu	pa					
of	Sesennu	saying	[to him]	can he be	[given up]						

hunuti	χal				en	18.				per-tehuti										
the labourer	Syrian				of					Pertehuti,										

ā-šep-k	āzai				tu-f	en	pai-f														
[but] take [him and]	delivered up				be he	to his															


nuter-hon	tu-a	rā-zod				äiromāu-f																
prophet	I shall	argue				with him																

em	ta mā	en	aā	19.				em	ma-tet	sotem-ā	ta												
before the tribunal	great.	Likewise				I hear the																	

zod-t-n	en	pa	hon	en	tehuti	ā-habu-k																	
words of the	slave	of	Tehuti	thou	hast sent																		

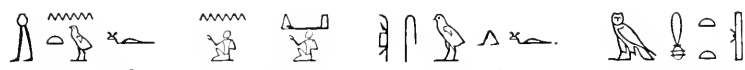
na	hir	er-f	bu	ān-f	na	hept																	
to me	about him.	He has not brought it to me				he has run away.																	

au	du-ā	šesu-f				20.				χer	em	duit											
I will have him	followed.	Now then.				give																	




 hāti-k em-sa-f xer au nofer pai-k dut

thy mind to him, now it will be well [if] thou




 an-tu-f nā du-a šesu-f em-ma-tet

causest him to be sent to me. I shall have him followed. As thou



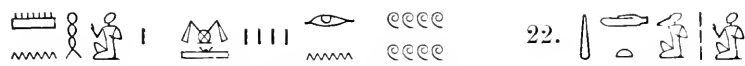
 em duit hāti-k em-sa pa des

givest thy heart after the arrangements [of]



 pir-t ari-ā sem-f gem-ā sa III

the wheat I make known that I find [that] men three [and]




 menh I demed IV ar en DCCC zod-t-ā

youth one total four [persons] do 800 [measures] I spoke




 em du na pe-u saui-u ānu

with the chief keepers of the books




 en ta šen āu-ā hir zod an-u āzai pa

of the granaries [and] I told them [to] take the




 III hunuti en pa nuter-hon er anua

three labourers of the prophet for the field work




 em ta renpi-t au-u hir zod na ari-an

in this year they said to me, We will do




 māku-an ari-an sop-son au-an sotem

our duty we will do [it] we shall do [it] we will follow




 paik semā ā-an-u na tu-ā

thy orders we say [it] to thee I




 hā ku-ā em āga-u ā-ār-tu

stay still in the midst [of] them are made




 dut peri na ānu en seter-u er seḫet

to go the scribes of the harvest to the fields.

25. 


 emtu-k ānamu em pa-enti au-ā

Thou wilt know that I



 er dut ārui su nek pa unen sa

I will cause to be done that for thee. Being settled [that] man I



 ar en CC pa uzā er aru korh nek

[cau] do 200 [measures] the estimate to have [it] executed for thee

er sa II
 menh I
 âr en DC
 χer ar pa
[is] for men II and youth I to do 600 [measures] as for the

hunuti
 χal
 â-duit-nek
 dud nek
labourer Syrian take care [that he be] restored to thee

27. em ab šemu
 â-ar-t
 heq
 pai-f
in the month of summer [having] withheld wrongly his

šenui er er-k em pa-enti au-f er ânχ
summer from thee [staying in the place] in which he lived.

The following is a fluent rendering of the letter:—

The scribe of the tablet of the offerings consults his father the prophet Rameses of Pertehuti.

Mayest thou be always satisfied, mayest thou enjoy a strong and healthy life, and may the king of the gods Ammon-Ra keep thee in his favour. I pray to Harmachis at his rising and at his setting, Ammon, Ra, and Ptah of Ramessu-mer-Amen, strong and healthy life; the great image of Harmachis, mayest thou be healthy, mayest thou live and continue strong. Mayest thou be happy when we meet again, the thought of thee fills my heart.

Let us now speak of other matters.

I feel that I require thy help to consult Ra, and Ptah, may they grant their advice to thee. Now as I am unable to say how my boy acted when sent to thee, I will therefore send him to Sechempheti to take with him a letter to thee. I wish also to hear what thou hast decided, whether thou leavest quickly and art obliged to go away at the time my message arrives.

As I am making legal inquiries about the Syrian of Pertehuti, send me all thou knowest about him. I heard that he had been employed as a workman under thy direction at Pertehuti in the third year and the 10th day of the month Payni with the labourers of the conductors of the transport boats. I sent for the chief of the police in order to learn from him his name. He is called Naqarii, and is from Salraz, his mother came from Qeti of the country of Aratu. He is the slave employed on the transport boats of this country, on the boat of the Captain Kanuro. His keepers told Chaemap the chief of the officers of the troops of the regiment of Pharaoh, the powerful, may he live for ever, to take him and have him given up. I also myself went to Chaemap the chief of the officers of the troops, of the regiment of Pharaoh, may he live for ever, but he turned a deaf ear to me, and said: Speak to the Governor Merisechet, so that he cause him to be given up. I went then myself to the Governor Merisechet, but he also turned to me a deaf ear with his clerks and said: It is not our business. I went then to see the chief boatman of Sesennu and said to him: Can the Syrian workman of Pertehuti be given back? take him, and let him be returned to his prophet. I will settle the matter with him before the great tribunal. I have also heard the news thou hast sent to me about the slave of Tehuti. He did not bring it to me, having run away, but I will have him followed. Now as thou takest interest in him it would be well to have him brought to me.

As thou also takest interest in the arrangements about the corn, I send the following information. I find that three men and one youth, *i.e.* four all together, can do 800 measures. I spoke to the chief book-keepers of the granaries and told them to take this year the three workmen of the prophet for the work in the fields, to which they replied We will do it, our duty we will do it, we will; we will obey thy orders, we tell thee so. I am still staying among them, the scribes of the harvest have been sent into the fields.

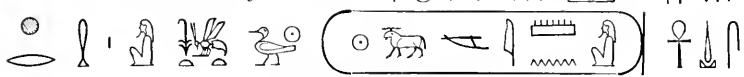
I will tell thee what I can have done for thee: It being ascertained that a man can do 200 measures, by estimation,

to have it done for thee, would require two men and a youth ; therefore it would be 600 measures.

As for the Syrian workman, take care that he is restored to thee in the month of summer, having defrauded thee of his summer by staying in the place where he lived.




The tenth line, "in the year III, the 10th day of the month Payni,"¹ gives us the date when the letter was written, as the Egyptians on their monuments and important documents never failed to state the year, month, and day of the reign of the then king. Although the name of the king does not appear, it may be stated with certainty that the papyrus was written in the reign of Mer-en-ptah I, a Pharaoh mentioned in the Bible. We have then a document contemporary with Moses, as it is generally admitted that the Exodus took place during the reign of this king.

The statement that the time of the writing of the letter falls during the lifetime of the Pharaoh of the Exodus is based on the graphic style of the writing, which is very similar to that of another MS. in the same Museum,² on the reverse side of which can clearly be read



renpi-t VIII ab III še haru XXIX xer hon suten sexet sa ra ba-en-rā mer-āmen ānw uza seneb, or "eighth year, of the month Athyr [October] the 29th under his Majesty the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of the Sun Ba-en Ra-Mer-Amen strong and healthy life." This is the official title of Mer-en-ptah I, the thirteenth son of Rameses II, as mentioned in his tomb, the date of whose reign would, according to Brugsch, be B.C. 1296.

It must also be remembered that the best specimens of calligraphy, as in the letter of Bek-en-Amen, are only found

¹ This is the second month of the third quarter of the Egyptian year, which was divided into three stations, thus : of the inundation  *se*; of the sowing  *per*; and of the harvest  *semu*. It would about correspond to our 26th of April.

² No. 1094 of the Catalogue.

in such perfection during the epoch of the best writers such as Pentaur.¹

Amen-em-apt, Amen-em-ant, Qakubu, Hori, Meremapt, Annana,² Penbesa, all of whom belonged to the celebrated scientific college during the reign of Rameses II, his son Mer-en-ptah I, and of his nephew Seti II.

The town Per-Ramessu-Mer-Amen is no doubt the place where the letter was written, to be sent thence to Per-Tehuti. Bek-en-Amen addresses his prayers to the local divinities of this place, to Ra-Horchuti, or Harmachis, Ammon, Ra, and Ptah. When mentioned in the Bible it is simply called Rameses.³ Like Pithom, it was in the direction of Pelusium (Abaris), on the east side of Egypt. Pithom, or "the city of the god Tum," was in the Sethroïte nome, and Rameses (Per Rameses, or the city of R.) in the Tanite nome. This last province being in the land of Goshen, and allotted by Pharaoh to the race of Joseph.

The Egyptians were hard taskmasters to the Israelites as their slaves, and embittered their lives with hard work. In Exodus⁴ it is said, "Ye shall no more give the people straw to make brick⁵ as heretofore, let them go and gather straw for themselves." In the papyrus of Leyden we have the following: "And they drag the stone for the abode of Phara-Ramessu-Mer-Amen, may he live for ever, on the south of Memphis;⁶ and again in the inscription at Thebes: "The overseer of the slaves says to the workmen, 'the stick [is] in my hand, do not be lazy.'"⁷

The town of Per-Ramessu-Mer-Amen, which bears the name of its founder, is identified by Brugsch Bey, Dr. Birch,

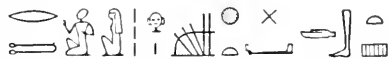
¹ Poem of Pentaur.

² See concluding sentence of the tale of two brothers: "The book is finished in peace, for the scribe treasurer Qakabu, of the treasure of Pharaoh, strong and healthy for the scribe Hori, for the scribe Meremapt, done by the scribe Annana the master of the books, may Thot protect everyone who reads this book."

³ Exodus i, II, Pithom and Raameses.

⁴ Exod. v, 7, 8.

⁵ Cf. Anastasi Papyr. III, 3 verso




radu hir sejet deb-t, "people to make bricks."

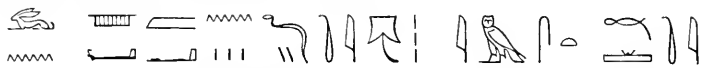
⁶ Zeit. für Ae. Sp., 1876.

⁷ "Hist. d'Égypte," Brugsch Bey.

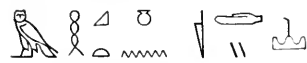
Dr. Lincke, and others with Tanis, called in the Bible Zoan, from whence Rameses II undertook his memorable expedition against the Semitic population—the same which later on the Israelites had to fight in order to take possession of Canaan. It would be the place in which according to the Psalmist, Moses with the help of his brother Aaron made his miracles before Pharaoh, whose heart was hardened. From this place also came to the Hebrews the call for revolt, and where Mer-en-Ptah I placed his camp with his chariots and horses before following the fugitive children of Israel.¹


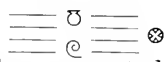
Several other towns are found mentioned in the papyrus—

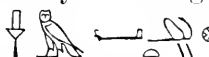
 *Qeti*, a country of Syria, also mentioned in the Anastasi Papyrus, where it is said:—


 un manuzida am-set meh-da

are opened there the leather bottles which are filled



 em heq-ten quedi.
with beer of Qedi.




 *Aratu*, which according to M. Chabas is the plain of Aradus, better known as Ruâd.  *Sesennu* is Hermopolis Magna, in the Thebaïd, consecrated to the god Thoth, from whom is derived the Greek name. The Egyptian name was an allusion to the eight regions over which this god presided, the word *Sesennu* meaning “the city of the eight.”







 *Sechempehti*. Of this town I can give no explanation.² It must, however, have been situated in Lower Egypt, perhaps near to Pertehuti.


The letter was written by Bekenamen, “the scribe of the tablet of offerings to the prophet.” In the Nile valley


¹ “Egypt, Ancient and Modern.” By George Ebers.


² Brugsch, “Diet. Geog.,” p. 744, identifies it with the Coptic  and in Arabic *Sombat*, a town in Lower Egypt, of the Busirite Nome.


everyone had his fixed post, from the absolute master  *Per-ao* (Pharaoh),¹ to the humble servant  *hon*, who by a whim of the language had the name of his majesty  *honj*.²


Brugsch, in his "History of Egypt," states that the affairs of the court and of the administration of the country were conducted by the chiefs  *nour*,  *se-huz*,  *ur*,  *em-χet*; the secretaries  *hir-sešta*; and by the scribes innumerable  *an*. The scribes forwarded the orders of their superiors to those required, took down in their books facts and events, and notes of expenses and receipts. To the talented scribe higher posts were open. Among this class we know the following principal ones:—


 *suten an*, the royal scribe.


 *an en per-ās*, *ā.u.s.*, the scribe of Pharaoh, l. h. s.


 *an uthu en nob ta-ūi*, the scribe of the table of offerings of the lord of the two worlds.

 *an haz pe*, the scribe of the treasure.


 *an se-t mā-t*, the scribe of the tribunal of justice.


 *an nuter hat*, the scribe of the temple.


 *an šes-u*, the scribe of the troops.


 *an nofer-u*, the scribe of recruiting.


¹ Literally, "the Great House," or "Sublime Porte."


² The inverted vase  *hon* meant properly "to consecrate," or "consecrated"; and when applied to the person of a king it means "the consecrated to God," or rather "the servant of God," whence it is used also to mean "the servant," or "the slave."


 *ân god-u*, the scribe of the artizans.

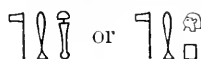

 *ân heseb-t* *χet-u-neb*, the scribe accountant of everything.


There were a great number of priests,  *ab-u*, the sole trustees of Egyptian science. Their various functions appear from their titles:—


 *sem* (“hierogrammatu”), great priest of Ptah.


 *di-u-p-ân*, prophets (“hierogrammati”).


 *nuter hon*, etc. This class was divided into several minor classes, according to their duties.


 or  *nuter hon tep*, prophet of the first class.


 *nuter hon sen-nu*, prophet of the second class.


 *nuter hon χemet-nu*, prophet of the third class.

 *nuter hon ašt-nu*, &c., prophet of the fourth class.


 *nuter hon en āmen*, prophet of Ammon.

 *nuter hon ptah*, prophet of Ptah.

 *nuter hon en āsar*, prophet of Osiris.

 *nuter hon mond neb uas*, prophet of Mond, lord of Thebes.

It appears that after death every king was venerated by a special worship, under the care also of a “prophet”; sometimes at the earliest period also the princesses¹ took pride in being called “prophetesses” of the goddess Hathor, and of the goddess Neit.

¹  *suten sa-t-u*.

The priests combined their duties in the temples with other occupations in the courts of justice, shops, &c., &c., and, as we learn from the letter of Bek-en-Amen, they held land which they caused to be cultivated by slaves.

In a country like Egypt, where the labour of slaves, taken for the most part from prisoners of war, formed such an important element of labour, very exact laws must have existed for their treatment. Chaemap, the chief of the officers of the troops of the regiment of Pharaoh, the governor Merisēxēt, the chief boatman of Sesennu, and the chief of the police ought apparently to have assisted in the discovery of runaway slaves. That they did not show themselves to be very zealous in performing their duty is the subject of complaint from the scribe; but that there were strict legal formalities to be observed is sufficiently illustrated by the action taken by him, and that the matter could come before the grand tribunal.

The perfect state of rural economy appears from the exact calculations made by Bek-en-Amen in arranging for the coming harvest. The religion itself taught that the highest felicity to be obtained in after life would be in cultivating the Elysian fields of Osiris, constant pictures of which are to be found painted in the tombs. Great feasts were celebrated in honour of agriculture, as is mentioned in the "Book of the Dead,"¹ where it is said: "The great *panegyries* of the work of the land in Busiris;" and the processions of the Pharaohs are represented in the Ramesseum and courtyard of Medinet-Abu at Thebes.²

¹ Cap. xviii. l. 21.

² Mon. del Culto, Rosellini, pl. 55-57, 81-86.



THE INSCRIBED STONES FROM JERABIS,
HAMATH, ALEPPO, &c.

BY W. HARRY RYLANDS, F.S.A. (*Secretary*).

THE series of ten plates to which the following notes form an explanatory introduction, has been prepared with a view to bring together accurate representations of these inscribed stones, which have been the object of so much interest and speculation, and thus to provide for those who are devoting attention to the problem of interpretation, an opportunity of comparison and study hitherto wanting. Before entering on the notes, however, I must express my thanks to our President, Dr. Birch, and to the authorities of the British Museum, for the facilities they have always given to me, to obtain photographs, squeezes, or drawings of the inscriptions under their care.

My thanks are also due to the Council of the Society, who have so kindly enabled me to realize a wish, held ever since I became aware of the existence of these stones, of placing the drawings I had collected in such a form as to make them available to students.

The words, "Inscribed stones from Jerabis, Hamath," &c., have been uniformly made use of in place of the more usual form "Hittite Inscriptions," and for this reason, that there seems to be little or no evidence to prove that the inscriptions are in any way connected with either the Hittites mentioned in the Bible, or the Kheta or Khatti of the Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions. I have also, for the purpose of identification, adopted a form of notation which seems to recommend itself to general use more than that employed by the Rev. Dunbar J. Heath, as it is capable of any amount of extension, and has this great advantage, that it keeps together all the inscriptions found on one site, and at once denotes those of one series; at the same time showing the place from which each stone was obtained.

The following is the system employed. The initial letter of each site is given followed by a number, for example J. I, refers to Jerabis No. I; H. I to Hamath, No. I, and so on, a separate number being given to each inscription.

Necessarily it is not within the scope of these notes to discuss, or even state the various theories advanced, as solutions of the difficulty of interpretation. My endeavour has only been to bring together certain points of identification, and to collect references—I fear by no means complete—to the most important papers and essays that have been published on the subject; so that any one wishing to take up the study may here find some little assistance at the commencement of his labours.

One peculiarity of these inscriptions must be pointed out at the commencement. Unlike the inscriptions of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria, they are all cut in relief, and divided by lines running horizontally, about four inches apart, between which are the characters, written, as was pointed out soon after the inscriptions were known, in the manner called *boustrophedon*.¹

As mentioned by many who have written on the subject, at least one of the stones from Hamath was noticed by Burckhardt² during a journey from Aleppo to Damascus, made by him in the year 1812. In 1870 J. Augustus Johnson, late U.S. Consul-General at Beyrut, published an account³ of "Inscriptions Discovered at Hamath in Northern Syria," which he noticed while looking through the town in that year with the Rev. S. Jessup, of the Syrian Mission. Fanatical Moslems interrupted their obtaining more than copies by a native painter, and such was the respect in which the stones were held that Mr. Jessup, failed to purchase the one containing two lines of inscription. This was owing to the tradition connected with it, and the income derived from it. Mr. Johnson tells us that "Deformed persons were willing to

¹ Rev. W. Hayes Ward, D.D., "On the Hamath Inscriptions," Proceedings Boston, May, 1873. Journal of the American Oriental Soc., Vol. X, 1880, p. lxxv.

² "Travels in Syria and the Holy Land." 4to. London, 1822, pp. 146-147.

³ First Quarterly Statement of the American Palestine Exploration Society, July, 1871, reprinted in the Quarterly Statement Palestine Exploration Fund, 1871, p. 173, &c.

pay for the privilege of lying upon it, in the hope of a speedy cure, as it was believed to be efficacious in spinal diseases." In this paper Mr. Johnson ventures an opinion on the character of the writing; and adds that of Professor Eisenlohr.

In June, 1871,¹ Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake obtained squeezes and photographs of the inscriptions. The squeezes, he says, are good, but the latter, owing to an accident to his baggage-animal, were not successful.

Mr. Hyde Clarke, having seen copies in the hands of Captain Richard F. Burton, and the "small portion printed by Mr. Wilson,"² published a note with a plate of one inscription [H. I], at the same time submitting some remarks on the form of writing.³

The Rev. Dunbar J. Heath, in describing a plate,⁴ points out the similarity between the first line of this one and the three short lines before given of another inscription.⁵ He also states a theory of interpretation, which I believe he has now abandoned.

Mr. Heath next published⁶ a "Proposed Restoration of the Remaining Inscriptions on the Hamath Stones," numbered by Burton and Drake IV. [H. IV] and V. [H. V], and in writing of them he still adheres to his original theory of interpretation.

In the same year (1872) casts were taken by the Rev. William Wright,⁷ as mentioned in a letter from Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake. In a letter from Mr. Wright,⁸ an interesting description of the stones is given as follows.

"No. I. [H. I⁹] is only a fragment. The lines seem to be "broken across the middle, and therefore the sense is not

¹ Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, 1872, p. 11.

² First Quarterly Statement, American Exploration Society, 1871, woodcut, p. 30, printed the wrong way up.

³ Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, 1872, p. 74, &c.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1872, p. 199. This plate, which is printed the wrong way up, corresponds with Burton I, II, and III.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁷ Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, 1873, p. 61. Proceedings Soc. Bibl. Arch., Vol. III, Session 1880-81, p. 9.

⁸ Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, 1873, p. 74. I add the numbers used in the plates here given, for convenience in reference.

⁹ On comparing the inscriptions it will be found that only half of one or two characters are wanting at the end of the first two lines of this text.—W.H.R.

“likely to be complete. When taken out of the wall, it proved to be only a thin piece broken off a large stone. The remainder of the inscription is yet to be found. It may be added that below the three remaining lines of this inscription there is a blank space on the original stone.

“No. 2. [II. II] proves by the last line ending in the middle of the stone, leaving a blank at the left side, that the inscription reads from right to left, beginning at the top.

“No. 3. [II. III] is the stone which was so efficacious in lumbago, that a man had only to put his back against it to be made perfectly well. This stone was very large.

“No. 4.² [II. IV] is on the end, and 5. [II. V] on the side of the same square stone, that in the corner of the shop,³ proving that the lines are read horizontally, and not from bottom to top and *vice versa*, as Mr. Hyde Clarke asserts. The two faces were carefully dressed for the inscriptions, but the part of the stone most remote from the inscription was undressed. The stone was doubtless placed in the corner of a square building.

“No. 5. [II. V] has parts of the upper lines effaced and illegible. This is the inscription the facsimile of which is printed in the first *Statement* of the American Palestine Exploration Society (p. 32), and incorrectly described as “one of the inscriptions found on the bridge.”

Mr. Wright continues, “all the inscriptions except the first are complete, barring the defaced letters. The boundaries of the inscriptions and lines are clearly defined by raised bars. The stones on which they were inscribed were very large. It took four oxen and fifty men a day to bring one of the stones a distance of half a mile. The others were cut in two, and the fragments inscribed were carried to the Serai on the backs of camels. The stones were dressed narrow towards the parts on which the inscriptions were found, and the bases were undressed for several feet. Apparently they had been inserted in masonry, with the dressed and inscribed parts standing out of the wall. They seem to be intended

¹ “Unexplored Syria,” by Burton and Drake, Vol. I, p. 336.

² There seems to be some mistake here, II. IV is, according to Drake, carved on a stone by itself, whereas II. III and II. V are on different faces of the same stone.

³ The Bazaar of Mohammed Ali Effendi at Hamah.

to be publicly read, and were therefore doubtless in the vernacular of the people of Hamath."

It may be added that the upper portion of the stone H. III. above the four lines of the inscription is a plain surface.¹

In 1872, was published the work by Richard F. Burton and C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake "Unexplored Syria," and at the end of the first volume are given a series of ten plates. The positions in which the stones were found in Hamath are there described,² and sketches given of the stones themselves. To this Dr. Hyde Clarke has added some remarks.

In 1873, the same plates were issued by the Anthropological Institute³ to illustrate a communication from Captain Burton. Letters from Dr. Hyde Clarke and others are also there printed.

In the same year a paper appeared by the Rev. William Hayes Ward, D.D., entitled "The Hamath Inscriptions," to this were added a series of plates, one called "Restoration of the Hamath Inscriptions."⁴

In 1876, Prof. A. H. Sayce read a paper before this Society entitled, "The Hamathite Inscriptions," with a plate "List of Hamathite Hieroglyphics (from Dr. Hayes Ward)⁴ compared with Kypriote Characters," which will be found printed in the Transactions.⁵

The object of this paper was to show that the hieroglyphics were really those of the Hittites. Confirmation of this view was shortly afforded by the identification of the site of Carchemish, and the discovery of similar inscriptions there.

In May, 1877, the Rev. Hayes Ward, of New York, read a paper at Boston "On the Hittite Inscriptions," before the American Oriental Society.⁶ In this he writes of the inscriptions that "they cannot longer be distinguished by the name of Hamath, as there seems no other name more appropriate

¹ "Unexplored Syria," by Burton and Drake, Vol. I, p. 337. Some account of the inscriptions with a plate will also be found in "Our Work in Palestine," 1874, p. 329.

² *Ibid.*, 333-349.

³ Journal, Anthropological Institute of London, Vol. II, 1873, pp. 41-52.

⁴ Second Statement American Palestine Exploration Society, 1873, p. 19, &c.

⁵ Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch., Vol. V, pp. 22-32. 1877.

⁶ Printed in abstract, Jour., Amer. Orient. Soc., Vol. X, 1880, p. cxxxix.

as indicating their probable origin than that of Hittite." Plates of the inscriptions and a communication from the Rev. Dunbar Heath were published in 1880,¹ and again in 1881.² A paper by the same writer will be found, with a long folding plate, in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* for the year 1880,³ and one was read by him before this Society in December of the same year.⁴ In these will be found Mr. Heath's latest system of interpretation.

INSCRIPTION AT ALEPPO.

In 1872, Mr. Charles F. Tyrwhitt Drake published an engraving of this inscription in "*Unexplored Syria*,"⁵ and in 1873, M. Clermont Ganneau published an "*Ideographic Inscription found at Aleppo, akin to those at Hamath*."⁶ The woodcut there given is taken from a drawing made by M. Paucker. M. Clermont Ganneau mentions that "The original stone is of basalt like those of Hamath, is embedded partly in a mosque, and partly in the harem of an adjacent house. Only the former portion is visible, and consequently either the beginning or the end of the inscription is wanting in the above copy."⁷ M. Clermont Ganneau, in a few words expresses his opinion as to the character of the "Letters."

During his visit to Assyria in 1874, the late George Smith, before he left Aleppo on the 14th May, saw this inscription, and mentions it as "a new Hamath Inscription."⁸ It is, he says, "on a black oblong stone built into the wall of an old mosque now in ruins." He claims to have "found" the inscription; but as mentioned above, it had already been published by both Mr. Drake and M. Clermont Ganneau.

These are the only two copies of this inscription which appear to have been published, although copies were made by the late George Smith. Major-General S. W. Crawford,

¹ *Quarterly Statement Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1880, pp. 206-210.

² *Ibid.*, 1881, pp. 118, 124. Other communications will be found in the same valuable *Journal*, 1880, p. 118 and p. 210; 1881, p. 174 and p. 218.

³ Vol. IX, pp. 369, 375.

⁴ *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Vol. III, Session 1880-81, pp. 23-24.

⁵ *Burton and Drake's "Unexplored Syria"*, Vol. II, p. 186.

⁶ *Palest. Explor. Fund Quar. Stat.*, 1873, p. 72. *Cf.* also *Journal Asiatique*, April, 1873.

⁷ Referring to the woodcut given in his paper.

⁸ *Assyrian Discoveries*, 1875, pp. 164, 122.

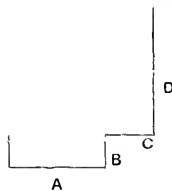
and W. Boscawen. From these four drawings, Prof. Sayce and myself have both attempted a probable restoration, but the copies differ so materially, and the inscription is apparently so defaced that it is a work of great uncertainty, and I fear that until casts, squeezes, or good photographs are obtained, this inscription will have to be used with great care in all efforts at decipherment. For the above reason no copy is here given, but it is to be hoped that ere long it may be added to the series.

The stone measures about three and a half feet by two feet.

INSCRIBED STONES FROM JERABIS.

These, which are now in the British Museum, are here published for the first time. They were discovered in the mound indifferently called Jerabis,¹ and Jerablus—identified by the late George Smith² as being the site of ancient Carchemish.

J. I. is a large piece of basalt, $39\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, it is cut in vertical steps,³ and for this reason, in the autotype plate the columns are not placed in their proper sequence. Letters are added at the foot of each column, which with the assistance of the annexed diagram, will make the arrangement quite clear. The stone is flat at the top, and I believe that we have the inscription complete in the columns A. B and C. A vertical division will be noticed in the angles where the columns B and C meet, with bands of flat stone of the same level as the horizontal dividing lines, possibly, as I have before suggested, denoting a separation.



J. II. is also of basalt, and apparently complete as to height and width, although the figure is much damaged. The stone is 3 feet $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height and 2 feet $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in width. The figure is clothed in a long robe reaching to

¹ For the correctness of this name see a letter from Prof. Wm. Wright, LL.D., printed in the Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., Vol. III, Session 1880-81, pp. 58-59.

² Prof. Sayce informs me that in the "Times" of 23rd August, 1876, there is a letter by Mr. Parsons, claiming for Mr Consul Skeue the credit of having been the first to connect the mound Jerabis with the site of ancient Carchemish.

³ The following are the widths of the different columns. A is $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches; B, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches; C, 7 inches; and, D, at the greatest width, 22 inches.

the ankles; what remains of the shoes shows that the toes were slightly turned up, an armlet of three or four rings encircles the arm, which is bare, near the elbow, and in the left hand, the only one now remaining, is held a baton or mace, it has been thought by some to be one or more arrows.

J. III. appears to have been first noticed and copied by the late George Smith; copies have also been made by various travellers who visited the mound. Like the other stones it is of basalt, now about five feet five inches in height and two feet six and a half inches broad on the flat side. The stone, as it at present exists, represents in section a segment of a circle, three feet five inches on the curve. On the flat side, cut in low relief, is the full-face figure of a king or priest, standing in a niche, some portion of which still remains. Unfortunately the head and shoulders of the figure are gone, but sufficient remains to show that some of the decoration of the long striped robe was of a very ornamental character. About the breast are the remains of bands decorated with alternate rose-like figures, and double or treble squares, one within another, similar to the pattern to be found on the Assyrian monuments. Along the base of the stone, below the feet, runs a single band of the guilloche pattern. The hands of the figure are closed, and pressed against the breast; in the left hand is held a sceptre, somewhat similar to those found in the hands of the figures at Eyuk and Boghaz Keui.¹

The inscription here given in the plate [J. III] is engraved round the back of the figure, which from this side has the appearance of a circular column. The lines of characters are high up on the stone, and reach about to the level of the waist of the statue; the remainder of the stone is blank. We have therefore the last lines of the inscription.

The surface of the stone seems to have been carefully prepared to receive the carving, which consists of four lines of hieroglyphs at the end, and a portion of another, much clipped away, above these. It is impossible to say how many lines are lost at the commencement, but there cannot

¹ Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch., present vol., p. 257, and Plate, p. 250, "Monument of a King from Birejik."

be much wanting at the two sides, where the stone appears to have been chipped away for an inch or two.

This inscription, for which we have waited so long, is of very great interest, being the longest yet known, and containing, as it does, many new characters of quaint and unknown forms, and at the same time repeating characters and combinations of characters known to us from the other inscriptions from the same site.

On looking at the stone the question will probably occur to many, as it did to myself—Does the inscription belong to the statue? or was the statue utilized for the inscription? I am inclined to believe that the two are separate productions.

J. IV. is also from Jerabis, and now in the British Museum. The figure here represented is peculiarly of Assyrian form, and probably, when complete, would have four wings, otherwise the two lower ones—now the only ones remaining—would not have been represented; the greatest height is two feet six inches, and the greatest width two feet two inches. In the right hand is held a basket or vase, as in the figures of the Assyrian sculptures. The other arm was no doubt raised, and held in the hand a sceptre, or perhaps some sacred object. It may be worth remarking that the turning point of the border of the robe is square, and not rounded, as in Assyrian costume. Bonomi¹ figures one of the few Assyrian ones known with a square border.

Plate IV, figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4, and Plate V, fig. 1, include all the fragments in the British Museum. One small piece, in the possession of Mr. Rassam, will be found in Plate VI.

There are other stones at Jerabis yet to be sent to England. One is a fragment of a human figure, with an inscription running in lines down the sides in the usual manner. The others are, I believe, without inscriptions. Reduced woodcuts of them have been published,² but, being nothing more than illustrations, they cannot, of course, be depended upon as perfectly accurate.

¹ "Nineveh and its Palaces," 1853, p. 265.

² The "Graphic," 11 Dec. 1880.

INSCRIPTION AT IBREEZ OR IVRIS.

Of this monument several copies have been published. It was first drawn in 1838 by Major Fischer,¹ and afterwards by the Rev. E. J. Davis, from whose drawing a plate was published in the Transactions of this Society² to illustrate some notes by him.

On comparing the two figures represented in the plate with those on the stones from Jerabis, and the figures given by Texier and Perrot from the rocks at Eyuk and Boghaz Keuü, it is curious to notice how great a difference there exists in the costumes.³

The hieroglyphics of this inscription are so imperfectly copied, that it is difficult to identify more than a very few characters as being the same as those upon the stones from Hamath and Jerabis.

Of the JOVANOFF BOSS, a full description has been given by Prof. Sayce in the present volume of the Transactions (page 294), with a history so far as is known of its origin, and notices of previous writers who have commented upon it.

I must still adhere to my doubts, before expressed, as to the genuineness of this reputed antiquity; but Prof. Sayce and others being satisfied that it is genuine, an autotype plate of it has here been inserted, which may be compared with the woodcut (page 298) published in the present volume.

CLAY SEALS.

The last inscriptions to be mentioned of the same class, and of which the originals are in this country, are the clay seals discovered by Sir Henry Layard, in 1851, in the Record Chamber of the palace of Sennacherib, at Kouyunjik. They are figured by him in his great work, "Monuments of Nineveh,"⁴ and the manner of their discovery with other clay

¹ Dr. Kiepert, in Ritter's "Erdkunde," III, 18. (Asia Minor, Vol. I.)

² Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch., Vol. IV, p. 336.

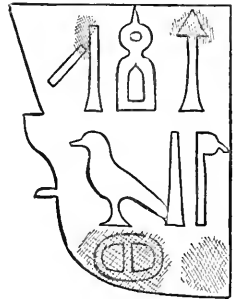
³ This may also be said as to the form, feature, and costume of the figures represented in the battle at Kadesh between Rameses and the Kheta, where the differences are very evident.

⁴ Part II, pl. 69.

seals is described in "Babylon and Nineveh," by the same author.¹ In the *Revue Archeologique*,² 1873, 15th April, is a communication from M. François Lenormant on these seals, entitled "Lettre à M. de Sauley * * * * sur quelques sceaux à légendes en écriture hamathéenne." In this M. Lenormant discusses the characters in their relation to other monuments. They will also be found to have been referred to by Prof. Sayce in his various communications to this Society. These seals, eight in number, are here figured on Plate V. They are of clay, and the same characters are found on several of them, as already pointed out by Prof. Sayce; for example, figs. 6, 7, and 8, and perhaps 2, are the same, although not from the same matrix.

THE PSEUDO-SESOSTRIS, THE SECOND PSEUDO-SESOSTRIS,
AND THE NIOBE OR KYBELE,

Have all now been included by some writers in the list of this class of monuments. Representations of the two former will be found as illustrations to Prof. Sayce's paper on "The Monuments of the Hittites," printed in the present volume. The annexed is from a drawing made by Prof. Sayce,³ of the panel on the Pseudo-Sesostris. It is interesting to compare it with the photograph⁴ and with the drawing from Texier published by Canon Rawlinson,⁵ which we are told by him is in "general character, decidedly Egyptian, strongly recalling the Egyptian sculptures at the mouth of the Nahr-el-Kelb, yet there are points of detail, as the shape of the shoes, in which it is peculiar and non-Egyptian." It has also been said that some of the titles of Rameses the Great can be traced in the hieroglyphic characters engraved near the face of the figure. An examination of the photograph will show that the sculptured figure is not to be connected with Egyptian art, and differs widely from the Egyptian monuments on the Nahr-el-Kelb.



¹ pp. 153-161. ² pp. 226-235. ³ Present Vol., p. 267. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 266.
⁵ "History of Herodotus," 1875, Vol. II, p. 174.

Of this monument, Mr. Hyde Clarke, writing from Smyrna in 1865, says,¹ "It most distinctly resembles the sculptures of Pterium [*i.e.*, Boghaz Keuï] and others of that type, and is perhaps to be classed with them, not as distinctly Assyrian, but as of an allied class, Assyrian in its general features, but not distinctly belonging to the main group of Assyrian."

This is very much what is now supposed to be the case, The Niobe, or Kybele as it is now called, of Mount Sipylos, is little more than a shapeless mass of rock, so much so that opinions are divided as to whether it is a sitting or standing figure—male or female.²

Near to the upper portion of it was discovered a cartouche, which has been already published in the Proceedings³ with a letter from Mr. Dennis, H. B. M. Consul at Smyrna; I here again reproduce it on Plate V, from a sketch made by Prof. Sayce, and kindly furnished by him.

An article on these monuments will be found in the *Revue Archéologique*,⁴ entitled "Trois Monuments des environs de Smyrne, lettre à M. Georges Perrot, par A. Martin." Woodcuts are added, and Plate VII is a representation of "the Niobe."

With reference to the sculptures at Boghaz Keuï, Eyuk, &c., it is hardly necessary to mention the work of Texier and the well-known and magnificent work of Perrot; but I may call attention to a series of papers in the *Revue Archéologique*⁵ by MM. Perrot and Guillaume, "Les Monuments de la Ptérie (Boghaz Keuï), Aladja et Euïuk": plates and illustrations are added, with a plan of the rocks at Boghaz Keuï, &c.

Professor Sayce informs me that Mr. W. M. Ramsay, who has recently visited Boghaz Keuï and Eyuk, failed to discover any joining bars between the characters represented as if held in standard form by the figures there sculptured, and reproduced from Texier and Perrot in the present volume.⁶

¹ *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. VIII, 1866, p. 380, &c.

² From a photograph; see *Le Sipylos et ses Monuments*, &c., par G. Weber, Paris and Smyrna, 1880.

³ *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Vol. III, Session 1880-81, p. 49.

⁴ *New Series*, Vol. XXXI, 1876, p. 322, &c.

⁵ 1872, Part I, pp. 157, 209, 280, and 345; and 1873, Part II, pp. 15 and 200.


⁶ Pages 255-257, &c.



Another article in the *Revue Archéologique* may also be pointed out as bearing on this subject¹—"L'Art de l'Asie Mineure, ses origines, son influence," par G. Perrot.

A few words seem necessary about the plates here given. The two plates of the inscription from Hamath were drawn on the stone by myself from sketches I made from the casts procured by the Rev. William Wright. They are now in the British Museum, and are duplicates of those in the possession of the Palestine Exploration Fund. The original stones are in the Museum of the Seraglio at Constantinople.

The two monuments from Jerabis are, as before stated, reproduced in permanent photographs taken from the original stones in the British Museum.

The remaining plates have been drawn from the originals or squeezes, except that of the cartouche from the "Niobe," which, as before stated, is from a sketch furnished by Prof. Sayce.

On comparing my sketches of the Hamath stones with the photographs taken, I believe, by the late Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake, and kindly lent to me by the Rev. Dunbar Heath, I could only detect one or two errors, viz., the character at the extreme sinister side of H. V, line 3, which in the cast, owing to the crushing of the plaster, was uncertain. It would appear that a portion of the character  has been obliterated. Immediately below this is an apparently unformed mass, probably the head of a bull. Again, in the same inscription at the end of line 4, I took the characters

intended, to be  in a fragmentary state, whereas it should be the character  alone.

In the casts of H. V the inscription has been taken in two halves, but here they are joined, and the arrangement, as found upon the original stone, is restored. One thing should be mentioned: the dividing lines in the plates of the Hamath stones are much narrower in the plates than those in the originals.

Professor Sayce has kindly made some suggestions about the inscription J. III. In line 2, about the centre, the cha-

¹ *Revue Archéologique*, 1873, Part I, pp. 336-343.

racter behind (reading against the faces of the animals, &c.) the ram's head and underneath the basket or vase, may be a plain cross, like the one found in J. I. (Col. C. line 4). The next character (which has been supposed to be a conical hat) having been chipped away at the top, its proper form is to some extent disfigured. The last character but one in the same line which I have represented S may not be this character, but one of a slightly different form. Near the sinister end of line 4, immediately after the human head, and underneath the sign C is a character much damaged; the diagonal bar may have been intended to cross the other portion, and it may not be the sign J with the addition similar to the one appended to the cross-like character, and next following it. This "cross potent fitchée," as a herald would call it, may be the character found with the two arched forms above it, in J. II. line 2.

Near the beginning of line 5 of the same inscription, and immediately below the fracture in the dividing line, a character has been accidentally omitted, it should read $\text{S} \uparrow \text{C}$

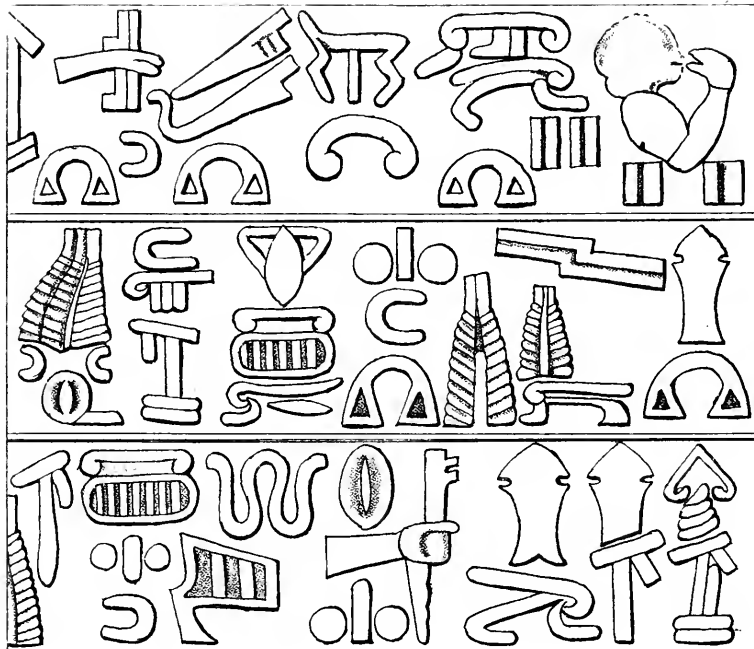
NOTE.—M. Maspero published a work in 1872, entitled "De Carchemish oppidi situ et Historiâ antiquissimâ," and an article appeared in No. 27 (March, 1882) of the "Antiquary," from the pen of William F. Ainsworth, F.S.A., &c., entitled "The Site of Carchemish."



I. HAMATH INSCRIPTIONS.

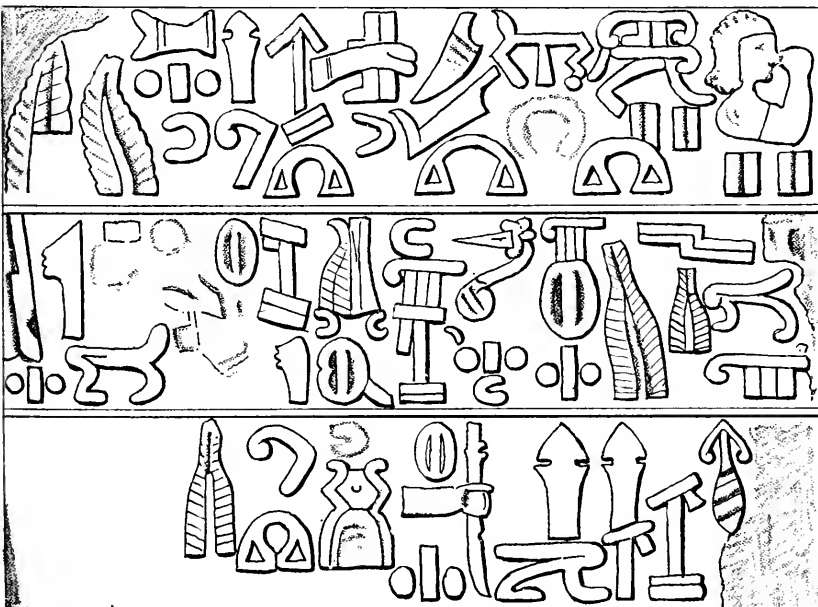
H. I.

(Burton Inscr N°1 Plates 1 & 2.)



H. II.

(Burton Inscr N°2. Plates 3 & 4.)

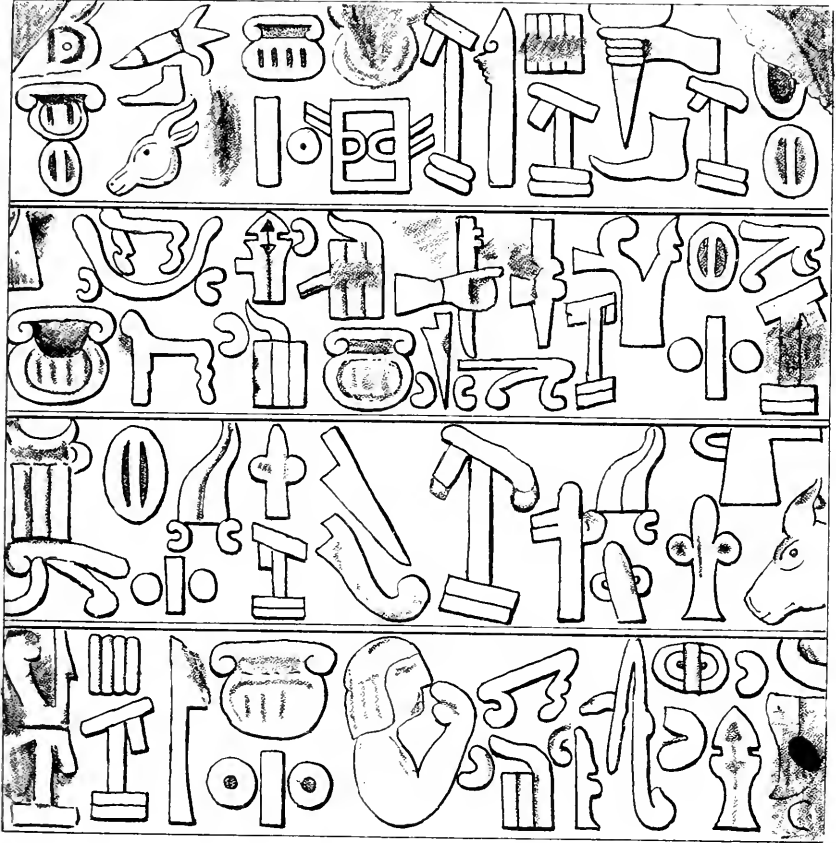




II. HAMATH INSCRIPTIONS.

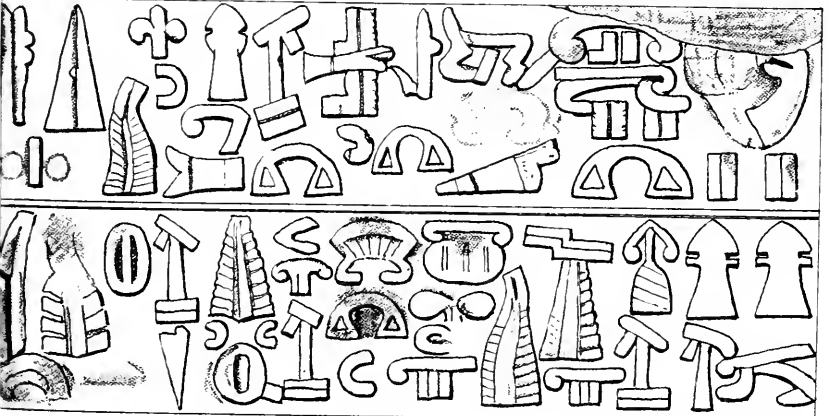
H. III.

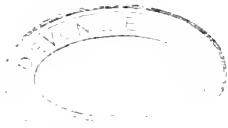
Excavations at Hamath, 1887



H. IV.

Excavations at Hamath, 1887

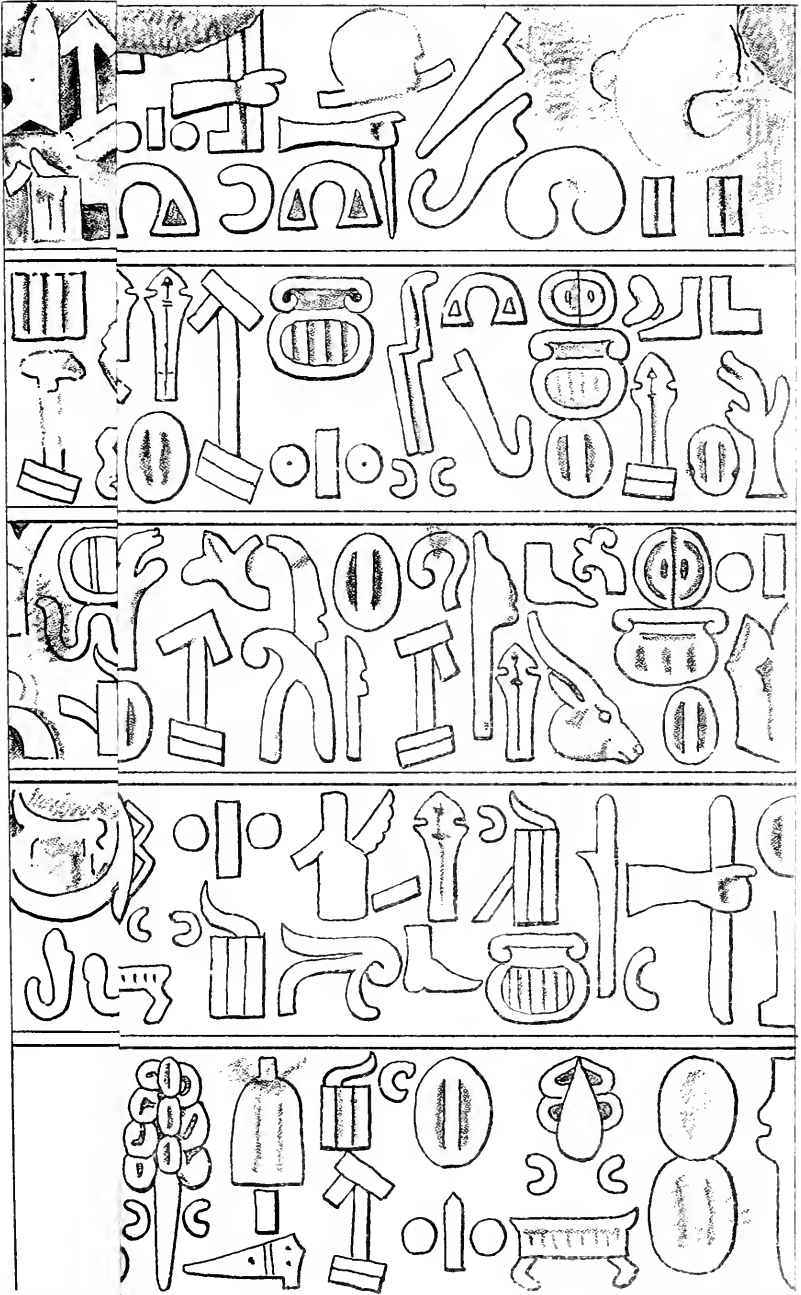




N.

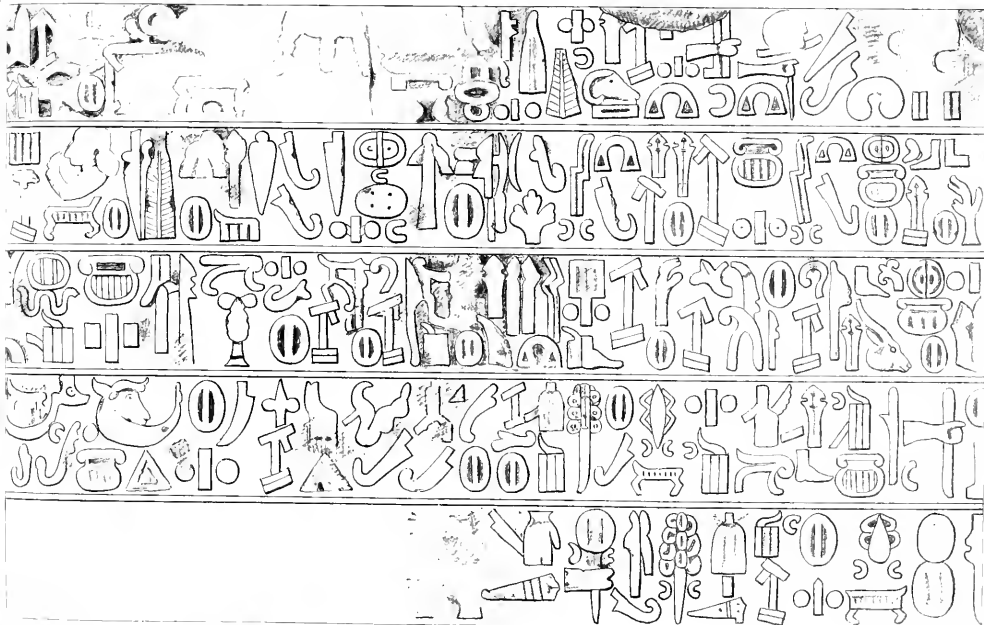
H.V.

Plate 10 of 5 plates, 8 9 & 10

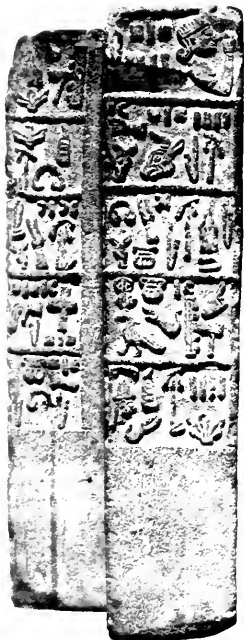


III. HAMATH INSCRIPTION.

HV







INSCRIPTION FROM JERABIS.

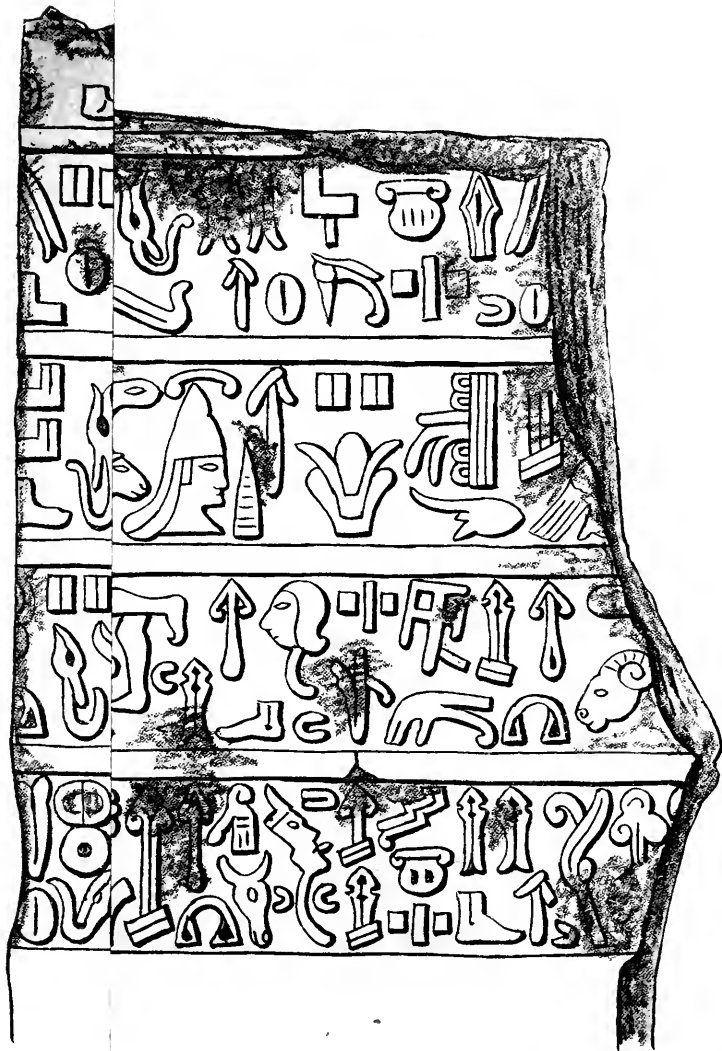
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ASALT FIGURE.

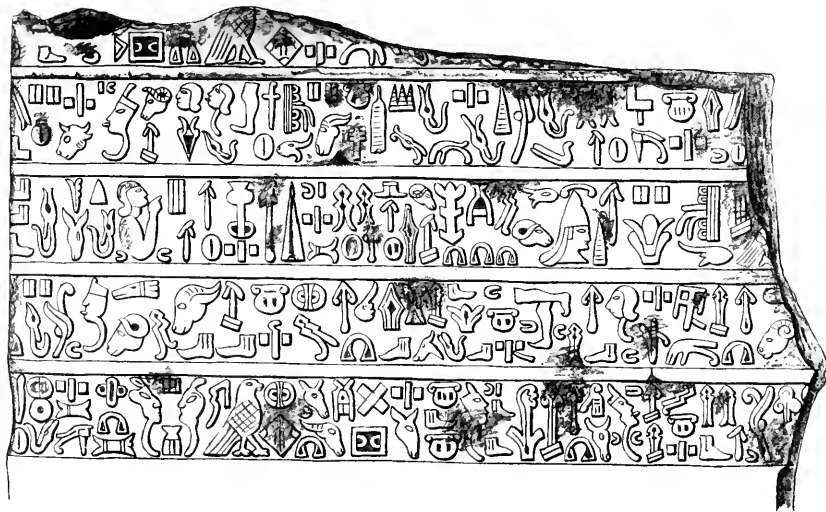
Plate III.



J.III. INSCRIPTION ON THE BACK OF A BASALT FIGURE.
FROM JERABIS.

Plate III.

Now in the British Museum.



INSCRIBED STONES FROM JERABIS.
NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Plate IV.

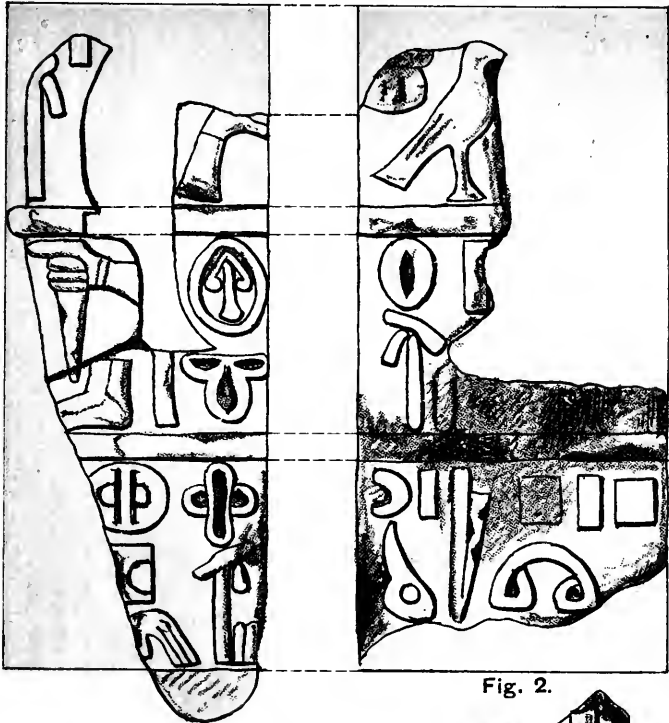


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

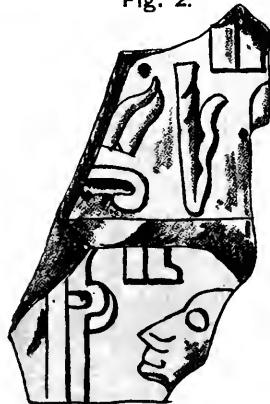
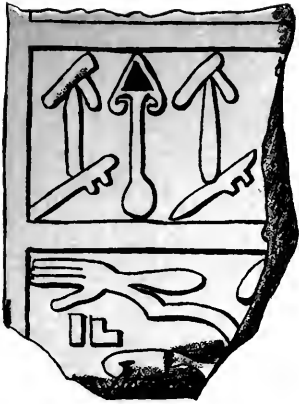


Fig. 4.



Inscribed fragment
from Jerabis.
Now in the
British Museum.



Cartouche
on the Right-hand side
of the figure of
Niobe on Mount Sipylus
parallel with the head.
From a sketch by
A. H. Sayce.

SEALS DISCOVERED BY SIR A. H. LAYARD
AT KOUYUNJIK, SEP., 1851.

Now in the British Museum.



1.



2.



3.



4.



5.



6.



7.



8.

INSCRIBED STONES FROM JERABIS.

Plate VI.

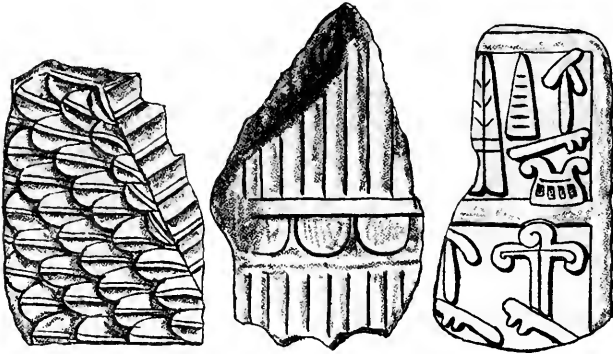
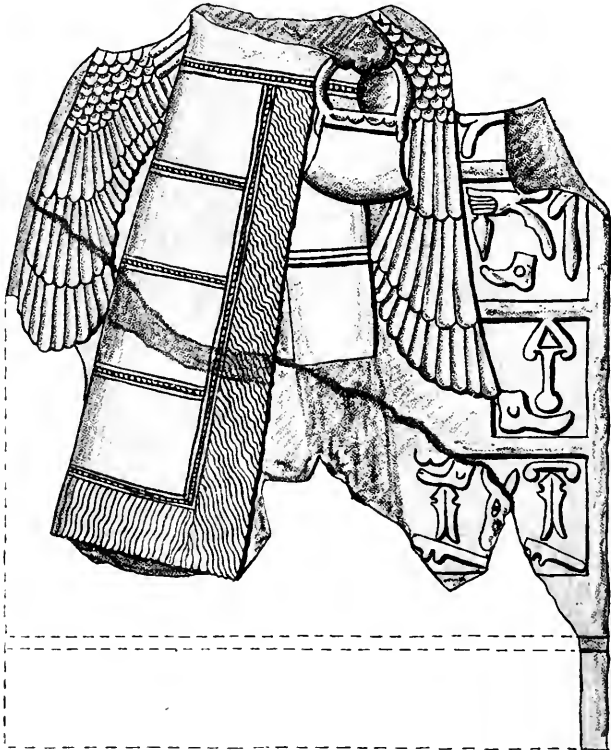


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.



J. IV. Fig. 4.



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INDEX TO VOL. VII.

A.		PAGE	PAGE	
Aagam	288	Ailaner	288
Aakitasebu	288	Aimal	288
Aanreka	288	Aimar	288
A'ares	288	Aimaru	288
Abaceni	293	Airauel	288
Abatha	288	Aithua	288
Abdanai, the	293	Akar-ezer	302 _n
Abdimilkut	349	'Akama	288
Abel	290	Akas	290
Abellenu	288	Akateri or Akaterith	288
'Abetha	288	Akhanu	292
Abiabene	260	Akarith	391
Abir(ua)th	288	Akerith	403
Aburt	288	Akhiyaba	68
Abu-simbel, stèle of	119	Akluni	96, 97
Abydos	184, 203	Akelu	194 _n , 200
Achaemenes	152	Akhari	91 _n
Adad	270 _n , 286 _n	Akharru	396
„ see also Attis.			Akhseri	291
Adadann	293	Akra, the	312-313
Adaeni	293	Akkad	99, 142-167
Adah	288	Alabaster stone	21
Adana	285	Albaya	293
Adanos	285	Aleppo, inscription 248, 257, 431,	
Adavas	292	„ „ 289, 292, 391,	403
Adhurgini	293	Alexandria	189
Adini	96, 109, 110	Alikan	289
Adonis	286 _n	Alizir	292
Adur	289	Alligu	292
Aean	356	Alman	116
.Ethiopia, king of	202	Altar, Assyrian	57
.Ethiopian Kings of Egypt	193	Alzu	271, 292, 305
Afka	393	Amairo	398
Afrin	303	Amak	288
Agma	404	Amakhar	292
Aguši or Guši	291	Amamas	293
Agū-kak-rimē	116	Amara	288
Ahab	271	Amandra	271
Ahmes, see Amasis.			Amanus....	141, 291, 292
Ai	288	'Amari	398
Aiber, or Aibel	288	Amar-seki	288
			Amasis	216, 220

	PAGE		PAGE
Amasis II	180	Apries	214
Amassihuni	293	Aprie (the Afrin)	292
Amatu	406	Apt, or Southern Thebes	201
Amau	288	Apmatomou	12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 27
Amaur	398	Aqalu	198, 200
Amazons, the	273	„ see Akelu.	
Ambaris	253, 291	Aqueduct, rock cut, at Jerusalem	319
Amen, or Amen-Ra	193, 199, 200, 201, 203, 205-209	Ar	289
Amen-em-ant	424	Arabs	209
Amen-em-apt	424	Aradus, or Aratu	209
Amenemha	353	Aram	115, 291, 298
Amenemhât II	6	Arame	93, 291
Amenhotep	365	Aram Naharaim	269
Amenophis I	205	Aramis	260 <i>n</i>
Amentakahat	199	Aramis-sar-ilani	291
Ammon	214	Aramu	93
Ambris, or Ambaris	253	Aranam	396
Ammananu	145, 154	Arante (the Orontes)	292
Amoni-Onkhou	10	Ararat	88, 93, 96, 291
Amorites	398	Aratu	415, 422, 425
Amou	24	Araunah the Jebusite	315, 323
Amsi	201, 203, 206	Arazik	289, 292
Amsi-Amen	205	Arnama	398
Anten	361	Arbela	142, 147, 159
An	185	Ardara	292
Anaitis	284	Ares	289
Anat	391	Arethu, Arvad	390, 403
Anatho	391	Arethusa	405
Anauban	288	Argistis	253, 291, 304, 305
Anaukas	288	Ariaranes	152
Anautasenu	288	Aribue	292
Anaugas	391	Arimai, the	292
Andiabi	293	Aripenekha	289
Anher, or Onouris	200	Ark, rested on Mount Nizir	69
Anhar	201, 209	Arman	102, 103, 116
Annas	288	Arna	289, 293
Annas	288, 289, 403	Arnama, see Aranam.	
Annana	424	Arne	291
Annasa	393	Arnema	289
Ann'auî	288	Arnir	289
Annubathi	3	Arrapikha	289
Annunaki, the	173	Arsa-askun	93, 93 <i>n</i> , 95 <i>n</i>
Anoupou	12, 17, 18	Arsames	152
An-riz	289	Arta-širari	293
Anrutha	393, 394	Artemis	262, 273, 274, 284
Ansan	141, 146, 151, 155, 156, 170	Artemis Nana	272
Ansairiyeh	392	Aruna, or Maūna	390, 403
Antarata	260	Arunath	396
Antefaa	363	Arukan	289
Anu	69	Armi	390
Anunas	288, 289	Arvad	69, 337, 390, 403
Anzakeb	289	Arzakana	289
Aonentem	121	Arzania, River	113
Apakha	289	Ašutai, the	293
Apis, 26th year of Tirhakah	202	Asenka	357
		Ashameth	289

	PAGE		PAGE
Ashima	270	Baal, King of Tyre	348
Ashtoreth	260 <i>n</i> , 259	Baal of Tarsus	265
Asia	125	Babia	257
Asitha	289	Babite	68, 69
Aspastatauk	292	Babylonia	84, 88
Assur	70, 76, 77, 79, 90, 98, 209	Babylon, plan of	152, 171, 172
Assurbanipal, 38, 41, 43, 45, 57, 202, 208, 272, 273, 310, 317, 348		Babylon, capture of by Cyrus	139-76
Assur-bel-kala	83, 338	Babylon....	88, 104-109
Assurnatsirpal, text of	59	Bagaru	289
Assur-natsir-pal, genealogy of	62	Bahr-el-Youssouf	23
Assurnazirpal, temple of	57	Bakhian....	291
Assur-natsir-pal. 83-85, 272, 281 <i>n</i> , 298, 335, 338, 339		Balawat, Bronze Gates discovered at	45-58, 83-118
Assur-ris-ilim	335, 338	Baltassar	408
A-sus-mas-tig-gar, the Tigris	56	Bambykê	259, 274
Assyrian Numerals. By George Bertin	370	Banu-šîn-ilu	409, 410
Astarata, or Aslitaroth	259, 260 <i>n</i>	Baqâni	109, 110
Astyages	141, 145, 146, 156, 171	Bara	293
Asur	64	Barbururai, the	292
Atalur	292	Barkal, Mount, Inscriptions at 193, 198, 199	
Atargatis	259, 260, 285	Barsap (<i>see</i> Borsippa)	107, 108
At'aro	121	Barsampse	292
Atê, the Goddess	260, 261	Basunna	393
Atha-kar	289	Baths, Egyptian	186
Athê	259, 289	Batsna	393
Athe-bena	289	Beeri	288
Athena	289	Bē' -el-tâgâ	3
Athetama	289	Beit Onias, at Alexandria	189
Athini	289	Bek-en-Amen, Papyrus of. By G. Kmínek-Szedlo	410
Athor	122, 130, 200, 205	Bel, 66, 67, 104, 142, 143, 144, 146, 148, 157, 158, 160, 161, 163, 168, 211	
Athribis....	205	Bel-ahe-iddin	408, 409
Athrithan	289	Bêlat	171
Athrun	289	Belshazzar	150
'Ati ..	260	Beltis	104, 143, 148, 163
Attar-ezer	302 <i>n</i>	Belu-bunai	101, 115
Atugaren	289	Bel-Rimani	408, 409, 410
Atur	289	Bêl-shiur	3
Attis, or Atys	259, 260, 286 <i>n</i>	Bertin, Geo. The Assyrian Numerals	370
Aubillina	288, 289	Bes	200
'Aukam	289	Beth-el	252
'Aumai	289	Bey Shahr, Sculpture at	255
'Aunfer	289	Bezun	392
Aup	290	Birate	73
Aurelius, Emperor Marcus	351	Bireh, Samuel, D.C.L., &c., Monuments of the Reign of Tirhaka	193-209
'Aurma	289	Birejik, Monolith from	250
'Aurna	289	Biširain....	292
'Authir	289	Bit-anna	169, 176
Aza	291	Bit-Saggal ...	409, 410
Azana	289		
Azar, or Azal	290		
'Azaz	292		

	PAGE		PAGE
Bit-Saggal, <i>see</i> also E.-Sagril.		Cili-anteru	291
Bit-zida, <i>see</i> E-zida.		Cilicia	215
Bit-zualzas	393	„ <i>see</i> Kilikia.	
Bizar	289	Cimarusai, the	292
Black Obelisk Inscription	87	Cindutansai, the	293
Boghaz Keui, Sculptures at	249,	Cingistilin, the lesser	293
250, 254, 255, 258, 259,		Cinuceai, the	292
261, 262, 273, 274, 283,		Cipabarutacai, the	292
295, 300, 436, 440		Cirini	293
Boot, the Hittite	275	Cirri	291
Borsippa	106, 107, 108, 142, 143,	Cittu, or Cit	66
148, 150, 157, 158, 161,		Cnidus, Tomb at	235
162, 164		Coffer, alabaster, with inscribed Tablets	54, 59, 83, 85
Boscawen, W. St. C., the Monu- ments and Inscriptions on the Rocks at Nahr-el-Kelb	331-352	Commagene	68
Bostrenus	393	Constantine	309
Bronze Gates, <i>see</i> Balawat.		Constructors, chief of the	186
Bronze Plates, Egyptian	203	Copper Plates, Assyrian	45, 50, 83
Budge, E. A., on a recently dis- covered Text of Assur- nat-ir-pal	59-82	Copper Doors	75
Budrum, Tombs at	235	Coptos	206
Bulgar Dagh	254	Corciah	183
„ „ Silver Mines at	264	Costanza, Tomb of	227, 235
„ „ Sculptures at	249	Cross on Egyptian Tiles	179
Bunné	3	Culimazzini	293
Buranate	291	Cutha	104, 143, 148, 164
Bursu	289	Cyclopean Wall, near Karabel	269
Butamu	292	Cyprus, Island of	212, 297-8
Buto	200, 201, 204	Cyrus, capture of Babylon by	139-76
C.			
Calah	69, 114	Dabigu	289, 292
Cali-anteru	291	Dada, <i>see</i> Attis.	
Calneh	150 <i>n</i>	Dadilu	288, 291
Cambyses	140, 141, 144, 149, 151, 152, 168, 189	Daara	393
Carchemish	69, 248, 251, 254, 257, 258, 259, 289, 295, 297, 337	Dagar	68
Carchemish, Inscriptions from sup- posed site of	257, 258, 435	Dakuri	109
Cassites, the	66	Da-Marduk	408, 409, 410
Cati	291	Damascus	341
Catu-zilu	291	Dardania	253, 271, 390
Cha Chont	357, 367	Darius	152
Chaemap	416, 422, 428	Daroit	23
Chalcedon, Inscription from	189	David, The City of	311, 312, 313, 314
Chaldea	109	Dayaeni	93, 293
Chepra	126, 131	Dead, Egyptian Documents re- lating to the. By Prof. G. Maspero	6-36
Chibour	121	Derketo	259, 273 <i>n</i> , 285
Chons	200, 204, 205, 207	Diarbekr	64
Chons Pasekher	204	Dibdan	285
		Dielat, <i>see</i> Tigris.	
		Dimamai, the	293
		Din-tir, <i>see</i> Babylon.	
		Dirnaeus	293
		Di-Sandan, <i>see</i> Sandan.	

D.

	PAGE		PAGE
Division of Words in Assyrian		F.	
Texts	59	Falkener, Edward, Letter from, upon the so-called Tomb of St. Luke at Ephesus	241-247
Doors of copper	75	Farua	217
Dumuzi....	286 <i>n</i>	Feathers, Head-dress of	204, 209
Dur Si-abba (Borsippa)	106	Feasts, Egyptian	6
Durdun Dagh	390	Festival, Assyrian	109
		Fire, God of	223 <i>n</i>
E.		Five, The Assyrian Numeral	378
Eagle, on Hittite Sculptures	250	Four, The Assyrian Numeral	377
Eagle, double-headed, at Eyuk	263		
Eagle, sculptured	256, 264 <i>n</i>	G.	
E-anna, or Bit-Anna	169, 176	Ga-anru	289
E-barra	223	Gabbar	291
Eebatana	141, 146, 156, 171	Gagama....	289
Edir-Bel	409, 410	Gangamai	292
Edom	214	Gangumai, the	252, 253, 289, 298
E-ghar-Khad-kalama	168	Gannanatch	100, 102
Egibi	408, 409	Garbatusa	288, 404
Egyptian Documents relating to		Garb-batusa	393
Statues of the Dead	6, 36	Gargamis, <i>see</i> Carehemish.	
Egyptian Officers of Temple	11, 30	Garnai	289
Egypt	213	Garparanda, or Garparunda	288,
Eight, the Assyrian Numeral	383		291, 393
Ekki, <i>see</i> Babylon.		Garrad-ilani	104, 106
Elam 68, 143, 144, 147, 161, 168,		Gates of Bronze, <i>see</i> Bronze Gates.	
	170, 172, 214	Gath	391
Eleven, the Assyrian Numeral	385	Gárus	260
Elon	288	Gedaliah	215
Eltekeh, Battle of	344	Gergesa....	391
Emesa	397	Gergis	406
Emtebebon	121	Gergesaioi	406
Encaustic Tiles, <i>see</i> Tiles.		Gergeshites	406
Enziti	93	Gether	64
Enzudi	110	Ghiaour - Kalessi, Sculptures at	219
Ephron	288		254, 263, 295
Erech	143, 148, 161, 162, 169, 176	Ghurun, Inscription there	305
Erech-Subarē	108	Gilead	394
Ermé	297	Gilzani	95
Er-Restan	405	Gindarus	292
Esarhaddon 208, 304, 335, 345,		Ginkhidai, the	293
	347, 349	Ginkhukhtai, the	293
E-Sagil, or Bit-Saggil 104, 106,		Ginginai, the	292, 293
142, 143, 144, 147, 149,		Garparuda	291
150, 157, 158, 160, 161,		Girruiri ...	68, 72
166, 168		Gista	293
Eternal House, the	7	Goat	117
E-tur-Kalama	143, 148, 163	Gobryas. ..	144, 149, 165, 166, 167
Euphrates River 69, 96, 110, 142,		Gog	273
147, 149, 158, 171, 172, 173		Gomates	60
Eyuk, Sculptures at, 249, 250,		Gordian Tomb, the	229, 235
258, 262, 273, 274, 283,			
295, 436, 440			
Ezama	292		
E-zida 106, 107, 142, 143, 147,			
157, 158, 160, 161			

	PAGE		PAGE
Gozan	72	Hittite Inscriptions	275
Greek Letters, <i>see</i> Letters.		„ Art	250
Gubal	69	„ Empire, date of	269
Gugu	273	„ Proper Names	286
Gunzinan	291, 293	Hivites	406, 429
Guši	291	Homs, Lake of	391, 395, 397
Gutium	144, 149, 150, 165	Hopbra	214, 216
Gyges	273	Hori	424
		Horses	113
		Horsexta	123, 133
		Horus	198, 199, 201
		Horus-Ra	121
		Hugina	293
		Huilai, the	292
		Huiram	293
		Huleh, Lake of	394
		Huzula	293
		Hyksos Dynasties	271
		Hymner	143, 148, 173
		Hystaspes	152, 291
		I.	
		Iapetos	285
		I-bit	290
		Ibreez, or Iyris, Sculpture at	
		248, 256, 264, 438	
		Idiclidat, <i>see</i> Tigris.	
		Ikoniun, Statue at	271
		Iggi, the	173
		Iluu, or Iliun	253, 307
		Image of Assyrian king set up ...	68
		Ingur-Bel	66, 69, 74, 84
		Irak-Arabi	174
		Iranzu	291
		Iriuna	390
		Irkhulena	291
		Irtizati	293
		Isa River	173
		Isis	195, 198, 206, 291
		Ispuinis	291
		Istar	67, 78, 79 <i>n</i> , 259, 274
		Istar of Erech	143, 148, 162
		Itak	65 <i>n</i>
		Ithakab	289
		Ithal	290
		Itti-Marduk-balat	408, 409, 410
		Iurima	289
		Iyris, <i>see</i> Ibreez.	
		Izdular	332 <i>n</i>
		J.	
		Jehoiachin	214
		Jehoram	271

H

Habibi	4
Hadad, <i>see</i> Adad.	
Hadadezer	286 <i>n</i>
Hades	205
Hairan	3
Haït-noub, Stone of (? alabaster)	7, 21
Hal	64
Hamath, Inscriptions from 248,	
249 <i>n</i> , 252, 255, 257-9,	
270, 289, 291, 300, 302,	
303, 406, 430	
„	141, 145, 154, 214
Hant	206
Hâpi Tóufi 7, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17,	
19, 26	
Hapu	365
Har-ai	186
Haran Wall, Masonry of	327
Harmachis	201
Har-men	205
Harnemma	397
Harris Papyrus, the	185
Hathor	122, 130, 200, 205
Hatshopou	25
Hazael	341
Hazeh	69
Hea, King of Destinies 67, 68, 348	
Hebouou	121
Hebrew Inscription found at Tel-	
el-Yahoudeh	189, 191 <i>n</i>
Helena, Tomb of	227, 235
Heraklès	285
Heliopolis	183, 186, 190
Hermopolis	201, 205, 412, 425
Hermopolitan Nome	8, 9
Hermus	293
Herusha	356
Herod	315, 318, 320, 328, 329
Hetaou	121
Hiddikel	65
Hierapolis	259, 260
Hit	91
Hittites, the Monuments of the,	
by Prof. A. H. Sayce 248-293	

	PAGE
Jehu	341
Jerabis, Hamath, Aleppo, In- scribed Stones from, by W. Harry Rylands	429, 435
Jerabis, Name of Monnd	435
„	69, 251
„ <i>see also</i> Karkemish, Hittites, &c.	
Jerusalem	183, 214
Jews, the Site of the Temples of the, by Lieut.-Col. Warren, R.E.	309-330
Jotham	288
Jovanoff, Alexr., possessor of the Silver Boss	295
„ <i>see also</i> Tarkondêmos.	
Judah	214, 215
Judith	288
Justinian	318, 328, 329

K.

Ka, the	11
Ka-priest, the 6, 11, 12, 13, 15-20, 33	6, 11
Ka-room, the	18, 49
Kabarlee	289
Kabur	289
Kabusiu....	289
Kades	402
Kadesh, Campaign of Rameses II against	270, 390
Kadesh 251, 289, 303, 392, 393, 403	209
Kah-set....	392
Kalmians, or Kuiuans	289
Kainâb, or Kainap	402
Kairkamasha, <i>see</i> Karkemish.	
Kairuga	289
Kal'aat el Hus'u	405
Kal-anna	150 <i>n</i>
Kal'li (Chaldea)	109
Kalpa	290
Kalzi (Hazel)	69
Kamaits	404
Kama-sapui	290
Kamaiz	288
Kammanu, or Komania....	292
Kamnefert	366
Kana	292
Kannu, or Kanu	289
Kanretu	289
Kanuro	416, 422

	PAGE
Karabel, Sculpture at 249, 256, 263, 265, 295	
Karakosh	46, 47
Karika	290
Kar-ga-mis, or Karchemish 213, 289, 291, 292, 391, 393, 403	
Kardunias	73, 84, 98
Karomana	290
Karona	121
Kar-shana	289
Kartha-meruth	289
Karuna	289
Kasanalitha	290
Kas-ari'â	290
Kash-Khast	209
Kasiribana	290
Kasiyari (Mous Masius)	292
Kaskai	291, 298
Kaskas, the	271
Kataonia	284, 289
Kata-zilu	291
Kati, or Keti	209, 289, 391
Katina	289, 402
Katsuatana	391, 403
Kauî-sira	283, 288
Kauzas	290
Kayster....	273 <i>n</i>
Kaz	289
Kazaa	290
Kazawatana	289
Kazel	289
Kedes, Lake of	395
Kedron, Valley of	316
Kel-maitha	289
Kerkesh....	391, 403, 405, 406
Kerkisiyeh	391
Kesh, the Goddess	391
Keti, or Kati	209, 289, 391
Κήτειοι	254
Khabour, the River	61, 68
Khaian, or Khanu	291
Khaitu	289
Khalbuda	292
Khaldaï, or Khalybes	305 <i>n</i>
Khal-man	116
Khalros....	289, 290
Khalvan, Aleppo	289, 292
Khalzilukha ...	68
Khamanu, or Amanus 141, 288, 291, 292	
Khamatav (Hamath)	154
Khammâtu	406
Khanirabi	292
Khanretsa	394
Kharkakli, or Kharkaka	289
Khareb, (? Aleppo)	289
Kharmas	292

	PAGE		PAGE
Kharmis (Hermus)	293	Kizawadana	298
Kharmis-andi	292, 293	Kminck-Szedlo, Giovanni, the Papyrus of Bek-en-Amen	410
Kharmurga	292	Knoumhotpou	6, 19, 36
Kharrua	292	Kolkhia ...	291, 298
Kharsak-kalama 113, 118, 163, 173		Komagene	252, 291, 292
Kharu	396	„ see also Khummukh.	
Kharutu	73	Komania	292
Khasis-adra	332 <i>n</i>	Korykos, Sculptures there	307
Khaššikhu	293	Kouyunjik, Seals found there	301
Khata-tirra	292	„	38, 41, 50, 57
Khatha'ai	289	Krcesus	254
Khatte (Hit)	91	Kronos	285
Khatti	390, 429	Kua	252, 292
Khâtima, or Khâti	304	Kue	291, 292
Khatuma	289	Kulmadara	289, 292
Khavvâtu	406	Kummukhi	68, 292
Khazazu	292	„ see also Commagene.	
Khazreza'a	289	Kundaspi	291
Khelekh	292	Kunulua, or Kinalia	292
Khem	201	Kurds, the	150
Khem-Khem, or Panopolis	205	Kurkh, Inscription of Shalman- eser	87
Kheta 126, 136, 137, 209, 289, 305, 336, 390, 392, 429		Kushpata	289
Kheta-sar 270, 283, 288, 290, 392, 393, 404		Kustaspi	291
Khilak or Khilucei	292	Kybelê	250, 256, 259, 273, 439
Khilbu, or Khilipu 289, 391, 397, 403		Kypros, Stèle of Sargon there	297, 298
Khilip-sira	283, 288	Kypriote Syllabary, origin of	278
Khimua....	293	Kyros (Cyros)	254
Khirbat	92		
Khiriza	290	L.	
Khirpsar	404	Lacie	68, 71
Khirrimu	73	Lair-bênos	289
Khisasap	289, 392	Lake	390
Khivvite	406	Lakhiri	101
Khubsan	173	Lalli	291
Khulli	291	Laodikea, Coins of	256
Khumê	141, 145, 153	Lebanon, Mountains of 69, 71, 74, 341	
Klaundurai, the	292	Ledjah	292
Khupuskia	95, 304	Leka	390, 403
Khurzirina	69	Lerti	289
Kidari	293	Letters, Greek, on Tiles 182, 188, 190	
Kilikia	252, 291, 292	Lewis, Prof. T. Hayter, Tel-el- Yahoudch (the Mound of the Jew)	177—192
Kilsenen	289	Libarna	291
Kimmerians, the	304	Libya	201
Kinalia	292	Ligaba	289
Kinisen-en	289	Lion Tomb at Cnidus	235
Kinyras....	285	Lubarna, or Luburna	69, 291
Kipani	69	Lukhit	292
Kipsu	292	Luksai, the	293
Kirjath-meroth	289	Lushington, Prof. E. L. The Stèle of Mentuhotep	353
Kirjath-Sepher	270		
Kirkesium	391		
Ki-rib-tu	409, 410		
Kirruri	68, 72		
Kis	143, 148, 163, 173		

	PAGE
Lutibu	292
Lutipri	291, 292
Luz	252, 288
Lydia	215
Lygdamis	304

M.

Mâ	179, 273, 284
Ma-anti-uni-anhe	202
Maâsh	390
Mabasere	292
Magnas	289
Maiming of Captives	68
Mairrekhnas	289
Maizarima	288, 289
Makhir	66, 69, 74, 76, 84
Malki Annubath	4
Malmalis	98
Mamanis	293
Mannai, or Minnians	291
Manya	290, 292
Markuk....	90, 104, 110, 115, 150 _a
Marduku-bel-ušâte	98, 100, 102, 103
Marduk-suma-iddin	88, 98, 103
Marduk-zir-ib-ni	408
Marianne	396
Markaši, the	292
Marruai, the	293
Mars, the Planet	61
Martu (Phœnicia)	91, 155
Mašur	66
Mash	64
Mashanat	391
Ma-shaua	289
Masius Mons	292
Masmarkani	111
Mason's Marks, Jerusalem	319
Maspero, Prof. G., Egyptian Documents relating to Statues of the Dead	6-36
Masu, <i>see</i> Mysians.	
Mat	205
Matarima	270
Mat(bu)ri	289
Matenau	289
Mati, or Buto	204
Matsirausai, the....	293
Matsrima	393, 404
Mat-uzza	291
Maulnus	289
Mauna, or Mæonia	307

	PAGE
Mauna, or Aruna	403
Maura-sira	270, 288, 289
Maür-ika	289, 392
Maür-mar	289, 392
Maür-nus	392
Maür-sar	392, 404
Maüthanara	288
Mauthenar	290
Maütenara	270
Maüthi	289, 392
Maüth-mar	392, 404
Maütnur	400
Mazamu, <i>see</i> Zamua.	
Medatea	305
Media	146, 215
Medinet Haboo, Porcelain Figure at	180
Medinet Habou....	120, 201
Megessaros	285
Melitea, or Malatiyeh	305 _a
Melitene	292, 293
Membij	259
Memphis	127, 128, 317, 348
Men, the Moon-god	256
Mendes	122, 128
Menepthah II	185
Menna	401
Mentu	200, 201, 204, 205, 207
Mentuemha	206, 208
Mentuhotep, the Stèle of	353
Menuas	253, 291, 304, 305
Merash, Inscriptions there ...	306
Meremapt	424
Meremptah I	423, 425
Merisechet	417, 422, 428
Merodach	264
Merodach-nadin-akhi	336 _a
Meshek	254
Mesopotamia	209
Meskeyne	391
Meskineh	391
Meskhea	203
Mesrima	393
Metal used by Hittites....	251
Me-Turnat, or mē-Dhurnu	99, 100, 115
Midas	291
Mildis, Mount	292
Milid	291, 292
Minni	253
Mišir	211, 212, 213, 216, 220, 221
Mita	291
Mitani	289, 292
Mitsraim	393
Moab	214
Mohar	394
Mônâüt-Khonwou	6

	PAGE		PAGE
Month Priests (Egyptian)	14	Natub	289
Monthemla	202	Nathkina	289
Moriah, Mount	312, 314, 317	Naville, E. Le Décret en faveur de Ramsès II et de Ramsès III	119-38
Morrhéus	285	Nazabia (? Nisibis)	293
Mosaics, Egyptian	187	Nazi-bina	289
Moschi 68, 252, 251, 262, 289, 291		Nebiswana	288
Motaura	392	Nebo 107, 116, 119, 158, 160, 162, 168, 142, 144, 156	
Motur	392	Nebuchadnezzar III, a new Frag- ment of the History of, By Theo. G. Pinches	210-25
„ <i>see</i> Maüth-nar.		Nebuchadnezzar	66
Mugalli	291	Nebuz-aradun	214
Muuzigani	292	Nely Shit	405
Mural Crown	250, 261, 274	Nechemiah	183
Murmasa	289	Neeho	208, 213
Musak	289	Neferhetp	204
Musallim-Marduku	111	Nefer-Tum	200
Musci, <i>see</i> Moschi.		Nefer-Tum-Khu-Ra, <i>see</i> Tirha- kah.	
Mu-se-zib-Bel	408	Neurau'antha....	289
Mushanath	289	Nephtys	201
Muskai, <i>see</i> Moschi.		Nepiriuriu	289
Musur	213	Nesptah....	202, 206
Mut	199, 200, 201, 207, 208	Nesptah-snab	207
Mutalla	290	Nesroan, or Nesruna, Lake	393
Mutallu....	290, 291	Nesta	200
Mutumu....	289, 292	Nezera	288
Muzri	263	Ni	289, 391
Mysia, or Masu....	253, 271, 390, 403	Nifler	67
		Nimroud	57
N.		Nine, the Assyrian Numeral	384
Nabonidus, Contract Tablet of the 17th year of. By the Rev. J. N. Strassmaier, S. J.	407	Nineveh....	68, 83, 101
„ 140-42, 144-50, 157, 165, 167		Nini-iskam	115
Nabopolassar	213	Ninilat, River	174
Nabu-ahé-iddin....	408-10	Ninip	62, 69, 99
Nabu-makhrib-akhi	145, 154	Ninni	391
Nagarii	415, 422	Ninus Vetus	289, 391 ⁿ
Nagebus	289	Niobe, Statue of, on Mount Sipyus 250, 256, 259, 273, 439	
Naharaina	209, 390, 403	Nipur Mountains	68, 292
Nahr-Antileyas	332	Nireb	289
Nahr-el-Auwalý	393	Niribá	305
Nahr-el-Butnyune	292	Nirzal-ah-usur	409, 410
Nahr-el-Kelb, the Monuments and Inscriptions on the Rocks at	331-352	Niros	290
Nahr-el-Kelb	396	Nisa	290
Nahr-el-Maut ..	332	Nishapa....	289
Nahri	269	Nisibis	289
Nairi	66, 73, 91, 113	Nizir, Mountains of	69, 143, 148, 164
Nakbesu	289	Nourhi	6, 10
Nana	107, 271	Nu	207
Nanikirá, the	293	Nubia	367
Napata, or Nejet	199, 200, 201	Nulia	292
Nappizi....	292	Num	122, 124, 129
Narum-Merü ...	115		

	PAGE		PAGE
Numerals, Assyrian	370	Pa-Thoth (Hermopolis)....	412
Numme....	293	Patinai ... 69, 252, 253, 292, 303, 302	302
Nut Amen	201	Patoris	202
Nuzana, or Nuzan	289	Pazalu	289
		Pedasa	390
		Pedasus....	390
O.		Pederi	289
Obelisis	25	Pekod	148, 173
'Olaishā	3	Perikara	289
'Olymbros	285	Penbesa....	424
Omanos	284	Per-Ramessu-Mer-Amen	424
Omphalē	259, 273, 285	Persia	146, 159, 162
Omri	341	Pertehuti	412, 415, 418, 422, 424
On	190	Pethor	289, 292
One, the Assyrian Numeral	371	Pharnakē	285
Onias, Temple of	177, 182, 187, 190	Philadelphia, Coins of	250
Onouris, or Anher	200, 201, 209	Phiseon	203
Orontes, River	69, 253	Philippeion at Olympia....	235
Osiris	133, 184, 206	Phœnicia	88, 91, 145, 155, 209
Ostasos	285	Phtah 120, 122, 129, 130, 131,	134, 204
Oun-Hermopolis	22	Ptah-Totunen, Le Décret de, en	
Ousirtasen	24	faveur de Ramsès II et de	
Oxen	117	Ramsès III	119-138
		Phtah Totunen	121, 126, 128
		Piananel	289
P.		Pidasa, <i>see</i> Pitas.	
Pabekh	289	Pigikanni	293
Padan-Aram	115	Pikaz	289
Pairaka	289	Pikhirim	291
Paisa	288, 404	Pilakini	293
Païs, or Pisa	392	Pilka	289
Païteri	293	Pinches, Theo. G. F., A new Frag-	
Palmyra, Sepulchral Monument		ment of the History of	
from	1-5	Nebuchadnezzar III	210-25
Palu	305	„ On a Cuneiform Tablet relat-	
Palmyra	208	ing to the Capture of	
Panammu	291	Babylon by Cyrus, &c.	139-76
Panari	292	„ The Bronze Gates discovered	
Panas	288, 289	by Mr. Rassam at Balawat	83-118
Ponopolis	205	Pir-kheta	289
Papaa	289	Pisiris	251, 272, 290, 392
Papabi	289	Piqudu	173
Papyrus of Bek-en-Amen. By		Pitas, Pidasa, or Pedasos 253, 271	
G. Kminck-Szedlo	410		390, 424
Papyrus used by the Babylonians	211	Pitru, or Pethor	272, 289, 292
Pa-Ra-Hotep	185	Piterra	292
Parate	305	Porcelain Tiles....	177-92
Parihi	290	Priests, Egyptian, Titles of	427
Paripa	292	Prophets, scribes so-called in	
Paršaniyai, the	292	Egyptian	427
Paršuas (Parthians)	292	Psammetichus I....	202
Parusta	292	Psammetichus II	180
Pasht	183, 188, 190	Pseudo-Sesostris, the	266, 296,
Patasu	403	299, 302, 139	

	PAGE		PAGE
Pseudo-Sesostris the second	267	Rimnon-nirari	63, 70
Pteria	241, 263	Riza	290
Ptolemy Philometor	177	Romulus, son of Maxentius, Tomb	
Pukiu	289	of	229, 235
Pul	63	Ruâd	425
Puroth	290	Ruanis	290
Purukhumzu	271, 292, 305	Ruguliti	292
Pyli, Tombs at	235	Ruri	393
		Rutamem	199, 201
		Rutenm	270, 336
		Rutu	164, 173
		Rutum	143, 149
		Rutuv	148
		Rylands, W. Harry, Note on Monument from Palmyra	5
		„ Notes on the so-called Tomb of St. Luke at Ephesus	226-240
		„ The Inscribed Stones from Jerabis, Hamath, Aleppo, &c.	429-442
Q.			
Qakubu	421		
Qeti	415, 422, 425		
Qutie	95		
R.			
Ra, 121, 123, 124, 126, 135, 185, 195, 198			
Rab-basunna	393, 404		
Rab'el	2		
Rab-uair	393		
Râmeses Meriamun, City of	397		
Rameses I	270, 392		
Rameses II, Campaign of against Kadesh on the Orontes. By Rev. H. G. Tomkins	390		
Rameses II	122, 133, 136, 185, 188, 190, 201, 250, 253, 260, 264, 270, 271, 304, 335, 341, 412, 413, 421		
Rameses III, Tiles of	178, 179		
Rameses III, 122, 133, 136, 185, 186, 190, 203			
Ramu	90		
Ranama	397		
Ra-Nefer-Tum-khu, see Tirkakah.			
Raphia	348		
Raphee	71		
Ra-sarkar, see Amenophis I.			
Râshopses	6, 7, 20, 21		
Rashotephet	369		
Rassam, H., Excavations and Discoveries in Assyria	37-58		
Rata	173		
Raur	393, 403		
Reba-senen	288		
Retama	290		
Rhea	285		
Riblah	214		
Rihuza	290		
Rimmon	63, 95, 99, 111, 286n		
		S.	
		Saabitha	290
		Sabaco	199, 201
		Sabbaticus, River	396
		Sabazius	397
		Sabi-Khamer	8
		Sadahada	305
		Saddeh	400
		Sagura, or Saugura	292
		Sagura, River	290
		Sahu, see Athribis.	
		St. Luke, description of the so- called Tomb of, at Ephesus. By G. Weber	226-40
		„ Letter on, by Edward Falkener	241-47
		Sais	208
		Sajur, the River	292
		Sakhras, the	323
		Sakkarah, Pyramid of 134, 178, 180, 181	
		Sakti	290
		Sali	290
		Salomaski	290
		Salraz	415, 422
		Salumal	291
		Samahlai	292, 252
		Samai	289
		Samalla	291, 292
		Samar-sa, or Samarius	288, 393, 404
		Samasana	290
		Sannch	201
		Samsi-Rammam	338

	PAGE		PAGE
Samsu-bela- <i>n</i> sur	98, 115	Sesennu	417, 422, 425, 428
Samothrace	235	Sekhet Ha-abti	205
San	193	Sekhet	188, 190
Sandakos	285	Semiramis	273 <i>n</i>
Sandan	256, 265, 285	Sendini	115, 155
Sanda- <i>š</i> arvi, or Sanda-khirvi	285, 291	Sennacherib	45, 57, 209, 335, 338 <i>n</i> , 344, 347
Sandu-arri	285, 291	Seris	292
Sandulitir	291	Sesarinikhur	203
Sangara, or Sagara	69, 272, 281 <i>n</i> , 290	Seti I	185
Sangara	293	Seven, The Assyrian Numeral	382
Sangarius, River	290	S'inet Neby Nuh	405
Sanisu	292	Shabbai	3
Sap-ak	392	Shabi	290
Sapalume, or Sapalulve	253, 270, 288, 291, 392	Shabatun, River	396, 397, 398
Saplili	289	Shaimarkai	290
Sapalili	270, 291	Shairetana	401
Saplel	392	Shalmā	2
Sapalil	253, 288	Shalmaneser I	270, 281 <i>n</i>
Saplul	404	Shalmaneser II	84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 98, 99, 103, 104, 108, 272, 339, 341
Saptar	270	Shalmaneser III	64, 335, 351
Saptsar, or Sapsira	392, 404	Shasu, or Arabs	209, 397
Sap-sa	150 <i>n</i>	Shaurantlia	290
Sapzar	288	Shepenap	194 <i>b</i>
Sarasu, or Sarsu	290	Shomariyeh	393
Sarapaina	290	Shuities, the	290
Sardanapalos, so-called Tomb of	306	Sidon	69, 214
Sardanapalus IV, <i>see</i> Assurba- nupal.		Silver Mines	264
Sardes	254, 304	Silver, a Hittite Metal	295, 304, 307
Sar-duris	291	Simi	270 <i>n</i>
Sargon, Stèle of	297, 298	Singuriai, the	293
Sargon	251, 268, 282	Siout	12, 13, 15, 17, 32, 181
Sari	290	Sipar	142, 143, 144, 147, 148, 149, 150, 158, 164, 165, 173
Sarmasli	290	Sipylos, Mount, <i>see</i> Niobe.	
Saru-pin- <i>š</i> ihusuni	291	Sirasu	293
Sa <i>š</i> i	291	Sirasvi	292
Sathekh-beg	290	Sirki	391
Satiriai	293	Sisik	66
Satt (Asia)	204	Si-sera	392
Saturn, The Planet	61	Sitimrat	96
Sayce, Prof. A. H., The Monu- ments of the Hittites	248-93	Six, the Assyrian Numeral	379
„ The Bilingual Hittite and Cuneiform inscription of Tarkondēmos	291-308	Skythini	305
Sazabe	292	Sledge	7, 8
Schibru-al-Kanatir	190	Solomon	271, 315, 318, 320, 328, 329
Scribes, Egyptian, Titles of	426	Sphinxes at Eyuk	262, 273
Seal, Guardian of the	355, 356, 367	Strassmaier, Rev. J. N., Contract Tablet of the 17th year of Nabonidus	407
Seals from Kouyunjik	278, 281, 301, 438	Sua	293
Seb	123, 198	Suanna	150 <i>n</i>
Sechempehti	414, 421, 425	Subarti, or Syria	252, 271, 298
Sechet	121	Submat, River	68, 72
Se-duris	291		

	PAGE		PAGE
Sukana	290	Tarrik-timme, <i>see</i> Tarkondêmos.	
Suki-beki	290	Tarshebi	290
Suka	290	Tarshka	290
Sukhi	68, 71	Tarsus, Coins of	250
Suma	292	Tarsus, Walls at	394
Sumir	151	Tarsus	292
Sun, the	66	Tartak	65
Sun god, the	152, 171, 223	Tartatkherri	290
Sûpnat, River	68, 72	Tartibus	288
Sur	290	Tar-thisbu	393
Sura	68	Tartisebu	288, 290
Surda	163	Tarutensokhet	203
Surri (Ja)	291	Tarzi (Tarsus)	292
Surum	292	Tash-pa	209
Surunu	290, 292	Ta-Sukha, ? The Shuities	290
Susaron	290	Tatai	292
Susiana	171	Ta-tar	393
Sutekh	304	Taţar	404
Sururia	293	Ta-taru	290
Swastika, the	274 ⁿ	Tatun	201
Syennesis	288, 291	Taurlai, the	293
Syria	209, 252	Taurus Mountains	113, 292
T.			
Taaranta	290	Tayâ, or Tae	292
Ta-basu	290	Ta-zeker	290
Tablet, Written, placed in Temple	76	Tazet	290
Tahuti. <i>see</i> Thoth.		Tearkon, <i>see</i> Tirhakah.	
Tahutbotep	364	Tebel	254
Ta-kanasa	290	Tef	200
Takhis	393	Teheran, Tiles from	180
Takhtim Khodshi	394, 405	Tehuti	814, 422
Tamdi	111	Teispes	151, 152
Tammuz	286 ⁿ	Tekrit	391 ⁿ
Tauzi	332 ⁿ	Telbâri	72
Tanaem	291	Tel-el-Yahoudeh. By Prof. T. Hayter Lewis	177-92
Taniros	290	Tel Neby Mendoh	401
Tanis, or Zoan	271, 425	Tel-manna	290
Tanisa	290	Telsabtani	73
Tarakos, <i>see</i> Tirhakah.		Telsa	73
Tarbousa	121	Tem	122, 131, 135
Tariza	290	Temouou	121
Tarku	348	Temples of the Jews, the site of the. By Lieut.-Col. Warren, R.E.	309-30
Tarkhu-lara 282, 285, 288, 289, 290, 291, 298, 392		Temple, Egyptian Officers of	14, 30
Tarkhu-nasi 282, 285, 290, 291, 298		Temple-hour-priest 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 31	
Tarkondêmos, The Bi-lingual Hittite and Cuneiform Inscription of	294, 308	Ten, the Assyrian Numeral	385
Tarkondêmos, or Tarrik-timme	392	Tenfou	128
Tarkondimatos, Bishop of Egæe	298	Tep	201
Tarkondimôtus	291, 298	Terôti	10, 23
Tarna-nazi	292	Terteni	390, 403
		Teru, or Terus	291 ⁿ
		Tesher	209
		Teshert	356, 357
		Tetbast Aufanχ	358

	PAGE		PAGE
Tetines	185	Toi	288
Tevā 140, 142, 146, 147, 156,		Tombs, Roman ...	227, 235, 213
157, 160, 161, 171		Tomkins, Rev. H. G., Campaign of Rāmeses II against Kadesh on the Orontes....	390
Thaadar, or Thaadad	288	Totmen....	122, 128, 129
Thaadir, or Thaadil	288	Tou	288
Thalaba	290	Transliteration, system of Cunei- form Writing	225
Thalekh	290	Tripods, Assyrian	57
Thamakur	290	Tros	291 <i>n</i>
Tharaka, <i>see</i> Tirhakah.		Tsab-Rimmon	68
Thargal	392	Tsahi	397
Tharg-an	392, 404	Tsamut, <i>see</i> Hades.	
Thargan-nasa	392, 404	Tsuatsa	404
Tharganunas	288	Tuali	293
Thargatha-zas	284, 288	Tuanb, or Tuaup	290
Thargathatsa	404	Tubal	291
Thebes	193, 202, 204	Tubakli	290
Theleb	290	Tublai, the	254
Thel-manna	290	Tuculti-Ninip	63, 68, 70, 84
Thenuzuru	290	Tul-Baršip (Barsampse)	292
Thepkanna	290	Tul-bentha	290
Thethup	290	Tul-garimmi	292
Thia	393	Tuliā	291
Thiar	393	Tumurra	292
Thia-tar....	393, 404	Tunep	290, 293, 397
Thiunūr....	290, 402	Tunube	293
Thoth	123, 200, 201, 205	Tutamu	291
Thothotpon	6, 7, 9	Tuva	152
Thothmes I	269	Two, the Assyrian Numeral	375
Thothmes II	270	Tyre	69, 214, 215
Thothmes III	203, 207, 393	Tyropæon Valley	316
Three, the Assyrian Numeral	376		
Thuka	290	U	
Thukam-ros	290	Uas	204
Thutkana	290	Uas-survi	291
Thunderbolt	263	Uat	200
Ti	6, 7	Uaūr	393
Tibareni....	252, 253, 291	Udaci	291
Tig-gaba (Cutha)	104	Uddu	162
Tiglath-pileser I 63, 66, 68, 252,		Uetas	292
271, 298, 305, 335, 336, 338		Ulušun	291
Tiglath-pileser II	282	Umk	290, 292
Tigris, River 65, 68, 69, 71, 142,		Unai	290
147, 159		Unika	290
Tiles, Assyrian	57	Unki	290, 292
„ Egyptian	177-92	Unum	290
Tilule	292	Unzamuni	293
Timur	292	Urdah-Maneh	199, 201
Tiras	291 <i>n</i>	Uricior Uriacci....	291
Tirhakah, Monuments of the Reign of. By S. Birch,		Uriah	288
D.C.L., &c.	193-209	Urima or Urum....	298
Tirhakah, Seal of	208	Urkhamsi	332 <i>n</i>
Tirhakah	335, 347		
Tirona	121		
Tivoli, Temple at	229, 235		
Togarmah	292		

	PAGE		PAGE
Urrakhinas	292	Yarak	292
Ursi	293	Yarhībōlē	1
Uruk-Subarē	108	Yasbukai	292
Urume	298	Yasubi, Mountain of	102
Urumiyans	298	Yazbucaia	291
Urumiyeh, Lake	113	Yovanoff Boss, the	438
Urzā	291	„ see also Tarkondēmos.	
Usertesēn	353, 354		
Usnani	292		
Usnu	405		
Ustassi, the	292		
Uz	64		
V.			
Vaalli	291		
Van, Lake 64, 113, 253, 291, 298, 310			
Vespasian	183		
Vesta, Temple of, at Tivoli 229, 235			
W.			
Wady Shabtūn	396		
Wagā, Day of 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19			
Walls, Concrete and Marble, at Tarsus	394		
Warren, Lieut.-Col, the Site of the Temples of the Jews 309-30			
Weber, G., Description of the so- called Tomb of St. Luke at Ephesus	226-40		
Wood, Various kinds of	75		
Works, Overseer of the Royal Egyptian	355		
Wright, Prof. William, On a Sep- ulchral Monument from Palmyra	1-5		
Y.			
Yacūn-'Atah	260	Zab, the River	64, 72, 101
Yahrtur	292	Zabam	73
Yakhanai	292	Zaban	99, 293
Yakhamu	292	Zābdani,....	73
Yakini	111	Zabel	293
		Zagerel	290
		Zuath-khīrrii	290
		Zūna	290
		Zakal	290
		Zamalhal	113, 148, 163, 173
		Zamauka	290
		Zamua	113
		Zammasabattāni,....	91
		Zanruisu	290
		Zaranda,....	290
		Zarnas	290
		Zarisu	292
		Zarruisu	290
		Zana-zas, or Zava-zas	288
		Zaur	289
		Zaweitineh	391
		Zayti	398
		Zazker,....	290
		Zedekiah	214, 215
		Zeker	290
		Zēla	68
		Zetharsoth	290
		<i>Zeús</i> "Ares"	256
		Zekir-ukin	409, 410
		Zion, Mount	311, 312, 313, 314
		Ziras	290
		Zir-ya	409, 410
		Zizal	290
		Zoan, or Tanis	271, 288, 425
		Zū	97, 115
		Zuazas	393
		Zuza-rurai	293

TEXTS IN THE BIBLE

Referred to.

				PAGE					PAGE		
Genesis	x,	referred to....		406	2 Kings xviii-xix,	referred to....			345		
Exodus	i,	11	„	....	424	„	xix,	9	„	....	209
„	v,	7, 8	„	....	424	Ezra			„	....	183
Judges	i,	26	„	252,	271	Isaiah xxxvii,	9	„	....	209	
2 Samuel viii,	9, 10		„	....	252	Ezekiel xvi,	3	„	....	271	
„	xxiv,	6	„	....	394	„	xliii,	12	„	....	323
1 Kings	x,	29	„	252,	271	Zechariah xii,	11	„	286	
2 Kings	vii,	6	„	252,	271	The Acts xiv,	11	„	264	
„	xvii,	30	„	270						



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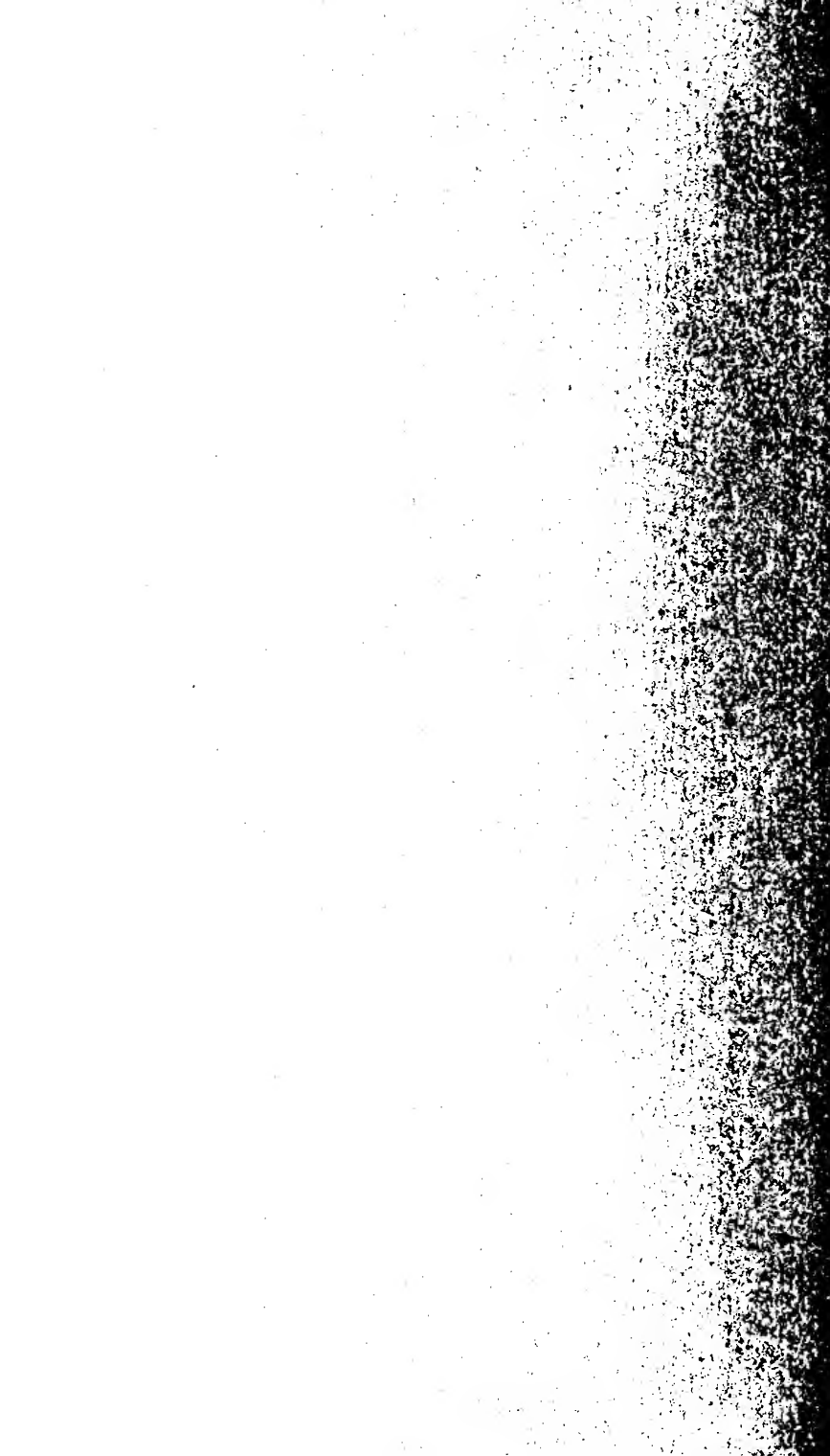
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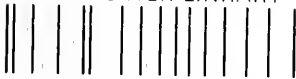






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