ART. IX.—*Bilingual Readings—Cuneiform and Phœnician.*
Notes on some Tablets in the British Museum, containing
Bilingual Legends (Assyrian and Phœnician). BY MAJOR-
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AT the last Anniversary Meeting of the Society I announced the discovery among the Assyrian collections in the British Museum of a certain number of clay tablets, bearing legends, both in Assyrian and Phœnician; and I promised at an early period to publish these Bilingual readings in the Society's journal, in order to afford those critics of the late Sir G. Lewis's school, who still disbelieve, or affect to disbelieve, in Cuneiform decipherment, an opportunity of testing the general accuracy of the phonetic system, now accepted amongst Assyrian scholars, by comparing the signs which they suppose to be unknown with those of a known alphabet and language.¹ That promise I now propose to redeem. I have no wish,

¹ The weak point in Cuneiform decipherment, and that which, from its prominence, has especially tended to discredit the science, is the difficulty of reading proper names. Now, I have never attempted to conceal this defect; on the contrary, I have repeatedly explained that as Assyrian proper names are usually composed of the name of a god, represented by an arbitrary monogram, and of one or two other elements, expressed by the primitive Turanian roots, it requires a very large induction, and if possible, collateral illustration, to ascertain how such compounds were pronounced in vernacular Assyrian. I should have been quite content, for my own part, in all such doubtful cases, to have indicated the names by mere signs (*x, y, z*, and so forth), but this was generally declared inadmissible, and I was obliged, therefore, to propose *some* reading, guarding myself, however, against the charge of empiricism by a query (?) Of course, as my studies advanced, other readings occurred to me as preferable, and were accordingly substituted, and it thus happens that in my published papers the same name will be sometimes found to exhibit successively three or four different forms; but this is rather an evidence of good faith than of imposture. I candidly confess that I am still in doubt as to the ordinary and vernacular pronunciation of the names of many of the chief divinities of Assyria (such as Cronos or "Belus," $\gg\text{I}$ $\gg\text{II}$ $\gg\text{III}$; "the Water God," $\gg\text{I}$ $\gg\text{III}$ $\gg\text{IV}$; "the God of the Air," $\gg\text{I}$ $\gg\text{IV}$; the Assyrian Hercules, $\gg\text{I}$ $\gg\text{V}$, or $\gg\text{I}$ $\gg\text{VI}$ $\gg\text{VII}$; and "the Great Goddess," $\gg\text{I}$ $\gg\text{VI}$ $\gg\text{VIII}$); and that my proposed readings of the names of kings in which these elements occur, are therefore in no way to be depended on; but this uncertainty does not in the least affect the authenticity of the translation of historical inscriptions, which are written for the most part phonetically, and the grammar of which can be analyzed with as much confidence as any portion of the Hebrew Scriptures. It can hardly, indeed, be necessary for me to vindicate at any length the preliminary stages

at the same time, to exaggerate the importance of this discovery. In reality, the so-called Phœnician key has added but very little to our knowledge either of the Assyrian alphabet or language, and I cannot, therefore, regard it as of any essential value. Nevertheless, its practical utility in meeting a specious argument of the sceptics is obvious, and I recommend it, accordingly, to their serious consideration.

Among the multitudinous clay tablets in the British Museum, brought from the ruins of Nineveh, where, as it is well known, they were found among the "debris" of what was formerly the Record Office of the Assyrian kings, there are a considerable number which represent legal documents. These documents relate to all the varied transactions of the social life of the Assyrians, and are precisely of the same character as the deeds of which copies would be found in the Registry Office of any Mahomedan *Mehkemeh*. It seems, indeed, to have been anciently the practice, as at present, for parties who were engaged in the every-day dealings of life, whether of sale, or barter, or exchange, or lease, or loan, or gift, or dedication, or similar matters of business, to repair to the law-officer of the locality, before whom they recited their terms of bargain, and authenticated the same by their seal or mark, and from whom they received a written and legal recognition of the contract. The inscribed tablets thus executed in the Assyrian Office of Registry, and referring to law business, are of a very peculiar shape, and altogether different from the larger tablets,—found, however, in the same collection,—which refer to general matters, such as history, mythology, geography, astrology, revenue, and statistics, and more particularly to grammar and philology. They are for the most part oblong and flat, but bulging in the middle, rarely exceeding a few inches in length, and very much resembling in shape a modern pincushion. The material of which they are composed is of every variety, from the finest hard-baked clay, resembling Roman "terra-cotta," and as durable as marble, to a soft friable earth, which seems to have hardly undergone any burning process whatever, and which crumbles under the touch. A few of these softer specimens, also, from Assyria are found to exhibit a peculiarity of formation which is common in

of Cuneiform inquiry, now that "the Institute of France" (as I stated in my letter to the "Athenæum," of August 22, 1863), "the first critical body in the world, has conferred its biennial prize, of 20,000 francs, on Monsieur Oppert, for his Assyrian decipherments, thereby guaranteeing in the face of Europe the authenticity and value of our labours, and putting to shame the "continued scepticism of England."

Chaldæa. They are, in fact, double, or inclosed one within the other, the inner solid tablet, and the outer casing, being both inscribed with the same, or nearly the same, legend.

I shall examine later the legal formula under which the conveyance of property was executed in Assyria, as evidenced in these tablets, and shall also notice the curious substitution in some instances of nail-marks for seal-impressions, to authenticate the transfer; but I must first exhaust the subject of the bilingual readings.²

A certain number, then, of these "Registry" tablets, in addition to the Cuneiform text, which covers both their sides, bear also upon the margin a "docket" in Phœnician characters, which in most cases was evidently inscribed while the clay was yet soft, and thus formed part of the original document, but which occasionally seems to have been scratched on the hard pottery by the Record Keeper at a later period, for the mere convenience of reference. The docket, as might be supposed, usually describes the nature of the deed, but sometimes it merely gives the name of the party disposing of his property. Unfortunately, in hardly a single instance are the two legends—the Phœnician docket, that is, and the corresponding expression in the Cuneiform text, clear and complete throughout. Sometimes the Phœnician letters, having been merely scratched on the hard surface of the baked tablet, are so faint that it is impossible to trace them with any certainty. Sometimes the Cuneiform letters are partially obliterated by time or friction. Again, it is often a matter of great difficulty to identify the Cuneiform words which answer to the Phœnician dockets; and lastly, where the identification is established, we are not unfrequently disappointed of a full comparison owing to the mutilated condition of the tablets. Still, with all these drawbacks, there are a few well determined bilingual readings, and these I now propose to consider in due order, referring the reader to the annexed plates, 1, 2, 3, & 4, for fac-similes of the Phœnician legends, and making use of the corresponding Hebrew letters in explaining the meaning of the dockets.³

² The contents of the legal tablets of Assyria and Babylonia will form the subject of a second paper, which I propose to publish in the next volume of the Society's Journal. I have succeeded in copying and deciphering about 100 of these documents, and have thus obtained materials for a very extensive comparison and analysis.

³ After completing my examination of these bilingual legends, I obtained access to Dr. Levy's "Phœnizische Studien," and found that a certain number of the Museum tablets upon which I had been engaged had already passed through his hands. As my readings, however, of the Phœnician legends, in

I.

This tablet is a favourable specimen of the class ; it is quite perfect, and the Cuneiform writing is legible throughout. It registers, with the usual formalities of transfer, the sale of a slave girl named , *Arba-il-Khirat*, the seller being a certain *Bil-akhisu*, son of *Merodach-abúa*, and the buyer being an officer of the prince's court, named *Kizir-Asshur*. The price paid for this female slave was one "mina" and two-thirds (?) of silver, which is somewhat above the average valuation.

On the margin of the tablet is the Phœnician legend , *danat Arbil-hira*, written evidently with the point of a "stylus," while the clay was yet moist ; and legible with certainty, excepting in regard to a single letter. The "giving up" or "surrender" of property, which constitutes the first condition of a sale, is always represented in these legal documents by some derivative from the Assyrian root *nadan*, "to give," answering to the Hebrew root , which is sometimes used in the same sense (compare Prov. xxxi. 24), and the term *danat*, "gift," or "sale," which occurs in the marginal legend, is the Phœnician equivalent.⁴

every instance but one, differed from his, and as he had left almost untouched the comparative branch of the inquiry, I did not find it necessary to disturb the text of my paper. I shall, however, append a few notes, where his proposed readings seem to require them.

⁴ The particular word used is *Tadáni*, which is usually written , or , and of which I consider the grammatical condition to be exceedingly obscure. *Primâ facie*, I should take *Tadáni* to be the 3rd pers. sing. fem. of the aorist of *Kal* (like , *tasatthiri*, "she writes ;" , *tagabbî*, "she says," &c. ; but in the phrases where the word occurs there is no possible feminine nominative. It is not less difficult to explain *Tadáni* as the 2nd pers. sing. of a verb, and I am led, therefore,—notwithstanding its strange appearance, and the somewhat forced construction that such an explanation involves,—to suggest that it may be a verbal noun, thus corresponding with *danat*, both in derivation and in condition. The regular formula, as observed in this contract (and in all others of the same class), commences as follows, "The seal of " *Bel-akhisu*, son of *Merodach-abua*, ownership of a woman surrenders" (or "thou dost surrender" *tadáni*).

(Impression of his seal, three times repeated) :—

"(Namely) the woman *Arba-il-Khirat*, the female slave of *Bel-akhisu*, "and becomes (the owner) *Kizir-Asshur*, chamberlain of the king's son. For "1½ mans of silver from *Bel-akhisu* he takes her, &c., &c., &c."

The peculiarities both of orthography and construction in these declarations of contract will be fully analyzed in the second part of this paper, and I hope, also, to be able to publish the original inscriptions, or at any rate selected specimens of each class, in a future volume of the British Museum Cuneiform texts.

With regard to the exact reading of the name of the slave girl, whose sale is here registered, there is some difficulty, owing to the doubtful form of the fifth Phœnician letter, and the polyphone value of its Cuneiform correspondent. The term is well known from many examples to signify "a woman," or "wife" (Comp. Black Obelisk Ins. face A, line 12; Michaux's Stone, col. 4, l. 5, &c., &c.); but the pronunciation of the word might be *khirat*, or *zirat*, or *thirat*, according as we gave to the letter its normal power of *khi*, or adopted one of its secondary values, *zi* or *thi*, the former occurring in the names of Rezin and Tiglath-Pileser⁵ (and in derivatives from צלה, צפה, &c.), and the latter in the oblique case of Ararat,⁶ in derivatives from the root חטה, and in the common form , *akthirib*, "I approached." It adds also considerably to our difficulty that both *zirat* and *thirat* might be etymologically explained as applying to "a woman," and that the Phœnician letter, again, which answers to in the word in question, might be compared both with the Numismatic *Tsadé* צ (see Gesenius Mon. Phœn. vol. ii. pl. 3), and with the Palmyrene or Parthian *Daleth*, ד.⁸ On a fair review,

⁵ In the Cuneiform , for רִצִּין, the answers to צ, but in the last element of the name of Tiglath Pileser, where is the name of the famous Temple of Hercules at Nimrud, the Hebrew correspondent is ד.

⁶ The name of Ararat is given in the inscriptions as *Urarthu* in the nominative, *Urartha* in the accusative, and *Urarthi* in the oblique case; the Cuneiform dentals being or (which are used almost indifferently), for the first; (which represents *tha* as well as *da*), for the second, and or for the third, thus conclusively proving that is sometimes used for ד, *thi*, the Hebrew orthography being אררט.

⁷ That is, supposing the to answer to צ, as in the name of Rezin, *zirat* might be included among that large class of Assyrian terms, written indifferently with the and , which are connected with the root צח or صر, "to be high," and which have throughout an honorary signification; though perhaps that sense is hardly in unison with the Eastern estimate of woman. *Thirat*, also, as a name for a young woman, might be compared with the Hebrew טריה, "fresh, new."

⁸ I observe that Dr. Levy, who seems to have inspected the tablet I am now considering, reads the doubtful Phœnician letter answering to , as ז (See Phönizische Studien, part ii. p. 23); but he has certainly not at all

however, of all the evidence, I prefer reading - - as *khirat*, and its Phœnician correspondent as *Hira*;⁹ comparing the noun either with the Hebrew *הרת*, which signifies "a pregnant woman," or, as is more probable, with the common word *عورت*, which, although now unknown to the Arabic in that sense, must certainly be of Semitic origin, and which is still used as the ordinary term for "a woman" in Turkey, in Persia, and in India. The chief reason which I have for this reading is, that I find in the vocabularies relating to "women" *khirtú* connected with *khairu*, as *asshatu*, in the same sense (*אשת*), is with *isshu*. If the Hebrew *הרה*, "to conceive," be the root from which this noun is derived, the Phœnician orthography which uses the soft instead of the hard guttural will be more correct than the Cuneiform, and the lapse of the feminine ending also in the nominative case is quite in consonance with the popular pronunciation. I think it more probable, however, that *khirat* is the same as *عورت*, from whatever root that term may be derived,¹⁰ and that the Phœnician *hira* may thus mark the passage of the hard guttural to the *ע*.

The other element of the name in question, , in Assyrian, and *ארבל*, or *ארביל*, in Phœnician, is the famous city of Arbela. This name is always represented in Assyrian by two signs, the first, , being composed of four elements, and thus having the power of *arba*, which signifies "four" in all the Semitic

reproduced the form of the character as seen upon the tablet. I also remark that he gives the first word of the legend as *rakat*, instead of *danat*; the latter reading, however, is undoubted. I know not from what source he obtained his reading of *rak arrabil Assar* for the corresponding Assyrian (- -), but no Cuneiform scholar will, I venture to say, support that reading—although the letters certainly have the powers assigned to them—against my explanation of , determinative of woman, and unpronounced, , name of the town of Arbil, and *Khirat*, "a wife or woman."

⁹ Compare the two last variants given for the *ה*, in Gesenius's *Mon. Phœn.* vol. ii. pl. 1, which resemble, at any rate, if they are not identical with, the form upon the tablet.

¹⁰ *عورت* may be supposed to come from the root *עור*, "to be naked," whence the Hebrew has *מעור*, "pudenda," but it is not used in the sense of "a woman" either in Hebrew, or Aramaic, or Arabic.

still, in reference to this particular deity, who had special shrines at Nineveh and at Arbela, under the kings Esar-Haddon and *Asshur-bani-pal*, the names seem to be all used indiscriminately; unless, indeed, it be allowable to suppose that each of the goddesses, Beltis and Venus, had special shrines both at Nineveh and Arbela, and in that case it is manifestly impossible to say which of the two may be "the Lady of Arbela," *κατ' ἐξοχήν*.¹⁴

¹⁴ Dr. Hincks has stated (*Journal of Sacred Literature*, No. xxviii, p. 406) that the mother of the gods, or Rhea, was especially "known as the goddess" of Arbela, being thus distinguished from Istar, who was emphatically "the 'goddess,' 'the lady,' who presided over Nineveh;" but he has brought forward no authority to confirm his statement, and my own reading leads to a very different conclusion. In fact, if Dr. Hincks will refer to the invocation passage at the commencement of the long inscription of Esar-Haddon (*Rawlinson Insc.* pl. 45, col. 1, ls. 5 and 6), he will find the goddess $\gg\text{I}$ $\langle\text{W}\rangle$ named in connexion both with Nineveh and Arbil, while in the last division of the same inscription, the king's tutelary deity, associated with Asshur, is named both $\gg\text{I}$ $\langle\text{W}\rangle$ and $\gg\text{I}$ $\gg\text{II}$ $\gg$. The inscription, too, pl. 8, No. 2, which especially commemorates the repairing of the building at Arbela, refers to the presiding goddess under her two names of $\gg\text{I}$ $\gg\text{II}$ $\gg$ and $\gg\text{I}$ $\gg\text{W}$, while the Nineveh goddess, in Layard's *Inscriptions*, pl. 82, is named $\gg\text{I}$ $\gg\text{II}$ $\gg$ and $\gg\text{I}$ $\gg\text{II}$ (and in other copies of the same inscription $\gg\text{I}$ $\langle\text{W}\rangle$), in exact opposition to Dr. Hincks's theory.

Again, in the annals of *Asshur-bani-pal*, and especially in the legal tablets which I am now considering, the four names of $\gg\text{I}$ $\langle\text{W}\rangle$, $\gg\text{I}$ $\gg\text{II}$, $\gg\text{I}$ $\gg\text{II}$ $\gg$, and $\gg\text{I}$ $\gg\text{W}$, appear to be used indiscriminately, and to apply to a goddess who was the presiding deity equally of Nineveh and of Arbela. At the same time, in a list which I possess of the gods and goddesses as worshipped in the different cities of Babylonia and Assyria, I find Beltis, or Rhea, under her ordinary form of $\gg\text{I}$ $\gg\text{II}$ $\gg$, alone given to Nineveh and Arbela, and I am rather inclined, therefore, to think, that where the name *Ishtar*, under whatever form, is used in reference to the presiding Assyrian goddess, it does not indicate Venus or Nanaia, as in other passages, but simply means "the goddess" *par excellence*, *Ishtar*, like *עשתרת* in Scripture, having sometimes a generic, as well as a special application. The difficulty of identifying the goddesses worshipped at Nineveh and Arbela—or rather of distinguishing between the names of Beltis and *Ishtar*, in reference to this deity—was stated by me at some length in my "Essay on the Assyrian and Babylonian Mythology," written in 1857 (see *Rawlinson's Herodotus*, vol. i. pp. 605 and 636); and in the same paper I also drew attention to the similarity of the Assyrian *Ri* to the *Ῥέα* of the Greeks, an identification which Dr. Hincks has nevertheless attributed to Mr. Fox Talbot, though that gentleman's first notice of it must have appeared several years later. I may here add that the Babylonian *Ri*, $\gg\text{II}$, whether it be or be not connected with Rhea, is shown by the bilingual vocabularies to be absolutely the same as $\langle\text{W}\rangle$, and to signify the number 15, belonging

With regard to the city of Arbela, from which the name was derived, we have more precise information. This city was probably one of the earliest founded in Assyria, for *Χάλαος* and *Ἀράβηλος* are placed by Abydenus among the progenitors of Ninus, in deference, as it would seem, to some early tradition that Calah and Arbil were older cities than Nineveh.¹⁵ The Talmudists, indeed, had a fable that the Patriarch Seth was buried at Arbela,¹⁶ and the place seems to have preserved its sepulchral, or funereal, character, through the whole period of its history; for we find it constantly selected by the Assyrian kings as the scene of execution of distinguished captives,¹⁷ and in a later age the Parthian monarchs are

probably to the same system of notation which employed *Ré* for 20, *Rag* for 30, *Raz* for 100, &c. (see *Zend Avesta*, tom. ii. p. 523); though why "the great goddess," who had no apparent connexion with the full moon, should have been thus typified, I cannot venture to conjecture.

¹⁵ Arbelus is twice mentioned in the mythic genealogy of Ninus, preserved by Abydenus, as if there was both an older and a later city of Arbil. The other names occurring in this list, which probably comes originally from Berosus, are also suggestive. *Anebus* must be, I think, the Median *Anab*, "a god," and the name of Babius, who was the immediate descendant of Belus, would seem to allude to the same myth of "the gate (of life)," which originated the name of Derceto, or Atargatis (תרעת, from תרע, "a gate"), and which was perpetuated in the name of that goddess's dwelling place, , *Din-tir* ("Life's gate?"), or *Bab-il*, "the gate of god," or Babylon. For the extract from Abydenus, see Aucher's Eusebius, vol. i. p. 78, and Mos. Chor. lib. i. cap. 4.

¹⁶ I gather this from Schindler's Pentaglot, col. 144; but I have not found the passage in any Talmudic tract. At present the tomb of Seth is to be seen in the town of Mosul, and the veneration with which the spot is regarded is due, no doubt, to the influence of the Sabæan school of northern Mesopotamia, which adopted from the early Christians so many of the Hebrew patriarchs, and paid a special respect to Seth, as the inventor of astrology and letters (see Renan's *Nabathæan Agriculture*, Eng. edit. p. 53); but it is possible that the name, or one nearly similar, may have been known in the country from the very remotest antiquity, for the earliest form under which the god *Asshur* is named in the inscriptions (see Rawlinson's *Ins.* pl. 6, No. 1) is , which we are authorized by the Syllabary, No. 145, to read

as *Ashit* ( ) being equal to , a very close approximation to the *Ishithá*, ايشيثا, of the Sabæans; and as the same orthography is also given in the vocabularies as a variant for the country of Assyria, we may thus perhaps arrive at the origin of אסטון, *Astun*, which is substituted for אשור in the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch (see Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 588).

¹⁷ The first mention of an execution at Arbela occurs in the annals of *Asshur-izzir-pal* (Rawlinson's *Ins.* pl. 18, l. 68), where, however, in the translation furnished to Layard by Dr. Hincks, the name of Babel is strangely enough substituted (Nineveh and Babylon, p. 353). In the annals of *Asshur-bani-pal* there are several similar notices, and finally, in the fourteenth para-

said to have been still interred there.¹⁸ I am further inclined to think that Arbela must have been the scene of some great slaughter in the wars of succession which devastated Assyria between the close of the reign of Tiglath Pileser II. and the accession of Sargon, for I cannot admit any other explanation of the famous passage in Hosea x. 14.¹⁹

In later history Arbela was celebrated as the chief city in the neighbourhood of the great battle field where Darius lost the empire of Asia to Alexander;²⁰ and we may infer from a notice in Strabo that the Macedonian conqueror gave the name of Nicatorium to the

graph of the second column of the great inscription of Bihestun, Darius relates how he crucified the rebel Sitratachmes at Arbela, after defeating him in the distant province of Sagartia.

¹⁸ Dion Cassius, at the commencement of his 78th Book, describes how Caracallus, in his Eastern war, destroyed the tombs of the Parthian kings at Arbela, and scattered their bones abroad. Several royal tombs of the same period were opened by me in the centre of the Koyunjik mound, but the occupants—from the necklaces, ear-rings, bracelets, and other gold ornaments, which were found with the remains, and which are now in the British Museum—appeared to have been exclusively female. Could it have been possible that the Parthian kings were buried in one place and their queens in another?

¹⁹ "And all thy fortresses shall be spoiled, as Shalman spoiled Beth Arbel in the day of battle; the mother was dashed in pieces upon her children." The prophet here evidently alludes to some well known contemporaneous exploit; and the reign of Shalmaneser, which is determined by the canon to have lasted from B.C. 726 to 721, will thus exactly suit. It has been customary to compare **בֵּית אַרְבֵּל** with the *Ἀρβηλα* of Galilee, mentioned in 1 Macc. ix. 2; but if there had been any great slaughter in the north of Palestine during either of the expeditions of Shalmaneser against Hoshea, this would hardly have been the only allusion in Scripture to such an event.

I may here add that a powerful corroboration of the truth of the historical scheme which assigns to the Biblical Shalmaneser the five years intervening in the canon between the reigns of Tiglath Pileser and Sargon, is to be found on the lion weights from Nineveh (now in the British Museum), which are marked respectively with the names of Tiglath Pileser, Shalmaneser (𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶), Sargon, and Sennacherib, evidently in a continuous chronological series; and that a similar inference is to be drawn from a clay tablet in the British Museum, which is dated from some year of the king, 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, and which to all appearance is of the same age as the tablets dated from the Eponyms under Tiglath Pileser and Sargon.

²⁰ In actual distance Arbela was hardly nearer to the scene of battle than was Nineveh itself, or Calah; but it was probably the only one of the great Assyrian cities which was inhabited in the time of Alexander, its sacred character having preserved it amid the revolutions which had desolated its sister capitals. The nearest city to the field of battle must have been that of which the site is now marked by the ruins of Karamlis; the Assyrian name of this city being 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵, and the Mahommedan title **بلابان**, *Belábád*, as if the group 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 (of very rare occurrence) represented the god Bel.

old Assyrian mound, to commemorate his victory,²¹ a circumstance which probably caused the city to be called Alexandriana, under the Sassanian dynasty of Persia.²² The great mound of Arbela must have been a kindred work to those other artificial constructions at Koyunjik and Nimrud, though perhaps of larger dimensions. It exhibits at the present day,—as far, at any rate, as concerns the height of the mound, the steep slope, and the well preserved continuous crest,—very much the appearance which the platform of the great palace of Nineveh must have presented in the age of Sennacherib; and it is hardly to be doubted that whenever the Turkish fort which now crowns the acclivity shall be removed, and facilities shall be thus afforded for running trenches and galleries into the mound, a harvest of antiquities will reward the excavator, fully equal to the treasures of Koyunjik and Nimrud.²³

The name of Arbela seems to have been a very favourite element in Assyrian names, for besides the present name of *Arba-il-khirat*, we have upon other tablets:—

𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶 𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶 𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶 𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶 𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶, *Mannuki-Arba-il*.

𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶 𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶 𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶 𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶, *Arba-ilai*.

𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶 𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶 𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶 𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶, *Paga-ana-Arba-il*.

𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶=𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶 𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶 𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶 𐎶 𐎠𐎼𐎶, *Vapaqa-ana-Arba-il*, &c.

It need only further be stated, that the Phœnician legend on this tablet is evidently of the same age as the Cuneiform writing, and that it may be positively assigned, therefore, to the middle of the seventh century B.C., the document being dated from the Eponymy of 𐤀 𐤋𐤋𐤋 𐤋𐤋 𐤀, *Sin-shar-uzur*, towards the close of the reign of *Asshur-bani-pal*.

²¹ The Mount Nicatorium is joined with Arbela by Strabo (p. 738), as if they were the same place; and indeed, there is nothing in the vicinity deserving of the name of a hill, except the old Assyrian mound. Strabo further calls Arbelus, who founded the city, τοῦ Ἀθμονέως, in which name we may perhaps recognize Esmun or Æscalapius, who was also adopted, like Seth, into the religious system of the Sabæans, and therein plays a most conspicuous part (see Renan's Nabathæan Agriculture, p. 41).

²² Theophyl. Sim. lib. v. cap. 7, *ad finem*.

²³ Rich estimated the height of the mound at 150 feet, and its diameter at 300 or 400 yards (Rich's Kurdistan, vol. ii. p. 17). He also learnt that an ancient sepulchre had been opened in the mound shortly before his visit, which contained a body evidently from the description similar to those since discovered at Koyunjik. On several occasions I have searched for bricks and objects of antiquity, on the slope of the mound, but have been unsuccessful in finding anything, as the place is densely inhabited, and anything, therefore, which is exposed to view is instantly carried off.

No. 2.

The Phœnician legend in No. 2 tablet has been already partially published by Mr. Layard (Babylon and Nineveh, edit. of 1853, p. 346), but the Cuneiform text is not there given with sufficient distinctness to admit of a comparison between the two writings. The tablet, however, is quite perfect, and succinctly records the sale of a batch of slaves by their owner, , for the amount of three minæ of silver. The slaves are thus enumerated:—"Husi'a, and his two women, Mihzá and Badiá; "together with two men, Sigabá and Anu-taggil, and two young "daughters, making in all seven persons." With regard to the Phœnician docket, I have been long in doubt as to its application. The first line, which is alone given in Layard's plate, and which covers the margin of one side of the tablet, may be read quite certainly as דגנת הושע,²⁴ corresponding with , *Tadani Husi'a* of the Cuneiform text, "the surrender" (or sale) of *Husia* (Hoshea);²⁵ but I have long been in doubt whether the remainder of the Phœnician legend, which is continued along another side of the tablet, embodies the names of

²⁴ The initial character is not given in any of the alphabets of Gesenius as an equivalent of the letter *He*, ה, but the form is nevertheless well known to Phœnician scholars, and no doubt exists of its power. Another example of it will be given in the sequel in the name of הרתגל, *Hur-Tagil*. I have recently met with another Phœnician legend on a scarabæus in the British Museum, in which we also find the name of *Husi'a*, or Hoshea. The entire legend seems to read לחכד-הושע, *Li Khakad-Husi'a*, or perhaps *Li Khud-Husi'a*, for the second letter of the first element of the name is of a very doubtful form.

²⁵ It will be found, as we proceed, that the Cuneiform letters of the class (, , and) are constantly represented in Phœnician by the *sh*, and the same confusion has been long since remarked between the Hebrew and Assyrian sibilants, as evidenced by the Cuneiform orthography of such foreign names as Samaria, Jerusalem, &c, whilst, however, in regard to native names, such as Sennacherib, Sippara, Borsippa, &c., the Cuneiform *Samech* is correctly reproduced in the Hebrew and Arabic orthography. Now, it is quite certain, I think—whatever may have been the primitive sound of the Phœnician *Samech*—that its Cuneiform correspondent was a sharp dental sibilant—in fact *ts*, since it constantly includes a dental etymologically, and wherever, therefore, we find a Hebrew or Phœnician *sh*, answering to this *Samech*, we must suppose it to be a *Sin* rather than a *Shin*. In regard, indeed, to this very word הושע, signifying "deliverance" or "safety," we read it with a *Sin* in the name of Hosea, the prophet, as well as with a *Shin* in the name of Hoshea, the king. In order to distinguish between the Cuneiform sibilants, I now represent the *Shin* series by *sh*, and the *Samech* series by simple *s*; but I still think that *ts* would more nearly give the true pronunciation of the latter class.

the other male slaves who were sold with Hoshea, or whether it does not rather correspond with the *résumé* in the Cuneiform text, , “In all ; seven persons’ slaves, belonging to *Arad-Asha*.” After much hesitation, I have decided in favour of the latter application, though it involves many difficulties, and obliges me to leave the beginning of the second Phœnician line entirely unexplained. The initial character, indeed, of this line cannot be identified with any certainty ; and the fifth character, also, is of very unusual form. Perhaps the illegible letters at the beginning of line 2 may form a word meaning “&c.,” or “and the others ;” then , *a n*, may be a contraction for *abadan* or *ardan* “slaves ;” the fifth character, which is not, I think, alphabetic, may be an arbitrary sign for “in all,” answering to the Cuneiform , and the two following characters may be numerals for 7 ; the first of them being very like the Palmyrene 5,²⁶ and the double stroke being the regular Phœnician sign for 2. All this, however, is exceedingly doubtful. The only points which can be considered to be even approximately determined are the division of the words by a sort of point or dot, and the identification of the numerals for VII. The two last words of the line are less uncertain ; they can hardly be read otherwise than , the *zi* being the ordinary Phœnician relative cognate with the Hebrew , Chaldee , and Arabic ,²⁷ and being, as I conjecture, the Phœnician equivalent of . This latter reading, however, involves some very obscure matters, and must be examined more in detail. The Assyrian sign , which forms the first element of the name, and which signifies “a slave,” is proved by numerous exam-

²⁶ See Gesen. Mon. Phœn. vol. i. p. 88. Another instance will be found in No. 16 of this series, of the employment, apparently, of a Phœnician for the numeral 5, though no doubt the ordinary method of expressing that number was by five perpendicular strokes.

²⁷ $\aleph$, although not recognized by Gesenius, is of very common occurrence in early Phœnician legends, such as those on the lion weights, upon cylinders and seals of the Assyrian period, and upon these clay tablets; and there is every reason to believe, from its employment, that the pronoun, which was originally demonstrative, must have been identical with the noun of attribution. In the Proto-Babylonian the sign $\aleph$ is thus used both as a determinative of quality, and for the relative pronoun; and in Arabic (and especially in the old Himyaric) there is the same connection between $\aleph$ and $\aleph$, "a lord;" $\aleph$, "this;" and the relative $\aleph$.

ples to have had the phonetic value of *ardu*.²⁸ Its Semitic relationship is not apparent, unless, indeed, it be derived from the root רדד, "to tread upon," but it must have been very extensively employed in Assyrian nomenclature, and it is exactly represented by the Phœnician ארד.

The phonetic reading of the second element, ארד < ארד, which was one of the names of "the Great Goddess" who presided over Nineveh, is a more difficult matter, and has long been, in fact, one of the most important, as well as the most hopeless, of the desiderata of Cuneiform decipherment. I cannot say, indeed, even now, that the problem is definitively solved, for although we have three names in which this element occurs, represented in Phœnician as well as in Cuneiform, there is unfortunately some weak point in each of the three examples. Here the Phœnician character—the last in the line—which should answer to the name of the goddess, is imperfect, and although I do not think it can be anything but a *shin*, ש, still I cannot be quite certain of the fact. If I am right, however, in reading ארדש as the equivalent of ארד ארד ארד < ארד, then it follows that we must consider "the Great Goddess" to have had in Assyria the vernacular title of אשה, *Asha* or *Ashat*, "the woman," *par excellence*;²⁹ and in this view we may go on, perhaps, to explain the title of 'Aḏā, which Hesychius gives to the

²⁸ That ארד signified "a slave," and was pronounced *ardu* (or in composition *arad*), there is no doubt whatever; but the employment of the monogram in the compound epithet ארד ארד, which was a title frequently assumed by the Assyrian kings, and especially in reference to Babylonia, is not quite so easily explained. I believe, however, that it means "reducing to slavery," or "putting on the yoke of slavery," though I cannot give with any certainty its phonetic equivalent. (Compare the Khursabad passages, pl. 152, 3, 12, with 95, 6, and also 145, 3, 12; 151, 10, 9, and 123, 16).

I would also suggest that the biblical name of ארדמלך, applied to a son of Sennacherib's, which has positively no meaning in Assyrian, is an error of the copyist for ארדמלך, *Ardu-malik* (equivalent to the Hebrew *Ebed-Melek*, "servant of the king"); but it is singular that we have not more examples from the Greek and Hebrew of the employment of the word *ardu* in Assyrian names.

²⁹ The Assyrian phonetic term for "a woman," ארד ארד ארד, is not, however, as far as I have observed, ever applied as a name to the goddess in question, nor is its Proto-Chaldean equivalent, ארד ארד (pronounced *dam*; compare *dame*, &c.) ever used in connection with the great goddess, except to express her relationship to ארד ארד.

Babylonian Juno,³⁰ by אִתָּה, the Chaldee equivalent of אִשָּׁה. I have no confirmation, it is true, of this phonetic reading of *Asha* or *Ashat*, for the Assyrian "Mother of the Gods," from any Greek or Biblical name, nor does such a reading explain in any way the goddess's titles of $\langle \text{W} \rangle$ and $\text{W} \text{W}$; but, on the other hand, there are, as will presently be seen, two more independent bilingual readings which give the same result, and it is further evident that a name signifying "the woman" would be sufficiently appropriate, more especially when the standard title by which she is known, $\text{W} \text{W} \text{W} \text{W}$, may be also shown to mean "*the lady*."³¹ It would have been more regular, of course, had the Phœnician name been written with an aleph, א, so as to distinguish between the two elements composing it, *arad*, "a slave," and *Asha*, "Beltis;" but many similar contractions and omissions will be observed as we proceed with our analysis, and in the present case there was positively no room on the tablet for an extra letter.

I will now consider the alternative reading which would recognise the names of the other two male slaves in these obscure Phœnician characters. The blank space at the end of the first line contained probably the mere point of division, and the two signs which commence the second line may, thus, perhaps have been intended for the name of *Siga*, or *Sigu*, contracted from the Cuneiform $\text{W} \text{W} \text{W} \text{W}$ *Sigabá*, or *Sigvá*, and derived either from שִׁנָּה, "to be high," or שִׁנָּה, "to be great." This assimilation, though not wholly satisfactory, might perhaps be accepted, but the difficulty in regard to the second word is, I fear, insurmountable. The Cuneiform name which follows that of *Sigabá* is composed of

³⁰ 'Αδά . . . ὑπὸ Βαβυλωνίων ἡ Ἥρα, Hesych. in Vore.

³¹ Dr. Hincks, in one of his recent papers (Journal of Sac. Lit. No. xxviii. p. 405), has hazarded the bold hypothesis that $\text{W} \text{W} \text{W} \text{W}$ is to be pronounced *Binklit-ghiti*, and that it signifies "the lady of blood (or slaughter)." Now, a very slight acquaintance with the Proto-Chaldean language, to which all these divine names belong, is sufficient to show that $\text{W} \text{W} \text{W}$ (pronounced *gé*, $\text{W} \text{W} \text{W}$, see Syllabary, No. 366) is a mere grammatical suffix, used apparently like the terminal guttural of the Basque, and that $\text{W} \text{W} \text{W}$ and $\text{W} \text{W} \text{W} \text{W}$, therefore, however they may have been pronounced in Assyrian, signify probably "*the Lord*," and "*the Lady*." Dr. Hincks has also suggested in the same place that the god *Bil-zirbu* is identical with $\text{W} \text{W} \text{W}$, but there is not the least authority for this. On the contrary, *Bil-zirbu* is a God very little known, and only worshipped, as far as I have seen, in the Arabian district of *Buz*.

two elements, namely, the God $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}$, and the verbal adjunct $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶} = \text{𐎶}$. Now it is very possible, and even probable, that the signs $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}$ do really represent the name of the God *Anu*; for although such an epithet is not found in any list of synonyms for this deity, still I think we may read the signs as *Huras*,³² and this is actually the pronunciation given repeatedly in the bilingual vocabularies to the sign 𐎶𐎵 , which seems to have been one of the epithets by which *Anu* was distinguished. It remains then to consider the second element $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶} = \text{𐎶}$, and here I am bound to admit the comparison altogether fails us. These two signs, when considered as ideographs, mean probably "the stone which appoints," and are thus used for "a seal," which in the language of Assyria was named *kanuk*,³³ but the same signs

³² That is, the sign 𐎶𐎵 , in its signification of "a lord," interchanges frequently with 𐎶 , which again appears to be the same title as $\text{𐎶𐎵} = \text{𐎶}$, a term that is often used to indicate royalty in the Proto-Chaldean inscriptions (compare Rawlinson's Ins. pl. 3, No. 9, l. 7; No. 10, l. 12; pl. 5, No. 16, l. 5; and No. 20, l. 3, &c.). One of the possible values of 𐎶𐎵 might thus be *hu*; and 𐎶 is well known to be either *ras* or *kas*, the former power being the Turanian equivalent of *kharan*, "a road," and thus standing sometimes for the city of Harran. *Ras* itself would seem to be connected with the Persian راه , *rah*, "a road;" *ras-idan*, "to arrive," &c., &c.

It is doubtful, however, if the title of $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}$, which is generally accompanied in the bilingual lists with the gloss of $\text{𐎶𐎵} = \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}$, apply properly to the god *Anu*, or to Hercules ($\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}$). It occurs in the lists of epithets applying to each of these gods, and even in reference to the city of $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}$,—which was the special seat of the god $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}$ (see Rawlinson's Ins. pl. 65, col. 2, l. 46), and which would appear to be the *Dubana* of Behistun (col. 3, l. 78), as its temple is named $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}$ in the geographical catalogues—although Hercules, or $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}$, is given as the tutelary divinity of the place, the temple which it contained, and which was repaired by Nebuchadnezzar (in loc. cit.), has the title of $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$, where we recognize the name of *Anu*. (This is a mistake. Hercules was the god of Niffer, or $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}$ 𐎶 ; but $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}$ is alone mentioned as the god of $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}$).

³³ 𐎶 is used with a great variety both of powers and meanings. One of its most common employments, however, is to represent the root סנה , "to count or appoint" (see Syllabary, No. 371, for the noun $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$),

are also constantly found in proper names with phonetic powers, representing the root *tagal*, "to serve," or "be attached to," the three forms of , , and , being used indifferently,³⁴ and by no possible manipulation can I torture the three Phœnician signs which in the legend follow אָנ into any word at all resembling in sound *taggal* or *taggil*. If these signs are really alphabetic rather than numerals, they must, it would seem, represent a *Shin*, a *Caph*, and a *Kheth*, and the name would thus read אָנ שְׁכָה, *Anu-shekah*, instead of *Anu-taggil*.³⁵ It is, then, the

"counting"), and this appears to me to be the meaning which it conveys, in connection with , "a stone," as applied to a signet seal. Mr. Fox Talbot explains as "the talking stone," but I know not on what authority.

³⁴ One of the most perplexing features in Cuneiform writing is the admixture of ideographic and phonetic expression, of which we see an example in this word. The group , as applied to a seal, is purely ideographic, being "a stone;" in Assyrian, *abnu*, for אָבֹן, and , as I have already explained, representing perhaps the root מָנָה, "to count;" but both of these characters have, of course, phonetic powers in Turanian, the former being *tak* or *tag* (allied, as I think, to the Turkish *tash* and *tagh*), and the latter sometimes—but very rarely—standing for *gil*. It is therefore possible that a signet seal in Turanian may have been named *tag-gil* (with which I would compare "sigillum," the *t* and *s* interchanging, as is usual in Chaldee and Hebrew), and may thus very properly have been used for the Assyrian root *tagal* or *tagal*, "to serve," although there was another ideograph, , especially assigned to that root, because in some primitive dialect *ku* had the same signification. At any rate, from the variant readings in different copies of the Assyrian canon, there can be no doubt that in proper names does not indicate "a seal," as Mons. Oppert supposes, giving it the power of "*kounouk*," but that it is used phonetically for the root *tagal* or *tagal*.

I may give another instance of the manner in which the old Turanian powers were sometimes utilized in Assyrian, in the compound ideograph , for "a palace." In ordinary Assyrian this would be read *Bit rabu*, "the great house," but in Turanian, , "a house," was *hê* (. See Syllabary, No. 364), and , "great," was "*gal*," or "*kal*;" and from these two foreign powers the Assyrians formed the compound *היכל*, which was adopted as the name for "a palace" by all the Semitic nations, and which was the actual pronunciation, as can be shown by a multitude of examples, given to the compound ideograph .

³⁵ If these names of *Sigabá* and *Anu-taggil* could be made out, then, of course, it would be necessary to read the concluding Phœnician words as , *זִי אַרְדָּן*, *zi-aradan*, "who were slaves," answering to .

impossibility of reconciling these two readings which has decided me in favour of the other explanation, weak and insufficient as it is.

No. 3.

This is a mere fragment registering the sale of a batch of slaves, one male and two of his female relatives, by a man of the name of *Khudai* to another called *Ninuai*. The name of the male slave, which is alone specified, is unfortunately defective both in the Cuneiform and the Phœnician text, the beginning of the name being lost in the one, and the end in the other. Our list of proper names is now so large, numbering above a thousand, that in most cases we can restore a defective word from other examples with much probability; but I doubt if there is a second mention of this name on any of the tablets. The commencement of the name, it is true, in the Phœnician text, resembles much the month of אֱלֻל, *Elul*, and there are actually two months of the Assyrian Calendar, 𐎶𐎵 and 𐎶𐎶, which seem to have been extensively used in the nomenclature of Nineveh, the former, moreover, being the sixth month of the Assyrian Calendar, and thus corresponding in place with the Hebrew *Elul*; ³⁶ but I have never found the second element, *khazzi*, in composition, with either the month 𐎶𐎵 or 𐎶𐎶, nor indeed with any other ordinary Assyrian noun, and I cannot venture therefore to give the Cuneiform equivalent of אֱלֻל. With regard also to this second element, it is not quite certain that *khazzi* is the true form. In the Phœnician text a *Kheth*, כ, appears after *Alal*, and in the Cuneiform we have the two concluding letters, 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, *azzi*; but there is no direct proof that the three letters form one word. If *Alal-khazzi* be, however, the true reading of the slave's name, we must suppose it to be a kindred compound with *Yahu-khazi*, which was the Assyrian orthography

and the whole argument in favour of the name of *Asha*, for 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, would fall to the ground. I do not, however, think it possible that the last Phœnician letter can be a *Nun*, נ.

³⁶ I shall consider in another place whether the Assyrian year commenced with the vernal or autumnal equinox. Mons. Oppert adopts the former calculation, in opposition to the later Syrian calendar, and he thus without hesitation reads the name of 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 as *Iloulai*. This may be correct, but requires confirmation. At any rate, the Ilulæus of Tyre can hardly be connected with the month of Elul, since the name is written as 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, in the Sennacherib annals; and it is very doubtful if the Ἰλουλαῖος of the canon of Ptolemy be a genuine orthography.

for the Hebrew עֵלִיל, the signification being "might of *Alal*;" and we must further regard *Alal* (or perhaps *Elul*) as one of the gods of the Assyrian Pantheon, whose title was used generically by the Hebrews for "an idol," and who also, perhaps, gave his name to the sixth month of the Assyrian Calendar.³⁷

No. 4.

The interest of this legend mainly depends on the aid it affords us in identifying the name of the great goddess of Nineveh. The Cuneiform inscription relates to an exchange of property in slaves. Three joint owners of a male slave named 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, barter him against a female slave named *Tulikhá*, the property of a certain *Zikkullanu*, an officer of the Court, whose dealings are very extensively registered on these tablets. The Phœnician docket is simply דַּנַּת אֶשְׁדֻרְקַל, *Danat Asha-dur-gali*, "The giving up of *Asha-dur-gáli*." Now if this reading could be depended on, the name of the Goddess 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, who, as has been already explained, is the same with 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 and 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, would be no longer subject to any doubt; but unfortunately the Phœnician legend—in this case scratched and not incised—is faint throughout, and the characters which are the least clearly traced are precisely those which are of the most importance, namely, the two composing the first element of the name. I have examined the legend in every possible light, and with the aid of powerful glasses, and I certainly think the two letters—and there cannot be more—are an *Ain*, ʿ, and a *Shin*, ש; but still I cannot be sure; and while the shade of an uncertainty exists, this interesting point of mythological nomenclature must remain open.

If the reading of עש were fairly made out, I should not think

³⁷ The Hebrew word אֱלִיל, which is used for "idols (Lev. xix. 4, and xxvi. 1), may very well be cognate with אֱלִיל; and for neither one nor the other has any satisfactory etymology been yet found. Among the many names for the Assyrian god *Anu*, however, I find one in the mythological lists which seems to belong to the same stock as *Elil* and *Elul*. It is written 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, *Alala*; and the female divinity associated with *Anu*, under this form (for the gods are usually arranged in pairs) is named 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, *Tillili*. I also observe in Rawlinson's Ins. pl. xxix. l. 8, that Hercules is named *Allalli Ilin*, which, from the analogy of the Syriac, I conceive to mean "the leader of the gods." The term *Alulah*, in Samaritan, signifies "first-born," or "eldest," and this epithet is particularly applicable to *Anu*.

much of the variation in orthography from the form of **אש**, which is used in No. 14, and **ש** in No. 2; for the name, it must be remembered, was foreign to the Phœnicians, and the Assyrians in their pronunciation seem to have hardly distinguished between the *Ain* and the *Aleph*; ³⁸ and there is, moreover, an exactly analogous instance of corruption in the Hebrew **עשתרות** for the Assyrian **𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵**, *Ishtar*.

The second and third elements of the slave's name are clear and certain as to their pronunciation, though some doubt may attach to their meaning. The Cuneiform **𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵** is everywhere in the vocabularies explained by **𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵**, *Duru*, and there can be no doubt therefore as to its meaning or pronunciation. It is used in geographical names precisely as the Arabic **دور**, and is applied to any fortress or place of defence, signifying originally, as it would seem, "a circular enclosure," whether for a camp or town. ³⁹ The third element is not so easy of explanation. The Cuneiform **𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵** is very correctly represented by the Phœnician **קל**, pronounced probably as *qali*, but the meaning is doubtful. As I observe, however, in a nominal roll where the most ordinary Assyrian titles are classified according to their composition and etymology, that the name of *Nabu-dur-qala* is bracketed with *Nabu-dur-irisu*, I conceive they must be of kindred signification, and would propose therefore to compare *qala* with **قلع**, "a fort," as **𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵** certainly answers to **עיר**, the meaning of the respective names in the nominal roll being "Nabu is the defence of the fortress," and "Nabu is the defence of his city." It must be observed, at the same time, that this lapse of the final *Ain* is hardly permissible, and that there are no other examples that I am aware of

³⁸ Dr. Levy, I observe, in his vocabulary (*Phönizisches Wörterbuch*, p. 8), under the head of **אשת**, "a woman," gives an example from Gesenius of the variant Phœnician reading of **עשת**, which is exactly applicable to the present passage.

³⁹ Mons. Oppert, I believe, to the present day, reads **𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵** as *Hisir*, and Mr. Fox Talbot adheres to the old reading of *Kara*, which Dr. Hincks first suggested when he fancied that the sign answered to the phonetic word **𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵**, in the great Nebuchadnezzar Ins. col. 5, ls. 2, 5, &c. I have, however, at least twenty examples of the reading of *Dur* for the sign in question, and have thus phonetically rendered the character in all my translations for the last ten years. The only doubt I have is whether **𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵** is not sometimes used as a verb as well as a noun, answering, in fact, to the root **דיר**, as well as to the term **דיר**, in which case it might be optionally sounded as *iddur*, *vadur*, &c.

in the inscriptions of the employment of the Arabic قلعة for "a fortress," so that the meaning of "Asha defends the fort," for *Asha-dur-qāli*, can only be received provisionally.

The tablet in question dates from the Eponymy of *Sin-shar-uzur*, about B.C. 650.

No. 5.

The broken tablet on which this legend is found registers the sale of a field for a *sinab* (or two-thirds of a mina) and four shekels of silver,^{39*} the Cuneiform name of the seller being $\text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} < \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶}$, and of the buyer, $\text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶}$, neither of which names, however, can be rendered phonetically with any certainty. The first line of the Phœnician docket is simply דנת הקל, "the sale of the field," answering to the Cuneiform $\text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶}$, and the second line ought therefore, as it would seem, to give the name of the owner of the property; but I have quite failed to make out an equivalent reading. The beginning, indeed, of the second Phœnician line is altogether illegible, and the continuation זראד, *zarād*, bears no resemblance that I can discover to the Cuneiform $\text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} < \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶}$.

הקל, in the first line, for the Cuneiform $\text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶}$, is a reading of some interest. I have long been acquainted with the meaning of the term, from having observed that it was used as a substitute for $\text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶}$, *ziggur*, "land;" but both Monsieur Oppert and Mr. Talbot have misunderstood it, and have sadly disfigured some important passages in consequence.⁴⁰ The term $\text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶}$ itself is

[^{39*} The identification of the *sinab*, equivalent to two-thirds of the *manah*, is a new discovery. The Assyrian signs indicating this weight are 𐎶 and 𐎶 , both of which are given on the Lion in the Museum Collection, No. 9, where we have also the Phœnician reading of סנב. The Assyrian equivalent of 𐎶 is given in the Syllabary as $\text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶}$, *sinabu*].

⁴⁰ There are three very innocent lines in the great Khursabad inscription of Sargon, relating to the means by which the king obtained the lands required for the building of the city, which lines the lively imaginations of Mons. Oppert and Mr. Fox Talbot have converted into the most important historical data, the French savant drawing from them an explanation of the name of *Sargina* (Sargon), while Mr. Talbot thinks they prove the antiquity of coined money.

The translations of these gentlemen are as follows:—

"Car les grands dieux m'ont nommé ainsi (Sarkin), parce que j'ai observé
" les traités et la foi jurée, parce que j'ai gouverné sans injustice et sans opprimer
" les faibles. J'ai présenté aux chefs de la ville les constitutions écrites de la
" cité, d'après les tables de la vérité, gravées sur argent et sur airain. Je leur
" ai donné ensuite les explications indispensables sur la loi, sans arbitraire, la
" loi de la justice, la loi qui les dirige dans leurs actions." (Les Inscriptions Assyriennes des Sargonides, p. 38).

Turanian, and it is doubtful how it was pronounced; its Assyrian equivalent, however, is everywhere given as , *eql*, which exactly corresponds with the Chaldee , and Syrian

The English rendering is:—

“As the great gods have given renown to my name, which is triumphant and victorious, so also have they given to me the government of affairs unconnected with battle and victory. The money of the inhabitants of this city (as with unanimous voice they desired) I renewed, both in silver and copper, in accordance with their prayers. I made coins, but not of gold (which money the people did not wish for), and gave them to the inhabitants, both present and future, to be their own property.” (Trans. of Royal Soc. of Lit. vol. vii. part i. page 171.)

Now, there are several words of which I still consider the meaning to be doubtful, but the general sense, commencing from the thirty-ninth line, I take to be as follows:—

(39) *Ana susub alu sásu, zakkur parakki makhi (or ziri) adman*
In founding this city, a building glorious and exalted, temples
ili rabi va hekalí subat bilutiya, varzi va musakbud,
of the great gods, and palaces for my royalty, graciously and honourably,
azkir-va episu ikbi (40) *kima zigar sumiya,*
I constructed and I made it to be called like the saying of my own name,
sha ana nazir gitti va misharisu, sutesur la
which to the dominion of the world (?) and its government (ruling without
likí la khabal, innimbu-inni Ili rabi. (41) *Kaship*
violence or oppression), the great gods have blazoned forth for me. The price
eqilí alu sasu, kí pí duppaté sha aimanusu,
of the lands of this city, according to the tablets which secured it (or its title
kaspa va zipar, ana bilisun vatir-va; (42) *assu riggati*
deeds), (in) silver and copper, to the proprietors of them I returned, and
la rusí sha kaship eqil la zibú, eqil
in solid bullion (?) whoever the price of their lands did not wish for, lands
mikhar, eqil akhír panusun addin sunuti.
in front or lands in rear, in exchange to them I gave them.

A few notes may perhaps be required. In the first line *susub* is Shaphel of ; *zakkur* is evidently connected with the verb *azkir*, which follows, and probably comes from the same root as *vazakkir* in the Birs Nimrud inscription. These terms are also, I think, allied to *ziggur*, the special name of the towers attached to the Assyrian temples, but there is no cognate root with the signification of “building” in any other Semitic language. The honorary epithets . formed perhaps the proper name

of the tower of *Dur-Sargina*, of which the remains are now to be seen on the mound at Khursabad. The allusion in the first and second line is to the city of *Dur-Sargina* being named after the king; not to any explanation of the king's own name, as Mons. Oppert supposes. The idiom of the gods “blazoning forth” the name of the king to supreme power is common. The parenthetical phrase *sutesur la liki, la khabal*, seems to have particular allusion to the justice of the king in purchasing the lands, instead of taking violent possession of them. In the third line (line 41) I am not sure whether the words “silver and copper” refer to the weight of metal given to the proprietors for their lands, or to the material of the tablets on which the title deeds were written, these title deeds being of the same class as the clay tablets and inscribed stones, which we are now discussing. Probably, however, the latter is the true application, as I have never in one single

سَلٰ, being, in fact, the same noun which occurs in the famous name 'Ακελδαμά, or "the field of blood."⁴¹

instance found copper given, as a representative of value, although gold, silver, and iron are mentioned in almost every transaction of sale or barter.

It is from line 42 that Mr. Talbot draws his inference of the use of coined money, translating *raggati la rusi* as "coins, not of gold," whereas I compare $\text{𐤓𐤁𐤕} \quad \text{𐤔𐤏𐤕} = \text{𐤒𐤂𐤕} \rightarrow \text{𐤓𐤁𐤕}$, not with רַקֶּע, but with the Chaldee ܪܚܢܝܐ, which was probably in its origin an ingot of metal used

instead of money, but which we translate in Prov. xvi. 11 by "a just weight;" and with regard to *rusti* (which in the Nebuchadnezzar inscription is always written with a double s), I do not at all admit its signification of gold, but think, on the contrary, that it is a mere epithet of gold, "beaten out," so as to be laid on the walls and pillars of temples and palaces, in laminæ or plates. I compare, therefore, the Syriac , which the dictionaries give as "contusus, percussus malleo," and suppose, in this instance, *la rusti* means merely "solid bullion;" however, I admit that the phrase is a difficult one, and have only noticed the passage to show on what slender foundations scholars like Oppert and Fox Talbot are sometimes tempted to build up important theories.

⁴¹ On one of the bilingual tablets, for instance, we have the following equivalent phrases, which are interesting in many ways:—

TURANIAN.

[illegible]

Izrane, mungat'hu
*alib * kurra ;*
Nira, ungat'hu
*alib-zu * kurra.*

The powers of the letters, however, in Turanian, vary so greatly from their ordinary values in Assyrian, that no great dependence can be placed on this reading. The first letter, $\Xi\Upsilon$, indeed, is probably *nen* or *men*, rather than *iz*. $\Xi\Upsilon\Upsilon$, where representing the root הלך , "to go," is sounded *ra* ($\Xi\Xi\Upsilon\Upsilon$), perhaps allied to ru . The powers of *lib*, also, for ל , and *kur*, for כ , are doubtful, though sufficiently probable. The root *gal hu*, for גשח , is well known.

ASSYRIAN.

4-14. 14 14 14.
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 14 14.

Tallik, *tassá*
Go thou (and) spoil
Eqil *nakri*;
the land of the enemy;
Illik *issa*
(for) he went and spoilt
Eqil-ka *nakru*.
hy land (*i. e.*) the enemy

The first line is a good specimen

of variant readings, having the power of *tal*, as well as *pi*, &c., and standing for *lik* and *tas*, as well as *ur*, &c. The root from which come *tassá* and *issá* is probably , in the sense of “taking up” or “lifting” (the produce of).

No. 6.

This tablet is also imperfect. A fracture of the upper corner has destroyed the names of the parties who executed the deed, and has thus very much curtailed our materials for comparison, while the Phœnician writing also, which extends horizontally along three of the side margins of the tablet, is so faint,—having been merely scratched with the nail apparently while the clay was yet soft,—that the forms of many of the letters cannot be traced with any certainty. A small portion of the legend, however, at the commencement is distinctly legible, and this is not without value. The deed relates to the sale of a slave girl, named *Khambusu*, and her mother, whose name is mutilated, for the sum of one mina and eight shekels of silver. The names of the sellers are lost; that of the purchaser is *Zuqu* (meaning probably “a doctor,” and the same name as that of Luke the Evangelist—Compare לְקוּחִי, “learned,” and remark that the final guttural of this root always lapses in Assyrian). The Phœnician legend commences with דַּנַּת אַמְתָּא חַבְּסֻּ, *Danat Amtá Khabusu*, “the sale of the female slave *Khabusu*,” &c. *Danat* has been already explained. *Amtá* is, of course, the Aramaic form of אִמָּה, of which the Cuneiform correspondent is , *Shallat* (?).⁴² The only example that I have met with of the employment of the noun אִמָּה in the inscriptions is in the geographical name of *Amti-khadasti*, for the city of Ammo-chosta, or אִמְתַּ חַדְּסַת, in reference, no doubt, to the famous Cyprian goddess;⁴³ but we have there merely the Cuneiform rendering of a Phœnician title. In the reading of *Khabusu* for the Cuneiform *Khambusu*, , we observe,

⁴² The reading of this word , as applied to “a female slave,” is very doubtful. It is always used as the feminine to , *ardu*, but I doubt if it ends in *t*, as the suffix attached to it is , instead of . The word *Shallat* is used, I believe, both for “plunder” and for “women,” and there is some difficulty in distinguishing between the two meanings in some passages, but , for “a female slave,” is quite a different noun, and is in all probability a Turanian compound.

⁴³ See Rawlinson's *Ins.*, pl. 48, l. 11. It is impossible to say whether the epithet *khadasat*, which is joined with *amat* in this name , is to be compared with חַדָּשׁ, “new, young,” or קֹדֶשׁ, “holy,” or with חַדְּסָה, the name originally borne by Queen Esther, and supposed to be the same as חֹדֶס, for “the myrtle;” probably, however, the latter explanation is to be preferred, as the myrtle was especially sacred to the Cyprian Venus.

firstly, the lapse of the nasal before the *b*, which is quite in conformity with the genius of the Phœnician language, and secondly, the substitution of the *Shin*, ש, for the *Samech*, ס, of which we have had a previous example in the reading of הושע for ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ = ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀. The derivation is probably from חבש, "to bind," which is حبس in Arabic with the same change of sibilant as in the Assyrian, and the name is therefore peculiarly appropriate to a slave. It is not safe to attempt any further analysis of the Phœnician text. The names represented should be those of the mother of *Khambusu*, and probably of the parties from whom the two women were purchased; but the letters can be only doubtfully traced, and as we have not the Assyrian originals of any of these names in a complete form, the Phœnician readings, even if they were certain, would possess no great interest. Perhaps in the letters . . . חז, near the end of the legend, we may recognise the commencement of the name of the father of one of the sellers, which is represented in Cuneiform by ׀ ׀ < ׀ ׀ < . . . *Khazi* . . . but in no other case can I offer even a conjectural comparison.

No. 7.

The Phœnician legend on this tablet does not appear to be a docket of the contents, but is rather, as I think, the attestation of one of the witnesses to the document. The only difficult character in the whole legend is the first letter; but I can hardly doubt from other examples that it is intended for a *Shin*, ש, though the form is not usual on these tablets. I read the entire inscription as simply שחת עבדנבו, "the attestation of Abed-Nebo," and propose the following explanation:—שחת is everywhere used in these Phœnician endorsements before the attesting signatures (compare No. 15, where there are two similar examples, and also the Phœnician dockets given by Grotefend, in the "Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes," vol. ii. p. 177; and by Gesenius, Mon. Phœn. vol. ii. tab. 32, pl. lxxvii. b.); and is thus certainly a substitute for the character <|— on the Assyrian tablets; but the etymology is not equally clear. *Shakhat* would seem to be a feminine noun like *danat* and *biyat*, and I am thus tempted to compare the Arabic صحت, "truth," notwithstanding that the initial letter of that word, which is equal to the Hebrew ש, very rarely answers to the Phœnician *Shin*. In support of this explanation, I further observe that in Syriac, derivatives from this root,

شَهِيد, have a special reference to the signing of a name, and I also recall the fact that in the East at the present day every Mohammedan who attests a document places before his autograph the word صحیح "It is true," a custom which has led to the Anglo-Indian vulgarism of *Shy* as equivalent to a signature. On the other hand, there are some grounds for preferring the alternative derivation of *Shakhat*, from שָׁחַד, or شَهِد, "to witness." The meaning of a "witness," in the first place, is more appropriate, as it would seem, than "truth;" again, in the famous copper *Sassanam* from Malabar, the names of all the Mohammedan witnesses are actually preceded by this word شَهِد, and thirdly, the orthography is more in harmony, as the initial sibilants are of the same class, and the hard and soft aspirates, which constitute the only difference, are frequently confounded. The termination, however, offers, as I think, an insurmountable obstacle to this explanation, for the Phœnician terminal 𐤊 cannot under any circumstances represent a radical 𐤂, nor is it allowable to regard שָׁחַת as a contraction of the true Aramaic term שְׁחָדָתָא, which occurs in Gen. xxxi. 47.

The word which follows שָׁחַת may be certainly read as עֲבֵד־נֶבּוֹ, *Abed-Nebo*, "the slave of Nebo," a name which would be represented in Cuneiform by 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, and which is actually borne by one of the witnesses to this particular document, though it may fairly be doubted if the two names, written in Assyrian and Phœnician characters, refer to the same individual.

The deed itself relates to the sale of a slave girl named *Guladallat*, by her joint owners, to the same *Zikkullanu* whose dealings have before come under our notice. The price was two-thirds of a mina of silver, and the sale is registered with the usual formalities.

The tablet is dated from *Nabu-shar-uzur*, who was Eponyme during the last year of the reign of Sennacherib, answering to B.C. 683.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ See Journal of Royal Asiat. Soc., vol. vii. p. 344, pl. 6. Mr. Shakespeare furnished a reading of the Arabic signatures to this document, but no one has, I believe, attempted to decipher the Pehlevi and Hebrew names, which are nevertheless exceedingly curious. The Parsee witnesses must have been the near, if not the immediate, descendants of the first exiles from Persia, as the Pehlevi character which they employ is nearly that of the early Mohammedan coins. The names are preceded by two words, which seem to be

Mahuru li, "sealed by," or "the seal of." (Compare Pers. مهر, *muhr*.) The corresponding expression before the Hebrew names is doubtfully read as הִמְכַּן מִן.

No. 8.

The Phœnician name, clearly incised on this tablet, is to be read with tolerable certainty as **דינכרבן**, *Dainu-kurban*, the last letter, which is alone defective, being restored from the Cuneiform original. This original is written , and applies to a certain householder who sells three tenements in Nineveh for the sum of thirty shekels of silver. The meaning of the name is probably "he who adjudges the offerings," *dainu* being a participle from the root **דן**, "to judge," and *kurban* being identical with the Hebrew **קרבן**, Arab. **قربان**, and Greek **κορβάν** (Mark vii. 11). That the group forming the first element of this name had the phonetic value of *dainu* had long ago been surmised, from the orthography of , employed in the East India House Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, col. iv. line 29, as an epithet of "the Sun," and in place of the ordinary reading of ; and the Phœnician transcript of the term is, therefore, nothing more than a verification; but I do not even yet clearly understand the reason of this mode of writing. The letter alone represents the root **דן**, "to judge," being explained in the bilingual syllabary by (No. 184), and is thus independent of any adjunct. Should such an adjunct be employed, however, it ought to represent, according to ordinary usage, the phonetic complement of the verbal form to which it is attached, and this can hardly be the function performed by , which, amongst its various powers (*sil, tar, kut, khas, &c.*), has no nasal value whatever. I suspect, therefore, that the sign , which, as a root, and especially in the epithets of the gods, is very extensively employed, and in many different senses, is here joined to merely to qualify, or perhaps intensify, the power of that verb, and without any influence on the pronunciation.⁴⁵

The sign , which precedes the names of the witnesses on the Assyrian tablets, seems to be simply the preposition *pan*, "from," or "of." On the Babylonian tablets the list of witnesses is usually headed by the expression , which probably means, "the persons putting their names."

⁴⁵ The most ordinary use of is to represent the root *nakas*, "to cut off;" but it also answers to *shámu*, *súqu*, and half-a-dozen other roots.

We further see from the example of this legend that when the docket represents a mere name, without any descriptive expression, that name belongs to the owner of the property which is sold, and not to the buyer.

No. 9.

The inscription on this tablet refers to the disposal of a considerable property, consisting of lands, houses, gardens, orchards, &c., &c., on a six years' lease, and at a rent of one mina of silver per annum, the lessee being the same *Zikkullanu* whose name occurs on tablet No. 4.

The Phœnician docket is mutilated, the commencement of the legend, which reads דנת הקלא, *danat khaqla*, "the sale of land," being alone legible. הקלא here answers to the Cuneiform , the Turanian term for , *eqil*,⁴⁶ as in No. 5, and the only uncertainty is whether the נ, which is the last letter visible on the broken tablet, may belong to the preceding word (as in the Aramaic form of אמתא for אמה), or whether it may be the initial letter of another word. As the Cuneiform , *bit*, "a house," however, immediately follows , in the list of properties on the tablet, for which it would be difficult to find a correspondent beginning with נ, I propose to compare the Phœnician word directly with its Chaldee correspondent הקלא, regarding the orthography as more correct than the imperfect reading of הקל, in No. 5. The Hebrew grammarians Gesenius, Schinler, &c., are all agreed that the word הקל, signifying "a field" in Chaldee, Syriac, Æthiopic, and Arabic, is formed by

besides being immediately cognate with דין; in so much so, that in one list and are bracketed together, the former being explained by , *dînu*, and the latter by , *dānu*; and in the epithets of the gods, the two signs seem to be used indifferently.

⁴⁶ In continuation of note 41, on the reading and signification of , I may also draw attention to the errors which Mons. Oppert and Mr. Fox Talbot have committed in their translation of the inscription on Michaux's stone, owing to their ignorance of this term. Mons. Oppert translates the word uniformly by "table," and supposes it to refer to the engraved stone which he is discussing. Mr. Talbot writes *hatzib* and *atsib*, and compares the roots עצב and חצב, translating sometimes by "figure" and sometimes by "sculpture." (In the Sargon Inscription he read *asib* "inhabiting.") The word , however, throughout the inscription in question refers to the "land" settled upon the devisor's daughter, according to the terms of the deed; and it must be read *eqil* (for הקל), as already explained.

metathesis from the root חלק, "to divide," or "portion out," but the Assyrian *eqil* or *ekil* seems rather to suggest a connection with אכל, "food or grain," from אכל, "to eat," given in Cuneiform as $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵𐎶}$,⁴⁷ and it is doubtful, moreover, if חלק, in the sense of "portioning out land," was known to the Assyrian.

No. 10.

I include this legend, which has been often published and commented on, because it occurs on a clay tablet, evidently of the same class as those from which I have copied the other bilingual readings. The original tablet was brought to Europe, as it would seem, by Ker Porter, and, according to Gesenius, should be now in the Paris Museum (See *Ges. Mon. Phœn.* vol. i. p. 462), though, if it be there, it is strange that the bilingual reading it exhibits should not have been already turned to account by the Assyrian scholars of that city.

The legend may be read with certainty as בית אלדלני, *Beiat El-idil-ani*, and I should expect to find in the corresponding Cuneiform text the registry of a debt due by a man named $\text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎵𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎵}$, which is a common Assyrian name, in the same way as in No. 12, which will be presently examined, we have an allusion to the *beiat* or debt of *Manuki Arba-il*. At any rate, whatever may be the meaning of בית, it is pretty certain that the next word is a *bond fide* Assyrian name, formed according to the usual construction, and probably signifying "God is just to him." It would be very interesting to examine the Cuneiform text, both in order to verify the application of the word *beiat*, and which is more important, to ascertain if the Phœnician אל, at the commencement of the name, answers to the Cuneiform $\rightarrow \text{𐎶}$, which is "a God," in general, or whether, as I think more probable, it does not rather indicate some particular divinity, the Ηλ or Ἰλος, of the Greeks, and the $\rightarrow \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎵𐎶}$, or $\rightarrow \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶}$, of the inscriptions.⁴⁸ The

⁴⁷ The root אכל, however, is represented by an independent Accadian sign, $\rightarrow \text{𐎶𐎵}$, and the connexion of this term with $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎵𐎶}$, in the conditions of lease, on the clay tablets, seems to be merely accidental, alluding to the enjoyment or possession of the land for a term of years.

⁴⁸ Cuneiform scholars have been usually content to name this god *Bel*, or *Belus*, not only because the sign $\rightarrow \text{𐎶}$ has that phonetic power, but from his position as "the father of the gods," at the head of the Pantheon; but I

second element of the Phœnician name almost certainly represents the Cuneiform 𐤠𐤭𐤭 , which, as a verbal noun, is often rendered

have myself always expressed doubt on the subject, and indeed, in my original Mythological Essay (Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. i. p. 594) I adduced strong arguments to show that the god in question could not, at any rate, represent the Belus of later Babylonian history, as that deity was proved to correspond with the Merodach of the inscriptions. I had not, however, at that time, access to the evidence which now inclines me to identify 𐤠𐤭𐤭 with Saturn, and to read his name as *Il* or *Ilîn*. This evidence is briefly as follows, 1stly, the sign 𐤠 simply means "old," being explained in the vocabularies by 𐤠𐤭𐤭 , 𐤠𐤭𐤭𐤭 , *labir*, and 𐤠𐤭𐤭 is therefore "the old god."

Now, "the old god" is exactly the *بيل شيخ الوقار* of the Sabæans of Harrañ, as individualized by the famous *En-Nedîm*, in the Fihrist (see Chwolsohn's *Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, vol. ii. p. 39); and this deity is directly identified with *زحل*, or "Saturn," in *Abu Rihan's* chapter on the Sabæans—a document, by-the-by, of great value, and which ought certainly to have been incorporated in Chwolsohn's exhaustive work. 2ndly. The name which Damascius (see Cory's Fragments, p. 318) gives to the second member of the Babylonian triad, is *Ἰλινός*; and as his other names, *Ἄνως* and *Ἄως*, exactly answer to 𐤠𐤭𐤭 and 𐤠𐤭𐤭𐤭 , so this title of *Ilîn* should represent the god 𐤠𐤭𐤭 or 𐤠𐤭𐤭𐤭 . 3rdly. In a trilingual list of mythological synonyms, the phonetic reading of 𐤠𐤭𐤭 , *Elîm*, is actually given for 𐤠𐤭𐤭 , so that it seems highly probable the vernacular name of the god was *El* or *Il*, with an optional plural termination in *im* or *in*, "honoris causâ," as in *Elohim*.

However, it is also possible that *Bel* may have been used equally with *Il*, as the name of the god. It is certain, at any rate, that the group 𐤠𐤭𐤭𐤭 , which simply means "the lord," as 𐤠𐤭𐤭𐤭 means "the lady," stands constantly for the generic noun *Bilu*, "a lord," in the great inscription of Nebuchadnezzar; and we further see that *Bil*, not *Il*, is the name in the Fihrist, to which the epithet "the grave old man," *شيخ الوقار*, applies. Indeed, we have the authority of Damascius for using the two names indifferently—(ὅτι Φοίνικες καὶ Σύροι τὸν Κρόνον *Ἡλ καὶ Βῆλ καὶ Βολάθην ἐπονομάζουσιν*, Phot. Bib. Edit. Hœschel. col. 1050, where *Βολάθην* is perhaps *בֶּל יָתֵן* for *בֶּל יֵשׁוּן*, with the usual change of the Hebrew *Shin* to the Aramaic *Tau*); and if the generality of authors identify Belus and Saturn (see Selden de Diis Syris., p. 155), Sanchoniathon, on the other hand, says distinctly *ὁ Ἰλος τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὁ Κρόνος* (Cory's Fragments, p. 13).

The identification which I formerly proposed of *Il* and *Ra* originated in a mistake. It is true that the Proto-Chaldæan (or Accadian) 𐤠𐤭𐤭𐤭 is constantly replaced in the vocabularies and bilingual exercises by *Il* or *Ilû* (written either simply as 𐤠𐤭𐤭 , or phonetically as 𐤠𐤭𐤭𐤭 ; amongst other examples compare the different orthographies of the name of Babylon);

phonetically by , *idlu*, and probably, therefore, answers to a root corresponding with the Arabic عدل, while the termination *ani* can hardly be other than the Cuneiform , or , which is, I believe, a pronominal suffix.⁴⁹

No. 12.

The tablet to which this legend belongs is of the class which I have called double; that is, it is formed of two distinct tablets, very indifferently baked, and inclosed one within the other, the Cuneiform writing, with some very slight variations, being the same on both, and the Phœnician docket being on the outer casing only. The double tablets seem to relate uniformly to loans, instead of sales. In the present instance the Cuneiform writing, as far as

but in that case is to be sounded *T'hingira* or *T'himira*, the sign being the mere phonetic complement; and it represents not any particular deity, but the generic Turanian name for "god," connected on the one side with the Turkish *Tengri*, and on the other, perhaps, with the *Δημαιοῦς* of Sanchoniathon, and the *تمورا* of Mesopotamian tradition (see Chwolsohn's *Ssabier*, vol. ii. p. 291). The title of lord— in Assyrian, i. e., *bilu*—was represented in some of the Proto-Chaldæan dialects by *Mul* ( ) and in this form we see the origin of the *Μόλις* of Nicolaus (see Müller's *Fragments*, *Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 361). Another name for Saturn, in what I suspect to have been a Scytho-Arian dialect of Chaldæa, was , *Hubishega*, but I do not recognize the etymology. For numerous examples of the application to Saturn of the epithet "old," see Chwolsohn's *Ssabier*, vol. ii. p. 276.

⁴⁹ It is impossible to say whether the termination in *ani*, which is so very common in Assyrian names, be the Turanian suffix of the 3rd person singular, or the Semitic suffix of the 1st person. Either explanation is sufficiently applicable, though perhaps the evidence is rather in favour of the latter; for whilst I have never in one single instance found *ani* to interchange with *su*, I have, on the other hand, observed substitutions of the suffix which seem to point to the first person, as, for instance, in the common name of Nebo, which, as is well known, is usually written , *Nabi-um*,

but for which I have also met with the reading of , as if the signification were "my prophet" or "instructor," the termination in being the Turanian suffix of the 1st person (cognate with and , as in and , for "with us" and "with me"). Observe, also, with regard to *idlu*, that the meaning seems to be "great" rather than "just," and that we may suppose, therefore, the Assyrian root *edal* to have corresponded with rather than .

clearly the word קרם, which may very well be the Assyrian form of קרש, adopted by the Phœnician scribe, with the same confusion of sibilants that we have before observed in many instances. The sacred standard, or "standard of the sanctuary," as we usually call it in referring to the Jewish weights, is indicated on these tablets by the name of the great goddess of Nineveh or Arbela; and it is that designation which here answers in the Cuneiform text to the *Kadas* of the Phœnician legend.⁵² In continuation, we have a word בית, which is very difficult of explanation. Where the same word occurs on an Assyrian tablet, now in the Paris museum, Gesenius takes it for the ordinary Hebrew noun signifying "a house" (see Ges. Mon. Phœn. vol. i. p. 462); and the same explanation might possibly suit the present passage, the allusion being to the temple of the goddess in which the holy standard was used;⁵³ but I do not myself think that this is the true explanation of the term. I rather suspect that בית, *Beyat*, is a corrupted form of the Arabic بيعت, the root بيع, which originally applied, perhaps, to any "bargain," or "money dealing," having its exact equivalent in the Assyrian *Bukh*, which in this, and similar passages, appears in the phrase *ina bukhi ittisi*, "he borrowed on contract," or "on a bargain."⁵⁴ The last word of the Phœnician legend, of which the

⁵² The phrase on this tablet relating to the standard is "of the goddess XV of Nineveh." I shall reserve a full examination of the different standards of weight which were current in Assyria for the continuation of this paper on the legal tablets; but I may here note that there seem to have been three distinct *mina* in common use—the *manah* of the king, or "royal maund;" the *manah* of the great goddess of Nineveh and Arbela, or "the maund of the sanctuary;" both of these being native Assyrian weights; and the *manah* of Carchemish, which is the most constantly quoted of all. I believe that each of these maunds contained sixty shekels, but that there was a slight difference in their relation to each other. As for "the country maund," which has been assumed from the Phœnician legends on the Museum weights, I cannot think myself that there is any foundation for such a distinction. The expression *ב וי ארקא*, which is added to the declaration of the number of maunds, does not refer, as I believe, to a standard at all (in fact, the phrase is found in Nos. 2, 3, and 4, in addition to the definition of the royal standard), but is merely a geographical indication, intended to distinguish the weights of Syria and of Assyria. See further, under Note 63.

⁵³ I have sometimes thought that the whole legend might be read *ל מננ-ארבל זי קרם בית - - כא*, *Li-Manugi-Arbel zi kadas bit . . . ka*, "of Manugi-Arbel, priest of the temple of . . . ka;" but there is nothing in the Cuneiform text to indicate that the borrower of the ten shekels, *Mannuki-Arbil*, had any connexion either with the great goddess or her temple.

⁵⁴ *Bukha* ( ) may very well stand for بيع, the change of vowels being perfectly regular, and the guttural, *kh*, being a common substitute for the *Ain*, *y*; but I am not so sure that it is allowable to suppose the

final כַּא is alone legible, may then, perhaps, be some verbal form (either from לָקַח, or some kindred root), and the entire docket may be translated, as I have already suggested, "from *Manugi-Arbil* 20 holy shekels his debt (or contract) to be taken."

No. 13.

This legend is a mere fragment, giving the name, probably, of the party executing the deed. The Cuneiform original of the name, however, is not preserved, nor, indeed, is the tablet sufficiently perfect to enable us to ascertain the purport of the inscription. We can only infer, from the shape of the broken tablet and the few lines of writing which remain, that the document does not belong to the ordinary class of legal transfers of property; it is rather, as I think, of a sacred character.

The Phœnician name may be read with tolerable certainty as נְבוֹשָׁלִים, which exactly answers to the Cuneiform , *Nabu-shallim*, signifying "Nebo (is my) preserver;" and an imperfect word follows which commences with נ.⁵⁵

No. 14.

This is an important legend, as the Phœnician writing is very clearly marked on the tablet, and the Cuneiform names, both of the sellers and buyer of the property, are given with perfect distinctness. The Cuneiform writing recites the particulars of the purchase of a house in Nineveh for half a mina of silver, by *Kukullai*, from its owners, , *Paqa-ana-Arba-il*, and ; and as the Phœnician legend is without any prefix, it must be held (as in No. 8) to represent the names of these sellers. The first Phœnician name, also, פָּקָאֲרְבִיל, *Paqa-Arba-il*, does thus represent, as nearly as possible, the first Cuneiform name, the only variety being that the particle *ana* is left out, and that by the introduction of a penultimate *yod*, the full orthography is perhaps given of *Arba-il*,⁵⁶ for the town of Arbela, instead of the contracted

lapse of this radical letter in order to obtain the Phœnician form of בֵּית. In favour of the assimilation I can only refer to No. 10, and point out that in that legend, at any rate, the word *beiat*, preceding a proper name, is apparently of the same class as *danat* and *shakhat*; and that *Beth* or *Beit*, "a house," offers, therefore, a very insufficient explanation.

⁵⁵ Dr. Levy, I find, has already recognized this reading in his *Phönizische Studien*, part ii. p. 24.

⁵⁶ The penultimate letter in this name would seem, however, to be a *Vau*, ו,

form of *Arbil*, as in Nos. 1 and 12. The only real difficulty in this bilingual legend relates to the second word, which is given in Phœnician as **סרַאשׁ**, and if it be a proper name, must answer to the Cuneiform **𐎶 𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶**. Now, the first question to be asked is, do these two forms really correspond? and to this I am unable to give a positive answer. On the one hand, it may seem strange that the junior partner in a property should be named in the docket, since, although entered as a matter of form in the actual conveyance at the head of the deed, he is passed over in the subsequent penalty clause as unimportant; but, on the other hand, there is no possible explanation that I can suggest for **סרַאשׁ**, placed as it is on the margin of the tablet, immediately under the name of the principal owner, except that it represents the name of the second or joint owner. If this assimilation, then, be admitted, the sign **𐎶𐎶** must have, amongst its many values, the power of **סר**, *sar*, and the vernacular name of the "great goddess," represented by the sign XV, must be positively **אשׁא**, *Asha*. There is no other evidence, that I am aware of, connecting **𐎶𐎶** with the sound of *sar* or *sir*, nor am I at all sure what may be the meaning of such a word prefixed to the name of a god. That the sign **𐎶𐎶**, however, equivalent in numbers to 15, does here represent the name of the great goddess, is rendered certain by the orthography employed on other tablets, where the same name is written with the determinative of a god, **𐎶𐎶𐎶**, between **𐎶𐎶** and **𐎶𐎶**.

With regard to the etymology of these names, I can only suggest for *Paqa-ana Arba-il* the meaning of "go forth to Arbil," or perhaps "proclaim to Arbil" (*Paqa* being imperative of **נפק**; compare **פוקי**, Dan. iii. 26); and for *Sir-Asha*, the possible meaning of "Slave of Asha," *Sir* being a contraction for **אסיר**, from **אסר**, "to bind;" but I admit that I have no other authority for the

rather than a *god*, according to the numismatic Hebrew alphabet given by Gesenius (Mon. Phœn. vol. ii. pl. 3), and in that case we must suppose the name to have been pronounced *Arba-ul*, the same change of vowels taking place as in *Ursalima* for Jerusalem, and *Shemrun* for *Samirin* (Samaria). Another instance of the substitution of the **𐎶** for the **𐎶** may be observed in the orthography of the Phœnician dual form **𐎶𐎶** for **𐎶𐎶** ("two maunds"), in the legend on the Lion Weight, No. 4, where, moreover, in the reading on the base, the exact form is used for the *Vau*, which we have in this transcript, of the name of *Arba-il*.

employment of as a Turanian root, either with this sense or sound.⁵⁷

No. 15.

The tablet from which these names are copied is a mere fragment, of Babylonian origin, and probably dating from the time of Nebuchadnezzar. It seems to record a money contract very much in the same terms as were current in Assyria, but it furnishes no means of bilingual comparison. The names, indeed, preceded by the word שדנת, as in No. 7, are those of independent witnesses, who were probably of Phœnician origin, and who thus preferred to

⁵⁷ Since writing this, I have lighted on a fragment of vocabulary amid the debris in the British Museum, which has suggested an explanation for the employment of as equivalent to סר. The Turanian root seems to have signified originally "to swell," and to have been thus equivalent to the Semitic roots נהר (Cun.) and שאר (Cun.). I have long been aware of the employment of the root in the first-named capacity, in representing the name of , which I always maintained to be identical with *Nabu-nahid*, or *Nabonidus*, in opposition to Dr. Hincks and Mons. Oppert (see my paper on the Orthography of some of the later Royal Names of Assyrian and Babylonian History, in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal for 1855); but this reading of for סראש is the first example that I have observed of the use of in a proper name for the alternative root שאר. The Hebrew שאר, it must be remembered, is cognate both with שאר and סר, so that the employment of the Phœnician ס need not surprise us. With regard to the pronunciation of the Accadian root , it would seem to have its normal power of *im* in the name , which is given by Abydenus as Ναβοννίδου, for *Nabu-imduk*; but in the vocabulary, where it is explained by , the Accadian column seems to have the reading of , *Mir* (and so the God of the air, , i. e., "the glorious god," is named in Accadian , *Mir-mir*). I should propose now to read the name of as *Saru-Asha*, and to translate it "glory of *Asha*," as *Nabu-nahid*, or *Nabu-imduk*, is "Nebo the glorious." Cuneiform scholars are familiar with this employment of one Arcadian sign to represent two or more Semitic roots, corresponding in sense, but entirely different in sound, as, for instance, for *ebas* and *bani*, "to do or make;" for *elad* and *bani*, "to beget;" for *sakan* and *sarak*, &c., &c.

be recorded in their vernacular characters. They occur at the end of the list of Babylonian witnesses, and being merely scratched on the hard clay, are altogether of too uncertain a character to be worth the trouble of analysis. After each of the names is the word **𐤒**, which I suppose to be the feminine demonstrative pronoun answering to the Hebrew **זֶה**, so that each line reads, "this is the attestation of"

Nos. 11 and 16.

It will be convenient to examine these two legends together, as the tablets to which they belong are of the same class, and the inscriptions help to explain and illustrate each other. It would seem that grain assignments⁵⁸ were issued in Assyria on a particular shield-shaped piece of baked clay, quite different from the ordinary flat or bulging tablet, on which were registered deeds of sale, loans, and contracts. At any rate, most of the documents of this class that I have found are recorded upon such triangular bits of clay, which were, moreover, evidently intended to be suspended, as a hole is passed through them at the upper corners, for the insertion of a string. There are only two of these triangular tablets in the Museum which bear Phœnician characters, and of these, the one that is perfect has no corresponding Cuneiform, while of the second, which had a Phœnician text on one side, and a Cuneiform text on the other, but one small corner remains. The longer inscription, No. 16, is divided into two portions; the first portion, consisting of two lines, is, as I think, a simple date, recorded in the usual Assyrian fashion, "The 5th of Khaziran, in the Eponymy of *Saru Nerig*;" but this rendering is not, it must be owned, perfectly clear. In the first place, the number 5 would seem to be given twice over; that is, before the name of the month, under the technical form of the letter **𐤔**, as in No. 2; and after the name of the month, under the ruder figure of five separate strokes; and again, the name of Khaziran is spelt with a *Tsadi*, **𐤕**, instead of the *Zain*, **𐤕**, which is now used both in Syriac and Arabic.⁵⁹ The

⁵⁸ It is perfectly in accordance with Eastern usage to issue assignments of grain in lieu of assessment upon the farmers and landed proprietors, these assignments being made payable to princes of the blood, or officers of the court, or other claimants on the government. The Tablets 11 and 16 are probably assignments of this nature, though it is possible they may be mere acknowledgments of a private liability.

⁵⁹ The derivation of *Khaziran* has never been at all satisfactorily explained; but the Phœnician orthography which is here employed suggests at once a

identification, however, of this name, חצרן, with the ninth month of the present Syrian calendar, is not, I think, to be questioned, and it is, thus, a source of great disappointment that we have not the Cuneiform correspondent; since we could with that aid decide positively whether the Assyrian year commenced at the vernal or autumnal equinox, and we should be thus able to attach a name to each of the twelve signs which represent the Assyrian months. I believe, myself, that *Khaziran*, which answers to *Sivan* in the Jewish calendar, was the third month of the Assyrian year, and was thus represented by the sign , because, firstly, I find that the assignments and sales of grain recorded on the tablets, are usually dated from the first three months of the calendar, namely, , , and , that is, during April, May, and June, which constitute the harvest season in Mesopotamia; and secondly, because the sign of the second month, , is also the sign for a Bull, answering to the Taurus of the zodiac, and the *Thuravahir* of the Persian calendar (where *Thura*⁶⁰ is probably the same word as *Tâp* and תור); but there is, on the other hand—that is, in favour of the year commencing with the autumnal equinox—the argument that *Tishrin*, which is the first month of the present Syrian calendar, is apparently derived from the verb שרא, “to begin;” while the sign , which represents the first Assyrian month, is used, perhaps, as a monogram for this same root, the equivalents of and being given in the Bilingual Syllabary, No. 256.⁶¹ In continuation, it is of much interest to

connexion with the root חצר or خضر, “to be green,” precisely as the preceding month was named *Ziv* and *Ayar*, from the “brightness” and “beauty” of the spring flowers. See Gesenius, in vore, וי.

⁶⁰ Compare line 56 of the Babylonian text of the Behistun Ins. with col. 2, ls. 61 and 62, of the Persian text. Mons. Oppert, however, translates *Thuravahar* simply “le printemps” (Exped. en Mesopot. p. 225), and takes no notice of its connexion with the Assyrian .

⁶¹ It is quite possible, however, that , given as an equivalent of , may not answer to שרא, “to begin,” but may rather correspond with שאר, “to swell or exult,” which I have elsewhere shown to be also represented by ; for the general use of is as a title of honour (“the noble,” or “the glorious”), and it is thus equally applicable to a “noble” building or “tower,” as in the name of Borsippa (“the tower of the ruler”), or to a “noble” king (*Parakku*, the Semitic equivalent of being synonymous with , *sarru*), or to a class of

find the Phœnician word **לם**, answering to the Cuneiform **𐎠-𐎡**, or **𐎠-𐎡**, and applied to the office of naming the year, or, as it is now generally called by Assyrian scholars, "the office of Eponym." With regard to the meaning of the word, I adhere to my proposed derivation from **למה**, "to be near," considering the title to be equivalent to the modern term **مقرب**, *Mukarrib*, in preference to Dr. Hincks's explanation of "seer," which he conjectures to have been given from the officer in question being required to *see* the new moon, and thus regulate the calendar.

With regard to the name of the Eponym, I confess to some uncertainty. *Saru-Nerig* would be a perfectly legitimate compound, formed like *Saru-Ashu* (No. 14), and signifying "the glory of Nergal;" but no such title as **𐎠𐎡𐎠𐎡** **𐎠𐎡𐎠𐎡** is found in the Canon, or in the supplementary list of Eponyms that I have collected from the dated tablets; nor am I at all sure as to the correct reading of the first element of the name, the initial letter, which I have given as **𐎠**, being scarcely legible, and the second letter being perhaps a **𐎡**, instead of a **𐎠**, for the two characters are hardly distinguishable in the ancient Phœnician. That *Nerig*, however, is the second element, I think almost certain, and I am thus led to suppose the corruption of the genuine form *Ner-gal*, which we perceive in the *Ἀβερνήριος* of Josephus, and in the *Nerig* of the Mendaean books, to be of very ancient date.⁶²

We now come to the essential part of the inscription, where we are much assisted by the bilingual fragment No. 11. I read **𐎠𐎡𐎠𐎡** **𐎠𐎡𐎠𐎡**, *Seoran zi bar Malká*, "the barley of the son of the king;" and I compare No. 11, where the Phœnician text seems to have been identical, and where the Cuneiform has **𐎠 - - - -**

𐎠𐎡𐎠𐎡 **𐎠𐎡𐎠𐎡**. The sign **𐎠** can be shown, from a multitude of examples, to be a determinative of cereals, but I have never found any direct proof as to the distinction of the different sorts of grain, nor, indeed, am I able to give with any certainty the phonetic reading of **𐎠𐎡**, **𐎠𐎡**, **𐎠𐎡**, and **𐎠𐎡**, though I believe the two first groups to be equivalent to the Hebrew words **שעיר** and **חטים**, signifying "wheat" and "barley;"

divine beings (**𐎠𐎡** being also a special name for the "spirits" of the earth).

⁶² For a full discussion of the name and character of the Assyrian god, *Ner-gal*, or Mars, see my Essay on the Babylonian Mythology, Sect. xi. (Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. i. p. 631).

and the third group, which occurs very frequently on the tablets, I suspect to represent "rice."

In fragment No. 11, the prince's barley is to be furnished by two people—three *homers* by one, and two *homers* and a fraction by another; in all, five *homers* and a fraction. In No. 15 the levy is on a single person, *Nabu-irib-ani*, as I am inclined to read his name, and the amount to be furnished is stated at five City *Mans* and seven *Ephahs* (?). The Phœnician letters על נבירבן, indeed, are perfectly clear, and would seem to represent the Assyrian name י → י ז שן ז שן, which signifies "Nebo magnifies me," though the omission of the final *Yod* is hardly regular; at any rate, whatever the exact Cuneiform orthography may be, the name is certainly that of the person upon whom the prince's barley is levied, and the amount to be delivered is given in the two last lines of the legend. These lines seem to me to read (VII) ב (V) מן עירן, which I suppose to be "five *Mans* of the cities and seven *Ephahs*;" the City *Man* (or *mana iran*) being perhaps the same as the Carchemish Maund, so often quoted on the Museum tablets.⁶³

⁶³ Dr. Levy has transcribed these words as מן עירן (Phœn. Stud. part ii. p. 22); but the second letter of the last word seems to me, on a further examination of the tablet, to be unmistakably a *god*, and I adhere, therefore, to the reading of *mana iran*, though unable to explain the expression with any certainty. If I could be satisfied with Dr. Levy's explanation of the phrase ב זי ארקא, *Be zi argá*, which occurs on so many of the Lion weights in the British Museum, after the specification of the number of minæ, as relating to a standard "of the country," comparing *argá* with the Chaldee ארקא (for ארצא), then the expression here employed of *mana iran* for the city weight, as opposed to the country weight, would be quite intelligible; but there is no trace upon the tablets, where we have some hundred examples of a specification of weight, of any distinction between a city and a country standard; nor do I think that the corrupted form ארקא was ever substituted for ארצא until long after the age of these inscriptions. I suspect myself that the Phœnician *Argá* means Assyria—indeed, on one Lion weight, No. 9, ארקא is actually rendered in Cuneiform by אש, the usual contraction for *Asshur*, but whether the term in question was a recognized Aramaic title, the original of the modern عراق (in which case the received Arab etymology must be rejected: see *Journ. Asiatique* for April, 1839, p. 298), or whether it was a mere local designation preserved in the Ἀρακηνή (for Ἀρακαηνή) of Strabo (lib. xvi. ineunte), I will not hazard a conjecture.

There seem to have been three standards of weight commonly employed in Assyria—two domestic, and one of foreign origin. The domestic standards were based on the "royal" Maund and the "sacred" Maund. The foreign standard is indicated in the Cuneiform text by "the *manah* of Carchemish;" and this I conjecture to be the מן עירן of the present Phœnician legend, which may possibly have been in general use throughout the cities of Syria, and have thus been known to the Phœnicians by the collective term "the cities," and to the Assyrians by the name of that particular Syrian city with

The chief argument which occurs to me against this reading is, that in the Cuneiform the term of *Mana*, , is never applied to grain. Wheat and barley are measured by the (which I suppose to be the *homer*, as it applies equally to land), and by fractional parts of the , which are given as , , and .⁶⁴ At any rate, whatever may be the standard employed, the five strokes in the last line but one indicate the number of the greater weight, and the seven strokes at the end the number of the lesser weight, which was represented by the initial letter , perhaps for , *Bath*, the equivalent of the *Ephah*, though applied by the Jews exclusively to the measure of liquids.

I now give the translation of Nos. 11 and 16. The Cuneiform text of the first tablet is as follows:—"3 *homers* upon, "2 *homers* and a fraction upon; in all, 5 *homers* and a "fraction of barley, to be delivered to the king's son, &c., &c." Of the corresponding Phœnician text the only words that remain are "Barley son of the king 5" The full Phœnician inscription on the second tablet reads as follows:—"The 5th of the month Khaziran, *Saru-Nerig* being Eponym. "5 *Mans* and 7 *Ephahs* (city weight) of barley to be delivered by "Nebo-irib-an to the son of the king," (*lit.* "of the son of the king "upon Nebo-irib-an").

which they were more immediately connected. I observe, moreover, that there was a specific weight known to the Talmudists as the מנה מדינה (which was the eighth part of the מנה צורי, *Bava kama*, fol. 90, col. 2'), so that we have sufficient authority for the idiom of the "city maund," though it is not likely that the older and later weight were the same.

⁶⁴ Upon the legal tablets land and grain are equally measured by the , and this measure appears to have been of 3 standards, which contained respectively 10, 9, and 8 subdivisions, denominated . There are no means of ascertaining the exact relation of these measures to our own, but it seems highly probable that the was identical with the *Homer* or *Cor* of the Hebrews, and the with the *Ephah* or *Bath*. It would also seem that with the Phœnicians the bore the same relation to the מן, as with the Assyrians, the bore to the . I have no clue to the phonetic reading of the former, but and , which in Syllabary No. 158, are identical, are both sometimes explained by *Lagit*, which I suppose to mean "a measure of capacity," being a cognate term with לָגַג, as a derivative from a root לָגַג or לָגַג, "to measure."

I will only add that מן עירן may be here used as a compound word in the plural, the construction being literally "city maunds," instead of "maund of the cities;" for on the weights, wherever the noun is used singly, it is written מנה, *manah*.

No. 17.

This inscription, the last, as well as the longest of the series, is, I think, too imperfect to be read. I have merely added it to the series of bilingual legends in order to complete the collection, and as an exercise for the ingenuity of bolder decipherers.

In continuation of these bilingual readings, I now propose to give a few Phœnician legends from bricks, gems, and pottery, which appear to represent Assyrian or Babylonian names and words, and are thus of some importance to the present inquiry.

No. I.

On many of the Nebuchadnezzar bricks found at Babylon I have observed the word זבנך, written in bold and clearly-marked Phœnician characters. The forms of the letters so nearly correspond in all the specimens which I have examined, that the legend must, I think, have been impressed with a stamp; and in this case the word, or words, ought, it would seem, to have some meaning of general application. If, then, we read זבנך, *zebinak*, in one word, we might translate "for sale," deriving the term from the root זב, "to buy;"¹ or, if we took the initial ז for the possessive pronoun זי, we might understand, "of the builders," supposing *banak* to be the Babylonian form of בנא, and remembering that it is often the custom in the East to assign a certain proportion of the material employed in building to the workmen. Several other explanations might be suggested, such as the name of an evil spirit (compare Arabic زينة), to be deprecated by this address,² or

¹ The great difficulty in this word is to explain the final guttural. If Semitic, it may be the suffix of the 2nd person singular; or possibly it may be an Accadian post-position, of which other examples occur. In illustration of the meaning "for sale," we may also remember that the word *eme*, "buy," has been found on many objects dug up at Pompeii.

² So at the present day, in most parts of the East builders keep up a low monotonous chaunt, interspersed with prayers, whilst at their work, which is supposed to have the effect of scaring away the evil spirits, who would otherwise render the edifice unlucky. There is indeed a very large admixture of superstition and "diablerie" in the daily observances of life in Persia and Turkey, which is quite unconnected with Mohamedanism, and must have descended, I think, as a heritage from the old Magian and Chaldean creeds.

Phœnician legends on bricks, cylinders, seals &c for the most part in the British Museum.

I.	✱ 792	X.	47H
II.	1+6-194		147W47
III.	X9A>////////		44
IV.	67X9A	XI.	49446
V.	799>K6	XII.	41476
	999A99	XIII.	26076
	✱797.	XIV.	34H46
	999722	XV.	990299476
	9976		90997
VI.	27:7>7H	XVI.	737277H6
	H0>>0		H724Y
VII.	74H7676	XVII.	W776
VIII.	6✱X476		7W96
	7X6744		7749
IX.	✱6K9906	XVIII.	47K476
	X09W79	XIX.	7796799////////
	99774490	XX.	79W7W47////////
	K997		

Transcript in Hebrew Characters.

I.	זבנך	X.	חתם
II.	נבתגל תו ?		פרשנרת
III.	כגרת		בר
IV.	הרתגל	XI.	ארתרתן
V.	לאכרבן ברגברד סרסא זי הקרב להדר	XII.	למדבר
VI.	דברכ(ת)בל סרסא	XIII.	לסרגר
VII.	לפלתחרן	XIV.	לסעלי
VIII.	לתמכאל בן מלכם	XV.	לאחמה
IX.	לעברדאלא בן שבעת עבר מתת בן צדקא	XVI.	להדרקיע בר הרבעד
		XVII.	לחגניה בן וריסח
		XVIII.	לננש
		XIX.	לבשה
		XX.	ברכת
			לסראסר
			ברת לבנן . . .
			משחקן

the mere name of the brick-moulder ; but nothing can be ascertained with certainty.

No. II.

On a brick of Neriglissar's, found at Babylon, the legend upon which I published in the British Museum Collection, Pl. 8, No. 5, there is another Phœnician inscription, not less difficult of explanation than the last. If the first five characters represent a name, they may possibly be read as נבֿתגֿל, *Nabu-tagil*, a kindred name with *Anu-taggil*, *Hur-tagil*, &c.. and signifying "attached to Nebo;" but the third and fourth characters are exceedingly doubtful, and perhaps resemble גֿג rather than גֿה. At any rate, they are too uncertain to furnish ground for etymological speculation; and to add to our difficulty, the two concluding letters of the legend seem to be reversed. I have given for them the conjectural reading of זת, as in No. 15 of the bilingual series; but neither do the forms of the letters suit particularly well, nor is the sense of "this" required, as it would seem, after a proper name.

No. III.

On a minute fragment of a tablet in the British Museum I find the letters כנרת - - - given as the end of a name, and I can hardly doubt, therefore, that the letters belong to the name of מלך קרת, *Melik Qart*, the *Melkarth*, or Hercules of the Phœnicians, which was preceded probably by a noun, like *Abed* or *Ardu*. The use of the Phœnician ק, instead of ק, in the word קרת, "a city," may be compared with the orthography of מנן for מן מן, in No. 12. The Cuneiform equivalent for the Phœnician Melkarth has not yet been discovered, unless it be 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎶, who was the Hercules of Assyria.

No. IV.

On a cylinder seal of Babylonian workmanship which I examined at Baghdad, I found the Phœnician legend 𐤠𐤭𐤠𐤭, *Hur-lagal*. Now, this is certainly a Babylonian or Assyrian proper name, and the second element is easily identified as the word 𒄩𒄪 𒄩𒄪 or 𒄩𒄪𒄩 𒄩𒄪, "serving," or "attached to," which is so often found in composition with the name of a god ; but I am in some doubt as to the deity who bore the title of *Hur*

The peculiar form of *He*, 𐎶, which is used for the initial character of *Hur-tagal*, is precisely the same as that employed in the orthography of 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 for 𐎶 𐎶𐎶= 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, in No. 2.

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, *Mitra*, for मित्र or *Mithra*. Another compound monogram in the same list, which it is difficult to represent typographically, is explained by 𐎶 𐎶𐎶, *Bisheba*; and this name I would compare

with the Sanscrit विवस्वत्, who in Vedic mythology was actually "the Sun," though in Persian romance his solar character was transferred, as it is well known, to his son Yama, under the name of *Yimo-khshaelo* (or Jemshid), son of *Vivenghan*. That this latter title, also, was well known to the Semites, is shown by Ibn Wahshiya's famous book on Nabathæan agriculture, where *Yamu-shaed*, or Jemshid, appears under the form of *Yanbu-shâdh* (ينبو شان) as the name of one of the chief founders of the Babylonian religion, in allusion, no doubt, to the ante-Zoroastrian Monotheism of the Arians, which must have penetrated to the Tigris and Euphrates at a very early date, and was perhaps blended with the native Polytheism.

A further very curious illustration of the extent to which Arian etymologies governed the phonetic system of the Assyrians, is afforded by an examination of the name of the god Hercules. The name of this deity is usually expressed by the signs 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, which signify, as I now think, "the great or noble God,"

𐎶𐎶 having the double power of *bar* and *mas*, the former of which in this case must represent the Sans. वृह, Kurdish *farra*, Hind. *barra*, and the latter

the Saus. महा, Zend *maz*, Pers. مس. It is probable that both of these

phonetic names were applied to the god by different tribes or nations in Babylonia. He was certainly called *Mas*, as we have 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶

in one list given as an equivalent for 𐎶𐎶 or 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 (whence perhaps 𐎶𐎶, the son of Aram, Gen. x. 23), and therefore his title, 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, was used

for one of the metals (iron?), in the same way perhaps as مس is used in

modern Persian for "copper;" and so the sign 𐎶𐎶, which was probably at first the picture of "a fish," must also, I think, have had originally the phonetic power of *mas*, as it is only by that value that we can explain its representing, 1stly, 𐎶𐎶 or 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, Heb. נון, "a fish;" in old Pers. ماس, from

मत्स्य (as in the *Gá-más-áb* river, so called from the figure of "a bull" and

"fish," sculptured on the rock at its source); 2ndly, 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, <

H b. 𐎶𐎶; in old Pers. مس, from महा; and 3rdly, "copper;" Proto-

Chaldæan 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, *tamkabbar* (perhaps the original of ताच);

Assyr. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, *siparru*; Accad. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, *zabar*; Arab. صفر;

(but in Persian, as before observed, مس, now pronounced *mis*).

Whether the other Proto-Chaldæan names of the gods, such as "*Gingir*,"

No. V.

The cylinder seal having this legend is of very fair workmanship, and was purchased for the British Museum from Captain Felix Jones, who obtained it at Babylon. I propose to read the legend, *Li Akadi bin Bereg-berud, sarsá zi haqarib li Hadad*, "Of Akadi, the son of Bereg-berud, the eunuch, who was the devotee of Hadad."⁵ The name of *Akadi* often occurs in the inscriptions under the form (written phonetically) of

I read doubtfully as *Bereg-berud*, and suppose it to mean "Blessed of Berud," or "Berud blesses," comparing *Berud* either with the Scriptural **בראדך**, for Merodach (2 Kings xx. 12),⁷ or with the *Bar Nimre* of Harran, mentioned by St. James of Seruj (Asseman. Bib. Orient. vol. i. p. 327), **ברר** and **נמר** both signifying "spotted as a pard." *Bereg* for *Berek* will be the same corruption that we have already seen in **מננ** for **מנ** **מנ** **מנ** **מנ**. The Cuneiform sign, I may add, which represents the idea of "blessing," is **𐎶**, the Semitic equivalent roots being **טוב** and **ברך**, and it is thus impossible, when the letter **𐎶** is used alone, to distinguish its phonetic reading. In general, however, **𐎶𐎵𐎶** or **𐎶𐎵𐎶**, *ga* or *gi*, is added to **𐎶** to indicate the root **טוב**; and **𐎶𐎶** or **𐎶𐎶**, *im* or *mu*, is added to indicate **ברך**.⁸ The next word, **סרסא**, is, of course, the Hebrew **סריס**, from the root **סרס**, "to castrate." The Assyrian phonetic equivalent seems to be **𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶**, *Kizir*, from **קצר**, "to cut off;" but I am still in doubt as to the Turanian monogram for "a eunuch." The fourth line seems to read *zi haqarib*. The relative **זי** is certain, but I am not sure of *haqarib*, as the first letter, though resembling the **ה** in **הושיע** and **הרתנל**, is not quite identical. If *haqarib* be the true reading, we may suppose the word to be the Hiphel form of **קרב**, or the first letter may possibly be the Hebrew article. The last word of the inscription is apparently the name of a God, and I con-

⁷ It is quite possible that the last element of this name may be **בכר**, instead of **ברר**; the second character, indeed, resembles a **כ** fully as much as a **ר**, and the *Daleth* and *Resh* are undistinguishable. The name *Burug-bekur* (**ברג-בכר**) might then mean "the splendour of the morning" (comp. Chaldee **בארנ**, and Heb. **בכר**), but this is a mere conjecture.

⁸ **𐎶** is also used for *Birek*, "a knee," as well as for the root **ברך** "to bless." Compare the Bilingual phrases:—

Where the Assyrian reads *allaka birkai*; *la anikha shepai*; "I have made my knees to move;" "I have not rested my feet;" **𐎶 𐎶𐎶** answering to *birkai*, "knees," and **𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶** to *shepai*, "feet."

ture the deity to be the **דדר** of Scripture and Adad of Macrobius, though I know not his Assyrian representative.⁹ The style of the legend is very similar to the formula which is generally found on Babylonian cylinder seals, and which merely records the name of the owner, the name of his father, and the name of his guardian deity. The only difference is that here we have the additional title of **סרסא**, and that the periphrasis *zi haqarib li* is substituted for the ordinary single sign **𐤌𐤍**, *ardu*, "the slave of."¹⁰

No. VI.

This is a legend in Himyaritic characters, upon a Babylonian cylinder seal obtained by Captain F. Jones at Annah on the Euphrates, and now in the British Museum. It is included in the recent collection of Himyaritic inscriptions published by the British Museum, pl. xviii. No. 39, and has been read by Mr. Franks as **דברך בן ערעא**, *Dabrak bin 'Ar'á*. I should, however, propose, myself, to read **ד ברקת-ביל סרסא**, *Di Barkat-Bil Sarsá*, "of Barkat-bil the Eunuch," comparing the legend with the Phœnician inscription No. V that has been just examined. At any rate it is quite clear that the initial **ד**, answering to the Chaldee **די**, is used either as a preposition or a pronoun, to denote the ownership of the seal, this mode of expression being universal in all the cylinder and seal legends; and that the following word is a derivative of **ברך**, "to bless." With regard to the name itself, *Barak*, or *Barkat*, may possibly be used alone, and the following word may be the affiliative term *Bin* as regarded by Mr. Franks; but I should prefer to join the two words together in one name, which

⁹ See Selden de Diis Syris, p. 102 sqq., for a full dissertation upon *Adad*, which, according to Macrobius, signified "one," and was a title of the sun's. Dr. Levy, as I have before observed, reads **מדר** instead of **דדר**, comparing the Hebrew **מדרך** (Jer. l. 2), but the first letter of the name seems to me to be a **ד** rather than a **מ**, and the other two characters are to all appearance the same letter, whether that letter be a *Daleth* or *Resh*.

¹⁰ Dr. Levy can hardly be right, I think, in supposing that a eunuch was "Priest" of Merodach. Except in connexion with the rites of the "Mother of the Gods," I doubt, indeed, if eunuchs were ever admitted into the temples of Assyria and Babylonia. Whether the title derived from **קרב** be *muqrib* or *haqarib*, it merely indicates "proximity," I think, in the sense of devotion; but there is no immediate correspondent in Assyrian with which the word can be compared. The Cuneiform sign for a priest (of Proto-Chaldean origin) was **𐎶𐎵**, which was pronounced *Patesi* in Babylonian, and had probably another phonetic equivalent in Assyria.

would then be a compound signifying, perhaps, "the blessing of Bel." At any rate the last letter of the first line can hardly be a *Nun*. It resembles a Phœnician *Zain* more than anything else, but may perhaps be a *Lamed*.¹¹ Whether the two dots after בִּרְךְ are merely a sign of division, or represent the Himyaritic *Tau*, is of no great consequence.

The reading of סרסא, "the Eunuch," for the last word may be thought very bold, but the first and third letters resemble no character of the known Himyaritic alphabet, and the only Semitic character in which that alphabet is deficient is the *Samech*; so that I venture to compare the word with the title of *Sarsá* used in the preceding legend, instead of adopting, with Mr. Franks, the wholly unintelligible patronymic of ערעא. Mr. Franks's hypothesis that the legend on this cylinder is of a much later date than the figures, seems to me to be altogether gratuitous. The figures, no doubt, are of good Babylonian workmanship, and can hardly be later than the sixth or seventh century, B.C.; but I know of no conclusive evidence against a similar antiquity for the Himyaritic character. On the contrary, this cylinder may be held, I think, to establish that antiquity; for not only is there every appearance from the arrangement of the figures and letters that the two engravings must have been executed at the same time, but the style of the legend is also of the Ante-Achæmenian period, and unsuited, as I think, to any later age.

No. VII.

The legend on this cylinder, which is in the British Museum, and comes from Babylon, has been often published (*Mém. de l'Inst.* tom. xvii. 1, pl. iii. No. 4, p. 353; and Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 606), but has never been satisfactorily read. It appears to me, however, to be a regularly formed Assyrian name, פִּלְתַּחְדִּין, *Pilat-akh-idin*, "Pilat-gives-a-brother," of the same class as *Asshur-akh-idin* (or *Esar Haddon*), *Shamas-akh-idin*, and many others. The only difficulty regards the name of *Pilat*, which is not found under that form in the Assyrian Pantheon. Remembering, however, the constant confusion of the labials, I would suggest that

¹¹ The name of *Birket-Baal*, בִּרְכַּת-בַּעַל, is quoted by Dr. Levy from a Numidian inscription (*Phön. Stud.* iii. 64). I should prefer, however, to read this name as *Birket-Baz*, if I could find any trace of the worship of a god named *Baz* by the Aramæans or Arabs.

Pilat is for *Bilat*, , the feminine of *Bil*, "a Lord," and equivalent to the Greek *Bήλτις* or *Bήλθης*, the same word occurring as the first element in the name of *בלטשאצר*, though the *Te'h* is there substituted for the *Tau*.¹²

The other elements, *akh-idin*, require no comment.

No. VIII.

The seal on which this legend is found is of the Phœnician, or perhaps Arabian, rather than the Assyrian type. The name is distinctly read as *תמכאל בר מלכם*, *Tamik-il bar Milkum*. *Tamik-il* means probably "God blesses," or "blest of God;" the root *damak* or *tamak* (for the two forms are hardly distinguishable in the inscriptions), giving rise to a vast number of derivatives in Assyrian, though it is unknown, I believe, in any of the kindred languages. The Turanian sign which represents this root is , and among the derivatives (besides the immediate verbal forms) are the words signifying "good fortune" (, *tumki*, or , *dunqi*), the common epithet of *damqât* ("the blessed places"), applied to the holy shrines of Babylonia, and various others terms of kindred meaning.

The name of *מלכם*, *Malcam* or *Milcom*, though familiar to us from its frequent employment in Scriptures, is hardly Assyrian,

¹² Dr. Levy reads this name *פל-תחרן*, and translates it "son of the morning," supposing *Pal* to be the Assyrian , and comparing *תחרן* with the Hebrew *שחר* (Phön. Stud. ii. 33). I know of no Assyrian names, however, formed like the Hebrew *בן-אוני*, *בנימין*, *בן-שחר*, &c.; nor, I think, would the word for "a son" be pronounced *Pal* at the commencement of a name, but rather *ablu* (Cun.); whilst the substitution of *שחר* for *תחרן* seems exceedingly far-fetched. *Pilat* is, I have little doubt, the name of some deity, but whether it may really stand for *Bilat*, as suggested in the text, or whether it may refer to the "Goddess of life," , *Bilat-Tila*, where *Tila* answers to the Assyrian term *Balath* or *Palath* (comp. Hebrew root *פלט* or *פלת*, "to escape," or "survive"), or whether there may not be some other divine title pronounced *Pilat* or *Palat*, the Cuneiform correspondent of which has not yet been recognized, I cannot undertake to say.

¹³ Dr. Levy (Phön. Stud. ii. 31) reads this name as *Themek-el*, "God supports," from the Hebrew root *תמך*, and perhaps this is a better derivation than from *damak*, "to bless," which, if it existed in Hebrew, would be expressed by *דמך*. I am not sure, however, that any such root as *tamak*, "to hold," or "support," is in use in Assyrian.

the termination in ם, being apparently the suffix of the third person plural, which was peculiar to the Hebrew and Arabic.

No. IX.

The seal impressed with this legend, and which is now in the British Museum, is said to have been found in Ireland, a relic, it is supposed, of the old Phœnician colonists. It may be read אבד-אלא בן שבעת עבד מתת בן זדקא. *Li Obed-elâ bin Sheb'at obed Mitit bin Zidqâ*, "belonging to Abdallah the son of Sheb'at, the slave of Mitinta, the son of Zadek." The names which are thus preserved are of some interest, and may be partially illustrated from the Assyrian. אלא, or *Ela*, would seem to be a particular divinity, different from the ordinary אל, *El* (Assyrian 𐎶, *Ilu*), which applies as a generic name to any God. It may, perhaps, be Cronos, the Ηλ, or 'Ιλος, of the Phœnicians, and the 𐎶 𐎵, or 𐎶 𐎵 𐎶 𐎵, of the Assyrians, to which, as before observed, I would propose to give the phonetic value of *Ilin*, after the Ἰλλινος of Damascius.

Sheb'at, again, is not otherwise known, I believe, as a proper name, but may be explained as applying to the "seven Planets." מתת, is evidently the same as the Cuneiform 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 (in the genitive), which occurs among the Syrian proper names in the wars both of Tiglath Pileser, and Sennacherib. It signifies merely "the gift (of the Gods)", and may be compared with the מתתיהו of Scripture (Ezra. x. 43; Nehem. viii. 4, &c., &c.). And *Zidqâ*, "the just," cognate with the Scriptural צדק and צדקיהו, is also met with in the inscriptions under the double form of 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 and 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶.¹⁴

¹⁴ In the Sennacherib Annals (col. 2, l. 58), 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, *Zidqâ*, is mentioned as Governor of Ascalon; and the name again occurs under the form of 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, among the witnesses (for the most part Syrians and Egyptians, as we may judge from the names 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, or Sesonchis, 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, or Hormasis, &c.) to a deed of sale which was executed in Nineveh, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Sennacherib, by *Sharu-tib-dairi* (afterwards Governor of Zoan), *Atar-suru* and his wife *Amat-Suhala*, conveying their property in a certain house and its appurtenances to *Zil-Asshur*, the Egyptian law officer or judge. It is quite possible, and even probable, that these two *Zidqâs* were the same person, for we find in the Annals that *Zidqâ*, the refractory Governor of Ascalon, was removed early in the reign of Sennacherib

Although the owner of this seal was "a slave," he probably filled a position of trust, for there is abundant evidence in the legal tablets that "slaves," under the Assyrian Empire, were allowed to possess property, and were raised to high situations, much in the same way as has always been practised in Mahomedan countries.

No. X.

The cylinder which bears this legend, and which is in the British Museum, is apparently of the Achæmenian period, and the etymology of the names leads to the same conclusion. The inscription may be read, I think, as חתם פרשנדת בר ארתדתן, *Khotam Parshandat bar Artadatan*, "the seal of Parshandat, the son of Artadatan." *Parshandat* I should compare with the פרשנדתא of Esther ix. 7, "given to Parsban," supposing that name to refer to the *Bar-sam* or Hercules, of Armenian tradition, if that be really a genuine title and not a corruption, as has been recently suggested, of the Syrian *Bal-shamin*, "Lord of Heaven," or "the Sun."¹⁵ The other name, "*Artadatan*," would seem to be of pure Persian etymology, being compiled of *Arta* the intensitive prefix, and a verbal noun from the root *dá*, "to give;"¹⁶ so that the meaning would be

to Nineveh, and was replaced in his government by the very man, *Sharu-tib-dairi*, who sold his town house to the Egyptian judge, as he no longer probably required such a residence after his appointment to Syria. It is not, of course, in our power to determine if the *Zidqá* of the Sennacherib Annals can be identified with the man whose name occurs on this seal; but there is some colour lent to the hypothesis by the association of the names of *Mitinta* and *Zidqá* in the account of Sennacherib's Phœnician campaign, the former being Governor of Ashdod, while the latter ruled in Ascalon, and the two very possibly, therefore, standing in the relation of father and son, though the fact is nowhere stated.

¹⁵ The subject of *Bar-Sam*, or Βαρσάμου, is fully discussed in Sect. 9 of my Mythological Essay. See Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. i. p. 623. Chwolson (Die Ssabier, vol. i. p. 373, &c.), connects *Bar-shamin* with *Baál-shamin*, but perhaps the *Bar-shamin* of Mos. Chor. ii. 14, may be different from the deified hero, *Par-sham*, or *Bar-sham*, mentioned by the same author in lib. i. c. 14.

¹⁶ The use of the participle दत्ता, *dátá*, in these names, is proof positive that the seal cannot be of an earlier date than the Persian conquest of Babylon; and I may here note that the name of בלדד, *Bildad*, in Job, a kindred compound, and signifying "Given to Bel," is equally decisive as to the age of that book. All the geographical and etymological evidence, indeed, which can be drawn from the book of Job, tends to assign it to the Achæmenian period, the land of עֵיִן being the 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎵 of the inscriptions

almost the same as the Zend, *Mazdá*, "the great giver." There is much difficulty, however, in distinguishing between the 𐤂 and the 𐤃 in this legend, and the letters which I have read as 𐤂 and 𐤃 are not quite satisfactorily determined.¹⁷

The legends numbered XI, XII, and XIV are found upon seals in the British Museum, and No. XIII is a name engraved on a Scarabæus in the same collection.

No. XI I Read as 𐤋𐤎𐤁𐤁𐤂, *Li Mudabir*, and I compare the name with the Arabic مَدْبِر, *Mudabbir*, "a Governor" or "Director" (from 𐤎𐤁𐤂, "to lead" or "guide"), which is often used as an honorary title.

No. XII may be read 𐤋𐤎𐤂𐤂, *Li Sar-gad*, the name being apparently of the same class as 𐤎𐤂𐤁𐤁 or 𐤎𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤂𐤂, which I have examined under No. 14. *Sar-gad* probably signifies "of glorious fortune," or "(his) fortune exults;" *Sar* being a derivative either from 𐤎𐤁𐤂 or 𐤎𐤂𐤂 as before explained, and *Gad*, being the Scriptural 𐤂𐤂 (Is. lxx. 11), which, however, although certainly used in Hebrew for "fortune," is not, as far as my knowledge goes, to be found in the inscriptions.¹⁸

The name of 𐤎𐤂𐤁𐤁, which belonged to the owner of the Scarabæus, No. XIII, is probably cognate with the Hebrew 𐤎𐤂𐤁𐤁, *Saul*,

(as 𐤎𐤂𐤁𐤁 is 𐤎𐤂𐤁𐤁 𐤎𐤂𐤁𐤁 𐤎𐤂𐤁𐤁), between the Jebel-Shamar and the valley of the Euphrates, and thus extending from the Sabæans of Idumæa on the one side, to the Chaldæans of Southern Babylonia on the other; and the Shuhites and Temanites being the Babylonian tribes of 𐤎𐤂𐤁𐤁 𐤎𐤂𐤁𐤁, *Sukhi*, and 𐤎𐤂𐤁𐤁 𐤎𐤂𐤁𐤁, *Damunu*, who at the close of the Assyrian Empire were settled along the outskirts of the desert.

¹⁷ Dr. Levy (Phœn. Stud. ii. 40) gives these names as 𐤎𐤂𐤁𐤁 and 𐤎𐤂𐤁𐤁, *Artadati* and *Gadshirt*, but there is nothing in his remarks which seems to me to lend much weight to his proposed readings. I prefer, at any rate, regarding the first letter of the first name as a *Phe* rather than a *Gimel*, and the letter which is fourth in that name, and last in the second name, certainly resembles a *Nun* more than a *Jod*.

¹⁸ It must be evident to any one who is familiar with the Assyrian inscriptions, and especially with the bilingual tablets, which treat to a great extent of demonology, that the celebrated verse in Isaiah (lxx. 11) where the authorized version renders 𐤎𐤂𐤁𐤁, "for that troop," and 𐤎𐤂𐤁𐤁, "unto that number," refers in reality to the "good and evil spirits" who were propitiated and

Horus forming the initial element in both the names ; but in this case no fitting etymology can be found, as it seems to me, for *daqî'a*, the root דקע being unknown to any Semitic language. I prefer, therefore, reading the first name as *Hud raqî'a*, "the glory of the firmament ;" רר, for the Hebrew הור, being equivalent to the Proto-Chaldæan 𐎲𐎠, which represents any derivative from the root נרד, "to swell," or "to be proud ;" and the second element being the ordinary word רקיע, "the expanse of Heaven," or "the firmament." I would still, however, propose to read the second name as *Hur-b'ad*, "the slave of Horus," רר standing for the god of that name, and בעד being by metathesis for עבר, "a slave," and in substitution of the usual Phœnician contraction into בר, *Bod*.¹⁹

No. XVI.

This legend occurs on a seal in the British Museum, which is believed to have been found in Babylonia. It seems to read חנניה בן ודיסה, *Li Khananiah bin Udisakh*. *Khananiah*, the Greek 'Αναβας ("whom God has graciously given"), is a well known Semitic name, though I believe it has never yet been recognized in a Phœnician inscription. 𐤏 𐤍 𐤕 𐤕, *Khanunu*, for חנן, is used also in the Cuneiform inscriptions as the name of a

¹⁹ Dr. Levy, I see, gives this same reading of *Hod-rakia* (Phœn. Stud. ii. 30), but doubtfully ; while he reads *Hod-bad* instead of *Hur-bad*, deriving the last element from the Heb. בעד, and translating the name by "Pracht ringsum," whatever that may mean.

Dr. Levy, also (Phœn. Stud. ii. 38), gives another Phœnician legend from a plate of Lajard's (*Culte de Mithra* 36, No. 3), which furnishes us with a name, analogous to that of *Hod-rakia*. I have been unable to find in the British Museum collection the Scarabæus figured by Lajard, but the legend would seem to read ל הוד כספר, *Li Hud-kaspar*, and I should conjecture the name to mean "the glory of Caspar." It is true that we have no evidence in the inscriptions of such a phonetic name attaching to any of the gods, but in the Nedim's list there is a certain قسفر, which seems to be

𐤏 𐤍 𐤕 𐤕, as he is called الخبير الكامل, "the omniscient," or "of complete intelligence," and this may possibly be the origin of the name of *Caspar* or *Gaspur*, which has been prevalent in the East from the earliest times. Dr. Levy reads the name "*Hudu, the Scribe*," supposing the stroke after the fifth letter to mark a division between the words, and regarding ספר as a title. The root ספר, "to write," however, was certainly unknown in Assyrian, and I should prefer, therefore, if Dr. Levy's division of the words were correct, to translate "the glory of Sippara," comparing ספר with the Cuneiform 𐤏 𐤍 𐤕 𐤕.

King of Gaza, contemporary with Sargon, though the root is rarely or ever employed in Assyrian phrases. Of the etymology of *וריסח*, *Udisakh*, I cannot speak with any certainty, since it does not resemble either a Hebrew, or an Assyrian, compound. The first element, however, probably comes from *ירה*, "to praise," and the second may be allied with the Arabic *صحا* and Assyrian *𐎶𐎶𐎶*, the whole name signifying "the praise of the liberal."

No. XVII.

This legend is found on a seal in the British Museum, which is to all appearance of Babylonian manufacture. It may be read, I think, as *ל ננ ש לבשה ברכת*, *Li Nana-sha-labshahu-birkat*, and the name may be, perhaps, translated "whom Nana has clothed with blessings." The name, at any rate, of the goddess *Nana*, *𐎶𐎶* *𐎶𐎶* *𐎶𐎶* *𐎶𐎶* in Cuneiform, *Navaîa* in Greek, and *ننب*, *Nani*, in Syriac, is not to be mistaken, and the last word, of which the final letter is alone doubtful, is certainly a derivative from *ברך*, "to bless." What the other words may be is more uncertain. The *ש* which follows *Nana*, and completes the first line, may very well be the relative, which was extensively used in the Phœnician and Hebrew, as well as in the Assyrian (see *Ges. Lex. in voce*),^{20*} and the next word is assuredly a verb; but I know not whether the final *ה* be a mere feminine termination of the participle, or the suffix of the third person masculine singular (in Assyrian *𐎶𐎶* or *𐎶*), or the article which belongs to the following noun. This point, then, I leave to the consideration of more competent scholars. I have not met with any exact correspondent of the name in the inscriptions, but it is formed in near accordance with the principles of Assyrian construction.

No. XVIII.

Gesenius gives the legend of *סראסר*, *Sar-asur*, from an Assyrian gem in the Museum of the Hague, and translates "Prin-

²⁰ It would seem, however, that *𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶*, *sakh*, and *𐎶𐎶𐎶*, *sukh*, are not Semitic, but Turanian roots, answering to the Assyrian *damik*, "to be fortunate," and allied, therefore, in all probability, with the old Persian word *سح*, *sukh*, "auspicious," rather than with the Arabic *سَخا*, *sakhâ*.

^{20*} Or the *ש* may be the characteristic of the Shaphel conjugation, *shalbash* being constantly used in the inscriptions for "clothing."

ceps Osiridis." I do not, however, exactly understand this phrase, nor do I think it at all probable that the worship of Osiris should be commemorated on an Assyrian seal. I should rather translate "the glory of Asshur," or "Asshur is glorious," supposing סראשר to be the Phœnician rendering of אֶשְׁשֻׁר $\rightarrow$ אֶשְׁשֻׁר $\rightarrow$ אֶשְׁשֻׁר; and comparing the name with the compounds סראש (Cun. אֶשְׁשֻׁר $\rightarrow$ אֶשְׁשֻׁר) and סרגר, which have been before examined. סר, indeed, will stand for שֶׁאֶר (that is, אֶשְׁשֻׁר $\rightarrow$ אֶשְׁשֻׁר, phonetic equivalent of אֶשְׁשֻׁר) as well as for שֶׁר; and we have an undoubted example of the substitution of אֶשְׁשֻׁר for the God Asshur ($\rightarrow$ אֶשְׁשֻׁר $\rightarrow$ אֶשְׁשֻׁר or אֶשְׁשֻׁר) in the ordinary Scriptural orthography of אֶשְׁשֻׁר־הַדִּין for the name of Esar-Haddon, which in Assyrian is *Asshur-akh-iddina*, "Asshur has given a brother."

The legends XIX and XX are found on pieces of coarse pottery, fragments of a jar, which were excavated from the ruins of Nimrud, and are now in the British Museum. One fragment seems to read ברת לבנון, *Biret Libnan*, "within the Lebanon," the first word being the Cuneiform אֶשְׁשֻׁר or אֶשְׁשֻׁר $\rightarrow$ אֶשְׁשֻׁר,²¹ which has no immediate correspondent in the other Semitic languages, but is used like the Hebrew בֵּין and Arabic بَيْنَ, and the other being the well known geographical name which in the Inscriptions is usually written as אֶשְׁשֻׁר $\rightarrow$ אֶשְׁשֻׁר $\rightarrow$ אֶשְׁשֻׁר, *Libnana*, answering to the Hebrew לְבָנוֹן. The other fragment reads as ---- משהקן ----, but I cannot venture on an explanation, as the words are probably imperfect, both at the commencement and the end.

Before concluding my notes on these tablet and seal legends, I would observe that they are among the most ancient specimens that we possess of Phœnician writing. I should select as the

²¹ This is the same word which occurs in the Babylonian transcript at Behistun, line 8, as equivalent to the Persian *antara*, "within." Mons. Oppert is wrong (*Exp. en Mesopotamie*, liv. ii. p. 203) in identifying the letter אֶשְׁשֻׁר, which occurs in the word in question, with either the Assyrian אֶשְׁשֻׁר or אֶשְׁשֻׁר. The true equivalent in the Assyrian alphabet is אֶשְׁשֻׁר, which, again, as has been often shown, interchanges with אֶשְׁשֻׁר, and that letter, amongst its various powers, has the value of *rit*.

to me, have been scratched or incised by some foreign subordinate in the Registry Office.

At the same time, the Phœnician letters were certainly not altogether unknown to the learned Assyrians, for there are a considerable number of fragments of clay tablets among the Museum collection, which, when complete, must have borne tabulated lists of the Phœnician alphabet, and which, as far as can be ascertained from the mutilated remains now alone available for examination, gave some mystical explanation of the powers and properties of the different characters.

Through what means, or at what particular time, the Cuneiform character fell into disuse, and was superseded by a cursive square character of the Phœnician type, we are unable at present to define with any certainty. The latest dated tablets, however, belong to the reigns of Antiochus and Demetrius; and as a great political revolution occurred shortly afterwards, the Greek rule in Assyria and Babylonia being supplanted by the Parthian, we may probably assign to that epoch the extinction of Cuneiform writing.

A square character, it is true, must have been long previously known in Babylonia, through the coins of the Achæmenian Satraps, and it was from this character, probably, that the numismatic Bactrian took its rise in the third century B.C., but it may be doubted whether that form of writing ever fairly struck root in the country along the Tigris and Euphrates. The only specimens, at any rate, which now exist, are in a cave at Amadia, and upon the rock at Holwan; and at both places the inscriptions are found in connection with very early Parthian sculptures. It would be interesting, on many accounts, to trace the successive establishment of the various later forms of Semitic writing which took the place of the Cuneiform. The Palmyrene, the Parthian of the Bilingual tablets, the Chaldæan of the Babylonian Pateræ, the Pehlevi, the early Estranghelo, and the Sabæan of the leaden rolls from *Abu Shadhr*, are all more or less connected, and several of these alphabets were in use, no doubt, at the same time, in various parts of Assyria and Babylonia. A full comparative table of all such alphabets would be very important to the palæographer, while it would also assist the historical student in showing how the civilization of the Cuneiform period became modified and affected by the successive introduction of foreign influences, as evidenced by the modes of writing which severally accompanied them, until the heterogeneous mixture

of ignorance and knowledge, of philosophy and superstition, of empiricism and science, which prevailed in Babylonia during the early ages of Christianity, was eventually swallowed up in the overwhelming energy of the Arab element, and the impetuosity of a new-born and proselytizing faith.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Note 4, page 190.—On a further comparison of the texts it seems almost certain that *tadan* or *tadani*—for both orthographies are employed—must be the 2nd person sing. of the Aorist of Kal, the root being probably *danah*, immediately cognate with *nadan* (as תָּנָה in Hebrew is with נתַן), and

being thus represented by the same Turanian ideograph, 𐎶𐎶𐎶. These tablets, however, which contain “decrees,” as it would seem, rather than mere contracts, addressed by the *Aba*, or “Judge,” to the parties who come before him to legalize their conveyance of property, are very difficult to render in intelligible English, not only from the frequent employment of technical terms, but from the strange grammatical construction in which the conditions of sale and barter are expressed. The two words *tagabbí* and *tasatthiri*, which I have quoted from the decree of a certain princess, the daughter of the last king of Assyria, are probably the 2nd person sing. fem. of the Aorist of Piel, and hardly admit, therefore, of direct comparison with *tadani*.

Page 207, No. 5.—In reference to the possible comparison of the second line of the Phœnician legend on this tablet with the Cuneiform name 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, it may be of importance to note that if the first element of that name be composed of a double *ti* (𐎶𐎶)—as appears to be the case—the phonetic reading will probably be *Igarát-nahid*, 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, being explained in the bilingual vocabularies by 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, as some part of “a ship.” The Phœnician letters, then, which I have doubtfully read as *zarád*, may perhaps belong to this word *igarád* or *igarát*; and the second element of the name, *nahid*, may have been broken off from the tablet, which is here imperfect.