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

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D.G.A. 79



COMPARATIVE ALPHABETS.

ASSYRIAN.	EARLY GREEK	ROMAN.	ASSYRIAN NUME
Discovered 1848	* 1500 BC		
Alph 	Alpha 	A	One 
Beth 	Beta 	B	Two 
Gimmel 	Gamma 	G	Three 
Daleth 	Delta 	D	Four 
He 	Epsilon	E Short or H	Five 
Vau 	Digamma 	F or V	Six 
Zain 	Zeta 	Z	Seven 
Cheth 	Heta 	Long E or Spang Aspirate	Eight 
Yod 	Iota 	I	Nine 
Kaph 	Kappa 	K	Ten 
Lamed 	Lambda 	L	Eleven 
Mem 	Mu 	M	Twenty 
Nun or nun 	Nu 	N	Twenty One 
Samech 	Sigma 	S	Thirty 
Qun 	Omicron 	O	Forty 
Isadde 		TS	Fifty 
Raash 	Rho 	R	Sixty 
Shin 		SH	so on up to
Taur 	Tau 	T	99 

* This early Greek or Cadmean Alphabet was copied from an Elam Bronze Tablet under the care of the Rev. Newton in the British Museum D.S.

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plate and luxurious work on the fossil osteology of the Himalayan range; but such an undertaking should await the exploration of the whole line, and should be made a national concern. At present the great fear is, lest the quantity of specimens dispersed in private collections on all sides, may deprive us of many fragments requisite to work out the forms of the various new animals disinterred from this vast cemetery of the ancient world.

We have partly redeemed our promise to our meteorological contributors: sufficiently so, we hope, to revive their exertions, and procure us a combined series of observations in different parts of India for the coming year, more extended than the comparative tables we have now published. We regret having been unable to supply Barometers to the numerous applicants who have volunteered to use them. The duty now levied on philosophical instruments, will tend still more to check their importation.

Our readers will now readily excuse the absence of articles on the progress of the sciences in Europe, since that department has been zealously pursued by another periodical of extensive circulation, in consequence partly of our neglect of it; and a third rival has recently entered the field under promising and powerful auspices. These have so fully made known many local inventions of scientific interest, that we have less regretted our inability to find space for their re-insertion. We could, on no account, however, wish to confine our pages to subjects more strictly Indian; on the contrary, we shall endeavour to infuse into them a pleasing variety of original information on all subjects, of man's performance or nature's production, within the wide range prescribed to us by our allegiance to the Asiatic Society.

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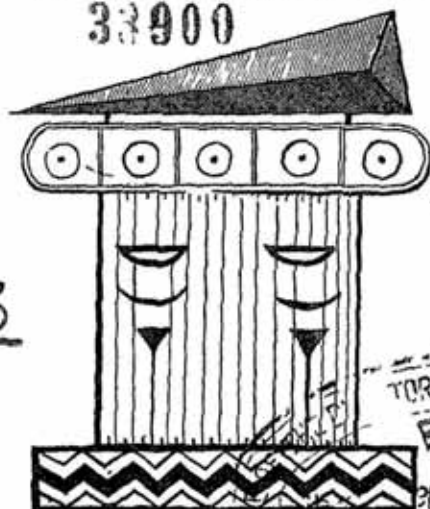
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A TRUE KEY

TO THE

ASSYRIAN HISTORY, SCIENCES, & RELIGION.

It is now twenty years since the sculptured treasures which had become "heaps" in Assyria and Babylon were laid bare and brought in triumph to this country—since "Bel bowed down and Nebo stooped" to enter the portals of our metropolitan museum, to the infinite delight of the multitudes who flocked to our national storehouse, to gaze at and admire these revelations of a buried world in blank amazement. While one recognized with profound reverence the further fulfilment (in their disclosure) of the word of prophecy,* one could scarcely fail to consider what further ends might be in view on the part of Him who "worketh all things according to the counsel of His own will." Being a lover of antiquities from my boyhood, it was the less surprising that my own attention should have been specially arrested by the innumerable inscriptions with which these majestic sculptures are covered. I had, from time to time, groped my way among the inscriptions of ancient Greece, as contained in the Elia bronze tablet and elsewhere; and how shall I attempt to describe the ecstasy of my delight when one blissful morning I recognized in the double triangle of the Assyrian character (𐤁) the familiar "Beta" of the Greek alphabet, to say nothing of our own Roman B? The key once in my hands,

* A graveyard covered a large section of the ruins of Nineveh, thus fulfilling the declaration of the Prophet Naham, chap. iii. 6, 7; "And I will cast abominable filth upon thee, and make thee vile, and will set thee as a gazing stock," &c.

I proceeded to search out the "Alpha" and "Gamma" and all the other letters, to the number of nineteen, as seen in the frontispiece; and into these nineteen characters the whole of the multitudinous groups of Assyrian writing are resolvable, and with these I can decipher the whole of the Assyrian inscriptions without difficulty.

I had found only three words which were proper names by the help of the Greek language, when it occurred to me that the *language* the inscriptions would be likely to speak was probably nearly allied to what we call Hebrew. I therefore set about acquiring a knowledge of that tongue, and had but just mastered the elements when adverse circumstances overtook me, which resulted in my seeking a home in Australia. Before setting sail, however, I communicated my discovery to several friends, and among others to some of the officials at the British Museum, some of whom I still find at their posts, after an interval of sixteen years or so. Cherishing as I naturally did a more robust and abiding faith in my theory than did those to whom I communicated it, I prosecuted my researches in Hebrew and kindred languages on the other side the globe. As I had first to learn how to make a fortune, and then to discover how easy it is to lose one, I can hardly be said to have preserved the even tenor of my way. However, despite the necessity of earning a livelihood, I found time to avail myself of the resources of Sydney and Melbourne, and acquired a sufficient knowledge of the Hebrew language to satisfy myself that my conjecture as to the Assyrian inscriptions being written in a language at least closely related to that was correct.

In the course of my studies I found that the copies of the inscriptions published by authority in this country are sadly incorrect. This became a serious and, indeed, an insuperable obstacle to anything like satisfactory progress, and of itself was a sufficient inducement for me to retrace my steps to my native land. I was not, however, without another inducement. I had delivered a great number of lectures on

the subject of my discovery during the last two years of my sojourn in Australia, and had published a book on the same subject, the slow sale of which involved a loss to me of some £70, through the comparative costliness of bringing out a work of that kind in the colonies. The enthusiastic ardour of my friends at the antipodes (which should, perhaps, not be disassociated from my own) urged me to seek a more enlarged and, presumably, a more legitimate sphere for my investigations, on the one hand, and for the announcement of my discovery on the other, by returning to the land of my birth.

I therefore set sail once more, buoyant with hope. Since my return to England, although not unassisted by kind and faithful friends, I have, until recently, been compelled to work at the handicraft to which I was brought up, in order to supply the imperative demands of each succeeding day—so difficult have I found it, in this preoccupied city (London), to attract attention to a subject which, however important in its bearing on philology and religion, can scarcely put in a claim for being sensational! Thus much I have to offer, nevertheless, to all whom it may concern—an *alphabet of nineteen letters*, with which, as I have already observed, the whole of the Assyrian inscriptions may be deciphered.

In the course of my investigation I also deciphered a complete set of numerals, as recorded on the black marble obelisk in the British Museum, extending from one to thirty-one, and so on by repetition to ninety-nine. In immediate connexion with these numerals up to thirty-one (standing as they do at the head of thirty-one distinct paragraphs), there occurs a set form of words, which may be translated as follows: "First (year) or the beginning of Aalfarr the Supreme by right of birth." "Of the second (year) (of) thy reign Aalfarr Supreme by right of birth," &c., &c., and so on up to thirty-one; and it is remarkable that the *Lamed* (of) precedes the numeral in every instance: "Of the two," "Of the third," &c., &c.: *vide* Numbers i. 1—6, &c. There can-

not be a doubt that the language spoken on this interesting monument is the primitive or most archaic Hebrew, for, on taking the first eighteen lines on the Black Marble Obelisk, and arranging the words beginning with A (Aleph), B (Beth), and G (Gimel), I find no less than 114 Hebrew words of the first three letters of the alphabet, and only three that are doubtful. The following fifteen are examples: AB=father; AM=mother; ACH=brother; ABN=a stone; ANA=the pronoun I; ALI=God; ALF=an ox, a leader, and a thousand; ASH=fire; ARTS=the earth, land, ground; ARAM=name of a man and country; AHVA=name of a river (Ezra viii. 21, 31); ARA=to pluck off; ANS=to urge; ALLI=U=woe, alas! A most remarkable coincidence occurs between Sir H. Rawlinson's *conjectures* and the sense elicited by means of my alphabet upon most of the slabs brought from the Central Palace Nimroud. The inscription begins with a certain formula, which Sir H. *conjectures* to mean "great house," but on the application of my alphabet it is clear enough. BNIN CHUR is nothing more or less than "*Proclamation Palace.*" Well might Solomon say that "there is nothing new under the sun," for we find our beloved Queen and her magistrates adopting the same kind of formula as that used by the monarchs of the first nation in the world's history, viz.: "Proclamation! St. James's Palace," "Proclamation! Windsor Castle," or wherever she may be, and "Proclamation! Mansion House, City."

There is another subject of which I must say something, viz., a slab with a representation of a winged figure, or Assyrian priest, bearing on his left arm a kid of the *Capra egagrus*, or Assyrian goat. The figure bears something in his right hand having some resemblance to a large ear of corn, with an inscription cut across the sinuosities of the dress. The inscription begins with the usual formula: "Proclamation Palace and Aashoik." "The wrath of God abideth in and around, and will destroy; but I will dwell among my kindred. Oh that thou wouldst cry aloud and scatter (or break

to pieces) the multitude of stone gods, and show me the extreme beauty of the true God, and the manifestation of His glory ! Light, shine forth and spread around the Eternal and Unchangeable Supreme, and Thine altar shall be covered with the glory of Him who is above all."*

There is also a funereal vase in the British Museum of peculiar interest, owing to the circumstance of its bearing on its surface an inscription in *Egyptian hieroglyphics*, and an Assyrian inscription also. This vase is known as the Hali-carnassian. The *hieroglyphics* contain the name of Xerxes; and the Assyrian inscription I translate as follows: "The King rests in peace, during a long dark season, undisturbed by vain ambitious cares." But before proceeding with further translations, I desire to direct the reader's thoughts to the current of the language of which I am treating. It is generally acknowledged that in the early ages of the world all the Oriental nations, from Mount Ararat to the Nile, and from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, spoke the same language and used the same alphabetic characters. This opinion is supported by the testimony of ancient writers, and especially by incidental statements in the Bible. The first of the kind occurs in the opening verse of the 11th chapter of Genesis: "And the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech." It is reasonable to suppose that this language was identical with that spoken by Noah. Both Adam and Noah conversed with the Lord himself. When we reflect that Adam lived many years contemporaneously with Lamech, the father of Noah, there is no room to doubt that Noah spoke the same primitive language as Adam. Thus it would descend to Abram; so that when (as Josephus tells us) he

* Isaiah's prophecy, xi. 4: "And he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall He slay the wicked." Hosea vi. 5: "Therefore I have hewed them by the prophets; I have slayed them by the words of my mouth"—"Oh that thou wouldst cry aloud," &c. Psalm lviii. 7: "When he inclineth HIS WORDS let them be as cut in pieces."

fled from the persecutions which arose from his proclaiming the worship of the true God among the inhabitants of Ur of the Chaldees, he brought that language with him to Canaan, and, when he proceeded thence to Egypt, held disputations with the priests of the country in the same tongue, and taught them arithmetic and the science of astronomy, as we learn from Josephus. We hear nothing of any difficulty arising from a difference of language in all this intercourse; hence it is obvious that the language of Abraham and that of the countries to which he came were identical. It is further evident, from the tidings brought to Abraham by an inhabitant of Sodom (Gen. xiv. 13) of Lot's captivity, that no interpreter was needed on that occasion, nor in the converse which subsequently took place between Abram and the king of that city. We learn from profane history that Menes or Mizraim (who gave his name to Egypt), the grandson of Noah, established himself and reigned in the country twenty-six years after the Flood, and ninety-five years before the building of Babel. He necessarily spoke the language he had learnt in his childhood, from Ham, the son of Noah, and that language became the national tongue.

This circumstance accounts for the facility of intercourse between the Patriarchs and the Egyptians. Jacob, as we know, communed freely with Pharaoh. It appears further, from the names of places and persons, that wherever Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob wandered they found the language which we call Hebrew, that is, the primitive language, still unchanged. But it may occur to some that we read of an "interpreter" in the narrative of Joseph's communications with his brethren (Gen. xlii. 23), and hence it is easy to arrive at an erroneous conclusion. This is one of the many passages in the Bible which require correction, and should be read as follows: "And they knew not that Joseph *heard* them, for an officer (Melitz) (stood) between them." It devolved upon this officer to introduce the visitors of the palace to the prime minister. A further proof that there

was no need of an interpreter is afforded by verses 19—23 of the forty-third chapter. Even when the Israelites returned to Canaan, after the long period of Egyptian bondage, they spoke the language of the peoples with whom they successively came in contact—the Amalekites, Canaanites, &c. In the long colloquy which took place between the spies sent forth by Joshua and Rahab, it is evident that they had no difficulty in understanding each other.

I will now endeavour to show that the *character* as well as the language of the Assyrian inscriptions is traceable to the earliest times. Among the ruins of Babylon was found a stone altar with a triangular wedge placed upon it. This is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris, and we have sculptured representations of such an altar and wedge on two black conical stones, described as “landmarks,” in the antechamber of the Assyrian saloon in the British Museum. Professor Rawlinson intimates that this evident object of worship was used as an illustration of the sacred triad, the basis of Chaldean worship; and he states also, in his “Five Ancient Monarchies,” that this wedge had the phonetic power of “Anu,” the Hebrew pronoun “we,” and thus confirms Professor Rawlinson in his opinion. But this single wedge or *character* not only served as a symbol of *plurality*, in relation to the Supreme, but at the same time as the symbol of *unity*, for it stands for the numeral *one*, as discovered by myself on the black marble obelisk already mentioned. To this I must add that this single character (the Vau or V) is the initial of the title “The Word” in many Oriental languages, to wit: in Sanscrit, *Vau-kyam*; in Tulu, *Vav-kyamu*; in old Cananese, *Vau-keavem*; in new Cananese, *Vav-kyavu*, and in Tamul, *Va-rtie*. Coincident with the thoughts above suggested is the fact that the particular character under consideration, as it appears upon the altar, is the Lamed (or L) the goad or teacher, of the primitive alphabet, and hence the initial of “Logos,” “The Word.” Thus we see two characters of the Assyrian inscriptions in close and not a little remarkable connexion with the worship of ancient Babylon.

The frontispiece of alphabets of this pamphlet exhibits the parentage of the Grecian character, every letter of which was without doubt symbolic. On the assumption that I am correct in what I have already stated, I find a collateral testimony to the truth of my thesis in the circumstance that *characters* or primitive letters are used to express the Assyrian numerals, as is the case in the Persian, Arabic, modern Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages; and, again, it is worthy of note that in each case a *single* character (not a group) is used to express a corresponding sound or number.

For instance, *AM, AN, AT, AS*, each monosyllable begins with the *A* sound, and the figure, element, or *letter* which begins that sound is the same in every instance—*Am, An, At, As*: *vide* the numerals in frontispiece. I shall now give the analysis of a translation from a *brick*, rendered by Sir H. Rawlinson as “*Leveckh, Calnah, Halah, or Haluck*, but which he cannot determine.”

17 16 10	12 2	15 9 1	10 13 2
כ צ ר	ב נ	א י ש	ב נ ד
R T S K	N B	S I A	K N B

The reader, by referring to the primitive alphabet, and placing the letters according to their number, as he finds them in order, will be able to produce *the original inscription*, only written from left to right, viz.:

² ¹² ¹⁰
B N K, &c., &c. (*See plate opposite.*)

בן, BN. With a radical, mutable, or omissible, ה, E, “*Son*,” or *built up*.

ך, K, suffix, “*thy*,”—“*Thy Son*.”

נ, A, a particle prefix, first and third persons future, meaning “*he*” or “*it will*.”

י, IS, a root not used now in Hebrew, but found very widely spread in ancient languages, whence י (esse), “*being*,” and hence “*to be*,” future “*will be*,” (1 Samuel xx. 8., 2 Samuel xiv. 32)=“*Thy Son will be*.”

בן, BN, “*built*,” made or become=“*Thy Son will be built*” (up).

A. Buck:

1	11 ¹⁶ 10 ¹⁰ 13 ² 14 ⁹ 1 ¹ 10 ¹³ 2 ²	<i>Hebrew</i>
2	2 ¹⁸ 10 ¹⁰ 1 ⁹ 14 ¹⁴ 2 ¹³ 10 ¹⁰ 17 ¹⁷	<i>Arabic</i>
3	2 ¹³ 10 ¹⁰ 1 ⁹ 14 ¹⁴ 2 ¹³ 10 ¹⁰ 17 ¹⁷	<i>English</i>
4	2 ¹³ 10 ¹⁰ 1 ⁹ 14 ¹⁴ 2 ¹³ 10 ¹⁰ 17 ¹⁷	<i>Latin</i>

"Give also, as will be found upon these marks."



7, K, a prefix particle of similitude, "like," "as."
 7, TSR, "rock."

"*Thy Son will be built (up) like rock.*"

This inscription was written while the clay was *soft*, consequently it could not be a brick, nothing but a lump of inanimate clay; and, according to the Hebrew language, of inanimate things, *one thing* produced from *another*—viz., a brick from clay—is called the "son of;" the twig growing from a tree is called "the son of a tree;" the arrow shot from the bow, "the son of the bow:" therefore the inscription, speaking in the future tense, tells us it had to undergo a certain transformation before it became a brick. It had to be built up, made or become, by baking, burning, or exposure to the sun, to be made like rock or flint. This inscription involves a new hypothesis, for which see "The Ancient Ones of the Earth."

With such a total difference of judgment as exists between other decipherers of the Assyrian inscriptions and myself, as to the principle on which we proceed, it is curious enough that we should occasionally arrive at similar conclusions.

The character which appeared in my alphabet of 1848 as TSADDE was lately discovered by Mr. Fox Talbot, and taken by him to be equivalent to TSIB: this character enters into combination with "Resh," and forms the words TSR="rock," RTS="to break," ARTS="the earth," &c.

The character which the late Dr. Hinckes gives as representing *sa*, and the numeral 4, corresponds with the three lotus-flowers which form the Egyptian *sh*, and is that to which I assigned the power of *sh* or "Shin" in 1848, and is the numeral 4 on the Black Marble Obelisk.

It is worthy of note that in all languages the several sounds (such as the A-sound, &c.) are represented by distinct characters, and not by lengthy groups of characters.

I make this remark because others who have attempted to decipher the Assyrian character require a line of several inches of letters to form the single name "Darius," whereas I, on

the same universal principle above named, translate the same line, "They shall not (find) mercy nor rest during the long dark night of adversity, the vain and foolish race; (but) pain and sorrow for life."

In harmony with the above translation, is Sir H. Rawlinson's conjectural translation (taken from Herodotus) of another portion of the Béhistun inscription, "The chief men who were his followers at *Ecbatana*, within the citadel I imprisoned them."

We have already seen the Assyrian character in connexion with symbolism, as it appears on the altar of the Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris (*vide* title-page).

It now remains for us to trace the same character in relation to Freemasonry, and few indeed will be the Masons who, when the Babylonish altar, with the symbol of the Chaldeans' God (Anu—we are) reclining upon it, is pointed out to them, but will recognize the origin of that cubical stone (with the Word of God upon it), which plays so important a part in the ritual of the Lodge.

Some of them will probably be aware of the legend which is current among them, respecting a cubical stone on which the ineffable name was inscribed with a mysterious symbol. Such will recognize in the Babylonish altar the true "stone of foundation," the original Masonic altar.

Again, a certain arrangement of the first character of the alphabet, called Solomon's seal, or the pentalpha, is said to have constituted the signet of the ancient Grand Masters of Masonry.

Among the Cabalists, the same figure, with the name of God written in each of its points and in the centre, was invested with talismanic power.

The double triangle, again, the "shield of David," a familiar symbol in connexion with Masonry, served to convey to the Indian mind the special characteristics of the Hindoo Pantheon.

The name of certain "new gods that had come newly

up" occupied the space in the centre of the symbol where the Masons retain the ineffable name, Jehovah. Thus, whether we look to the Cave temples of India, the pyramids of Egypt, the pagodas of China and Japan, the grottoes of Scandinavia, or the inscriptions of Assyria, we meet with the same unvarying symbol which proclaims to the Masons of the present day the fundameptal truths which form the basis of every profound religious belief.

For further particulars I must refer the reader to "The Ancient Ones of the Earth."

What is the conclusion, then, that we must perforce come to when all nations, ancient and modern, point to the east, of which Nineveh formed the centre, and from which radiated north, east, south, and west all the knowledge of the arts, sciences, and literature which have made man "a little lower than the angels, and crowned him with glory and honour"? Can there be a doubt that Nineveh was made the recipient of the Primitive Alphabet and the *Art of Writing*. In this age of marvellous discoveries, what may not men of such profound learning as Sir H. Rawlinson, Mr. Norris, and Mr. Fox Talbot, concentrating their abilities upon this interesting subject, and with the *aid* of this *new alphabet*, bring out of those ancient inscriptions?

Let the great ones of the earth condescend to apply the key discovered by *one* who cannot boast of any distinguishing literary adjuncts to his name, then who can tell what new wonders will strike the world with *awe and admiration* when the language of this ancient nation (Assyria) is fully developed? Who can say what treasures of knowledge yet lie buried in Nineveh's ancient ruins and in the mounds around her? Who can tell what arts and sciences long lost to the world will be brought to light from the archives of her splendid palaces? Who can say what *records* will be found in the mounds of Nebbe Yunus and Nebbe Allah-Sheth (the tombs of Jonah and Seth the prophet of God)? Who can say the number of Books, or Sepherim, containing the records

of the antediluvian world, that are in existence, preserved from the flood of mighty waters, and handed down in the family of Shem to the first rulers of this ancient empire? Who can say what new light may be thrown upon the lost ten tribes of Israel, and what influence may be brought to bear upon the final restoration of God's chosen people to their *much-loved fatherland*—their kingdom; and to a saving knowledge of the *True Messiah*? This may appear to some as the ravings of an enthusiast, but let every reader cast aside (if possible) all preconceived opinions upon the subject, and coolly and dispassionately examine into the theory now submitted to their notice; its simplicity and self-evident truthfulness will, it is hoped, satisfy every examiner, who may possibly feel surprised that it has hitherto escaped the *researches and learning* of the *savans* of Europe. At the same time, while I am fully aware of the vast importance of the study and depth of learning required to cope successfully with the many difficulties inseparable from such an occult subject, I feel it is worthy of the deepest attention and research of all who are interested in the advancement of science, philosophy, and the Word of God.

The reader and general public are respectfully informed that the foregoing is only the mere outline of this remarkable discovery. (*See next page.*)

"PALMAM QUI MERUIT PERAT."

Shortly will be published by Subscription, price 12s. 6d., Second Edition of

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OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

From the "WEEKLY REVIEW AND MESSENGER," August 20, 1864.

"Here is a contribution from Australia to Professor Max Müller's New Science of Languages. Egyptologists, of whose learned labours the late Sir George Cornwall Lewis was wont to make so little, will now be able to say whether any good thing can come out of Nazareth or not. A Victorian colonist unknown to fame, who carefully withholds his patronymic, and writes his surname in an ingenious hieroglyph, has come forward to proclaim himself the discoverer of that long lost secret of history, *The Original Mother Alphabet*. It is in Melbourne of all places that the true and genuine decipherer of the arrow-headed inscriptions turns up. It is from a Melbourne press that the book is issued which is to work a revolutionary change in the whole system of cuneiform interpretation and Assyrian archaeology."

"We recommend the work to the perusal of all ministers and students of the Bible."

From the "AGE," September 13, 1864.

"To the Editor of the 'Age.'"

"SIR,—Having seen no notice of the work on 'The Primitive Alphabet' in your paper, I am induced to direct public attention to the fact that, in Melbourne has just appeared ONE OF THE MOST REMARKABLE WORKS OF THE PRESENT CENTURY, containing a key to the reading of the Assyrian records."

From the "AUSTRALIAN MASONIC NEWS," September 3, 1864.

"The author of this book has chosen to conceal his name, and sends forth his labours to the world to make way for themselves without any adventitious aid. No lengthened critiques or advertisements heralded the advent of this work, and yet we believe that the subject which it treats is worthy of great consideration, and must have cost the author a vast amount of mental anxiety and intense study. Our brethren who have made Masonry their study will receive great light from a careful reading of this *really valuable contribution* to the science of languages. The author, we believe, is not a brother, but he has arrived at *knowledge* that many who have had great opportunities of attaining have neglected. We heartily recommend this work to our *thinking* brethren, and will on another occasion give a review of our anonymous yet talented author's interesting work."

From the "ECONOMIST," September 17, 1864.

"The Inscriptions of Nineveh—a most remarkable book—has just been published by T. Harwood, 23, Collins Street. Ever since the discoveries by Mr. Layard, the European world of science has exhausted every means which genius could suggest in endeavouring to frame an alphabet which should be a key to open out the mysteries inscribed on the bricks and walls of ancient Nineveh, but hitherto without effect. Rawlinson, Grotfend, and many others, have proposed schemes for deciphering the inscriptions, but with little effect, and the Paris Academy refuses to believe that one word or one letter has been satisfactorily and certainly interpreted. Our author steps in with a key, *which is so simple and self-evident* that it seems strange the plan was not before thought of. We sincerely trust this work may have an extensive sale, and more especially we trust the author may be enabled to take a journey to Nineveh and London, in order to prosecute researches which it seems probable may result in discoveries of the *very highest importance to the human race.*"

From the "AUSTRALIAN EVANGELIST," September 3, 1864.

"The volume contains much that is curious and interesting, and every reader will admit that the author has displayed great industry and ability. The work is deserving of attentive consideration, and we hope that a large circulation will secure to the author some adequate return for the time and labour expended. It is very gratifying to see so handsome a book as this issued by a Melbourne publisher. The printing, binding, and illustrations deserve the highest commendation, and we have much pleasure in commending it to the notice of our readers."

From the "Argus," September 17, 1864.


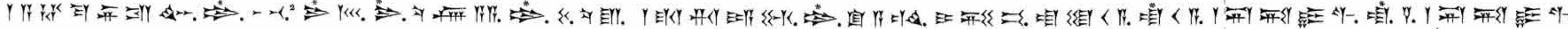



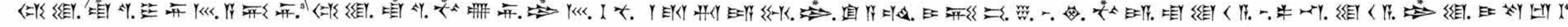



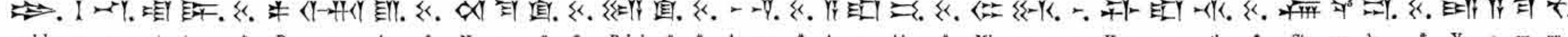

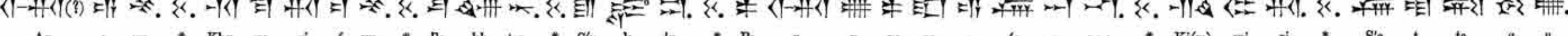
"We owe an apology to the author for not having already directed the attention of our readers, and of all who are interested in a 'colonial literature,' to this latest production of the Melbourne press. The author of the work does not give his name, although on the title-page, and right over a representation of what he calls the 'golden wedge of Ophir,' there is a monogram or device from whose tortuous interwindings the name *Daniel* can be resolved.

"Max Müller, in his lectures on the science of language, says that, although the process of deciphering them has been slow, and much slower than was at one time expected, yet that there is no reason to despair. To keep the learned world from despair, a '*Daniel*' appears amongst ourselves, and professes to read the mysterious handwriting on the walls of these ancient palaces. The wise men and magicians of our day are silent; he has a right to be heard; and if by means of his alphabet he can unfold the lost treasures of the literature of ancient Babylon, he will not only confer an immense benefit on this generation, but shed a lustre on the colony of Victoria. But, again, the author asserts that the language of ancient Nineveh is Hebrew—ancient or primitive Hebrew. He said this long before the advent of Max Müller; and now, from a scientific basis, this eminent scholar, in referring to the cuneiform inscriptions, says that 'they are clearly written in a Semitic language, and of this there can be no longer any doubt.' Thus, our author's conclusions, from an entirely different and independent basis, are in perfect harmony with the inferences and deductions of linguistic science."

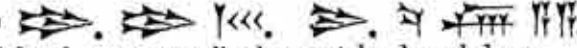
(See "Argus," above date.)

BABYLONIAN TRANSLATION OF THE GREAT PERSIAN INSCRIPTION AT BEHISTUN.

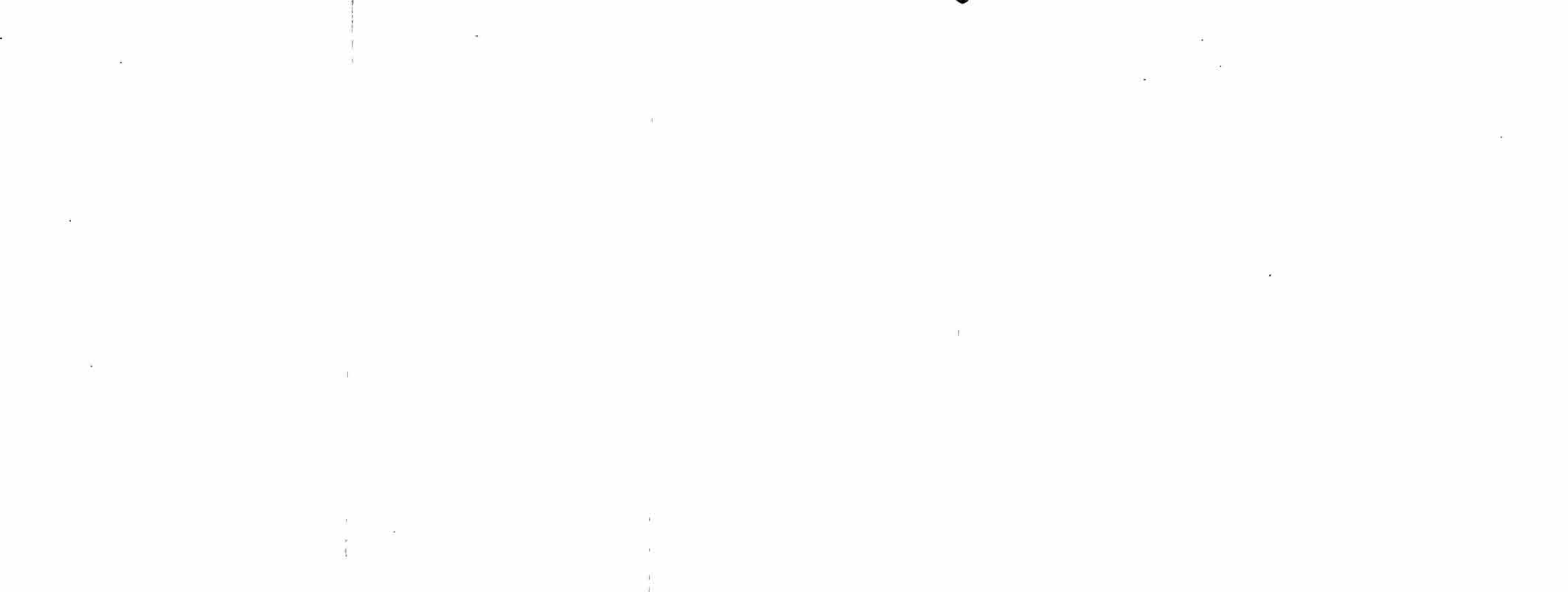
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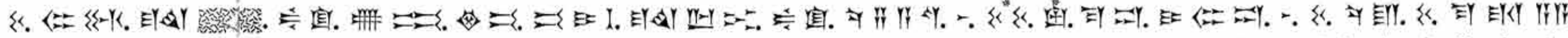





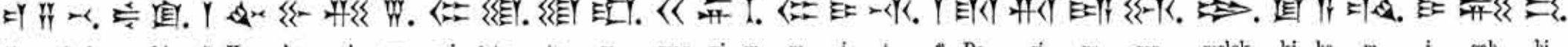

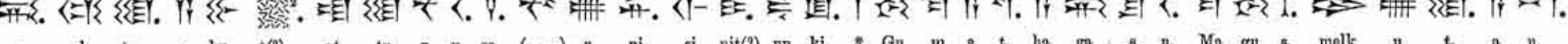

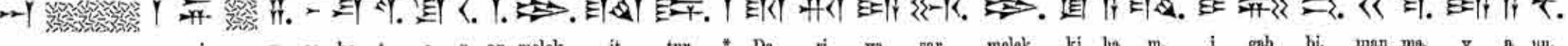

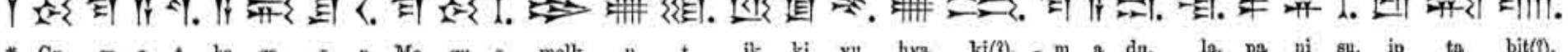
- 1  
Ego Darius, rex magnus, rex regum, Hystaspis filius, Arsamis nepos, ¹ * Ha kha ma ni s 'a. melek. (- -). (- - -) * Par ša i. melek. * Par šu. * Da ri ya šar. melek. ki ha m. i gab bi. at t u a. ab u a. * Vas ta š pi. abi. sa. * Vas ta š pi.
Achaemenensis, rex gentium Persicarum; rex Persidis. Par. II. Darius rex (- - -) dicit: mihi pater meus Hystaspes; pater qui Hystaspis
- 2  
Arsames; pater qui Arsamis Ariaramnes; pater qui Ariaramnis Teispes; pater qui Teispis Achaemenes. Par. III. Darius rex (- - -) dicit: ob hanc
- 3  
*rationem nos ul tu. abu t. i n iv(?) ha ga ni. ul tu. abu t. (- -) u ni. melek iv(?). su n. * Da ri ya šar. melek. ki ha m. i gab bi. VIII. aš. ob(?) (- - -) ya. at t u a. aš. pa na. t u a. melk ut. i t ip su.
Achaemenenses appellamur, ab antiquo oriundi(?) sumus; ab antiquo stirps noster reges fuere.(?) Par. IV. Darius rex (- - -) dicit: octo e genera meo ante me regnum egere;*
- 4  
*ego nonus; diutissime nos reges fuimus. i gab bi. aš. is vi. sa. * Hu ri mi š d 'a. an ku. melek. * Hu ri mi š d 'a. melk ut. an ku. it libu(?) n. * Da ri ya šar. melek. ki ha m. i gab bi. ha g a.
Par. V. Darius rex dicit: gratia Oromasdis ego rex; Oromasdes regnum mihi praeiuit. Par. VI. Darius rex (- - -) dicit: ha*
- 5  
sunt provinciae, quae mihi in potestatem venerunt; gratia Oromasdis ego rex earum factus sum; Persis; Susiana; Babylonia; Assyria; Arabia; Aegyptus; (qua) in Mare; Sparta; Ionia;
- 6  
Media; Armenia; Cappadocia; Parthia; Zarangia; Aria; Chorasmia; Bactria; Sogdiana; Paropanisus (aut Gandaria); Cimmerii (aut Sacae); Sattagydia;


¹ The asterisk under a character denotes a non-phonetic determinative; if placed above, it shows the character to be an ideograph.





² > < is very doubtful—the expression may possibly be 
“rex regum Persicorum.”
³ The eight characters overlined cannot be depended on.
⁴ This letter is lost in the rock, and is supplied conjecturally.

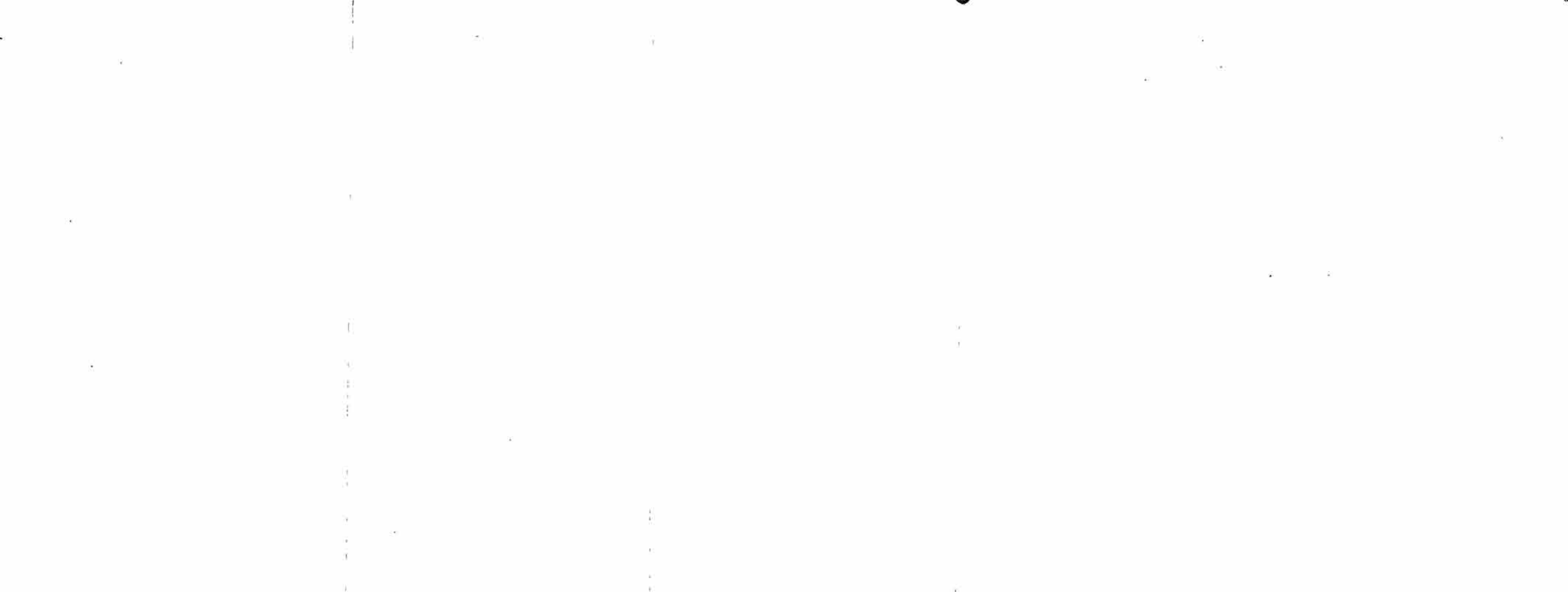
⁵ The letters answering to —t and to par are undistinguishable on the Behistun rock; but a different type is here observed (𐎲 answering to —t and to 𐎶 to par), in order to prevent confusion.
⁶ Indistinct at Behistun, but restored after the Nakhsh-e-Rustam Inscription.




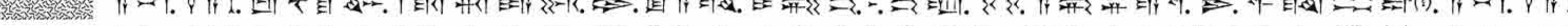
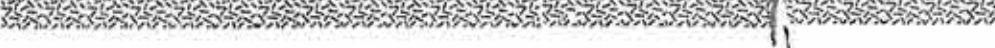
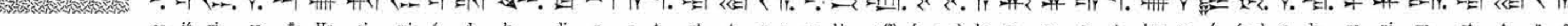
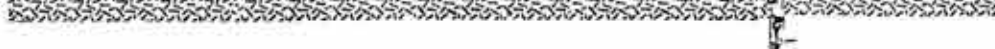

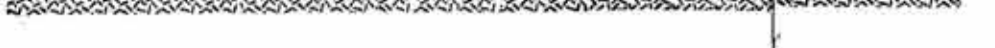
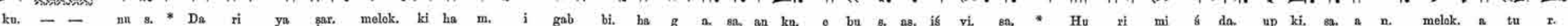

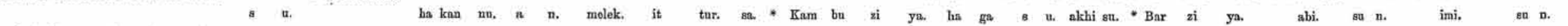

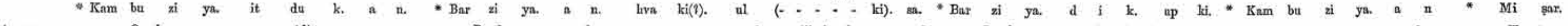


- 14  
 * Mi gar. it — — up ki. hva ki(?). eb(?) bi. b i s. it ur kan. up ki. par s a t. aş (- -). lu(?) ma du. i vi du. aş. * Par šu. * Ma da i.
proficiscebatur; cum Cambyses ad Egyptum profectus esset, postea regnum in (aut: sceleratum fiebat) cecidit; (?) postea mendacia in provinciis abundantia fiebant, in Perside, Media,
- 15  
 b a. ul tu. * Pi si 'a khu va du. A ra ka t ri 'a. ti(?) v. sumu a. ul tu. eb(?) bi. (- -) XIV. (- -) sa. (- - -). t u. a n.
et aliis provinciis. Par XI. Dicit Darius rex: homo Magus erat, Gomates nominatus, ille surrexit; a Pissiacadiā, Aracadres mons, nomen ejus, ab eo loco, die 14 mo mensis Tu, in
- 16  
 * Kam bu zi ya. up ki. hva ki(?). gab bi. la. pa ni. * Kam bu zi ya. it t ik ru 'a. an. eli su. it ri ku 'a. * Par šu. * Ma da i.
eo tempore surrexit; ille regno ita mentitus est: "Ego Bardes sum, Oyri filius, frater Cambysis;" postea populi omnes a Cambyse rebelles fiebant; ad illum transibant; Persis, Media,
- 17  
 is ga bad, up ki. * Kam bu zi ya. mi tu. tu ra. man ni su. m i t. * Da ri ya gar. melek. ki ha m. i gab bi.
et alia provincia; imperium ille rapuit; in 9^{mo} die mensis — — tunc erat ita ille imperium rapuit; postea Cambyse obiit; erat fatum ejus mors(?) Par. XII. Darius rex (- - -) dicit:
- 18  
 g. ul tu. a bu t(?) at tu n u. sa. (- - -) u ni. si nit(?), up ki. * Gu m a t. ha ga s u. Ma gu s. melk u t. a n.
istud imperium quo Gomates Magus orbaverat Cambysem, istud imperium ab antiquo nostrum stirpis fuerat; postea Gomates ille Magus regnum ad
- 19  
 an — — — — ni — za. aş ha t. s u. an. melek. it tur. * Da ri ya gar. melek. ki ha m. i gab bi. man ma. y a u.
se transtulit, et Persidem, et Mediam, et alias provincias; ille secundum vota fecit (?); ille rex fiebat. Par. XIII. Darius rex (- - -) dicit: aliquis non erat
- 20  
 * Gu m a t. ha ga s u. Ma gu s. melk u t. ik ki vu. hva ki(?). m a du. la. pa ni su. ip ta bit(?).
non Persicus, non Medicus, non nostrum e stirpe aliquis, qui a Gomate illo Mago imperium raperet; regnum valde ab eo metuebat(?):

¹ This letter is very doubtful—it may be .

² The first letter of this word is very indistinct; it may be read  fully as well as ; and the last letter has the appearance of , rather than of any of the  of *t*.



- 7  
Arachosia, Meca, in toto XXIII. provincia. Par. VII. Darius rex dicit: *hae provincias quae mihi in potestatem venerunt meam; gratia Oromasdis ad me subjectae fuere; tributa*
 ha ga n o t. (- - -) sa. an ku. i z iv v 'a. in ni. as. is vi. sa. * Hu ri mi s d 'a. a n. a n ku. ep na iv(?). it tu ru n. man da t ta.
- 8  
mihi attulere; quod illis a me dictum est, nocte dieque illos id fecere. Par. VIII. Darius rex (- - -) dicit: inter provincias has homo bonus (qui erat,) illum
 n n. s a s. ip nu su 'a. * Da ri ya sar. melek. ki ha m. i gab bi. as. bi v(?) (- - -) ha ga n o t. (- - -) pi t ki(?) (- - -). a n. s a a
- 9  
bene factum fovi; homo qui irreligiosus erat, illum bene punitum punivi; gratia Oromasdis quae data a me a provinciis his possessa sunt; quod a me
 as. is vi. sa. * Hu ri mi s d 'a. di n a t. at t u a. as. bi v(?) (- - -) ha ga n o t. hva sa s (- - -) sa. la. pa ni ya. at t u a.
- 10  
dictum, id ab illis factum est. Par. IX. Darius rex (- - -) dicit: Oromasdes (mihi) regnum praebuit; Oromasdes opem tulit adeo ut regno hoc
 ki ha m. i gab bi. * Hu ri mi s d 'a. melk ut. it libu(?) n. * Hu ri mi s d 'a. is si. libu(?) n. a di. oli. sa. melk ut. ha ga ta.
- 11  
potirer; gratia Oromasdis hoc regno ego potior. Par. X. Darius rex (- - -) dicit: hoc (est) quod ego feci, gratia Oromasdis, postea quod rex fiebam:
 an ku. — — nu s. * Da ri ya sar. melek. ki ha m. i gab bi. ha g a. sa. an ku. e bu s. as. is vi. sa. * Hu ri mi s da. up ki. sa. a n. melek. a tu r.
- 12  
Hec, Cambyzes nominatus, Cyri filius, nostrum e stirpe, prius ille hic rex fiebat; Cambysis huius frater ejus Bardes; pater eorum, mater eorum
 s u. ha kan nu. a n. melek. it tur. sa. * Kam bu zi ya. ha ga s u. akhi su. * Bar zi ya. abi. su n. imi. su n.
- 13  
idem erat; postea Cambyzes istum Bardem occidebat; cum Cambyzes occidit Bardem, ad regnum decretum(?) (erat) quod Bardes occisus (esset); postea Cambyzes ad Aegyptum
 * Kam bu zi ya. it du k. a n. * Bar zi ya. a n. hva ki(?). ul (- - - - ki). sa. * Bar zi ya. d i k. up ki. * Kam bu zi ya. a n. * Mi sar.

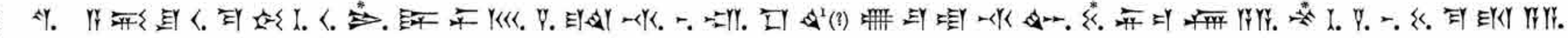
¹ This letter is otherwise unknown—it may perhaps be 𐎶.


² One letter here is wanting.


³ It is doubtful whether this was ever lettered.

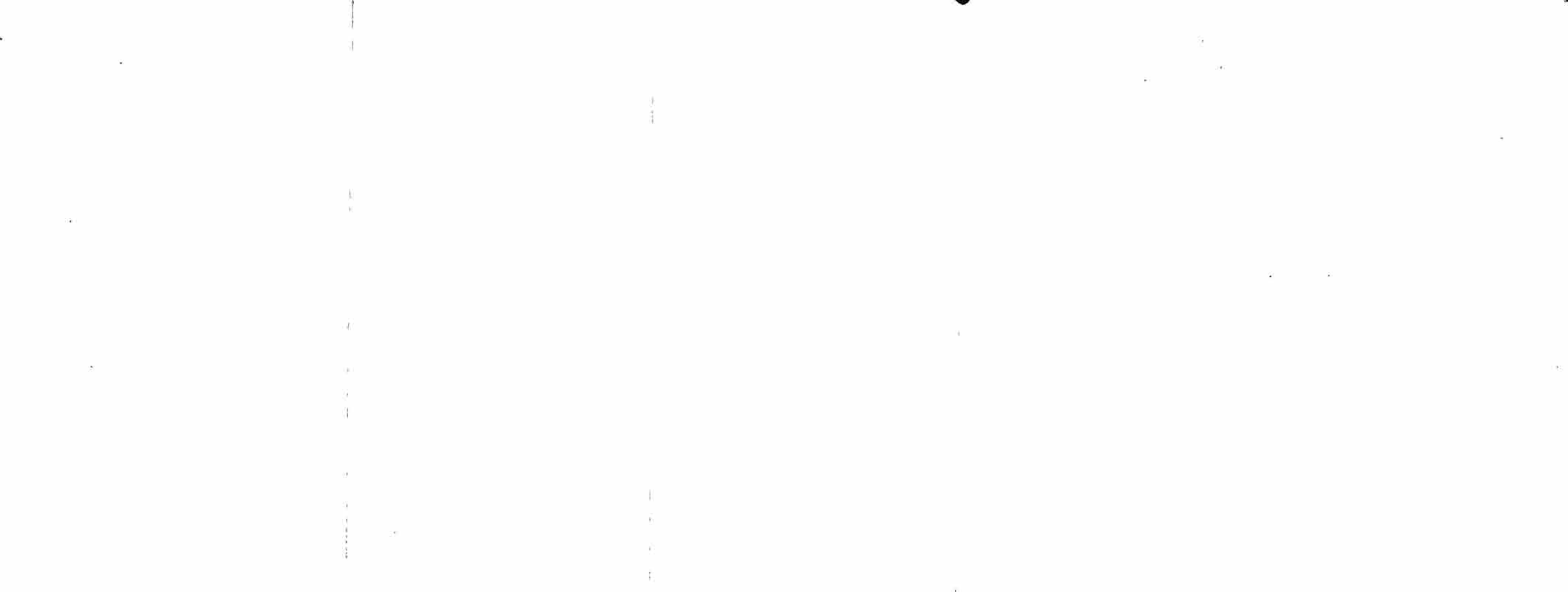
⁴ One letter is apparently wanting.




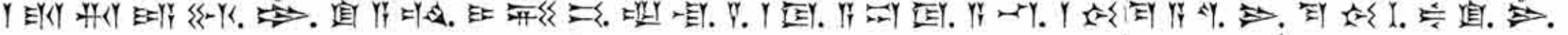

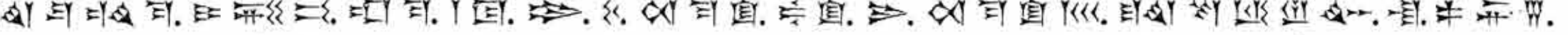

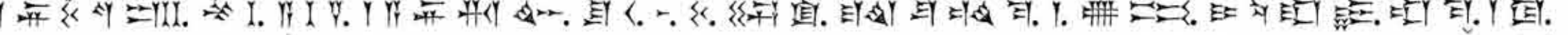

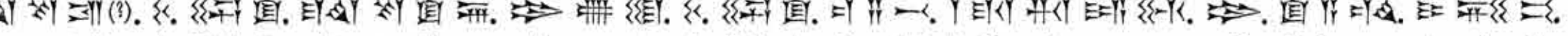



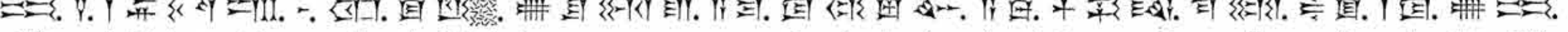


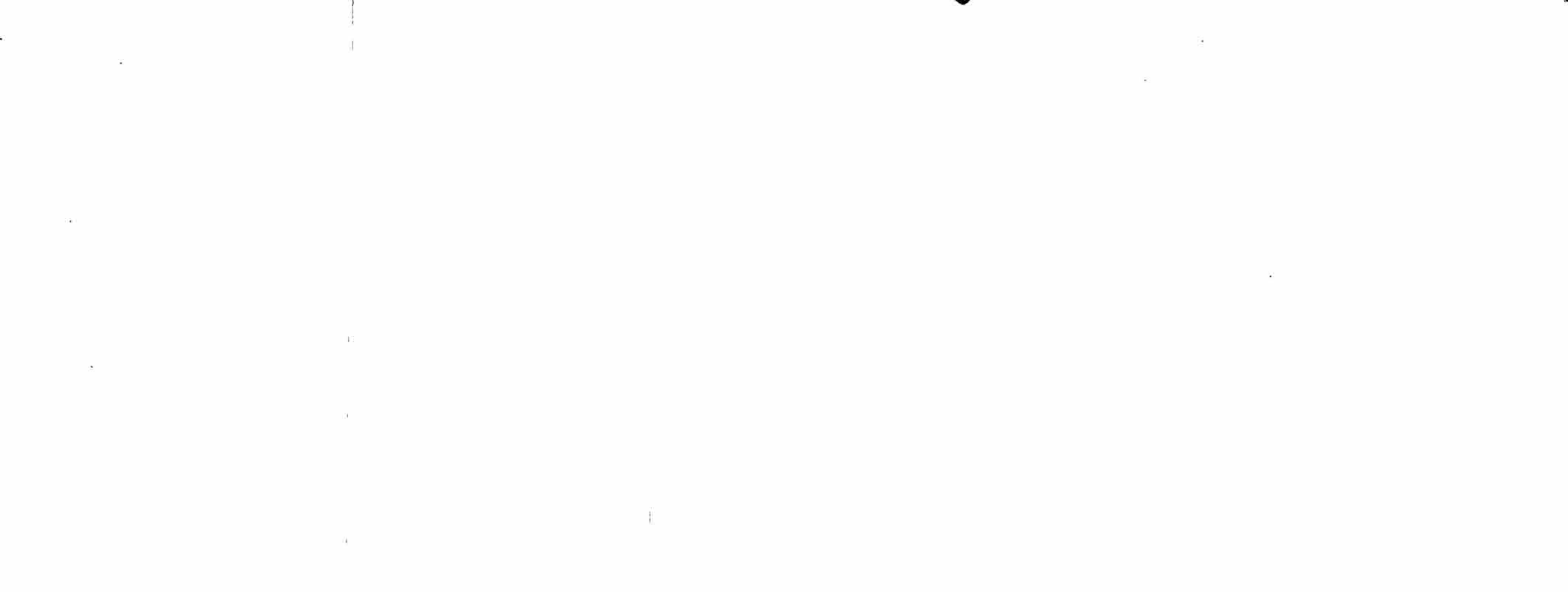
- 21  
ku. uv va. — — — is. la. hu va s sa nu. sa. la. * Bar zi ya. an ku. a s sa. * Ku ra s. man ma. i (- - -) u. as. eli.
sape declaravit regno, quod alterum Bardem noverat, ob hanc rationem declaravit ita "vobis(?) non suspectum (sit) ut non Bardis ego (sim,) qui Cyri." aliquis non ausus est, circum
- 22  
up ki. an ku. * Hu ri mi s da. li ni ta.(?) * Hu ri mi s da. is si. libu(?) n. as. is vi. sa. * Hu ri mi s da.
Gomatem, quem Magum, unusquisque sistens (erat), donec ego accedebam; postea ego Oromasdem adorabam; Oromasdes opem ferebat; gratia Oromasdis
- 23  
Gumat. ha ga s u. Ma gu s. va. (- - -) tur ep iv(?) sa. it ti. as. er.(?) Si khi u va t ti 'a. mat(?). Ni s sa i. sumu s. sa. as. * Ma da i.
die 10^{ma} mensis () cum fidelibus militibus ego occidebam Gomatem eum Magum, et homines praeceptuos qui cum eo (erant); in castello Sictachote regio Nisaea nominata, quas in Media,
- 24  
* Hu ri mi s da. melk u t. an ku. it libu(?) n. * Da ri ya sar. melek. ki ha m. i gab bi. melk u t. sa. la. pa ni.
illuc eum occidebam; imperio eum ego orbabam; gratia Oromasdis ego rex fiebam; Oromasdes regnum mihi praebuit.¹ Par. XIV. Darius rex (- - -) dicit: imperium quod a
- 25  
val ta kan. zi s. an ku. e ta bu s. bit iv(?) sa. ilu iv(?) sa. * Gu m a t. ha ga s u. Ma gu s. ib bu l(u.) an ku.
nostrum stirps ablatum erat, id ego recuperatum faciebam; ego id firmiter stabilivi; ut olim ego feci; templa deorum quas Gomates ille Magus dejecerat, ego
- 26  
* Gu m a t. ha ga s u. Ma gu s. i ki — — — su nu t. an ku. hva ki. as. as ri s(u). val ta kan. zi s. * Par su. * Ma da i.
restitui; officia sacra, cantationem, cultumque restitui gentibus, quas Gomates ille Magus orbaverat illis; ego regnum firmiter id stabilivi ut olim; Persidem, Mediam,
- 27  
as. is vi. sa. * Hu ri mi s da. ha g a. an ku. e ta bu s. an ku. up (na) ta ki i. a di. eli. sa. bit. at tu n. as. as ri s(u)
et alias provincias; quod ab iis ablatum erat ego retuli illis; gratia Oromasdis hoc ego feci; ego molitus sum, donec gentem nostram firmiter eam

¹ A doubtful sign upon the rock; it rather resembles , but that letter has the power of *kam*, which will not suit the name here represented. According to the Persian orthography, the sign in question should have the value of *kt*.

² This letter is much defaced, the form rather resembles , which, however, is otherwise an unknown sign.



- 28  
as. is vi. sa. * Hu ri mi s da. eb(?) b u. sa. * Gu m a t. ha ga s u. Ma gu s. bit. at tu n. la. is an v. * Da ri ya sar.
stabilivi; ut olim ita ego molitus sum, gratia Oromasdis, adeo ut Gomates ille Magnus gentem nostram non dederet. Par. XV. Darius
- 29  
* Da ri ya sar. melek. ki ha m. i gab bi. al la, sa, an ku. a du k. a n. * Gu m a t. * Ma gu s. up ki. (- - -)
rex dicit: hoc est quod ego feci postquam rex fiebam. Par. XVI. Darius rex (- - -) dicit: postquam ego occidissem Gomatem Magum, postea homo
- 30  
it ba v va. i gab bi. uv va. au ku. melek. * Nu va * up ki. * Nu va * iv(?). it t ik ru 'a. la. pa ni ya.
Atrines nominatus, Opadarmis filius, ille in Susiana surrexit; dixit ita: "ego rex Susianae;" postea Susiani rebelles fiebant a me;
- 31  
* Ni din ta bel. sumu s. a s sa. * Ha ni ri 'a. s u. as. * Babel * it ba v va. an. hva ki(?). i par ra s. uv va. an ku.
ad eum Atrinem transibant; rex fiebat Susianae; postea homo Babylonius, Naditabelus nomine, filius Eniris, ille in Babylonia surrexit; ad regnum mentitus est ita: "ego
- 32  
it t is(?). * Babel * it ta ki r. molk u. t. * Babel * is sa bad. * Da ri ya sar. melek. ki ha m. i gab bi.
Nabochodrossor sum, qui Nabonnidi filius;" postea res Babylonica tota ad eum Naditabelum transibat; Babylon rebellis fiebat; imperium Babylonicum ille rapuit. Par. XVII. Darius rex (- - -) dicit:
- 33  
ku. at du ku s. * Da ri ya sar. melek. ki ha m. i gab bi. up ki. an ku. an. * Babel * al lak u. a n. oli.
postea ego milttebam ad Susianam; ille Atrines victus adducebatur ad me; ego occidebam illum. Par. XVIII. Darius rex (- - -) dicit: postea ego ad Babylonem progrediebar; ad
- 34  
hva ki(?). sa. * Ni din ta bel. as. eli. di k (- -). hva su z zu. a ma. ku l lu 'a. (- - -). (- - -) ma li. up ki. an ku. hva ki(?).
eum Naditabelum qui Nabochodrossor appellabatur; copiarum quas Naditabeli super naves(?) ascendi, illic clausurae flumen Tigridem omnino; (?) postea ego agmen (aut. speculas) (aut. venere)



35

ratibus disponebam; hostes in angustias adducebam; eorum locum invadebam;

* Hu ri mi s da. is si. libu(?) n. ag. is vi. sa. * Hu ri mi s da. (- -) Di k ti.(?) ni ta bi r. at du k.
Oromasdes *open* *feribat;* *gratia* *Oromasdis* *flumen* *Tigridem* *transibamus;* *debellavi*

36

(- -) XXVI (- -) sa. (- -) Kan.
copias Naditabeli; die 26 mo mensis Kan

[illegible]

37

Naditabelus, qui

bu. uv va. au ku. * * Nel
dixit ita: "ego Nat

Nel
 Nab

a kudur nāsur ochodrossor	(— — — — —) <i>sum," veniebat cum copiis coram me aciem instruens;</i>	up ki. sa l at. ni ta bu s. * Hu ri mi á da. ís íi. libu(?) n. aš. ís vi. sa. * Hu ri mi á da. hva ki(?). sa. * Ni din ta bel. <i>postea praelium committebamus; Oromasdes opem tulit; gratid Oromasdis exercitum quem Naditabeli</i>
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38

ego debellavi multum; praeclium committebamus illi

— — — — —) * Da ri ya şnr. melek. ki ha m. i gab bi. up ki. * Ni din ta bel. ha ga a u. aş. * (- - -). i su t. o li ya. sa.
 II mo mensis (— — — — —) Col. 2, Par. I. Darius rex (- - -) dicit: postea Naditabelus ille cum hominibus fidelibus qui

39

equites erant, ab eo loco ad

B abylonem fugiebat; postea ego ad Babylonem progrediebar; gratid Oromasdis Babylonem capiebam et Naditabelum capiebam; postea ego ad Babylonem

40

Naditabelum occidebam.

* Da ri ya
Par. II. Darius

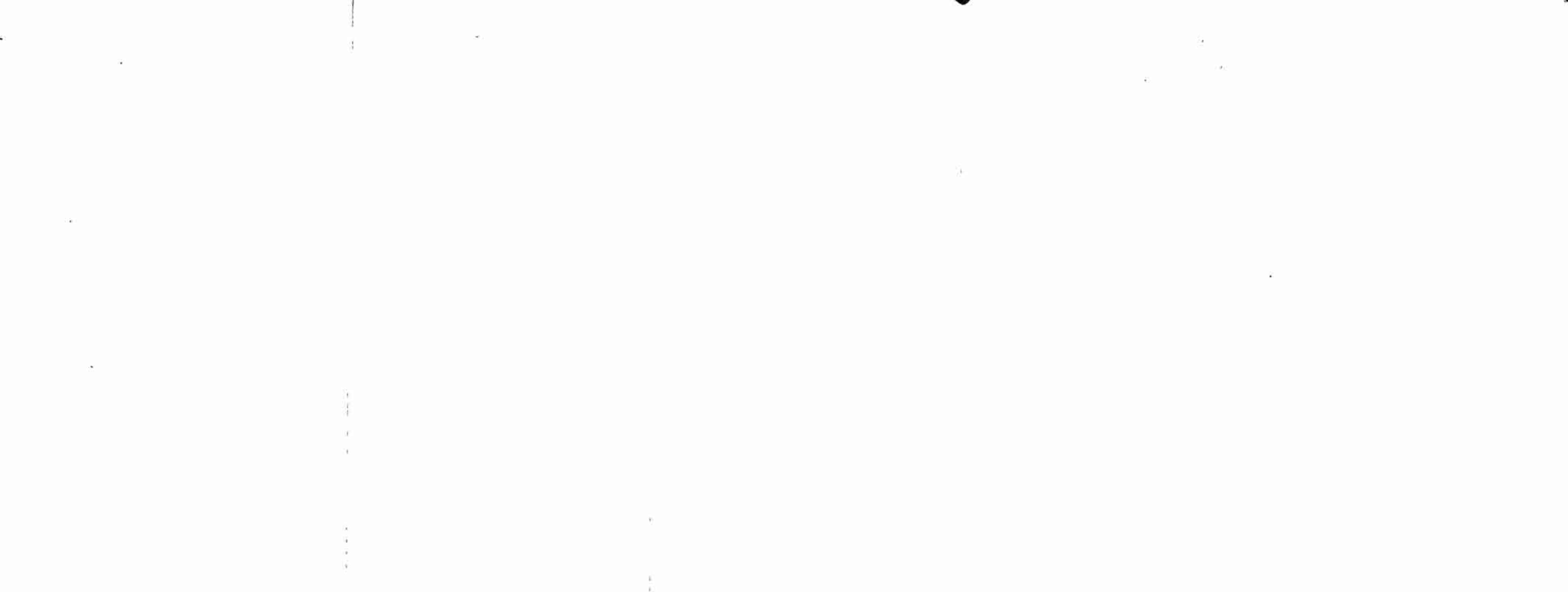
gar.	melek.	kiham.	igabbi.	adi.	eli.	sa.	an ku.	aş.	Babel	*	a	tu	r.	an	n	a	t.	(- - -)	sa.	ik	ki	r	'a.	in	ni.	*	Par	şu.	*	Nu	va	*	*	Ma	da	i.	*	Aş	şur	*
rex		(- - -)	dicit:		dum		ego	in	Babylone		eram		hæ		(sunt)	provincia	quæ		rebelles	fiabant		a	mè;		Persis;		Susiana;						Media;				Assyria;			





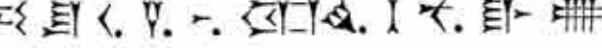

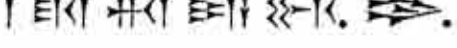

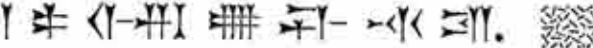


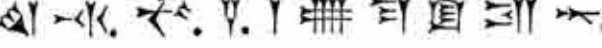
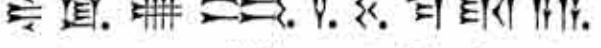


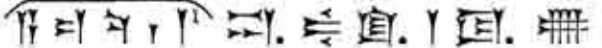
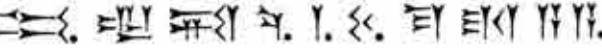
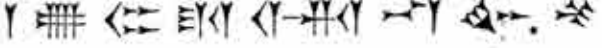
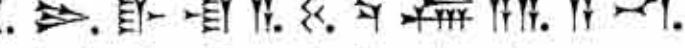

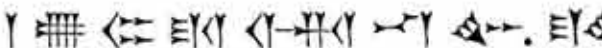
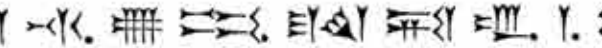
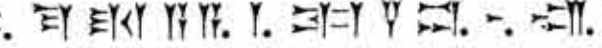
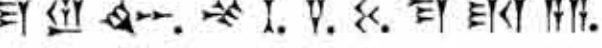

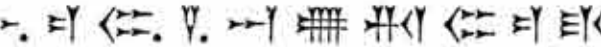


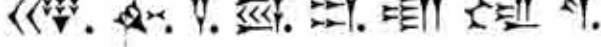
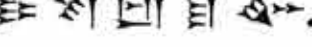

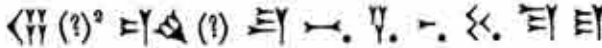

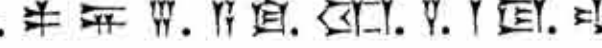


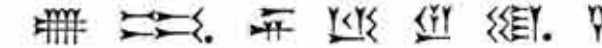
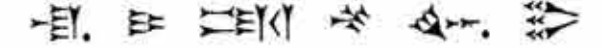
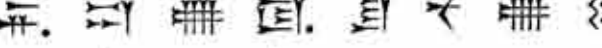
41

Armenia; Parthia; Margiana;


t ta
Sattagydia;

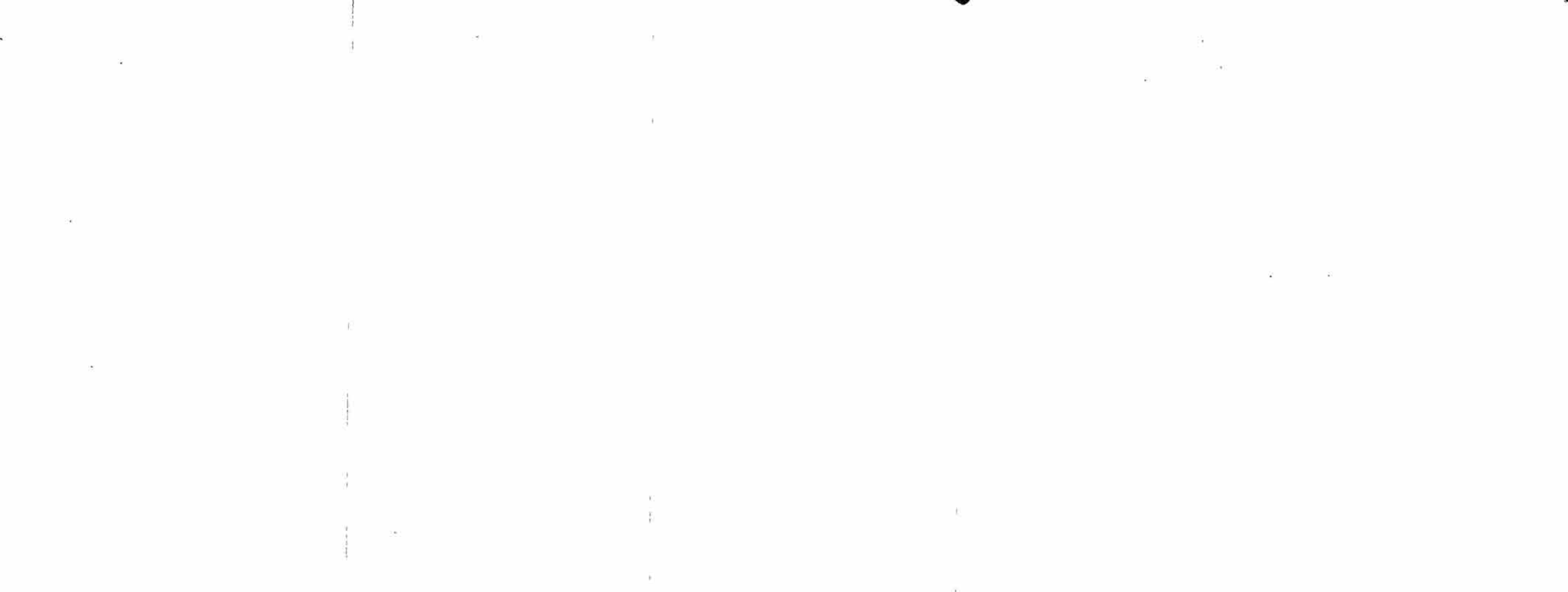
u. * Ki(m) mi ri. * Var ti ya. sumu s. a s sn. * Si n sa kh ri s. as. er. Ku gu na k kn. as. * Par su. a sib. s n. as. * E lu ti. it b av va.
Saccæ. Par. III. Darius rex dicit: homo, Martinus nominatus, filius Sinsicris, in urbe Cyganaco, in Perside habitans, ille in Susandã surrexit;




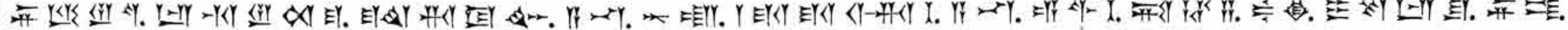

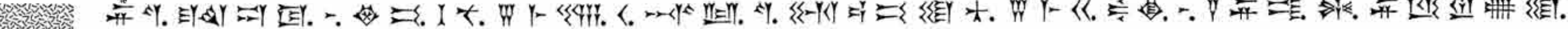

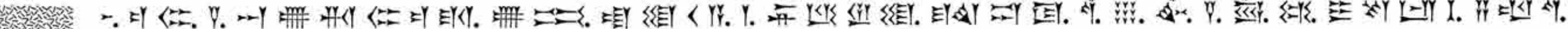

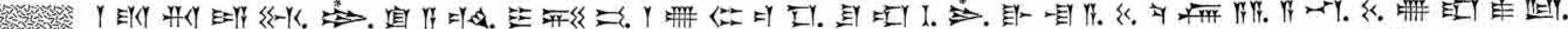



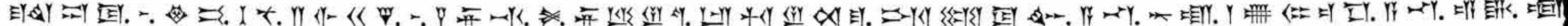


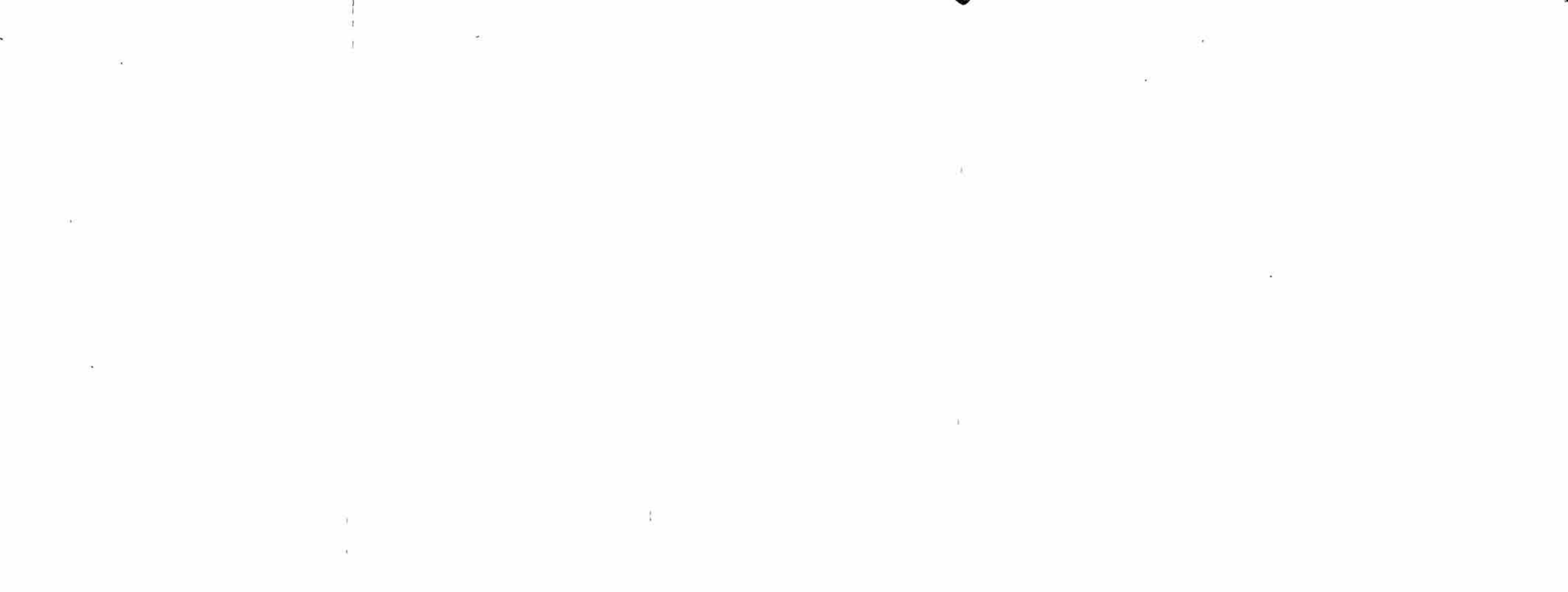
- 42       
rei Susianæ dicebat ita: "ego rex *Susianæ.*" Par. IV. *Darius rex dicit: (— — — —) postea* *prehendebant Martium; ille qui super eos princeps inter copias eorum (erat), occidit eum (Martium.)* Par. V. *Darius rex*
uv va. an ku. melek. * Nu va * a n. * Var ti ya. ha ga s u. sa. aq. oli. sun. rab u. aq. ra ma ni. sun. it du ku s. * Da ri ya qar. melek.
- 43       
dicit: homo Phraortes nominatus, Medus, ille surrexit, Medicæ rei dicebat ita: "ego *Xathrites (sum) e stirpe Cyaxaris: postea copias Medicæ quæ se tenebant domi a me*
* Pa r u var ti s. uv va. an ku. * Kha sa t ri t ti. (- -) sa. * Hu va ki s tar. up ki. hva ki(?). sa. * Ma da i. ma la. aq. bit. la. pani ya.
- 44     
ad eum Phraortem transibant; ille rex fiebat Medicæ. Par. VI. *Dicit Darius rex: copias Persiæ et Medicæ quæ apud me erant, hæ fideles erant; postea ego exercitum mittebam ad Mediam; Hydarnes nominatus, homo mihi subjectus Persicus, ad*
rebelles fiebant; du. up ki. an ku. hva ki(?). al ta par. an * Ma da i. * Hu vi da r n 'a. sumu s. (- -) rab t(?) a. * Per sa i. a n.
- 45     
principatum exercitus eum constituēbam; ita illis dicebam: "exite, eam rem quam Medicam debellate, quæ mea non appellatur;" postea Hydarnes cum copiis proficiscebatur; ad Mediam cum accedisset in urbe Marus nomine Medicæ,
* Hu vi da r n 'a. it ti. hva ki(?). it ta hvi. an. * Ma da i. an. ka sa du. aq. er. Va ru 'a. sumu s. sa. * Ma da i.
- 46      
eo loco prælium mittebat cum Medis; qui Medorum præcipuus erat paululum resistere non potuit; Oromasdes mihi opem tulit; gratiâ Oromasdis copias meæ debellabant rebelles illos; die 27 mo mensis Ab prælium mittebant;
aq. is vi. sa. * Hu ri mi s da. hva ki(?). at t u a. it du k. an. ni k ru t. ha ga su n. (- -) XXVII (- -). sa. (- -) Ab. si i at. i t ip su 'a.
- 47     
(— — — — —) postea copias meæ in regione Campadâ quæ in Mediâ in eo loco attendebant me donec ego advenissem ad Mediâ.
K am ma bad. sa. aq. * Ma da i aq. eb(?) bi. i tag ga lu 'a. pa ni ya. a di. eli. sa. an ku. al la ku. an. * Ma da i.
- 48    
Par. VII. Dicit Darius rex: postea Dadarses nominatus, Armenicus, mihi subjectus, eum ego mittebam ad Armeniam; ita illi dicebam: "Exi, copias rebelles, quæ non obediunt mihi, debella eas;"
hva ki(?). ni k ru t. sa. la. i lu(?) vu 'a. in ni. d u k. su n u t.


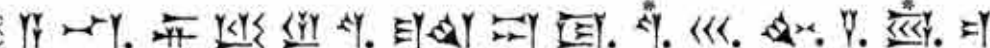

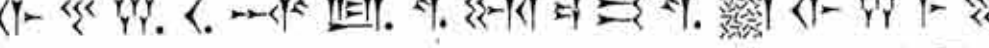

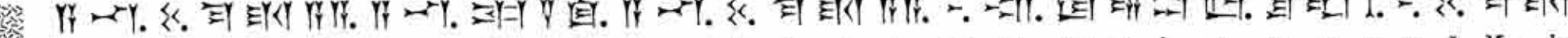

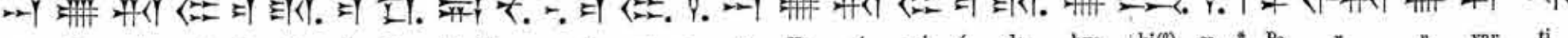



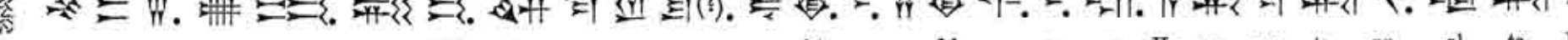

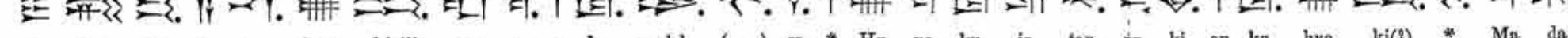
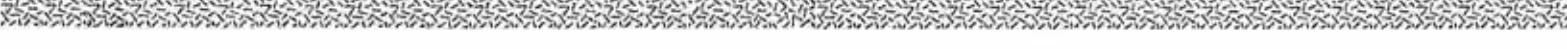
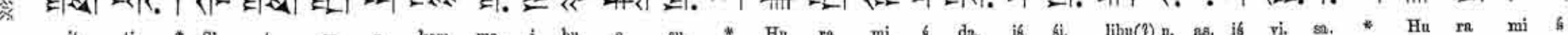
¹ The letters overlined cannot be depended on.

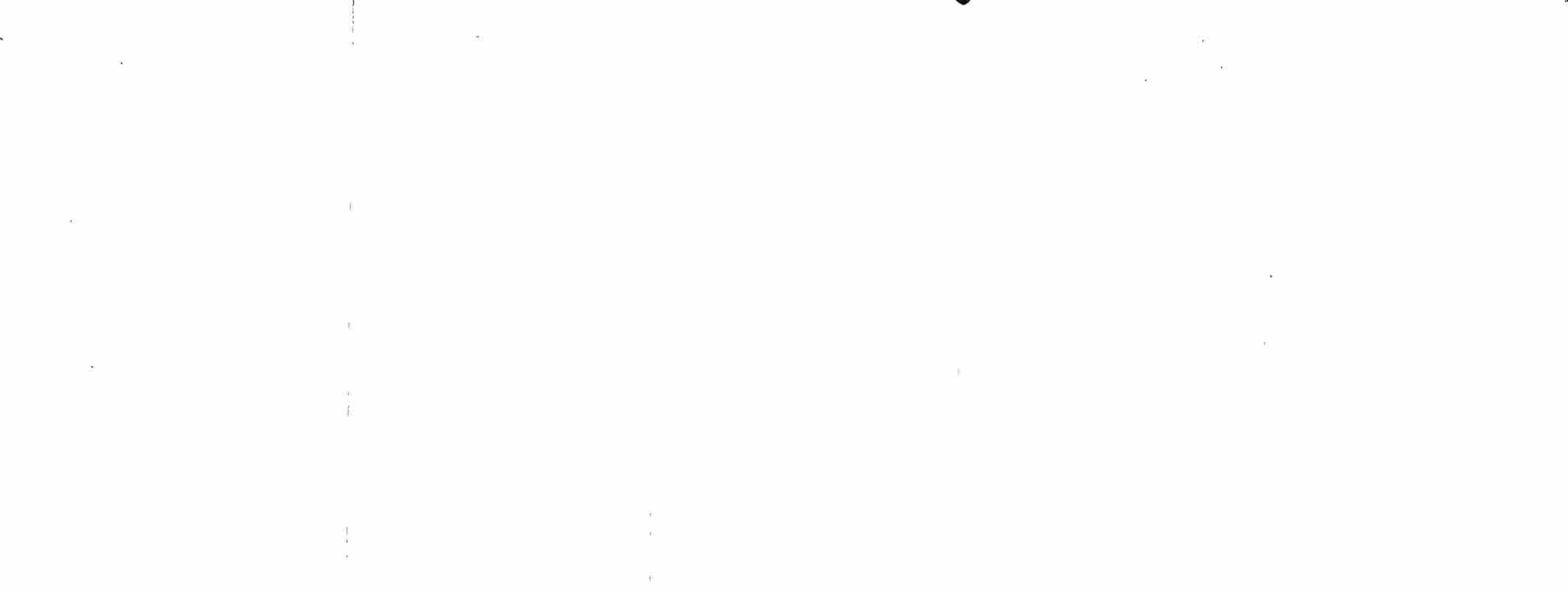
² This sign may possibly be . It is very indistinct.


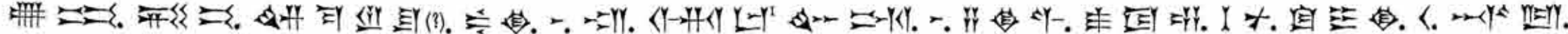

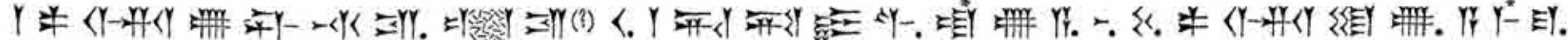



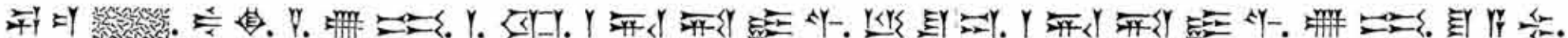

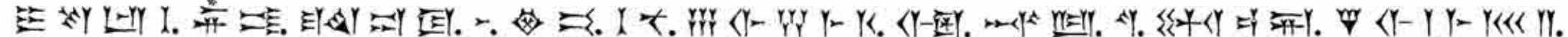

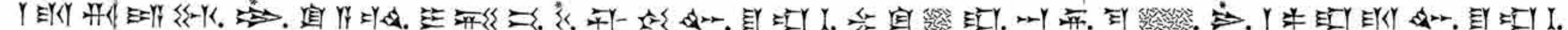

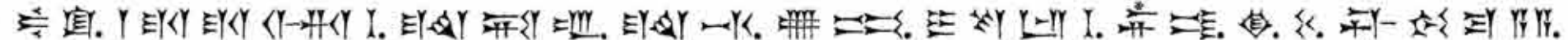


- 49  
postea Dadarses progressus est; cum Armeniam accedisset, tum rebelles congregati rediere coram Dadarsem
ad pugnandum; postea Dadarses praelium cum iis committebat, in urbe Zora nominatā in Armeniā;
a n. e pi su. ta kha ḡa. up ki. * Da da r su. ḡa l nt. ki. su n. i ta bu s. aḡ. er. Z u z. su mu s. i n. * Hu ra s sad.
- 50  
Oromasdes mihi opem tulit; gratiā Oromasdis exercitus meus
copias rebelles debellabat; in 6^{mo} die mensis () praelium commissum est. Par. VIII. Dicit Darius rex: secundo
rebelles congregati rediere coram Dadarsem ad pugnandum; postea committebant praelium
ni k ru t. ip hu ru nu v. it ri ku 'a. a n. tar ḡi. * Da d ar su. a n. o pi su. ta kha ḡa. up ki. i t ip su. ḡa l nt.
- 51  
ad urbem Armeniā, Tigris nominatam;
Oromasdes mihi opem tulit; gratiā Oromasdes exercitus meus copias infensas debellabat; in 18^{mo} die mensis (- -) committebant
praelium; occidebat ex iis 546, et suspendebat(?) e captivis 520; postea tertio rebelles
ḡa l at. it du k. aḡ. eb(?) bi. su n. DXLVI. va. bul lu. ta. vaz zab bi tu n. DXX. up ki. aḡ sa ni t. III. ni k r u t.
- 52  
congregati rediere coram
Dadarsem aciem instruentes; committebant praelium ad castellum Armeniā (- -) nominatum; Oromasdes mihi opem ferebat;
gratiā Oromasdis copias meas rebelles profligabant die 9^{mo} mensis (- -) committebant praelium;
aḡ. is vi. sa. * Hu ri mi s da. hva. ki(?). at t u a. au. ni k ru t. it du k. (- -) IX. (- -). sa. (- -) (- -). i t ip su. ḡa l nt.
- 53  
Postea Dadarses seorsum a me se tenebat (- - -) donec ego advenissem Mediam. Par. X.
Darius rex (- - -) dicit Vomises nominatus, homo mihi subjectus, Persicus ad Armeniam
* Da ri ya ḡar. melek. ki ha m. i gab bi. * Hva mi s si. su mu s. (- -). rab t(?) a. * Par ḡa i. a n. * Hu ra s sad.
- 54  
emittebam; ita illi
dicebam: "Evi, res qua rebellis, mea non appellatur, eam debella." Postea Vomises iter faciebat; cum Armeniam accedisset,
rebelles congregati rediere coram Vomisem ad pugnandum; postea committebant praelium;
ni k ru t. ip hu ru nu v. it ri ku 'a. a n. tar ḡi. * Hva mi s su. a u. ep isu. ta kha ḡa. up ki. i t ip su. ḡa l nt.
- 55  
in regione Assyriā (- - -) nominatā; Oromasdes mihi opem tulit; gratiā
Oromasdis copias meas exercitum quem infensum profligare; in XV^{mo} die mensis (- - -) occidere ex iis 2024. secundo (II) rebelles congregati rediere coram Vomisem ad pugnandum;
it du k. aḡ. eb(?) bi. su n. MMXXIV. aḡ. sa ni t. (- -). ni k ru t. ip hu ru nu v. il li ku 'a. a n. tar ḡi. * Hva mi s si. a n. o pi su. takhaḡa.

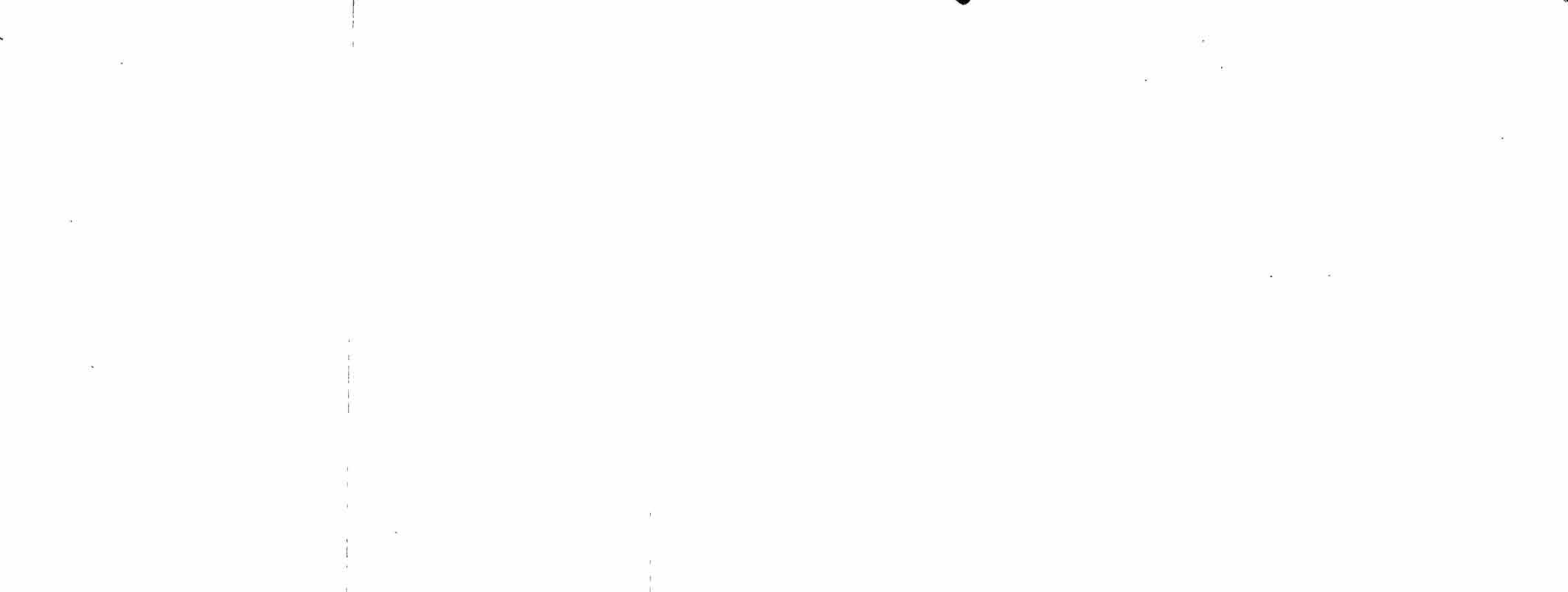


- 56    
committebant praelium in regione Armenia, Otiara a n. ni k ru t. it du ku. (-) XXX. (-). sa. (-). (-). i t ip su. sal at. it du k. as. eb(?) bi. su n. MMXLV. va. bul lu. tai vaz zab bi t. MDLIX.
nominatâ; Oromasdes mihi opem tulit; gratiâ Oromasdis copias meas rebelles profligavere; die 30 mo mensis (-) commiseru praelium; occidere ex iis 2045, et suspensere(?) ex captivis 1559.
- 57  
Postea Vomises seorsum a me se tenebat donec advenissem Mediam. Par. XII. Dicit Darius rex: postea ego a Babylone iter faciebam; aggrediebar ad Mediam; cum accedissem ad Mediam, in urbe Kundura appellatâ in Mediâ,
- 58  
ad eum locum Phraortes ille, qui Mediâ rex appelebatur, veniebat cum exercitu, coram me aciem instruens; postea praelium committebamus; Oromasdes opem tulit; gratiâ Oromasdis exercitum quem Phraortis
- 59  
ego profligabam i sut. o li ya. sa. pa á. ti ra iv.(?). ta. n ma. il ur u. as. mat. Ra g 'a. su mu s. as. * Ma da i. up ki. a n ku. hva ki(?).
omnino; in 26^{mo} die mensis (-) praelium commissum. Par. XIII. Dicit Darius rex: postea hic Phraortes cum fidelibus equitibus ab eo loco fugiebat ad regionem Raga nominatam in Mediâ; postea ego exercitum
- 60  
emittebam, a quo Phraortes capiebatur et afferebatur ad me; ego et nasum ejus et aures et linguam abscindebam et eum deducebam; ad fores meos vinctus retinebatur (- - -) hva ki(?). gab bi(?). iv va ru s. up ki. as. sa ki p. as. er. Ha ga ma ta nu. al ta kan us.
(- - -) res tota videbat illum; postea ad crucem in urbe Ecbatanâ affixi cum;
- 61  
et homines præcipuos, qui i gab bi. a n. hva ki(?) uv va. an ku. melok. (-) sa. * Hu va ku is tar. up ki. an ku. hva ki(?). * Ma da i.
in servitio ejus erant, ad Ecbatanam inter arcem suspensi. Par. XIV. Dicit Darius rex: homo Sitratackmes nominatus, Sagarticus, ille mihi rebellis fiebat; ille dicebat ad rem ita: "ego rex o stirpe Cyaxaris;" postea ego copias Medicas
- 62  
et Persicas emittebam; homo Camaspates nominatus, mihi subjectus, eum earum ducem constituebam; it ti. * Si t ra n kam ma. i bu s su. * Hu ra mi á da. is á. libu(?) n. as. is vi. sa. * Hu ra mi á dn.
ita illis dicebam: "Exite, rem quam infensam, quæ mea non appellatur, eam debellate;" postea Camaspates cum copiis proficiscebatur; praelium cum Sitratackme commiseru; Oromasdes opem tulit; gratiâ Oromasdis






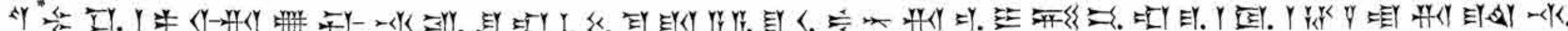

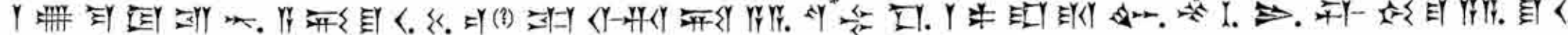
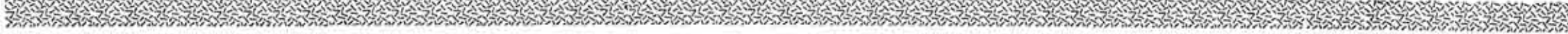

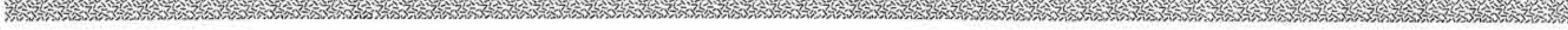
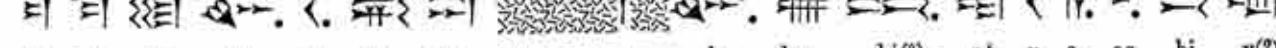
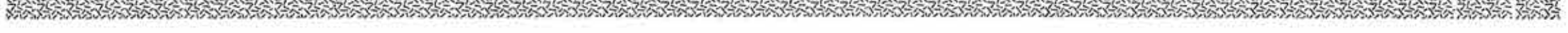

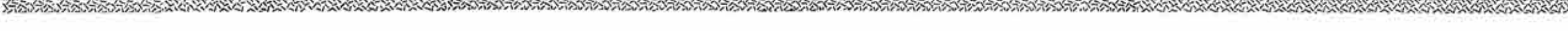
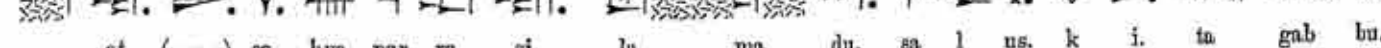
- 63  
copiae quæ meæ eum exercitum quem infensum profligabant, et hva ki(?) gab bi. iv va ru s. up ki. aş. er. Ar b 'i l. aş. şa ki p. aş ku n. su n. d i k. va. bul lu.
Sitratachmem capiebant et apportabant ad me; postea illius ego et nasum et aures abscondebam, et eum deducebam; ad fores meas vinctus retinebatur; res tota videbat illum; postea in urbe Arbela ad crucem feci eos occisos et suspensi (eos), (1) (aut. suspensos)
- 64  
Par. XV. Dicit Darius rex: hoc est quod a me factum in Medis. Par. XVI. Dicit Darius rex: regiones Parthia et Hyrcania nominata, mihi rebelles fiebant; sub ditione * Pa r u var ti s. — s u. * Vas ta ş pi. ab u a. aş. * Pa r t u. a sib u.
Fraortis se appellabant; Hystaspes pater meus in Parthiâ habitans
- 65  
ille copias (- - - - -); postea Hystaspes cum * Hu ra mi ş da. is şi. libu(?) n. aş. is vi. sa. * Hu ra mi ş da. * Vas ta ş pi. it duk. a n. ni k ru t. ha ga su n. (- -) XXII. (- -).
copiis fidelibus proficiscebatur; prælium committebat cum hostibus ad urbem Parthiæ, Hyspaestes nominatam; Oromasdes opem tulit; gratiâ Oromasdis Hystaspes debellavit rebelles illos, die 22 mo
- 66  
mensis (- -). (— — — — —) Col. III., Par. I. Dicit Darius rex: postea ego copias Persicas emitebam ad Hystaspem a Rhago; up ki. sa. hva ki(?). an. eli. * Vas ta ş pi. ik su du. * Vas ta ş pi. hva ki(?). s a t.
postea quod copiarum ad Hystaspem accedissent Hystaspes (cum) copiis his
- 67  
proficiscebatur; committebat prælium cum hostibus ad oppidum Parthiæ i t ip su. şal at. it du k. aş. eb(?) bi. ann. VIDLX. va. bul lu. ta. var zab bit. IVCLXXXII.
Patigrapana nominatum; Oromasdes mihi opem tulit; gratiâ Oromasdis, Hystaspes eas copias quas infensas profligavit; erat die primomensis (- - -) quod commiserunt prælium; occidit ex iis 6560, et suspensit(?) e captivis 4182.
- 68  
Par. II. Dicit Darius rex: postea provincia mea fiebat; hoc est quod a me factum in Parthia. Par. III. Darius rex (- - -) dicit: regio Margiana nominata contumax(?) mihi fiebat; homo Phraates nominatus, * Da ri ya şar. melek. ki ha m. i gab bi. mat. Var gu 'a. su mu s. at di (- -) ra. an ni. ma (- - -) (- - -) * Pa ra d 'a. su mu s.
Phraates nominatus,
- 69  
Margenses eum ducem constituerunt; postea up ki. * Da da r su. it ta hvi. it ti. hva ki(?). i t ip su. şal at. ki. * Var gu va i.
ego emitebam quandam Persicum, Dadarsem nominatum, mihi subjectum, Bactricæ Satrapam; ita illi dicebam: "Evi, eam rem debella, quæ mea non appellatur;" postea Dadarses proficiscebatur cum copiis; commisit prælium cum Margensibus;

¹ There is some doubt about the form of this letter, it may possibly be .



- 70 *Oromasdes mihi opem tulit;*
gratiâ Oromasdis copiae meae eam rem quam infensa *debellabant omnino; die XXIII mensis () committebant praelium; Dadarses occidit*
aš. ob(?) bi. sun. IVCCIII. va. bul lu. ta. vaz zab bit. VIDLXII. * Da ri ya šar. melek. ki ha m.
et suspensit(?) a captivis 6562. Par. IV. Darius rex (- - -)
- 71 *dicit: postea regio mea*
fiebat; hoc est quod a me factum in Bactriâ. Par. V. Darius rex dicit: postea homo Veisdates nominatus in oppido Tarba, in regione
aš * Y u ti ya. su mu s. aš. * Par šu. a si b. s u. it ba v va. aš * Par šu. i gab bi. a n. hva ki(?).
Iotia nominatâ in Perside habitavit; ille surrexit in Perside; dicit ad rem
- 72 *ita: "ego Bardes sum qui Cyri filius;" tum*
copiae Persicae quae domi erant, a societate mea remotae, a me rebelles fiebant; ad eum Veisdatem transibant; ille rex fiebat Persidis. Par. VI. Darius
* Da ri ya šar. melek. ki ha m. i gab bi. up ki. an ku. hva ki(?). sa. * Par šu. v i at.
rex (- - -) dicit: postea ego copias quas Persidis (- - -)
- 73 *et Mediae, quae apud me erant, Artab*
ardes nominatus Persicus, mihi subjectus, eum illarum ducem constituebam; quae alterae
hva ki(?). sa. * Par šu. it ti ya. it ri ku 'a. * Ma da i. up ki. * Ar ta var zi ya. it ti. hva ki(?).
Persidis cum me rediers (ad) Mediam; postea Artabardes cum copiis
- 74 *proficiscebatur Persidem; cum Persidem a*
Racha nominatum oppidum Persidis, eo loco ille Veis
ates, qui Bardes appellabatur, veniebat cum copiis, coram Artabardem aciem instruens;
n - - - hviš(?) i t ip su. ša l at. * Hu ra ma š da. is šī. libu(?) n. aš. is vi. ša. * Hu ra ma š da.
postea commiserē praelium; Oromasdes opem tulit; gratiâ Oromasdis
- 75 *copiae meae eas copias quas Veisdati debellabant omnino; die XII^{mo} mensis (- - -) tunc erat praelium commiserē; (- - -) Par. VII. Darius rex dicit: postea*
* Hu vi š d a t. ha ga s u. it ti. hva ki(?). i šut. o li ya. sa. pa š. ti ra iv(?) il ur u. a n.
Veisdates ille cum copiis fidelibus equitibus, fugiebat ad
- 76 *Pissiachadum; ab eo loco cum exercitu rursus*
veniebat coram Artabardem aciem instruens; ad montem, Parga
nominatum, praelium commiserē;
* Hu ra ma š da. is šī. libu(?) n. aš. is vi. ša. * Hu ra ma š da. hva ki(?). at t u a. it du k. a n. hva ki(?). sa. * Hu vi š d a t.
Oromasdes opem tulit; gratiâ Oromasdis copiae meae debellabant exercitum Veisdati;


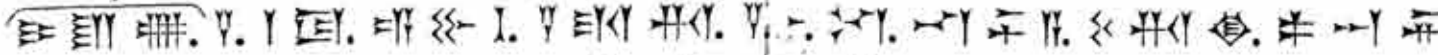



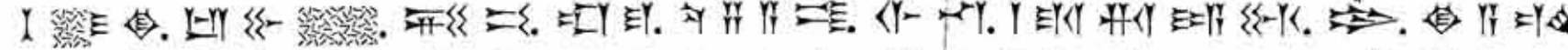



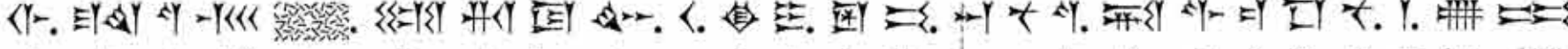

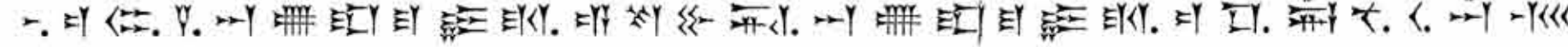

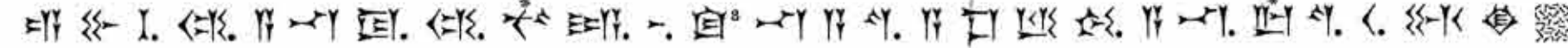
- 77 *commisere praelium in sexto die mensis (- i gab bi. up ki. an ku. * Hu vi s d a t. ha ga s u. va. (- -) tar ep iv(?) sa. it ti su. gab bi. as. sa ki p. Veisdatem captivum fecere, et homines praecipuos qui dicit: postea ego Veisdatem illum et homines praecipuos qui cum eo (erant), omnes ad crucem*
- 78 *affixi; ita eos in urbe Persidis, Chaididia nominata, trucidavi (- Par su. al ta bu s. * Da ri ya sar. melek. ki ha m. i gab bi. * Hu vi s d a t. ha ga s u. sa. ik b u. Perside feci. Par. IX. Darius rex (- - -) dicit Veisdates ille qui appellabatur*
- 79 *m, mihi subjectum, Vibantum nominatum, qui fuit Satrapas Arachotiae; (dicebat) ita (illis): "Exite, Vibantum debellate et*
- 80 *rem quae Dario regi obedit;" tum illae copiae Capiscanes nominatum, commisere praelium; Oromasdes opem tulit; gratia Oromasdis copiae*
- 81 *meae eum exercitum infensum debellabant omnino; die XIII^{ma} mensis (instruentes; in regione, Gadytia nominata, commisere praelium; Oromasdes opem tulit; gratia Oromasdis*
- 82 *copiae meae exercitum infensum profligavit; in VII^{ma} die mensis (- - -) praelium qui istius exercitus dux (erat) quem Veisdates emiserat, cum copiis fidelibus*
- 83 *equitibus fugiebat; Arsada nomine quens proficiscebatur; eo loco captivum fecit eum, et homines praecipuos qui cum eo fecit (eos) occisos et suspensit (eos)(?); copiarum (aut. suspensos)*

- 91  
"Ego Bardes sum, qui * Nu va * (- - -) * Ni din ta bel. su mu s. * Babel * i. s u. vap tar ri š. i gab bi. uv va. an ku. * * Nebu kudur ussur.
Cyri filius;" ille Persidem rebellem fecit. Atripes nominatus, Susicus, ille mentitus ita dixit: "Ego rex sum Susianus;" ille Susianam fecit rebellem. Naditabelus - nomine Babylonicus ille mentitus dixit ita: "Ego Nabochodrossor
- 92  
sum, qui Nabonidi filius;" ille Babylonem (- - -) * Pa r u var ti s. su mu s. * Ma da i. s u. vap tar ri š. i gab bi. uv va. an ku. * Kha sa t ri t ti.
rebellem fecit. Martius nominatus, Persicus, ille mentitus ita dixit: "Ego Imanes sum, rex Susianus;" ille Susianam fecit rebellem. Phraortes nomine Medicus ille mentitus dixit ita: "Ego Xathrites
- 93  
sum, è stirpe * Hu va ku is tar. ha ga s u. * Is ka r ta i. (- - -) * Pa ra d 'a. sumus. * Mar gu va i. s u.
Cyaxaris;" ille Mediam rebellem fecit. Sitratachmes nominatus, Sagarticus, ille mentitus ita dixit: "Ego rex sum Sagartius; ego è stirpe Cyaxaris;" illo Sagartiam fecit rebellem. Phraates nomine, Margensis, ille
- 94  
mentitus ita dixit: "Ego rex sum Margianus;" ille Margianam fecit rebellem. Veisdates nomine, Persicus, ille mentitus ita dixit: "Ego Bardes sum, qui Cyri filius;" illo Persidem fecit rebellem. Aracus nomine, Armenicus, ille
- 95  
mentitus, ita dixit: "Ego Nabochodrossor sum, qui Nabonidi filius;" ille Babylonem fecit rebellem. Par. III. Dicit Darius rex: hi novem reges capiebantur(?) et vincebantur(?) copiis meis inter
- 96  
has pugnas. Par. IV. Darius rex dicit: hæc sunt provincias quæ mihi rebelles fuere; mendacia creabantur ut illa fallerent hoc regnum; postea Oromasdes ad potestatem meam redacta illa
- 97  
fecit; ut mihi in animo erat, ita Oromasdes fecit. Par. V. Dicit Darius rex: O rex, tu quisquis qui posthac sis, a mendaciis te expeditum habes; homo qui mendax (sit), omnino dele sum; si observes


¹ Only one letter is wanting.


² Nothing is lost in the blank spaces left in lines 96 and 97.


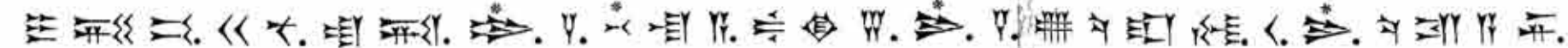

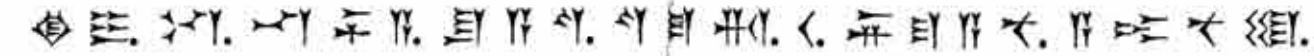

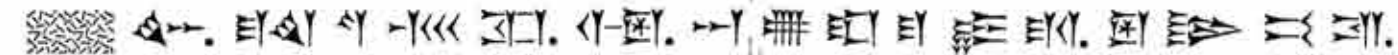






³ Upon the rock this sign seems to be , which, however, is an unknown form.

- 98  
i é u. sa. an ku. e bu s. sa da ri. sa. as. * na op a. ti ri k. pa n ni
hoc, regnum meum integrum manebit. Par. VI. Dicit Darius rex: quicquid a me actum, id omne gratiâ Oromasdis feci; tu quisquis sis qui posthac perquiras quod ego feci, scriptum quod in tabulâ (hâc,) monitio(?) sit tibi a me
- 99  
vu par na. * Da ri ya şar. molek. ki ha m. i gab bi. as. is vi. sa. * Hu ra ma é da.
ne falso dices. Par. VII. Dicit Darius rex: Oromasdes mihi testis sit, ut, quod hic scripsi, totam narrationem rectè perfeci. Par. VIII. Darius rex (- - -) dicit: gratiâ Oromasdis
- 100  
— — ki. ib bu a. gab bi. uv va. par ş a t. si(?) na. * Da ri ya şar. molek. ki ha m.
multum est aliud quod a me factum, id in hac tabulâ non scripsi; eâ ratione non scripsi, ne cuidam, hanc tabulam posthac perquirenti quod a me factum, id totum sicut mendacia videatur. Par. IX. Darius rex (- - -)
- 101  
molek. ki ha m. i gab bi. at ta. ki lu pi. sa. an ku. e bu s. va. ka bit(?) ta. a - .
dicit: quæ priscis regibus facta, ea non paria erant ei quod omnino gratiâ Oromasdis a me perfectum. Par. X. Darius rex (- - -) dicit: tu (- - -) quod ego feci, et (- - - - -)
- 102  
si. it t iv(?) ka. li ri ku 'a. va. k i. lu bi. pa nu t. tâ pi é si nu. an. hys ki(?).
eâ ratione ne coles; si hoc edictum non coles, regno declares, Oromasdes tibi amicus sit; et tibi proles quam plurima sit, et anni(?) tui producti sint(?); et si edictum hoc coles, ad regnum
- 103  
as. is vi. sa. * Hu ra ma é da. e ta bu s. * Hu ra ma é da. is si. libu(?) n. va. ilu iv(?).
non declares, Oromasdes tibi infensus fiat; et tibi proles ne sit. Par. XII. Darius rex dicit: hoc quod a me factum, totum gratiâ Oromasdis feci; Oromasdes opem tulit, et dei
- 104  
e bu s. ul. a n ku. ul. (- -) ya. as di n a t. n si k gu. a n. lak ta. va. şar ki —
alii qui sunt. Par. XIII. Darius rex dicit: ea ratione Oromasdes opem tulit, et alii Dei qui existunt, quod non scelestus eram; non mentitor eram; non injuriam feci, nec ego, nec stirps meus (- - - - -)

¹ The signs overlined are all doubtful.



























² A doubtful letter—it may be .

³ This sign may perhaps be .

- 105  
— — — Qui laboravit pro mea gente, illum bene fectum, fovi; qui contrarius erat mihi, illum delevi omnino. Par. XIV. Darius rex dicit: *quisquis tu rex qui regnes post me, homo qui mentitur et homo (qui) impius*
- 106  
sit, eos ne protego; eos gladio extinguo. Par. XV. Darius rex dicit: tu quisquis qui posthac hanc tabulam spectas, quam ego inscripsi, hasque effigies, cave ne iis injuriam facias; quamdiu sis, eas conserva: si *tabulam hanc species et has effigies,*
- 107  
— — — *it t iv(?) ka. va. * Hu ra ma s da. lu (- -) bi s.*
non illis injuriam facias; et quamdiu proles tibi sit ha effigies conservata sint, Oromasdes tibi amicus fiat; et tibi proles numerosa sit, et producti sint anni(?) tui, et Oromasdes prosperet(?)
- 108  
*na — la (- - - - -) * Hu ra ma s da. li ru lak(?).*
in aeternum quicquid tu facias. Par. XVII. Darius rex dicit: si hanc tabulam, hasque effigies spectas, et iis injuriam facias, et quamdiu tibi proles sit non eas conserves(?) *Oromasdes hostis fiat tibi,*
- 109  
*it ti ya. i tu ru 'a. a di. eli. sa. a n ku. a n. * Gu m a t. ha ga s u.*
et tibi proles non sit, et quod facias id tibi Oromasdes frustretur. Par. XVIII. Dicit Darius rex: hi sunt homines soli qui *cum me erant quum ego Gomatem eum*
- 110  
* Hv is pa ru 'a. * Par sa i. * Hu vi t ta n 'a. sumu s. a s sa. * Su kl r 'a. * Par sa i.
Magum occidi; hi erant homines qui laborabant in servitio meo: Intaphernes nominatus, filius Hysparis, Persicus; Otanes nomina qui (i. e. filius) Socris, Persicus;



















¹ The two first letters of this name are doubtful.



111  I.   I.  I.  I.  I.  I.  I.  I.  I.  I.  I.  I.  I.  I.  I.  I.  I.  I.  I.  I.  I.  I.  I.  I.  I. (?)

s. su vu s. a s sa. * S 'a tu 'a. * Par sa i. * A r d i m a n i a. s m u s. a s sa. * H v a s u k ku.

Gobryas nominatus, Mardonii filius, Persicus; Hydarnes nominatus, filius Meg nis, *Persicus; Megabyzus* nomina, qui *Zatois* *Persicus* *Ardomane* nomina qui *Vasacis.*
(i. e. filius)

112                  

DETACHED INSCRIPTIONS AT BELLISTUN.

No. 1.

𠄎 𠄏 𠄐 𠄑 𠄒 𠄓 𠄔 𠄕

Ha g a. * Gu in a ta.

Hic (est)

Gomates

A. HALL, V. LINDSEY, ET AL.

* Ma gu su. sa. yap ru su. ki ma.

Magus, qui mentitus est ita:

凡一國之平者，其國必興。凡一國之亂者，其國必亡。

n na ku. * Bar zi ya. bar. * Ku ras.

"Ego

Bardes,

flivus

Cyri."

No. 2.

$$Y \cong \mathbb{A}^1 \times Y, \quad Y \cong \mathbb{A}^1 \times Y, \quad Y \cong \mathbb{A}^1 \times Y.$$

ha g a. * A si na.

Hic (est)

Atrines.

У. 121 122 123 124 125

sa. yap ru su. ki ma.

qui mentitus est ita:

一四. 五. 六. 七. 八.

ana ku. melek. * (— —).

"*Ego*

1955

Susianæ."

No. 3.

四 五 六 七 八 九 十

ha g a, * Ni di ta bil.

Hic (est)

Niditabelus.

۷. 田 田 姓 田 田 田

sa. yap ru su, ki ma. ana ku.

qui mentitus est

ita:

"*Ego*

No. 3,—(continued.)

𐎶. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵.
* * Nabu kuduru şur.

Nabochodrossor,

𐎶𐎵 𐎶. 𐎶. 𐎶. 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵.
bar su. sa. * * Nabu nit.
filius Nabonidi."

No. 4.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵.
ha g a. * Pa r var ti s.
Hic (est) Phraortes,

𐎶. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵.
sa. yap ru şu. ki ma. ana ku.
qui mentitus est ita: "Ego

𐎶. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵.
* Kha sa t r e ti.
Xathrites,

𐎶𐎵. 𐎶. 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵.
yakhas. sa. * Hu va ku is tar.
e stemmate Oyaxaris."

No. 5.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵.
ha g a. * Mar ti ya.
Hic (est) Martes,

𐎶. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵.
sa. yap ru şu. ki ma. a na ku.
qui mentitus est ita: "Ego

𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵.
* Yam ma n e su. melek. * (— —).
Imanes, rex Susianæ."

No. 6.

𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶. 𐎶. 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵.
 ha g a. * Si thra * takh mu.

*Hic (est)**Sitratachmes,*

𐎶. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎵.
 sa. yap ru şu. ki ma. ana ku.

*qui mentitus est**ita: "Ego*

𐎶𐎶𐎵. 𐎶. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵.
 yakhas. sa. * Hu va ku is tar.

*a stemmate**Cyazaris.'*

No. 7.

𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶. 𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 (?) 𐎶𐎶𐎵.
 ha g a. * Hu vi ş da ta.

*Hic (est)**Veisdates,*

𐎶. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵.
 sa. yap ru şu. ki ma. a na ku.

*qui mentitus est**ita:**"Ego*

𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎵. 𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵.
 * Bar zi ya. bar. * Ku ra s.

*Bardes,**filius**Cyri."*

No. 8.

𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶. 𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵.
 ha g a. * A ra khu.

*Hic (est)**Aracus,*














𐎶. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵.
 sa. yap ru şu. ki ma. a na ku.

*qui mentitus est**ita:**"Ego*











𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶. 𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎶𐎵.
 * * Nabu kuduru şur. bar. * * Nabu nit.

*Nabochodrossor, filius**Nabonidi."*














No. 9.

ha g a. * Pa ra da '.
Hic est Phraates,

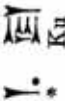
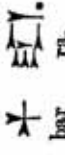

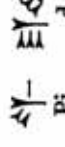
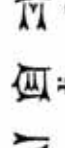
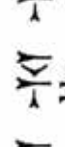



sa. yap ru su. ki ma.
qui mentitus est ita:

ana ku. molek. * Mar gu '.
"Ego rex Margianæ."

DETACHED INSCRIPTIONS AT NAKHSH-I-RUSTAM.

No. 1.

* Ku bar ra. * Pi d di s khu ri s na(?) su va.

Gobryas

Patischorensis,







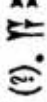
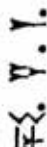
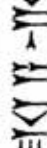
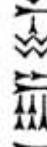






yaş su(?) ma r n. sa. * D a ri ya vaş. melek. regis.

arcifer

Darius

No. 2.



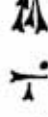
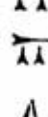
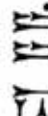










* As pa si na. ha ga. sa. * D a ri ya vaş. melek. (sagittarum cudos fuit.

Aspathines

Darius

No. 3.

ha g a. (?) * Mats ai. hi (sunt) Masii.

INDISCRIMINATE LIST

OF

BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN CHARACTERS.

NOTE.—As several months must necessarily elapse before the Memoir on the Babylonian Alphabet, which I am now writing, can be completed and published, it seems desirable, for the convenience of students, that the foregoing sheets, which contain the Babylonian text of the Behistun and Nakhsh-e-Rustam Inscriptions, should be accompanied by a skeleton list of the signs which most commonly occur in these Inscriptions and in others of the same class, and that the phonetic and ideographic values belonging to such signs, so far as they are known to me, should be duly recorded.

I proceed, then, to copy out from my alphabetical note book an indiscriminate list of the Assyrian and Babylonian characters; but it is necessary at the same time to state that the list does not pretend to be complete, that many of the powers attributed to the characters are doubtful, and that in no case, probably, is the value of a sign exhausted.

To distinguish the different classes of sibilants, I have adopted for *š* and *ṣ* (which in Babylonian were one and the same) the value of *s*, while I have rendered *ṣ* by *š*, and *š* by *s*; but it is only in the simple characters belonging to these classes that the distinction can be depended on. For all details regarding the alphabet I must refer to the Memoir now in the course of publication.

Num.	Forms.	Phonetic Power.	Ideographic value.	Phonetic powers arising from Ideographic values, (?)
1	𐎶	a. ha	"son"	<i>Pal. Bu</i>
2	𐎶. 𐎶. 𐎶.	e	sign of dual number (?) "place"	<i>im (l)</i>
3	𐎶. 𐎶. 𐎶.	i. ya	..	<i>nî</i>
4	𐎶. 𐎶. 𐎶.	yá	.. ..	..
5	𐎶	ya	"five"	..
6	𐎶 𐎶	ai	monogram for "the moon" (?)	..
7	<	u. va	name of "God;" "10;" "and"	..
8	𐎶. 𐎶. 𐎶.	u. hu. hva	monogram for "the sun"	..
9	𐎶. 𐎶. 𐎶.	,	..	..

LIST OF CHARACTERS.

Num.	Forms.	Phonetic Power.	Ideographic value.	Phonetic powers arising from Ideographic values. (?)
10	𐎠𐎡𐎢. 𐎠𐎣. 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	ak	monogram for "the god Nebo."	..
11	𐎠𐎡𐎢. 𐎠𐎣𐎤	ik. yak	..	..
12	𐎠𐎡𐎢. 𐎠𐎣𐎤𐎥	uk. vak	..	..
13	𐎠𐎡𐎢. 𐎠𐎣𐎤	ka	..	..
14	𐎠𐎡𐎢. 𐎠𐎣𐎤. 𐎠𐎡𐎢. 𐎠𐎣𐎤. 𐎠𐎡𐎢	ki	"low," (?) "with"	..
15	𐎠𐎡𐎢. 𐎠𐎣𐎤. 𐎠𐎡𐎢. 𐎠𐎣𐎤. 𐎠𐎡𐎢	ku	..	<i>du</i>
16	𐎠𐎡𐎢. 𐎠𐎣𐎤. 𐎠𐎡𐎢. 𐎠𐎣𐎤	—kh	..	..
17	𐎠𐎡𐎢. 𐎠𐎣𐎤. 𐎠𐎡𐎢	kha	..	..
18	𐎠𐎡𐎢. 𐎠𐎣𐎤	khi	..	<i>da</i>
19	𐎠𐎡𐎢. 𐎠𐎣𐎤	khu	..	..
20	𐎠𐎡𐎢. 𐎠𐎣𐎤	ga	..	..
21	𐎠𐎡𐎢	gi	..	..
22	𐎠𐎡𐎢	gu	..	..
23	𐎠𐎡𐎢	ku	..	<i>khas</i>
24	𐎠𐎡 (?)	ku	..	..
25	𐎠𐎡𐎢	kam	det. of "ordinal"	..
26	𐎠𐎡𐎢. 𐎠𐎣𐎤	khar	..	..
27	𐎠𐎡𐎢. 𐎠𐎣𐎤	kun	..	..
28	𐎠𐎡𐎢. 𐎠𐎣𐎤	kan	det. of "ordinal" name of month	<i>ga</i> (?)
29	𐎠𐎡𐎢	gap	..	..
30	𐎠𐎡𐎢. 𐎠𐎣𐎤	kip (?)	..	..
31	𐎠𐎡𐎢	kin	..	<i>ki</i>
32	𐎠𐎡𐎢	kuv	"fire"	<i>bił</i>

INDISCRIMINATE LIST OF

Num.	Forms.	Phonetic Power.	Ideographic value.	Phonetic powers arising from Ideographic values. (?)
33	𠂇𠂇. 𠂇𠂇	at	"father"	..
34	𠂇𠂇𠂇. 𠂇𠂇𠂇. 𠂇𠂇𠂇	it. yat	fem. of "one" or "first"	..
35	𠂇𠂇𠂇. 𠂇𠂇𠂇. 𠂇𠂇𠂇	ta	"from"	..
36	𠂇𠂇. 𠂇𠂇	ti	..	..
37	𠂇𠂇. 𠂇𠂇	tu	..	..
38	𠂇𠂇	da	..	..
39	𠂇. 𠂇. 𠂇𠂇. 𠂇𠂇	di	..	..
40	𠂇𠂇	du	..	<i>kina or gina</i>
41	𠂇. 𠂇	ta	"day," "time," "sun"	<i>par</i>
42	𠂇𠂇. 𠂇𠂇	ta	det. of "large animals"	..
43	𠂇. 𠂇	ta	"country"	<i>mat. sat(?) kur</i>
44	𠂇𠂇	ti	..	..
45	𠂇𠂇	—t	..	..
46	𠂇. 𠂇	tar	..	<i>khas</i>
47	𠂇𠂇. 𠂇𠂇	tak	..	..
48	𠂇𠂇	tuk	..	..
49	𠂇𠂇	tur	"son;" det. of "rank;" "new;" "small"	..
50	𠂇𠂇𠂇. 𠂇𠂇𠂇	thra	"Babil"	..
51	𠂇𠂇. 𠂇𠂇	tik	..	..
52	𠂇𠂇	dam	..	..
53	𠂇𠂇	dak	..	..
54	𠂇𠂇	dan or adan?	"Babil"	..
55	𠂇𠂇	duk	..	..
56	𠂇𠂇	dá	..	<i>rip. lap. kal(?)</i>

BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN CHARACTERS.

Num.	Forms.	Phonetic Power.	Ideographic value.	Phonetic powers arising from Ideographic values. (?)
57	𒀭. 𒀭	takh or dakh (?)	..	..
58	𒀭	tap (?)	..	..
59	𒀭	ap	..	..
60	𒀭	ip. yap	..	..
61	𒀭. 𒀭. 𒀭	up. vap	..	..
62	𒀭	pa	"Nebu"	<i>kha</i>
63	𒀭	pi	..	..
64	𒀭	pu	..	..
65	𒀭. 𒀭	ba	..	..
66	𒀭	bi	..	..
67	𒀭. 𒀭	bu	..	..
68	𒀭. 𒀭	am. av.	..	..
69	𒀭	im. iv yam. yav	name of a god; det. of "cardinal point"	..
70	𒀭. 𒀭 (?)	um. uv vam. vav	..	<i>ki</i>
71	𒀭. 𒀭	ma. va	..	<i>u</i>
72	𒀭	mi. vi	..	..
73	𒀭	mu. vu	"year," "name"	<i>sum</i>
74	𒀭	bar	..	<i>khu</i> or <i>khi</i> ?
75	𒀭. 𒀭	mar. var	..	..
76	𒀭	mir. vir	..	..
77	𒀭. 𒀭	par	..	<i>gar</i>
78	𒀭	bur	..	..
79	𒀭	bir	..	..
80	𒀭	bart	..	..

INDISCRIMINATE LIST OF

Num.	Forms.	Phonetic Powers.	Ideographic value.	Phonetic powers arising from Ideographic value. (?)
81	≡|||	bar (?)	..	..
82	≡|||	bit	"house"	mal
83	≡|||	bit	"house"	ta
84	≡<	bat	..	bi
85	|- . |-	mi. vi	used for plural sign; (?) "100"	sip
86	-||	bil	"lord;" det. of "rank;" "and" "the god Belus"	bi. va
87	≡< < . ≡> < . ≡<<<	bul	"year"	mal
88	≡>|| . ≡<>||	maki	..	..
89	≡||<	pis	..	..
90	≡ . ≡< < . ≡> <	bab	"gato"	..
91	< -< . < -<	va	"and"	..
92	≡<	op	"chief"	..
93	≡>|	an	"a god"	il
94	≡> . ≡<<<≡|||	in. yan	..	..
95	≡|| . ≡|||	un. vau	"mankind"	..
96	≡>| .	na	..	..
97	≡|| . ≡||	ni	..	sal
98	≡< . ≡<	nu	..	..
99	|	ana	"one;" "to;" det. of "prop. name"	..
100	≡< . ≡<>	nu	..	tu
101	<<	nis	"king"	man

BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN CHARACTERS.

Num.	Forma.	Phonetic Power.	Ideographic value.	Phonetic powers arising from Ideographic value. (?)
102	𒀭→𒀭𒀭	ar	..	..
103	𒀭𒀭	ir. yar	..	..
104	𒀭𒀭	ur. var	..	<i>lak, lik, liku</i>
105	𒀭𒀭. 𒀭𒀭	ra	..	..
106	𒀭𒀭𒀭. 𒀭𒀭𒀭	ri	..	..
107	𒀭𒀭. 𒀭𒀭𒀭. 𒀭𒀭𒀭	ru	..	..
108	𒀭𒀭𒀭. 𒀭𒀭𒀭.	ur. var	..	..
109	𒀭𒀭. 𒀭𒀭-	rab. rap	..	..
110	𒀭𒀭𒀭	rap or rip	..	..
111	𒀭𒀭	ras	..	<i>kaš</i>
112	𒀭𒀭. 𒀭𒀭	rat	..	..
113	𒀭𒀭	ras(?)	..	..
114	𒀭𒀭𒀭. 𒀭𒀭𒀭	rikh(?)	..	..
115	𒀭𒀭. 𒀭𒀭	al	..	<i>as(?)</i>
116	𒀭𒀭	il. yal	..	.
117	𒀭𒀭	ul. val	..	..
118	𒀭𒀭. 𒀭𒀭	la	..	.
119	𒀭𒀭𒀭. 𒀭𒀭𒀭. 𒀭𒀭𒀭	li	..	<i>aš(?)</i>
120	𒀭𒀭	lu	..	..
121	𒀭𒀭. 𒀭𒀭	lu	..	<i>du</i>
122	𒀭𒀭. 𒀭𒀭	lu	..	..
123	𒀭𒀭𒀭. 𒀭𒀭𒀭	il. yal	..	..
124	𒀭𒀭	il. yal	..	..
125	𒀭𒀭𒀭. 𒀭𒀭𒀭	eli	..	..
126	𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭. 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭	eli	..	..
127	𒀭𒀭. 𒀭𒀭	li or lu	..	..

INDISCRIMINATE LIST OF

Num.	Forms.	Phonetic Power.	Ideographic value.	Phonetic powers arising from Ideographic values. (?)
128	☆E. ☆E	ul. val(?)	..	..
129	<E	lat (?)	..	..
130	≡E|<	li or lu	..	..
131	<W	ilu(?)	det. of "precious metals"	..
132	≡W	lik or lak	sign for "Merodach"	mis or vis, &c.
133	≡E	as	* ..	..
134	≡W. ≡W	is. yas	..	mil or vil(?)
135	≡W. ≡W<	us. vās	masc. sign (?)	..
136	W. W	sa	"sun" or "fire"	..
137	<W-	si	"a thousand," epithet of "sun"	pan
138	E	su	..	..
139	I	su	sign for "Merodach"	..
140	E. E. E.	sar	"king"	khar or khir
141	-W. -W	sur	..	..
142	≡E. ≡E	sip	..	..
143	{E=I. <I=I I-W. >W	sak	..	rin(?) &c. &c.
144	E≡	sut	..	..
145	E. E. E.	as	..	..
146	I	is. yas	det. of (-?) "fire"	..
147	E-W	us. vas	..	..
148	W	sa	..	..
149	E. E	si	..	sut
150	☆E. ☆E	su	..	nin or niba(?)

BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN CHARACTERS.

Num.	Forms.	Phonetic Powers.	Ideographic value.	Phonetic powers arising from Ideographic values. (?)
151	𒄫	šap	"mankind"	..
152	𒄬	šan	name of "god"	is
153	𒄭	ak	abbrev. for <i>Assur</i> , <i>Assyria</i>	..
154	𒄮. 𒄯	ša	..	..
155	𒄰. 𒄱	ši	..	..
156	𒄲. 𒄳	šu	..	<i>rim</i>
157	𒄴. 𒄵	šir	..	<i>vas</i>
158	𒄶	šur	..	..
159	𒄷	—z	..	..
160	𒄸. 𒄹	zi	..	..
161	𒄺. 𒄻	zu	..	..
162	𒄼. 𒄽	sun or sin	..	..
163	𒄾	sas(?)	sign of feminine	<i>gal(?)</i>
164	𒄿	khal(?)	..	..
165	𒅀. 𒅁. 𒅂. 𒅃	i	sign of plur. num.	..
166	𒅄	..	..	..
167	𒅅�	..	..	..
168	𒅅�	..	..	..
169	𒅅�	lik(?)	..	..
170	𒅅�	rikh(?)	..	..
171	𒅅�	..	..	..
172	𒅅�. 𒅅�	..	..	..
173	𒅅�. 𒅅�	qa(?)	..	..
174	𒅅�	..	"chariot" (?)	..
175	𒅅�	..	"mother" "woman"	..

INDISCRIMINATE LIST OF

Num.	Forms.	Phonetic Power.	Ideographic value.	Phonetic powers arising from Ideographic values. (?)
176	
177	
178	
179		..	"month"	..
180	
181	
182	
183	
184	
185	
186		..	det. of "city"	ir or er
187		..	det. of "man"	..
188		..	det. of "class," or "rank"	..
189		..	det. of "tribe"	..
190		..	noun of "locality"	..
191		..	prefix of "locality"	Karka(?)
192		..	prefix of "locality"	Karka(?)
193		in or yan	"king"	sar(?)
194		..	"army"	ramani(?)
195		..	"forces"	saka(?)
196		..	"tribe" or "race"	lisanu
197		..	det. of "stones" in Babylonian	..
198		..	det. of "stones" in Assyrian	..
199		..	"walls" or "ships"	dikut or dikta

BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN CHARACTERS.

Num.	Forms.	Phonetic Power.	Ideographic value.	Phonetic powers arising from Ideographic values. (?)
200	𒂍𒂗𒂘	..	..	..
201	𒂗𒂘	..	..	..
202	𒂗𒂘𒂗	sukh(?)	..	..
203	𒂗𒂘	..	prefix of "locality"	..
204	𒂗𒂘	..	det. of "large city"	..
205	𒂗𒂘𒂗	..	"war"	<i>takhar</i>
206	𒂗𒂘𒂗𒂗	..	"battle"	<i>gali</i>
207	𒂗𒂘𒂗𒂗𒂗	..	..	..
208	𒂗𒂘𒂗	..	..	..
209	𒂗𒂘	khi(?)	..	<i>adan(?)</i>
210	𒂗𒂘𒂗	..	..	..
211	𒂗𒂘𒂗	..	..	..
212	𒂗𒂘𒂗𒂗𒂗	..	"line" or "family"	<i>yakhas(?)</i>
213	𒂗𒂘	..	"sheep"	..
214	𒂗𒂘𒂗𒂗	sik(?)	..	..
215	𒂗𒂘	..	..	..
216	𒂗𒂘𒂗	..	..	..
217	𒂗𒂘𒂗	..	..	<i>kima</i>
218	𒂗𒂘	gi(?)	..	..
219	𒂗𒂘𒂗	gu(?)	..	..
220	𒂗𒂘	gur	..	..
221	𒂗𒂘𒂗	..	..	..
222	𒂗𒂘𒂗	..	..	..
223	𒂗𒂘	tan	..	..
224	𒂗𒂘	..	..	..
225	𒂗𒂘	ki	..	..





LIST OF CHARACTERS.

Num.	Forms.	Phonetic Powers.	Ideographic value.	Phonetic powers arising from Ideographic values. (?)
226	𐎠𐎡𐎢	..	with adjunct of "land" denotes "sea-coast"	..
227	𐎠𐎡𐎢	..	monogram for "Nineveh"	..
228	𐎠𐎡𐎢	..	..	..
229	𐎠𐎡𐎢	..	..	..
230	𐎠𐎡𐎢	kut(?)	..	..
231	𐎠𐎡𐎢	kip(?)	..	..
232	𐎠𐎡𐎢	..	..	..
233	𐎠𐎡𐎢	di	..	..
234	𐎠𐎡𐎢	gur	"brother"	..
235	𐎠𐎡𐎢. 𐎠𐎡𐎢	sa	relative pronoun	..
236	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	da	..	..
237	𐎠𐎡𐎢	..	..	..
238	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	..	sign of "locality"	..
239	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	ru	..	..
240	𐎠𐎡𐎢. 𐎠𐎡𐎢	..	masc. of "one" "first"	..
241	𐎠𐎡𐎢	..	..	..
242	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	..	..	..
243	𐎠𐎡𐎢	..	..	asru
244	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	khi (?)	..	adan (?)
245	𐎠𐎡𐎢 (?)	sit (?)	..	..
246	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	dun	..	..

NOTE BY COLONEL RAWLINSON.

During the time consumed in writing and printing these papers on the Babylonian and Assyrian Inscriptions, continued accessions have been made to our store of Cuneiform materials, and I have found reason to amend or modify my opinions on many points of orthography, of etymology, and of grammar. A considerable difference will thus be found to exist between the Babylonian translation of the Behistun Inscription, as it is given in the sheets preceding the Memoir, which were printed on my first arrival in England, and that which is more recently repeated in the Analysis now going through the press. This difference applies not merely to the identification and rendering of the words in Roman characters, but even to the Cuneiform text, which, not unfrequently, was in the first instance erroneously printed. I wish it therefore to be understood, that in all cases of disagreement, a preference must be given to the text, rendering, and translation, as they appear in the Analysis; and I would further observe that, as in such a study knowledge must be necessarily progressive, I can only in reason be held responsible throughout my Memoir, for the explanations which, in point of time, have been the latest set forth by me. It is the more important, indeed, that I should thus assert my claim to consideration for amended readings, as a series of papers are being now published by Mons. Oppert, in the *Journal Asiatique*, on the Persian Behistun Inscriptions, which take cognizance alone of the original translation and meagre notes appended to my Analysis of the Persian text; and which systematically ignore the many corrections, and the diffuse etymological illustration contained in the Vocabulary subsequently published. This is, I think, to say the least of it, uncandid; and as I should be sorry to see the present Papers subjected to a similar scrutiny, I have thought it necessary formally, at the outset, to protest against such a system of criticism.

[NOTE.—The Analysis of the Behistun Babylonian Text which precedes the General Memoir, is paged with Roman numerals, to distinguish the introductory portion from the Memoir or body of the work; the continuation of the Analysis will be paged in the same way, so as to admit of binding up the whole in the proper order of succession. In consequence of the departure of Colonel Rawlinson from England while the printing was in progress, a considerable portion has been necessarily carried through the press without his superintendence; indulgence is consequently asked for typographical errors in a work of such unusual difficulty as that now published.—Ed.]















Insert the character  at the end of the last line but three in page 13 of the Memoir; and add the remark at the foot of page 15, in note 2, that    is now ascertained to be Merodach.





















ANALYSIS







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








THE BABYLONIAN TEXT AT BEHISTUN.

COLUMN I.

Par. 1. 1. 1              

in many of the Babylonian versions of the trilingual Inscriptions, is substituted for the Persian *wazarka*, in the phrase "the great king¹," and which seems to be cognate with a class of Assyrian epithets, such as  or   or  , commonly attached to the monograms  or . I have no sufficient reason, I confess, for reading these monograms  or  as *melek*. One of the terms, indeed, employed in Babylonian for "king," was certainly a correspondent for , for we have in numerous passages, nominative, *sarru*  ; oblique, *sarri*  , (see window Inscription of Darius at Persepolis, and Inscriptions of Khursabad, and of Nebuchadnezzar, *passim*); and this is moreover, I think, the power of  or  in the name of the Khursabad king, which I would read *Sargina*; but on the other hand, it seems impossible but that the word *melek* should have been employed in Babylonian and Assyrian, as it was employed in every other known language of the Semitic family; and I have also met with one passage, (B. M., 33.1.8.), where "their king," is, I think, written phonetically     *malik sun*².

¹ This is incorrect. The expression  .  .    which occurs at Nakheh-i-Rustam, and generally in the Inscriptions of Xerxes, merely signifies "king of many kings,"  being the pronoun or article used to connect the nominative and genitive.

² On a further examination and comparison of the Khursabad Inscriptions, I find that the title of *melek* was especially applied to the rulers of the *Khatti* or *Hittites*, who held the Syrian cities of Carehemish, Hamath, Bambyce, and Ashdod. The Khursabad king, at least, always styles himself "conqueror of the *maliki*" of these cities, and in no other passage do I find the title used. Compare with the phrase quoted in the text, the analogous passages of the Pavement and Bull Inscriptions of Khursabad, (such as 16. 23; 36. 14, &c.), and remark for the title *malik*, the variant orthography of   sing. and   or    plural. This discovery, of course, tends to discredit the reading of *melek* for the Assyrian  or , and to suggest the uniform adoption of *sarru*.

Yagabbi is the 3rd person singular Piël conjugation of a root *gabaḥ*, of the class "לָהּ. If any such root existed in Hebrew, the form would, I suppose, be written יָגַבְהּ like יָגַלְהּ. It is not easy, however, to determine whether the 3rd radical was originally an *i* or *u*, that is, whether the root should belong to the class "לִי or "לָהּ, which, in Arabic, are distinguished from each other*; for there is a constant interchange between these vowels in the Babylonian verbal forms: compare the different forms—

יָיַגַבְּ *hagabba*, 1st pers. sing. Piël. N. R., Ins. l. 24.

יָיַגַבְּ *tagabbu*, 2nd pers. sing. do. N. R., l. 25; Beh., l. 97.

יָיַגַבְּ *akbi*, 1st pers. sing. Kal. Khurs. passim.







יָיַגַבְּ *yakbu*, 3rd pers. sing. Kal. Beh., l. 78.

יָיַגַבְּ *yaggabuf* or *yangabu*, 3rd pers. sing. Niphal. N. R., l. 10.

I may here observe, once for all, that a præterite tense, such as forms a part of the Hebrew and Arabic verb, is very rarely used in Babylonian. The future, in which the persons are denoted by preformatives, answers commonly both for past and present time, and thus is explained the anomalous use of what the grammarians call the Hebrew tense of narration with *vav* conversive.

In the phrase *attua abua*, "my father," we have an example of the double use of the pronoun; *attua* for *antua* is a possessive pronoun, compounded of the particle *an*, a form *tu*, identical with the characteristic of the 1st pers. sing. of the præterite in Arabic, and the true suffix of the 1st person sing. *a*. This same suffix also occurs in *abua*, where it is united by the euphonic < to the sign יָיַגַבְּ, which is here used as a monogram for "father," and which corresponds, I believe, with the Hebrew אָבִי and Arabic أَبِ.

* The vowel used as the 3rd radical of this verb is, I now think, substituted for a Hebrew *l*, *gabū* standing for *gabal*, which must be compared with לָבַל.

In the phrase  *Abi sa Vastaspi*, "the father of Hystaspes," the monogram  is used without any suffix; and the letter  which connects the definite noun with the following genitive, although properly a relative pronoun, seems in this and similar passages to answer to the Hebrew article, with which indeed, orthographically, it is identical, for  as a phonetic power is regularly represented in Babylonian by *sa*. The only other word which requires to be noticed is  *Hakhamanisa'* for Achæmenes; the adjectival form with a terminal  being here, as I think, irregularly put for the proper name.

In giving the translation of this paragraph, I place the restored portions in brackets.

"Darius, the king, says: My father was Hystaspes; the father of Hystaspes [was Arsames; the father of Arsames was] Ariyaramnes; the father of Ariyaramnes was Teispes; the father of Teispes was Achæmenes."









Par. 3.
* Dri ya vas, melek. (— — —)





ya gab bi. a na. eb bi. ha g a. 1. 3


val tu. val ta. ya n i. ha ga ni.

val tu. val ta. yakhas u ni. melek i. su n.



























This paragraph is full of difficulties. We cannot tell, in the first place, whether the phrase 𐭯𐭥𐭮𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠



























looked for at the commencement of the third line,        , representing in this passage, as in so many others, a mere compound particle.



























I prefer, I confess, the latter explanation; but I am quite unable either to identify this word   with any Semitic correspondent, or even to determine its true phonetic value. The only indication that I know of to its power is furnished by its occurring sometimes singly, but more commonly in connexion with  *bi* or  *bu*, as if the sound it represented ended in *b*; while the strange discrepancy in its grammatical employment, standing as it does, for an adverb of place, as well as a conditional particle and a preposition of manner, seems to defy all comparison with Hebrew particles.



























The following examples occur of the employment of the particle  in the trilingual Inscriptions.



























                          } "on account of
this [reason]." (Beh., l. 2.)



                          } "from out of
my race." (l. 3.)



























                          } "The state
into sin fell." (l. 14.)











                          } "from thence." (l. 15.)

                          } "he slew from among
them." (passim.)








                          } "so that he did
not destroy," (l. 28.)

                          } "according as
I wished thee." (N. R., l. 24.)

                          } "In that place." (Beh., l. 47.)














eb b u. sa. a na ku. (— — — —)






as ku n nn s su n.

"according as
I ordered
them."
(W'sH., l.20.)















And in Assyrian the same part. is used with equal frequency, the form of , however, being substituted for the Babylonian . Comp.—

Y-II. 𐤃. 𐤍𐤍 𐤍. 𐤀 𐤔. "First of them," or "from among them;" (B. M., 68. 9.)

𑀓. 𑀅𑀲𑀸 𑀓. (or 𑀓. 𑀅𑀲𑀸.) 𑀓𑀲𑀓 𑀓𑀲 𑀓𑀲- 𑀓𑀲. "I settled in that place." (Khurs. and Nim. Ins. *passim*.)

I am much inclined to think that there is a certain connexion between   or   and the Hebrew , which, as Gesenius says, "denoted primarily the being and remaining in a place; was then transferred to the ideas of nearness and society, or accompaniment, and was coupled also with verbs of motion," (Lex., p. 105); but I cannot venture on any positive opinion*.

At the commencement of the third line, the orthography throughout is too doubtful to admit of any attempt at etymological analysis. "From antiquity," is rendered in B. M. 40. 14, and in other places, by $\langle \Xi \rangle \langle \Xi \rangle \langle \Xi \rangle \langle \Xi \rangle$; and it is quite possible that these

* As these sheets are passing through the press, it has occurred to me, that
  and   are in all probability to be compared with קבל, the
i and u replacing a primitive l, and the letter  or , which interchanges
with  and , having a guttural pronunciation like the Arabic ق;
  is at any rate used like לִכְבֵּל, and    ,
like כְּבִלִּי.

1 In the phrase—

[illegible]

"Which from antiquity, the kings, my fathers . . . had built."






may be the words employed in this passage. "From," is every where represented indifferently by $\langle \text{E} \rangle \langle \text{E} \rangle$ and $\text{E} \langle \text{E} \rangle$; not as I think, with any attempt at alphabetic expression, for I cannot venture to force $\langle \text{E} \rangle \langle \text{E} \rangle$ *val*, and $\text{E} \langle \text{E} \rangle$ *is*, into phonetic identity¹, but with a mere employment of equivalent ideographs. Possibly, the preposition thus strangely represented, may require to be sounded *min*, but I have no grounds for this conjecture beyond the general evidence of agreement between the Babylonian and the other Semitic tongues.






The word answering to "antiquity," whether it be written $\text{E} \langle \text{E} \rangle \text{A}$ or $\langle \text{E} \rangle \langle \text{E} \rangle \text{E}$ is no doubt entirely ideographic. I did at one time conjecture a connexion between the term $\text{E} \langle \text{E} \rangle \text{A}$, and the monogram for "father;" tracing, as I fancied, the letters $\text{Y} \langle \text{E} \rangle \text{A}$ in a subsequent passage (line 18), where the Persian phrase again occurs of *hachá paruvyat*, but a more rigid examination of the Babylonian cast has shown me there are no sufficient grounds for either one orthography or the other.













The following word answering to *amátá*, is probably a plural participle; and a verbal form must then occur in the 1st person plural.

Further on we have for "our race," $\text{A} \langle \text{E} \rangle \text{E} \langle \text{E} \rangle$, where the first sign is an ideograph for "race," or "family," and the termination in *uní* is the suffix of the 1st person plural. I am still in doubt as to the phonetic power of $\text{A} \langle \text{E} \rangle$. The only Semitic words which I have found at all resembling each other in sound, and which would give the different significations of "family," and "holding," appertaining






































¹ The letter $\text{E} \langle \text{E} \rangle$ has, however, in addition to its normal value of *is*, the secondary power of *mil* or *vil*, which nearly assimilates with $\langle \text{E} \rangle \langle \text{E} \rangle$, so that very possibly the term in question may, after all, be read as *viltu* or *vultu*. On the other hand, $\text{E} \langle \text{E} \rangle \langle \text{E} \rangle$, "from," is sometimes replaced by $\text{E} \langle \text{E} \rangle$, as if the pronunciation were *gastu*. In other passages, the particle is represented by $\text{E} \langle \text{E} \rangle \text{A}$ *ta*, or $\text{A} \langle \text{E} \rangle \text{A}$ *ti*, and sometimes even by $\langle \text{E} \rangle \langle \text{E} \rangle$.











to the Babylonian  and  ¹, are , and , but I am hardly prepared to adopt this phonetic identification.

Another curious circumstance which leads me to suspect that my previous translation of the Persian original must have been incorrect, is that the sentence ends with  . I , "their kings," I , *sun*, which is equal to the Hebrew , evidently referring to some antecedent. Perhaps then the paragraph should have been rendered something as follows: "Says Darius the king. For that [reason are we called Achæmenians] From antiquity we have been *the chief among the tribes*; from antiquity our family have been their kings."

Par. 4.            .
* Da ri ya vaş. melek. (— — —)

            .
ya gab bi; VIII. aš. 'ob. yakhasi ya. at t u a.
            .
aš. pa na. t u a. melek ut. ya ti p su

In the phrase          , "eight of my race," there is the same double employment of the personal suffix and independent personal pronoun which I have already noticed in             , *attua abua*, "my father." The substitution of  for the more ordinary   in the compound preposition  , "from out of," is exactly similar to the indifferent employment in Assyrian of  and        , with the sense

¹ See Nakhah-i-Rustam, l. 11,    , "they held;" and l. 26,    , he held," or "possessed." These terms might certainly be read *yakhasu*, the root *khasa* being identical with , and the sign  as the monogram for "a family," having the phonetic power of *yakhas*. At any rate, the initial sound must be *ya*.

of "there," or "in that place." The particle 𐎶 *as* will be found to be used with a great variety of significations. With 𐎶 or 𐎶 𐎶 , it means "of" or "from among;" with 𐎶 𐎶 , as in the expression 𐎶. 𐎶 𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 , immediately following, it signifies "before," like the Hebrew לְפָנַי ; alone, it generally implies "by" or "with," but sometimes "of" or "in." Etymologically, 𐎶 is, I suppose, to be compared with אֵל , but in its use it more nearly resembles לְ . The phrase 𐎶. 𐎶 𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 is remarkable for more reasons than one. Very rarely do we find the Hebrew לְפָנַי written with 𐎶𐎶 instead of 𐎶𐎶 ; and we have no other example of the possessive pronoun *attua* being used as a suffix with the elision of the initial 𐎶𐎶 . In Assyrian, for the expression "going before me," constantly used by the kings in allusion to their ancestors, we have many phrases which include the preposition 𐎶 ; such as—

1. $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶.}$ *halik pania*, or 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶. *halik paniya*, "he going before me." (Nim. Stand.¹ l. 15 and variants.)

2. $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶(?) 𐎶𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶.}$
 melk i . ni rabi abuti ya. ha lik.

$\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶. 𐎶. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶.}$
 makh ri ya. as. pa ni.

"The great kings, my fathers, they going before me" (see B.M. 76. 22.)

3. $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶. (— — —) 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶.}$
 da (- - -) ha lik. pa ni ya. ya na.





𐎶 𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶.
 pa na. e bu su. (British Museum, 33, 13.)

















"Which - - - he going before me formerly constructed¹."

—whilst in other passages *makhri*, which, like the Persian *paru*, seems to signify both "many" and "before," or "ancient," is used without




















¹ See also $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶.}$ "from former times." Khurs., 163. 14.



the addition of *paniya*. (Compare B. M. 25. 50 ; 37. 34 ; 38. 8 ; E. I. Col. 3. 4 ; 6. 24 ; 7. 13, &c. ; and Khursabad, *passim*.)

The  is of course elided in   <  *attua*, in consequence of the pronoun being used as a suffix ; but there is no similar instance of elision, that I am aware of, either in regard to this or the other pronouns.

    *yatipsu*, is the regular 3rd pers. masc. plural of the Ifta'al conjugation of the root *ebas*, the first radical being lost, and the second being changed from the sonant to the surd class, in consequence of its being subjected to the *jesm*¹. The 3rd pers. sing. of the same tense is    *yatibus*, and a variant or paragogic form is     *yatibbusu*. The word  , which precedes *yatipsu*, is the abstract noun formed by the addition of *ut*, as in Hebrew, to the theme, this termination being represented in Babylonian by  or , or optionally with the < or  interposed.

In the 4th paragraph, the Babylonian text thus gives us, "Says Darius the king, eight of my race before me reigned" (*imperium egere*)—the remainder, "I am the ninth ; "9 of us have been kings in a double line," is lost.

Par. 5. 1. 4     .  .  .  .  .
ya gab bi. as. yas mi. sa.
        .  .  .  .
* Hu ri mi s da ' ana ku. melek.

¹ The letter  in this form represents the conjugational characteristic, and the termination in *u* marks, of course, the plural number, like the Hebrew ך. It remains to be ascertained, however, whether there is any actual grammatical difference between the masculine plural endings in simple *u*, and those to which the  is attached in lieu of a primitive *n*, or whether the distinction is merely orthographical.

*
 Hu
 ri
 mi
 s
 da
 melk
 ut.

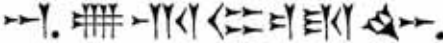




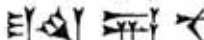

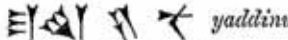


ana
 ku.
 yat
 ta(?)
 nu.



In the phrase *aš yašmi sa Hurimišda'*, for the Persian *washnd* *Avramazddha*, remark that the particle is here used in an instrumental sense, and that *yašmi* probably is the oblique case of a noun derived from a root signifying "to wish." Owing to the difficulty not only of discriminating between the Cuneiform sibilants, but of distinguishing also between the *m* and *v*, I cannot venture, at present, to identify the Hebrew root from which this noun is derived¹. There is no certainty, indeed, that the word in question is even rendered phonetically, for I have not met with any cognate derivatives, and the letter as an initial, is always liable to suspicion, from its extensive use as a determinative. We must be content then with knowing that answers to *washnd*. The *sa* is used to connect *yašmi* and *Hurimišda*, precisely as the article would be employed in Hebrew according to Sect. 109 of Gesenius's grammar; and the following word, , represents the orthography generally adopted at Behistun for the name of Ormazd, instead of the more usual

Akhurmašda'. In continuation we have *anaku melek*, "I am king." or *anaku*, for the pronoun of the first person singular, is of course the Hebrew אֲנִי; Egyptian, *anok*, &c.; and as the monogram is here used without the individualizing particle


¹ The word אָנִי, I find, occurs in Genesis xi. 6, with the signification of "thinking," and this word may very well be of cognate origin with the Cuneiform .








ana, we see that the sense is intended to be indefinite; that is, that we must translate, "I am king," and not "I am *the* king,"








In the following phrase, , . *Hurimišda melkut anaku yattanu* (?) "Ormazd granted me the empire," remark that the verb which answers to *frābāra* governs a double accusative, a similar passage occurring in Nakhsh-i-Rustam, l. 21. I find it quite impossible, however, to identify the root from which we have this form , owing to the extraordinary difficulty of determining the phonetic value of , a sign which occasionally represents the syllables *rip* and *lap*, but which has, I think, several other independent powers. It is possible that the form in question may be of the Tiphāl conjugation, and that the root may thus commence with a letter belonging to the unknown syllable ; but this is not probable. I should prefer regarding  as a derivative from a root commencing with *n*, the nasal being assimilated with the following dental, and the sign  thus representing a syllable which must commence with *t* or *d*; (or, indeed, the form might be similar to  *yaddinu*, "he gave," which is probably the Niphāl conjugation of a hollow verb, *dun*.) In reading the word conjecturally as *yattanu**, I have in view, of course, , from , but I place no reliance on this identification, for I have seen no other word





* On further consideration, I am pretty well satisfied that  and  are cognate forms, pronounced *yaddinu* and *yaddanu*, and derived from a root *danan*, of the "עע" class. (Compare יָפַח from סָפַח).

There were probably two roots in Assyrian, *danan* and *dun*, immediately cognate, and both signifying "to give." They were extensively used, and one of their principal derivatives was the word for "law," or "religion," as a thing *given*.


Compare *dāta*, , from *dā*, "to give.") This word is written in Assyrian



  or     , *danan*; but in Babylonian


      , *dina*; like the Hebrew דָּן and Arabic دِينَ.

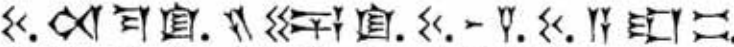
in which  could be supposed to have the power of *ta*; nor, if the root employed were really the Babylonian correspondent of , would it be possible to dispense, I think, with the particle  before .

The translation of the paragraph at the same time is undoubted—
[“Says Darius the king.”] By the grace of Ormazd I am king.
Ormazd has granted me the empire.”

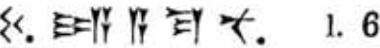

Par. 6. .
* Da ri ya vaş. melek. (— — —)

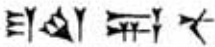

 1. 5 
ya gab bi. ha g a.

.
melek su na. at tur. * Pa r şu.

.
* Nu va *. * Babel *. * Aş şur. * A ra bi.

.
* Mi şar. aş. Var ra ti. * S'a par du.

 1. 6 
* Y a va nu.

¹ The term  is constantly used in Babylonian proper names as an adjunct to the names of gods; the meaning of such names being “granted by Nebo,” “granted by Bel,” &c., like the *Mithridates* of old, or the modern synonyms, *Ata Ullah* in Arabic; *Khodadád* in Persian; and *Tungri Verdi* in Turkish. See the names in Grotefend's *Plate, Zeits.*, vol. II. p. 177, and remark also, that the name of  is found in one of the Cyprus legends. *Ges. Mon. Phœn.*, p. 143.
















 * Ha ri e vu. * Khu va ri nu.

 * Ba kh tar. * S'u k du.











 *. Pa r 'u pa ra e sa n na.






























































 *. * Gi mi ri. * S'a t ta g u.

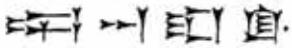

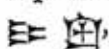



In the clause which follows the formula, "Says Darius the king," and which should give us the translation of "these are the provinces which have come into my power," we have only the initial word,    *haga*, and if this word be complete, as it appears to be on the rock, it affords us a good example of the want of preciseness of the Babylonians in regard to grammar, *haga* being the masculine singular instead of the feminine plural, which ought to have been used in order to agree with "countries," as in the phrase      *in* the following paragraph. In the next phrase, which is   *I am* their king," the substitution of   *suna*, for the more usual   *sunu* (or *sun*, as it should, I think, be pronounced) is remarkable, and *attur*, "I am," or "I have become," is a very interesting word, the form in question which stands for *antur*, being 1st person singular apocopate of the Niphal conjugation of a hollow root *tur*, which root again seems to correspond with the Hebrew  "to go," although used in a somewhat different sense. As we have the Kal regular form of   *aturu*, in another passage, for "I became," there can be no doubt, I think, but that the duplication in *attur* denotes the Niphal conjugation, which is thus shown to be employed irrespective of a passive signification.

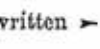
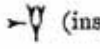



I now go on to consider the Babylonian names of the Satrapies. Most of these names it will be seen are made to end in *u*, a peculiarity which may well remind us of the Arabic nominative in *u*, and which I believe to have been a real grammatical characteristic of the Babylonian language, although in practice it was very carelessly observed. Persia is here written $\text{𐎱 𐎠𐎼𐎺 𐎠𐎺 𐎠𐎺} \text{ Parû}$, with the first syllable divided into letters, instead of being represented as it usually is by the syllable 𐎠 . Regarding the name of 𐎶 𐎠𐎺 𐎶 , which was applied to Susiana from the very earliest times, I entertain great doubts about its being intended to be read phonetically. In the 1st place there is no trace, I believe, of any such name as *Nuvaki*, (which would be the phonetic value of the signs,) in all geography, sacred or profane. 2ndly, In the Epigraphs at Behistun, Nos. 2 and 5, the name is written 𐎶 𐎠𐎺 , as if it were optional to drop the 𐎠 , which could hardly have been the case had the orthography really been phonetic; and 3rdly, The name of the province is also very frequently expressed by letters which give the reading of *Eluta*, the vernacular form of Elam. I am inclined, therefore, to believe that the signs in 𐎶 𐎠𐎺 𐎶 are all ideographs, and that the geographical title was uniformly pronounced as written in 𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺 . The terminal 𐎶 , indeed, is attached to many geographical names, indicating, as I think, "a low country," and 𐎶 occurs as an ideograph in the name of the god 𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺 , but I am quite at a loss to conjecture what may be the function performed by the 𐎠 . It is not a little curious, also, to remark that the name of 'Uwaj, (whence the modern خوز Khuz .) appears to have been entirely unknown to the Tartar as well as to the Semitic nations, for while in Assyrian and Babylonian we have the optional orthography of 𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺 and 𐎶 𐎠𐎺 𐎶 , in the so-called Median Inscriptions the title is written in different passages as 𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺 or 𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺 or 𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺 𐎶𐎠𐎺 , the

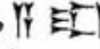

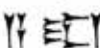


normal pronunciation being probably *haparti* or *hafarti*, which is fully as difficult of explanation as the Assyrian   .



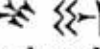
The third name is   , which is certainly an ideographic mode of expressing the name of Babylon or the Babylonians. The first sign, it must be observed, is not the usual determinative of a country, , although so printed in the text; but the letter  which has the phonetic power of *di*. Where the name occurs in the E. I. H. Inscription, the  is replaced by , the determinative of a tribe, or people, (Col. 4. 70; Col. 7, ls. 32, 48, &c.); and in two passages, at least, at Behistun, instead of    we have simply  . I am thus led to suspect, as  is a general affix of locality, and  seems to signify "low in situation," that the entire group    may have meant "the people of the [great] city of the plain." At any rate, although we may still adhere to the name of *Babul*, we may rest assured that the signs composing the group in question cannot possibly have had that phonetic power. The name of Babylon in its simplest form is expressed by two ideographs, the one denoting "a gate," *bab*, and the other "a god," *ilu*. In B. M. 54: 1.5, and 2.6, the name is thus written— ; but the first element changes optionally with  in Babylonian, or  in Assyrian; and the second is often augmented by the addition of a qualificative sign , which in one case is altered to . Upon the meaning of this sign  I can offer no opinion, but it certainly was not intended to be pronounced. An adjunct also, , referring to geographical position, and equally non-phonetic with

¹ I have lately met with the name of Susa, (written   , in an Ins. of the time of Darius Hystaspes, discovered by Col. Williams among the ruins of the city, and I have also found the same place noticed in the campaigns of an early monarch of Assyria, under the title of     *Susan*.


the last, was almost universally employed to close the name, so that there is usually presented the complicated orthography of . Not unfrequently, however, the name is written altogether phonetically; that is, instead of the sign for "a gate," we have the letters  *babi*, and for the termination, expressed ideographically by the sign for "a god," *ilu*, we have , or simply *lu*,  or , the non-phonetic  being however, appended, even to these forms.

The fourth name in the Behistun list, is *Aššur*, for Assyria, which is here written  (instead of the more usual ) with the phonetic letters  *aš*, and  *šur*, disunited, and without the non-phonetic termination in .

In the fifth name,  *Arabi* represents the Persian *Arabāya*, the terminal *i* apparently replacing the Persian *ya*. In the Inscriptions of Assyria, a nation is often spoken of on the Lower Tigris under the name of *Aruvū*,  (British Museum, 17; 5: 65; 14, 15, &c.), or  *Aravu*, (British Museum, 63; 13, 16, &c.), which I should wish to identify with the Arabians; but the identification is not altogether made out, as the  *bi*, in the Behistun name, is not an immediate congener of the ¹.

The name of Egypt, which in the Persian is *Mudaráya*, and in the Median *Mutsariya*, is here written  *Mišir*, exactly equivalent to the Arabic مصر, and the original form of the Heb. dual מִצְרַיִם. In Assyrian, the usual orthography is  *Mušuri*, or  *Mušri*.

For *tyiya darayahyá*, "those which are of the sea," we have

¹ There is also an *Eastern* tribe of  *Aribi*, frequently spoken of in the Khursabad Inscriptions, in connexion with Media, but they can hardly be Arabs.

𐎶. 𐎶𐎶- 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, *as varrat*, "in the sea¹;" the allusion evidently being to the Islands of the Archipelago, rather than to the maritime possessions of the Greeks, as I once supposed. It is remarkable, that *varrat*, the sea, should be here mentioned without the determinative 𐎶 𐎶, which in every other passage precedes it. The Assyrians employed the term to designate the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean, applying to the localities, however, sometimes the distinctive epithets of "this sea," and "that sea," as in Westergaard's H., ls. 9, 10, and 17, 18; and sometimes titles alluding perhaps to geographical position, as in the Cyprus stone, side 1, ls. 23 and 24. The name itself would seem to be cognate with the Latin *mare*, the root from which the word is derived having a reference to the *green* colour of the sea². It is here in the oblique case.

The names of Saparda and Ionia are here written *Sapardu* and *Yavanu* (𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 and 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶) instead of the *Saparda* and *Yavanu*, 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 and 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶 of Nakhsh-i-Rustam. The termination in *u* is probably a mere mark of the nominative³.

¹ The Babylonian term is thus absolutely the same as the Latin word *insula* which also signifies "in the sea."






















² The Sanscrit हरी "green," has produced on the one side, the Zend *zarayo*, Persian *darayo*, &c., applied to "the sea," and on the other the Latin "viridis," in French "vert," almost an identical term with the Babylonian *varrat*.

³ The discovery that the phrase *as varrat*, or *tya darayahyd*, does not refer to the names of Saparda and Yuna, but denotes an independent Satrapy, removes all plausibility from my proposed identification of the former of these names with *Σάρδρα*. I am now obliged to agree with those who identify *Saparda* with Lydia, or rather, perhaps, with that portion of Asia Minor west of Cappadocia, but I still see no sufficient grounds for connecting a great geographical name, such as the Saparda of the Inscriptions, with the obscure ספרא of Obadiah. Neither Saparda nor Ionia, I think, are mentioned in the Inscriptions of Assyria, though there is the nearly similar name of 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *Yavnai*, for a maritime people of Phœnicia, corresponding with the יבנאי of Scripture. (2 Chr. xxvi. 6. &c.)

After an hiatus which includes the names of Media, Armenia, Cappadocia,⁶ Parthia, and Zarangia, names that are fortunately preserved to us in the Inscription of Nakhsh-i-Rustam, we have the forms of 𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠, for the Persian *Hariva*, Aria, (the first letter being wrongly printed in the text as 𐎶→𐎶𐎠); 𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠, *Khuvarişmu* for Chorasnia, (the termination at Nakhsh-i-Rustam being in 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠→ *ma'*, instead of 𐎶𐎠 *mu*,) and 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎠 *Bakhtar*, and 𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎠 *Sukdu*, for Bactria and Sogdiana; the orthography of the two latter names, which are absolutely identical with the forms used in the Nakhsh-i-Rustam Inscription, being most valuable for the identification of some of the rarer characters.



The title which follows is very remarkable. It is written— 𐎶𐎠 𐎶→𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎶, which must be pronounced *Paruparacšanna*, and as it answers to the name of *Gandara* in the Persian, corresponding with the Γανδάρη of Herodotus, the natural inference is, that we have here the true orthography of a name which the Greeks rendered Παροπάνυρος, and applied to the mountains above *Sindhu Gandhāra*. As the name, however, of *Gandara* is reproduced in the Nakhsh-i-Rustam Inscription by the group 𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎶, *Kandari*; as the conversion of *Paracšanna* into *Panissus*, or *Pamissus*, requires a greater license of orthography than the Greeks even ordinarily indulged in, while in the Cuneiform word, moreover, the junction of the letters 𐎶𐎠𐎶 and 𐎶𐎠𐎶 is so unusual as to raise a doubt about their being employed phonetically; and lastly, as it appears quite unaccountable how or why the Babylonians, instead of the vernacular title of the country, should have employed a descriptive epithet evidently of a Sanscrit etymology, I cannot pretend that the "primâ facie" explanation of *Paruparacšanna* which I have hazarded, is at all satisfactory¹.


¹ The first syllable in *Paropanisus* is certainly 𐎶𐎠; *paruh*, "a mountain;" the etymology of the latter part of the name is more obscure.

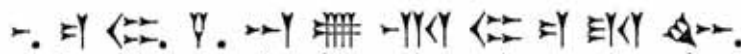
The only other names preserved in the Behistun Catalogue are    for *Sacæ*, and      for the Persian *Thataghush*. In regard to the latter name, which answers to the *Sarayôdai* of Herodotus, I have only to remark on the employment of the soft sibilant for the Persian aspirated *th*, (pronounced like the Greek *θ*), a power which the Babylonians did not possess, and on the substitution for the Persian case ending in *ush*, of the Babylonian nominative in *u*; but the former name deserves a much more lengthened consideration. In the Nakhsh-i-Rustam Inscription, the name is every where written             

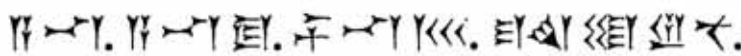
lonian; and in giving the following translation, therefore, of the entire paragraph, I distinguish the restored portions by placing them in brackets :—



"Says Darius the king : these [are the provinces which have come into my possession : by the grace of Ormazd] I am king of them : Persis, Susiana, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, the Archipelago, Saparda, Ionia, [Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Zarangia,] Aria, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandara, (?) the Cimmerians or Scythians, Sattagydia, [Arachotia, and Mecia ; in all, 23 provinces.]"

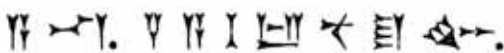
Par. 7. 1. 7  
(— — — —) ha ga n e t.

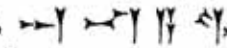
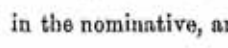

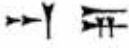
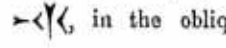
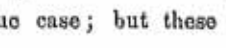

* *. sa. ana ku. ya ts iv va ' in ni.


as is vi. sa. * Hu ri mi s da '


a na. a na ku. (— — —) yit tu ru n.

 1. 8 
man da t ta. (— — — — — — —)


a na. s a su. yap nu su '

Haganet, for the nominative fem. plural of *haga*, is a remarkable word. We have in other passages, for the same Persian word *imá*, "these," *annáta*,    in the nominative, and *anniti*,    in the oblique case ; but these terms come,

I think, from a distinct pronominal base. In the word—
 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, *haga* is the pronoun signifying "this,"
 (a hardening perhaps of the Hebrew 𐤅𐤁𐤁)¹; the *n* following is the
 numeral characteristic, and the feminine gender is marked by the
 terminal 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. The employment of the 𐎶𐎵, however, in this last
 syllable, is unusual, and I know not if the ending should be pro-
 nounced *et* or *eta*. The same word occurs also in the next paragraph
 for the oblique case, but I am unable to throw any light on the
 declension, as the pronoun in question seems to have been peculiar to
 the later Babylonian, and is never met with in the inscriptions of
 Assyria.

The following word, "provinces," is expressed by the duplication
 of the monogram 𐎶𐎶: perhaps in reading, the term 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, or
 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, should be pronounced *mati*².

In the next phrase—

𐎶. 𐎶 𐎶. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶.

sa anaku yatsirva' inni, "which belonged to me," we have an example
 of the double use of the pronoun; *anaku*, which precedes the verb, being
 used apparently as its object, and a suffix, *inni*, being employed after

¹ *Haga*, at any rate, may be compared immediately with the Latin *hic*, and
 with the Pushtoo *hagha*, both as to sense and sound, although these forms are
 supposed to be intimately connected with the Indo-Germanic pronominal system.
 (Compare Sans. सस्व; Zend 𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀, &c.)

² 𐎶𐎶 as an ideograph for a country, as well as a phonetic power, is thus often
 replaced by *mat*. See the orthography of the name of the city of Hamath, and
 compare 𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 Khur., 152. 8, with 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶
 "this country," in Khursabad, 129. 5. For "this my country," we have also,
 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *matiya haga*, in Nakhsh-i-Rustam, l. 33;
 but in Westergaard's H., ls. 8 and 16, 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 and 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 are
 used in apposition to each other, as if they were different terms.

the verb, to make the signification more precise. There are other examples of such a construction in the trilingual Inscriptions—(compare 𐎶 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. *anaku lišsur anni*, "protect me;") and the pleonastic use of pronominal suffixes is not altogether unknown to the Hebrew. We have hardly examples enough at present to be able to decide whether the suffixes in Babylonian follow the precise rules observed in Hebrew in regard to their pointing, and their mode of union with the verbs. The use of the epenthetic *nun* to connect the suffix of the first person singular with the verb, seems, in Babylonian as in Hebrew, to be restricted to the future tense; but I cannot ascertain that the same rules prevail with regard to the respective employment of the *a* and *i* for the connective vowel. I observe at any rate that the *i* is used when the verbal form ends with *u* as well as *a*, and that the *a* occurs both after the regular form and the apocopate. Compare the following examples taken from the trilingual Inscriptions:—

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 { *yalsiwa' inni*, "they belonged to me."

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 { *yakkira' inni*, "they rebelled against me."

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 { *yadammu' inni*, "they obeyed me."

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, *lišsur anni*, "may he protect me."

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, *yapti — anni*, "he granted to me."

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *takkira anni*, "it rebelled against me¹."

The form 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, to which the suffix *inni* is attached, must be the 3rd person plural Piël of a root

¹ This is the feminine singular of the 3rd person, the feminine plural being *yakkira'*.

tsavah, which seems to correspond in form, though not in sense, with the Hebrew צָוָה . The termination in *a'* instead of *u'* is indicative, I think, of the feminine gender. I observe, at least, that wherever in the trilingual Inscriptions, a future plural form ends in *a'*, the immediate nominative is 𐎠 𐎡 , which is certainly of the feminine gender. It would be moreover in strict analogy with Hebrew and Arabic grammar, that the true masculine and feminine endings should be *un* and *an*, of which *u'* and *a'* might be supposed to be contractions.

After the phrase answering to *washnd Auramazddha*, which has been already explained, we have 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 . 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 . 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 . 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 . 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 . 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 , for *maná baduká áha*, "to me submissive they have become." *Ana anaku*, "to me," does not require any special notice, but the other words are of interest. The term 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 , I can neither read nor explain. It is hardly possible that the letters should have their true phonetic power, for *epnai* would be etymologically quite unintelligible. I would rather take 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 for a compound ideograph: 𐎠 𐎡 at any rate, in other words, such as 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 for *fratama*, "chief;" 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 for *dipi* "a tablet," &c., is evidently used with an abnormal value, derived, perhaps, from its ideographic application; and with regard to the 𐎠 𐎡 , although it is one of the least doubtful signs in the alphabet, its mere combination in this word with the plural ending in *i*, shows that it cannot represent its ordinary phonetic power of *na*. In the mean time, as I have met with no other example of the word in question, I abstain from conjecture, and pass on to the verb with which it is allied.

𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 𐎠 𐎡 , *yatturun*, for *yanturun*, signifying "they have become," must be the 3rd person plural of the Niphal form of the hollow root *tur*, from which we have already met with

another derivative in the term 𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 *altur*¹. I have not yet ascertained the reason why, in a few instances, and a few instances only, we find the true plural inflexion with an *n*; (compare—

Sing.

Plur.

𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 *yattur*, "he became," 𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 *yatturun*,

𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 *atki*, "I assembled," 𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 *yatkuni*,

𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 *yatbá*, "he came," 𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 *yatbuni*."

It can hardly be that such forms belong to a tense resembling the Paragogic future of the Arabic; nor that the full termination and the apocopate may be used indifferently. I should rather attribute the appearance of the nasal to some prosodiaic rule regarding the weight of the vowels in concave and defective roots; but the examples are too few to afford any determinate grounds for enquiry*. It should further be remarked, that the verb is here placed in the masculine gender, as more worthy than the feminine, and in consequence of being removed from immediate contact with the nominative, whilst the employment of the letter 𒂗 instead of 𒂗𒂗 for the silent terminal *n* after the vowel *u*, is owing probably to a mere laxity of orthography², such as is observable in the indifferent use of 𒂗 𒂗

¹ The analogy between the forms 𒂗𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 *altur*, or 𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 *aturu*, and 𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 *adduk*, or 𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 *aduku*, would lead to a suspicion that the root of the substantive verb might be *tarar* like *dakak*, and that the duplication might be similar to the Daghesch used in Hebrew with the first radical of one of the future forms of the *verba geminantia*. Compare 𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 . This explanation is, at any rate, preferable to that given in page xv.

* In Mr. Layard's new Inscriptions, I have met with numerous examples of this plural ending, which seems, in fact, to be used indifferently with the contracted form in *u*.

² It seems to me impossible that the letter 𒂗 can here represent its full power of *nu*, as that termination is unknown to any of the plural forms, either in Hebrew or Arabic.

and 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 in Assyrian, to express the pronominal affix of the 3rd person plural masculine.

The next word is $\ll \text{𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶}$ *mandatta*, "tribute," a term which nearly coincides with the Chaldee ܡܢܕܬܬܐ , the Babylonian always hardening the feminine termination into a dental, as it is hardened in Arabic, and in the construct state of the Hebrew or Chaldee noun¹. In Assyrian, the usual orthography employed is nom. $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶}$ *madatu*, oblique $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶}$ *madata*, forms which bear the same relation to $\ll \text{𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶}$ that ܡܢܬܐ bears to ܡܢܬܐ . The *n*, however, is sometimes found in the Assyrian term, and the duplication of the *t* is common. In the Nakhsh-i-Rustam Inscription the terminal letter is 𐎶𐎶 instead of 𐎶𐎶 , the final *a*, in both examples, marking the oblique case.

The verb signifying "they brought," which governs *mandatta*, is lost: the only other words, indeed, which can be recovered in the paragraph are, $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶}$ *ana sasū*, "that they did:" *ana* in this passage and in several others, seems to perform the function of the Hebrew אֲנִי as the particle governing the accusative case; but this employment of it is, I think, in reality, rather owing to its individualizing power. The next word $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶}$, which, if phonetic, must be read *sasu*, occurs very frequently, both in Babylonian and Assyrian, for the accusative case of the pronoun of the 3rd person singular, and curiously enough it seems to be irrespective of gender. I am not quite sure, however, that the term is phonetic, for the corresponding phrase in the Nakhsh-i-Rustam

¹ If the derivation of this term from the root ܡܢܬܐ be correct, the nasal, of course, must be explained as in Chaldee, by the Daghest forte being resolved, a curious illustration being thus obtained of the applicability to the Babylonian of the orthographical rules proper to the Hebrew and Chaldee.

Inscription is $\text{𐎶. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵}$, where 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶 answers to the Behistun 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶 , and is apparently ideographic¹. The verb 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *yapnusu'*, "they did," is the 3rd person masculine plural of a root which seems to be identical with the Hebrew בָּנָה , signifying literally, "to build," but tropically, "to do," or "make." This explanation, however, is not quite satisfactory, for in the first place, the letter 𐎶 as the third radical of a Hebrew root should be converted in Babylonian to *i* or *u*; and in the next place, we have numerous examples of Cuneiform derivatives from בָּנָה , which do actually follow this orthographical rule. Compare 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *apnu*, or 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *aptani*, "I built;" 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *yapni*, "he built," &c. All that I can say, therefore, at present is, that *yapnusu'* for *yapnusun*, comes from a Babylonian root, which may be either *banas* or *panas*, and which signifies, "to do," or "make²."

The following is the translation of the paragraph with the restored portions in brackets.



[*"Says Darius the king: these are the provinces which came into my power. By the grace of Ormazd they have become subjected to me; tribute [they have brought to me. As to them it has been ordered by me], that they have done."*

















¹ On a further consideration, I am satisfied that this phrase should be read $\text{𐎶. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵}$. *ana apusu yabbussu'*, "they did the doing," according to a system of redundant expression which the Babylonian particularly affected.






² *Ana sasû yapnusu'* might signify "to that they turned," the verb employed corresponding to the Hebrew פָּנָה . The term *apnusu*, however, is, I think, again used in line 11, and the context will there require a verb similar to the Latin *ago*. }







l. 10

After the usual formula, we have for *atara imā dahyāwa*, "within these countries," $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$. $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$. $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$. $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$, a phrase, in which the only difficulty regards the particle $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$. Following Semitic analogies it would, of course, be most natural to read this word as *bin*, the compound particle $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ being equal to the Hebrew בִּן , but I have found no other passage in which the letter $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ could be supposed to represent the syllable *in*. Presuming, indeed, that the characters $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ and $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ are identical, (the two forms, although distinguished at Behistun, being certainly confounded in other Babylonian Inscriptions, and being represented in Assyrian by the single character $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$), the complemental

power of *v* or *m* after the vowel *u* must be admitted as the normal value of the sign, and this value attached to the syllable *bi*, would seem by some strange phonetic fiction to be combined into the single articulation of *bu* or *bo*, as in the last syllable of the name of the god Nebo¹. I am however, for my own part, disinclined to read the word in question either as *bin* or *bu*. I would rather suppose the letter  to correspond with the Hebrew ב, and would conjecture the  to be a mere non-phonetic adjunct, employed for some purpose which must remain for the present obscure.

The next words are of interest. In the Persian, we have *martiya hya agatâ aha*; in the Babylonian, . -       , the last character being alone liable to doubt. Now,  is well known as the monogram for "a man," which it was probably allowable to read phonetically as *ish*, or *adam*, or *mat*, or according to any of the sounds representing the idea of "a man;" and the second word, therefore, *pitkut*, stands for the Persian *agatâ*, a noun which has hitherto baffled all attempts at interpretation. The root, however, *patak* or *batak*, is used in so many passages of the Assyrian and Babylonian Inscriptions, that its signification can hardly be mistaken. In all the following examples the allusion evidently is to "carving," or "fashioning," or "working," or perhaps "building;" and the root may, therefore, be compared either with the Piël form of   , or with the verb   , which is once used in Eze. xvi. 40².

¹ This name is written phonetically as .    , a form which we are certainly warranted, on the united authority of ancient and modern languages, in reading *Nabu*, rather than *Nabuv*.

² The Piël form of    signifies, "to engrave," or "carve," or "sculpture," and would suit the Assyrian verb therefore sufficiently well. I doubt, however, the interchange of the Hebrew פ with the Babylonian k.    merely means "to cut in pieces," and is but remotely connected, therefore, as far as sense is concerned, with the verb in question.

1.
da. * p i li. pi s e.

ya na. ir. Ta s ti a ti. yap tu ku.

"Who fashioned the cut stones in the city of Tastiāt." (B.M., 38. 9.)

2.
da. ma na ma. la. yap ti ku.

melek. pa ni. makh ri ya.

"Which no king before me had done (or fashioned.*)" (B.M., 41. 22.)

3.
da. melek. ma kh ri. ya na. kaspi.

yap ti ku. bi ti k su.

"Which the king before me had fashioned in silver." (E.I., c.3. 1.4.)

4.
a na. * Nebo (— — —) bit.








(— — —) ya na Bab ilu * *. ya na.

ku p ri. va. ha gur ri.

e p ti k. pi ti k su.



































"To the god Nebo (— — —) a temple (— — —) in Babylon, of bitumen and brick, I fashioned or made." (E. I., col. 4. l. 18. sqq.)

There are scores of other examples, in which the root *pataḥ*, being applied either alone, or in conjunction with a redundant noun, to the


construction of buildings, can only signify "making," or "fashioning," and it remains, therefore, to be decided whether the allusion in this difficult Behistun passage may be to "workmen" in general or to the "masons," who were especially employed in the sculpture of the Achaemenian monuments. The former is, I think, the most natural explanation, for there is certainly an antithesis in the Persian between the verbs *abaram* and *aparasam*, and in spite, therefore, of etymological difficulties, I translate the nouns *agatá* and *arika*, by "industrious" and "idle." *Pitkut* is, I think, a Kal plural participle, formed from *patak*, precisely as *nikrut* is from *nakar*. It is difficult, at the same time, to understand why a plural form should be thus joined to a singular noun,—the more especially as the demonstrative pronoun which follows is also apparently in the singular; perhaps, however, . -     may mean, "one of the industrious," or possibly *pitkut* may be an erroneous orthography altogether: the last letter may be , and the word may thus be read simply *pikú*, and may be regarded as a singular participle.

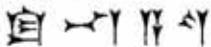
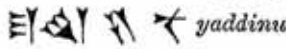
Ana sasu was noticed in the last paragraph. If the particle *ana* be here used with its usual signification of "to," the verb forming the complement of the sentence must signify "granting favor." It is much to be regretted that we are without the Babylonian correspondents of *abaram* and *aparasam*, for the terms are probably of frequent occurrence in the independent Inscriptions of Assyria.

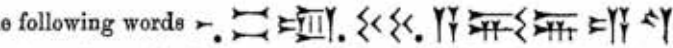
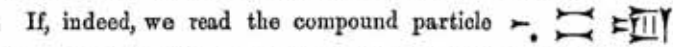
The next phrase to be examined is that which answers to *washná Auramazdáha imá dahyáwa tyaná mandá ddtá apriyáya*. The Babylonian words are—


.  . .         .    .    .  .           .

Aš yašmi sa Hurimišda' dinát attua aš bi mati haganet hwasasgu; and they may be, I think, translated: "By the grace of Ormazd, my laws by these nations have been observed." There is indeed, an

analogous expression at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, which is rendered in the Persian, *Dátam tya mand, awam addáraya*, and in the Babylonian,  *dinat attua yakhashlu*, "they held my laws;" and it is chiefly upon this authority that I venture to assign to the root, which must be *pari* in Persian, and *saşag* in Babylonian, the sense of "holding" or "observing."

 *dinat*, is of course the (fem. ?) plural of a noun answering to the Hebrew דִּין, "a law," or "decree." We find, indeed, the two words *dat* and *din*, which are used as correspondents in this passage, associated in the Scriptural phrase כָּל יְדֵי דָת וְדִין (Esther i. 13), to express the same meaning. The root דִּין from which the Hebrew *din* is derived, is supposed to have the sense of "ruling," or "judging;" but as in the Persian, *dāta* certainly comes from *dā*, "to give," so would I assign a similar signification to the original Babylonian verb. *Din*, indeed, or *dun*, would be immediately cognate with the Latin *dono*, and the term  *yaddinu*, which answers so frequently to *ada*, "he gave," in the Standard trilingual Inscriptions, can only be explained as a derivative from the same root¹. *Attua*, "my," united to *dinat*, has its usual possessive sense.

The following words  may, perhaps, be rendered "among these countries," as in the previous clause. If, indeed, we read the compound particle  as *as bin*, this signification must be necessarily assumed, and so slight

¹ *Yaddinu* will more probably come from *danan*, as *yadduku* comes from *dakak*; (compare יָסַב from סָבַב). The connexion, indeed, between *din* and *danan* is further shown, by the common use in Assyrian of  *danan*, for "law," or "religion," answering to the Arabic دِينَ, which is, of course, etymologically identical with the Hebrew דִּין. In the Inscriptions lately brought by Mr. Layard from Assyria, numerous examples occur

an alteration will not affect the general sense of the paragraph. If on the other hand, we scrupulously follow the Persian original, the reading of *as bi* would seem to be preferable for $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎠} \text{𐎶𐎵}$, and an instrumental sense must be given to the particle.

The verb from which is derived $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶}$ *hwasasgu*, I have not yet been able to identify, owing to the confusion and uncertainty in which is involved the employment of the Babylonian sibilants. I feel pretty certain, however, that the root must be *sasag*, rather than *sagah*, and that the term employed is a mere plural passive participle, formed like the Arabic *ismi maf'ul*, rather than after the fashion of the Hebrew. I should expect, indeed, the Hebrew corresponding root to be written ססג , and it is the more important

follow out this etymology, as the commencement in $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ being identical with that which characterizes the Hiphil participle of the Babylonian, would be apt to mislead, were not due attention paid to the vowel-pointing. The initial 𐎶𐎶𐎶 , as will be abundantly shown in the alphabet, answers to the פ of the Hebrew, and the termination in *u*, (which causes the second radical to be jasmated), is the inflexion of the plural masculine (for *un*), agreeing with *dindt*, and thus showing that either the plural ending in *dt* is not restricted to feminine nouns, or that the participial plural in *u* is common to both genders.

I have failed to recognise the root from which we have the participle *hwasasgu*, in any other passage of the Inscriptions.

The termination of the line, $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶}$ *sa la pantiya attua*, is sufficiently clear. *Sa* is used in this passage for the relative, "that which;" and we thus see that the sign 𐎶 or 𐎶

of the indifferent orthography of $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶}$ and $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶}$ *danani*, for the word signifying "laws," a further proof being thus afforded of the derivation of the noun from the root *danan*, which has supplied us with the future forms $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶} \text{𐎶}$ or $\text{𐎶𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎶} \text{𐎶}$, *yaddinu* or *yaddanu*, "he gave," or "granted."








answers both to the article \aleph , and to the pronoun ψ , of the Phœnician and the Rabbinic Hebrew. It is interesting also to observe, that this pronoun is expressed by Ψ or Ψ , by $\aleph\aleph$ or $\aleph\aleph$, and by $\aleph\aleph$ almost indifferently, an apt illustration being thus afforded of the direct passage of ψ into the Chaldee \aleph , without having recourse to the conjecture of Gesenius, which would derive the latter form from the demonstrative \aleph through the Arabic ψ .










The compound particle, *lapani*, although absolutely identical with the Hebrew $\aleph\aleph$ as far as the etymology is concerned, is used, I think, in this and other passages, in an ablative or instrumental sense, rather than with any immediate reference to the root $\aleph\aleph$, "to turn." Perhaps, however, we might translate *lapaniya attua*, "ab ore meo," as well as "a me;" for the verb which follows must signify "said;" the Persian corresponding term being *athahya*. The use of a double pronoun is again to be remarked in this phrase, the possessive *attua* being employed, notwithstanding that the suffix in *a* of the 1st pers. sing. is attached by a euphonic *y*, to the particle *pani*.











In the Nakhsh-i-Rustam Inscription, the corresponding passage is $\aleph\aleph$. $\aleph\aleph$ $\aleph\aleph$ $\aleph\aleph$ $\aleph\aleph$ $\aleph\aleph$ $\aleph\aleph$ and I am thus led to suspect that the character $\aleph\aleph$ —in addition to its normal value of *si*, must have had the secondary power of *pani*, or at any rate, must have been ideographically equivalent to the Hebrew $\aleph\aleph$ *. I give the translation, therefore, of the Babylonian portions of this paragraph as follows:—










"Says Darius the king: throughout these provinces the industrious man, to him [I have granted favor or protection; the idle man I have punished with severity]. By the grace of Ormazd, my laws throughout these provinces have been observed. That which from me [has been declared to them, that have they performed].







* In Mr. Layard's new Inscriptions $\aleph\aleph$ $\aleph\aleph$ —is repeatedly put for *lapani*, "from."





Par. 9. 1. 10         .
 (— — — — —) ya gab bi.























                .
 * Hu ri mi ʒ da ' melk ut.

                .
 yad da nu. * Hu ri mi ʒ da ' yaš ši.

                .
 da nu. a di. eli. sa. melk ut. ha ga ta.

1. 11            .
 (— — — — —) anna ku. ap nu su.

In the phrase which follows the formula, "says Darius the king," and which is rendered in the Persian, *Auramazdā mand khshatram frābāra*, we remark in the Babylonian, that the pronoun of the 1st pers. is omitted. The terminal  in the word for "kingdom," must necessarily, I think, represent the syllable *ut*, rather than *tu*, but I am still at a loss to decide whether the entire word should be read *melkut* or *sarrut*. With regard to the following verb, also,    I have nothing to add to the conjectures already advanced in my analysis of line 4*.

The next phrase, answering to the Persian, *Auramazdāmaiya upastām abara*, "Ormazd brought help to me," is given in Babylonian as,                  , and although there are here only two words to be explained, considerable difficulty attaches to them. Until lately, indeed, relying on the usual collocation of the Semitic languages which places the verb after the object, I have supposed *yašši* to signify "help," being a derivative from the root , and I have conjectured    to be allied to

* But see the new foot-note to p. xii.

𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶, as *abara*, in the Persian, contains the same root as *frábara*. At present, however, I see reason to doubt this explanation, and to suspect even that 𐎶𐎶 𐎶 may be the verb, and 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶 the noun; for in the Nakhsh-i-Rustam Inscription, the phrase *bájim abara*, "they brought tribute," is rendered by 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶, the verb employed being apparently the same which occurs in 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 for *abara*; and it is possible, also, that as the Persian *upastám* "help" comes from a root *stá*, indicating "stability," so 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶 in this phrase, (however it be pronounced,) may be allied to the adjective 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶, which is used so often in the Inscriptions of Assyria to indicate "strength," or "power."

If the verb 𐎶𐎶 𐎶 be expressed phonetically, it may be read *yašši*, for *yanši*, the root being 𐎶𐎶𐎶, which is often used in Hebrew with the sense of "bringing," as in the phrases "the east wind brought the locusts," Ex. x. 13; "the ships of Hiram, which brought gold from Ophir," 1 Kings x. 11, &c. The only irregularity would then be, that the third radical had been treated like the weak letter 𐎶, in roots of the "𐎶" class, (for "𐎶", as for instance, 𐎶𐎶𐎶 is for 𐎶𐎶𐎶. See Ges. Grammar, p. 71.) In the same view I should take 𐎶𐎶 𐎶 for the construct infinitive, the particle *ana* being generally used before such forms in Babylonian, (compare 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶. *ana episu takhasa*, "to do battle; 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *ana kasadi*, "on arriving;" 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶-𐎶𐎶𐎶 *ana sadari*, "to write." &c., &c.) and *ši* being a cognate form with 𐎶𐎶 (Ps. 89. 10), or as the word is more commonly written in Hebrew, 𐎶𐎶𐎶.

With regard to the pronunciation of 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶, I am unable to state anything positive. Forms such as *as ripnu* or *lapnu*, appear to

The adverb which follows, answering to the Persian *yâdâ*, "until," is interesting. It reads , *adi eli sa*, and is formed of three distinct words: *adi* is the Hebrew ; Syriac ; Latin, *ad*, &c., and signifies properly "to," or "as far as," though it is often used in Assyrian for the simple conjunction "and." (or, as it is sometimes written,) *eli*, corresponds with the Hebrew and Arabic , and, as an independent preposition, has the sense of "over" or "upon:" here, however, it seems to be used for , as in the phrase , "until he came," (Judges iii. 3), while is the relative, or , which is constantly joined with in Hebrew to express the fuller sense of "until that." *Adi eli sa* may thus be correctly rendered in Latin by *adeo ut*.

The only other word to be noticed in this line is the demonstrative pronoun , where the feminine characteristic in *ta*, is added to the theme *haga*, to agree with the feminine noun .

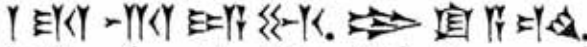
At the commencement of the next line we have the word *anaku*, "I," and an imperfect verb, which should perhaps be restored to , *apnusu*, the 1st person of the same verb of which the 3rd person has been already examined in the phrase— , *ana sasû yapnusu*, "that they did." Although the idiom, indeed, of *imperium agere* is foreign to the Persian, the Babylonian and the Scythic versions of the Behistun Inscription constantly make use of the same root for *performing* an act and *exercising* rule. As indeed, in line 3, we have, in the phrase, , an example of the

example here quoted, may be translated, "I gave as dependencies." The two preceding examples are very doubtful: , , seems rather to signify "he threw off allegiance."

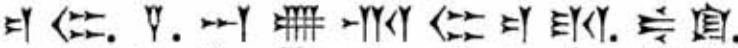
employment of *ebas*, in connection with *melkut*, in order to give the sense of "reigning," so I conjecture that *khshatram darayamiya*, "I hold the empire," or "reign," is here represented by *melkut anaku apnusu*; the root *panas* or *banas*, being, as I have before shown, an exact synonym of *ebas*, "to do."

The translation then will be as follows:—


"Darius the king says: Ormazd granted (me) the empire. Ormazd brought help to me, so that this empire [I gained. By the grace of Ormazd] I rule."

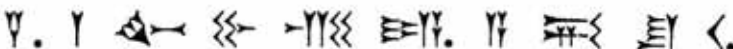
Par. 10. 
 * Da ri ya vaş. melek (— — —)

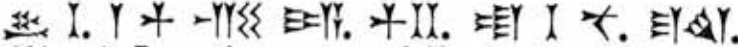

 ya gab bi. ha g a. sa. ana ku. e bu su. aš.


 vaş mi. sa. * Hu ri mi ş da. akhar(?)


 sa. a na. melek. a tu ru. 1. 12 
 (— — —)


 su va. ha kan nu. a na. melek. yat tur.


 sa. * Kam bu zi ya. ha ga su va.


 akhi su. * Bar zi ya. asad. (?) abu su n. asat(?).


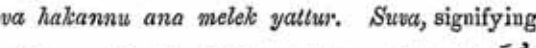
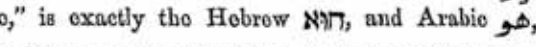
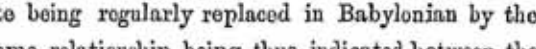
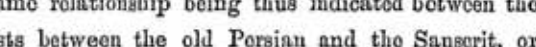





 ini su n. 1. 13 
 (— — — — — — —)


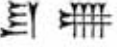




Owing, however, to the first radical of this root standing half-way as it were between the guttural γ and the weak letter \aleph , the Babylonian conjugation cannot be compared with any of the Hebrew classes. The letter \aleph here stands for what in Hebrew would be expressed as $\gamma\aleph$, while in the 3rd person, the guttural altogether falls away, and \aleph replaces γ . It is singular, that the Babylonian version should introduce after the verb, "by the grace of Ormazd," which is wanting in the Persian.























The term which follows, and which, throughout this Behistun Inscription, answers to *pasāwa*, "after," is written \aleph \aleph , and if expressed phonetically, must be read therefore as *vapki*; but no other Semitic language furnishes any resemblance to such a particle, and I am strongly inclined, accordingly, to believe that the word is represented by a compound ideograph. The final character \aleph , at any rate, is frequently employed, as I have already shown, as a non-phonetic adjunct to names of places in plain countries, and it has, I suspect, therefore, the ideographic value of "low," or "down." If, then, \aleph could also be supposed to indicate "time," we might understand how the word "after" came to be written \aleph \aleph , and we might employ as its phonetic correspondent any standard Semitic term, such as *b'ad* or *akhar*. Pending the discovery, indeed, in other Inscriptions, of the same particle written phonetically, I thus venture to substitute for it the Hebrew \aleph , and read the word in the Roman character as *akhar*. The conjunction of this adverb, at any rate, with the relative *sa*, exactly corresponds with the use of \aleph \aleph in Hebrew. (Ezek. x. 1).

The phrase \aleph \aleph . \aleph . \aleph \aleph \aleph , for "I became the king," is also of interest, the particle *ana* being employed like \aleph in the older Hebrew, with a definite or demonstrative power, rather than with the sense of "to," or to mark the object of a transitive verb, while *aturu* is the regular 1st person singular Kal of the hollow root *tur*, which also supplies us with the Niphal apocopate forms of *attur*

and *yattur*, singular; and with *yatturun* for the plural of the same conjugation*.

Of the next phrase, which signifies, "A man named Cambyases, son of Cyrus, of our race, he was here king before me," we have merely a fragment . . . . . *suva hakannu ana melek yattur.* *Suva*, signifying "he," or "this one," is exactly the Hebrew , and Arabic , the Hebrew aspirate being regularly replaced in Babylonian by the sibilant; and the same relationship being thus indicated between the languages, that exists between the old Persian and the Sanscrit, or between the Greek and Latin. We shall subsequently find this pronoun *suva* united to the demonstrative *hāga*, and we shall, also, repeatedly meet with the suffix  or , which is, of course, a remnant of the same theme.

In the older Hebrew, as it is well-known,  was used indifferently both for the masculine and feminine; and this confusion of genders is, I believe, often to be detected in the Inscriptions of Assyria. The true feminine, however, of  is written  or , *suat* or *s'at*, the connexion between the two forms being similar to that which exists in Hebrew between  and .

The adverb of place, *hakannu*, answering to the Persian *iddā*, "here," is of course, formed from the demonstrative base *haga*, but I do not recognize any immediate correspondent, either in Hebrew or Arabic. It appears, also, to be immaterial in what vowel the word may terminate, for in Westergaard's Inscription E. l. 8, we have the phrase, .    .             . *sa. anaku. hakanna ebussu*, "quod ego hic feci," standing for the Persian *tya mana kartam iddā*. The connexion of    

* I now prefer explaining forms in which the first radical is doubled, such as *yattur*, *yadduku*, *yaddinu*, by supposing the roots to be of the "yy" class.

with $\text{𐎶 𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶}$ is established beyond dispute by the orthography of the masc. plur. of the demonstrative pronoun, which is written 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 in lines 106 and 112 of this Inscription*.

The phrase, $\text{𐎶 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵}$, *ana melek yattur*, "he was the king," which follows *hakannu*, may be compared with the *ana melek attur* of the last line, *attur* and *yattur* being the 1st and 3rd person respectively of the same tense.

For the fourth clause, which reads in the Persian, *Awahyd Kabujiyahyd bratd Bardiya ndma dha*, we have in the Babylonian, $\text{𐎶. 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶. 𐎶. 𐎶. 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. sa Kambuziya hagasuva akhisu Barziya}$, "of this Cambyses, the brother was Bardes."











The use of the relative *sa*, to form a genitive at the commencement of a phrase, is sufficiently common in Babylonian, although such an employment of 𐎶𐎵 or 𐎶 would hardly be allowable in Hebrew or Chaldee. In the names of Cambyses and Bardes, it will be seen that I represent the Babylonian 𐎶𐎵 by *si*, as an intermediate articulation between the dental and the sibilant. The variant orthography, indeed, of the names in different languages, furnishes us with a good illustration of the gradual change from one articulation to the other. We have thus, *Kamboth* in Egyptian, *Kabujiya* in old Persian, *Kambuziya* in Babylonian, *Καμβύσης* in Greek, and *كامبوس* in modern

* As we have masc. plur. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *madut*; fem. plur. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *madet*, so we have masc. plur. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *hakannut*; fem. plur. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *haganet*. The undoubted connexion, indeed, of these last terms, leads me to suspect that the letters 𐎶𐎵 and 𐎶𐎵 must be placed in the same phonetic category, either the sign 𐎶𐎵 having the secondary power of *kan*, or the sign 𐎶𐎵 being valued in certain positions as *ga*. I leave this point, however, for subsequent research.

Persian; while the name of Bardiya, which becomes in Babylonian, *Barziya*, is written *Mépdis* or *Σμέρδης* by the Greeks, and *Mergis* by the Latins.










The demonstrative pronoun *hagasuva*, compounded of *haga*, "this," and *suva*, "he," has been already noticed. It only remains, therefore, to explain the monogram , which, whatever be its pronunciation, must certainly stand for "brother." The character seems to be peculiar to the later Babylonian. As it represents the last element in the name of Nabochodrossor, interchanging in that position with , it must have the phonetic power of *sur*, but I cannot believe that *sur* signifies "a brother." It is more probable that, like all the other signs appropriated to the expression of relationship, the has in this passage a purely ideographic value, and with a due respect therefore for Semitic analogies, I venture to read the word as *akhi*, supposing the which is attached to it, to be the suffix of the 3rd person, used phonetically, according to the genius of the Babylonian language. At the same time, I have neither discovered the alphabetic equivalent of in Assyrian, nor even have I succeeded in finding how the idea of "brother" was expressed in that language.

After the name of *Barziya*, the word answering to *ndma*, "by name," has been omitted as of no consequence: I pass on accordingly to the fifth clause, where for the Pors. *hamdâ hampitâ*, *δμομήτριος, δμοπάτριος*, we have the Babylonian , *unicus erat pater eorum; unica erat mater eorum*. The use of for the masculine ordinal of the number "one," is proved by many examples. We have thus at Hamadan, for *aivam parundm khshâ-yathiyam*, or , phrases, which I read as *yasdi âs meleki madut*, or *yasdi âs meleki makhrut*, "first of many kings," for in other copies of the Standard trilingual Inscription, is written phonetically as . "In the first year," again,

(Brit. Mus., 20. 24,) but it is more frequently employed, as at Behistun, for the word "mother." Compare the epithet ,  <<<, "mother of the gods," applying to the goddess  < or  >  , who must, accordingly, represent the Boltis of the Greeks. (See British Museum, 87. 12). For the phonetic power of *imi*, which I have ventured to assign to the character, I have, however, no other authority than the indication of the Hebrew . The suffix of the 3rd person plural , *sumu* or *sun*, which is attached both to  and , has been already explained.


The sixth clause is lost; but the seventh is almost entire. The Babylonian version, indeed, of *yathâ Kabujiya Bardiya awâja, kârahâ niya azadâ abava, tya Bardiya awajata*, is legible throughout, with the exception of the initial adverb, and the correspondent of that most difficult word *azadâ*. It reads:—

—*Kambujiya yadduku ana Barriya, anâ hvaku val* — — *ki, sa Barriya diyaki*, and may be thus analysed. The adverb answering to *yathâ*, "when," at the commencement of the phrase, is probably    *alla sa*, as in line 29. *Yadduku* is the 3rd person singular masculine of the Kal conjugation of a root identical with the Hebrew , which follows the paradigm of the "verba geminantia" given in Gesenius, § 66, or page 143. For the Hebrew future of this conjugation, there are, it is well known, two forms; 1stly,  (for  = ) with the long instead of the short vowel in the preformative; and 2ndly,  (for ) with a daghesh supplied in the first radical, instead of doubling the third.




























we have merely EEF ין. יתפּ יתפּ יתפּ. anni tarnas,
 "non fuit," but the term יתפּ יתפּ, which answers to azadd, and
 signifies "known," may be restored with safety before anni. The
 letter יתפּ, then, which is clearly to be read in the Babylonian
 translation, must be recognised as the term that commonly inter-
 changes with יתפּ for the particle of negation, the one form being
 read as val, and the other as la, and the same relation existing
 between them which unites the Hebrew לֹא and לוֹא. I cannot ven-
 ture to complete orthographically the word ending in יתפּ, which
 follows יתפּ and signifies "known," but I can cite some cognate
 derivatives and show their common connexion with the root יתפּ.
 The Persian phrase adatiyd azadd barwitiya, which occurs at Nakhsh-
 i-Rustam, and signifies "then shall it be known to thee," is thus ren-
 dered in Scythic by יתפּ יתפּ. יתפּ יתפּ יתפּ יתפּ יתפּ.
 "tunc cognitum sit tibi," and in Babylonian by יתפּ יתפּ יתפּ יתפּ יתפּ.
 יתפּ יתפּ יתפּ יתפּ יתפּ יתפּ יתפּ יתפּ יתפּ יתפּ, the last word,
 which I read yavvadakka, meaning "it shall be known to thee," and
 being, I think, the 3rd pers. sing. future of the passive form of vadak,
 with the suffix of the 2nd person added.¹ The same verb is found,













ticular passage such a translation would suit the Scythic and Babylonian texts without the necessity of supplying the word *niya*; but in the Nakhsh-i-Rustam passages, where a negative signification is impossible, *asadā* must be rendered almost certainly by "known;" and I am obliged, therefore, to regard the initial *a* as a mere unmeaning prosthesis.

















¹ This word may rather, perhaps, be read *yavvaldakka* for *yavvaldakka*, and may be identified with the passive causative form of the root *vadak*. There are good grounds, indeed, for reading  as *val*, rather than *va*, and there are many examples of the introduction of the *l* in Babylonian, in order to give a causative power to the verb. I would suggest, therefore, the gradation of *vadak*, "to know;" *valdak*, "to make known;" *nivaldak*, "to be made known;" and would translate *yavvaldakka* by "it shall be made known to thee."

The clause finishes with *sa Bariya diyaki*, "that Bardes was killed," the relative Υ being used as a conjunction like the Hebrew וְאֵלֶּיךָ and וְאֵלֶּיךָ being a past participle from the same verb which has already given us the form of *yadduku*. I conjecture, how-

² But see the note on the last page.

over, that in the conjugation of this verb two cognate roots were employed, *dakak* and *duk*: it is, at any rate, to hollow verbs only that I can refer that large class of Babylonian and Assyrian vocables to which the term    belongs, and which have the sign  for their middle radical. *Diyaki* might very well be derived from *duk*, as  comes from   , from  , &c.; but it would be impossible to obtain such a form from *dakak*, according to any principles of Hebrew or Arabic conjugation. That there may again have been such a root as *duk* interchanging with *dakak*, we are warranted in believing, from the large proportion of Hebrew roots which take both the hollow and the double form, and also from being able to refer to existing hollow roots, most of those other terms in the Inscriptions which are immediately analogous to *diyaki*, such as    *miyati*, from    *biyasu* from    *kiyana*, from    *piyali*, from   , (or  ,) "to roll," &c., &c., &c.

The construction, it is true, of such terms, especially where they represent past participles, is not to be immediately traced in Hebrew; but, admitting that the Babylonian particularly affected the change of the *y* into *i*, as the middle stem letter, we may then compare    (perhaps pronounced *diki*, or simply *dik*, in preference to *diyaki*) with   , which would be the past participle of a root *duk*. The forms of    and    are so often confounded in the Behistun Inscription, that I cannot venture to assign to the terminations in *i* and in *u* the numerical distinction which might 'prima facie' be supposed to belong to them.

Of the eighth clause we have merely the commencement,—                *"then Cambyzes to Egypt;"* and in the ninth also, which reads in the Persian, *yathá Kubujiya Mudráyam ashiyava, pasáva káva arika abava*, "when Cambyzes went to Egypt, then the state became wicked," there are several deficiencies. The beginning, indeed, answer-

Tiphth form of *lakan*, or a metathesis for *yaltakkan*, (known from many kindred forms,) I cannot pretend to say. As the letter \aleph applies especially to the root כף , which in Phœnician and Arabic signifies "to be," and as the Persian correspondent of the verb is the term *abava*, I should certainly wish to regard the *t* and *l* in *yaltakkan* as servile letters. In this view, however, it would be necessary to suppose the serviles to have been barbarously transposed, and to refer *yaltakkan* to an Itaphal conjugation, which seems to have been peculiar to the Babylonian language.*

The last clause which is expressed in Persian, by *pasdva daranga dahyauvâ wasiya abava, utâ Parsaiya, utâ Mâdoiya, utâ aniya'urâ dahyaurushuvâ*, is complete in the Babylonian, with the exception of the two concluding words. The text has *akhar parsat as mati lu madu yamidu, as Paršu, Madai* — — — "Then lies became abundant in the countries, in Persia, in Media, [and in the other provinces.]" The root *paraš*, "to lie," furnishes us with many forms

* The connexion of $\text{𐤀} \text{𐤁}$ and $\text{𐤀} \text{𐤂}$ with $\text{𐤀} \text{𐤃}$ and $\text{𐤀} \text{𐤄}$ having suggested the attribution to the letter 𐤀 of the secondary power of *ga* or *ka*, I would now propose to read $\text{𐤀} \text{𐤁} \text{𐤂}$ as *yallakka*, and to explain it as the Tiphah form of a root answering to $\text{𐤀} \text{𐤁}$, "to go," the duplication being similar to that which we also find in another Tiphah form *yalbavva*, and the first radical having fallen away as a weak letter, before the conjugational characteristic; or it might be better, considering the guttural 𐤀 and its congener 𐤁 to be especially appropriated to gutturals of the 𐤀 class, to derive *yallakka* from $\text{𐤀} \text{𐤁}$. In Tiphah forms of $\text{𐤀} \text{𐤁}$, indeed, the conjugational characteristic would require, I think, to be doubled, to compensate for the lapse of the first radical.

𐎶 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠. "many lawgivers;" 𐎶 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠 𐎠. *madut tabbanul*, "many buildings," (W.'s D. l. 12, &c.), the termination in *ut* representing in all these forms, the masculine plural; while the fem. plur. is found in the expression 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *mati madet*, "many countries" given in Westergaard's H., l. 6. The orthography of *yamidu*, for the Hebrew 𐤏𐤎𐤏 shows us the facility with which the *u* and *i* interchange in Babylonian, and exposes at the same time, the inconvenience in the Cuneiform alphabet, of being unable to distinguish between the long and short vowels, a defect, owing to which there are no means of marking that increased weight in the preformative, which the Hebrew employs to compensate for the loss of duplication.* *Yamidu* from *madad*, may be compared, however, with *aduku* from *du'ak*; and the masculine termination in *u* agreeing with the feminine(?) noun *paršat*, may be cited as an instance of the same careless construction which I have before noticed in explaining the words *dinat kwasaggu*.

The entire paragraph will thus read:










"Says Darius the king: this is what I have done, after that I have become the king. [A man named Cambyses, son of Cyrus, of our race, before me] this one was here the king; of this Cambyses, his brother was Bardes; one was their father; one was their mother; [then Cambyses slew this Bardes; when] Cambyses slew Bardes, then to the people it was not known(?) that Bardes had been killed; then Cambyses to Egypt [proceeded; when Cambyses to] Egypt went, then the people fell into sin(?); then throughout the countries lies abundantly abounded, both in Persia and in Media [and in the other provinces].






* I am now rather inclined to think that there is a distinction between 𐎶 and 𐎶𐎶, the former being sounded as *ya* with the short vowel, and the latter as *yá* with the long.










Par. 11.    
 (— — — — —) yat b a.










        
 val tu. * Pi si 'a khu va du.










        
 A ra ka t ri ' ta v. sum su.










        
 val tu. ob bi. yom. XIV. kam. sa. hodesh.

    (?) l. 16 
 T u. a na. (— — — — —)










        
 * Kam bu zi ya. akhar. hva ku.




        
 gab bi. la. pa ni. * Kam bu zi ya.

        
 yat ti k ru ' ana. eli su.

        
 yat ri ku ' * Par su. * Ma d ai.

l. 17     
 (— — — — —) yaş şa bat. akhar.

        
 * Kam bu zi ya. mi tu. tu ra. man ni su.












  
 mi ya ti.


































The eleventh paragraph commences with, "Says Darius the king:
 Then a Magian named Gomates arose from Pissiachada, the hill named






Aracadres, from thence." The first Babylonian word that can be traced answers to *udapatatū*, "he arose." It should probably be restored to 𐤠𐤭𐤠 𐤠 𐤭 *yatba*, and should be regarded as a cognate derivative with 𐤠𐤭𐤠 𐤠 𐤠𐤭𐤠 𐤠 *yatbavva*, which is the form used in all other passages. I am not quite sure of the etymology of these terms, but I conjecture them to be Tiphhal forms of a root corresponding with the Hebrew נִצַּח . The words 𐤠𐤭𐤠 𐤠 𐤭 *yatba*, singular, and 𐤠𐤭𐤠 𐤠𐤠 𐤠𐤭𐤠 *yatbuni*, plural, are at any rate commonly used in Assyrian for "he came," and "they came;" and it might be supposed, moreover, from the example of *yattakkan*, that the Tiphhal conjugation in Babylonian affected the duplication of the second radical, which would sufficiently explain *yatbavva*. *Yatba* and *yatbuni*, also, might be compared with the Hebrew præterite forms נָצַח and נִצְּחוּ (1 Sam. xxv. 8,) and the only difficulty would thus be to account for the Babylonian version, which usually follows the Persian original with rigorous exactitude, having modified the sense from "arising," to "coming."¹



The names of "Pisiakhuvadu" and "Arakatri," do not require any special explanation, but I may observe of the latter, that instead of having the determinative before it, as is the universal rule in expressing the names of cities, rivers, and countries, it is followed by the signs 𐤠𐤭𐤠 , which denote "a mountain," and which, if pronounced phonetically, I would propose to read *taṣ*, comparing the term with the Egyptian ṬṬ . The next word, 𐤠𐤭𐤠 , is a monogram for "name," and is, I think, to be read *sum*, like the Chaldee ܫܡ . This, indeed, is the exact sound of 𐤠 𐤠𐤭𐤠 which optionally inter-






¹ Perhaps, however, *yatba* and *yatbuni* mean in Assyrian, "arising," rather than "coming." I should wish, indeed, to derive these forms from a root *tabah* or *dabah* (for *tabu* or *dabu*), but the orthography of the cognate form of *yatbavva* renders such a derivation impossible, for the duplication would then fall on the 3rd radical, which is entirely opposed to the rules of Hebrew conjugation.




changes with  at Behistun as the correspondent of *nāma*, and many examples occur, moreover, in the Assyrian Inscriptions, of  being put phonetically for  . In the same way that the preposition *hachā* is repeated in the Persian expression *hachā awadash*, "from thence," so we have   repeated in the Babylonian phrase,  .  . These words correspond in use with the Hebrew  but I have been unable to come to any trustworthy opinion as to their pronunciation*.


















The date which follows is expressed in Babylonian by .  . . .  , the signs  and  serving as monograms for the words "day" and "month." The first of these monograms is variously employed in the Inscriptions. United with the determinative for "a god," and augmented by a qualificative epithet , it denotes "the sun," the real meaning of    being thus, as I think, "the bright god of day." It is perhaps, the same monogram which occurs in the Behistun phrase,    .    , for *daragam jaiva*, "mayst thou live long," or "may thy days be prolonged;" and again, in the phrase  .  .   , "from remote days,"   being here often written as   , and a fair presumption arising, therefore, that the reading is *yomi* (or *yommi*) *rukuti*.¹

* There can be no doubt, but that   in this passage and in many others, signifies "there," or "that place," meanings which it is very difficult to connect with the Chaldee ; nevertheless, I shall still continue to read   as *gabi*, until some more suitable explanation can be given.



¹ No great weight after all attaches to this example, for it seems pretty certain that the sign  can be used instead of , to represent the plural termination of nouns without any reference to its phonetic value. Of more importance



























For the phonetic rendering however of , (commonly written in Assyrian as ) I have, I confess, no authority. There is hardly a single document, historical, religious, architectural, or legal, throughout the whole extensive range of the Assyrian and Babylonian Inscriptions, in which we do not find mention of a monthly date, but never have I yet met with a phonetic reading for the word "month," and my comparison of the term accordingly, with the Hebrew חֹדֶשׁ, is a mere conjecture. The use of  for the numeral 14 is sufficiently intelligible, and the sign , which follows, is the mere mark of the ordinal number. This sign is phonetically *kam*, (as for instance, in the first syllable of the name of Cambyzes,) but it is hardly probable that it should have that power when attached to numerals. In such a position, however, it is very commonly replaced in Assyrian and cursive Babylonian by , which has the nearly similar value of *kan*, and its claim, therefore, to a phonetic employment, cannot be altogether rejected.

The month of *Viyakhana* is represented in Babylonian by the signs   , which I am altogether unable to explain. Although, indeed, I have already formed a list of more than twenty different names for the Assyrian months, and have thus obtained sufficient grounds for doubting that a year depending on a system of lunations, could have existed in the Assyrian calendar, I have not yet succeeded in iden-



would be the phrase, answering to "then," and expressed by    .      , (meaning, probably, "in die illo," or "in diebus illis;") for as the letter  is a labial congener with , it would seem almost certain that the preceding  must end in a homogeneous consonant, the reading, in fact, being *as yommu su*, or *as yommi su*; but, on the other hand, it is quite unusual to find the pronoun *su* applying indifferently to the singular and plural number, and the orthography, moreover, sometimes occurs of   , which can hardly be read *as yommi*, as the  represents exclusively the sound of *bi*.

tifying the names with other Semitic correspondents, nor in ascertaining even upon what principles the divisions of time were arranged among the inhabitants of Babylon and Nineveh.¹

The last word in line 15, seems to be  , and may belong to a phrase answering to *thakald*, "then," or "at that time."

Of the fifth clause nothing is visible but the last word,                          

The sixth clause is complete. "Then all the people from

Cambyses rebelled," is expressed by  

for *haruwa* and *viswa*; and there can be no doubt, therefore, as to its meaning. It is also, however, attached in Babylonian to plural nouns as a pleonastic, and perhaps a non-phonetic, affix; (compare

𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 ; 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, &c.)

Lapani, "from," has been already explained as the orthographical correspondent of 𐎶𐎶𐎶. In its use however it rather resembles 𐎶𐎶𐎶.

Yattikru, "they rebelled," stands for *yantikru*, and is the 3rd person masculine plural of the Ifta'al form of a root, which is absolutely identical with the Hebrew נָכַר, "not to know," or "to reject." It may be interesting to compare the following derivatives from the root in question, all of which are found in the Inscription of Behistun.

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶. *yattikru* (for *yantikrun*). Ifta'al conj. fut. 3rd pers. plur. masc.

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶. *yattikir* (for *yantikir*). Ifta'al do. 3rd pers. sing. masc. (apoc.)

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶. *yakkira* (for *yankiran*). Kal do. 3rd pers. plur. fem.

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶. *takkira* (for *tankira*). Kal do. 3rd pers. sing. fem.

𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶. *nikrut*. Kal participle, masc. plural.

Clause seven. "To him they went over, Persia, Media, and the other provinces," is rendered by—

𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶. 𐎶. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶.
𐎶. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶. *ana eli su yatriku' Parsu Madai* — ,








the two last words being lost. *Ana eli su* is properly "to upon him;" *eli*, indeed, (written indifferently 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 or 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 or 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶) is identical with 𐎶𐎶 or 𐎶𐎶, and usually signifies "over;" but in combination with other particles, (compare

𐤠. 𐤠𐤠𐤠𐤠; 𐤠 𐤠. 𐤠𐤠𐤠; 𐤠 𐤠𐤠. 𐤠𐤠𐤠𐤠, &c.)
it is almost redundant, merely indicating "motion."

𐤠𐤠𐤠 𐤠𐤠𐤠 𐤠𐤠𐤠 𐤠𐤠𐤠, *yatriku'* for *yadrikun*, is the regular 3rd pers. plur. masc. Kal future of a root corresponding with 𐤠𐤠𐤠, "to go;" (compare 𐤠𐤠𐤠, "a way;" Arabic طريق &c.) I have not yet been able to ascertain the laws which determined, in the Assyrian and Babylonian verb, the pointing of the second radical of the future form, but I apprehend there was the same uncertainty in this respect which we find in the conjugation of the Arabic verb. At any rate, Kal futures are met with in Babylonian pointed with the *a*, the *i*, and the *u*, in the middle stem letter, without any apparent grammatical distinction. *Yatriku'* is a perfectly regular form, the first radical being sharpened owing to the *ferm*, and the final 𐤠𐤠𐤠 replacing, probably, a primitive *n*.

The eighth and ninth clauses are lost, with the exception of the verb 𐤠𐤠 𐤠𐤠 𐤠, *yaššabat*, "he seized." *Yaššabat* comes from a root *šabat*, "to seize," which is identical with the Arabic verb ضبط, and with a root שָׁבַט, which Gesenius conjectures to have existed in Hebrew, with the sense of "grasping" (with the hand). In the trilingual Inscriptions, this verb generally appears with the 1st radical doubled; (compare 1st person singular 𐤠𐤠𐤠 𐤠𐤠 𐤠 *aššabat*; 3rd person 𐤠𐤠 𐤠𐤠 𐤠 *yaššabat*; and active participle 𐤠𐤠𐤠𐤠𐤠 𐤠𐤠𐤠 𐤠𐤠𐤠 *vaššabbitu*, or 𐤠𐤠𐤠𐤠𐤠 𐤠𐤠𐤠 *vaššabbit*;) and there is no rule in Hebrew which will account for such an orthography, for I can hardly suppose verbs implying direct action to be of the Niphal conjugation. It may be that there was an *intensive* conjug. in Babylonian, which was marked by the doubling of the first radical, or the duplication may have been owing to a mere careless orthography.¹ The true Kal form of *šabat* is, at any rate, sometimes

¹ In the rendering of proper names, at any rate, we see that the Babylonians doubled the consonants as they pleased, without any regard to the orthography

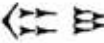
used in the trilingual Inscriptions, for we have at Nakhsh-i-Rustam the orthography of  *ašbat*, for the Persian *agarbādayam*, "I seized." In the Assyrian Inscriptions, also, this is the conjugation usually employed; compare the future forms  and  and *ašbat* and *yašbat*; active participle  *hwašabat*, or  *hwašabita*; and passive part. (Hiphil)  *hwašašbitu*; and remark, that the verb has the double signification of "seizing," and "establishing," which appertains to the root in Arabic. Possibly, too, in the Assyrian records, forms of *šabat* may sometimes be confounded with derivatives from , "to give."


The last clause is as follows:—
 akhar Kambuziya mitu, tura mannisu miyati, the corresponding Persian phrase being *pasda Kambuziya sadmarshiyush*, “then Cambyses, self-wishing to die, died;” *mi’u*, must be here accordingly, the rarely-used præterite form of מות, answering to מת, (or supposing a plural form to be used, to מתו), and the three following words must answer to *sadmarshiyush*, which signifies literally, “self-wishing to die.” I conjecture, then, that *tura* is a præterite form of the substantive verb, cognate with *attur*, *aturu*, *yattur*, *yatturun*, &c.; that *mannisu*, which I read doubtfully as *mannisu*,

of the Persian originals; and it would be too much, therefore, to expect from them a rigorous attention to grammatical rule in representing their own language.



¹ I can hardly believe that << really represents the particle 𐎠, notwithstanding the applicability of such an explanation to this phrase, for I have never met with *min*, "from," written phonetically in any other passage of the Inscription. I should rather suspect << 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 I to represent a noun in combination with the suffix of the 3rd person. It is possible, indeed, as << and















must signify "his wish," and that  *miyati*, (possibly *miti* or *mit*,) is either the infinitive absolute or the construct noun, which in Hebrew would be written מִיָּת.











The analogy, at the same time, of  *diyaki* and similar forms would seem to point out *miyati*, (or *mit*,) as a participle corresponding with מִיָּת, and I give accordingly the variant translation of *tura*, "he became," *mannisu*, from himself," *miyati*, "dead."



The translation of the eleventh paragraph will stand as follows:—

["Says Darius the king: there was a Magian named Gomates;] he arose from Pisiachadia, the mountain of Aracadres from thence, in the fourteen day of the month  , at [that time he appeared; He falsely declared to the state, I am Bardes, the son of Cyrus and brother of] Cambyses; then all the people revolted against Cambyses and went over to him (Bardes); both Persia and Media [and the other provinces; on the ninth day of the month ——— the empire this Bardes] seized; then Cambyses died; he committed suicide, (or "his death was from himself.")

Par. 12.        .
* Da ri ya vaş. melek. (— — —).

   l. 18 
ya gab bi. (— — — — —)

         .
ga. val tu. ta b u. at tu n u. sa.

  are both polyphone signs, that the true reading of the word may be *nissalsu*, (Hebrew מִלְּשָׁה); and that the phrase may signify "he was delivered by death," or his deliverance was dying."

𐎧𐎫𐎼𐎿 𐎲𐎠𐎧𐎹. 𐎠𐎡𐎹. 𐎲𐎠𐎧𐎹. 𐎠𐎡𐎹. 𐎠𐎡𐎹. 𐎠𐎡𐎹. 𐎠𐎡𐎹.
yakhas u ni. si ya. akhar. * Gu m a ta.

𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹. 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹. 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹. 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹. 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹.
ha ga su va. Ma gu su. melk u t. a na.

l. 19 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹. 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹. 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹.
(— — — — —) * ni — sa ti ta.


𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹. 𐎠𐎡𐎹. 𐎠𐎡𐎹. 𐎠𐎡𐎹. 𐎠𐎡𐎹.
su va. ana. melek. yat tur.

This paragraph is unfortunately of little assistance to us, as the most interesting passages are illegible. We have the termination of the second clause, answering to the Persian *aita khshatram hachâ paruviyata amâkham taumâydâ aha*, "that empire had been in our family from antiquity," but it is quite impossible to fix the orthography of some of the principal words, and etymological speculation, therefore, would be worse than useless. I should wish to suppose the phrase 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹. 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹. 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹. 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹. 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹. to signify "from the olden time," 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹. 𐎠𐎡𐎹. being the same word which occurs under the forms of 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹; or 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹. or 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹. in other passages, in reference to time; and the following word being a qualificative epithet used like 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹. or 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹. 𐎠𐎡𐎹. with the signification of "former," or "remote;" but there is no certainty in the orthography of either of the words; and to add to our embarrassment, if the form of 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹. 𐎠𐎡𐎹. be correct, it is so nearly identical with a term which occurs in paragraph 14, for the possessive pronoun of the 1st pers. plur., that notwithstanding the position which it here occupies before the noun, it would be most natural to connect it with 𐎠𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎡𐎹. 𐎠𐎡𐎹., and to consider these words as a translation of *amâkham taumâydâ*. The expression 𐎠𐎡𐎹. 𐎠𐎡𐎹. 𐎠𐎡𐎹. 𐎠𐎡𐎹. f

at any rate, means "of our family," as in line 3, and the last word of the sentence, must, accordingly, be the verb answering to *aha*. How this term, however, which is written $\langle Y \rangle - \Xi$, is to be pronounced, I am quite unable to conjecture, for each of the signs which compose it has several independent powers, and I have not recognized any cognate forms elsewhere.¹

The third clause of the Babylonian does not precisely follow the Persian original. Instead of "After Gomates, the Magian, had dispossessed Cambyzes of Persia, Media, and the other provinces;" the Babylonian construction would seem to be, "After Gomates, the Magian, had transferred the empire to himself." $\Rightarrow \Rightarrow \Rightarrow \Xi \Xi \Xi$ at any rate, which follows the name of Gomates the Magian, signifies "the empire," and the particle $Y Y \rightarrow Y$ which closes line 18, must govern a noun or pron. at the commencement of the following line. The names of $\star \star \Xi Y Y \star Y$ *Gumata*, and $\Xi Y \star \star I$ *Magusu*, are valuable on the score of orthography; and the compound

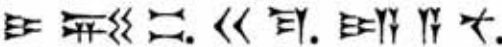

¹ I observe, in many passages of this Inscription, an extraordinary similarity between suffixed pronouns of the 3rd person and forms of the substantive verb, a similarity which strikingly resembles the presumed relationship in Hebrew between the pronouns הוא and היה and the verbs היה and היה . In line 3, $I \star$ *sun*, seems to be used for "have been." The common phrase $Y \Rightarrow \star I \star$ which precedes the dates, may mean "these were," $\langle Y \rangle - \rightarrow Y$ *sina*, in the same way, in line 106, replaces the substantive verb in the fem. plural, and $\langle Y \rangle - \Xi$ *siya*, in the present passage must, I think, be similarly explained as standing for the fem. sing. I conjecture, accordingly, that the suffix of the 3rd person, agreeing with its antecedent in gender and number, was optionally used in Babylonian for the substantive verb; and I thus define $\langle Y \rangle - \Xi$ *siya* as the suffix of the 3rd person singular, answering to the Hebrew היה , and put in the feminine gender to agree with the nominative *melkut* or *sarrut*, "empire."

term *hagasuva* which connects them is a further illustration of the use of the pronoun for the article, although in this case a demonstrative form is employed rather than a relative. At the commencement of the next line, we have some of the words corresponding to the Persian phrase *huwa ayastâ urdipshiyam akutâ*, but they are too doubtful and imperfect to be worth analyzing. The fourth clause,  *suva ana melek yattur*, "he became the king," requires no comment.

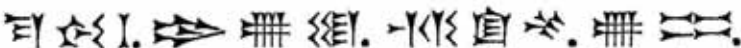
The Babylonian fragments will thus read:

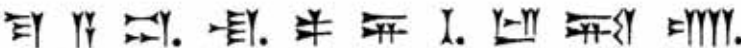
"Says Darius the king: [the empire of which Gomates, the Magian, dispossessed Cambyses] from the olden time had been in our family; after Gomates, the Magian, had transferred the empire to [himself, both Persia and Media, and the other provinces, he did] as he pleased: he became the king."

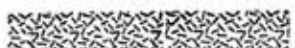
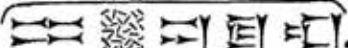
Par. 13. 
 * Da ri ya vağ. melok (— — —)

 1. 20 
 ya gab bi. man ma. y a nu. (— —

 
 — — — — —) * Gu m a ta. ha ga su va.


 Ma gu su. melk u t. yak ki mu. hva ku.












 m a du. la. pa ni su. yap ta khat(?).

1. 21  
 (— — — — —) hva ku — du ku v.














In the second clause, for *niya aha*, "there was not," we have
 << 𐎠. 𐎠𐎡 𐎡 𐎧 *manma yānu*, both of these words being
 interesting. *Manma* is a negative pronoun, compounded of *man*, "any
 one," (comp Chal. 𐤍 𐤒, "whosoever,") and the negative *ma*, "not,"
 corresponding with the Arabic 𐤀.¹ Many examples occur of the
 employment of the pronoun; as in the phrase already quoted from the
 Koyunjik Bulls, P. xxxi. 2, and in a passage of the E. I. Ins. col. 6. l. 24.,
 𐎠𐎡. 𐎠 𐎧𐎡𐎡. 𐎠𐎡. 𐎠𐎡𐎡 𐎧𐎡𐎡. 𐎠. 𐎠 𐎡𐎡 𐎡.
da manama sarru makhri la yabusu, "which no king did before me;"
 and its etymology is made out quite satisfactorily. *Yānu*, also, must
 be cognate with, or rather a more ancient form of, the Hebrew
 𐤙𐤍. It would seem to be a regular 3rd person future of a root *anaḥ*,
 which we may suppose to correspond with 𐤏𐤍 or 𐤏𐤍 in Hebrew. A
 portion of the second clause is lost; but we have the concluding phrase,
 "who would deprive Gomates, the Magian, of the empire;" and we
 here find the Babylonian verb 𐎧𐎡𐎡 𐎠𐎡 𐎧 *yakkimu*, answering
 to *ditam chakhriyā*. Now, *yakkimu* must stand for *yankimu*, and the
 root, therefore, would seem to be the same as the Hebrew 𐤙𐤍.
 Whether, however, we are to translate "there was no one to vindicate
 the empire," or whether *nakam* may not have signified in Babylonian,
 "rescuing," rather than "avenging," I cannot pretend to say, as I
 have found very few undoubted instances of the employment of this













¹ Etymologically it would be proper to translate *manma* by "aliquis," rather
 than by "nemo," for the Hebrew 𐤍𐤒, which is the original of the Arabic 𐤀,
 has a mere indefinite sense, corresponding, in fact, exactly with the indefinite
 affix *chiya*, in the compound pronoun *chishchiya*, which is the Persian equivalent to
 << 𐎠; but, on the other hand, I observe that *manma* is only employed
 where the action is negative, and the double negative is quite agreeable to Semitic
 usage.

² For the cursive rendering of this line, see Bellino's Cyl., side 2, line 4.








































verb in other Inscriptions.¹ The third clause signifies, I think, "the State feared him greatly," the sense being slightly altered from the *hachá darshata atarsa* of the Persian.    *madu*, at any rate, must be the word which everywhere answers to *wasiya*, and which has been already examined in line 14; *la pani su*, "from him," is self-evident, and the concluding word     can only be the 3rd person future of a verb signifying "to fear." I have great difficulty, however, in identifying the root from which this form is derived, owing to the doubtful power of the sign . From the context, I should wish to read the verb as *yaptikhat*, and to regard it as an Ifta'al form of , "to fear," but I have not yet been able to verify the attribution to the sign  of the secondary power of *khat* or *khad*.²

The commencement of the 21st line is too doubtful to admit of being analyzed. Adopting Mons. Oppert's amended translation of the 4th clause,³ I think it probable that the mutilated word in which the

¹ For the Piel participles, singular        *Avanakkim*, plur.       *Avanakkimu*; see East Ind. Ins., col. 7, l. 21, and 8, l. 18.

























² The letter  is a variant for  as the monogram for "a house;" and it has thus several phonetic values, such as *bi*, *ma*, &c., in common with that sign; but I suspect that the two characters have also independent powers. At any rate, the verb     which occurs in this passage, cannot possibly have the same meaning as the term    , used in line 22 of the Nakhsh-i-Rustam Inscription, which, however, if  and  were phonetically identical, would have every appearance of being a cognate Ifta'al form.

³ Mons. Oppert's amended readings of the Behistun Inscription are now in the course of publication in the *Journal Asiatique*. His learning is undoubted, and some of his corrections are important; but a large portion of his criticism is to be found in my Behistun Vocabulary, the 1st volume of which was published in

characters   can alone be clearly traced, is derived from the root *duk* or *dakak*, "to smite," and that it answers to the Persian *awdžaniya*. The term which follows is quite irrecoverable. We have then, apparently, for *mātya khshandētiya*, "lest it should be discovered,"       *la hvamašsanu*, the first word being the negative particle, and the second a passive participle from a root *mašan*, which I am quite unable to identify.¹ The next phrase is easy. "That I am not Bardes, the son of Cyrus," is rendered by              *sa la Barziya anaku barsu sa Kuras*, "quod non Bardes ego [sum] filius ejus qui Cyri." The term for "son," is here represented by the monogram , which was perhaps pronounced *bar*, and the suffix of the 3rd person is added, as in the phrase             *sa Kambusiya akhisu*, which has been already examined. Affiliation is thus usually expressed in Babylonian by "son his of;" but sometimes a variant monogram,  or   , is employed, or the mere sign of the genitive  is considered sufficient to mark the relationship.

The 5th clause is rendered by Mons. Oppert, after the Persian text, "no one dared to say anything of Gomates, the Magian,"

1849, but of the very existence of which Mons. Oppert seems, nevertheless, to be completely ignorant.

¹ As there appear to have been no signs of the *ṣ* class of sibilants, appropriated to the syllables *yaṣ* and *vaṣ*, the corresponding signs of the *ḍ* class (namely,  and  were necessarily used in conjunction with , , and , but for the syllable *aṣ* there was a distinct character ; and wherever, accordingly, we find the  assimilating with the *ša*, *šī* or *šū*, (as in this word                 ) it must be considered an instance of careless orthography.

and this amended reading is, no doubt, perfectly correct. In the Babylonian we have merely the commencement of the sentence << 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶. 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵𐎶. *manma, val. ya - - va. as. eli*; and owing to my having failed, up to the present time, to ascertain the power of the compound sign 𐎶𐎵, I am neither able to identify the verb 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶, nor to determine positively, whether it means "saying" or "daring."¹ I should think, however, that 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶 answered to *niya adarshanaush*, "non ausus est;" for there is a participle, derived apparently from the same root, which is applied to the god 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶, and to which, accordingly, the sense of "daring" is more applicable than that of "saying." The compound particle *as eli* must be here

¹ The following are the materials I have collected for determining the power of 𐎶𐎵. In the annals of the Koyunjik king, it stands for the numeral 3. In the Khursabad Inscriptions, the term 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 commonly interchanges with 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. The word 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶 signifies "he dared." The standard epithet applied to the god 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶 at Khursabad is 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. The sign 𐎶𐎵 is also a common element in Babylonian names; compare 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶. 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, "Nebo —, the son of Nalazu,"(?) referring to the chief placed by Eear Haddon in charge of Babylonia, (British Museum, 22. 50:) and the Babylonian king, 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 or 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 "— — Merodach, the son of 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵= 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵," who gave tribute to the Obelisk king. (See Brit. Mus., 46, 17, and 15, 29.) The name of this king has certainly a striking resemblance to the *Mesessimordacus* of the Canon of Ptolemy; but, on the other hand, chronologically, the identification seems impossible; and I have no authority from etymological sources for thus attributing to the sign 𐎶 the value of *as*.

𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 being equivalent to the Chaldee ܢܢ, and the suffix of the 3rd person being irregularly omitted.


After this we have the Babylonian names answering to the Persian *Sikta'uwatish*, *Nisáya*, and *Media*, the former being preceded by 𐎶𐎶𐎶 which is the monogram for "a city," and was probably pronounced *ir*, (Heb. ִיר,) and the two latter by 𐎶𐎶, or *mat*, denoting "a country." The two first letters of the name of *Sikta'uwatish* are a good deal mutilated on the rock: the first, on a careful inspection of the cast, seems to be 𐎶𐎶, but the form is hardly made out with sufficient distinctness to authorize the admission of 𐎶𐎶 into the Babylonian alphabet with the value of *sik*: the second letter may be given with more certainty as 𐎶𐎶; and that the value of *ta* appertains to this sign is shown by many other examples, such as 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 or 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 for *Dikta*, the "Tigris;" 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 or 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Eluta*, for "Elymais," &c., &c. It is to be observed, also, that the Babylonian substitutes the letter 𐎶𐎶 in the orthography of this name for the nominative case-ending of the Persian. There is nothing to be remarked in the names of *Nisáya* and *Media*, except the duplication of the *s* in the former name, and the assimilation of the 𐎶𐎶 and 𐎶𐎶𐎶, which, however, do not strictly belong to the same grade among the sibilants. The words answering to "Ormazd granted me the empire," in the last clause, are a mere repetition of the phrase in line 4, with the exception of the word *sarrut*, "empire," being written as 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 instead of 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶.


The translation of this paragraph then will be as follows:—


"Says Darius the king: there was not any one, [not a Persian, nor a Median, nor any one of our family, who] would rescue (or vindicate) the empire from that Gomates, the Magian: the people greatly feared him: [he would slay many people who knew the other Bardes: for that reason] he would slay them 'lest it should be made public that I am not Bardes, who was the son of Cyrus.' No

one dared about [Gomates, the Magian, to say anything, until I arrived:] then I prayed to Ormazd; Ormazd brought help to me: by the grace of Ormazd, [on the 10th day of the month (—) with my confederates I slew Gomates,] the Magian, and the leaders of the people who were with (him): In the town of Siktachotes; in the country named Nisæa, which was in Media [thero I slew him: I recovered the empire from him; I became king by the grace of Ormazd:] Ormazd granted me the empero."

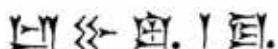

Par. 14. 
 * Da ri ya vaš. melek (— — —)


 ya gab bi. melk u t. sa. la. pa ni.

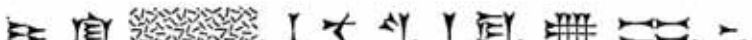
l. 25  
 (— — — — —) val ta kan. zi š.


 ana ku. o ti bu su. bit i. sa. ilu i. sa.



 * Gu m a ta. ha ga su va. Ma gu su.

 l. 26 
 yab bu lu. ana ku. (— — — — —)


 * Gu m a ta. ha ga su va. Ma gu su.


 ya ki (— — —) su nu t. ana ku. hva ku. aš.


 as ri su. val ta kan. zi š * Par šu.

𐎠𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. l. 27 
 * Ma d ai. (— — — — —)

𐎶. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵.
 aś. yaş mi. sa. * Hu ri mi ş da.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵.
 ha g a. ana ku. e ti bu s. ana ku.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵(?) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵.
 vap na ti ki t. a di. eli. sa. bit.



𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶. 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 l. 28 
 at tu nu. aś. as ri su. (— — —

 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. 𐎶.
 — — — — —) aś. yaş mi. sa.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. 𐎶. 𐎶.
 * Hu ri mi ş da. qa b u. sa.

𐎶. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 l. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵.
 * Gu m a ta. ha ga su va. Ma gu su. bit.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶.
 at tu nu. la. yaş s u.

In line 24, the words  𐎶𐎵. 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 *sarrut su lapani*, "imperium quod a [me]," are all sufficiently known to us; but line 25 commences with a word  *vattakan*, which requires some explanation. The Persian correspondent is *avástāyam*, and the meaning is "I established;" *vattakan*, therefore, must be the active participle of the Ittaphal conjugation of 𐎶𐎵, a root which is of very frequent employment, both in Assyrian and Baby-

lonian, with the sense of "making," "appointing," or "establishing;" and which exhibits a great variety of forms. The many instances of confusion between letters of the class *l* and the class *s*, have led me to suspect, as noticed in a preceding page, that the *Liphal* conjugation in Babylonian may be identical with the *Shaphel* (Heb. *Hiphil*), and the *Itaphal* with the *Istaphal* (Heb. *Hithpael*); but I have not yet found sufficient evidence to satisfy all my doubts; and I continue, therefore, for the present, to regard the conjugations as distinct. At the same time, that in this particular verb, the *Itaphal* conjugation is used precisely with the same causative power as the *Shaphel*, is shown by a comparison of the following passages from the Trilingual Inscriptions:

1. 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵.
 as. sa ki pi. as ku n. su n. di ya ki.
Ad crucem feci eos occisos

Behistun, l. 63.

2. 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵.
 as. sa ki pi. al ta kan. su. di ya ki
ad crucem feci eum occisum

Behistun, l. 60. And again,—

1. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵.
 akhar. a na ku. — e mi. al ta kan.
tum ego jussum feci

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. Behistun, l. 88.

ki na.

ita.

2. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵.
 qa b u. sa. a na ku. — e mi.
sicut ego jussum

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. Westergaard's H. l. 20.

as ku n nu s su n.

feci illis.

Compare also the Babylonian text of the Van Inscript., l. 20, sqq.

𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵.
 ha g a. sa d u(?). — e mu.
hoo loco jussum

𐎶𐎵(?) 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶. 𐎶𐎵 I. 𐎶𐎵𐎶.
 yas ta kan. a na. e pisu. (— —) va.
fecit ad faciendam tabulam et

𐎶𐎵(?) 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎵𐎶. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵.
 nina. aś. eli. val. yas du r. akhar.
nunquam super [eam] non inscripsit: postea

𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵.
 a na ku. — e mu. al ta kan. a na.
ego jussum feci ad

𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶. 𐎶𐎵 I
 sa da ri. (— —)
scribendam tabulam

I cannot pretend, at present, to give a complete list of the derivatives from the root *kun*, but it may be interesting to put together a few of the most ordinary forms.











Participle of Kal, 𐎶𐎵𐎶 or 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 *vuġin*.




















































Shaphel (Hiphil) forms, 1st per. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 or 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶
askun; 3rd person 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 or 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 or
yaskun or *yaskunu*; participle (or const. Infinitive) 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 *sakin*.



Istaphal, 1st per. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 or 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶
astakkan; 3rd pers. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 or 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶
yastakkan or *yastakkanu*.

Iltaphal, 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵 *altakan*, 1st person singular;
 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵 *vallakan*, participle.

Tiphah, 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶, 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 or 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶
yatkuna, *yatkun*, or *yatkunu*, 3rd person.

Perhaps even  *vasaskin*, is a Shashaphel participle. It is, however, always difficult to identify those forms of the root *kun*, in which the letters *s* and *t* are employed as servile letters, in consequence of the orthographical resemblance of such terms to derivatives from the roots  and . The use of the active participle, in Babylonian as in Arabic, instead of the verb, and without, of course, any distinction of person, is not uncommon. As *vattakan*, indeed, here stands for *avastāyam*, "I established," so in the corresponding passage of the Inscription of Nakhsh-i-Rustam    *vattisib* (Itaphal part of ) is used for *niyashādayam*. *Vaṣṣabit* also, is employed throughout the Behistun Inscription, for "I seized," or "he seized," and if    *vasbussu*, be a genuine term in line 19 of Westergaard's D., it must be explained as the Shaphel participle of *ebas*, used instead of the 3rd pers. of the verb.

The 4th clause, *yathā pruvamachiya, awathā adam akunavam*, "I made it as it was before," is rendered by              . The first word, which, if it be phonetic, must be read *sif*, is difficult. I conjecture, however, that it is a noun or construct infinitive from a root *vasas* or *yasa*, which signifies "to renew" or "restore," and which is cognate both with the Hebrew  and the Arabic .¹ There is, at any rate, a verbal form in the Nimrud Standard Inscription, line 20, which is certainly a kindred derivative with    and which suggests the above etymology. This word occurs in the phrase              .                   "at the four gates I restored," and I translate, accordingly, the Behistun phrase by "I made a restoration"

¹ The *ya* in *yasa* may be taken as a middle form between  and ; at any rate, examples of the *yod* interchanging with gutturals are not uncommon; while the Babylonian *s* is known to be a frequent substitute for the dental, as in the orthography of *Barsiya* for the Persian *Bardiya*.

(or "a renewing of what was before"). The verb עָבַד עֲבָדָה לְ, *etibusu*, is of course an Ifta'al form of *abas*, the servile letter עֵ being introduced between the 1st and 2nd radical as a conjugational characteristic.

[illegible]

may very well be derived, having on the one side the sense of "being firm," like the Sanscrit *गन्ध*, whilst on the other, from the context of several independent passages, I should be disposed to prefer translating *as asrisu* by "in loco ejus," precisely as Mons. Oppert translates *gathwā*, comparing it with the Persian *گتھ*. We have thus

𐎠𐎹𐎷𐎡𐎴. 𐎠𐎹𐎷𐎡𐎴 𐎠𐎹𐎷𐎡𐎴. 𐎠𐎹𐎷𐎡𐎴 𐎠𐎹𐎷𐎡𐎴. 𐎠𐎹𐎷𐎡𐎴 𐎠𐎹𐎷𐎡𐎴.
min asri sun assukha sunuti, "a loco eorum ejeci eos." Brit. Mus.

17. 1. 13.— ䷗, 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎, 𠄎, < << ䷖.
 ䷖ <<< ䷖, 𠄎, ䷖ 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎, ䷖= 𠄎 ䷖ 𠄎

"Tabulam quam reges patres mei in sedes eorum erexere." British Museum, 76. 30.; and I think even that the word 𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, which is of such very common occurrence in the Inscriptions of Assyria, is the noun *asar*, signifying "a place," as in the title taken by the Khursabad king:—









vu sak nis * Ya hu du. so. a sar su.












$\underbrace{\langle \text{Y Y} \rangle}_{\text{ru}} = \underbrace{\langle \text{Y Y Y} \rangle}_{\text{hu}} = \underbrace{\langle \text{Y Y Y Y} \rangle}_{\text{ku}}.$ Brit. Mus., 33. 8.







"He who possesses Judæa, of which the place is afar off," or "master of the remote Judæa." There can at any rate be no doubt but that אֲשֶׁר יְיָ הוּא is the oblique case of a noun *asar*, governed by the particle *as* and attached to the suffix of the 3rd person masculine singular.

It is probable that the word 𐎧𐎶𐎵𐎲𐎠 , of which I have already hazarded an explanation, and which follows *vallakan*, belongs to the 8th clause, the signification being, "I restored to their former state Persia, Media, and the other provinces; that which had been taken away I brought back."

The 9th clause, containing the translation of "I did this by the grace of Ormazd," requires no explanation, but in the 10th, which answers to "I arranged so that I established our family in its place,"

there are a few words to be noticed. In the first place, for the Persian verb *hamatakhshiya*, we have a term of doubtful orthography; it seems to be written       *vapnatikit*, and ought, I think, to represent an Ifta'al participle. In its present form, however, it will require to be referred to a quadrilateral root, of which very few examples indeed are to be found in Babylonian, and I am strongly inclined, therefore, to question the genuineness of the second letter. There is certainly a space for one letter on the rock, and there are the remains apparently of the sign , but this may have been originally an error of the sculptor. Unless indeed the term be read *vaptikit*, and referred to the Ifta'al conjugation of , "to look after," I can suggest no possible explanation.

     *adi eli sa*, "until that," or "so that," is already known to us, but the possessive pronoun of the 1st person plural    , which is attached to  *bit*, "a family," is a new word. As *attua* seems to stand for *antua*, so must *attunu* stand for *antunu*, the only difference being that the singular pronoun terminates in *a*, equivalent to the Hebrew suffix in *'*, while the plural termination is in *nu*, which is absolutely the same as the Hebrew suffix in *ן*, a relic of .

The Babylonian version of the last clause is opposed, I think, to the reading of Mons. Oppert, who translates *yathá Gumáta hya Magush viham tyám amákham niyá parábbara*, by "before that Gomates the Magian had usurped our country."     *yassu* (Hebrew  from ) is the exact equivalent of the Persian *parábbara*, "he took away." The meaning, therefore, of the last clause must be, I think, "so that our family was not superseded by Gomates the Magian," and the entire paragraph may be translated as follows:—

"Says Darius the king: the empire which from [our family had been taken away, that I recovered: in its place] I established it: I restored it (or, made it as it was before): the houses of the gods which Gomates the Magian had destroyed, I [rebuilt; I again entrusted the sacred rites, the chanting, and the sacrifice, to the parties whom] Gomates the Magian had deprived of their holy offices: I established the State in its place (or, I put it in order). By the grace of Ormazd I made as they were before, Persia, Media, [and the other provinces: I restored to them that which had been taken away:] by the grace of Ormazd I did this: I made arrangements until that our family in its place I established: [as it was before, so I arranged matters] by the grace of Ormazd, that our family was not displaced by Gomates the Magian."

Of the 15th paragraph, which reads "Says Darius the king: this is what was done by me after that I became king," nothing is preserved in the Babylonian but the name of Darius.

Par. 16. 1. 29
* Da ri ya vaṣ.

melek (— — —). ya gab bi. al la. sa.

ana ku. a du ku. a na. * Gu m a ta. *

1. 30
Ma gu su. akhar. ish. (— — — — —)




yat ba v va. ya gab bi. ki ma. ana ku.

melek. * — — * akhar. ish. — — * i.




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yat ti k ru '. la. pa ni ya.

l. 31  𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵.
(— — — — —) * Na di ta bil.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵.
sum su. bar su. sa. * A ni ri '. su va.

𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵.  𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵.  .
as. * Babel *. yat ba v va. ana. hva ku.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 . 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. l. 32 
ya par ra š. ki ma. ana ku. (— — —

 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 . 𐎶𐎵.  𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵.
— — — — —) yat ti (— —) * Babel *.

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 .   . 𐎶𐎵.  𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵.
yat ti ki r. melk u t. * Babel *.

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵.
yaš ša bat.






In the second clause, which reads "when I slew Gomates the Magian, then a man," &c., 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 *allasa* for *yathá*, with the sense of "when," is a new expression. Perhaps it signifies literally, "at the time that," 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 being the preposition 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 denoting time, and 𐎶𐎵 being equivalent to 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. As I have never met, however, with any other examples of this compound adverb, I cannot be sure that I have analysed it correctly; or even that it is intended to be read phonetically. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *aduku*, is also to be remarked as a variant form of 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *adduku*, the root 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵, as I have already observed, forming its future

either with or without the *daghesh*. Another novelty is the employment of the monogram for "a man," to connect *Gomata* and *Magusu*, instead of the pronoun *hagasuva*. The sign in question is here used simply as a non-phonetic determinative before . At the end of the line, answers to the Persian *martiya*, and is to be read probably as . The last word of the 2nd clause, which is *udapatatâ* in the Persian, and which signifies "he arose," is rendered in the Babylonian by *yatbarva*, a kindred form with the term *yatbâ*, which I had occasion to examine in line 15.¹ I suppose it to be the 3rd person singular masculine of the Tiph'al future of , the duplication of the second radical being characteristic of this as well as of the Pi'el conjugation, and the sense being modified by the change of conjugation from "coming," to "arising." (Compare the Hebrew noun , "produce," or "that which *springs up* from the earth.")















In the 3rd clause the Persian term *awakhd*, "thus," is rendered by 𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎵, which, in accordance with Semitic analogies, I would propose to read as *kima*, comparing it with the Hebrew adverb 𐤎𐤎. The letter 𐎠𐎵, at any rate, although representing primarily the sound of *m* or *v* after *u*, belongs certainly, in its secondary use, to the guttural class, for it constantly interchanges with 𐎠𐎶 and 𐎶𐎵, and I believe, moreover, that we constantly meet, in the Inscriptions of Assyria, with the Babylonian 𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎵, signifying "so" or "like," under the form of 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 or 𐎠𐎶𐎵.














The name of 𐎧𐎶𐎵, which is usually applied to



¹ If it were possible to obtain for the letter **Ξ** the secondary power of *ka*, I should of course prefer reading this word as *yathkamma*, and deriving it from **𐤙𐤕**; but I have met with no other authority for such a phonetic value, and I cannot venture to adopt it on a single example.

Susiana, and which is, I feel tolerably sure, composed of ideographs, has been remarked on in my notes to the 6th paragraph. It is worth while, however, to observe the form of .     for "the people of Susiana," the addition of the plural sign to the proper name of the country being held to be sufficient to indicate the gentile epithet.

In line 31 we first meet with the orthography of—

𐎶.     for the Persian *Naditabira*, and are thus enabled to attach to the sign  (incorrectly printed in the text as ) the power of *di*, and to identify the compound character    (contraction of   ) as the monogram for the god *Bil* (Hebrew ). The name seems to have been commonly used among the Babylonians, as it is found repeated several times on a cylinder published by Grotendorf (*Zeitschrift*, Tom. iii. p. 179), and it may be interpreted as "the gift of Bel," *nadita* being equivalent to the Hebrew , "a liberal gift." Ezek. 16. 23.

The name of the father of Naditabelus, which is lost both in the Persian and Scythic versions, is preserved in the Babylonian, as 𐎶.      *Aniri*. The only other word to be noticed in line 31 is     *yaparraš*, the 3rd person masculine singular of the Piël future of *paraš*, "to lie," a root from which we have already met with another derivative in the plural noun     *paršat*, "lies."

In line 32 the first word is doubtful. The analogy of line 16, where we have the two verbs *yatriku'* and *yattikru'* in immediate juxtaposition, would lead us to expect that *yattikir* would in this place be preceded by *yattirik*, the 3rd person singular masculine of the Ifta'al form of , and it is very possible that the 3rd character in the line may be , which seems in Assyrian to have the power of *rik*. At any rate, the term which follows the name of Babylon is to be read *yattikir* for *yantikir*, and is to be

explained as the 3rd person singular masculine of the Ifta'al form of נָכַר , "to rebel." There seems to be no fixed rule in Babylonian with regard to the employment or suppression of the final vowel in many of the future forms. The 3rd person plural, both of the masculine and feminine gender, is marked by the letter אָ , which replaces a primitive *n*, but in the 1st and 3rd persons singular we sometimes meet with a final *a* or a final *u*, and sometimes the vowel is elided. I propose accordingly, pending further research, to designate the latter form as apocopate.

For an explanation of $\text{זַי} \text{ וַי} \text{ אָ}$. *yassabat*, "he seized," see line 17.

The paragraph accordingly reads as follows:—

"Says Darius the king. When I had slain Gomates the Magian, then a man [named Atrines, the son of Opadarmes, he in Susiana] arose; he said thus: I am the king of Susiana; then the people of Susiana rebelled against me: [they went over to that Atrines: he became king of Susiana: afterwards a man of Babylon] named Niditabelus, the son of Anires, he arose in Babylon; he thus falsely declared to the people: "I [am Nabochodrossor, the son of Nabonidus:" then the whole state of Babylon to Niditabelus] went over; Babylon rebelled: he seized the kingdom of Babylon."

Of the 17th paragraph the Babylonian has preserved nothing but the words answering to "Darius the king says," and the final clause $\text{אָ} \text{ אָ} \text{ אָ} \text{ אָ} \text{ אָ}$ *anaku adduksu*, "I slew him." The last word, which is the apocopate form of the 1st person singular of the Kal future of אָ , is of some interest from its affording a good example of the phonetic power of אָ , which is otherwise of rare occurrence. The intermediate phrases, "then I sent to Susiana," and "Atrines was brought bound before me," are entirely lost.

In the second clause, "I went" is rendered by 𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *allaku*, the 1st person singular of the future of the root 𐎶𐎵𐎶, "to go." This verb is used very frequently in the Inscriptions, and seems to be conjugated more regularly than its Hebrew correspondent. In the future forms, at any rate, where the first radical as a weak letter falls away, its loss is compensated by the doubling of the second radical; (compare 𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 or 𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *allaku*, for the 1st person, and 𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, or 𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, or 𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *yallaku* or *yalliku* for the 3rd person;) whilst in the participial forms 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *halak*, 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *haliku*, &c., and in the imperative 𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 *alkan*, the initial stem letter, which in Babylonian must have been 𐎶, rather than 𐎶, is reproduced. The 𐎶𐎵 can only be used, it would seem at the end of the word 𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 to express the vowel termination in *u*. This verb is followed by the compound preposition 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵𐎶. *ana eli*, which merely signifies "to."

The 3rd and 4th clauses are both important and difficult. The construction of the Persian seems to be, "the forces of Naditabirus held the Tigris: there they were in position, supported by their boats." But the order of the phrases must be reversed in the Babylonian. The only explanation, indeed, that I can give of line 34 is as follows. "The forces of Niditabel" 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵𐎶. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 *as eli dikta hvasuzru*, "to their ships having fled;" 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *aba*, "there;" 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 *kullu'* — *Tiggar*, "held [or guarded] the Tigris." 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵. *mali*, "completely." There are many doubtful points, however, in this rendering. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶 is orthographically identical with a word which is repeated over and over again in

the Inscriptions of Assyria, and which cannot possibly, I think, signify "ships," though I am still doubtful as to its real signification.¹ Of the many readings that have been suggested for this word, the most probable, I think, is "walls of defence;" and the question accordingly arises, whether the Persian *navy* *ācan* also have this meaning, or whether there can be such entirely different significations as "ships" and "walls" appertaining to the same noun 𐎶 𐎠𐎫𐎶 𐎶. Leaving this point to be decided by more competent inquirers, I go on to suggest that 𐎶𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎫𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *hvasuzzu*, which governs *dikta*, may be the plural participle of a root answering to 𐎶𐎶, "to take refuge," a sibilant, as is so often the case, being substituted for the Hebrew 𐤒. The next word, 𐎶 𐎶, however it be pronounced, undoubtedly stands for the Persian *awadā*, "there," for we have, in a subsequent passage 𐎶. 𐎶 𐎶 answering to *amuthā*, "from thence;" and 𐎶 𐎶𐎠𐎫𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 with equal certainty may be identified as the 3rd person plural præterite of a verb² which corresponds with 𐤢𐤥 in Hebrew, and 𐎶 in Arabic, and which signifies "to hold or

¹ The phrase to which I allude is 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶 𐎶. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶, the first word being often written phonetically, as 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 or 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *dikta* or *dikut*, and thus admitting of explanation either as a correspondent for the Chaldee 𐤍𐤒𐤕, "a palm-tree," or as a kindred derivative with 𐤒𐤍, "a wall," or "tower." The latter is, I think, however, the most probable explanation, for it is impossible to suppose that all the cities to which this phrase refers had either "ships" to be destroyed, or "palm-trees" to be cut down; whereas, there were undoubtedly "walls and towers" in every instance to be levelled by the Assyrian conqueror. I think, also, that 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 and 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 must be plural forms, the theme being *dika*, which would nearly resemble 𐤒𐤕.

guard."¹ The term which follows may be taken for the determinative of water, as it not only precedes the names of rivers, but is also usually prefixed to the noun *varrat*, which signifies the sea. It was probably non-phonetic. After 𐎶 𐎶 occurs one of the names of the Tigris. It is written 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, and was, I think, pronounced *Tiggar*, the 1st sign being perhaps a non-phonetic determinative, while the two others have the respective powers of *tik* and *gar*.² This name, in the Inscriptions of Assyria, is written 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, and interchanges with a still more ancient designation of the river in question expressed by 𐎶 𐎶.³ In the succeeding line will be found a third name for the Tigris, which is the

¹ This verb is constantly used in the Insc. of Assyria, with the sense of "withholding;" comp. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶. *mandattasun yaklu*, "they withheld their tribute." 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶. *yaklu tamarku*, "they withheld allegiance," &c. &c.

² Possibly the initial sign of this name, 𐎶, which is properly *bar*, may here have the secondary power of *hi* or *hid*, answering to the first syllable of the Hebrew title 𐤁𐤓𐤏. In Assyrian, at any rate, it often interchanges phonetically with 𐎶 before *t*; compare Khursabad, 38, 65 and 16, 113, &c. The second sign 𐎶 has several values, but *tik* is that most usually employed, and that the last character 𐎶 or 𐎶, of which *paru* seems to be the normal power, may also be pronounced *gar*, I infer from the forms 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 and 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 *aggur* and *attagar*, which are the Kal and Nithpael(?) futures of the same root, answering to the Hebrew 𐤏𐤓 or 𐤏𐤓.

³ I should wish to read 𐎶 𐎶 as *khalkhal*, or supposing the word to be a plural form, as *khali*; and would thus compare with the title, the name of the river *Halys*, together with the geographical appellations of *Calah*, *Calachene*, *Calneh*, &c.; but this is, after all, little more than a conjecture; for the evidence which would attach to the letter 𐎶 the power of *khal*, is exceedingly slight.

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 again, which occurs so frequently in the Assyrian Inscriptions, seems to be merely a collective pronoun; and the participle 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *hvamallu*, which is also a well-known word, may be referred, I think, to the root 𐎶𐎵 "to fill." At the same time, having thus rendered a plausible explanation of each word contained in line 34, I am bound to say that I place no great dependence on the translation of the whole phrase, and that I am not even quite satisfied that the Persian text has been correctly rendered. The remaining words of line 34 signify "then I some troops," and refer, of course, to the manœuvre executed by Darius in order to force the enemy's position, and obtain command of the passage of the river.

In the 9th clause, "we crossed over the Tigris" is rendered by 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 *Dikta nitibir*. The employment of the name of *Dikta* to designate the Tigris in immediate contact with the more usual appellation of *Tiggar* is remarkable, for it proves that the titles were independent of each other, instead of *Digla*, as has been generally supposed, being a corrupted form of *Tigra*; while the use of the latter term, as early as the age of the North-West Palace at Nimrud (about 1000 B. C.), throws considerable doubt upon the etymology which the Greeks, in accordance with the tradition of the country, assigned to the name. It seems indeed impossible to believe that an Arian dialect in which *tigra*, as a derivative from 𐎶𐎵, "to be sharp," signified "an arrow," and was thus applied to the river in question to indicate its velocity, could have prevailed in Mesopotamia at any period of the Assyrian monarchy.¹

be rendered, "I took many prisoners," or "I took prisoners numbering ———," *mallut* being the masculine plural of an adjective derived from 𐎶𐎵; compare 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, Gen. xlviii. 19; 𐎶𐎵, "in full number." Nahum. i. 10, &c.

¹ If we could suppose, however, that a root *dik* existed in Babylonian, of cognate origin with the Sanscrit 𐎶𐎵, and having the same meaning, we should

I am not able, it is true, from Semitic sources, to explain the etymology either of *Dikta* or *Tiggar*, nor can I determinately trace the connection between *Dikta* and 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕 (that is, I cannot say whether *Diglet* and *Dikta* are both feminine nouns, the one being an amplification of the other, or whether *Dikta* is not rather the same form as *Dikla*, the original dental having subsided into a liquid by a more natural orthographical degradation): but I can at any rate sustain the reading of *Dikta* which I have adopted for 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕, and which, owing to the discrepant phonetic value of the sign 𐤕, might otherwise be doubted, by pointing to the variant orthography of 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕, which is applied to the same river in the British Museum series, pl. 65, l. 14.

𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕 *niḫbir*, answering to *viyataraḫma*, "we crossed over," is the 1st person plural of the Ifta'al form of 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕 "to cross over," a root which supplies us with a large number of derivatives in the Inscriptions of Assyria. Compare 1st person singular Kal 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕 *ebar*; ditto Ifta'al 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕 *etibar*: 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕 for 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕: Niphal part. 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕 *niḫarti*, &c. In the conjugation of this verb and, in fact, of all Babylonian roots of which the Hebrew correspondents commence with *y*, we remark that the letter 𐤁 especially represents the guttural preceded by *N*. In all other positions the guttural falls

resolve most of the difficulties connected with the Cuneiform 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕 and 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕. *Dikta*, as a feminine noun, would signify "the sharp," or "the rapid," and might thus be appropriately used as a name for the river Tigris; while *dikat* or *dikut* (plural forms) would also designate "boats" or "canoes," from the rapidity of their movement, precisely as we have in Persian the cognate forms of 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌, "sharp" or "rapid," and 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌, "a boat" or "canoe," and in the same way as the skiffs used at the present day upon the Tigris and Euphrates, are named *tarādeh*, to indicate their lightness and velocity.

away, and it was thus evidently regarded as a very weak aspiration, assimilating, however, to the *v* perhaps, rather than to the *N*, so that *ai*, as the preformative of the 1st person singular, could be appropriately rendered by 𐎠𐎶 .¹







The preformative 𐎠𐎶 for the 1st person plural exactly answers to the Hebrew נִי , but with regard to the terminal vowel, there was apparently no fixed rule in Babylonian: for although in the term *nitibir* and in 𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎠𐎶 *nitibus* (Westergaard's D., l. 16), the vowel is elided, as in Hebrew, it appears again in the orthography of 𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶 *nitibusu*, which we shall meet with in the next line as an Ifta'al form of *ebas*.




The last word of line 35, 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶 *adduku*, "I smote," is already well known.













































The date in line 36 is sufficiently legible, and supplies us with the form of 𐎶𐎶 for the Persian month *Atriyātiya*, the same form occurring repeatedly in other Assyrian and Babylonian documents, but no means existing, that I know, of ascertaining how the name was pronounced.

The paragraph ends with $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶. 𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶.}$ *šilat nitibusu*, "we did battle," or "fought." The word for "battle," which is written indifferently 𐎠𐎶 𐎶 , 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶 and 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶 , and which must be a feminine noun, is derived probably from a root corresponding with the Hebrew לָחַם , the sense of "moving to and fro," which appertains to the Hebrew verb, being somewhat analogous to the meaning which belongs etymologically to the Persian correspondent *hamaranam*. There are so many terms,

¹ That the letter 𐎠𐎶 must have represented a sound more nearly resembling *i* than *a*, is shown by its being always preceded by a consonant of the *i* class, when it is included with such a consonant in a single articulation.

however, used in the Inscriptions, of which the initial syllable is *ṣal* (usually written ) and which are respectively derived from *ṣlḥ*, "to rest;" *ṣlḥ*, "to flourish," or "prosper;" *ṣlḥ*, "to pray;" *ṣlḥ*, "to fight(?);" *ṣlḥ*, "to spoil;" *ṣlḥ*, "to send;" *ṣlḥ* or *ṣlḥ*, "to shadow," or "be like," &c., that I find it extremely difficult to identify them with any certainty, and I abstain, therefore, from quoting what I suppose to be cognate forms of    or  .¹ *Nitiḥus*, for "we did," is the 1st person plural of the Ifta'al conjugation of *abas*, and being precisely similar in formation to
















¹ I may at any rate, however, cite the word    *vualti*, "fighting," in a passage regarding the titles of Sargina, which is inscribed on the reverse of the Khursabad Slabs:—


				—					
melek.	sa.	val	tu.	—	mi.	bi	lu	ti	su.
rex	qui	in	diebus			regni		sui	
									
ga	r	a	su.	la.	yap	s	u.	ya	na.
hostes		ejus		non	parcebat;			in	
									
ga	li.	va.	ta	kha	zi.	la.			
proclis		et		pugnis		non			
									
o	mu	ru.	vu	sal	ti.	mati.	—	su	na.
cessavit			debellare;			terra	principes	earum	
									
ki	ma.	kha	bat	ti.	hva	da	ki	k	u.
quasi	—	—		occisor			(fuit.)		












I should propose to render this in English by "The king, who throughout his reign his enemies never spared; [who] in war and battle never ceased fighting; who smote the great ones of the earth like [briars, (?)]" &c.















kasad (allied perhaps to *قص*), preceded by the particle 𐎶𐎵 , which must here be identical with 𐎶 . In line 57 we shall find "on arriving" expressed by $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$ *ana kasadi*; and "they arrived," in line 66, is rendered by $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$ *yaksudu*, so that there can be no doubt as to the signification of *kasad* in Babylonian, although no immediate correspondent is to be recognized in the Hebrew, and although in the Inscriptions of Assyria *aksut* and *yaksut*, or *aksuda* and *yaksudu*, are generally used to indicate "taking" or "capturing."

In continuation of this clause we find *anuwa Ufratauwa*, "upon the Euphrates, rendered by $\text{𐎶} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$, which I really cannot venture to read phonetically. The particle 𐎶𐎵 or 𐎶𐎵 is constantly used in Assyrian to denote vicinity to "a river," or "the sea," and in such positions it interchanges with 𐎶𐎵 or 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 , but I doubt if any of these forms are phonetic: at any rate the normal power of *tik*, which attaches to the character 𐎶𐎵 , is manifestly inapplicable, and I have not yet been able to assign to it any other determinate value. The name of the Euphrates also which follows the particle 𐎶𐎵 and is distinguished by the determinative 𐎶𐎵 , is equally difficult of explanation. The title of this river in the Inscriptions of Assyria is commonly written $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$ or $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$ for *Burat*, but the other name, such as we have it in the text, and as it is found generally on all Babylonian monuments, was not unknown to the kings of Nineveh, for the very same orthography is employed in the British Museum series, pl. 18, l. 32. The term indeed of $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$ may possibly have been read *Burat*, like $\text{𐎶𐎵} \text{𐎶𐎵}$, for the initial and concluding signs were, it would seem, non-phonetic, and of the two essential characters 𐎶𐎵 or 𐎶𐎵 and 𐎶𐎵 , the latter, a mere variant form of 𐎶𐎵 , had

certainly the power of *rat*. As we find, however, that this term   or   , or      is used everywhere in the Inscriptions of Assyria as a generic term, whilst the orthography of   or    is applied exclusively to the river, it is certainly safer to regard them as distinct titles, the one being the original of the Hebrew פַּרְתַּי, and the other a qualificative epithet, referring to some particular property of the river.¹

In line 37 the first letter that can be traced is , and we

¹ It certainly appears to me as if the term   without being a geographical title, was still expressly employed to denote the valley of the Euphrates, or perhaps the Mesopotamian plains. In almost all cases where the king of Assyria takes the title of king of    , that epithet supersedes the title of king of Babylon. (Compare British Museum, 12. 4; 10. 6, 17. 1; 33. 1; Obelisk, side 1, l. 16.) In the Khursabad Inscriptions again, the epithets "    

thus see that the verb *gabah* used for its 3rd person the form of *yagabbu*, as well as *yagabbi*, agreeing in this respect with the 1st and 2nd persons singular, which are respectively *agabbu* and *tagabbu*.

The name of Nabochodrossor, which follows in that line, is now so well known that it hardly requires to be analyzed. It is formed of three elements:—1. The god Nabo, whose name, preceded by $\rightarrow\Upsilon$, the determinative of a god, is expressed by the monograms $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ or $\rightarrow\Upsilon\Upsilon$, or phonetically by $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ $\rightarrow\Upsilon$. 2. A term *kuduru*, written phonetically as $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ (or with some equivalent orthography), or ideographically as $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ $\rightarrow\Upsilon$. and—3. The word *sur*, which is sometimes represented syllabically by $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ (the monogram for “a brother”), or $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ and sometimes literally by $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ $\rightarrow\Upsilon$. I am not prepared at present to explain the etymology of the title, although it may be presumed that *kuduru* is connected with $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ “power,” and *sur*, with $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ “a refuge.”

There are no other words in this paragraph requiring to be noticed, except the variant forms of $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ *šalla*, and $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ *šalli*, for the word “battle.”

as if the sign $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ had the phonetic value of *kip*, *kiprat* being the masc. plur. and *kiprat* the fem. sing. of an adjective, signifying “great,” and allied to the root which is $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ in Hebrew, and $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ in Arabic. The signification, too, of “the great river” (the $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ of Gen. xv. 18), would apply perfectly to the Euphrates, but it would be difficult to account for the employment of *kiprat*, so explained in other passages, unless we supposed the title to have been used with an express reference to the river, geographically, rather than in its primitive and indefinite sense of “great.”

Translation.

[Darius the king] says: then I went to Babylon. On arriving at Babylon, in the city named Zazannu, which was upon the river Euphrates [there that Niditabelus who] said thus, "I am Nabochod-rossor" [came before me to fight]: then we joined battle: Ormazd brought help to me: by the grace of Ormazd, the troops of Niditabelus [I entirely defeated]: we fought the battle upon the second day [of the month —."

END OF THE FIRST COLUMN.

MEMOIR

ON THE

BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

CHAPTER I.

ALPHABET.

IN laying before the Royal Asiatic Society the portions which remain of the Babylonian translation of the Great Behistun Inscription, it becomes indispensable that I should consider the general character of the Alphabet in which this Inscription is written, and should further endeavour to explain, in some degree, the grammatical structure of the language, and point out its affinities with other languages of the same family. I undertake this task, however, with the utmost diffidence, for the more that I have extended my investigations,—the more that I have studied the Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia, and sought to verify previous conclusions, by testing their general applicability—the more reason have I found to mistrust that which before seemed plain; the more alive, indeed, have I become to the sad conviction that in the present stage of the inquiry, as regards materials, no amount of labour will suffice for the complete resolution of difficulties; no ingenuity, however boldly or happily exerted, can furnish readings of such exactitude as to lead at once to positive results.

There are certain inherent difficulties in the construction of the Assyrian alphabet, which meet us on the very threshold of the inquiry, and envelope all our subsequent labours in obscurity and doubt. The same classification may apply to the Cuneatic signs, which Bunsen has applied to the Hieroglyphic. They are divided into ideographs, determinatives, phonetics, and mixed signs; but there are two sources of confusion in the Assyrian alphabet, from which the Egyptian is altogether free. 1stly, There are no direct means of distinguishing between the various classes of Cuneiform signs; and 2dly, in the phonetic branch of the subject, which is of course the most extensive and important, there is no clue, so far as the alphabet is concerned, to the determination of one out of the many powers which may belong to a single character. The first impediment is not of a very formidable nature, familiarity with the current collocation of the signs enabling a student usually to detect their generic employment irrespectively of the sense, or even of the sound; but the other diffi-

culty is so great that, after years of laborious research, I have overcome it but to a limited extent.



It can be shown beyond all possibility of dispute, that a very large proportion of the Assyrian signs are Polyphones—that is, they represent more than one sound; and strange as this irregularity may at first sight appear, it does not, I think, altogether defy explanation. The analogy of Egyptian writing would lead us to suspect that the Cuneatic signs were originally mere pictures, rude representatives of natural objects, which expressed in the first instance the actual object that was figured, but which came in process of time, and by a gradual transition from the representative to the symbolical system, to express ideas. The formation of a phonetic alphabet, and the application of such an alphabet to the ordinary purposes of inscription, would then be a third step in advance, and might have taken place in the following manner:—each sign may have been employed phonetically to express the name, or names, of the object to which it was previously appropriated as an ideograph, and without any reference whatever to the sense; and when such names were polysyllabic, by a last but most important refinement, the character may have been specially devoted to the initial sound. Now in this proposed transition from picture-writing to a phonetic system, there is nothing at variance with the recognized development of the Egyptian alphabet, but the retention of signs with Polyphone powers, corresponding to the original Polyonymous ideas. That such a peculiarity, at the same time, existed in the Assyrian alphabet, I shall have abundant means of proving in the course of the present Memoir, and I am fain, therefore, to regard it as a mere excrecence on the Egyptian system.

But although I can thus show the probable reason of the employment of Cuneatic Polyphones—although I can explain the fact of the character 𐎶 , the ideograph for a “country,” being invested with such discrepant phonetic values as *mat* and *kur*, by referring to the Semitic synonyms, ܡܬܪ in Chaldee, and كورة in Arab, (cognate with $\chi\acute{o}pa$),—the practical inconvenience of such a variableness of power is excessive. The meaning, for instance, of an Assyrian or Babylonian word may be ascertained determinately, either from the key of the trilingual Inscriptions, or from its occurring in a great variety of passages with only one signification that is generally applicable; but unless its correspondent can be recognized in some Semitic tongue, it is often impossible, owing to the employment in it of a Polyphone character, to fix its orthography. In the multitudinous inscriptions

again, of Nimroud, of Khursabad, of Koyunjik, and of Babylon, of which (although their general application can be detected without much difficulty) the details require for their elaboration a minute philological analysis, this orthographical uncertainty presses on the student with almost crushing severity. On the one side, in working out his readings, he can only employ philological aid,—that is, he can only compare Hebrew or Chaldee correspondents, after being assured of the true sound of the Assyrian and Babylonian word; while, on the other, he must depend on his acquaintance with Semitic vocables to fix the fluctuating Cuneiform powers.

I do not despair but that ultimately a severe and extensive comparison of all available materials, combined with the fertility of invention, which is an essential element in the art of the decipherer, will render the Assyrian legends at least as intelligible as the Egyptian; but at the present moment, I do not pretend to be able to do more than give a general outline of the subject, and thus pave the way to further discovery.



Deferring then, for the present, any more detailed explanation of the nature or consequences of the employment of Polyphone characters, I now pass on to the consideration of certain other peculiarities that attach to the Assyrian alphabet. Much of the laxity which I at one time attributed to the Assyrian system of expression, has either disappeared under a more rigid examination, or has yielded to the solution of one character being qualified to represent several dissimilar sounds. I do not now find that there is in Assyrian more tendency to interchange among the letters which compose each class of the alphabet, than is to be traced in Hebrew, Chaldee, and other cognate dialects. In one remarkable particular, there is indeed, in the Inscriptions of Babylon and Assyria, a semblance of phonetic refinement, as connected with the graphic art, to which no parallel can be produced in any other system of Semitic writing. A series of characters can be put together, forming a sort of syllabarium, and arranged apparently on the most scientific principles of alphabetical expression. Taking the guttural class for an example, it will thus be found that there are six forms for the surd *k*, three in which the vowels, *a*, *i*, and *u*, precede the consonant, and three in which they follow it; for the aspirated *kh*, four forms can be recognized; one, which may be used after any of the three vowels indifferently, and three appropriated each to its own vowel; while for the sonant *g* there are only three forms in all; the employment of a hard letter (*g*, *d*, or *b*), as a complementary sound being apparently adverse to the Assyrian organs of speech; and the characters of this grade being thus restricted to the





expression of the syllables *ga*, *gi*, and *gu*. It is not pretended that this arrangement of numbers will admit of rigid application to all the various classes of the alphabet, but a sanguine philologist might, nevertheless, feel disposed to adopt it as the normal type of Assyrian expression, and to regard all deviations from it as exceptional. In real fact, however, the existence of such a syllabarium depends, as it appears to me, on mere accident. The majority of the signs composing it are Polyphones, and could not possibly, therefore, have been invented to give utterance to a preconceived and exclusive phonetic system. They were rather, I should think, ideographs, representing objects of which the names, (or at any rate the initial sounds of the names,) were, *ak*, *ik*, *uk*, *ka*, *ki*, *ku*, &c. They may have been used phonetically merely to suit the necessities of the language; and the irregularity perceptible in the distribution might then be explained as arising from the accident of there being no objects, requiring ideographs to express them, of which the Assyrian names were identical, or commenced, with the wanting phonetic powers. There is at the same time an undeniable evidence of artificial structure in the degradation of these syllabic values to simple letters, such as to all intents and purposes they become when two of them of the same vocalic grade are combined in a single articulation, and when the inherent vowel of either one character or the other must thus necessarily lapse. In the articulation, *kat*, for example, which commences the name of *Katpatuka* (for Cappadocia), and which is composed of the two characters  *ka*, and  *at*, either one or the other of those signs must represent a simple letter rather than a syllable; and as this peculiarity of expression pervades the whole Assyrian alphabet, I think I am justified in still adhering to the statement which I announced last year, that the Phonetic signs were in some cases syllabic, and in others literal.






It may be understood from what has been already said, that an attempt at present to classify the entire number of the Assyrian signs, or to reduce the system of writing to which they belong to certain definite and constant rules, would be almost hopeless. It would be trying to run before we are well able to walk, and would be opposed to all principles of sound criticism. Although, therefore, it may be disappointing to the curious, who care only for results, and tedious even to those pains-taking scholars, who know and appreciate the value in scientific inquiries of the "pièces justificatives," I shall resist the temptation of heading the present Memoir with a tabulated Assyrian

Alphabet, and in lieu thereof, proceed to examine the Cuneatic signs, "literatim et seriatim," giving examples of the different modes in which each character is employed, and frankly stating the degree of confidence that may be attached to its phonetic, or ideographic, identification. Such inferences as may be legitimately drawn from the materials subjected to analysis, either in regard to general principles of language, or details of alphabetical expression, will then follow in due course, and a path will be gradually opened up to a more comprehensive, as well as critical, treatment of the question of Cuneiform decipherment. It is true, that in thus dealing with the Assyrian Alphabet, without previously laying down any fixed rule of classification, the order of arrangement in which the signs may present themselves for examination, must be to a certain extent arbitrary; but it is hoped that any inconvenience or difficulty of reference, arising from so motley an assortment, will be obviated by the discriminative lists of ideographs, determinatives, phonetics, and mixed signs, that will be given as soon as the preliminary branch of the inquiry may be fairly exhausted.

1. ¶ *ha* or *a*. As a phonetic sign it answers to the Semitic Aleph, א, being a light aspiration, the "spiritus lenis" of the Greeks, and also serving in the interior of a word to represent the long *a*.

In the following names, which occur at Behistun, it corresponds as an initial, both with the Persian  and —





} = Persian *Arabāya*. Arabia. (B. I., l. 5.¹)
A ra bi






} = Persian *Hariva*. Aria. (do. l. 6.;
Ha r e vu N. R. l. 12.)

¹ The initial letters which I use in quoting refer to the following authorities:

B. I. Behistun Inscription.

B. M. British Museum Series of Assyrian Inscriptions, published in 1851.

Kh. Khursabad Inscriptions, published by the French Government.

N. R. Nakhish-i-Rustam Inscription attached to the present Memoir.

E. I. East India House Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar.

C. C. Bellino's (or the Nebuchadnezzar) Cylinder, published by Grotefend.

W. Westergaard's Plates.

M. Michaux's stone, (cast of it in the British Museum.)

C. C. Cullimore's Cylinders, published by Syro-Egyptian Society.

𐎠 𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 } = { Persian *Arakadarish*.
A ra ka t ri Aracadres. (B. I.,
l. 15.)

𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 } = Persian *Hara'uwatish*. Ara-
Ha ru kha t ti chotia. (B. I., l. 79.)

𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 } = Pers. *Arakha*. *Aracus*. (do. ls. 88 and 94.)
A ra khu

𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 } = { Pers. *Ilakhdmāni-*
Ha kha ma n ni s si 'a *shiya*. The Achue-
menian. (passim.)

𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 } = Pers. *Ahuramazda*.
A khu r ma s da Oromasdes. (passim.)

𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 } = { Persian *Ilagamātāna*.
Ha ga ma ta nu Agbatana or Ecbatana.
(B.I., l. 60.)

In several other names, where its position is medial, it answers to the long *a*: compare the orthography of—

𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 or 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 }
D á ri y á vaš Da ri ya vaš¹
for Darius.

𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 } for Gomates. (B. I., passim.)
Gu m á ta

𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 } for Veisdates, (do. l. 82, &c.)
Hu vi s d á ta

There is the same tendency, also, to interchange between the 𐎠𐎹 and a harder guttural, which is observable in the Hebrew נ passing over into ה; הַמַּתִּי, the Hamathite, (see Gen. x. 18), appearing in the inscriptions under the different forms of—

𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 } B. M., Pl. 90, l. 60.
Ha mat ai

𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎹 } B. M., Pl. 47, l. 26.
Ha ma ta ai

¹ Observe, that although in the printed text of Behistun Inscription, I give to the sign 𐎠𐎹 its normal power of *sar*, I now suppose it in this name to represent as a secondary value the syllable *vaš*.

𐎶. 𐎶 𐎠 𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎶 } Kh., Pl. 145. No. 2, l. 9.
Ha ma t ti

𐎶. 𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶 𐎠 𐎶𐎶 } B. M., 33, l. 8.¹
Kha m ma ti

The name of the Armenian king at Khursabad is also written 𐎶. 𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶 𐎶 or 𐎶. 𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎶, and many other examples occur of the interchange of the breathing and the guttural.²

The 𐎶 is of great importance in Assyrian, in marking grammatical distinctions. It is the special characteristic of the 1st person sing., denoting that person in verbs as a prefix, where it answers to the preformative of the Hebrew future; (compare the Achaemenian forms, 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *haturu*, "I was or became;" 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *haduku*, "I smote;" 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *hagabba*, "I said,"³) and fulfilling the same function as a suffix after nouns and adjectives; (compare 𐎶𐎶- 𐎶𐎶 𐎶 *rabatd*, at Behistun, answering to the Persian *mand* *badaka*, "bound to me," or "my servant;" and the numerous Assyrian

¹ 𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎶 and 𐎶 𐎠 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 represent the proper name of the country, however, rather than the ethnic title, the nouns being apparently in the oblique case. That these two forms, moreover, denote the same place, notwithstanding the discrepant orthography, is proved by the name of the king of Hamath, 𐎶. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, who was one of the chief antagonists of the Assyrian monarch that founded Khursabad.

² It would be hazardous to give the pronunciation of this name, as the character 𐎶𐎶 represents two distinct powers, and there are no means of ascertaining which of the two sounds it may be here intended to convey. I should propose, however, to read the name Likusaha.

³ It would be more precise to say, that the Cuneiform 𐎶 answers to the Hebrew preformative of the 1st person singular, wherever the consonant which follows it opens on a vowel. In all conjugational forms where the 1st radical is *jemated*, the personal characteristic is of course included in the sign which represents the initial syllable.

It is farther to be observed, that although, in quoting verbal examples, I rarely make a distinction of tense, the forms employed do in reality belong to the Aorist of the Arabic and Hebrew. The Præterite tense was not, of course, altogether unknown to the Assyrian and Babylonian languages, but it was seldom used.

forms, << <Y< Y< "my kingdom;" >II <Y< Y< "my empire," or "rule," << Y< "my country;" >Y< Y< "my city," &c.). As the suffix of the 1st person, Y< very commonly interchanges with >Y< i or ya. In some cases this is a mere alphabetical variety; *tia*, for example, being equally expressed by >Y< >Y< or <Y< Y<; but in other instances there must, I think, be a phonetic confusion between the *a* and *i*, the plural fem. of the demonstrative pronoun being thus indifferently written >Y< >Y< <Y< *anniti*, (N. R. line 8,) and >Y< >Y< Y< <Y< *annit*, (B. I., line 40);¹ and the termination of the ethnic plural, which in such cases must apparently stand for the unusual Hebrew ending in *i*, being optionally expressed by >Y< and Y<. Compare the famous notice of the Phœnician nations in one the earliest Assyrian Inscriptions that we possess, where the orthography of the different copies is—

<< <Y< >Y< Y< >Y< or << <Y< >Y< Y< Y<	{ the Ty- rians.
'Sur r á ya 'Sur ra ai	
<< >Y< >Y< >Y< <Y< >Y< or << >Y< >Y< >Y< <Y< Y< Y<	{ the Sido- nians.
Si du n á ya Si du na ai	
<< Y< >Y< >Y< <Y< >Y< or << Y< >Y< >Y< <Y< Y< Y<	{ the people of Acro.
A khar r á ya A khar ra ai	
<< <Y< >Y< Y< >Y< or << <Y< >Y< Y< Y<	{ the people of Gebal or Byblos.
Gu bal á ya Gu bal ai	

(See B. M., Plate 43, l. 10, with foot notes.²)

I must now consider the employment of Y< as an ideograph, and make my first attack on the obscurities of Assyrian expression. The

¹ There may, perhaps, however, be a grammatical distinction between *annát* and *anniti*, the former being the nominative and the latter the oblique case, and the vowel *a* being thus changed to *i*, in the form *anniti*, to harmonize with the inflexional ending.

² On further examination, I prefer considering the Y< Y< in these names to be everywhere a single letter with the power of *ai*, the effect of its junction with the preceding sign being to develop a long vowel sound; and I no longer therefore, insist on any phonetic confusion between the vowels *i* and *a*.

sign in question is commonly used to express the idea of "son," interchanging in such a position with other ideographs, 𐎶𐎶 or 𐎶𐎶, which means simply, "young, new, or small," and 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, where the idea of "young" is qualified by the sign of the masculine gender. Sometimes, however, the ideograph 𐎶 is replaced by the simple relative 𐎶 or 𐎶 *sa*, which here denotes the genitive case, and thus exactly accords with the Greek idiom for expressing filiation; in other cases, we have both the ideograph and relative 𐎶𐎶. 𐎶; and at Behistun the construction even occurs of 𐎶 𐎶. 𐎶.¹ as in the phrase—

𐎶. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶. 𐎶 𐎶. 𐎶. 𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶 𐎶𐎶,² which must read, "Nabu-kudur-ussur, his son, Nabu-nit's," for "Nabochodrossor the son of Nabonidus." These comparisons, at the same time, furnish us with no clue to the phonetic value of 𐎶, when

¹ This is the ordinary method of expressing filiation in the cursive Babylonian documents. There are, indeed, many hundred examples of the group 𐎶 𐎶. 𐎶 on the clay cakes in the British Museum.

² The alphabetical machinery which is used to express these names, will be given in detail hereafter. For the title of Nabochodrossor three ideographic elements will be found to be employed. 1. The god *Nabo*, denoted by the letters 𐎶 or 𐎶𐎶 preceded by the determinative 𐎶; 2. a compound ideograph 𐎶 𐎶, sometimes phonetically rendered by 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *kuduri*, but of which I know not the meaning; and 3. a sign 𐎶, which is also used as an ideograph for "brother," and which, being sometimes replaced by 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, must be pronounced *sur*. The name of Nabunit in the same manner is expressed by two ideographs; firstly, 𐎶 or 𐎶𐎶 with the determin. 𐎶 for *Nabu*, and secondly, the letter 𐎶, of which I know not the meaning, but which must apply to some object named in Babylonian *nit*. It further appears probable that the group 𐎶. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶, which occurs on so many of the clay cakes in the British Museum, is merely another way of expressing the name of Nabunit, the character 𐎶𐎶 in the second element being used as a determinative, and the letter 𐎶 standing as an abbreviation for *nit*. I have also found *nit* in this name expressed phonetically by 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶.

used to express the sound which in Assyrian means "a son." We can only hope to arrive at the determination of that value by applying to the proper names where the sign occurs, the term denoting a son in other Semitic dialects; but any doubt, of course, which may attach to the identification of the names, will here again impede our progress. There are thus several royal names in Assyrian and Babylonian, which offer themselves for examination; the builder, for instance, of the N. W. Palace at Nimrud, 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, the final character of whose name is frequently given as 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶, (see B. M. Ser., Pl. 2, l. 1; Pl. 33, l. 13, and Pl. 76, l. 7,) and the father of the Babylonian king, Nabochodrossor,—

𐎶. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 or 𐎶. 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, in whose name the 𐎶𐎵 and 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 are seen to interchange.¹

Now to obtain for these two names the reading of Assor-adon-pal or Sardanapalus, and Ναβονολάσαρος, according to the orthography of Polyhistor, I have hitherto proposed to read 𐎶𐎵 or 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 as *pal* or *pol*, and have even sought to compare this term with the Syriac and Chaldee ܒܪ *bar*, and Arabic بن, *bin*; but the identification was never anything more than a conjecture, and must, I fear, on further consideration, be pronounced inadmissible. From the orthography, indeed, of one of the names of the Euphrates, which is written indifferently 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵— and 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵— (and with inflexional endings—

Pur rat Bu rat

𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵— 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵; and 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵— 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵; or 𐎶𐎵𐎶 𐎶𐎵— 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵;
Bu rat tu; Bu rat ti; Bu rat ti;

¹ This name is found on all the documents, both cursive and hieratic, of the time of Nabochodrossor, and is also usually expressed by ideographs. The elements are; 1, the god *Nabu*, represented by the letters 𐎶𐎵 or 𐎶𐎵𐎶 preceded by the determinative for "god" 𐎶𐎵; 2, the word for "son," denoted by the letter 𐎶𐎵, or the mixed sign 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵; and 3, the term *sur*, which is either ideographically expressed by 𐎶𐎵, the sign for "a brother," or is phonetically written 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵𐎶.

see B. M. Ser., Pl. 8, l. 43; Pl. 45, l. 36; Kh. Pl. 66, No. 2, l. 7; and Ob. Ins. passim,) *pur* would seem a preferable value to *pol* or *pal*, and there is an old Persian word, پور, signifying "a son," of this exact orthography. *Pur*, also, might be altered into *pol*, and even *pal*, by the Greeks, without any great violence, and the explanation now proposed would thus still lead to the identification of 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 and 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 as Sardanapalus and Nabopolassar. At the same time, it seems hardly probable that a term like *pur*, abbreviated from the Sans. पुत्र, and preserved under the same form of *putra* (𐎶 𐎶 𐎶), in the Persian Inscriptions of Darius, could have been known in the Assyrian language, as early as the time of the Nimrud Palace; and I still, therefore, consider the phonetic value of the monogram for "son" to be involved in much uncertainty.

There are probably, too, other meanings and powers attaching to the sign 𐎶. In one instance, certainly, and perhaps in others, 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 is used for "mankind,"¹ and the 𐎶 may be conjectured, therefore, to have the variant value of the Babylonian word which signifies "a man." In several mixed signs, also, and in the names of the gods, which appear to be rarely or ever expressed phonetically, the power of the 𐎶 has yet to be discovered. I may thus cite 𐎶 𐎶, "a river," 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 "warriors," or "an army," and the names of the Assyrian gods 𐎶 𐎶 or 𐎶 𐎶, (Babylonian 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶?) and 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 or 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶. In the name of Nineveh, of which the normal form is 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, the 𐎶 probably retains its primitive power of *a*, the true pronunciation of the title being *Ninua*; but it would be very hazardous to attempt to fix the reading of such names as the following: 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶; 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶; or 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶; of which the former belongs to a Chaldean king contemporary with the builders of Khursabad and Koyunjik, and the two latter to the royal family of Assyria.²

¹ See Westergaard's H., line 2, and Niebuhr's copy of the same Inscription.

² In the first of these names the middle element 𐎶 is often replaced by

2. 𐤠𐤭 , *e*. I propose to represent this character by *e*, not as in any way indicating its connexion with the Hebrew Tseri or Seghol, but for mere convenience of distinction from the *a* and *i*. There can be no doubt but that 𐤠𐤭 , the Assyrian form of the sign in question, corresponded in that language with the Hebrew *y*. The following examples are conclusive on this point:—

$\text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭}$ or $\text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭} = \text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭}$ { *Eluta*, or with
inflexion *Eluti*,
for "*Elymais*." }
 $\text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭} = \text{𐤠𐤭}$; from the root *ēbar*, "to cross over."
 $\text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭} = \text{𐤠𐤭}$, 𐤠𐤭 ; from *erab*, "to set (as the sun)."
 $\text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭} = \text{𐤠𐤭}$; from *ēbad*, "to serve, or "make serve."

$\text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭}$, thus showing that the phonetic power is the word signifying "a son." The same interchange takes place in the orthography of the third name; (comp. B. M. 86, ls. 2 and 16); and it may be inferred even that in the second name (B. M., 17. 1), the 𐤠𐤭 represents the sound for "son," from comparing the nearly similar title of $\text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭}$ upon Michaux's stone, where $\text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭}$ is substituted for 𐤠𐤭 . [Since the above was written, I have ascertained that the king whose name is written $\text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭}$ is the *Merodach Baladan* of Scripture; the name of the god *Merodach* (*Mars*) being represented by the monogram $\text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭}$, preceded by 𐤠𐤭 , the det. of "a god;" 𐤠𐤭 or $\text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭}$ having the power of *pal* or *pala*, and the last element $\text{𐤠𐤭} \text{𐤠𐤭}$ being sounded *dana* or *adana*. I am still in doubt, however, as to the reading of the other two names: the former belongs to an ancestor of *Sardanapalus*, and the latter to the grandson of *Sennacherib*. I now suppose the sign 𐤠𐤭 independently of its normal value of *a* or *ha*, to represent the distinct sounds *bu* and *pal*, or *pala*; and this latter term may, perhaps, have signified "a son," though there is no evidence, at present, to establish such an identification; and I have accordingly preferred to render the word "son" by *bar*, after the analogy of the *Chaldee*.

¹ For the true Cuneiform orthography of the name altered by the Hebrews and Greeks to *Elam* and *Elymais*, see B. I., l. 41; B. M., 22. ls. 31 and 35; Khurs. 66. 2. 4. &c., &c.

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 I } from *ebas*, perhaps answering to the Chaldee
 𐎶𐎶 "to make," or "do."

𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 = 𐎶𐎶, 𐎶𐎶 } *eli*, "upon," "over;" and the same,
 answering to the root 𐎶𐎶𐎶 or 𐎶𐎶,
 "to go up," or "ascend."

At the same time, it is evident that the Assyrians and Babylonians did not regard the 𐎶𐎶 as a strong guttural, resembling the Arabic *ġ* or *ع*. It was rather, perhaps, a breathing appropriated to the *i*, as the 𐎶𐎶 was to the *a*, and may thus be compared with the Hebrew *y*, in such names as 𐎶𐎶, 'חלִי; 𐎶𐎶, 'Εσπαῖος; 𐎶𐎶, 'Ωσηέ, &c. At Behistun, indeed, we find the 𐎶𐎶 often answering to the simple vowel *i*, in the orthography of proper names. Compare—

𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 = Persian *Harica* } for *Aria*.
 Ha r e vu

𐎶. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 = Persian } for *Xathrites*.
 Kha sa t r e ti *Khshathrita*

𐎶. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 I = Persian *Imanish* } for *Imanes*².
 Im ma n e su

And it is further important to remark, that in the conjugation of verbs the radical 𐎶𐎶 is frequently elided, as if the sign in question were

¹ This is the orthography used in the detached Insc. of Behistun, No. 4. In the great Insc., the name is written 𐎶. 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *Khasatritti*.

² In the same way the 𐎶𐎶 is often used for the oblique case of nouns, answering to the *i* in Arabic; comp. the royal titles in the Standard Inscription at Nimrud, which are either written in the nom. 𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎶, or in the oblique 𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶. Compare also the orthography of 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 *haganeta*, for feminine oblique plural of *haga*, "this." (B. I., ls. 8 and 9.)

We have thus upon the Nimrud Obelisk $\text{𐎶. 𐎶𐎵} = \text{𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎶𐎵} = \text{𐎶𐎶𐎵}$, "in my second year," where the 𐎶𐎶 is merely introduced to qualify the numeral II: again, on the Koyunjik Cylinder there is the same expression $\text{𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵} = \text{𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎶𐎵} > \text{𐎶𐎶𐎵} = \text{𐎶𐎶𐎵}$, for "in my second year¹;" and on the Nebuchadnezzar Cylinder, wherever the gods are paired, they are followed by the epithet *Baal*, in the dual number, which is expressed in the same manner. See

Side 1, l. 27.

$\text{𐎶𐎵} < \text{𐎶𐎵} < \text{𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵} < \text{𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎶𐎵} < \text{𐎶𐎶𐎵} < \text{𐎶𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎶𐎵} < \text{𐎶𐎶𐎵} < \text{𐎶𐎶𐎵}$

Side 2, l. 34.

$\text{𐎶𐎵} < \text{𐎶𐎵} < \text{𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵} < \text{𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎶𐎵} < \text{𐎶𐎶𐎵} < \text{𐎶𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎶𐎵} < \text{𐎶𐎶𐎵} < \text{𐎶𐎶𐎵}$

Side 2, l. 40.

$\text{𐎶𐎵} < \text{𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎵} < \text{𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎶𐎵} < \text{𐎶𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎶𐎵} < \text{𐎶𐎶𐎵} < \text{𐎶𐎶𐎵}$

¹ See B. M., 83. 32 and 63. 21. There are many difficulties, however, connected with the Assyrian system of yearly notation which I am not yet able to explain. "Year" is expressed by 𐎶𐎵 or $\text{𐎶𐎶} < \text{𐎶𐎵}$ or $\text{𐎶𐎶} < \text{𐎶𐎶}$, and the number is sometimes indicated by figures, and sometimes by words or signs. Thus, for "in my first year," we have $\text{𐎶. 𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶} < \text{𐎶𐎵}$ in the Obelisk (B.M., 83. 26); but $\text{𐎶𐎶} < \text{𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎶𐎶} < \text{𐎶𐎶𐎶} = \text{𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎶} < \text{𐎶𐎶} = \text{𐎶𐎶𐎵}$, on Col. Taylor's Cyl. and $\text{𐎶𐎶} < \text{𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎶} < \text{𐎶} < \text{𐎶} < \text{𐎶} < \text{𐎶}. 𐎶𐎶} < \text{𐎶𐎶} = \text{𐎶𐎶}$, on the B. M., Cylinder, 63. l. 18. "Second," is always expressed by $\text{𐎶𐎵} = \text{𐎶𐎵}$; but for "third," Colonel Taylor's Cylinder gives $\text{𐎶𐎶} < \text{𐎶𐎵}$ or $\text{𐎶𐎶} < \text{𐎶𐎶}$ instead of 𐎶𐎶𐎶 , which is found on all the other documents; while for "fourth," we have not only the regular 𐎶𐎶 , but, on Colonel Taylor's Cylinder, the same sign with the addition of 𐎶𐎶 ; and upon the Obelisk, "in the fourth year" is rendered by $\text{𐎶𐎶} < \text{𐎶𐎵. 𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶}$. (B. M., 89. 45.)

² As the god $\text{𐎶𐎶} < \text{𐎶𐎵} < \text{𐎶𐎵}$ was the chief divinity of the Babylonians, and was in particular the special object of the worship of the great Nebuchadnezzar, the name, I think, must needs indicate the same deity, who was called

If we trusted to Hebrew analogy, we should of course assign the phonetic power of *im* to the 𐤁𐤎 , when used for the characteristic of the dual number, and there are also other indications, which in certain positions seem to connect the sign in question with the letter *m*¹;

Jupiter Belus by the Greeks. 𐤁𐤎 𐤁𐤎 𐤁𐤎 𐤁𐤎 𐤁𐤎 , I suspect, also, to be the *Succoth Benoth* of Scripture. In the Insc. of Khursabad the title is applied as an epithet to the Babylonian Bel, 𐤁𐤎𐤁𐤎𐤁𐤎 (see Khur., 66, three from end; 87. 8; 152. 11, &c.), and the same relation is observed in the Insc. of 𐤁𐤎𐤁𐤎𐤁𐤎 (B. M., 17. 15,) where the second god to whom altars were erected, is named 𐤁𐤎 . 𐤁𐤎 𐤁𐤎 𐤁𐤎 𐤁𐤎 ; but in the Inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar (E. L., Col. 4. 16), the name is applied to a distinct deity. The gods mentioned in the second example are, *Nabo* and *Nana*, (or *Venus*,) and the third pair, where the epithet *Bel*, "a lord," is expressed phonetically, are "the sun and the moon."

¹ I am inclined, indeed, to read the dual forms quoted in these examples, as *Belima*, "my gods." At any rate, the dual characteristic must end in a consonant, or otherwise the suffix of the 1st person, which is attached to the noun, would be represented by 𐤁𐤎 or 𐤁𐤎𐤁𐤎 ; compare 𐤁𐤎𐤁𐤎 𐤁𐤎 *abua*, "my father;" 𐤁𐤎𐤁𐤎 𐤁𐤎𐤁𐤎 *Belima*, "my gods," in the plural. In the variant orthography, also, of the Babylonian term, which in the trilingual Inscriptions, answers to the Persian *framātāra*, "a law giver," and which is almost certainly a Piel participle cognate with the Chaldee 𐤁𐤎𐤁𐤎 , "judgment of the king," the letter 𐤁𐤎 must needs, I think, have the power of *im*. Compare the following forms:—

𐤁𐤎	𐤁𐤎𐤁𐤎	𐤁𐤎	𐤁𐤎	𐤁𐤎	𐤁𐤎
vu	ta	,	ya	mi	m
𐤁𐤎	𐤁𐤎𐤁𐤎	𐤁𐤎	𐤁𐤎	𐤁𐤎	𐤁𐤎𐤁𐤎
vu	ta	,	ya	m	i
𐤁𐤎	𐤁𐤎𐤁𐤎	𐤁𐤎	𐤁𐤎𐤁𐤎	𐤁𐤎	
vu	ti	,	im	mi	
𐤁𐤎	𐤁𐤎𐤁𐤎	𐤁𐤎	𐤁𐤎𐤁𐤎	𐤁𐤎	
vu	ti	,	im	'i	

In the first of these forms, all of which it must be remembered are in the Plural number, the final *m* would seem to be superfluous (it coalesced, perhaps, in pro-





PALMYRENE INSCRIPTIONS,

TAKEN FROM

WOOD'S RUINS

OF PALMYRA AND BALBEC,

TRANSCRIBED INTO

THE ANCIENT HEBREW CHARACTERS,

AND

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

BY S. SALOME,

AUTHOR OF THE *מלמד לשון הקדש*,

A PRACTICAL HEBREW GRAMMAR.

DEDICATED, AS A TRIBUTE OF RESPECT, TO HIS FRIEND MRS. HOUSMAN, AT WHOSE SUGGESTION AND PARTICULAR REQUEST HE UNDERTOOK THE DECIPHERING OF THE INTRICATE CHARACTERS.

T

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1830.

PREFACE.

WHOEVER engages in such an intricate task as the present, must have a strangely arrogant opinion of *himself* if he undertakes to travel through it without making any false step : שגיאות מי יבין ? all he can do is, to spare no pains to avoid error.

When I first perused a copy of the 'Palmyrene Inscriptions,' which my worthy friend (to whom this little volume is dedicated) was kind enough to send me with her suggestions both as to deciphering and translating them, I considered the latter almost a hopeless enterprise ; more especially, in consequence of the confused position of the figures, similar to the pell-mell scattered pillars (*vide Table*). With regard to the former, not much difficulty was found ; the figures are easily traced, being a mixture of the ancient Hebrew, and what is now styled 'the German Hebrew : ' not that it is of

German invention, but the characters are used chiefly in translations of divine writings for females and children. It was, in my humble opinion, the mode of writing of the Hebrews, who scribbled on the stones. On the origin of these figures it is not our present object to enlarge.

My first step then was to divide and sub-divide; and I am happy to say, that after wandering through many *גיאאות חלקלקות*, with my *אור תורה* for guide, I am at last able to offer to the learned some specimen of Hebrew ingenuity which has for centuries been buried in oblivion. Should it be asked, why Bernard, Smith, Rhenferdus, and others have unsuccessfully attempted this enterprise, I answer, in Mr. Wood's words, 'Perhaps for want of sufficient materials to work upon.'

I consider it needless to acquaint the reader who was the founder of *תרומה*, and *בעל המן*; it would be carrying gold 'to gold's fountain-head;' particularly as this is written in a country which contributes so princely towards the propagation of Scriptural knowledge: therefore *ne plus ultra*.

I think it likewise needless to fear, that after the reader has carefully perused the inscriptions with the translations, he will have any doubt re-

specting the nation to which the scribblers in question belong: for my part, I can hardly suppose that any Greek or Roman so wrote, each having a character peculiar to himself; besides, the arrows cast in the inscriptions are neither from Greek or Roman quivers. Whether the Greek inscriptions which accompany 'Wood's Ruins of Palmyra and Balbec,' have any connexion with the present, I am not sufficiently versed in that language to decide; and I shall guard myself as much as possible against the clamorous cry of *Ne sutor ultra crepidam!*

Whether the style of the Hebrew inscriptions will meet with the approval of the literati, I am not נביא enough to foretell; but, in my humble opinion, they are at least worthy of a little corner in a library. The last sentence I trust will not be mistaken for an anticipation of pecuniary advantages arising from the sale of this little volume; by no means. My honoured friend, at whose suggestion this was executed, has amply remunerated my labours. To publish a work of this kind is very hazardous, on account of the few individuals who have possessed themselves of that valuable work, 'Wood's Ruins of Palmyra and

Balbec,' &c. and in consequence of the very limited encouragement Hebrew literature meets with in this country. We shall now introduce the alphabet as a guide for the reader.

Ⲁ, similar to Hebrew א.

ⲁ, Ⲃ, similar to Hebrew ב: the extra mark on the top must have been made by some accident.

ⲃ, or Ⲅ, or ⲅ. The first may be ⲁ either preceded or succeeded by an apostrophe, or by Ⲃ. The last two are exactly like the German Hebrew; their power is *G*, ג.

Ⲇ, or seldom ⲇ, Rabbinical Ⲉ, power of *D*.

ⲉ, Ⲋ, or ⲋ, which represent the letter ה. The first two letters are not to be traced either in Rabbinical or German Hebrew; but the latter is very similar to the Rabbinical Ⲍ, which letter, according to the manner of אֵת בֵּשׁ, will have the power of ה. Now the question will be, Why should I fix upon this letter instead of any of the others? My answer is, that that letter is one of the *Tetragrammaton*, and the Jews never use those letters unnecessarily. Besides, it was obvious to me that the figures represent the letter ה. They are very often omitted in the inscriptions, and only an apostrophe is supplied

for them. Any Hebrew scholar is aware that the quiescents are often omitted.

י, similar to the German Hebrew י.

ז, ז, ז, the German Hebrew ז.

ח or ח, similar to Hebrew ח. These figures will be found sometimes enlarged.

ו or ו, the German Hebrew ו.

י, similar to Hebrew י; sometimes א or א.

כ, כ, similar both to Hebrew and German כ.

ל, ל, ל, similar to Hebrew ל.

מ, מ, מ, similar both to Hebrew and Rabbinical מ, the final of which is rather enlarged, thus מ.

נ, נ, נ, German Hebrew נ.

The ו is wanting, as in the Arabic. There are two methods of supplying it; either by a letter of the same organ, or simply by ו, *Scen*.

ז, ז, similar to Hebrew ז.

ח, power of ח, which I think was some mistake of the copyist who introduced it instead of ח or ח: the final ח is exactly like the German Hebrew ח.

כ, כ, כ, similar to the German Hebrew כ. Similar likewise to the Syriac כ. Its final is represented sometimes כ or כ. We cannot depend

exactly on its being used always as final. It might have been used likewise as a medial or initial.

ז, ס, נ, power of *p*; the German is ז: this might have been a mistake respecting its athwart position, owing to the copyist; or perhaps they used that figure for נ.

ז, צ, נ, answering to the Hebrew נ. I must confess my only guide was at first נ נ—נ—*Month*. In my progress all doubts left me.

ז, ז, exactly like the German Hebrew ש.

נ, נ, נ, נ, once נ, similar to the Hebrew ת. The latter is similar to the German ת.

We find likewise a mark נ, which I take likewise as a נ or נ with *dagesh*. In the dates will likewise be found a נ, sometimes נ, which is likewise a German Hebrew נ, used in Mss. only.

I wish by no means to intrude any further on the reader's time by enlarging the Preface; my exertions were chiefly directed to please my honoured friend, and likewise, if possible, to contribute my mite towards Hebrew literature.

Cheltenham.

ירח תשרי בשנת במד' שאדם מודד מודדן לו • לפ"ק

Month of Tishri, 5591. A.M.

PALMYRENE INSCRIPTIONS.

MARMORA PALMYRENA, 1.

B.

תור אל ברי כשת
לדל תאי זל אורי
ינל לו נא בראד ילכי
יב ידא את זבר
בירח¹ טבת
חשת² נוון
שנת דב צצו ווו

¹ In the original we find ב' יח, where it appears to me that יר ought to be supplied; thus בירח יר

² In the original we find likewise ח' ט which was supplied by the initial ח. The *ç* is a figure appearing like the remnant of ט; I have, therefore, placed a ט; but I fear there must have been some mistake. I think it was a ח, and as the ט is often commuted with ח it will make no difference in the translation.

It ought to be observed, that the *Chotzeb* had two objects in view; 1st, to close the rhyme by *Tebeth*, and 2ndly, to express the date or time when he was on that spot. The dates are likewise equivocally arranged: besides their description of time, they signify likewise words agreeing with the antecedent.

TRANSLATION
OF MARMORA PALMYRENA, I.
II.

How are ye mighty *ones* scattered on *the* plain¹
like the inebriated!²

Doomed to be stripped by the armed³ robber!⁴

A continual⁵ shock⁶ has now made an end of
perversion.

Fame shouts here over its reward,

For an afflicting⁷ tempest

¹ If we take ברי as an abbreviation of בירה, then it would be, 'How are ye nobles of the palace scattered like the inebriated!'

² Per metonymiam.—Literally, *drink, dregs*.

³ Literally, *belled*. In the original we find a mark (· <) which might be a remnant of ה; if so, we must then read (instead of אורי) אנה, *heat*. The translation would then be, 'Doomed to be exhausted by the gluttonous sun,' metaphorically.

⁴ Literally, *lavisher*.

⁵ Literally, *a walking shock*: this is very common in Hebrew. Any person acquainted with its syntax knows that this is of frequent occurrence.

⁶ רעד instead of רער—the א being mutable with ע.

⁷ If read as an expression of time, בירה טבת signify *the month of Tebeth*. According to the above translation, we

Overthrew ¹ the glorious habitation,
 Changing ² prosperity ³ into infamy and woe!

must consider ט mutable with ד, thus דבת; and בירח from רוח. *Tempest* must likewise be considered a metonymy. By another division, thus, ביר חטבת, the translation would be, 'By a deadly (per euphonismum) arrow.'

¹ חטת literally signifies *to fall, to slip*, from חטא; Prov. xix. 2. ואץ ברבליס חושא—'And he that hasteth with his feet slippeth.' We find in the English, *sinneth*. Ibid. x. 16. חטת ought to be *misfortune*, in opposition to חיים, *prosperity*. If we consider the medial ט mutable with ת, thus חתח, then the translation would be, 'A dreadful tempest shattered the glorious palace to pieces.' We have remarked before (vide page 1. note ².) respecting the ׀: this may likewise be the remnant ׀ of ש, and to avoid any criticism we shall let it be so, and read thus—ביר חטבת נשת נור—'By a deadly arrow was celebrity repaid;' or, *paid with usury*.

² Read as a date, 'year 4384,' taking the IIII as 4000. This is my opinion, but the erasure of some letters makes it rather doubtful to me with regard to the coincidence of the reader. Be this as it may, no person can dispute the poor Hebrew *Chotzeb's* ingenuity.

³ Literally, *flower*.

MARMORA PALMYRENA, II.

לברי כשת גול עלת אט¹ באור חתני
 תורא תרי זף ברו בר בול בר תיל כזי²
 חיז גו יוח יאא חז חיב ירח תשרי²
 שן תד בצבו וו

¹ Instead of אט¹ Rabbinical.

² We must here consider the ך mutable with ת; therefore read כתי.

² In the translation it will be found that ירח תשרי, *the month of Tishri*, has another signification agreeing with the antecedent. It was here, as in Inscription I. intended to have an equivocal power. I have divided the above, according to my translation; i. e. by joining the ב to חי. In the original it is divided; שנת רב צב ווו—'year 4310,' or 4112. This way of concluding the poem was very ingeniously done by the poor Jewish *Chotzeb*, and must not be passed without notice. It concludes with the rejection of the hypocritical sacrifice.

TRANSLATION

OF MARMORA PALMYRENA, II.

Wherefore ¹ is this elegantly decked ² offering ³ on this plain abandoned ⁴ like the inebriated?

It did with the appearance of piety ⁵ corrupt the pure; chaining ⁶ them to faction; and thus diffusing a twofold corruption.

But a powerful flash removed ⁷ this splendor;

¹ אט for אטו (Rab.)

² Literally, *in her wedding robe.*

³ From עלה. It signifies likewise any thing of *superior* magnitude.

⁴ Or *exposed.*

⁵ בר בר literally signifies, *with a pure face.* בר is Chaldean; vide Dan. iii. 25.; from the Hebrew ברא.

⁶ Translated after the Arabic كَلَّ which is derived from the Hebrew חלל, *to grieve, to crucify.* If we read (by another division) חיל בתי instead of חיל בתי, we must then translate (as חיל has the signification of a mark in the form of a +) *crucifying them for faction.* *Crucifying*, must then be considered as a metonymy.

⁷ *Removed from its place.*

terrified ¹ the guilty; and destroyed the splendid offering;²

Thereby changing the choir ³ into a pitiful litter.

¹ י is here mutable with ת; or, if we leave the י in its place, the translation would be, *blinded by the flash*.

² Here we have a fine equivoque! We find now ירח תשרי *month of Tishri*, having likewise the signification of *destroying as if by whizzing* (allusive to the flash) the תשרי תשורה, *the splendid gift*. The above change and abbreviation occur frequently in Scripture.

³ *Choir* must here be considered a metonymy. חזן for חזן signifies *chorist*, Neh. xii. 31. If we read the last line as a date, then it is 'year 4310,' or 4112.

By the conclusion of the above poem, we remark the *Chotzeb's* hint, by making a distinction between pure and hypocritical sacrifices. By *Elijah* the fire came from heaven as a token of acceptance, whereas here, the sacrifice being procured by violence or corruption, our author very ingeniously introduces a fire which destroyed suddenly the idolatrous edifice, priests, sacrifices, and its officers! If we even consider חזן as representing a *choir of singers*, the conclusion would be, 'changing them into a woful host.' Beautiful idea!

MARMORA PALMYRENA, III. (1.)

בִּירְחָא¹ אֶל זֶל שֶׁן תּוֹ וּבֵר רֵר²
 בִּיעֵן³ חֶם נֶאֱר⁴ נִנּוּ עֵלֶת אֶרִי
 בִּיבֵר⁵ זֶז תֵּרֵב זֶל שֶׁמֶשׁ זֶז בִּירִי⁶
 בִּנּוּ מִלֵּץ זִבְרִי⁷ רִי דֵב לִבֵּר נֶשׁ צֵר⁸
 כִּיתֵת תֵּרֵא בֵר עֵבֶר בֵּל רִימָה⁹
 צִחֵר בִּקִּי מִנֵּר תֵּל שֶׁמֶשׁ
 דִּלֵּג כִּית אֲבוֹ¹⁰ גֶּק עַל בִּמָּה
 חִזִּי גִז קִז חִזִּי יֵאֵח זֶק¹¹
 זֵב קִיג זֶק

¹ In the original א, which was supplied by בי.

² רר. The ר is mutable with נ; read רן.

³ In the original . . which was supplied by בי.

⁴ א is mutable with ה; read נהר.

⁵ In the original . . which was supplied by בי.

⁶ בִּירִי י mutable with ה; read בִּירְחָא.

⁷ ר mutable with ל; read ובל.

⁸ In the original ? an erasure of some letter supplied by ר.

⁹ In the original . for which ה was affixed

¹⁰ ; mutable with ס; read אבס.

¹¹ In the original an erasure I think of במה.

¹² ק mutable with ב, therefore read זב; and instead of גק in the preceding line, read בב.

TRANSLATION

OF MARMORA PALMYRENA, III. (1.)

When a terrible tempest shook¹ the palace,²
the forest became terrified by its rattling.³

The clouds gathered, overwhelming the splendor of the sun; thus stripping her of her pride.

Wickedness increased by the fecundity of pride,⁴ thereby removing⁵ the splendor of the temples.⁶

Whilst the palaces⁷ were drowned in pleasure, abundance of anguish oppressed the son of man.

Let men behold *now* the confusion which overwhelms that proud place.⁸

¹ From רָלַל. It has in the Arabic the same signification, e.g.

رَلَزَلٌ 'to shake the earth.'

² Hebrew שֵׁן, *ivory*. Metaph.

³ Or, read without ב (according to the original), 'A terrible tempest shook the palace, casting its idols' (תור must then be taken as a noun; from סֹלֶל—'empty'; metaphorically, 'something of no value': it is then synonymous with תבל) 'and temples' (taking בר as an abbreviation of בִּירָה) 'into the mire.'

⁴ From the Syriac נִסְנָן (וִינָא) *pride*. ⁵ From מִשָּׁשׁ.

⁶ An abbreviation of בִּירָה, *palatium, arx*.

⁷ ובל, *habitations*; but it agrees here better with the above translation.

⁸ My humble opinion is, that by some mistake or neglect, we

Let him explore the dazzling brightness of the fallen place¹ of the sun :

How the flocks of beasts² skip upon its high altars !

Let him behold the reward³ of those *who brought* the lancet joined⁴ with fetters among the living.

Lastly, the pining away of the injured gourd.⁵

find רים instead of המון, which would answer to the opinion of the learned Gesenius respecting המון בעל in Cant. viii. 11. which he thinks is the celebrated Balbec, or Heliopolis of Syria. We may likewise interpret, 'Let him behold the destruction which was caused by Assyrian idolatry.'

¹ I think it is almost needless to remind the reader that it is very common in Assyria and Mesopotamia, to begin the name of places with *Tel*.

² Literally, *the company of the stable*.

³ *Vellus*.

⁴ Literally, 'to join.'

⁵ We find only an abbreviation of קיקין; besides the mutation of p into ג. קיקין, according to Jerome, Syr. the *palma Christi*. 'A biennial plant which shoots up to the height of a small tree; but like all plants of a rapid growth withers immediately from the slightest injury.' If that was the meaning of our *Chotzeb*, the קיקין could not have been better introduced.

I beg leave to remark, if this poem should fall into the hands of medical gentlemen, that the introduction of the lancet is by no means a sarcasm on their profession. First, they do not use fetters with lancets; 2ndly, The lancet in question was by no means used as an alleviation to mankind. If we read the first line as a date, it is, 'in the month of Elul, year 4200;' taking the ח of שנת. Without it, it would be only 3900. Taking the marks III for 3000, this I think was intended as a hint for the reader.

MARMORA PALMYRENA, III. (2.)

[This piece I think is the most ancient ; many of the figures are erased : besides, other difficulties have arisen respecting the similarities of various characters which appear to be remnants of letters. I have, therefore, made different transcriptions and divisions.]

יִרְחֹל זֶל שֶׁן תּוֹ וּבֶץ צַצ¹
 יַעֲנֵן חֲמֵן אֶר נְגוֹ עֶלֶת אֶרִי
 יִיבֵר זֶז תִּרְבֵּז זֶל שֶׁמֶשׁ זֹוּבִי רִי
 בְּנֹז מִלֶּץ זֹבְלִי רִי דֵב לִבֵּר נֶשׁ צֶר
 כִּיתֵת תִּרְאָה בֵּר עֶבֶר בֵּל רִימָה
 צֶחַ רֵב נִי מִנֵּר תֵּל שֶׁמֶשׁ
 דִּלֵּג כִּי תִאֲבֵר גֶּק עַל שֶׁמֶצֶה
 חֲרִי גֵר קֶר חֲרִי אַחֲזֹ גֵר²
 זִבְנִי גֹל

¹ א mutable with י or ר ; read חִיל or חוֹל.

² In the original קֶר קֶר קֶר which might either be קֶר as observed in No. III. (1.) or remnants of קֶר (x) ; or י. It will be noticed in the translation.

³ In the original which was supplied by גֵּר.

TRANSLATION

OF MARMORA PALMYRENA, III. (2.)

A powerful arrow ¹ shattered the palace, ² *thereby* destroying ³ (by fire) its choice ⁴ idols.⁵

By the overthrow of its numerous walls the lion's dignity was crushed.⁶

Vileness increased through the passion for pomp, thus changing the sun into clouds.⁷

Whilst the palace was drowned in pleasure, abundance of anguish oppressed the sons of men.

¹ ירה, *to dart upon*. Arrow is here placed metonymically.

² Ivory, literally. ³ Lucerna, metonym. ⁴ Flos.

⁵ Or read thus, 'A dart shattered the wall of the temple, disfiguring its idols, by burning their garlands;' or if the ד ד ד were intended for יס, then read, 'disfiguring its idols—וּבִזוּ—thereby destroying its dignity.'

⁶ נגנו, *was fleeced*; or, 'the elation of the lion was cut off.' This may be an ironical expression on the grandeur of the constellation leo; and taking the lion as prince of the twelve signs of the zodiac, thereby casting a stigma on all.

⁷ וּבִי רֵי, literally, *flowings of water*. Perhaps the Chotzeb's intention was to explain poetically the change of delight into sorrow, or to make the sun to lament.

Let men behold *now* the confusion *which* overwhelms *that* proud place.

The fallen TEL SHEMESH¹ laments now over its *past* great splendor.

Because the burning *arrows*² drove the roof upon its smitten *rivalry*.

A consuming heat rests upon the wall; a destructive fire³ caught its divinity.⁴

Let men behold the benefit of oppression!

¹ Literally, 'the place or palace of the sun;' vide Note in III. (No. 1.)

² 'Arrows,' understood.

³ Literally, *burning, heat, &c.*

⁴ נגל, a name of a divinity, which was worshipped by the idolatrous Hebrews; some think it was the goddess of Fortune. Comp. נגל. Sept. Τύχη. Vulg. *Fortuna*. According to some Jewish commentators, this word denotes in Arabic, the star Jupiter. Or take נגל as *prosperity*, we may translate figuratively, 'ambition destroyed prosperity.'—נגל is likewise one of the twelve signs of the zodiac. If we take the lion as the chief, and the kid for the most humble, we shall find then, that by the lion and kid the entire is understood.

MARMORA PALMYRENA, IV.

9.

חיל¹ תחול יב אור ליד ובו לאבדת לבו בר תל בו
 ינח² שות רוגו אב מר מר לתל ציא בתי תרית אדי
 אלהנא³ אלץ כור רז כתב רז שת שברי אז אתנף
 תאר⁴ כצי לום גינת זן אז בר יאותי לצאית לדיניא
 ובארעד⁵ גו אד וגז ארב שות וחד צר ואדזו⁶ שניא יתש גיאות

¹ In the original we find (י.צ.) a remnant of ח and the figure of י which I doubt not the context proves clearly.

² In the original ז and a dot (·) which was supplied by ח. It is my opinion that the חוצבים were very sparing with the letter ח, and they generally describe it by the apostrophical ' or ·. Two reasons might be suggested for that omission: 1st, It being a *quiescent* and often changed into א and י, and 2ndly, The Jews seldom use that letter, it being one of the chief letters of the tetragrammaton. We find in letters the mark of 'י or even sometimes ד to express the name of the ETERNAL. Some will style it 'Jewish superstition,' as we find it in many modern writings designated by that name. I am of a very different opinion, and do not regard it by any means as superstition, but reverence.

³ Here again is an omission of ח, as a quiescent, or as noticed before.

⁴ In the original ח followed by י.∴ certainly an erasure of אר proved by context.

⁵ In the original, a remnant of ר and a few dots (∴∴) which was supplied by אר.

⁶ In the original ∴∴ which was supplied by חז agreeably both to the antecedent and context.

זרב' רעת רגש כנת נתת של בות כגר לוג ירח ברל
 אלג אזא צי' ול יך דוך זא זרתי תתרתנ
 ריא תינת לגבר לא זר תז כלית רעש נתע בצצ בוזו

* In the original : 𐤆𐤓𐤕𐤌 . I rather doubt if any omission is here to be supplied. In the translation the difference will be noticed if 𐤓 is wanting, 'to avoid the cudgel.'

TRANSLATION

OF MARMORA PALMYRENA, IV.

2.

By a terrible howl was the outer wall¹ shaken, crying, 'Hide disgrace² and corruption; *become* a waste and desolate plain—a heap of ruins!'

Let its founder thus lament its wreck: 'Thou wast a sharp pointed;³ being now changed into a heap of ruins.'—Witness my distress.

I will preach enigmatically, in an obscure style, like a mysterious alien.⁴ Let the Marmora be my interpreter, then will I depart.

¹ *Outer wall*, is the Talmudical sense of חויל.

² לִיךְ an abbreviation of לִכְךָ, *polluere*. Its derivative noun is after the form of חִין (Job xli. 4.) from חָנַן: the noun לִיךְ is Rabbinical.

³ The literal translation is *buckthorn*. I followed the *Chatzeb* of the Marmora, who delights in metonymy. His intention was to represent something which causes pain, or an object which hurts suddenly, to cause afterwards acute sufferings. אַמֶּד is the abbreviation of אָמַד.

⁴ כְּוֶר רֵו. This might have the same signification with כְּוֶר רֵו — 'Like the exploring stranger who writes problems on the Marmora,' or simply as the above. וֶר, *alien* or *stranger*: some ep

Thy form was like an elegantly constructed lighter, purposed for the conveyance of a munificent tribute to a distant nation.¹

But in the midst of thy voyage thou wast way-laid by a chain of mist; and in such a manner wast thou crammed and attacked by the oppressor that he exultingly led thee astray,

Seditiously * fixing thee in an offensive channel; to be exposed to the dew, and to be scorned like a stammering stranger tumbling through intoxication.¹

nent Hebrew critics are of opinion, 'that this term is only applicable to those who are alienated from God, or those who are not of Israel.'

¹ רִינִיָּא Chaldean. The name of a people removed to Samaria by the Assyrians. Ezra iv. 9.

² It is rather doubtful whether the figure ב was intended for ב, likewise the marks :: as if there was an erasure of a figure which might have been ה (an erasure perhaps purposely). I will therefore proceed as if that had been the case. וְרַח בָּרַע חֶרֶשׁ בְּנֵת—'Thou wast built amidst triumphing shouts; now scattered amongst rows of clods.' I think the other agrees here better with the antecedent.

³ In the original (vide Table) is a > which in the above translation was taken for ב; but as this is rather doubtful, we shall try thus; כְּנֶרֶס לֹא יֵרָחַב בְּרִל—'like a poor stranger clad in tinsel,' or 'wrapped in tinsel.' לֹב must be taken as a metonymy. (literally, *measure of liquids*.) If we translate, instead of *stammering, intoxicated*, we shall then read, 'like a drunken stranger tumbling in dregs.' רֵל is the abbreviation of רַעַל.

I will now ardently meditate on this wrecked flowing ship.¹

Let the pounding I scattered remove ² itself,

To show ³ to men, that the diffuser of mischief (or, To show, that the diffuser of sorrow amongst the pious) is like a raging lion breaking through his net,⁴ and destroying every thing that is excellent.⁵

¹ By another division thus; גאון אצוי ול יך—'to bewail in a sordidly strange region for the spreading of evil.' גאון, strictly speaking, is Arabic, جاز, answering to the Hebrew עבר, which I translated metonymically.

² חתרנת, the ג being here mutable with ק.

³ By אחין, we perceive the month *Tishri*.

⁴ Literally, *hooks*. If we take figure ז for ד and divide thus; די אתין חל גבר לא ור תו כלי חרע שנחעב צצ בוון—'an extortioner (*vulture*) entered the gigantic place, spreading mischief, (or who was no stranger,) destroying the vessels of the royal palace, (or stripping it of its beauty,) which by its numerous snares (literally, *hooks*) brought prosperity into abhorrence.'

⁵ Note, that by שנת עב צצ בוון a date is expressed; viz. year 4254, taking the וון as four millenaries.

MARMORA PALMYRENA, V.

11.

חלת אד נגרי כחש' חז' כתיר דבר
 ארי נתכנת למ ית אל גיר אז רש
 תרת זר ריאת ית לגאז' צל יך
 צל' ילז כברת רי אצלי כאר' די צלחא
 רב לנון אדיב תרא ליתר גב ירח
 תשרי ריש נתעב צצ צוזו 𐤌

¹ In the original copy we find (𐤅) which was either intended for ט or ש. If for the latter, it would consequently alter the signification: besides, other divisions would be necessary. I shall therefore proceed with the alteration, which, in fact, agrees as well with the context as the above; אד חלת ארי נגרי—Translation, 'a vaporous distemper spread itself, struck the senses, and diffusing in a pestilential manner.'

² In the original copy we find (𐤊𐤅), which might have been the remnant of *ת: then it would agree with the division noticed in note ¹.

³ The above word is arranged after the Arabic form جاز *to pass beyond*.

⁴ In the original we find 𐤌: For my part, I do not see how this hiatus can be supplied, except our scribbler intended to subjoin א; thus צלא: and then we must read *region*, or *climate*, instead of *shadow*. The alteration shall be noticed hereafter.

⁵ The proper word is כער, but as the ע is mutable with א, it needs no comment.

TRANSLATION

OF MARMORA PALMYRENA, V.
11.

A calamitous ¹ distemper protracted itself in the manner of a cord, spreading pestilence ² round the court!

Which was esteemed a lion, when wrapped in power and command.

But spying out (or discovering) an adulterated light, which quickly produced a vile shadow;

A shadow ³ as infectious as the reception of an abominable stench, which succeeds a heavy rain.⁴

Behold *now* this sorrowful plunder! ⁵ much re-

¹ נא, *mist*, metaphorically *calamity*. חלה signifies *distemper* or *passion*. I think our poet intended to express *a passion for obscure doctrines*.

² Or *death*.

³ Or, if we take נל instead of ל, then we ought to read, 'infecting the region, as the abominable stench which succeeds a heavy shower of rain.'

⁴ Literally, *As the fullness of water*.

⁵ Literally, *vellus*.

mains now to magnify (or increase) any retrenchment.¹ Thus has the exhalation²

Of a sordid offering brought glory and command into abhorrence.³

¹ *Citadel* or *entrenchments*, applied figuratively to conclusions or arguments, behind which men, as it were, entrench themselves. I must confess this irony is as fine as any modern poet can pen. Our ingenious friend certainly alludes here to the invention of a light (אור *law*) contrary to the word.

² From ריח. The transposition of י is here intended both as a metonymy, *to smell*, and expression of ירח *month*.

³ Again very ingeniously arranged, concluding the poem agreeably to the antecedent, and the year and month. Now if we take ירח, the last word of line 5, and proceed with (רי) חשרי צו עב עז צו שנה, we shall then find month of Tishri, year 3352. The succeeding strange figure might be intended for a millenary; then it would be 4352. It would be similar to the Hebrew לפרט קסון (ש or לפס or ש), *ad numerum minorem; de annis mundi, quando millenarium omittunt*. I wish it by no means to be understood as a certainty, but indeed it is very probable. I do not think any of my readers will question the scribbler's ingenuity.

MARMORA PALMYRENA, VI.

12.

בול אור תוך כיוז יך אור ליד
 בנארי' חתת ראך כות² וך בר
 דו יוז דו יוז שאי לאר ישת שז³ שצר
 לגז חבאך טר טגז' תג זתר⁴ רל⁵ בולא
 וזוי חרבז לי תר גב יר חת שריש נת
 דב צצ צד

¹ א mutable with ע : read בנערי.

² The medial י is here omitted : read כוית.

³ ו mutable with ש : read שש.

⁴ We find here the necessity of introducing a twofold mutation; viz. ג with כ, and ו with ס, therefore read טכס, Rabbinical.

⁵ ו mutable with ס : read סתר.

⁶ ר mutable with ל : read לל. I think this was occasioned by some mistake of the transcriber. It is very fortunate that we have instances of that change.

TRANSLATION

OF MARMORA PALMYRENA, VI.

12.

By the impulse of the cestus¹ 'wast thou cut off,'²
which, like a hostile wave surrounds a ship for its
destruction.

It assailed dreadfully thy happiness,³ which
was as bright as the clear olive.

It quickly spread impurity; impurity produced
a sudden rebellion; thus framing for happiness a
destructive snare!

To reward the entangler,⁴ *who brought thee into*

¹ Literally, *girdle*. It alludes here to 1 Kings, xi. 1. 5.

² Root חתו, (found likewise in Talmudic) which the Hebrew interpreters explain by כרת.

³ Literally, *light*. By another division, thus, בנא ריח חת, 'as soon as the passion for it increased thine eyes became perplexed.' The initial ח must then be commuted with ש; e. g. שח from שחח, *to inebriate*. This is a frequent occurrence with the kindred dialects.

⁴ From בך. The medial א was placed as a mutation; or if we leave א in its force, it would then signify *thy introducer*. We may likewise translate 'as a reward for the conductor who brought thee into the subordinate palace, profusely

the subordinate range to entrap thee secretly into its vile winding.

The majestic lion hurled¹ his fearful arrows² upon the now stretched pillars, destroying the habitation

Of the grievously hunting vulture.³

surrounded by mysterious circles.' סטר has likewise the signification of *Astarta* by abbreviation.

¹ From ירח.

² *Arrows*, in a collective sense if we take part of the line as a date : we must then read גב ירח תשרי שנת—' In the month of Tishri, year of (proceeding with the next line) 4274.' The marks pointing to the ט are, in my opinion, placed to direct the reader that 4000 is to be understood by it.

³ We may likewise translate, ' the lion from a superior range destroyed, by his fearful arrow, the brightness *framed* for a fetter ; thus rooting out the dwelling of the grievously garlanded יר (flos) huntress,' or ' the grievous bird of prey of the region.' I shall be perhaps considered fanciful when I say, that some of our *Chotzebim* scribbled that on a tomb of some great king not unknown in Scripture, by way of *irony*.

MARMORA PALMYRENA, VII.

13.

גן לת' אר צנ רי יול יך אור ליד
 של' תל תבר תלא' עב ריר בשירתא
 רי אתי תת לגב זל אור תככי תרג
 רי אכת שירת' את עג תרץ יכא
 שנתעב צצ צד וחו

¹ ח mutable with ט : read לוט from לט. ² From שלח.

³ א mutable with ה : read תלה.

⁴ We perceive by the above four circled letters the month of *Tishri*. Our scribbler has very ingeniously contrived that matter.

TRANSLATION

OF MARMORA PALMYRENA, VII.
13.

Iniquity concealed herself *once* in a chest which was placed near a river,' of which the streams were rapid, attacking it in a hostile manner.¹

A heavy tide drew out the dragon, which a cloud scattered amongst the multitude.²

The stream carried *likewise* the thorns⁴ of the

¹ Or we may translate thus; 'Iniquity, in hersplendid (אֶרֶב) attire, stood once near a river,' &c.

² Literally, *encompassing for destruction*.

³ Or, 'the tide swept away both the attire (metaphorically) and the oppressor; which,' &c.

⁴ שִׁט, *thorns*. The ש is in the Inscription changed into ח. But, in my opinion, ח is a corruption of שִׁט which signifies *acacia*, or the spina Ægyptia of the ancients. It is a tree with thick branches which grows in Egypt and Arabia. We consider here the *chest* as put metonymically. The scribbler certainly alludes here to the mischief of the Egyptians. We may likewise translate, 'its appearance (meaning of the *dragon*) produced a scourge to excellence, *carrying with it* lewdness, war (אָוֶר, *belt*), oppression, passion (בֹּהַ, *to burn*, or בִּי *stigma*), and plunder.'

chest, which the hostile wave has plundered of its contents, into the cisterns.

The stream *likewise* applauded both the singers and the jester,¹ by stroking down the mirth :

Which brought the glorious region into abhorrence.

¹ ענ. Buxdorf on Psalm xxxv. 16. renders לעני מענ, *sanniones placentæ*, mockers at feasts, i. e. parasites, who support themselves by their wit. In Talmud לשון עונה, *the talk of the parasite*. *Applauding* must here be taken ironically. We may translate, 'The stream made an end of the song and feast (ענ must then be taken metonymically ; it signifies *cake*), spreading darkness over pleasure : ' a figure which needs no interpretation. Likewise, ' it made an end to the mocking, שירת, company of the destructive pleasures, which, ' &c. If we take the last line for an expression of date, and divide שנת עבצצר ווי, it will be 4356. I can by no means take upon myself to decide its correctness ; but I am impressed with the belief that the strange figure points to the four *vauven* ; a hint as if something is understood, which very probably is 4000.

MARMORA PALMYRENA, VIII.

16.

כצט' תיו כור זר תר טך טוך¹ אצטר צא²
 רתם' ראז' ארג בטא אתי מיו לך
 אור לי כך צט' תיו כירא' גץ תוך

¹ כצד mutable with ד : read כצד.

² Must be read as if written חווק, or תווק, or חוונ. The medial ו is frequently omitted. ק and ג are mutable with ך.

³ א mutable with ע : read עע.

⁴ In the original is a mark, ל, which I think was intended for ג; and as this letter is mutable with מ, that letter was placed at once.

⁵ ו mutable with ש : read ראש.

⁶ ע mutable with ד : read עד.

⁷ א mutable with ה : read כירה. It will be discussed in the translation, whether the א retain its power.

TRANSLATION

OF MARMORA PALMYRENA, VIII.

16.

Proud 'Astarta's' banqueting mansion was like
a net spread for the destruction of the approaching
bird.¹

The production of her park⁴ was a toxical berry
which carries its taster to the grave.⁵

¹ We may translate, 'as a feast prepared to poison secretly (or seditiously) the approaching spy; so was the collation of proud Astarta's mansion.'

² אַשְׁטָרָה, by commutation of עֲשָׂתָר, or metonymically אֲשֵׁרָה. We find it in the plural by mode of excellence. The Greeks compare her, after their manner, sometimes with Juno, sometimes with Venus, and sometimes with Diana; but most frequently with Venus.

³ The turtle-dove.

⁴ From בִּטְט. But if we take the word עָצָא, in the preceding verse, as a figure of *corruption* or *corruptive objects*, such as *laws*, *doctrines*, and, as the word בִּטְט signifies, likewise *speech*; then it would be, 'the productions of her speech are like the toxical berries: whoever makes use of them is a lost person.' It was certainly intended to bear, not only the preceding significations, but more; all alluding to the same object.

⁵ Literally, *to destruction*.

Therefore has the warlike ¹ lion prepared a feast for her (meaning Astarta's) park in the form of sparkling arrows.²

¹ Literally, *the belted lion*. If the word חוץ is considered as a mutation for פסך, then the translation would be, 'therefore has the armed lion prepared a (צד) net that his deadly arrows might suddenly hit the bespangled goddess.'

² Literally, *sparkling*. כירה must be considered as a metonymy. But if the כ remains, then we must translate נץ as *arrows*, and ירא *fearful*, thus: 'Therefore has the belted lion spread his net to strike suddenly the enchainers with fearful arrows;' or 'to frighten or surprise the bespangled one with his darts.' In fact, it embodies so many expressive sentiments, that I am at a loss which to choose.

MARMORA PALMYRENA, IX. (1.)

17.

כצט¹ תיז² כורזר תרט³ כט⁴ וך אצטר⁵ צא
 רתם⁶ ראו ארג בטא אתי מיו ליד
 אור ליש כת אב רת כון אבר

¹ כצט mutable with ח : read כצח.

² תיז mutable with ש : read חיש.

³ תרט mutable with צ : read תרץ.

⁴ כט mutable with ח : read כח.

⁵ There must be some corruption or mistake respecting the word אצטר if intended for *astrology*, or, by metonymy, *astrologer*. It should have been either אסטונינור, *astrologia*, or אסטונינא, *astrologus*. I think it was intended for אצטר, as an abbreviation of אצטרבין. We find אצטרבין in Rabbinical writings, which signifies *astrolabeam*. If we take אצטר by way of metonymy, it may signify *astrologer*. We may likewise take it (by commuting א into ע, ש into צ, and ט into ח), for עשתר, *Astarta*. We see by the inscriptions that the scribber had something of mixed dialect. In Hebrew writings we find mutations of letters of the same organ very frequently.

⁶ רתם mutable with נ : in the original נ is placed.

TRANSLATION

OF MARMORA PALMYRENA, IX. (1.)

17.

As the going forth¹ of the goat and the greyhound produce pleasure, so does the going out of the astrologer² produce calamity amongst the innocent.

¹ Alluding to Prov. xxx. 31. Some very learned critics are of opinion that the word וָרוֹר signifies the *war-horse*; some again the *zebra*, being ring-streaked.

² אַסְטֹר, per metonym.; hence *Astro*. The proper word is either אַסְטֹר, or אַסְטֹרִיָּא. It might have been a provincial mode of expressing that word. We find, even in England many differences of dialect through the country; and though the provincial scholar writes correctly, yet in his conversation there may be observed some defects. In dead languages rules are therefore given for mutations, which in modern tongues would be ridiculed. Ought we to make a rule in the English language, 'the *s* is mutable with *z*,' because we find in some parts of England *zur* is pronounced for *sir*, *yeeze* for *yes*? Or again, is the letter *r* to be changed into *rr*, because the north countryman pronounces it with additional emphasis? We find in Scripture many mutations of letters of the same organ, not owing to ignorance, but simply to the different stresses laid on the same letters or words of the same organ in the different counties or countries. We find in English that change likewise, but its grammar is differently arranged. Now if one should say in a grammar that *d* is mutable with *t*, or *s* with *z* or *sh*, what would he be considered? In the dead languages it is necessary to make some rule to avoid mistakes; and in fact the

His declarations are like a mixture of destructive juniper,¹ carrying those to destruction who swallow ² it.

But the lion's belt struck the crowing³ teacher⁴ of Saturn's⁵ power.

inscriptions corresponded with the pronunciation. The spirit of them exposes no ignorance.

¹ Allusive to Psalm cxx. 4. The Arabian juniper has a yellow flower and a bitter root, and can serve only for a *poor* nourishment. We may take likewise the word ראו for *scanty* (vide רוה), and therefore Job makes this remark in xxx. 4. But this is more likely to refer to Psalm cxx. 4.

² From מוה to *suck*. The word בשא, which I translated *declaration*, is only used when the speech is inconsiderate or rash.

³ From ראה, *cornix*. (found only in Deut. xiv. 13.)

⁴ אב teacher. This will be the same as *abbot*, Syriac אבא, Greek πάππας.

⁵ The lion's girdle may be here considered as irony, or as a hint of the month *Leo* אב, in which, as the Jews say, both temples were destroyed. A Hebrew poem, which is read on the 9th of that month, begins אֲרֵי לֵאָהּ אֲרֵי לֵאָהּ. 'In the constellation of Leo' (meaning the month *Ab*) the lion roared. ליש is here used poetically, for Saturn. My authority for translating כון in that manner, is, that several Jewish commentators on Amos v. 26. interpret the word כיון the same as the Arabic כيوان for the planet Saturn; viz. *Saturn your idol*. This is certainly alluding either to astrology or idolatry; it will answer both purposes.

MARMORA PALMYRENA, IX. (2.)

17.

[Note.—In the inscriptions is only one number; but as it carries many significations, I have made both two divisions and translations.]

כצט¹ תיו כורזר תר טך² טוך³ אצטר⁴ צא
רתנ⁵ ראז ארג בטא⁶ אתי מיו ליד
אזר ליש כתא ברת כון אבר

¹ כצט mutable with ד : read כצר.

² דך mutable with ד : read דך.

³ דשך for טוך, or דשך.

⁴ Read אצטר, or עשתר.

⁵ בטנים mutable with ט : e. g. אט Hebrew, אן Syriac: בטנים Hebrew, בטמא Syriac. Lastly, שטס and שטן are both Hebrew.

⁶ ברא mutable with ד : read ברא.

TRANSLATION

OF MARMORA PALMYRENA, IX. (2.)
17.

As the huntsman destroys that which the greyhound espies, so did Astarta destroy that which was entangled ¹ in her net.²

She devised ³ a destructive web to fetter⁴ those who approached it, in order to suck them to death.

But the belted lion made an end of the potent queen of heaven.⁵

¹ שִׁיר from שִׁיר. ר for the Hebrew אֶשֶׁר, or דֶּק, 'which are fettered to her שָׁא (by changing ז into ש) deception or pomp.'

² Metonymically: literally, *spreading out*.

³ From בִּרָא, *to deceive, to devise a scheme*.

⁴ From רָחַס, *to bend, to yoke, to harness*.

⁵ Or, 'the feast of the goddess was suddenly destroyed by the lion's belt.' I translated כֹּן metonymically, allusive to Jerem. vii. 18. כֹּן אֶבֶר may perhaps be an allusion to the 'Pennati Amores.' אֶבֶר signifies likewise *penna*.

Note. The last sentence may likewise be translated 'But the lion's girdle encompassed the terrible dwelling of the goddess, and thus was Astarta fettered.' According to this translation we must divide thus: אֹרֶל לִי שֶׁחַ חַא בֵּרַח כֹּן אֶבֶר. The following translation may likewise be admitted: 'But the girdled lion pinioned the terrible goddess by crushing her palace.' The scholar (I am not afraid) will know how to transpose the words. I refer the reader to No. IX. (1.) for the other remarks.

MARMORA PALMYRENA, X. (1.)

19.

כצט¹ תיך זורר תר טך טך אצטר צא
 רז תנר אר יאת ית כות² רג
 יו לייך אז לייך נב יבר ברש ערוי³ חירא
 אך טרג ארי תלני אור⁴ חתג⁵
 שנת עב צצ צבו ווו בירח צל לול⁶

¹ כצט mutable with ד : therefore read כצד.

² In the original we find $\text{כ} \cdot \text{ו}$ which is supplied by כו : most likely agreeing with the antecedent.

³ ע mutable with א : therefore read ארו.

⁴ In the original we find $\text{א} \cdot \text{ו}$, which is either the erasure of ו or וי. Read therefore אור, or אויר. The difference of translation will be noticed hereafter.

⁵ חתג mutable with כ : read חתר.

⁶ This is copied according to the original, but in the translation it must be differently divided, which will there be noticed.

TRANSLATION

OF MARMORA PALMYRENA, X. (1.)
19.

¹ As artifice joins the hound in his rovings, so did malignity ² adhere to the loitering Astarta.

She secretly kindled an oven producing a desirable flame.

As it was kindled for destruction, so it spread destruction ; the sparks ³ forcing themselves into the fir,⁴ and thus destroying (by fire) the cedar.⁵

¹ Or ' As the hunter sticks close to his exploring hound, so did corruption, or vileness, or malignity, fix itself on Astarta's throne.'

² *Malignity*, from the Syriac צָמָא.

³ נֹב. I took that word in the same sense as בֵּן, or בַּת, like בְּנֵי רֶשֶׁף (in Job) *sparks*. So נֹב of the תֹּנֶר, the produce of the *furnace* or *oven*.

⁴ This I think is alluding to Cant. i. 17. בֵּרֶשׁ is here metonymically placed for רֹחַשׁ, *ceiled* or *arched covering* ; or, in a collective sense, meaning works of fir. We may read likewise the above sentence thus : 'The sparks (or flames) forcing themselves into the roof, and thus destroying the house ;' taking likewise the word אֶרֶז metonymically.

⁵ אֶרֶז, *cedar*, is certainly intended here either for the *wall*, or *house*.

But the scarlet-robed¹ lion transformed² that destructive loiterer threefoldly,

By changing her seductive ivory (palace) into derision; desire into woe; and adoration into contempt.

¹ Or *ruddy*. חלני has likewise the signification of *murmuring*, or, in this sense, *howling*. We may likewise read *the excited lion*.

² According to the above translation, we must take אור; but if the erasure is to be supplied by אור, we must then read, 'but the ruddy lion, or scarlet-robed (perhaps *the emblem of fierceness*), cut the disguise, or *robe*, of honour into three parts.' With regard to the last sentence, it must be observed that both year and month are expressed. The author very ingeniously managed it so; שנת עב צצצ בלל being 4344 (taking the 4 ls as the sign of 4000). בירח צל לול. This being intended for the moon, *Elul*, the word לול is exactly in numeration as אלול, i. e. 67. I think there was some particular mark on the word לול, as in many Hebrew works, to express either the year or month: particularly so if it carries different meanings; since the ancient languages have that superiority. According to the above translation, in order to make it agree with *the three parts*, the words must be derived thus: שן חצ בצצ צבו וור. בירח צל לול. I have taken the word ירח, *moon*, (being the emblem of change) as a verb, 'to change.' There is a redundancy of ו, but we must allow it here, in consequence of expressing the time. It might likewise have been intended for the labial ב signifying *in*, a case of rare occurrence. The copyist has certainly neglected to add the *dots* on the word לול: the letters were perhaps on the stones either smaller or larger than the rest.

MARMORA PALMYRENA, X. (2.)

19.

כצט' תיד' זרו רת רמך¹ טך אצמר צא'
 רות נר' אריאת' יתך ותרנ'²
 יזליך' אזלי כנבי בר ברש' ערו חירא
 אך טרך ארית לני אור תתג"³
 שנת עב צצ צבוו בירח צל לזל

¹ כצד mutable with ר : read כצד.

² תיקך mutable with ק : read תיקך.

³ רתך mutable with ח : read רתך.

⁴ צע mutable with ע : read צע.

⁵ גיר apocope : read גיר, or גיר.

⁶ The ח is here transposed : read אריתא.

⁷ The ג is here transposed : read ותגר.

⁸ יזליך mutable with ג : read יזליג.

⁹ בראש apocope : read בראש.

¹⁰ חתך mutable with ר : read חתך.

TRANSLATION

OF MARMORA PALMYRENA, X. (2.)
19.

The seductive Astarta was placed in a voluble car, clad like a hunter armed with a quiver of arrows :

Triumphantly ¹ ploughing the waves; ² thus exciting the deep:

Causing the billows to shine like the unspotted ornaments ³ on a lordly couch.

But a lion-like wave stopped the *course* by crushing the wheel,⁴

Casting the (or, *its*) mattress into the floods; thus adorning the perching ostrich ⁵ with plenty of tenters.⁶

¹ Or *swiftly*.

² *Rivers*. This is the literal meaning.

³ Literally, *flower*.

⁴ Or, metonymically, *car*.

⁵ This answers to the Hebrew עמנן, and is well applied in this sense.

⁶ The literal translation is *with hook and hook*. I took it at once in a plural sense. We must likewise observe here, as formerly, that both year and month is intended. The ingeni-

ous *Chotzeb* has so managed that the sentence should agree with the antecedent, and therefore, according to the translation, we must read it as if divided thus: שנת עבן עז במו ביר חצל לול. The γ must here be considered as ט: thus עבט. It bears likewise the following translation: 'By casting the seat into the floods, the seated flower (or coxcomb) was changed into a chain of hooks.' A sarcasm on magic. The date is year 4274, month *Elul*: and, as I have observed before, לול bears the number, as אלול, viz. 67. The Hebrews very often express themselves in that manner. As the lion is here represented metamorphosed into a wave, the change of the Astarta suits well.

MARMORA PALMYRENA, XI. (1.)

בל תיחל ברת זני אתת
מענ יב רו גב רד

TRANSLATION.

Behold, a remnant¹ of an undertaking which increased *both* in dignity and splendor!

But its feasts² brought it secretly to a heap to be trodden³ *with the foot*.

¹ Rabbinical. *Portion*, likewise *produce*.

² מענ, Hebrew. We may take this as a metonymy, and translate it either its *table wits* or *foreign feasts*. Vide root לענ.

³ רד from דרד. Literally, a *heap for treading*.

MARMORA PALMYRENA, XI. (2.)

BY ANOTHER DIVISION.

בל תיחל ברת זגיא תת
 כמע גי בר' וג ברד

TRANSLATION.

Let not the fir expect to be supported ' by the mulberry !

The midst of *this* valley chains the brier to the weed.

' For בור ; or, 'Let not the fir begin to subjugate the mulberry. The heart of the valley (i. e. the grave) joins the brier with the weed.' The figure is; 'Let not the great fetter the low. The grave fetters the brier (*tyrant*) to the harmless weed.'

MARMORA PALMYRENA, XI. (3.)

[Note.—In this little piece is rather a doubtful figure (4) line first, sixth letter, which might have been intended to represent a p. Nos. 1 and 2. have been divided and translated as if that figure represents ל. I shall now endeavour to proceed with p.]

בלת יח קבר תוני אתת
מענ יב רו גב רד

TRANSLATION.

The consuming grave silenced the clamorous
(from זון, *tintinnabulum*) heroine,

Who introduced mirth in order to subjugate
majesty in secret.

Or, The silent grave consumes a flirting heroine,

Who, by the introduction of foreign feasts,
brought by degrees majesty into subjection.

MARMORA PALMYRENA, XII. (1.)

את תח אבר תב לעת בבר נשא
את תא לגל לבר וג בלת .

TRANSLATION.

The passion for frailty fixed itself amongst the sons of men ; ¹ forming itself into perversion.

It reduced the pavilion to a heap of ruins, and the healthy man ² to decay.

¹ Or *sons of princes*.

² Literally, *son of man*.

MARMORA PALMYRENA, XII. (2.)

את תח אבר תב לעת בבר נשא
את תאל גול לברז גבלת

TRANSLATION.

It is said ¹ that frailty forced itself among the sons of princes,² thereby causing a revolution :

Causing the palm³ of undertakings⁴ to stick in the mire.

¹ I took **אח** here as an abbreviation of **אחא**, (Rabb.) *dice-tur*.

² Or, *the sons of men*.

³ **תאל**, *palma parva*. This is certainly alluding to Palmyra. Diminutives, like 'parva,' are used by the English when speaking ironically.

⁴ *Telu*, literally, *web* ; metaphorically, *an undertaking*.

MARMORA PALMYRENA, XIII. (1.)

לב עיפּש מוגל עלמא עבר שלם הבר כש¹ אבר
 חיץ אב רם על חיו וגיס² חי יב נזייא³ א
 גב יר חניסנה שנת ווו בצצ עווג

¹ Read כיס or כיסי ; ש being mutable with ס.

² In the original we find רִי, which was supplied by ייא, agreeing with the context.

³ In the original וגיו וגיו : both will answer the present purpose, which will be noticed in the translation.

⁴ Or read, to make it agree with the date,

גב ירח ניסן השנה ווו בצצ עווג

TRANSLATION

OF MARMORA PALMYRENA, XIII. (1.)

As soon as lewdness made its appearance in the world, happiness disappeared, and the sound of the wolf¹ increased.

It afflicted the illustrious founder : effeminacy triumphed over his mind,² thus tormenting³ his life.

A chain of misfortunes⁴ changed the pillars consecrated to the sun,⁵ and its fastenings, into a scoffing prospect.⁶

Or, to read it as a date, 'In the midst of month Nisan, year 4455.'

¹ *She-wolf.*

² *Breast.*

³ If we take גיו from גיו, it will then be, *it shortened his life.*

⁴ *A collection of darts.*

⁵ חניסנח is here, I think, the abbreviation of חניסנחיא, (Rab.) which, according to Kimchi, is the compound of חניס ושיא, which has two significations ; viz. *pænuia mulierum*, and *statuæ solares*; the latter of which answers to the Hebrew חניס, Levit. xxvi. 30. *Idols, images*, usually interpreted, more definitely, *pillars consecrated to the sun*. Others again, *tutelary deity*, as if from the Arabian حى, *to protect*.

⁶ Or *to be gazed at with scorn*. This is allusive to the reward of the mocking celebrations, as noticed in No. VII.

MARMORA PALMYRENA, XIII. (2.)

לב עיף שמגל עלמא עבר שלמה ברכש אבר
 חיצא בר מעל חיז וגיו חי יבנו¹ יאות²
 גבי רח ניסנה שנ תו וו בצצ עווג

¹ יבנס with ס : mutable ו.

² In the original יא, which I supplied with אות, agreeably to the context. There were certainly two or three letters erased.

TRANSLATION

OF MARMORA PALMYRENA, XIII. (2.)

The flatulent¹ veil which enwrapped the maiden,
made Solomon run like a swift mule.²

It forced away the pure visions from heaven,³
thereby irritating the vigorous eagle,⁴ who majesti-
cally

Darted upon the spacious Palmyra,⁵ destroying
with his pinions⁶ the desirable *place* in the bloom
of her pleasures.

¹ From לבח, *flare, sufflare*.

² רכש may likewise have the signification of *horse*.

³ Literally, *from above*.

⁴ גין answers to the Hebrew עוניה, Deut. xii. 14.

⁵ גיסני, (the י being changed into ח) *palmarum species*.
Here we have again a fine equivocal.

⁶ Literally, *hooks or nails*. I think *pinions* sounds better
here, or *claws*.

MARMORA PALMYRENA, XIII. (3.)

לב עיף שמנל עלמא עבר שלמה ברכש¹ אבר
 חיצא בר מעל דיו וניז² חי יב נזיאי³
 גבי רח ניסנה שנת ווו בצצ עווג⁴

¹ ברכש mutable with ג : read ברכש.

² וניז mutable with ס : read וניס.

³ In the original יא, which was supplied by יא.

⁴ Or, to read it like a date, ווו בצצ עווג.

TRANSLATION

OF MARMORA PALMYRENA, XIII. (3.)

The rending of the veil which enclosed *the face* of the maiden threw Solomon into perpetual¹ madness.

He *became* like one who pulls up the brier in the villages.² Thus did the companion of his life reduce him to objurgation.

By a change of misfortunes³ fell⁴ the spacious Palmyra,⁵ now to be looked at with scorn !

¹ Literally, *fixed*.

² Or, *streets*: likewise, *outer courts of houses*, &c.

³ Literally, *hooks and hooks*. ⁴ Literally, *was abolished*.

⁵ Vide נִסְנִי in No. XIII. (2.) I refer the reader to No. XIII. (1.) for the date.

במדה שאדם מודד מודדין לו

POSTSCRIPT.

IN order to obviate certain objections which may be made to some of the preceding remarks, &c., I wish to submit the following observations to the judgment of the reader.

The Hebrews have never viewed the downfall either of nations or men as mere accident; but as נֹמַל לְאִישׁ חֲסִיד כַּמּוֹפְעָלוֹ יִתֵּן לְרָשָׁע רֹעַ כְּרִשְׁתּוֹ. 'He rewards the pious man according to his work; and he punishes the wicked according to his wickedness:' or in other words, מוֹדֵד מוֹדֵד לוֹ בְּמִדַּת שְׂאֵדָם שֶׁאֵדָם מוֹדֵד לוֹ. *Quæ mensurâ homo mensus fuerit, remetiuntur ei.* The pious Christian undoubtedly considers the dispensations of Providence in the same light. Matth. vii. 2.

The fall of men, from the earliest part of creation, was owing to demoniac snares: they were like fountains from which sprang morbid waters: one of which, named Arrogance, attacked many

men both of old and present times, which caused their ruin.

The fall of the most sublime and wise monarch that ever swayed the sceptre in Israel was occasioned by this failing; which so tarnished the virtues of his character that all his wisdom could not disentangle him out of it: **אל יתהלל חכם בחכמתו** : **ואל יתהלל הגבור בגבורתו וכו'**. The first wrong step that king took was his intermarrying with foreign princesses, in opposition to the Law. Elated by his wisdom, he did not imagine that it would be in the power of his wives to lead him astray from the worship of the true God. Thus a snare, in the shape of arrogance, reduced him, in a religious and moral sense, to an equality with the meanest peasant. **עברה גוררת עברה**—‘the commission of one sin causeth another sin.’

We do not perceive in Scripture, that before the period of his marriage with the daughter of Pharaoh, &c. the least blemish in that great monarch; neither is there any mention either of **בעלת** or **תרמר** being built before that period. (1 Kings ix. 18.) The former (*Baalath*) was, in my opinion, *Balbec*, though poetically styled **המק** in Cant. viii. 11. This change occurs very often even to this present

time, e. g. צֶעַן *Zoan*, חָם *Cham*, for מִצְרַיִם, *Mitzrayim*, Egypt. This island is styled Great Britain and Britannia, and London is called the metropolis. The word בַּעֲלֵבֶךְ *Balbec* is not found in Scripture, but בַּעֲלָת and בַּעֲלֵהֶמֶן, of which the former (*Baalath*), when compared with *Balbec*, may be understood to have nearly the same signification; thus בַּעֲלָת signifies 'thou art chief;' or, master; or, 'thou art the master of all,' which epithet might have been given by way of enthusiasm or preference, like תִּרְצָה *Tirzah*, 'pleasantness.' בַּעֲלֵבֶךְ, signifies 'excellence is within thee,' or, 'mastership is with thee.' If allusion be made to the sun any person knows the signification of בַּעַל. בַּעַל הָמֶן *Bal Hamon* signifies 'master of riches.' By the word הָמֶן *Hamon*, we may understand any thing alluding to wealth and power. The patriarch Abraham, after the letter ה was added, was styled אֲבִי הָמֶן *Ab Hamon*, 'father or master of the multitude of nations.' בַּעֲלֵבֶךְ *Balbec*, is certainly a corruption, but it carries the same idea. *Tadmor*, from תָּמַר *a palm*, needs, I think, no comments.

The reader has by this time undoubtedly viewed the Inscriptions in this volume with attention;

and if he has compared them with Scripture, must have found them correspond in many instances with it. The Inscriptions must have been scribbled after the destruction of the second Temple.

My humble opinion is, that many inscriptions might yet be found on that spot. I have before expressed my doubts respecting the dates; but I am certain that Hebrews must have had settlements near that place, until, or perhaps after, the reign of Vespasian. It is said, 'Ptolemy Soter carried whole colonies of Jews into Egypt, not as captives, but to enjoy all benefits arising from commerce. Onias, one of them, obtained permission to build a synagogue for the Jews in Egypt, alleging as an excuse, the prophecy of Isaiah, xix. 18. lest the Jews should offend God. This synagogue, or temple, was built near the city Heliopolis.' See Dr. Southwell's note on Isaiah xix. 18. This strengthens my opinion, that the same Hebrews were the authors of our present Inscriptions. The months mentioned in the Inscriptions correspond exactly with that period when the pious Hebrew visits the *קברי אבות* 'sepulchres of his fathers:' viz. *אלול תשרי שבט*. The first (*Elul*) is the month in which Moses went up to the mount after the

transgression of the molten calf. It is a month in which the pious Hebrew prepares himself for that grand day יום כפור by additional prayers מליחות. The שופר is likewise blown from the beginning of that month until the third of *Tishri*. A day before the new year, which is the last day of *Elul*, the pious Hebrew visits 'the graves of his fathers.' From the beginning of *Tishri* (תשרי) until the 10th, (on which day is the day of atonement) the Hebrew deprives himself of all pleasures, and on the 9th visits the sepulchres. The third month, טבת (*Tebeth*), on the tenth of which is a fast, is commemorative of the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar; as likewise of the four fasts mentioned in Zechariah viii. 19. 'Thus saith the Lord, the fast of the fourth month, and the fast of the fifth, and the fast of the seventh, and the fast of the tenth,' (טבת) &c. We find likewise in the Inscriptions the month of ניסן (*Nisan*) but only once, concerning which, to avoid criticism, I shall state my opinion. The Hebrews' first-born generally fast on the 14th of that month, for the deliverance of the Hebrew first-born in Egypt. It is very probable that a custom existed in that country, to visit the graves on that day. No He-

brew travels far from his home in the months of *Tishri* and *Nisan*. Therefore Hebrews must have had some settlements near this spot.

I now beg to make a few remarks respecting the coincidences of the Inscriptions with Scripture. In No. I. the scribbler beholds 'the mighty ones scattered like the inebriated.' Let this be compared with Isaiah xix. 14 where the same language is used concerning the Egyptians, 'as a drunken man staggereth;' or with Jeremiah viii. 1, 2. Likewise compare the second Hebrew line, 'doomed,' &c. with Isaiah xix. 1. 'The idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence,' &c. The last line, שן תר בצצ ווו, may be compared with 2 Kings xxiii. 5. taking the noun צצ as a figure for 'fire.' He must have considered their downfall as similar to that of Jerusalem and Egypt.

In No. II. we have the punishment of hypocrisy, idolatry, and oppression beautifully and concisely expressed. Let this be compared with Numbers xvi. 35. Isaiah iii. 18. 14. 24. and 26. xiv. 12.

In No. III. we find a peculiar expression respecting the skipping over the *altars*, &c. or 'excel-

lence,' which may be compared with Isaiah xxxii. 14.; viz. כי ארמון נמש המון עיר עוב עפל ובחן דיה בעד. מערות ער עולם משוש פראים מראה עדרים. Translation, according to the authorized version, 'Because the palaces shall be forsaken, the multitude of the city shall be left, the forts and towers shall be for dens for ever, a joy of wild asses, a pasture of flocks.' The translation might likewise be thus: 'For the palaces' (ארמון might likewise signify 'Harem,' e. g. ארמון בית המלך, 'the harem of the royal palace;' seraglio is sometimes used for the whole royal residence) 'shall be forsaken; *Hamon*, the city of corruption and arrogance, together with its excellence,' &c. ובחן I have used here figuratively; the verb דיה being in the singular, is by way of contempt. Likewise in Isaiah xvii. 2. when the same prophet threateneth the downfall of the cities of Aroer, 'they shall be for flocks which shall lie down, and none shall make them afraid;' some are of opinion that ערי ערער are the cities beyond the Jordan generally. They might be cities so called by way of irony, word as the ערער signifies *naked*, or *nakedness*, *needy*. Hence the Arabian ^{سمر} *juniper bush*.

Lastly, let the second line of No. III. 1. be compared with Isaiah xiii. 10. **כִּי נֹכְבֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וּכְסִלֵּיהֶם לֹא יִהְיוּ אֹרֶם חֹשֶׁךְ הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ בִּצְאוֹתָו וְכוּ׳**. 'For the stars of heaven, and the constellations thereof, shall not give light; the sun shall be darkened in his going forth,' &c. Read the next verse, 'And I will punish the world for their evil,' &c. I give these hints for the reader's consideration, if not before viewed in that light.

No. IV. is, in my humble opinion, finely arranged by our pilgrim. References to Scripture would fill a little volume. We are presented with a 'howl' which shook the wall, proclaiming its destruction. Compare this with Isaiah xxv. 2: **כִּי שָׁמַת מַעִיר לְגַל קְרִיָה בַצּוּרָה לַמִּפְלָא אֶרְמוֹן זָרִים מַעִיר לְעוֹלָם לֹא יִבְנָה**. 'For thou hast made of a city a heap; of a defenced city a ruin: a palace of strangers to be no city; it shall never be built.' Ibid. xxvii. 10. **כִּי עִיר בַּצּוּרָה בְּדֶר נֹחַ מִשְׁלָח וְנֹעָב כַּמְדָּבָר**. 'Yet the defenced city shall be desolate, and the habitation forsaken, and left like a wilderness.' If any of my readers are acquainted with the valuable work of Wood, and compare this stanza with the state of the ruins, they will certainly be found to correspond. The scribbler

makes likewise the founder lament his misfortunes, which were owing to fornication and idolatry ; which may be compared with Isaiah xxix. 4. ומעפר תשח אמרתך ודיה כאוב מארץ קולך ומעפר אמרתך תצפץ. ' And thy speech shall be low out of the dust, and thy voice shall be as of one that hath a familiar spirit, out of the ground, and thy speech shall whisper out of the dust.' I beg leave to remark here that the word אַנֵב, signifies likewise ' the *ghost* itself which is raised ;' vide Gesenius's Lexicon. And in my opinion, his translation, ' And thy voice shall be כאוב as the ghost from the earth,' is more correct than *familiar spirits*. The word צַפֵּץ, *vox exigua*, the ancients ascribed to departed spirits, or rather to the voice of the necromancers, who sought to imitate the manes. He likewise represents him coming by stealth (Jeremiah ii. 26. ' As the thief is ashamed when he is found') ; or, as if to avoid the gaze of his former friends who knew him heretofore in prosperous circumstances. The comparison of the *lighter* will, I hope, be found very ingeniously executed by our scribbler. I think it is needless to repeat his views. Its being led out of its course is very similar to an expression used by

Isaiah xxiii. 7. When speaking of Tyre: יבִלֶהָ רגליה מרחק לנור. 'Her own feet shall carry her afar off to sojourn.' רגל may be taken here, as in all languages, for a figure of *instance of conduct*. Compare likewise Ezek. xxvii. 32. ונשאזו אליך בנידם. קינה וקוננו עליך מי כצד כדמה בתוך הים. 'And in their wailing they shall take up a lamentation for thee, and lament over thee, saying, What city is like Tyrus, like the destroyed in the midst of the sea?'

We may also compare with Isaiah xix. 14. the equivocal expressions of our poor scribbler in his simile of the present state of the ruins to a tumbling drunkard, or a beggar clothed in tinsel. The beginning of this stanza may likewise be compared with some parts of the 30th chapter of Isaiah. There is likewise an allusion made to the reward for a transgression formerly committed by seeking the assistance of Egypt. Isaiah xxxi. 1. 'Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help,' &c. Ib. ver. 3. 'Both he that helpeth shall fall, and he that is holpen shall fall down.'

No. V. needs no comments, except on a fine remark which must not be passed unnoticed. Our pilgrim speaks of a lion of a superior range. Let this be compared with Jeremiah ch. xlix. ver.

19. 'Behold he shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan, against the habitation of the strong.' Contrast this likewise with Isaiah xxxv. 9. This might likewise be an ironical expression referring to the twelve signs of the zodiac, either on account of their being worshipped, as mentioned so often in Scripture, or from a belief of their influence, which was likewise of Egyptian origin.

No. VI. speaks of a snare, which, if not timely guarded against, will gradually deteriorate the intellectual powers. Compare this with 1 Kings xi. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. The second Hebrew line may likewise be divided thus; בנא ריח תת ראך. 'Its increase was like a destructive blast to thy knowledge.' We find in Scripture frequent mention made of destructive winds: 2 Kings xix. 7. 'I will send a blast upon him;' which some suppose to be the *Samiel*, which is a noxious wind to which travellers are sometimes exposed in passing through Arabia in the months of July and August. The blast occasions instantaneous death to every man and beast that happens to be with his face towards it. Those who are used to the country, perceive its approach by a thick haze in the

horizon, and by a sensible alteration of the air; on which occasion the only means of escape is for the travellers to lie prostrate with their faces close to the ground, and their feet towards the *Samiel*, and so to continue until it has passed. Contrast the second Hebrew line according to its translation with Isaiah xxxii. 3. Compare the suitable reward which closes the stanza with Isaiah xxxiii. 1.

In No. VII. we are presented with a fable which I have not the least doubt my reader is able to solve. It is likewise accordant with Scripture, 'Their own iniquity shall devour them.' The word *תרצי*, *Tirzah*, mentioned in the stanza, is perhaps allusive to Cant. vi. 4.

My readers have undoubtedly, by this time, considered that the authors of the preceding stanzas have judiciously hinted at the mischief as originating in Egypt, or other countries, whose inhabitants deviated from the holy commands of the True Eternal. Need I add that they had Scripture as an associate? I think not. But, strange to say! we find in a country, where millions are expended towards the propagation of Scriptural knowledge, lecturers, who boldly per-

suade multitudes that both Christians and Jews are indebted to Egypt for many discoveries, amongst which is the origin of letters! The lecturer on the rostrum, accompanied with volubility of tongue, like a true *לען מען*, undertakes to prove it by explaining a few hieroglyphics, and chatters on until he arrives at a very *few* figures which are in accordance with a *few* Hebrew characters. The lecture is by *no* means finished yet: how could it, without some attack on Scriptural truth? And all this as if we were in a country where *no* Bible is to be found! With regard to hieroglyphic explanations, my opinion is, that they are as uncertain as they are useless. If, for instance, a figure like this, *℥*, was formerly a *bird* or a *horse*, what knowledge do we obtain by that? I do not think that any man can securely boast in the correctness of his explanation. Many changes, both in laws and customs, have taken place among all nations; no person, I repeat, can place his hand on his heart, and avow his belief that what he undertakes to explain of hieroglyphics is fully correct, except he is well acquainted with the true and faithful history of ancient countries. It is true, authors are quoted; but can they be de-

pended upon ? The same authors likewise say, ' thousands of volumes are either destroyed or might be found yet.' Even if all could be found, I know not what benefit would ensue : the few which exist are either useless or misunderstood. How good is Providence, and how grateful ought we to be for the preservation of that little volume, the Bible ! we have daily proofs both of its antiquity and usefulness. By the purity of its doctrines, it saves multitudes from destruction, both in this and the world to come ! I certainly esteem every science which tends to good morals and industry ; but these kind of lectures lead men to a **תהו ובהו** !

I said before, unless a person is well acquainted with the laws and customs of nations, he cannot decipher their different emblems. I beg leave to introduce an instance worth notice which occurred at Amsterdam, in which place the Hebrews have an extensive burying-ground ; and several of their members who performed religious offices during their lives, have corresponding emblems hewn on their tomb-stones : for instance, the person whose office it was to blow the horn

on the new year's day has a horn, which might be taken, if not known, for a very different figure. The descendants of Aaron (כֹּהֲנִים) have two hands extended, being the emblem of blessing. The Levite has a *jug* and *basin*, emblematic of his having washed the priests before they performed the benedict. A gentleman of that place had in his counting-house a Christian clerk, a learned and ingenious young man, whose abilities he tried in the solution of these emblems. But what was the gentleman's astonishment, when his ingenious clerk exclaimed, on observing the horn, 'How fond was this man of his *pipe* during his life!' The hands he mistook to be an emblem of a miser grasping; and, on viewing the jug, he pronounced the poor Levite to be a *Bacchanalian*! Had this scholar been accustomed to Jewish ceremonies, I do not think he would have pronounced the poor Levite to be a friend of Bacchus. Such blunders I doubt not are committed at present. Now, let a person, either Christian or Jew, mount the rostrum, and say, he can prove, by the very form and explanation of the Hebrew characters, that they are both simple and consistent, and that God taught Adam every

thing. Adam was undoubtedly like an angel before his fall, and consequently he must have had some knowledge of letters: else it would have appeared as if God wished his favorite to be a mere *pedant*. It is also certain, that Adam was endowed with every science, including the knowledge of letters; else it would appear as if the Disposer of every thing only withheld it either for want of time, or to show his partiality towards the Egyptians; and therefore kept that science *en secret*, not only from Adam, but from all the patriarchs, in order that their progeny might revere them. The clamour, powerful enough to shake the cedars of Lebanon, would be, ‘Who is this blasphemer, who dares to draw a cloud over the Egyptians’ sun? Here we have remnants of birds, serpents, cows, and horses, enough to fill any menagerie; not to mention the thousands of volumes which are lost; and the proof of that fact is, that they are *no where to be found*. To prove the absurdity of the would-be lecturer, down with him.’ In fact, he would be in as much danger as the celebrated fire-king, who found his heels of better service than his head.

The plebeian visits annually the different exhibitions, vulgarly called *shows*; and the sagacious exhibitioner produces some wax or wooden figures, and tells him they represent certain heroes or heroines, according to his sapient customer's taste. This man certainly avoids attacking holy writ; whereas the hieroglyphic lecturer will not only persuade his visitor that such a mark was a *horse*, and another mark like the face of Ops, &c. &c. (the benefit of possessing such a secret is prodigious) but will likewise, by other proceedings, attack the Scriptures, and now and then, as if by impulse of conscience, (if I dare be bold enough to hint this) introduce something in favour of them, which is like placing a נֹחַ וְהָבָה בְּאֵף חֲזִיר (Prov. xi. 22.) Suppose we take for granted, that the Egyptians were superior in wisdom to other nations existing at the time of the patriarch Jacob: how far superior was the wisdom of the poor captive Joseph when he entreated his brothers not to bury him in Egypt! not to mention the interpretation of the king's dream, who thus complimented him: 'Can we find such a one (in Egypt) as this is, a man in whom the spirit of God is?' (I hope no offence to the lecturer's vi-

sitors.) ‘And Pharaoh said unto Jacob, forasmuch as God hath showed thee all this.’ Notwithstanding which our moderns suppose the Egyptian pedants taught him to read and write.¹ Was not his prophetic wisdom superior to that of the daughter of the priest of On? She must certainly have inherited something of the sapience of her papa; but, strange to say! she little imagined that her *corpus* embalmed (taking for granted, that her ladyship is in England) would in future times be made a show of! I live in the country, and therefore am ignorant at what price.

So far was poor Joseph’s sublime wisdom superior to that of his wife. He must have certainly foreseen all this, and thus have escaped the resurrectionist or bone-grubber; and have declined being made an exhibition of to every country

¹ I do not know what their terms were, but my reader will perhaps hear that in time to come, by way of *lecture*. This we know, if Scripture is to be depended upon, Joseph was a captive and a *Jew*, a nation which was always held in contempt by the Egyptians; and we do not find that seminaries were established in common jails. It would be absurd even to imagine that an Egyptian teacher came to instruct him gratuitously: I leave it therefore to the reader to guess from what fountain this poor captive’s wisdom sprang.

clown. Now, suppose that Asenath, daughter of a priest of On, is not the same mummy as she is represented to be, and consequently that she was not grubbed out of her tomb; still was Joseph's wisdom far superior. This wisdom he certainly inherited from his father, who, reproving Simeon and Levi, said, *בסדס אל תבא נפשי בקהלם אל תחד כברי*. 'O my soul, come not thou in their secret; unto their assembly mine honour.' The former was allusive to the affair of Zimri (Numb. xxv. 14.), and the second to the assembly of Korah (Numb. xvi. 1.). Jacob foresaw, by divine wisdom, that some transgression would happen among the two tribes: and, no doubt, Joseph foresaw, in the same manner, that, at some future period, a resurrectionist might disturb his entombed body, or some lecturer might falsely represent him garlanded with horns or claws, &c., in the assembly of a mixed multitude, which he judged to be as beneficial, as a flambeau in the hands of a clear-sighted man, in the month of June, when the sun is in its meridian.

Before we quit this subject, let a few sentences be allowed to occupy a small space in this volume. Though few, yet, if given as a lecture, they will prove more beneficial than all the volumes con-

taining Egyptian animals. They are taken from a celebrated Hebrew author's work styled *Bechinot Olem*: חתורה והאדם חבורם הוא נר אלהים בארץ. 'The law' and man, when in unison, form a divine light upon the earth.'

התורה היא להב מתפרך משביב היושבי בשמים והאדם בשני חלקיו. אבוקה שואבת אורו. 'The law is the flame that reflects from the celestial fire, emanating from the Source of Light; man, in his two parts, formeth the lamp, in which the light is displayed.'

גיו פתילה נפתלת. ונשמתו שמן וית זך: בהסכמתם והצמדתם. 'The body resembleth the wick, and the soul the oil of a pure olive: if they agree together, the whole edifice is in splendour:' יגלה לעיניך אוצרות ההנהגה הכוללת: ונבע לך מצפוני המעשים. אשר בהם תתפאר. בהשאר בקיום. וממשלת: 'The treasures of Providence are uncovered to the eyes, and the high secrets of all commandments are communicated; through which he may obtain glory and immortality; and possess, what in time is most precious, and what the soul most wishes for.'

ובהעוב שמירת חמדת כתב הדת. תשאר עם הזמן. כנווד

¹ By the word *Torah* the entire Scripture is to be understood.

יחיד במדבר נורא • גתיבה מעוותת • בליל חשוך • ורוח סערה •
 וגשם שוטף • באין משען ומשענה • יהיה דרכו חושך וחלקלקות •
 :ומלאך יהוה רודפו • ובמה ישע איפה :
 declines to observe this glorious Scripture of the
 law, he is, in the height of time, like an unin-
 structed man in a terrible desert ; like the traveller
 uninformed of his way in a tempestuous night,
 lost in the storm and violent rain ; without refuge
 or support in a dark and slippery path ; perse-
 cuted by the angel of the Lord. In what manner
 shall he save himself ?

; ודע נא • וראה כי תבורם • חסד יהוה על ברואיו • ופרודם •
 :מעשה ידי אדם • הנה ידיך עשוק וכננוך :
 'Learn, then,
 that their union is the mercy of the Lord,
 which he has granted to his creatures ; but their
 disunion the works of the hands of man. Learn
 also, that thy hand has done it, and placed thee
 in this condition.'

The work from which the above quotations are
 taken is translated both into English and German.
 My object in introducing them was merely as an
 antidote against a certain hieroglyphic lecturer's
 spleen, who, in his lectures, was liberal in casting
 his sneers on the author of the *Seder Olem*, in con-
 sequence of the disagreement of its doctrines with
 his own.

Nos. VIII. IX. and X. are, in my opinion, the productions of one person. I have already explained their tendency; and noticed the scribbler's ingenuity: this, therefore, needs hardly any additional comments. The introduction of the toxical berry in No. VIII. and the web in No. IX. may, in some measure, be compared to Isaiah lix. 5. In No. X. (1.) the scribbler might have very delicately hinted at a snare which has proved at all times pernicious to the intellectual powers. I refer, therefore, the reader to the translation of the second Hebrew line, admonishing him to consider its contents as a figure, and then to proceed with the third, viz. *ערוז ברש' לך נב יבר ברש' לך נב יבר ברש' לך נב יבר*. 'The destructive flame spread destruction; its mischievous production preyed on the mind, thus tyrannizing over its innocence.'

Nos. XI. XII. and XIII. are likewise the productions of one person. The downfall mentioned in No. XI. (1.) may be compared to Isaiah xxvi. 5, 6. In No. XI. (3.) the word *תזנ* may have a reference to Isaiah iii. 16. and perhaps contains a sarcasm on pride. Any person acquainted with Eastern

¹ The medial *א* is here omitted.

² Read *ערוז*.

³ Whiteness, figuratively.

history is familiar with the ornaments with which the women adorn themselves. No. XIII. (1.) line 3, may be compared to Nahum iii.6. In fact, that little production may be almost compared with the third chapter of the prophet ; when he speaks of the consequence of the miserable ruin of Nineveh. No. XIII. (2.) line 1. may be compared to Jeremiah ii. 23. particularly the last sentence in that verse, 'Thou art a swift dromedary traversing her ways.' Compare likewise the introduction of the eagle with Jer. xlix. 22. 'Behold he shall come up, and fly as the eagle, and spread his wings over Bozrah.' The introduction of that magnificent bird might likewise be allusive to Exodus xix. 4. when the Lord said, 'I bare you on eagles' wings;' after giving them the ten commandments, wherein he expressly commands them not to be idolaters ; and, in consequence of transgressing that command, the scribbler might, perhaps, have hinted at exciting his wrath, and thus destroying their idolatrous temples.

The reason of my making several divisions and translations was in consequence of some of the figures being erased, particularly in the latter numbers. I deeply regret that such has been the

case; nevertheless, I hope that it will be found, that no pains on my part were spared. I now take my leave, with the hope that my reader will pardon any mistake which has occurred in the English translation. I am not only an alien here, but my mode of life is likewise that of a recluse.

סוף דבר הכל נשמע את האלהים ירא ואת מצותיו שמור כי
זה כל האדם

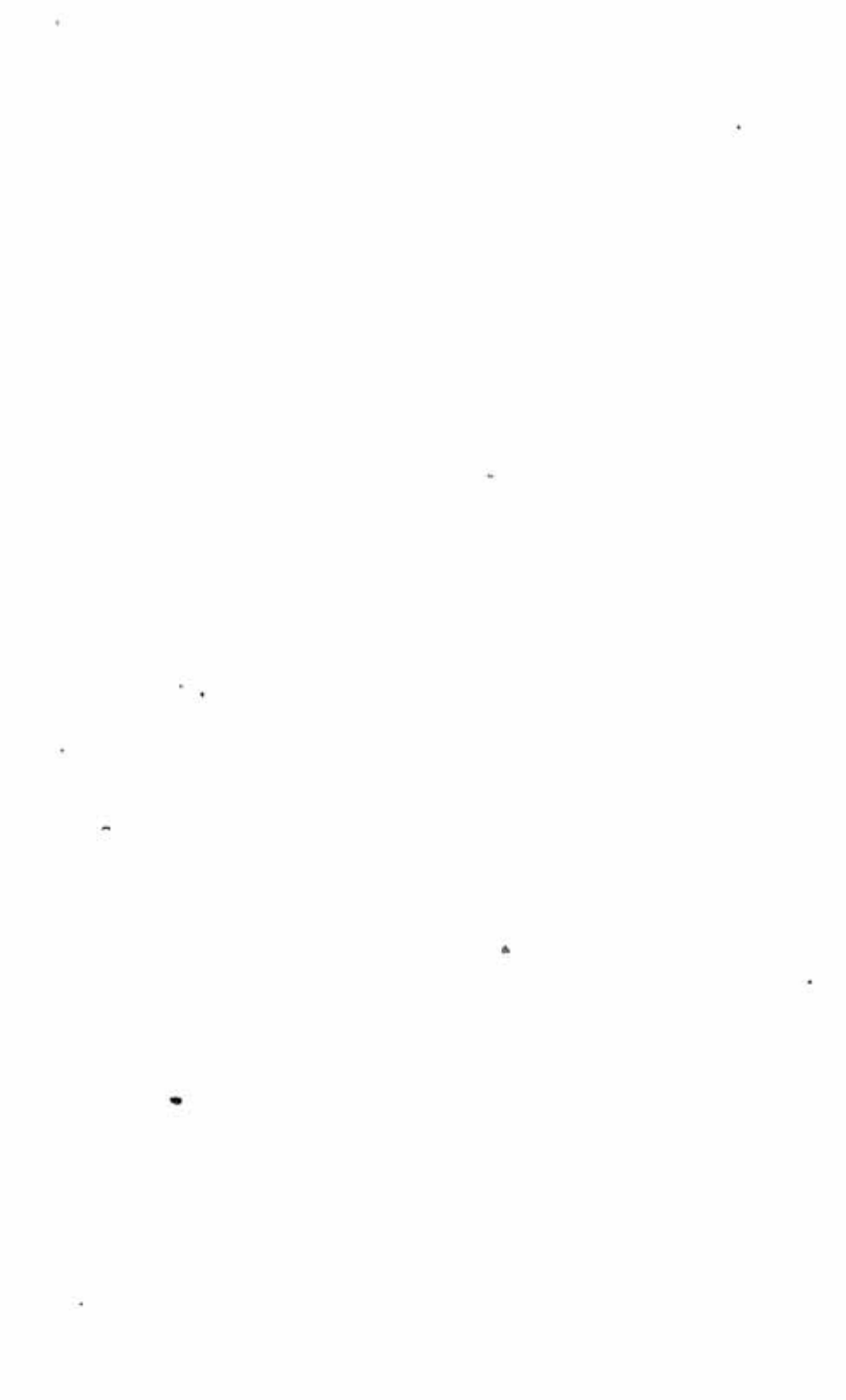
THE END.



4

SUR LES

PAPYRUS HIÉRATIQUES



SUR LES

PAPYRUS

HIÉRATIQUES

PAR

M. C. W. GOODWIN

TRADUIT PAR M. F. CHABAS

Extrait de la *Revue archéologique*

PARIS

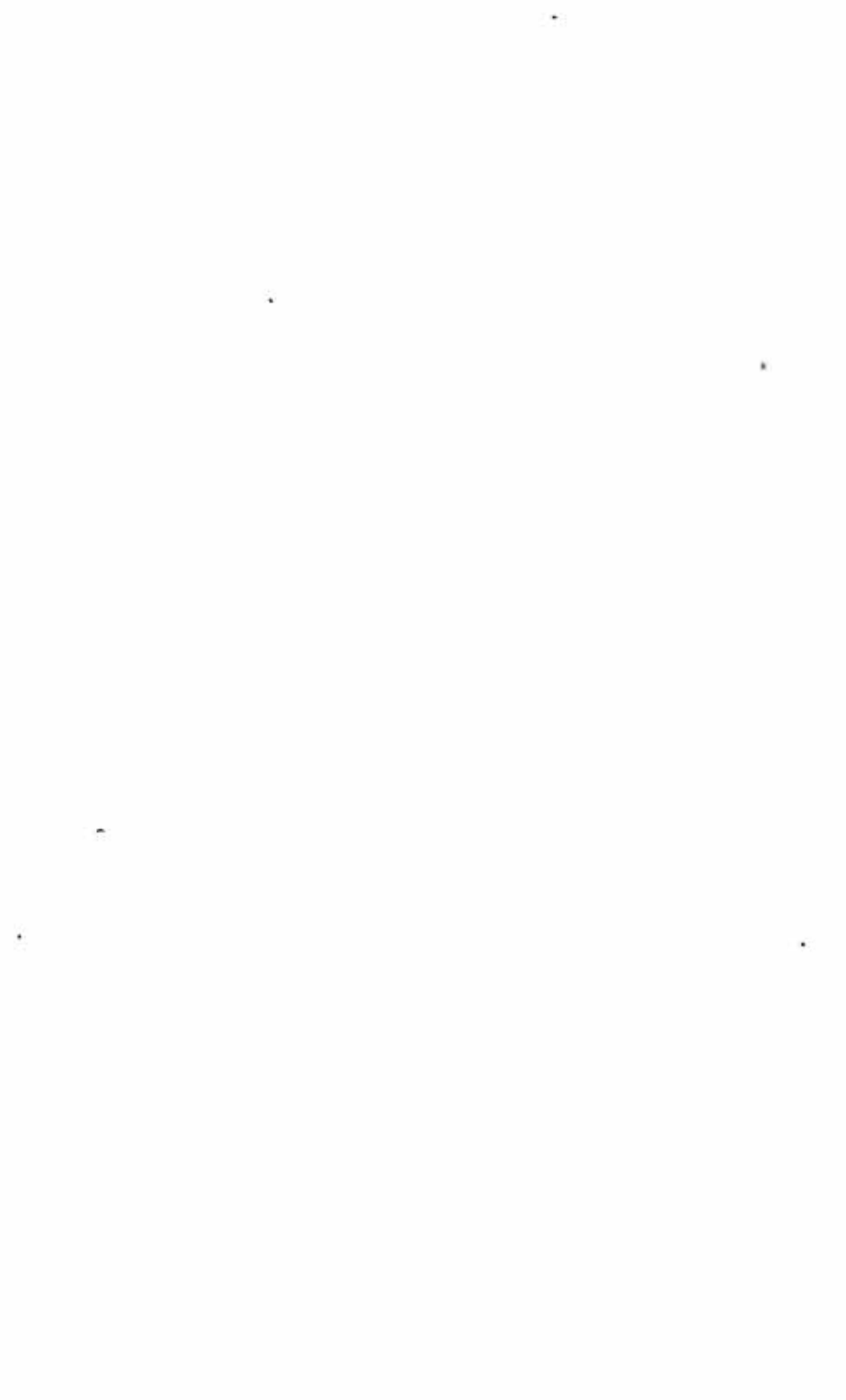
AUX BUREAUX DE LA REVUE ARCHEOLOGIQUE

LIBRAIRIE ACADÉMIQUE — DIDIER et Co

QUAI DES AUGUSTINS, 35.

—
1861

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SUR LES

PAPYRUS HIÉRATIQUES

Deuxième article (1).

NOTE PRÉLIMINAIRE DU TRADUCTEUR

La lettre dont M. Goodwin communique aujourd'hui aux lecteurs de la *Revue* l'analyse raisonnée est intéressante à plusieurs titres. De l'ancienne Égypte, les monuments nous rappellent surtout les splendeurs des rois, les succès de leurs armes et les pompes sacerdotales. Ici, le tableau des misères du travailleur nous montre que le moderne fellah n'a pas trop à regretter le régime des temps pharaoniques. En lisant ce tableau, on comprend qu'une investigation superficielle ait pu induire en erreur les partisans des rapprochements bibliques. Ils ont cru y découvrir un souvenir presque contemporain des plaies dont l'Égypte fut frappée lors de l'Exode des Juifs. Cette illusion a été de courte durée, mais elle a eu du retentissement et nous a donné la mesure du danger des solutions prématurées; la méthode sévère de M. Goodwin indique la voie qu'il faut suivre pour arriver à des résultats vraiment sérieux.

F. CHABAS.

Châlon-sur-Saône, 25 février 1861.

La première lettre dont je me propose d'essayer l'analyse est la cinquième dans la collection du scribe Pentaour; elle débute à la ligne 11 de la cinquième page du papyrus Sallier I. Comparativement, elle n'offre pas de grandes difficultés au traducteur, et nous avons d'ailleurs l'avantage d'en trouver, au papyrus Anastasi V,

(1) Voir le premier article, *Rev. archéol.*, nouvelle série, 1^{re} année, p. 223.

p. 45, un duplicata bien plus nettement écrit, offrant environ une cinquantaine de variantes orthographiques plus ou moins importantes.

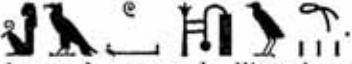



Nous y lisons d'abord la mention des noms des scribes entre lesquels s'échange la correspondance :




V, 11. HAH SAU - SKHAI (1) AMENEMAN EN HAT-PATI



Le chef des gardiens des écritures Ameneman, du trésor

EN AA - PATI - ANKH - UTA - SNEB, TAT EN SKHAI PENTAUR.

du Roi (2) dit au scribe Pentaour.

Je laisserai de côté tout ce qui peut être considéré comme évident ou suffisamment connu des égyptologues, et limiterai mes commentaires aux seuls points de difficulté. Dans la phrase qui précède, un seul mot semble exiger quelques explications; c'est le composé SAU-SKHAI, en hiéroglyphes . Le signe initial marqué C. 14 au catalogue des types de l'imprimerie impériale a pour variante sur les monuments la figure  [B. 81]. Il faut se garder de confondre ces deux signes avec  [C. 45] et  [B. 82]. Ces derniers ont en effet un son et un emploi différents.

Pour  et , j'adopte le son s ou sa, d'après le groupe  (3) où se rencontre cet élément phonétique. Cette variante, d'après les observations de M. Edwin Smith, est fréquente dans les Rituels. Dans une variante des basses époques, l's initial du nom de la ville de Sni (Esnè) est exprimé par le même hiéroglyphe (4).

 est presque toujours précédé des lettres , ANI, qui en représentent sans doute la valeur phonétique. Il y a lieu de remar-

(1) M. Goodwin transcrit par KH l'aspiration forte que les égyptologues français représentent par h' ou ch. (Note du traducteur.)

(2) Le roi est ici indiqué par le long titre : *la double grande maison, la vie saine et forte*. M. Goodwin supprime cette bizarre phraséologie, comme je l'ai fait dans mon *Mém. sur l'inscr. d'Isamboul*. Rev. arch., 1859, p. 578. (Note du traducteur.)

(3) Sharpe, *Eg. insc.*, Series I, pl. 79, 8 et pl. 80, 6.

(4) Lepsius, *Koenigsb.* Taf. IV, 26.

quer toutefois que dans l'hiératique ces différents signes sont absolument de la même forme et ne peuvent être distingués que par leurs compléments phonétiques.

Confondu avec ARI, le mot SAU a été traduit *garder, conserver*, et rapproché du copte $\alpha\rho\epsilon\zeta$, *custos*. Ce sens convient réellement dans certaines phrases, et en particulier dans celle qui m'occupe; mais il est inapplicable dans beaucoup d'autres. Ainsi, par exemple, dans le portrait du militaire courbé sous sa charge : NE TESU EN ATI-F SAU, *les jointures de son échine sont SAU* (1), le sens probable est *brisé, rompu*, et ce même sens convient encore bien à la phrase : SAU-K ATI EN PEN KHETA (2), *tu romps le dos de ce Kheta*. Au Rituel revient à plusieurs reprises l'expression : SAU SBAU (3), que je traduirais *briser, écraser les rebelles*.

L'acception *éviter* ou *défendre* semble admissible dans des phrases telles que celles-ci : SAU-TU ER PAR EN BANRA EM KARI EM URU PEN, *il est défendu* (ou *il faut éviter*) *de sortir la nuit, ce jour-là* (4) et SAU-TU UR-UR, *cela doit être évité rigoureusement*, ou bien *cela est très défendu* (5).

L'un des meilleurs exemples de l'acception *garder, observer*, se trouve dans le traité de Ramsès II avec les Khétas, où on lit la disposition suivante : « Ce sont les paroles de la tablette d'or du pays de Kheta et de l'Égypte; celui qui ne les *observera* pas. . . . et celui qui les *observera*.... (6). C'est le mot SAU qui exprime ici l'idée *observer*. On rencontre dans un autre texte la mention d'une jolie jeune fille *gardant* [SAU] les vignes (7).

D'autres textes semblent faire penser que le mot étudié possède encore des significations différentes (8); mais dans celui qui nous

(1) Pap. Anast. IV, pl. 9, l. 10. — Le duplicata qui se trouve pap. Anast. III, pl. V, fig. 11, substitue au mot SAU le groupe , KHABU, qui signifie *courber*.

(2) Pap. Sallier III, pl. 8, 4 et pl. 9, 9.

(3) *Todtb.*, ch. XVII, 45; ch. XVIII, 8, etc.

(4) Pap. Sallier IV, pl. 11, 6.

(5) *Todtb.*, ch. CXLIV, 32.

(6) *Denkm.*, III, 146, 30.

(7) Pap. Anast. I, pl. 25, 4.

(8) Cette multiplicité d'acceptions pour un même mot n'est nullement particulière à la langue égyptienne; il en est de même pour beaucoup de mots dans toutes les langues anciennes et modernes. Le mot SAU, discuté par M. Goodwin, se rencontre

occupe nous devons nous en tenir au sens *gardien*. Amenemman était probablement le conservateur des écritures relatives aux richesses introduites dans le trésor royal. le *CUSTOS ROTULORUM*, comme nous disons aujourd'hui. Je passe à la phrase suivante :

Pl. VI, lig. 1. AR-ENTI AR ENTU NEK SKHAUI PEN EN TAT.

Il est apporté à toi cette lettre de discours.

HNA TAT

Communication.

Tel est le préambule de toutes les lettres d'Amenemman dans la collection de Pentaour; il en est de même pour celles d'Amenemnap dans le recueil de Panbesa. Le dernier mot HNA-TAT, composé de HNA, *cum*, et de TAT, *loqui*, litt. *colloquium*, n'est pas lié à ce qui précède, puisque dans plusieurs cas on trouve cette expression HNA TOT employée seule au commencement des lettres. Je citerai notamment pour exemple le duplicata de la lettre même que j'analyse.

À l'exemple de mes devanciers, j'avais d'abord pensé que AR-ENTI était une formule d'entrée en matière comme *vu que, considérant que*, mais la comparaison d'un grand nombre de textes m'a fait reconnaître que presque partout ces deux mots sont pris en sens affirmatif et signifient littéralement *est quod*. Dans notre papyrus, l'expression entière est AR-ENTI AR-ENTU, *est quod est allatum*; mais au papyrus Anastasi III, le second AR est constamment omis : AR-ENTI ENTU, *est quod allatum*.

La substance de la missive ne commence qu'après le mot *communication*. Tout ce qui précède constitue le préambule commun à toutes les lettres du même genre.

Pl. VI, lig. 1. AR-ENTI TAT-TU NA EN KHAA-K SKHAUI

Il est dit à moi que tu abandonnes les lettres,

SHAMA-TU-K EM ABU TAK HAN-K BAKU EM
tu t'éloignes de l'éloquence, tu donnes la face (aux) travaux de

sous un assez grand nombre de formes orthographiques et avec différents déterminatifs, notamment le signe du pasteur ou berger (qui lui sert souvent d'initiale), le papyrus roulé, le bras armé, le couteau, l'homme invoquant. Le caprice des scribes a confondu ces formes diverses, qui correspondaient dans l'origine à des acceptions spéciales. Il faut remarquer toutefois que le sens *éviter, se garder de, défendre, empêcher*, est connexe de l'idée *garder, conserver, réserver*. (Note du traducteur.)

SAN

KHAA - K

HA - K

NETER TAT.

la campagne, tu laisses derrière toi les divines paroles.

La signification de , KHAA, *abandonner*, est bien éta-

blie; il me semble toutefois que le sens radical de ce mot est quelque chose de plus général et de plus vague. comme par exemple *mouvoir* ou *détourner*: de là *se détourner d'une chose*, *l'abandonner*.

Au papyrus d'Orbiney, l'acception *jeter* semble résulter de phrases telles que *jeter aux chiens*, *jeter à la rivière*, *jeter sur le sol*, et enfin dans le plan des mines d'or nous trouvons la phrase: Chemin qui mène (KHAA) ou tourne vers la mer (1). Au surplus, le copte Ⲭⲏ ou Ⲭⲏⲩ , *ponere, mittere, relinquere*, paraît être le dérivé de KHAA, et peut rendre compte de la plupart des acceptions du mot antique (2).

A la phrase suivante, le mot KHAA revient avec le complément , HA-K, *ton occiput*, et l'on pourrait lire, *tu tournes ton occiput* (tu tournes le dos) *aux divines paroles*.

Le mot , SHAMA, se rencontre seulement dans des formules semblables à celle du papyrus Sallier I (3). Je l'ai comparé au copte Ⲭⲏⲩⲏⲩⲏⲩ , *alienus*, à l'aide d'autre moyen d'investigation; ce mot a pour complément indirect , ABU,

groupe déterminé par l'hieroglyphe de l'homme s'étirant les membres (4) et par celui de la parole. Il s'agit évidemment de quelque acte habituel des scribes; d'après l'énergie des déterminatifs, je suis tenté d'y voir la prédication, la récitation, la pratique de l'éloquence. Dans notre passage, le scribe est accusé d'en détacher son esprit; ailleurs un autre scribe est engagé à y donner son atten-



(1) Lepsius, *Ausw. Taf.* XXII.




(2) Il n'y a que des nuances entre les diverses acceptions du mot KHAA, dont le véritable sens fondamental est *laisser, abandonner, rejeter*; on dit très-bien. *laisser aux chiens, abandonner à l'eau, laisser par terre*, et d'un chemin qu'il quitte, qu'il cesse au point où il mène. (Note du traducteur.)

(3) Anast. V, 6, 1; 15, 6; Anast. IV, 11, 8.

(4) A sprawling human figure.




tion (1). Le copte nous fournit ⲗⲟⲩⲙ, *narratio*, et avec le ⲧ causatif
 ⲧ-ⲗⲟⲩⲙ, *recitare* (2).

Pour la valeur phonétique de  qui représente une prairie
 ou un jardin, les égyptologues ne sont pas d'accord. Je l'ai rencontré
 comme variante de , SEN, dans un titre du dieu Num, seigneur
 de Seni (3). La syllabe SAN ou SEN est probablement le son de cet
 hiéroglyphe.

  , NETER-TAT, dans l'inscription de Rosette, dési-
 gne l'écriture hiéroglyphique; le groupe signifie à la lettre *paroles*
divines, et l'on peut le comparer à notre expression *saintes Écritures*
 et même au terme général *théologie*; l'étude de la science sacrée
 constituait en effet l'attribution la plus élevée du scribe.



Dans un autre papyrus (4) les phrases que nous venons de tra-
 duire forment aussi le commencement d'une lettre dont la fin est
 détruite. Il en reste assez toutefois pour montrer qu'il s'agissait d'une
 autre exhortation sur le même texte.

PL. VI, lig. 2. AST BU SKHA NEK PA KANAU
 Vois! n'as-tu pas considéré la condition
 HANUTI KHEFT S-MERU SHEMU AU TITI TA HEF-OU
 du cultivateur : avant de ramasser la moisson, emporte le ver
 MA EN NA UTI AU AMU PA TEBU NA KETRHU.
 partie du blé mangent les bêtes le reste.

  , SKHA, *peindre, dessiner, décrire, figurer*. La phrase
 est interrogative : *N'as-tu pas dépeint à toi-même? ne t'es-tu pas*
figuré?



(1) Litt. *son cœur*; Anast. V, 6, 2.



(2) Dans son premier travail M. Goodwin avait rendu ce passage : *tu t'adonnes*
aux plaisirs. Ce sens pourrait convenir au groupe ABU, dont les déterminatifs sont
 celui de la danse ou des exercices du corps et celui des passions et de la parole.

*  , AB, *vouloir, désirer, aimer*, est du reste très-connu. SHAWA est tout à fait
 incertain. (Note du traducteur.)

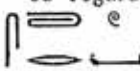
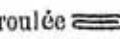

(3) Lepsius, *Koenigsb.* IV, 26.








(4) Anast. V, 6, 1.

De , KENAU, je ne connais aucun autre exemple, mais le duplicata du papyrus Anastasi V nous offre ici le groupe très-connu , KAA, qui signifie *portrait, image, ressemblance*.

Pour , HANUTI, le sens *culture, cultivateur*, résulte évidemment du contexte, et la branche de fleurs employée comme signe initial avec la valeur HAN (1) est peut-être une allusion aux produits de la culture. On trouve , HAN, avec la valeur *champ ou domaine* (2). L'oiseau noir à crête dressée n'est pas phonétique; il entre dans la composition d'un grand nombre de groupes et notamment dans plusieurs termes d'agriculture, mais il est impossible d'en déterminer le rôle.



KHEFT, *avant, devant*, est suivi de deux déterminatifs: la corne d'Oryx et la face humaine, le premier abusivement employé à cause du rapprochement phonétique du mot KHEFT, *ennemi*; le second est le déterminatif de l'idée *en face, devant, avant*. Dans le texte Anastasi, les deux déterminatifs sont supprimés.

Je regarde comme douteuse la lecture SMERU pour le groupe ; cependant j'incline à penser que la corde enroulée  est *m* et que nous avons ici la racine , *lier*, précédée de *s* causatif, et le sens littéral *faire lier* (les gerbes), c'est-à-dire *faire la moisson* (3).

, HE-OU, correspond à , , *serpent*, et à , , *mouche*; , *vipère*, et , *fre-lon*, dérivent aussi du même radical et ressemblent à des formes plu-


(1) Bunsen's, *Egypt. phonetics*, H, 12.

(2) Anast. VI, 12, 4.






(3) Des variantes nombreuses montrent que l'enroulement a la valeur syllabique *nen*, dans le mot , *entourer, circuler*; mais le signe hiéroglyphique que M. Goodwin transcrit sous cette forme peut correspondre à un autre signe hiéroglyphique, par exemple à  qui a souvent *n* pour complément. (Note du traducteur.)

reilles (1). Il s'agit dans le passage étudié de quelque espèce de ver ou d'insecte nuisible à l'agriculture.

— 1. MA, a toujours été traduit par *côté*, à *côté*, et ce sens est rendu évident par des formules telles que *au côté droit*, *au côté gauche* (2). Les exigences du contexte m'ont porté à y reconnaître la valeur *part*, *portion*, que cependant je n'ai pas encore constatée dans d'autres passages (3).

Le copte $\overline{\text{TE}}\overline{\text{EMH}}$ paraît nous avoir conservé l'égyptien $\overline{\text{TE}}\overline{\text{EMH}}$ , *TEBU*, *bétail*. On trouve cependant ce groupe avec le déterminatif de l'hippopotame, et il est possible que cet animal fut ainsi nommé *par éminence*, comme en hébreu BEHEMOTH, l'hippopotame, de BEHEMAN, *pecus*.

Il n'est pas impossible toutefois qu'il ne s'agisse ici de l'hippopotame lui-même. On sait que cet amphibie causait de grands ravages dans les cultures sur les bords du Nil. Bien qu'on n'en rencontre plus que bien avant dans le Sud, il est certain qu'on en a vu pénétrer jusqu'à la Basse-Égypte (4).

Dans $\overline{\text{KE}}\overline{\text{KTHU}}$  $\overline{\text{X}}$ , *KETKHU*, la première syllabe est le copte *KE* *alius*, et le mot correspond à $\overline{\text{KE}}\overline{\text{X}}\overline{\text{WOT}}\overline{\text{WY}}$, *alii*. Le sens *autres*, *le reste*, est certain. Au papyrus Lee (5), ce mot est antithétique à *TA UA*, *l'un*, et à $\overline{\text{NE}}\overline{\text{HAU}}$   , *NÉHAU*, *quelques*, *un peu*. Dans le conte des deux frères, il est dit que l'épouse coupable a raconté à son mari les faits *EM KETKHU*, *autrement*, *d'une manière différente*.

Pl. VI, lig. 3. $\overline{\text{AU}}\ \overline{\text{NA}}\ \overline{\text{PENNU}}\ \overline{\text{ASHU}}\ \overline{\text{EM}}\ \overline{\text{TA}}\ \overline{\text{SAN}}\ \overline{\text{AU}}\ \overline{\text{PA}}$
Les rats nombreux dans le champ la

(1) Zoëga, *Cat.* Note 52.




(2) *Tôdô.*, 145, 3; 153, 9.

(3) L'idée *part* est à la fois comexe aux idées *partie* et *côté*. Cette nuance devait exister également en égyptien. MA sort aussi de particule séparative, *de*, *ex*, *from*, et l'on pourrait lire : *le ver prend sur le blé*. (Note du traducteur.)



(4) Abdallatif, *Hist. Egypt.*, cap. 2.



(5) Sharpe, 2^d series, p. 87, 5.

SANHEMU HAÏ AU NA AAUI AMU NA TUTU
sauterelle descend les bêtes à cornes mangent les moineaux
 ATAL.
volent.

Le mot    | SANHEMU, sauterelles, n'avait pas encore été signalé. On le trouve dans le grand ouvrage de Champollion, avec le déterminatif de l'insecte lui-même (1); littéralement, ce nom signifie *le fils du pillage* (2). On le retrouve un peu mutilé en copte. Dans l'un des sermons de Shenoute, l'écrivain parle d'un petit animal nommé C&KNE& qu'il décrit comme *une chose ailée qui saute*, et Zoëga nous apprend que le scribe a dessiné en marge quelque chose de semblable à une sauterelle. C'est évidemment l'égyptien SANEHAM, privé de son *m* final. Il est singulier que les lexicographes aient omis d'en donner la signification (3).

Au Rituel et dans le livre nommé SHAÏ EN SIN-SIN, est mentionnée la ville de *Sanhemu*, dont le nom est dans certaines variantes déterminé par trois sauterelles (4). Peut-être l'hébreu מלחם, *salham*, qui nomme une espèce de sauterelle, a-t-il été emprunté à l'égyptien; ה et ח s'échangent quelquefois (5).

  |, AAUI, bêtes à cornes, gros bétail. Il en est question dans l'une des lettres de notre papyrus : « *Les bêtes à cornes (AAUI) de mon seigneur qui sont aux champs sont en bon état, ses taureaux qui sont aux étables sont en bon état* (6). » Ici AAUI forme parallélisme avec KA, taureau. Le sens bétail est également démontré par le papyrus d'Orbiney.

  |, TUTU, est le copte TAT, passer. Le texte

(1) Champollion, *Man.*, pl. XIII.

(2) Bunsen ne donne que la dernière syllabe hm. *Ideog.*, N° 355.

(3) Peyron, qui se réfère au passage cité par Zoëga, donne *olearius* comme valeur du C&KNE&.



(4) Ce renseignement est dû à M. Edwin Smith, qui a recueilli un grand nombre de variantes du Rituel.



(5) Gesenius, *Lex.*, à ה.


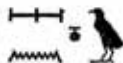
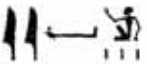

(6) Baillet I, pl. A, 7.


Anastasi a la forme , *tut*, variante qui fournit une nouvelle preuve de la valeur *t* pour le petit oiseau voletant.

Pl. VI, lig. 4. UKANU ER PA HANUTI TA SEPI ENTI PA
Néglige le cultivateur le reste qui (est dans) le
 NEKHT-TA TAN SU NA ATAUI PA AAKASU EN MEN AKU PA HETAR
champ, foulent lui les voleurs; la pioche de fer s'use, cheval
 MER HA HA SKAU.
meurt à tirer la charrue.

Aux différents passages (1) où je rencontre le mot ,
, *ukanu*, le sens *paresse, négligence*, paraît convenir. Les scribes sont invités à s'en abstenir; ce serait la racine du copte *ΒΕΝΝΕ*, *piger, remissus*. Ce sens, dans tous les cas, convient parfaitement à notre texte.

, *NAKHT-TA* a pour variante . D'après l'analyse des passages où il se trouve (2), et qu'il serait trop long de discuter ici, je conclus que ce mot désigne une terre sur laquelle le blé a été moissonné. Comparez *ΥΕΤ*, *secare*, et *ΥΗΤC*, *ager*.

Vient ensuite  qu'on trouve soit la forme pleine 
 (3). La lecture *TAN* est tout à fait hypothétique, le signe  étant de rare occurrence (4). Si cette lecture était bonne, le copte *ΤΕΝΝΟ*, *conterere*, fournirait un sens satisfaisant pour notre phrase. Je l'adopterai provisoirement.

, *AAKASU*, qui est ici déterminé par le signe

(1) Sallier I, pl. 5, 6; Anast. V, pl. 23, 5.


(2) Sallier I, pl. 4, 12; *ibid.*, pl. 17 et 19, revers.


(3) Sallier II, pl. 7, 2; *ibid.*, pl. 5, 1; Anast. VI, pl. 2, 11. Ces différents passages jettent peu de jour sur le sens du mot.

(4) Bunsen, *Ideog.*, N° 614, donne la valeur *TATA-NN*.

des animaux ou des substances animales, se rencontre ailleurs (1) avec le paquet noué, déterminatif des noms d'étoffes. Cependant la suite du texte indique que cet objet est d'une espèce de métal, le bronze ou le fer. Le texte Anaslasi y substitue le mot ΠΑΑΚΑΥ, déterminé par l'hieroglyphe de ce même métal, une lame dressée. Le copte ⲉⲕⲉⲥ, *ascia, cuspis ferrea*, signifiant aussi *cinctura feminalia*, nous offre une excellente explication du mot égyptien qui possédait sans doute les mêmes emplois. C'est du moins ce qui semble résulter de l'usage des divers déterminatifs que nous venons de citer et que les scribes de nos papyrus ont confondus. Laissant de côté l'acception qui fait de ce mot une annexe de l'habillement, nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de reconnaître, dans l'AKASU de métal, cet instrument utile qui porte le même nom dans presque toutes les langues : gr. ἀξίνη, lat. *ascia*, allem. *axt*, fr. *hache*. angl. *axe*.

Quant au nom du métal lui-même, je l'ai trouvé en remplacement du mot MEN ou MENKH (2). Il se prononçait probablement ainsi, et nous en retrouvons peut-être la trace dans le copte ⲃⲉⲛ-ⲓⲛⲉ, *ferrum*.

 AKU, se rencontre assez souvent dans les textes avec la valeur *s'user, s'affaiblir, périlchiter, périr*; il est conservé dans le copte ⲧ-ⲉⲕⲟ, *corrumpere, interficere, perire*. Dans notre phrase le sens *s'user, se détruire*, convient bien.

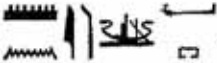
 nu, possède des acceptions variées. Radicalement, il exprime une action d'impulsion comme les mots coptes ⲉⲓ, ⲉⲓⲟⲩ et ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲓ, dans lesquels on trouve les sens *jacere, imponere, strepere, percutere, expandere, cedere, acuere* et beaucoup d'autres. Dans l'égyptien nu je découvre, entre autres valeurs, celles de *conduire le bétail, moissonner, battre le blé, croître* (comme le Nil), etc. Ici ce mot précède le groupe bien connu qui désigne la charrue, et il est presque impossible de le rendre autrement que par *tirer, traîner*.


Pl. VI, lig. 1. PA SKHAI MENAU (HA) MERI AU-F
Le scribe du port (est) au débarcadère, il


(1) Salher II, pl. 6, 2; pl. 5, 8.

(2) Sallier I, pl. 4, 6.

SMERU SHEMU AU NA ARI-SBA KER SHABUT NA NAHSI
recueille le tribut; les officiers (sont) avec des bâtons, les nègres
 KER BANI AU-SEN AMMA-TU UTI
avec des branches de palmier, ils (crient) soit donné du grain,
 MEN OUN HU -SEN EM PURSHU.
non est repousser eux du dehors.

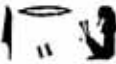
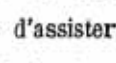
 , MENAU, est le copte *ⲙⲉⲛⲁⲩ*, *portus*. Les déterminatifs conviennent bien au sens de havre pour recevoir des vaisseaux; du reste, ce mot n'est pas rare dans les textes.


 , MERI, désigne aussi un endroit rapproché de l'eau. Dans le conte des deux frères, il est dit que le chef des laveurs va au MERI et que c'est là qu'il trouve la boucle parfumée apportée par les eaux du fleuve. Je rapproche ce mot du copte *ⲙⲉⲣⲓ*, *navale portus*. La préposition NA, qui manque avant MERI, est exprimée dans le texte Anastasi.

C'est à M. Brugsch qu'est due l'identification de  avec *ⲙⲉⲛⲁⲩ* (1). Ce mot signifie à la fois *moisson* et *tribut*. Je n'hésite pas à traduire ici SMERU SHEMU, *recueillir le tribut*, bien que dans les phrases précédentes j'aie rendu la même expression par: *recueillir la moisson*. On sait qu'un impôt en nature était établi sur l'agriculture; la fonction du scribe du port consistait sans doute à percevoir cet impôt, au temps de la moisson, sur les cultivateurs riverains du Nil. A la rigueur, pour satisfaire aux objections des philologues difficiles (2), on pourrait lire sans forcer le sens de l'égyptien: *Le scribe du port est au lieu de débarquement, et lui (le fermier) il est à recueillir la moisson*. L'intention serait la même; il s'agirait toujours de rappeler le lourd impôt qui va être exigé du malheureux cultivateur.

(1) Brugsch, *Nouvelles recherches*, etc. Berlin, 1856.

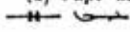
(2) Sur une scène de moisson dans laquelle deux sortes d'ouvriers travaillent séparément, on lit la double légende: *Moisson par les ouvriers du domaine, moisson par les esclaves royaux*. Le pharaon faisait ainsi percevoir l'impôt en nature au moment de la coupe du blé. *Couper le blé*, selon l'expression du texte que je cite (*Denkm.*, II, 107), ou *recueillir la moisson*, selon celle du papyrus, c'était pour le fisc percevoir l'impôt. La traduction de M. Goodwin est excellente. (Note du traducteur.)

Armés de SHABUT, copte ϣϣⲉⲩⲧ , *fustis, bâton*, les  , ARI-SBA, sont sans doute des agents chargés d'assister le collecteur des impôts dans son office et d'administrer la bastonnade aux récalcitrants. Je ne veux pas discuter à fond le groupe ARI, dont la signification radicale est *voisin, compagnon*, copte ⲁⲣⲏⲟⲩ , *vicinus*, ⲉⲣⲏⲩ , *socius* (dans ⲡⲉⲣⲏ-ⲉⲣⲏⲩ). Dans certains cas c'est une simple préposition *avec, sur*, gr. *ἐπὶ, πρός*.

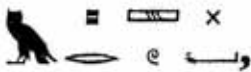
ARI-SBA est composé d'ARI et du signe  qui représente une porte et se lit probablement SBA (1). Nous pourrions traduire *portier, gardien de porte*, mais le passage qui nous occupe montre que la fonction de l'ARI-SBA ne consistait pas uniquement à veiller à la porte de quelque édifice.

Que peuvent être les *nègres portant des branches de palmier* ou des dattes? (Copte ⲉⲗⲓ , *rami palmarum*; ⲉⲗⲏⲏⲉ , *dactylus*). Probablement des nègres errants cherchant du travail au temps de la moisson et commettant sur leur passage des dépredations au préjudice des cultivateurs. Les papyrus mentionnent le travail du nègre; il n'est pas douteux que des tribus nègres descendissent la vallée du Nil pour y gagner quelques salaires:

Le dernier membre de phrase est obscur. Rien n'est plus fréquent que l'expression AMMA, AMMA-TU, dans le sens impératif: *donnez, faites que, utinam*, mais dans notre texte la tournure impérative ne serait possible que si l'on admettait l'oubli du verbe ⲧⲁⲧ , *dire*; dans cette hypothèse le sens serait manifeste: *ils disent: donnez du blé*. Il y a lieu de remarquer toutefois que le duplicata Anastasi n'exprime pas non plus le verbe ⲧⲁⲧ (2).

(1) Pap. hiérat. Leide I, 348, revers, pl. 2, dernière ligne, on trouve la forme , qui montre que la lettre initiale est s.


(2) Il me paraît certain que la phrase est elliptique; la suppression du verbe ⲧⲁⲧ , *dire*, est d'occurrence assez fréquente (Voir *Inscr. d'Isamboul, Revue arch.*, 1859, p. 722). L'exemple le plus caractéristique se trouve dans l'*Inscription de Kouban* (Prisse, *Mon.*, pl. XXI, lig. 3 et 4), où cette suppression est réitérée trois fois: Les dieux sont à (*dire*) notre germe est en lui; les déesses à (*dire*): il est sorti de nous pour exercer la royauté du soleil; Ammon à (*dire*): moi, je l'ai fait pour installer la justice à sa place. (Note du traducteur.)

De  EM PURSHU, je ne connais que cet exemple. En copte πωρϣ signifie *extendere, expandere*. On peut dès lors comparer EM PURSHU à *u-βολ*, *extra, foras*, littéralement *in solvendo*. L'ancien égyptien est bien plus riche que le copte en formes adverbiales de ce genre.


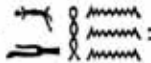

Pl. VI, lig. 6. AU-F SANHU KHAA ER TA SHAT HU-SEN

Il est lié envoyé au canal ils poussent (lui)

EM TABUKATAKAI AU TAI-F HEM-T SANHU-TU EM-TA-EF NAI-F KHARTU
avec violence sa femme est liée devant lui ses enfants
MAKHIAU.
dépouillés.


 SANHU, est le copte Ⲫⲏⲛⲥ, *ligare, coercere*.

Cette identification n'a pas besoin de nouvelles preuves.

Je conjecture que le cultivateur est forcé de travailler à la réparation d'un canal ou d'un puits  SHET (copt. ⲩⲩⲧⲉⲥ, *canalis, puteus*). Dans un autre papyrus on menace un scribe de l'envoyer au travail du  SHETH (1). Il s'agit probablement dans l'un et l'autre cas d'un travail de corvée. Toutefois je dois avouer que le sens n'est pas certain et que d'après mes premières explications du mot KHAA, on pourrait à la rigueur lire que le cultivateur est jeté au SHET, c'est-à-dire au canal. La variante du papyrus Anastasi :  TAHU-TU-F, semble indiquer qu'il est *immergé, plongé dans l'eau*.

L'un et l'autre texte ajoutent que cette action est faite EM TABUKATAKAI, mot auquel le papyrus Anastasi donne pour déterminatifs l'homme renversé la tête en bas, les trois lignes de l'eau et le bras armé; il s'agit certainement d'une action violente. Le copte nous fournit Ⲫⲏⲛⲥⲉⲕ, *fustigatio*. et Ⲫⲏⲛⲥⲉⲕ, *rixa*.

(1) Anast. V, p. 22, lig. 5.


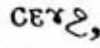

L'épouse est liée, SENHU-TU, et les enfants  ^e8,

MAKHAU; ce groupe est encore un mot nouveau; le déterminatif des étoffes ou des vêtements nous laisse le choix entre l'idée LIER et l'idée DÉPOUILLER, qui conviendraient l'une et l'autre à notre contexte.

On voit que les violences auxquelles le cultivateur est exposé soit à raison de son impuissance à acquitter l'impôt, soit à la suite des incursions des nègres, s'étendent à sa femme et à ses enfants; l'expression exacte de ces violences nous échappe peut-être, mais l'incertitude cessera dès qu'on aura rencontré des exemples suffisamment nombreux des mots que nous lisons ici pour la première fois.

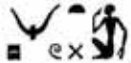

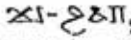
Pl. VI, lig. 8. NAÏ-F SAHU-TA KHAA-SEN UAR NENNUI
Ses voisins sont partis au loin s'occupant

NAI-SEN UTI.
de leur blé.



Dans , SAHU-TA, je trouve ,
conjungere, et , *terra*; de là *conterranei*, *contermini*. Il est dit du teinturier ou du blanchisseur qu'il est voisin (SAHU-TA) du crocodile (1).



Le sens est que les voisins du cultivateur sont occupés au dehors à leur propre moisson et ne peuvent lui venir en aide.

Pl. VI, lig. 8. APU EM SKAI MENTEF KHERPU BAKU EN
Le travail du scribe il excelle les travaux de
BA NEB [MEN] HESBU-NEF BKU EM SKIAIU MEN UN TA-F
toute espèce il n'estime pas travail les lettres non est à lui
SHAI AKH BEKH-K SU.
laxe. Sache cela.

 APU, est un mot important et d'emploi très-fréquent. Au papyrus d'Orhiney, il correspond exactement au copte , , *in judicio contendere*. On le trouve au papyrus Abbott avec la valeur *excepté*, dont l'orthographe ordinaire est plutôt

(1) Sallier II, p. 8, lig. 3.

 (1),  (2). Avec le déterminatif de la marche, il signifie *messenger, envoyé, ambassadeur*, copte $\rho\epsilon\upsilon-\pi-\xi\omega\beta$, *nuncius*. Enfin, dans la phrase qui nous occupe on peut l'assimiler au copte $\xi\omega\beta$, *res, negotium*, ou $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\pi$, $\dot{\iota}\epsilon\beta$, $\epsilon\lambda\omega\pi\epsilon$, *ars, opus*, expressions qui sont radicalement identiques. Ce sens *travail, occupation*, convient du reste à une multitude de passages des papyrus Sallier et Anastasi. Par exemple : *J'ai exécuté tous les travaux* (APU) *qui m'avaient été imposés* (3); *j'ai accompli mon travail* (TAIA EM APU) (4); TAIA APU HU MA HAPI, *mon travail s'accroît comme le Nil* (5). D'après ces deux derniers passages on voit que APU, sous cette acception, est du genre féminin (6).

 KHERPU, s'est conservé dans le copte $\xi\theta\rho\pi$, *primus, praevenire*. Ce sens convient bien au passage analysé et s'applique aussi très-naturellement à une phrase de la stèle de la princesse de Bakhten : *Les chefs apportèrent toutes sortes de bois de la terre divine sur leur dos*,  UA-NEB HER KHERP... *ew, chacun primant, surpassant l'autre* (7). Une expression analogue est encore en usage aujourd'hui.

Au lieu du mot HESBU, le papyrus Anastasi a MEN HETERA. M. Chabas, qui m'a suggéré plusieurs observations utiles à propos de

(1) Lepsius, *Ausw.*, IX, stèle, l. 13.


(2) *Ibid.*, XVI, l. 8.

(3) Anastasi VI, p. 1, l. 8.

(4) Anast. IV, p. 4, l. 8.

(5) Anast. IV, p. 4, l. 10.

(6) V. de Rougé, *Étude sur une stèle égypt.*, p. 47. L'éminent égyptologue a laissé la question indécise.

(7) L'emploi de la préposition \mathfrak{m} au génitif, quoique ordinaire en copte, se voit assez rarement dans l'ancien égyptien.  signifie presque constamment *en, dans,*

à, vers, et, de, ex, from. La phrase est embarrassante. Au pap. Sallier II, pl. 9, 1, on lit très-clairement : *Il n'y a pas de professions qui ne soient primées*, AP SU'AO, *excepté le scribe, car lui il prime*. Après le tableau des misères du laboureur, l'expression AP SU'AO, etc., signifierait selon moi : *Autre chose est le scribe, car lui, il prime toute autre profession*. (Note du traducteur.)

ce passage, pense que les deux mots HESBU et HETERA sont fondamentalement identiques. Suivant lui, la négation MEN a été omise par le scribe du texte Sallier, à moins que la phrase ne soit interrogative. M. Chabas traduirait en conséquence : *Il n'y a pas de taxe*

sur le travail des lettres.  HESBU, admet en effet le sens

compte, rôle de taxes et  HETERA celui de



tribut, prélèvement, impôt. Toutefois j'ai remarqué que le travail du scribe est distingué soigneusement des travaux manuels, et il m'a semblé que la phrase analysée fait allusion à cette distinction dont les scribes devaient se montrer jaloux. En définitive, je demeure un peu incertain du véritable sens du passage.







SHAIU, est un mot rare. Je le rencontre seule-


ment dans un passage où il est question de *recevoir cinquante ou cent mesures de métal* ER SHAI EN SMAT (1). Supposant un parallélisme dans les deux dernières phrases de notre papyrus, M. Chabas admet le sens *redevance, impôt*. Cette acception nous fournit une répétition de l'idée déjà exprimée : *il n'y a pas à lui imposer de redevances (au travail du scribe)*, et dans la phrase relative à la livraison du métal, elle permettrait de traduire : *pour la redevance des smat*, c'est-à-dire des serfs attachés aux travaux du temple.



, AKH, copie , , *multus, quantus*. Lorsque ce mot

commence la phrase et qu'il est suivi d'un verbe, la phrase a souvent un sens impératif. Seul il est interrogatif, *qui? quoi?* Des passages très-clairs du papyrus d'Orbiney le démontrent suffisamment. 

  (2). AKH TERA, signifie *quid nunc?* , ER

AKH, *quantus! ad quantum*.  (3), LA AKH, *soit ou pourquoi*.

Rassemblant les fragments que je viens de discuter et modifiant

(1) Anast. III, p. 6, l. ult.

(2) Sallier III, p. 2, l. 5.

(3) Anast. IV, p. 9, l. 4; Sallier I, pl. 4, l. 1.

légèrement les tournures égyptiennes pour les approprier aux exigences du goût moderne, je reproduis maintenant la lettre d'Ameneman en son entier :

« Le chef gardien des archives Ameneman, du trésor du roi, dit
« au scribe Pentaour : On t'apporte cette lettre de discours (pour te
« faire) une communication.

« On m'a dit que tu as abandonné les lettres, que tu es devenu
« étranger à la pratique de l'élocution, que tu donnes ton attention
« aux travaux des champs, que tu tournes le dos aux divines écritures. Considère! ne t'es-tu pas représenté la condition du cultivateur. Avant qu'il ne moissonne, les insectes emportent une
« portion du blé, les animaux mangent ce qui reste; des multitudes
« de rats sont dans les champs, les sauterelles tombent, les bestiaux
« consomment, les moineaux volent. Si le cultivateur néglige ce qui
« reste dans les champs, les voleurs le ravagent; son outil qui est de
« fer s'use; son cheval meurt en tirant la charrue. Le scribe du port
« arrive à la station, il perçoit l'impôt; il y a des agents ayant des
« bâtons, des nègres portant des branches de palmier; ils disent :
« Donne-nous du blé! et l'on ne peut les repousser. Il est lié, et envoyé au canal; ils le poussent avec violence; sa femme est liée en
« sa présence, ses enfants sont dépouillés. Quant à ses voisins, ils
« sont loin et s'occupent de leur propre moisson. L'occupation du
« scribe prime toute autre espèce de travail; il ne regarde pas les
« lettres comme un travail; il n'y a pas de taxe sur lui. Sache cela! »

Cette lettre nous apprend qu'au temps de la dix-neuvième dynastie les scribes ne formaient pas une classe distincte dont les offices se transmissent de père en fils. Des individus appartenant aux classes inférieures avaient la faculté de choisir la carrière des lettres et alors, comme aujourd'hui, une instruction étendue servait d'acheminement aux emplois de confiance et même aux dignités de l'État. Le titre de SKHAI, *scribe*, correspond exactement à l'anglais *clerk* et au français *commis*. Il suppose la connaissance indispensable de l'écriture, mais il pouvait arriver que la fonction spéciale de certains scribes n'exigeât pas un travail d'écriture. Les scribes égyptiens étaient en effet attachés à des offices très-variés, et bien que l'étude de la langue sacrée soit constamment mentionnée comme l'une de leurs attributions, nous les voyons employés dans des postes civils et militaires qui n'ont rien de commun avec la science théologique.

Le copte a conservé le nom du Ⲫⲁⲩ ⲛⲉⲉⲃ, *scribe maritime*, probablement un pilote ou un capitaine de vaisseau.

Je considère comme une circonstance digne de remarque la mention de l'emploi du cheval aux travaux de l'agriculture (1). Aucune autre nation de l'antiquité n'a, je crois, utilisé cet animal à la charrue. En Égypte, les chevaux étaient à cette époque très-abondants, et c'est de ce pays que Salomon les importait en Judée. La Genèse mentionne les chevaux au nombre des animaux que les Égyptiens amenèrent à Joseph pour les échanger contre du grain (2).

Un grand nombre d'ouvriers étrangers venaient se mettre au service des Égyptiens, notamment des *Nahsi* ou nègres. Peut-être trouvons-nous un indice de leur emploi au service domestique dans le copte $\text{NE}\Sigma\text{C}-\text{N}-\text{HI}$ de la version sahidique (*Gen.*, ch. xiv, v. 14), correspondant au grec $\sigma\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, littéralement *les nègres de la maison* (3).

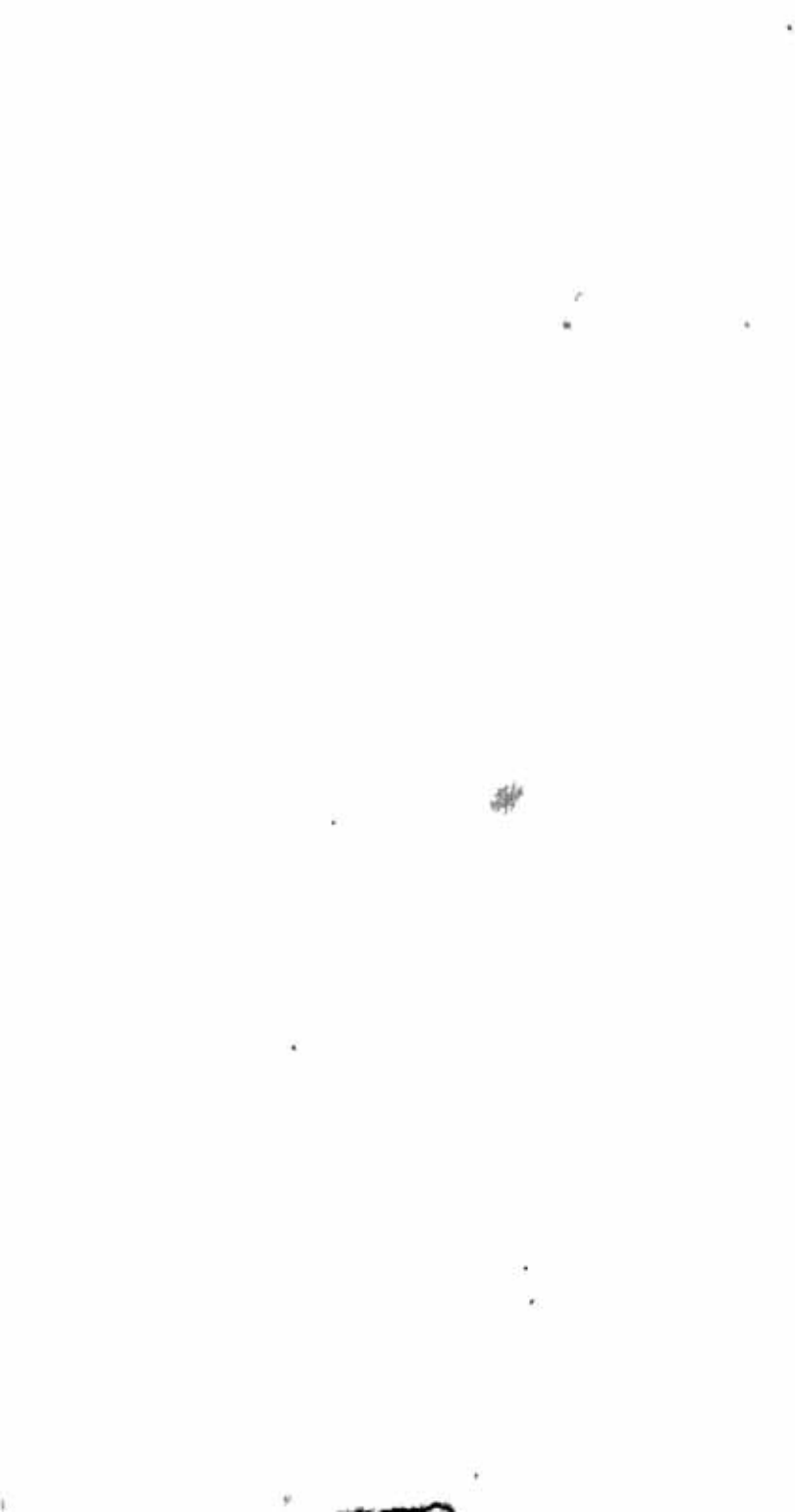
(1) Le papyrus d'Orbiney parle aussi du cheval employé à la charrue.

(2) Genèse, ch. xlvii, v. 17.

(3) Il est permis de douter de l'authenticité de ce mot. (V. Taltam, *Lex.*, s. v.). La version memphitique a $\text{NE}\Sigma\text{C}-\text{DEN}-\text{HI}$, né dans la maison



[illegible]



APPENDIX B.

A COMMUNICATION TO THE AUTHOR FROM DANIEL SHARPE, ESQ., ON
THE LYCIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

Adelphi Terrace, February 24, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

AFTER spending some time in endeavouring to translate the inscriptions which you have brought home from Lycia, I have only succeeded in obtaining a very slight idea of the language in which they are written; yet as what I have done will relieve from some preliminary labour those who may wish to take up the same study, I send you all the information which I can give relating to them, coupled with a variety of remarks which have suggested themselves in the course of the inquiry.

The inscriptions copied by Mr. Cockerell, and published in the Appendix to Mr. Walpole's Travels, were the first inscriptions in the Lycian language made known in Europe. They do not contain enough to allow of a complete alphabet being deduced from them, and are so imperfect that no correct value could be assigned to the characters used in them. Nevertheless they attracted much attention, and several attempts were made to discover the language in which they are written.

M. Saint Martin published a memoir in the *Journal des Savans* for April 1821, entitled *Observations sur les Inscriptions Lyciennes découvertes par M. Cockerell*, in which he conjec-

tured that in the bilingual inscription from Limyra, of which you have since brought us another copy (Plate XXXVI. No. 3), the Greek was nearly a literal translation of the Lycian; and he attempted to explain several of the Lycian words by comparing them to Syriac and Phœnician.

In 1831 a paper on the same subject by Dr. F. A. Grotefend was read to the Royal Asiatic Society, which is published in the third volume of their Transactions. Dr. Grotefend compared together the five Lycian inscriptions then known, and concluded from the declension of the only verb occurring in them, that Lycian belongs to the family of Indo-Germanic languages, and that like Persian it has both long and short vowels.

The materials which you have since brought home so entirely alter the spelling of most of the words contained in these inscriptions, that it is unnecessary to analyse the contents of these two memoirs; but I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration at the sagacity with which Dr. Grotefend drew such correct conclusions from the slight materials which he had before him.

The inscriptions which you copied in your first tour in 1838, and published on your return in 1839, of which three are in excellent preservation, might have given a better clue to the language: yet these, in addition to what were before known, hardly afford sufficient materials for forming an alphabet with certainty. Several of the letters must have remained altogether undetermined, and the value of some others uncertain: the very peculiar use of the letter **B** could not have been found out, and, until this was done, the analogies between many of the words could not be discovered.

At this stage of the subject, Mr. James Yates read Memoirs upon the Lycian Inscriptions to the Royal Society of Literature and the Philological Society of London, which have not yet been published, but which are noticed in the *Athenæum* of March 9, 1839.

When you had the kindness to furnish me with copies of all

the inscriptions which you had met with in your second visit to Lycia, I felt persuaded that sufficient materials were collected for investigating the subject satisfactorily. The number, variety and length of the inscriptions is very considerable, the characters are distinct, and the care with which you have copied them is beyond all praise. In addition to the bilingual inscription at Limyra, we have the assistance of the bas-relief engraved in Plate VII., in which several names occur both in Greek and Lycian characters, determining the sound of several of the letters with certainty; and the Lycian coins afford further help of the same kind.

The first step was to frame an alphabet: several of the letters were determined by their use on the bas-relief just mentioned; others by comparing the names of the towns given us by the Greek geographers with those on the Lycian coins and on the inscriptions on the obelisk at Xanthus (Plate XX.); on the same monument two names occur both in Greek and Lycian. The remaining letters were determined either by their resemblance to the Greek or by the usual process of deciphering.

The search after the alphabet led to a complete examination of the Lycian coins, the results of which are given below, accompanied with some observations upon several geographical names which occur in the inscriptions. ¶

I then commenced, as my predecessors had done, upon the bilingual inscription from Limyra, but with the advantage of being able to correct its imperfections from other inscriptions of similar import, of which you had brought perfect copies; these furnished the correct spelling of the words translated into Greek in this inscription. My interpretations agree in a great degree with those previously given; the differences will be stated hereafter.

I began with the impression that the language was derived from Phœnician, but was soon staggered in this opinion by the abundance of vowels in Lycian, of which there are ten, nearly corresponding to the long and short vowels of the Persian and

Indian languages. The manner of declension of the pronouns and nouns, and of the conjugation of the verbs, soon convinced me, while working upon the forms of words of which the meaning was quite unknown, that Lycian was one of that large family of languages to which the German philologists have given the name of *Indo-Germanic*.

The abundance of vowels then suggested a comparison with the Zend language: the result was the conviction that Lycian has a greater resemblance to Zend than to any other known language, but that it differs too much to be considered as a dialect of Zend, and must rank as a separate language.

Of the few words which are determined with some approach to certainty, several resemble Sanscrit more nearly than Zend, and others are certainly of a Semitic origin; yet these last are completely adopted into the language, and are declined in the same manner as the words of a Persian or Indian origin, without altering the structure of the language, which is thoroughly Indo-Germanic. The close neighbourhood of Syria readily accounts for the introduction of Semitic words into the language of any part of Asia Minor.

Mr. Walpole has brought together in the Appendix to his Travels all the quotations from the ancient authors which bear upon the origin and language of the Lycians; we should infer from them, that the people were a mixture of Greeks, Phœnicians and Persians; but the two first races are mentioned more frequently than the Persian. The Greeks were a maritime people, they settled along the coast of Asia Minor, and penetrated but little into the country; the Phœnicians also spread themselves along the same coast, and thus these two people were constantly in contact, while the Greeks had less communication with the people of Persian race in the interior, and have left little mention of their acquaintance with them.

As I shall frequently have occasion to refer to the Zend language, which is probably unknown to most of your readers, it will not be amiss to state what is known of it, and what means

we have of applying it towards the explanation of the Lycian inscriptions.

The only works extant in Zend are some portions of the books attributed to Zoroaster, which were brought from Surat by Anquetil du Perron, about eighty years ago, and placed in the Royal Library at Paris. In 1771 he published a translation of these and of some other religious books of the Parsees under the title of "*Zend-Avesta*," the name by which the principal work is known to the Parsees: from the title of this book the language has taken its modern name. Some of these works were perhaps written by Zoroaster, others are more modern; but there is great uncertainty about the period when their author lived. The account most generally received, is that he lived in the sixth century before our æra. The works themselves afford internal evidence that he was a native of Media, and therefore it may be presumed that his writings are in the ancient language of that country.

Zend became in process of time a dead language, and the books of Zoroaster were translated into Pehlvi, in which they still exist, as well as in the original. This language is also a subject of great uncertainty; it is thought to have been spoken in the southern provinces of the Persian empire two or three centuries after our æra, and to have become a dead language about the time of the Mahometan conquest of Persia. Pehlvi differs very materially from Zend, being principally of Semitic origin, of which Zend has no trace; yet many Zend words have passed into it, and modern Persian contains much that is derived from both.

The Parsees, who fled to India to preserve their religion, which was prohibited by the Mahometan conquerors of Persia, brought their sacred books with them, and continued to study Pehlvi, but they lost nearly all knowledge of Zend, and only kept up a traditional translation of the *Zend-Avesta*. Anquetil's whole knowledge of both languages was derived from the Parsee priests, and he only learned what they could teach;

he has given as a translation, and, as a vocabulary of both languages, a strange mixture of information and absurdity, carelessly put together without the slightest attention to the rules of grammar; to this we are obliged to refer for assistance until we have some better guide to the subject, but it is never safe to rely upon him. The manner in which he produced his discoveries inspired so little confidence at the time, that Sir W. Jones declared that the books were forgeries which had been palmed upon his credulity by the Parsees.

M. Burnouf has lately undertaken a complete study of the Zend language, and has published the first volume of his *Commentaire sur le Yaçna*, in which he has analysed every word of the original in the most learned manner, showing the near relation between Zend and Sanscrit, and removing all doubts as to the authenticity and antiquity of the Zend-Avesta. If this excellent work were finished, there would be no reason to complain of the want of materials for the study of the Zend language; but as the portion yet commented upon is very small, we have still no guide to much of the remainder, except the work of Anquetil du Perron. Much information on the declension of the Zend nouns is contained in F. Bopp's *Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanscrit, Zend, Griechischen, &c.*, and when this work is finished, the student will be in a better position than he is in at present.

For the study of Pehlvi, there is, as far as I am aware, no other assistance than that afforded by Anquetil.

The celebrated inscriptions in arrow-headed or cuneiform characters, found at Persepolis and elsewhere, are written in three languages: Dr. Grotefend, Professor Lassen, and M. Burnouf have made great progress in translating one of these, which approaches very nearly to Zend. M. Burnouf's *Mémoire sur quelques Inscriptions Cunéiformes* gives a masterly analysis of some of these inscriptions, and contains the best information concerning their language, which has been called Persepolitan. The principal inscriptions which have as yet been translated,

are of the reigns of Darius Hystaspes, and Xerxes. As these are nearly of the period to which I refer the monuments which you have copied in Lycia, their comparison is of great interest; but there are only a few sentences yet translated from the Persepolitan upon which much reliance can be placed, and these are still open to correction. As far as I can judge, Lycian appears to have more resemblance to Zend than to Persepolitan: the relative position of the countries in which the three tongues were spoken, coincides with this; Media, the country of the Zend language, separating Persia proper from Asia Minor: yet all three are of the same family, which we may call Persian. There are some peculiarities, which will be mentioned hereafter, in the manner in which the Persepolitan nouns are declined, very analogous to what we find in Lycian, and which show that the two languages were at the same stage of grammatical development.

Having thus pointed out what assistance is to be found towards the study of the Lycian language, I return to the description of the inscriptions, and to a statement of such of their contents as I am able to understand.

The inscriptions published in your Journal of 1838, and those given at Plate XXXVI. of the present volume, are mostly funeral; they contain little information in themselves, yet are of great value; for being in short sentences, of which the subject is partially known, they are of the greatest assistance in studying the language; they also prove that the language in question was that of the people of Lycia, and not merely of their Persian conquerors. The inscription numbered 23 is an exception, being either a decree or some other public document; but it is too imperfect to be at all understood.

The inscriptions which are of the greatest interest of the whole collection, are those given in Plate XX., covering the four sides of a square monument which you have called the Obelisk at Xanthus. It is not improbable that this may have been one of the fire altars of the Persian religion, and the hatred of the

people against their conquerors may have induced them to throw it down when they recovered their independence, leaving it in its present broken state.

I can make out just enough of the inscriptions on this monument to see how much historical information will be derived from them whenever they are fully translated, yet not enough to form any complete ideas of their contents. The writing on the different sides of the monument refers to very various subjects; there is sufficient difference in the form of the letters to show that they were done by several artists: there is also a change in the use of some of the letters, which makes it probable that a considerable period elapsed between the cutting of the four inscriptions, during which time a change of pronunciation was going on in the language. This is a source of great difficulty, but has the advantage of giving a clue to the relative ages of the inscriptions, as shall shortly be explained more at length.

The inscription on the north-east side is not complete at the top: the first four lines which remain are in Lycian characters, the next eleven lines are in Greek, the rest is all Lycian, but this does not contain a translation of the Greek part of the inscription. It seems probable, from this arrangement, that the upper part of the inscription, which is lost, contained in Lycian the translation of what follows in Greek; but the few broken lines of this part remaining are too imperfect to be of any assistance; indeed in the last of these lines the Greek and Lycian characters are mixed up together in strange confusion.

The Greek inscription is not legible; we can just collect from it that it is an order addressed to the Lycians, in the first person, by some sovereign: the only person mentioned is a son of Arpagus, whose name is lost, and who is spoken of as a prince or governor, and to whom, perhaps, a portion of the kingdom was given in charge by a preceding sovereign. It is much to be hoped that some future traveller will bring home as accurate a copy as possible of this inscription, and will endeavour to turn

over the broken top of the monument, in hopes of finding on its under surface the upper part of the Lycian inscription, for no ancient inscription with which we are acquainted contains information of greater historical value than may be expected here; and when we see how much progress has been made in the language from the bilingual inscription of three lines long which we have already, we may expect that a document of this length, accompanied by a Greek translation, would enable us to understand nearly all the remaining inscriptions. The line in Lycian which follows immediately after the Greek, is to this effect: "Transcripts of the greatest decree of the King of kings;" showing that the decrees on the upper part of the monument emanate from the king of Persia; what follows being probably issued by the local governor. We have so little direct information relating to the Persian history or government, that it is unnecessary to say more to show the interest which attaches to this monument. The name of Arppagos occurs divided between the 26th and 27th line of the same side of the obelisk, and the words *son of Arppagos* are found in the 24th line of the south-west side, where also the son's name is wanting, owing to the imperfection of the stone. The words *King of kings* occur frequently on the north-east and north-west sides of the monument, and on the same sides we find frequently repeated the name of Aôûra, or Aôûremez, the chief divinity of the Persian fire-worshippers, whose name was gradually contracted from *Ahora Mazda* to *Ormuzd*.

Arina, the ancient name of *Xanthus* (*Arna* of *Stephanus Byzantinus*), where this monument stands, occurs both in the Greek and Lycian parts of the inscription; and many of the neighbouring towns are frequently mentioned, but instead of the term *Lycia* or *Lycians*, the *Tramelae* and the *Troes* are mentioned; these two people appearing to divide between them the country called by the Greeks *Lycia*; a division corresponding to that which we find in *Homer* between the *Lycians* commanded by *Sarpedon* and *Glaucus*, and those commanded by

Pandarus, the son of Lycæon. These names will be considered more fully when we come to that part of the subject which relates to the geography of the country.

In the first book of Herodotus, cap. 171 to 177, is an account of the conquest of Lycia, and of all the southern parts of Asia Minor by Harpagus, a Mede commanding under Cyrus the Great, with a long and romantic description of his taking Xanthus, where this monument stands. It seems probable that Cyrus would appoint Harpagus governor of the countries which he had conquered for him; if I read correctly in the seventh line of the Greek the words *δωκε μέρος βασιλεως*, and couple this expression with the statement of Herodotus, and in particular with his statement at c. 177, that "Harpagus overran Lower Asia, while Cyrus himself conquered all the nations of Upper Asia," it will not be too bold a conjecture to suppose that in this decree one of Cyrus's successors alludes to Cyrus having conferred upon Harpagus the government of a portion of his kingdom, and appoints the son of Harpagus to the same office. The few words which I make out here and there in these two sides of the monument, lead me to suppose that it contains a series of decrees relating to the settlement of the country after the conquest by the Persians, and to the manner in which the people of the two races and religions are to live together. The Medes and Lycians are frequently used in opposition to one another; and in one passage a distinction is drawn between the worshipers and the opponents of Ormuzd; but I have not made out whether they are enjoined to live peaceably together, or whether the worship of Ormuzd is to be enforced upon the conquered Lycians.

The inscriptions on the south-west and south-east sides of the monument relate to very different matters; there is no mention of Ormuzd, nor of the King of kings, in those parts of the inscriptions which remain, but no very certain conclusions can be drawn from these omissions, as the upper part of both those sides is wanting. It can hardly be doubted that they were in-

scribed while the country was still under the same government, as it is on the south-west that we meet with the "*son of Arpagos*," and the word *Shah*, King, or Governor, occurs several times on the south-east; on this latter side a word occurs twice which has a great resemblance to Xerxes, but being unaccompanied by any titles, I hesitate adopting it as that king's name. The lower part of the south-west inscription contains a number of names of towns and people, accompanied by locative prepositions, from which it may be inferred that it is a decree settling the boundaries of the townships.

According to the chronology usually received, Cyrus the Great ascended the throne of Persia in the year 559 B.C., and died 530 B.C. Harpagus was not a young man when the former event took place: supposing this monument to have been erected in the lifetime of the son of Harpagus, and after the death of Cyrus, its date will be fixed approximately between 530 and 500 B.C.; it cannot be put much later without allowing to Harpagus or to his son a life beyond the usual average.

You must bear in mind, that until the inscriptions are fully translated, it will remain uncertain whether the Arpagus mentioned in them is really the same person as Cyrus's general. Herodotus mentions another Persian general of the same name, who commanded in Ionia under the orders of Artaphernes, the governor of Sardis in the time of Darius Hystaspes (Book VI. c. 28 and 30), and there are many instances of names being hereditary in the Persian families, and descending to the grandson in alternate generations. Nevertheless it is extremely probable, from what has been already advanced, that the Arpagus named in the inscription is the general whose conquest of Lycia under Cyrus's orders is related by Herodotus.

We have thus obtained an approximate date to one of the Lycian monuments, but before attempting to fix the age of the others, it is necessary to examine the coins, and to class them in chronological order, as they will throw some light upon the

relative dates of the inscriptions. For this purpose we must take a slight review of the history of the country.

In the time of Homer the religion of Lycia was similar to that of the Greeks, and we know of nothing likely to produce any change in it until the conquest of Lycia by the Persians in the reign of Cyrus, about 550 B.C. This event must have had a great effect upon the condition of the country, which could only recover its flourishing condition after some time. We see also by the inscriptions that the Persians introduced the worship of Ormuzd. The account of the conquest given by Herodotus does not show that the Lycians were left to govern themselves as tributaries, but rather implies that they were entirely put down; so that it is probable that the towns then ceased to coin money in their own names, which they could only do while they governed themselves under their own laws. Thus we know that the cities of Ionia, which, although tributaries to Persia, coined their own money, were governed by their native princes or magistrates. The time is not mentioned at which the Lycians regained the power of governing themselves, but as they did not become independent of Persia, we can only suppose that their condition improved with the weakness of the Persian empire, after the defeat of the expedition of Xerxes against Greece, and that they gradually recovered their liberties sufficiently to become tributaries instead of subjects, in which state they must have continued until the time of Alexander, when the free cities of Asia Minor lost their liberties in the general fall of Greece and of Persia. At the division of territory which took place on the death of Alexander, 323 B.C., Lycia became part of the portion of Antigonus (Diodorus Siculus, book xviii. c. 3 and 5). It changed masters several times in the wars between Alexander's successors, but as these changes hardly bear upon our subject it is not necessary to trace them. After the victory of Cn. Manlius over Antiochus the Great, the Romans gave the greater part of Lycia to the

Rhodians, in return for their good services (Livy, book xxxviii. c. 39), but the Rhodians having offended the Romans during their war with Perseus of Macedon, the Senate passed a decree declaring Lycia and Caria free (Livy, book xlv. c. 15), either in 168 B.C. or the following year. Strabo, book xiv., describes the form of government adopted by the Lycians: twenty-three cities, of which the principal were Xanthus, Patara, Pinara, Olympus, Myra and Tlos, were united in a league and governed by a congress, which elected a Lysiarch or President and other magistrates: formerly, adds Strabo, the congress decided upon peace and war, but now they cannot do so without permission from the Romans. In this state of semi-independence Lycia continued until its liberties were taken away by the Emperor Claudius (Suetonius in Claudius, c. 25).

There are thus three periods marked out by history during which the Lycians were sufficiently independent to manage their internal affairs and coin their own money; and their coins may be easily classed accordingly. The first ends with the Persian conquest, about 550 B.C.; to this period may be referred the coins of a very early style of workmanship, struck in the names of the cities, with Lycian characters; they have all on one side a three-armed instrument of unknown use, which has been named by antiquarians a *triquetra*, and the emblems on the reverse are suitable to the early religion of the country. On these coins the letter **B** is frequently used as a vowel, and the letter **+** does not occur. To this class belong all the coins figured in Plate XXXVII.

The second period is from their rise after the Persian conquest to the time of Alexander. To this belong the coins Nos. 26 and 27. They bear the names of cities in Lycian characters, but the letter **+** is already in use, and **B** has ceased to be used as a vowel. The *triquetra* has gone out of fashion, and different divinities occur on the reverses: but neither on these nor the former series do we find any emblems of Apollo. The workmanship is very good, and so fully distinguishes them from

those of the first period, that a long interval must have passed between their manufacture.

The third period is that of the Lycian league, which lasted two centuries, from about 168 B.C. to 50 A.D. To this belong all the coins with Greek characters, having the word *Λυκίων* in addition to the name of the city: none have the triquetra, and their symbols are all referable to the worship of Apollo: their workmanship is good. These coins are found of most of the Lycian cities, as may be seen in Mionnet's *Description des Médailles antiques*. The use of the Greek characters would nearly suffice to prove these coins posterior to the Macedonian conquest; but the word *Λυκίων* in addition to the town leaves no doubt of their age, since it shows the money to have been struck by a republican government which extended over the whole country; a state of things which only existed under the Lycian league at the period referred to. The cities which belonged to the Achæan league used a similar form on their copper money, which bears the word *Λχαιών* besides the name of the town issuing it.

The worship of Ormuzd seems to have had no hold of the feelings of the Lycians, as the coins of the second period bear evidence that in recovering their independence the people returned to their former religion. Apollo is mentioned by Homer in connexion with Lycia, but his worship became more general in the country after it was conquered by the Macedonians, who were noted for their attachment to that divinity.

Great difference prevails in the different inscriptions in the use of the letters **B** and **+**, arising apparently from some alteration in the language or its pronunciation; a similar difference exists on the coins, where the style of workmanship affords the means of arranging them according to their relative dates; so that we are enabled to judge of the relative ages of the inscriptions by adopting the use of those letters as a test. Had the Lycian inscriptions all been accompanied by sculpture, the style of the art would have answered the same purpose; but as

the only inscription to which a date can be assigned from historical evidence has no sculpture connected with it, the letters must form our guide to the relative age of the others, which may be checked by comparing the bas-reliefs with Grecian works of which the age is known. Judging from these grounds, it will follow that the most ancient of the inscriptions which you have copied are those on the north-east and north-west sides of the obelisk at Xanthus, of which I suppose the date to be about 500 B.C. The inscription which comes nearest to them is below the battle-scene, Plate XXXI., then follow the south-west and south-east sides of the obelisk at Xanthus. I can trace no difference between these last and the short inscriptions on the tomb of Payara, on which the sculpture is of great beauty, as may be seen in the frontispiece of your former Tour and Plate XXIII. of the present volume. The funereal inscriptions at Plate XXXVI. are mostly still more modern.

It is obvious that these opinions, drawn from half-understood inscriptions, are little to be relied on; but the interest attached to the sculpture is so great that I feel myself called upon to state them. Those who have studied Grecian art must decide whether the workmanship of the Lycian bas-reliefs coincides with the dates deduced from the study of the inscriptions.

The use of stops to separate the words, and of the letters Ω and H in the accompanying Greek, have been thought inconsistent with the date of 500 B.C. here assigned to one of the Lycian inscriptions. Either of these peculiarities occurring on a monument found in Greece would be sufficient to fix its date as much more modern. The first objection is easily answered; although the Greeks used points between the words only at a very late period, the Persians made use of them as early as the reign of Darius Hystaspes, and perhaps much earlier, for they are found in all the arrow-headed inscriptions; the practice continued in Persia till more modern times, as all the manuscripts of the Zend-Avesta are stopped in a similar manner.

Therefore these stops prove, not the modern date, but the Asiatic character of the Lycian inscriptions.

The objection derived from the letters Ω and H is not so easily got rid of: there is good reason to believe that those letters were not used in Greece till after 400 B.C., but it is not known when they were introduced into Asia Minor. It is probable that the Asiatic Greeks, who lived among nations whose languages abounded with long and short vowels, would be the first to make use of them in their own language, and that from them the Ω and H spread into Greece. Until more is known upon the subject, the use of these letters in an Asiatic inscription cannot determine its date, especially in contradiction to other evidence.

That I may not exhaust your patience by the length of this letter, I have omitted all matters of detail, which will be found arranged separately, as follows:—

1. The Lycian Alphabet.
2. The Coins of Lycia, and the names of the people and towns.
3. The Inscriptions, which I have given in Roman characters with translations of such parts as I can make out.

In considering the alphabet, I have been much struck by the great resemblance between the Lycian and the Etruscan letters; if this resemblance were only found in those characters which both people have copied from the Greeks, it would be of little moment; but it extends also to several characters which are not in the Greek alphabet. The letters on various coins attributed to Cilicia, have a still greater identity with those of Etruria. It may be proved from a comparison of the alphabets, that the Etruscans derived their characters from Asia Minor and not from Greece. This goes far towards confirming the account given by Herodotus of the Lydian origin of the Etruscans, but the doubts respecting it can only be removed when the Etruscan language is sufficiently understood for us to trace its origin.

I now take leave of the subject, tantalized with the faint



LYCIAN ALPHABET.

Lycian letters	Supposed tone	Letters related to them in Greek	Letters related to them in Zend
Α, Ρ	<i>ā long</i>	Α	<i>ā</i>
Χ	<i>ă short</i>		<i>a</i>
↑	<i>ē long</i>	Η	<i>e' e</i>
Ε	<i>ē short</i>	Ε	<i>e</i>
Ι	<i>ī long or y</i>	Ι	<i>i y</i>
Ξ	<i>ĭ short</i>	Ι	<i>i</i>
Β, β	<i>ōū u</i>	Ω	<i>u w h ū ō</i>
+	<i>ōū, u & perhaps h</i>		
⊕, ✱, ⊗	<i>ōū u</i>		
Ο, ◇	<i>o short</i>	Ο	<i>o</i>
Ψ, Ψ, Ψ, Ψ, Ψ, Ψ	<i>u probably long</i>		<i>ū</i>
✕, Ψ, Ψ, Ψ, Ψ, Ψ	<i>u probably short</i>	Υ	<i>u</i>
Ψ, Ψ, Ψ, <, >	<i>y hard</i>	Γ	<i>y gh</i>
Δ	<i>d</i>	Δ	<i>d dh</i>
Ι	<i>z</i>	Ζ	<i>z, s</i>
Κ	<i>k</i>	Κ	<i>k kh q</i>
Λ	<i>l</i>	Λ	
Μ, Μ, Η	<i>m</i>	Μ	<i>m</i>
Ν, Ν, Ν, Ν	<i>n</i>	Ν	<i>n</i>
Γ, Γ, Γ	<i>p</i>	Π	<i>p b</i>
Ρ	<i>r</i>	Ρ	<i>r</i>
Σ, Σ, Σ	<i>s prob^{ly} pronounced sh</i>	Σ	<i>s s' sh</i>
Τ	<i>t</i>	Τ, Θ	<i>t t th d dh</i>
Φ	<i>f</i>	Φ, Π	<i>f</i>
Χ	<i>ch or k</i>	Χ	<i>ch tch</i>

The following letters are not included in the table: Greek Φ Ψ Zend ā ē ō ū d

The character ∪ is used in the Lycian inscriptions as a stop—: to separate the words

The characters Ψ, Ψ, Ψ seem to be imperfectly copied instead of Ψ, Ψ, Ψ

Α, Γ Ρ, Β Ξ, +, Ε Ξ, Ι Ε, Φ Μ, Ν ↑, ^, Δ Ψ, Ψ

are letters liable to be mistaken in copying

glimpse which I have obtained of it, and in hopes that it may be taken up by some good Oriental scholar whose previous knowledge of the languages related to Lycian may be sufficient to carry him over all those difficulties which I cannot surmount.

I remain, My dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

To Charles Fellows, Esq.

DANIEL SHARPE.

THE LYCIAN ALPHABET.

MANY of the characters used by the Lycians resemble those of the early Greek inscriptions; others vary slightly from the Greek letters in form, but several have no resemblance to them, and must have expressed sounds for which their Greek contemporaries had no occasion.

The vowels and semivowels are as follows:—

A or P, answering to the Greek alpha, the Persian alif and the long A in Zend. The first form is evidently derived from the Greek, the second is used in its place on two tombs at Limyra (Plate XXXVI. Nos. 7 and 8), perhaps only by a whim of the artist.

X, a short or soft A; its form has a resemblance to the A in some Phœnician inscriptions; its sound is determined by its occurrence in the words XTPW and TPXMEΛΛ; the first, ÅOURU*, is part of the name of Ormuzd, in Zend *Ahura*, which begins with a short A; the other, written by the Greeks Τρεμιλαι, is the Asiatic name of a portion of the people of Lycia:

* When OU occurs in this paper it should be expressed ÔÛ.

here this letter is rendered in Greek by *epsilon*, there being no nearer sound to it in that language. The Lycian alphabet has **E** to express *epsilon*, so that **X** can only be a short **A**.

↑ a long **E**, closely allied to the Greek **H**, and probably aspirated when at the beginning of a word. The name of **Heraclæa** on the coins (Nos. 3 and 9, Plate XXXVII.) is written ↑**PEKA**↑, which can leave no doubt as to the force of the letter. On the bas-relief, page 116, the name of **EKATOM-NAΣ**, when transcribed in Lycian, begins with this letter, which thus is made to answer to an aspirated **E** in Greek. This character is found on a few of the early Etruscan monuments, where Lanzi thought it a numeral (*Saggio di Lingua Etrusca*, vol. i. p. 167). It is also found united with letters strongly resembling Phœnician, on several coins of unknown towns, supposed to have been Cilician.

E, taken from the Greek *epsilon*, and answering to the short **E** of the Eastern languages.

I, a long **I**; it is generally, and perhaps always, followed by a vowel, as the instances to the contrary may arise from mistakes, to which this letter is particularly subject from its simple form; it occurs very frequently between two vowels, where its force must have been nearly that of our **Y**. To distinguish it from the short **I**, it has been uniformly rendered **Y**.

Ξ, a short **I**; its exact value was first determined in **APΞNA**, the ancient name of **Xanthus**, which occurs both in the Greek and Lycian parts of the obelisk at that place, and also on a coin of the same town; **Stephanus Byzantinus** calls this name *Αρνα*, which proves that the vowel dropped in his time must have been a short one. Both the preceding letters seem to have been derived from the Greek *iota*, with slight modifications in form, to create a distinction between them.

O or **ο**, the Greek *omicron* and short **O** of the Zend alphabet; the second form, which occurs rarely in our inscriptions, is found both on early Greek and Etruscan monuments.

B or **b**, **+**, and **✱**, **‡** or **Ξ**, are letters which, without being

exactly identical, are very much interchanged; they are the cause of great difficulty in deciphering the Lycian inscriptions, which is much increased by their being used in a different manner on different monuments. Although there are here six forms, they are in reality only three letters, the first and second being identical, and the three last mere variations of one letter; we will therefore only take into consideration the commonest form of each.

B is evidently copied from the Greek *beta*, and it would naturally be supposed identical with that letter; but it frequently occurs as a vowel, as, for instance, in the name of the town **TPBBWNEME**, of which the coins are not uncommon (Plate XXXVII., Nos. 1, 5, 19 and 20), and which is also named on the obelisk at Xanthus. I shall shortly show that this can be no other than the town afterwards called by the Greeks **ΤΛΩΣ**, and that its inhabitants were either called *Τρωες* or *Τρωες*. As it will be necessary to enter into this subject at some length when I come to the examination of the Lycian coins, I will, to avoid repetition, refer you to what is there stated. Besides this vowel sound of **B** answering nearly to the Greek *omega*, it is also very frequently a consonant. This double employment of **B** is sufficiently puzzling, but the peculiar use of *beta* in certain Greek dialects throws some light upon it. In Müller's History of the Doric Race, vol. ii. p. 431, it is stated, that among the Dorians the digamma generally assumed the form of **B**, and a number of instances are there given from the Lacedæmonian, Cretan, Pamphylian and other dialects. In the Greek coins of the Emperors Severus and Verus, the sound of *V* is produced either by **B** or **OY**, the former name being written either **ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟΣ** or **ΣΕΒΗΡΟΣ**, showing that in some parts the sounds of **B** and **OY** were identical.

It seems, therefore, that **B** was used in Lycia to represent a letter, the force of which must have been nearly that of our *W* when used as a consonant, and of the Greek **Ω** or **OY** when as a vowel. Such a letter is found in several Asiatic languages.

In Persian the letter *Waw* is used both as consonant and vowel; in the former case it is a W, in the latter a broad or long U.

In Zend, according to Anquetil du Perron, the letter > is a short O, and its duplication » is OU, or in some districts W. This explains exactly the uses of B in Lycian, both as a double O and as a W; in other words, that peculiar sound which we consider as a doubling of U is formed both in Zend and Lycian by doubling the O, which letter must have had in those languages a sound somewhat intervening between our O and U. *M. Burnouf has corrected Anquetil on the subject of these two letters, alleging that if the double letter is equal to W, its half must be U; and thinking that » is always used as a consonant, he employs V to represent it, and U to represent its half >. The difficulty of deciding this matter is increased by the number of letters in Zend, as besides the two just mentioned, there are other forms for V, W, U long and O long and short. M. Burnouf's remarks on these letters will be found in the Introduction to his *Commentaire sur le Yaçna*. I am very fearful of going wrong when I quit the guidance of M. Burnouf, but in this instance I cannot help following the reading of the letters given by Anquetil, because it explains the use of the B in the Lycian inscriptions, and is itself confirmed thereby.

In the Pehlvi alphabet, according to Anquetil, who is here the only guide, one character serves for B, V, O and OU, which last he uses nearly as we use W. This may be seen in his Pehlvi alphabet in the third volume of the *Zend-Avesta*, and is also mentioned in his *Recherches sur les Anciennes Langues de la Perse*, published in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, vol. xxxi., 1768, p. 400, where, after mentioning that there are two characters for B, he adds "le Pehlvi forme peut-être l'O, l'OU et le V de la deuxième figure B." This is very analogous to the manner in which B is used in Lycian.

In writing out the Lycian inscriptions in Roman characters, I have endeavoured as far as possible to use a different single

letter for each Lycian character, but I have found it impossible to do so with the letters now under consideration, since we have no letter which answers to the different uses of the **B**; the nearest to it is undoubtedly **W**, but this will not do in all instances; I have therefore rendered the **B** by **W** where it appears to be a consonant, and by **OU** where it is a vowel. I preferred the latter to **Ō**, as having more analogy to **W**.

⌘ performs the same double part of vowel and consonant as **B**, and appears to have the same force of **W** and **O** long. It is frequently interchanged with **B**; thus we find the town of **TPBBWNEME**, and the people **TP⌘⌘AS**; also **S↑B↑** and **S↑⌘↑**, etc. In both these cases the two letters seem identical, yet they are always distinguished in some words in the same inscriptions, for the word **X⌘PW** is invariably thus written, the second letter being never changed; this word is the first part of the Zend name of Ormuzd, it is written by Anquetil *Ehora*, by M. Burnouf *Ahura*, therefore in this word the letter **⌘** seems to be an **O** or **U** lengthened by aspiration. It is usually a vowel, and very rarely a consonant. In copying out the inscriptions I have adopted the same letters to represent this as are employed for **B**, namely, **W** when a consonant and **OU** when a vowel.

† is also both vowel and consonant, and closely allied to the two preceding, being interchanged with both; thus we have **BOF↑ΔPE** and **†OF↑ΔPE**, **↑⌘BE** and **↑†BE**, etc., yet the letters are not identical; for we find many words in which two of them occur together, as on one of the coins, probably belonging to *Τηλεφίος*, we find **T↑Λ↑B↑†E↑↑**, where **B** and **†** represent different consonants; many others, which will be seen by reference to the inscriptions. There are many words, particularly in the later inscriptions, where **†** might be rendered by **H**, as in the name just quoted, which, if written **TELEWEHEHE**, gives a word with a termination analogous to that of some of the genitives in Zend; yet **H** will not do to express the letter when it is a long vowel.

Thus, although feeling convinced that there are differences between the three letters **B**, **+** and **Ɑ**, I find them so nearly allied and so frequently interchanged, that I am quite at a loss to express a distinction between them in our letters, and I have written them all three in the same manner, **W** when they appear to be consonants, and **OU** when they are vowels.

I have not been able to reduce to any rule the differences between these three letters, because the manner in which they are respectively used varies in the different inscriptions, and also in different parts of the same monument. I thought at first that in the mixed population of Lycia these variations might depend upon the writing being the work of a Greek or of an Asiatic sculptor; for we can easily understand that a Greek could not reconcile himself to use **B** for a vowel while he had another character to use instead of it; to an Asiatic this would be a matter of indifference. But further examination has convinced me that there must have been an alteration going on in the pronunciation during the period over which the monuments extend, which caused a corresponding alteration in the use of the letters. This seems to have consisted in the gradual change in many words from **W** to **H**, sounds which have a great analogy to one another, especially if both are pronounced from the throat, as must have been the case in Lycia, where the same character represented an aspiration and the long vowel **Ö** or **OU***. At one period there were only the characters **B** and **Ɑ** to express this class of sounds, at another **B** and **+** represent two sounds, the former **W**, the latter perhaps **H**, while **Ɑ** remains intermediate between them. I infer that the use of the single character is more ancient than its subdivision, from the general tendency of languages to become more complicated, and from the internal evidence afforded by the monuments and coins. Of the latter very few contain these letters; the coin

* A similar change from **F** to **H** took place in Spanish; *fidalgo* being turned into *hidalgo*.

referred to *Τηλεφίος* appears from its workmanship to be one of the most modern of those with Lycian characters, and the letters **B** and **+** occur as distinct consonants in a manner not found on any of the earlier coins; and the coins of *TRÖÖU-NEME*, on which **B** is always used as a vowel, are among the earliest from Lycia. The examination of the monuments leads to the same conclusion: on the north-east and north-west sides of the obelisk at Xanthus, **B** is either vowel or consonant indifferently, and **+** only occurs three times, while in most of the other inscriptions this is one of the letters of most common occurrence: on no other monuments are these peculiarities so strongly marked; consequently the inscriptions on these two sides of the obelisk, the date of which is about 500 B.C., must either be the most ancient or the most modern of the whole series; with such an alternative there can be no hesitation in considering them as the most ancient, as we should otherwise have to assign to the other monuments an antiquity which would be quite incredible. This change in the language was gradual, as there are inscriptions in which the letters **B** and **+** seem nearly identical, which must be considered as of an age intermediate between those where the **B** only occurs, and the others in which the difference between the two letters is strongly marked.

In Zend, besides the character already mentioned, there is another letter, which M. Burnouf considers a *W*, which is a very slight deviation in form from the *H* of that alphabet: probably these were originally the same letter, and the stroke distinguishing them added at a later period, which would be analogous to the change we find in Lycian: at any rate there seems nearly the same difficulty about the sounds *W* and *H* in Zend as there is in Lycian.

The letter **+** occurs in an Etruscan inscription mentioned by Lanzi, vol. i. p. 168, the sound of which he leaves in doubt: there is also an Etruscan letter of frequent use which seems a variation in form from **B**, and which is without doubt derived

from the same source as that letter: it is 8, showing a great analogy to a double O; it is considered by Lanzi to be equivalent to Ph, a letter which might have been used to express the sound of W, as the Latin F took the place of the digamma: the same character occurs on several undetermined coins attributed to Cilicia. The Greeks sometimes used Φ to express the Lycian B, as in the name of Τηλεφίος, mentioned above, page 447.

The vowel U has also two characters in Lycian, but the difference between them appears to be very slight, as they are frequently interchanged; yet as the Lycians had a long and a short sound to each of the other vowels, it seems natural to suppose the two characters for U to have the same difference between them.

Ψ, with the variations in the form of the letter seen in the Alphabet, I consider to be a long U.

W, and the varieties of form of the short U given in the Alphabet, are evidently derived from the Greek upsilon; and in the Greek inscription published in your Journal of 1838, page 222, the upsilon is made in the same fashion, Υ. Both these letters vary more than any others in the Lycian alphabet, and it is difficult to know to which some of the more fanciful forms apply; but there is no doubt that all of them are U, either long or short.

Consonants.

B has been already given among the semi-vowels; the Lycians appear not to have had the sound which we attach to this letter; their P answering in all probability the purpose of both our P and B.

Ψ, with the varieties seen in the Alphabet, answers to the Greek gamma, a G hard: the first is the character commonly used, from which the second and third are variations arising from mistakes; their value was first determined in the name of Arppagos, which occurs both in the Greek and the Lycian on the obelisk at Xanthus: the two last, which are mere variations of Γ, are used

in the inscriptions from Pinara, Plate XXX. No. 20 of this, and from Xanthus, page 225 of the former Journal, in words elsewhere written with Ψ . A letter nearly similar to the first is used for G on the Indo-Bactrian coins (see Prof. Lassen's Alphabet in the Proceedings of the Numismatic Society for 1838-39). The Etruscans also have a character very similar to ψ , which is read Ch by Lanzi, vol. i. p. 167; it occurs as the second letter in the names of Achilles and Agamemnon, so that it must have had nearly the force of G attributed to the Lycian letter.

Δ , exactly the Greek delta, and doubtless of the same sound. It is a letter of less frequent occurrence in Lycian than might have been expected, its place being supplied by T in many words which are written with D in other Eastern languages.

Σ ; the Greek zeta is made in this form on some early monuments. On the bas-relief at Cadyanda, page 116, on which the names are written both in Greek and Lycian characters, the Lycian Σ is expressed in Greek by Σ ; it may be inferred from that circumstance, that the letter Σ had a purely sibilant sound, and that the Lycian S was pronounced like Sh.

K corresponds both in form and use to the Greek kappa.

Λ is the exact equivalent of the Greek lambda. There is no L in the Zend alphabet, R being always used instead of it; in Pehlvi there are both L and R.

\mathcal{M} , \mathcal{M} , \mathcal{H} , answer to the Greek mu: the second, which is found in early Greek inscriptions, is the commonest form of M in the Lycian monuments; the third occurs on a coin figured below, No. 28, which appears from its type to belong to some city of Lycia; it nearly resembles the usual Etruscan M.

N, \mathcal{N} , \mathcal{N} , γ , different forms of N, none of which can be mistaken.

Γ , \mathcal{C} , \mathcal{C} , different forms of the Greek pi, all of which are found on Greek monuments. Occasionally Γ occurs in your copies of the inscriptions, but it appears, from a comparison of all the words in which it is found, that it is not a gamma, but a pi, which should have been copied Π ; the difference between

the two is so slight, that it is surprising that this error has not been made oftener. At the time when the letter pi was formed Γ , the character Γ could not have existed as a different letter, without leading to endless mistakes; this may account for our finding the G of a form so different from the usual Greek gamma.

P is exactly the Greek rho, both in form and use.

S, \mathfrak{S} , \mathfrak{z} , different forms of S. It has been mentioned above that the Lycian \mathfrak{Z} or Z appears to answer in sound to the Greek Σ : on the other hand, the Lycian word SA corresponds to the Persian *Shah*, so that the S must have been pronounced as *Sh*: but as this distinction cannot be traced in all the Lycian words in which the letters \mathfrak{Z} and S occur, it may be presumed that the two letters were very nearly allied to one another.

T cannot be mistaken.

F; although agreeing in form with the digamma, this letter does not appear to have had the sound of W, but rather that of our F, or perhaps of the German Pf; this pronunciation is determined by finding it as the initial letter of the town, which the Greeks called Πεδασσα: it answers to the Persian *Fa*.

Χ resembles in form the Greek chi: it is of very rare occurrence, only appearing on the coins of two cities, and in the inscriptions on the south-east and south-west sides of the Obelisk at Xanthus. In some words this letter seems to be equivalent to K, which added to its form may justify us in considering it to be Ch.

The comparison of the Lycian with the Greek letters shows that the forms of all the Lycian consonants, except perhaps of G, and of five of the vowels, were derived from the Greek, and that the Lycians added to these five vowels to make up a double set of long and short vowels; and although two of these additional vowels nearly correspond in force to H and Ω, they do not resemble them in form, therefore the Lycians must have copied the Greek alphabet before it contained the long vowels H and Ω, or the consonants Θ, Ξ, Φ, Ψ, which have no Lycian representatives.

There is great difficulty in comparing the Lycian letters with those of the Persian and Indian languages, as their origin is entirely different, yet it is impossible to proceed without examining their relations to the Zend alphabet, as that is the language nearest to it. This alphabet has been fully analysed by M. Burnouf in the Introduction to his *Commentaire sur le Yaçna*; it contains thirteen vowels and thirty consonants: in Sanscrit the number is still greater; against these Lycian has only twenty-five letters in all. It is obvious that this difference must cause great difficulty in studying Lycian by the help of those languages, as each letter may answer to several letters in Zend or Sanscrit, and it is quite impossible to guess, *à priori*, how the analogue of a Lycian word will be spelled. It is probable also that an alphabet of Semitic origin, and of such limited extent, must have been an imperfect organ of expressing a language related to Zend, so that many peculiarities of the language must be lost in it, and the principles of orthography in the language may be altered in consequence. It will be impossible to resolve these doubts until the language is thoroughly understood; in the mean time I dwell particularly upon them, because in this difference between the Lycian alphabet and the alphabets of the languages to which it is most nearly related, will be found the principal obstacle to the study of Lycian.

The difference between the vowels in Lycian and Zend is not of much importance. The Zend has a nasal \tilde{A} which is not found in Lycian, and a diphthong AO, which is probably included in the Lycian letter \dagger . Between the consonants of the two languages the difference is very great: the Zend alphabet has the aspirates Kh, Gh, Th, Dh, Tch, Ch, which are wanting in Lycian, where the corresponding unaspirated letters answered apparently to the aspirated and unaspirated letters in Zend: thus $\check{I}TATA$ in Lycian is derived from a verb answering to the Greek $\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\mu\iota$, and to the Zend DADHAMI. The nasals \check{G} , $\check{N}g$, and \check{N} are wanting in Lycian; as also Dj, J, and Q; all

of which occur in Zend. L is the only Lycian letter not used in Zend, where its place is filled by R.

The following Table represents the Lycian letters with all their variations of form; against each are placed the Greek and Zend letters supposed to be related to it, for the purpose of making the preceding explanations intelligible at one view. It must be borne in mind that many of the comparisons therein established cannot be relied upon, as the relation of many of the letters are still to be ascertained.

Before quitting the alphabet, it is worth considering which letters are most in danger of being confounded together in copying the Lycian inscriptions: I have placed together, at the foot of the alphabet, the letters which are the most likely to be copied one for another; and it is by these resemblances that I have been guided in the corrections required to be made in your copies of the inscriptions.





1
AR
248



2
S
306



3
-17



4
AR



6
AR
348



8
AR



9
AR



10
AR



11
AR



12
AR



LIST OF ANCIENT LYCIAN COINS

IN PLATE XXXVIII. AND FOLLOWING WOODCUTS.

No.	In the possession of	Cities to which they belong.	Obverse of Coins.
1	C. Fellows	Trooneme (Tros or Tlos)	Skin of lion's head.
2	Ditto	Kopalle	Lion passing with head turned back.
3	Ditto	Ereclé (Heraclea)	Skin of lion's head.
4	Ditto	Ditto Ditto (copper)	Head of Pan, with wreath and horns.
5	Hunterian Collection	Trooneme (Tros or Tlos)	See Plate.
6	Ditto	Kopalle	The forequarters of two bulls joined, the heads looking different ways; over them the triquetra.
7	Ditto	Ditto	Bull with human face, with hump upon his back.
8	Ditto	Gaéaga (Gagæe)	Sphinx, standing.
9	Ditto	Ereclé (Heraclea)	Skin of lion's head.
10	British Museum	Méré (Myra)	Forequarters of a bull.
11	Ditto . . . . .	. . . . .	Skin of lion's head.
12	Ditto	Kopalle	Horse biting his hind leg.
13	Ditto . . . . .	. . . . .	Pegasus.
14	Ditto . . . . .	. . . . .	Ditto.
15	Ditto	Fégassérdenne (Pegasa or Pedasa)	Naked man running.
16	Ditto	Ditto Ditto	Three quarters of Pegasus.
17	Ditto	Kopalle	Lion upon the back of a bull.
18	Ditto	Fégassérdenne (Pedasa or Pegasa)	Skin of lion's head.
19	Ditto	Trooneme (Tros or Tlos)	Ditto.
20	Ditto	Ditto Ditto	Ditto.
21	Ditto . . . . .	. . . . .	Ditto.
22	Ditto	Kopalle	The forequarters of two bulls joined, the heads looking different ways; over them the triquetra.
23	Ditto	Illegible	Three quarters of Pegasus.
24	Bank of England	Kopalle ?	Two dolphins.
*25	Bibliothèque Royale, Paris	Ditto	A griffin.
26	Bank of England	Pitarazu (Patara)	Human head.
27	Ditto	Telewehehe (Telephios?)	Head of Minerva.
†28	Vienna . . . . .	. . . . .	Pegasus.
29	Bank of England . . . . .	. . . . .	A griffin sitting with letter as on reverse.
30	Ditto . . . . .	. . . . .	A sphinx with horns.
31	Paris	Pereclé ?	Head of lion.

[* By the kindness of M. Lenoir, I have been furnished with copies of all the ancient Lycian Coins in the Paris Collection, four of which are in the Bibliothèque, and three in the Cabinet of M. le duc de Luynes. three not here drawn are of Kopalle, having for their obverses a Pegasus, a goat, and the head of Jupiter Ammon; and two of Ereclé, one with the head of a lion, and the other described as a human head crowned and radiated, the coin copper; probably this may be similar to No. 4. The nails represented in the triquetra in No. 25 are remarkable, and may assist conjecture as to the symbol which is seen in No. 30, with four arms.—C. F.]

[† From Vienna I have received, in the most liberal manner, from M. Arneth casts of all the uncertain coins in the Imperial Cabinet. Two only are of ancient Lycia; the one not represented is so imperfect that the inscription is illegible, the reverse appears to be the half of a Pegasus.—C. F.]

ON THE COINS OF LYCIA.

THE only coins hitherto attributed to Lycia, are a well-marked series with Greek legends, bearing the initial letters of the city at which each was struck, and the word *Λυκίων*; these are common in good collections, and a copious list of them will be found in Mionnet. I have stated above, page 440, my reasons for thinking that they were struck during the existence of the Lycian league, and have nothing to add respecting them, as they are too well known to require illustration. Besides these there exist a variety of coins with legends in Lycian characters, which have hitherto been classed for the most part as uncertain coins of Cilicia; the following remarks will be devoted to their examination, which requires some inquiry into the ancient geography of the country.

XANTHUS.—This having been the capital of the country might be expected to furnish the greatest number of coins, but that is far from the case, and great obscurity hangs over the few which are attributed to this town. The name of *Xanthus* applies both to the city and the river on which it stands, which was anciently called *Sirbe*. Stephanus Byzantinus tells us that *Arna* was the ancient name of the town of Xanthus, and though this is not confirmed by any other author, there is no reason to doubt his assertion, for it is obvious that *Xanthus*, being a Greek translation of *Sirbe*, must have been first applied to the river, and cannot have been the original name of the town. Homer speaks of the river Xanthus frequently, but does not name the town, which is first mentioned by Herodotus. We could hardly expect to find the name of Xanthus in the Lycian inscrip-

tions, which would of course call that town by its Asiatic name ; neither does the exact word *Arna* occur in them, but on the obelisk at Xanthus **APENA**, or *Arīna* occurs, once in the Greek, and several times in the Lycian parts of the inscription. The difference between this and the name as given by Stephanus, consists merely in the insertion of a short vowel between the two consonants, which rendered the word more easy of pronunciation to the Lycians, whose language abounds in vowels, but which would easily be dropped by the Greeks. If this word had only been found in the inscriptions, it might be doubted whether it was the name of a town, but this is proved by a coin figured by Pellerin, vol. ii. Plate LXXXV. Fig. 28. with the name **APENA**, and another name in Lycian characters, which is not quite legible. Pellerin, reading the third letter X, referred the coin to Araxa in Armenia; but Mionnet has placed it among the Cilician coins, on account of its general character and its legend: it is his No. 681, vol. iii. p. 668. On the front is a head of Pallas, and on the reverse the legend, and a sitting figure of Pallas armed with spear and shield, etc. I feel no hesitation in referring this coin to the city of Xanthus under its ancient name of Arina or Arna. Having only seen the engraving of the coin, it is impossible to give a decided opinion as to its date; but from its appearance, and its not having the triquetra, which occurs on all the earliest Lycian coins, I am inclined to think it of the second period, and not much earlier than the time of Alexander. It would be inconsistent with this opinion to find any coins of so early a date with the Greek name of Xanthus.

In the catalogue of Græco-Lycian coins, in the third volume of Mionnet, there are two attributed to Xanthus, No. 78, with the legend **ZA ΛΥΚΙΩΝ**, and No. 79, with **ΔΗΜΟ ΙΑΝ**; it will be observed that in both these the name is written with Z instead of X. Among the Lycian coins figured in Plate XXXVII., No. 11 appears to be of the same town as the two just referred to; disregarding a stroke, which may be attributed to an accidental defect, the most probable reading of the legend is

IAN, or *Zan*; but the third letter is not certain, as it is partially lost at the edge of the die. This coin is in the collection of the British Museum; it is one of the earliest of the Lycian coins known, and must be more ancient than the Persian conquest of Lycia; it bears the usual triquetra, accompanied by a grain of barley, and on the reverse a lion's head. As there is every reason to suppose that when it was struck there was no town yet called Xanthus, I cannot refer it to that city, although I can find no other in Lycia which will suit it; it must therefore remain for the present unlocated, in company with the two Græco-Lycian coins, Nos. 78 and 79 of Mionnet, which cannot be separated from this. We have not the names of all the seventy towns of Lycia alluded to by Pliny, and it is probable that many which have come down under a Greek name in the ancient geographers, may have been formerly known by another name now lost; so that we need not be surprised at meeting with coins which we cannot refer to any known town.

TLOS.—I propose to refer to this city the coins Nos. 1, 5, 19 and 20, of Plate XXXVII., bearing the legend **TPBBWNEME**, either at length or abbreviated. In Greek characters this word would be *Τρωωννεμε*. As **EME** occurs as the termination of another Lycian town, it may perhaps be a contraction for some word signifying *town*; the rest has so much the form of a genitive plural, that we may translate the whole name conjecturally, *Town of the Trooes*. On the obelisk at Xanthus this name occurs twice, and also several other words, which are either the names of the people to whom the town belonged, or derivatives relating to them; these in Greek characters would be *Τρωωδε*, *Τρωωε*, *Τρωωας*, *Τρωωνσα*, *Τρωωιτε*, *Τρωωιτα*, and *Τρωωιτυ*. Stephanus states the derivatives from *Τλωσ* to be *Τλωευς*, *Τλωιτης*, *Τλωος*, and *Τλωιος*: allowing for the common change between L and R, which is found in most languages, and the greater lengthening of the first vowel in the Lycian names, the two lists have a strong resemblance, and leave no doubt of the identity of the town.

The coins of **TROOUNEME** are not uncommon; among the uncertain Cilician coins in Mionnet, Supp. vol. vii. No. 591. belongs to it. All have a triquetra, and are of very early date; their usual reverse is a lion's head. No. 5 has a triquetra on each side, and the name **ZYMOAO** on the reverse, which is perhaps the name of a magistrate.

MYRA.—The legend on No. 10. Plate XXXVII. is **M↑P↑** or *Mērē*; the M is partially defaced on the coin, but may still be read: the same name occurs on the Obelisk at Xanthus.

Mionnet, Supp. vol. vii., gives a coin of the same town, No. 592 of his uncertain Cilician coins: it has a triquetra and the letters **M↑PE . . .** with a head of Pan on the reverse.

GAGÆ.—The legend on No. 8. Plate XXXVII. is not very clear, but may perhaps be read **ΨA↑EΨA**, or *Gaēega*, which is probably the *Gagæ* of the Greeks: the reverse is a sphinx.

On the obelisk at Xanthus is the name of *Gēæga*, which differs slightly, but probably refers to the same town.

HERACLEA.—The coin No. 3. Plate XXXVII. bears the name of **↑PEK↑**, *ēreclē* or *hēreclē*, if the vowel was aspirated when at the beginning of a word. No. 9 belongs to the same town: its legend is **↑PEK**. The same name occurs on the obelisk at Xanthus. No town of this name in Lycia is mentioned by the ancient geographers, but there is Heraclea in Caria, to which place this coin probably belongs.

PEDASA or **PEGASA**, a city of Caria. We have the authority of Stephanus Byzantinus for the variation in spelling the name with D or G. Among the coins with Lycian characters, are several which I propose to refer to this town with some hesitation: they are No. 15. Plate XXXVII., with the legend **F↑ΨSS↑PΔ**, *Fēgssērd* (the last letter is very doubtful); No. 16 with *Fēg*, and a Pegasus on the reverse; and No. 18 with *Fēd*.

The Lycian name of the town to which these apply, was probably *Fagssērdeme*, that name being found on the obelisk at Xanthus. Changing the initial letters, which are nearly related to one another, F and P, and dropping the terminations in each case, there is a great resemblance between the names; and their identity is rendered more probable by the Pegasus on one of the coins, and by the name in each language being written with either D or G. One of the horses of Achilles mentioned in Homer is named Pedasus; it seems therefore that both Pedasus and Pegasus must have been derived from a word signifying *horse* in Lycian, or in one of the languages of Asia Minor. If the names Pegasa and Fegsserdeme are rightly identified, they must be of Asiatic origin; for the Lycians would not change P into F in adopting a Greek name, although the Greeks could not avoid the converse change in naturalizing a Lycian name beginning with F. By attending to the nature of a change of this kind, the language to which a word originally belonged can generally be detected.

CABALIA, according to Pliny and Ptolemy, or CABALLIS, according to Strabo, was an inland district of Lycia, containing the three cities Oenoanda, Balbura, and Bubon. Strabo, Book XIII. p. 629 and 631, enters into some details respecting the inhabitants, who were said to be Solymi.

The most common of the Lycian coins appear to belong to this district; No. 12. Plate XXXVII. has the name ΚΟΡΑΛΛΕ, *Kopalle*, which is also found on the obelisk at Xanthus; on the rest the name is abbreviated; No. 17 having *Kopall*, and Nos. 2, 6, 7, and 22, only *Kop*.

Mionnet, Supplement, vol. vii., has published a coin of the same district, with the legend *Kop*, which he has classed among the uncertain coins of Cilicia as No. 589. The identity of the names is not complete, but there is no other name in Lycia nor the surrounding countries to which these coins can be referred.

No. 24.



This coin probably belongs to the same district; it is of very ancient date, with the legend $\Pi\Lambda\chi$, which must be read *Chap* or *Kap*. The change of the vowel from O to A brings the name nearer to the Greek form *Cabalía*, and there are other proofs that the Lycian letters χ and κ were nearly identical. The reverse has two fish, which seems an extraordinary bearing for an inland district, and increases the doubt on the subject.

No. 25.



This coin admits of no such doubt, as its legend is certainly *Kopalle*.

No. 26.



PATARA.— $\Pi\tau\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\iota\omega$, *Pttarazu*: it is impossible to pronounce this word without inserting a vowel, which brings the beginning of the name to an identity with the Greek *Patara*. In the lists of towns in Lycia, Caria, and the neighbouring

countries given by the Greek geographers, a large proportion end in *assos* or *essos*, such as *Halicarnassus*, *Edebessus*, &c. The *azu* on this coin shows the manner in which the Lycians expressed this termination, which the Greeks have dropped in Patara: the Lycian Z is here equivalent to SS in Greek. No. 26 is one of the latest coins with Lycian characters, probably struck shortly before the invasion of Asia by Alexander; it has no triquetra, but a head of Mercury on one side, and the head of a hero or demigod on the reverse.

No. 27.



TELEPHIOS is mentioned by Stephanus Byzantinus as *δημος Λυκίας*, a tribe or people of Lycia. The legend is **T↑Λ↑-B↑+E↑**, which is either *Teleweuwe*, or, considering the + to be here equivalent to H, *Telewehehe*. In either case the word is the genitive plural of a noun commencing with *Telewe*; a name only differing from *Telephios* in the termination and the use of φ to express the sound of the Lycian B. The only difficulty connected with this identification is in the term *δημος*, which does not apply to a town.

Lycian coins of unknown towns.—The few coins which still remain to be mentioned, must remain unarranged until it is ascertained to what towns they belong.

No. 4. Plate XXXVII.—The only letters remaining are **↑BF**, which do not occur together on any of the coins yet mentioned, and are not enough to show the name of the town. Perhaps they should be read **↑PE**, *êre*, the beginning of Heraclea.

Nos. 13 and 14. Plate XXXVII. have no legend, but as both have Pegasus on the reverse, they may belong to Pedasa.

No. 21. Plate XXXVII. has the letters **ME**, which afford little information.

No. 23. Plate XXXVII. is so much worn that the legend cannot be made out.

No. 28.



This coin has the letters **MA** or **AM**, and a stroke, which may have been an instrument similar to that on No. 21. The form of the **M** on this coin is very peculiar, and has a great resemblance to the Etruscan **M**. The Græco-Lycian coins with the letters **MA** are usually referred to the town of Massicytus.

No. 29.



I can attempt no explanation of the character on this coin, which is repeated on the reverse at the top of the head of a griffin. The triquetra shows that the coin was Lycian; but there is no such character in any of the inscriptions, so that it is uncertain whether it should be considered as a monogram or as some religious emblem.

No. 30.



This is peculiar in having a four-armed instrument instead of the usual Lycian triquetra. If the coin is perfect, the most probable manner of reading the legend is **F↑X⊗EB↑**; but there may have been another letter after the **F**, as that corner of the die is incomplete. The reverse has a griffin.

In Sestini's *Letters*, vol. vi. tab. 13, no. 1, a coin is figured which must have belonged to the same town: it has a four-armed triquetra, and on the reverse part of a boar. It is referred by Sestini to the town of Aspendus in Pamphylia, which is a place of refuge for many stray coins. In the text the legend is given **BE T↑XXE↑E**, but the engraver has represented it in the Plate in a different manner, **BE↑X⊗E*↑E**; at the stop where the asterisk is placed is a character which is not intelligible. There are so many letters the same on the two coins, that there can be little doubt of their relationship. The letter **X** is of very rare occurrence in the Lycian inscriptions; it only appears on the south-west and south-east sides of the obelisk at Xanthus, and its place must be occupied by **K** in the other inscriptions; but I observe that **⊗** is frequently and **K** never doubled. The only words on the obelisk which have any resemblance to the legend on the two coins are **T↑X⊗E** and **Λ↑X⊗FE**, and a word which is partially lost in the imperfection of the stone at the end of the 59th and beginning of the 60th lines on the south-east, **T XEF↑EBE**; if we insert the letters **↑X** in the gap, we obtain **T↑X⊗XEF↑EBE**, which corresponds with Sestini's coin if we retain the **T** given in his text, and read **F** for the character left doubtful by his engraver. To bring the coin No. 30 to the same name, we must

insert **T** at the part which is imperfect, and read **T↑XEB↑F**, which can only be reconciled with the above on the supposition that **B** and **F** are convertible letters, for which there is no other evidence.

No. 31.



The legend upon this coin appears to be **Γ↑PEKA↑** or *Pēreklē*, but I cannot find any town of that name mentioned in the ancient geographers: not having seen the coin itself, nor a cast from it, I suspect that the drawing from which this cut is taken may be inaccurate. If the first letter were omitted the name would be *Ereclē*, or *Heraclea*, the same as Nos. 3 and 9.

TREMILÆ AND TROES.—In the Greek part of the inscription on the obelisk at Xanthus, Lycia is mentioned several times; but that name does not occur in the other part of that inscription, nor in any of the inscriptions in the Lycian language. Herodotus (l. i. c. 73) states that the inhabitants of Lycia were called at different periods *Milyans*, *Solyimi* and *Termilæ*, which last name they had at the time they were governed by *Sarpedon*, and by which their neighbours still called them. So that in the time of Herodotus, the people whom the Greeks called *Lycians*, were called *Termilæ* by the neighbouring *Asiatics*. *Stephanus Byzantinus* gives *Tremilē* as the ancient name of *Lycia*. The word **TPXMEΛ↑**, *Trämelē*, occurs repeatedly on the obelisk at Xanthus, in which we cannot mistake the *Tremilæ* of *Stephanus*; and in connexion with it on the obelisk, and on the tomb No. 18, the *Troûoûes* or *Trōōes* are mentioned in a manner which shows them to have been not merely inha-

bitants of the town of Tlos, but the people of a separate nation or district, in which character we do not find them mentioned by the ancient geographers.

There is a passage in Homer which has given infinite trouble to all the commentators, ancient and modern, and especially to the Greek geographers, which is connected with the present subject, and may be partially explained by the facts now brought to light for the first time. In the enumeration of the Trojan army (*Iliad* ii. l. 824 to 827), Pandarus, the son of Lycaon, leads the Troes who inhabit Zeleia at the foot of Mount Ida and drink the waters of the Aisepus. In the fifth book, where his contest with Diomedes is related, Pandarus is represented as coming from Lycia; and the name of his father, his worship of Apollo *Lycegenes*, and his skill in the bow, all mark him as a Lycian.

Strabo, whose veneration for Homer knew no bounds, is quite staggered by the apparent contradiction of these passages, and he expresses his surprise more than once (b. xiii. p. 845 and 846, and b. xiv. p. 950), that Homer should call the same troops both Troes and Lycians, and should place Lycia, the kingdom of Pandarus, north of Troy. Strabo refers for the position of Zeleia, the Aisepus and surrounding country, to Demetrius, a native of those parts, who wrote thirty books upon the sixty lines of Homer which enumerate the Trojans, and after remarking at some length upon the difficulty of explaining it, leaves the subject in doubt. The later Greek writers were less cautious. Stephanus Byzantinus distinguishes two Lycias; one named after Lycus, the son of Pandion, the other near Cilicia, which Sarpedon governed. The Scholiast explains the matter in a different manner (*Il.* iv. line 103, and v. line 105); with him Lycia is both a name for the town of Zeleia, and also the country usually so called. Eustathius, commenting upon the same passages, makes out two countries of the same name; the Lesser Lycia, also called the Lesser Troy, the country of Pandarus, and the Greater Lycia, the kingdom of Sarpe-

don. Throughout all these authors the constant mention of Pandarus and Sarpedon points out the source of the confusion.

The Latin authors derived their geography from observation, and not from the study of Homer : neither in Pliny nor Pomponius Mela is there any mention of the second kingdom or town of Lycia.

We are now able to explain the origin of these errors. The country included by the Greeks under the general name of Lycia contained two nations, the Tremilæ and the Troes ; both sent troops to the assistance of Troy, the former under Sarpedon and Glaucus, the latter under Pandarus, the son of Lycaon. The name of Troes, applied both to the people of Troouneme or Tlos and of Troy, led to the confusion ; and either Homer himself, or the compilers of the Iliad in its present form, fell into the error of bringing the troops of Pandarus from Zeleia, at the foot of Mount Ida, a town whose position was well known to all the ancient geographers. The author of the Iliad has entered so fully into the mythology of Lycia, that we can hardly suppose him unacquainted with that country, and the mistake was probably made when the detached poems were put together at a later period ; it is at least certain that it has not arisen from the transcribers of the poems since the time of Strabo, as all his remarks show that his version of these passages of Homer was the same as ours.

There are two rivers of the name of Xanthus mentioned in the Iliad ; the one flowing through Lycia, to which the name is very applicable, the other through the Troad, where there is no stream to which that name can properly be applied. Perhaps the latter may have owed its existence to the same confusion between Lycia and the Troad, and the line

Ὅν Ξανθὸν καλεοῦσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκαμανδρὸν,

may have been added at a later period, when it was observed that two rivers were mentioned in the poem in a district where only one was found to exist.

LYCIAN INSCRIPTIONS*.

To enable your readers to judge of the Lycian language without the trouble of learning a new alphabet, I have copied out all the inscriptions in Roman characters, and have taken the opportunity to correct all the errors in your copies of them which I can detect, and in some instances to fill up small blanks. In altering words to make the orthography consistent, I have always been guided by the resemblances between the letters already pointed out; but that the alterations and

[* REFERENCE TO INSCRIPTIONS ON PLATE XXXVI.

At Limyra.

- No. 1. On an Elizabethan rock-tomb, the Phœnician characters coloured blue and the Greek red.
 No. 2. On a rock-tomb, under bas-reliefs, the letters coloured alternately blue and red.
 No. 3. On the side of the door of a handsome built tomb, with portico.
 No. 4. A rock-tomb, the letters alternately green and red.
 No. 5. Over a tomb, the Greek characters over one of the pannels.
 Nos. 7, 8, and 20. On rock-tombs.

At Telmessus.

- Nos. 6, 9, and 12. On rock-tombs.

At Pinara.

- Nos. 10, 17, and 21. On rock-tombs.
 No. 11. A sarcophagus-tomb.

At Myra.

- No. 13. A rock-tomb, letters coloured blue and red.
 Nos. 15, 18, 19, and 22. On rock-tombs.

At Xanthus.

- No. 14. On a rock-tomb.
 No. 16. On a slab.

At Antiphellus.

- No. 23. Upon a handsome sarcophagus: there have been eight lines, but they are now so imperfect, that I have only attempted to copy the first two, and have selected a few perfect words from the others.—C. F.]

additions may be readily seen, they are printed in italics. I have also endeavoured to separate all the words, the points which originally marked them out having been frequently omitted; here also care has been taken to distinguish between that which is found in the originals and that which has been added, the points being placed only where they occur in your copies of the inscriptions, and the divisions made by me being marked by the separation into words, without stops between them. Still there are a few alterations which could not be easily shown in the printing, as when a stop which appears to be erroneous is omitted, and when a stop is substituted for a letter; these cases are of rare occurrence, and the latter only takes place where the letter *l* appears to have been copied instead of the stops, which if the stone is a little chipped might easily be mistaken for that letter. These alterations are of little importance, as the engravings of the inscriptions being at hand, every one who wishes to study the language will naturally recur to them, and not rely upon my transcripts.

The inscriptions are placed in the order in which they can be most easily studied, beginning with the bilingual inscription from Limyra, which is followed by the other funereal inscriptions, the shorter and simpler preceding those of which the construction is more complicated. The decrees on the obelisk at Xanthus are left for the last. In this manner the simple sentences lead on to the understanding of those which are more difficult, and much repetition in the explanations is avoided.

A literal translation is placed under the line wherever this can be done. It will thus be seen at a glance how much is still wanting.

INSCRIPTION NO. 3. PLATE XXXVI.

ĒWĒEYA : ĒRAFAZEYA : MĒTE : PRINAFATU : SEDĒREYA :

To	<i>μνημα</i>	<i>τοδε</i>	<i>εποιησατο</i>	<i>σιδαριος</i>
This	tomb		made	Sidarios

PĒ NĒ :	TEĎĒEME :	OURPPE	ĒTLE	ĒOUWE	LADĒ :
παιννιος	υῖος		ἑαυτῶι		καὶ τῇ γυναίκει
Painnis's	son	for	self	his,	wife

ĒOUWE	SĒ	TEĎĒEME	ĒOUWE	LĒYĒ
	καὶ	υῖῶι		πυβιαλῇ
his,	and	son	his	Pubiale.

Every one who attempted to study the Lycian inscriptions naturally began with this, as it is the only one which is accompanied by a translation, and is thus the foundation of all our knowledge of the language. The translations made by M. Saint Martin and Dr. Grotefend have been already referred to; they were made from the copy taken by Mr. Cockerell, which is very imperfect; your copy is far from complete, but the comparison of the two brings us nearer to the truth; and some of the other inscriptions on Plate XXXVI. run so nearly in the same words, that there is no difficulty in reducing this to a form very nearly correct: in the version given above both copies have been made use of, and some words have been corrected from the other inscriptions.

The Greek has been published in a corrected form by M. Letronne in the *Journal des Savans* for February 1821, by M. Saint Martin, and by Dr. Grotefend; the differences between their readings are not great; the only alteration of importance now made from your copy is the substitution of *υῖῶι* for *υῖδι* in the last line: this change relieves us from a Greek word of very rare occurrence, and gives a more definite meaning to *tēdēeme*, which in the singular always appears to mean *son*, although in the plural, which we shall soon meet with, it probably has the more general signification of *children*. Even with the assistance of both copies the names of the father and son of Sidarios remain unintelligible.

The Lycian words are so completely altered in their spelling by the additional materials now brought home, that it is unne-

cessary to criticise the explanations attempted of them in their former incorrect forms, so that I will proceed at once to explain the manner in which the translation placed below each word has been arrived at: *ēōdwe* occurring three times, first as part of the phrase corresponding to *ἐαυτω*, and then after the words *wife* and *son*, can only be the pronoun *his*, or an article. In the longer inscriptions this word does not occur so often as an article must do if there were one in the language; excepting on the tombs, where the possessive pronoun is constantly to be expected, it is rarely found. It must therefore be the possessive pronoun *his*, a meaning which will be found suitable to every situation in which *ēōdwe* occurs, and which shall presently be justified etymologically. As soon as the near relationship of the letters *+*, *Æ*, and *B* was observed, I saw that *ēwēeya*, of which we find the neuter form *ēwūnu* on the other tombs, must belong to the same family; its form, coupled with its being translated *το* in the Greek, marked it for the demonstrative pronoun *this*. M. Saint Martin conjectured that the first three words should be translated *ce tombeau-ci*; but having only the last letters of the first word, he could not connect it with the corresponding word in the other inscriptions, which he translated *tomb*. Dr. Grotefend's explanation came much nearer the truth, as he saw that the second word in each inscription was the noun *tomb*, and he translated *iejoe* (as he read the first word here) *hoc*; but he took the corresponding word in the other inscriptions, which he read *ibyen*, for an adjective, *sepulchral*.

The declension of the Zend pronouns has not yet been thoroughly made out; there are some remarks upon them scattered through M. Burnouf's *Commentaire sur le Yaçna*, but they are not sufficient for the present purpose, and we are driven to recur to Anquetil's vocabulary, in which many of the pronouns are scattered about without reference to either number, case, or gender. The following words have been picked out of his lists, and arranged in a manner which renders them intelligible:—

Relative, *who*: Nominative, *Ié, Iá, Iô*; Genitive and Dative, *Iôe and Heoûé*.

Interrogative, *who*: Nominative, *Kéié, Kô*; Genitive and Dative, *Kcoûe*.

Demonstrative, *lui*: Nominative singular, *Eeté*;
eux: Nominative plural, *Eétéé*.

It may be deduced from the above, that in the singular the three genders of the nominative end in *é, a, o*; that in the genitive and dative these are changed to *ôé, or oûe*; and that in the plural the vowels are lengthened.

In accordance with this principle we shall find that the Lycian pronoun *he* may be declined

Nominative singular *ē, he*; Genitive and Dative, *ēwe or ēoûe, him*;

which resembles the declension of the pronouns in many of the Indo-Germanic languages, as *se, sui*; *me, moi*; *le, lui*, &c. From the oblique case *ēwe* or *ēoûe*, the possessive *ēoûwe, his*, is formed in a manner similar to *suus* from *sui*, by doubling the *u*; and from the same word is derived the demonstrative pronoun, of which the feminine *ēwēya* begins the inscription before us, and the neuter *ēwuiuu* is found in several others: the masculine of this word does not occur, it was probably *ēwētye* or *ēwēyē*, agreeing in form with Anquetil's pronouns *ié, kéié, enié*. It seems probable that the Lycian words beginning with the long vowel *ē* were all aspirated in pronunciation; the addition of an aspirate would make the Lycian pronouns equivalent to *he, him, and his, he, hewe, or heoûe and heoûwe*. In the pronouns I can never distinguish between the genitive and dative cases; and I am not sure that they can be distinguished in the Lycian nouns and adjectives, although there are some words in which it is possible that they may be different. There is a curious peculiarity in the change from the feminine *ēwēya* to *ēwuiuu* in the neuter: as we go on we shall find many instances of the declension affecting the vowels of the penult and antepenult syl-

lables, as in this case; but I cannot account for the insertion of the *n* in the last syllable.

In the preceding remarks on the pronouns which occur in this inscription, several words have been mentioned which we have not yet come to; but this anticipation has brought into one view the pronouns which are connected with one another, and will save the necessity of much repetition. I was anxious also to bring forward these pronouns at the commencement of the inquiry, as their great resemblance to the corresponding words in the European languages is a strong evidence of the family to which the Lycian language belongs; this we shall soon find strengthened by the forms of conjugation of the verbs.

The first two words are in the accusative feminine singular; they exhibit a peculiarity which we shall find running through the whole language, in wanting the terminal consonant which is found in so many languages of the same family; Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin add *n*, *m*, or *s* to the accusative, but that case ends in a vowel in Lycian, both in the singular and the plural; yet its affinity to them is shown in the change of the terminal vowels, which vary in declension in a manner closely analogous to the last vowels in these languages, from which we also see that the Lycians do not add a vowel, but drop a consonant from the end of each word, as compared with its analogous word in another language. On the same principle the owner of this tomb is named in Greek Σιδάριος, and in Lycian Sedēreya: he was in all probability a Greek, and the final *s* was dropped in the Lycian pronunciation of his name. It will be seen as we advance, that every name on the Lycian tombs ends in a vowel.

The second word is translated *μνημα*: in your copy the sixth letter is wanting; Mr. Cockerell has given it as **Ξ**, which seeming to bring too many vowels together, I have replaced it by **Ι**, a letter closely resembling the former: for a similar reason I have preferred his copy of the beginning of the word to yours, *ēra* being preferable to *ēarf*: the word thus corrected occurs again on the tomb of Payara.

The third word *mēte* is declinable : at the corresponding place in the sentence on other tombs we find *mute*, *muti*, *munē*, and *muna*; of these, *muti* and *muna* only occur once, and are perhaps incorrectly copied instead of *mute* and *munē*, so that they need not be taken into consideration. M. Saint Martin conjectured that *mēte* "répondrait à *τοδε*, ou serait un adverbe qui signifierait *ici*." The first explanation seems correct, as the suffix *te* appears identical with the Greek *δε*, the declension only affecting the first syllable; and *te* will be found added in a similar manner in other inscriptions to many other words. M. Burnouf (*Commentaire*, p. 139) supposes *man* in Zend to be a declinable demonstrative particle, which is not required in our language: this is exactly the use of *τοδε*, and explains the words under consideration; the only difficulty connected with them is, that they are used indiscriminately with words in the neuter and feminine.

The next word begins in some inscriptions with *a*, but *p* is the most common spelling, and is doubtless correct, making *prinafatu*: its meaning is given very clearly in the Greek *προηγοατο*: it will be necessary to speak of this verb at some length when we come to its participle, so it may be passed over at present.

The sixth word is the name of the parent of Sidarios, which cannot be restored with any certainty; it is obviously in the genitive case, but its termination differs from that of every name which occurs in the genitive on the other tombs, which uniformly end with the letter *+*, *ou*: as a native could have no motive to put up a funeral inscription in two languages, it is to be inferred that Sidarios was a Greek. Herodotus tells us (b. i. c. 173) that the Lycians traced their genealogies, not by the fathers, like the Greeks, but through their mothers and grandmothers; therefore the reason of the difference of termination between this and the other names is, that this is the name of a man, and those on the other tombs of the mothers of the owners; and *+* is consequently the termination of the genitive of feminine names.

The next word *tedēeme* occurs twice; from the Greek it is evident that it means *son*, but the Orientalists who have studied this inscription have not been able to find an analogous word to it in any other language, which is very remarkable, as the terms of relationship have a great resemblance in all the languages of the same family. The nominative and dative of this word are the same; the dative plural *tedēmē* occurs on several of the other tombs, being formed by lengthening the final vowel of the singular.

The three succeeding words, *ōūrppe ēlle ēōūwe*, answer together to the Greek *ἐαυτῶ*; the corrected spelling of the first, and their separation into three words, is learned from the other tombs. The reasons for translating *ēōūwe*, *his*, have been already given; *ēlle* is often written *alle*, and seems related to the Sanscrit *atman*, signifying *self*; the meaning of *ōūrppe* has only been derived from the context, which admits of nothing but the preposition *for*, a sense which the word will bear in every sentence in which it occurs.

The exact spelling of the word *lade* is supplied from the other inscriptions; it is translated by *γυναικι*, *wife*, and is in the dative case; the nominative *lada* occurs in the inscription No. 5 of the same Plate: on No. 22 there is another form of the same word, *ladū*, upon which no reliance can be placed, as that inscription is very imperfect and incorrect. Mr. Yates connected this with the English words *lady* and *lad*, and the comparison is a very just one.

The word *sē* is the conjunction *and*, which, like the Greek *καί*, preceded the word to which it refers: when the copulative follows the noun it is united to it, and written with a short vowel *se*. The change in the length of the vowel is natural, depending upon the different stress laid upon the word according to its position in the sentence, and illustrates the similar difference between *καί* and the Latin *que*. In Zend and Sanscrit the conjunction *cha* or *tcha* follows the word, and is united to it. These different forms are an illustration of the change of

letters in the respective languages to which they belong: the Lycian conjunction was probably pronounced *she*, and it is in that language that the consonant is the most softened.

The only remaining word is the name of the son of Sidaríos, which is not distinct; it was perhaps Pubialē, forming in the dative in Lycian Pubialēyē.

This sentence is too simple to throw much light upon the construction; it corresponds very closely to the Greek translation, the principal difference being the want of the article, which is supplied by a more frequent use of pronouns.

INSCRIPTION No. 20. PLATE XXXVI.

cwuinu : gorū : mute prinafatū ēsēdēplume : oūrppe lade :
this tomb made Esedēplume for wife

ēōūwe : sē tēdēsaemē : ēōūweyē : womēleyē.
his and children his illegitimate.

Goru may safely be translated *tomb*, from its occupying the same position in the sentence as the word so translated in the last inscription. The Persian *gur*, a *tomb*, seems to be derived from the same root. In many of the inscriptions this word is spelled *gopu*, and indeed this is the more common spelling; yet it is *goru* in some of those which appear most accurate, especially in that at page 226 of your former Journal—a short inscription, upon which I place great reliance; and this form is confirmed by the Persian word *gur*. However, as there is some uncertainty about it, the original spelling is left uncorrected as it is found in each inscription.

Tedēsaemē is evidently derived from the same root as *tedeēme*, and must mean *children*.

Ēōūweyē is the dative plural of *ēōūwe*: in the singular there is no difference between the nominative and the dative.

The last word *womēleyē* appears to be related to the Arabic *humeel*, an *illegitimate* child: there is a great difficulty in fixing

an exact value to the letter + which begins this word, and which seems to be intermediate between *w* and *h*: the present instance would make us incline to the latter, but in other words the former is the preferable version of the letter. The remaining words have been already explained.

INSCRIPTION No. 7. PLATE XXXVI.

ewuinu : gopū : mūte : prinafatu : pomasa : ērteleyēsōū :
this tomb made Pomasa Erteleyese's

tedēeme oūrppe lade : ēōūwe ofēītē : gomūteyēōū : zzemaze :
son for wife his Ofeite Gometeye's daughter

sē : tedēmē : ēōūweyē.
and children his.

The first four words were considered when the former inscription was explained; the next is the name of the owner of the tomb, followed by that of his mother: according to Bopp's grammar, feminine nouns in Zend which end in a vowel, form their genitives in *ao*, a sound for which that alphabet has a separate character; the letter + corresponds to several letters in Zend, which is the cause of the difficulty in fixing its exact value; and it appears from its use as the termination of the genitives of female names, that it includes the Zend *ao* as well as *ou*, between the sounds of which there can be but little difference.

The context points out that *ofēītē* is the name of the wife of Pomasa, and the next word that of her mother; and that the word *zzemaze* must signify *daughter*. I have met with no direct confirmation of the translation of this last word, but in Bopp, p. 126, the Zend verb *zezami* is translated to *beget* or *produce*; *zzemaza*, the nominative of the word in question, may be derived from the same root.

INSCRIPTION No. 8. PLATE XXXVI.

rezzete prinafatē : ddēpinēfēōū : tedceme : oūrppe lade ēōūwe
Rezzete made Ddepinefe's son for wife his
 sō : tedēmō.
and children.

Except an alteration in the construction of the sentence, there is nothing here which requires mention.

INSCRIPTION No. 5. PLATE XXXVI.

ēwuinu : gopū mēte prinafantu ērāmēnoūne sē lada ēōūwe
this tomb made Eramenoue and wife his
 āraertlaē pttē sē ēren yañe.
Araertlae.

This inscription is so imperfect, that I cannot venture to fill up the blank at the end ; yet it contains two words which are of great help towards the grammar of the language : the nominative *lada*, of which only the dative *lade* is found elsewhere ; and the plural of the verb which is formed from the singular, by inserting a letter before the last syllable : this letter stands in the copy *l* or *y*, which would give *prinafaytu* ; but one of the commonest errors consists in copying *l* for *Ṁ* ; by making this change we obtain *prinafantu*, which corresponds so closely to the plural in Zend and Greek, that I have adopted it in the version given above.

At the foot of the inscription are two words in Greek characters, τ-αλιος . νικαρχου, which probably are the names of the artist, as they seem to have no reference to the rest of the inscription.

Inscription at page 226 of your former Journal.

ēwuinu : gorū : munē prinafatu : mēdē : ēpinume ēōūwe :
this tomb made Medo (for) ? his
 wāprūna : sē : atle.
successor and himself.

This is perhaps the most accurate of all the inscriptions which you copied; the only alteration which I have made in it is the substitution of a stop for the ! in the last line. Most of the words have been already explained, but there are two which are new to us.

Epinume appears to be a term of relationship, but I must leave its exact meaning doubtful: considering it as a compound word formed of *ēpin* and *ume*, the former seems related to the Arabic *iben*, a son, and the latter to the Arabic *um*, signifying mother; but even with this assistance, it is difficult to determine the meaning of the whole word. This and the following words are in the dative, the preposition *for*, which is usually expressed, being here understood.

Wăpruna seems to be derived from *wăpru*, which occurs in the lower inscription of the page preceding this; the termination in *na* has more resemblance to the instrumental case of the Zend than to the usual form of the dative. *Wapru* perhaps means *heir* or *successor*, and may then be connected with the Persian preposition *wapes*, which signifies *after*; this meaning is very suitable to the other sentence in which the word occurs; otherwise it must be a term of relationship.

INSCRIPTION No. 18. PLATE XXXVI.

ēbuinu : prinafu : mēnē : prinafatu ddaoûa : srzzyoleoûoû
this work made Ddaoûa N's

tedēeme : oûrpe : lade ēoûwe sē tedēeme sē uwēlatedēcēwa—a
son for wife his and children and posterity

mē . ē etēae tute ite—pa tēze sē ladū ēoûwe oûwfterēmē inepe
herein and wife his

īfē retuto tewēē : enē : oûlāme : tofēto oûlāme mēē tofēte tekē
 tewēē itēae : tade tekē mēnē se tlēwe towcēte trāmele : wofēdre
Lycian

sē troûoûa l sē m—oûlt wofēdre.
and Trojan

In the above inscription the greater part remains to be explained hereafter; some parts are very imperfect; and at the end of the third line I have left a number of letters in confusion, as the inaccuracy of the copy does not enable me to divide the words with any probability of success. We have here another word signifying the tomb, *prinafu*, which is obviously the passive participle of the verb to which *prinafatu* belongs, and which may safely be translated *work*. It was from the comparison of these two words, that Dr. Grotefend first concluded that Lycian belonged to the family of the Indo-Germanic languages, since the verbs were conjugated in a manner analogous to those languages. The resemblance of *prinafatu* to the Greek *ετοιμαστο* is so great, that we may suppose it to be the same tense, the middle aorist: the form of the participle is more near to the Latin; if we add *M* to the word before us, making it *prinafum*, it might almost pass for the passive participle of a Latin verb. The only other forms in which we find this verb, are *prinafatē*, which may be the aorist of the active, and *prinapo*, which is perhaps a noun derived from the same root; the verb is probably *prinapame* or *prinafame*. No verb resembling this has been found in any of the Indo-Germanic languages, and it has been thought connected with the Arabic *bera*, *creating*, a verb which occurs in all the Semitic languages: it seems probable that the Lycians, who were close neighbours to the Syrians, should have some mixture of Semitic roots, and this derivation is probably correct. It must be remarked, that this verb, even if of Semitic origin, is nevertheless declined in the manner peculiar to the Indo-Germanic languages, having been completely adopted by the Lycians; yet it has neither augment nor reduplication, of both of which we shall meet with many instances further on in the Lycian verbs. The next word which requires notice occurs in the second line; it begins with *uwēla*, compounded with a word which may be *tedēemē* badly copied, but which is certainly connected with that word; here again the Semitic languages will help us: *welad* in Arabic is *son*; *welad*, *child-birth*, *bearing*

children, or *being born*; putting these words together, we have for the compound, *children's children*, *grand-children*, or *descendants*.

In the next line we find *ladu*, a case of the noun *lada*, which I must leave in doubt, though I conjecture it to be the accusative or dative plural, as it is not improbable that the owner here gives permission to his descendants to bury their wives also in the same tomb; *ēōūwe* in that case would mean *their* as well as *his*.

In the last two lines we find the two people mentioned, who together seem to have made up what was called by the Greeks Lycia, the *Tramelaë* and the *Troes*.

The use of the characters **B**, **ⲧ**, and **+**, is different in this inscription from what we find in many others; they are more distinct from each other than usual, and yet it is difficult to fix their exact value: the **B** is always a consonant, and may be fairly rendered *W*; but both the other letters seem to act the part of vowel and consonant. The last word of the inscription is no doubt the same as that which terminates the preceding line, where **P** has been substituted for **O**; this occurs in another inscription written **BOF↑ΔPE**; thus the **+** is here a consonant, while in the words *ōūrpe* and *ēōūwe* it is clearly a vowel; **ⲧ** occurs as a consonant in *uwela*, and as a vowel in *Troōōūa*; the **L** which ends this word must be incorrect, but I am at a loss what letter to substitute in its place.

Tēze in the third line seems identical with *tēse*, which we shall soon come to, meaning *herein*; the letters *S* and *Z* appear to be frequently interchanged by the sculptors.

The first part of this inscription is similar to the usual style of the others, but all the latter part is for the present quite unintelligible.

INSCRIPTION No. 14. PLATE XXXVI.

The artist seems to have made a mistake when he commenced this inscription, and on discovering his error, to have begun

again lower down : we may disregard altogether the unfinished words in the upper part, and begin where it is corrected.

ēwīnu: gopū: mēte prinafatu: tofa . . aa: oūrppe lade sū
this tomb made N. for wife and

tedēmē: sēyē itadu: tēse: meite: adadawcile: ada: ||
children Whoever buries herein let him pay a fine adas 2.

The first sentence contains the usual statement of the person for whom the tomb was intended, and all the words in it have been already met with : the second part denounces any trespasser who makes use of the tomb as liable to a fine. Several of the Greek inscriptions which you have copied in Asia Minor contain a similar clause, and we shall find it again on other Lycian monuments : this has been placed first, because it is the simplest sentence in which a fine is mentioned, and consequently the most easily analysed.

The form of the word *sēyē*, points out that it is a pronoun, its termination being similar to the Zend pronouns already mentioned ; its meaning must be gathered from the context, where *who* or *whoever* seems required.

Itadu belongs to a verb which we shall meet with in a variety of tenses, *italu*, *itala*, *italatu*, and *itatadu* ; the verb is probably *tatame* or *tadame*, equivalent to the Sanscrit *ḍaḍhami*, and to the Greek *τιθημι*, which latter word occurs on tombs in the sense of *bury*, which is the meaning required for the word before us. The short *i* at the beginning of *itadu* is the augment, which differs little from the *ε* added to the Greek verbs. The resemblance of the Lycian to the Greek verbs is so great, that we may refer to the Greek grammar for comparison ; thus *itadu* and *itala* seem to be in the active voice, the latter answering to the imperfect *ετιθη* ; *italatu* and *itatadu* in the imperfect of the middle, as *ετιθετο*.

The translation of the two following words is conjectural ; the sentence requires *herein*, or something to that effect, and the form of the words renders it probable that they are adverbs ;

tēse being perhaps *here*, and *meite* the adverbial form of the demonstrative participle already mentioned, of which the adjective forms *mēte* and *mute* occur so often.

Ada in Arabic signifies *payment*; in our inscriptions it is always followed by a numeral, and must be a definite sum or piece of money: *tawan* in Arabic is a *fine* or *penalty*: the word *adadawēle*, or as it is elsewhere spelt, *adadawale*, is a verb in the imperative, compounded of *ada* and *tawan*, which together give the meaning *to pay a fine*. The only word in the inscription about which there is any doubt, is the name of the owner of the tomb, which is not perfectly copied.

Second Inscription at page 225 of your former Journal.

čwuiuu : prinafu : mēnē prinafatu aofgkwade : pezewedčou :
this work made Aougwade Pezewede's

tedčeme ysē : wāprū mēou : towēs : sčeyū itatadu : meite ada-
son If successor of me herein any one allows to bury let

dčwale : ada : O — sē yutre : itata ada : III — sē peyētuoū :
him pay a fine adas 30 And other buries adas 13 And

rzzeitaū : I ade : čouw : sē minēuē edēwē
sum that and

čsčdu inēfc ☉ sē peytu : utre : itatu prinčze : atlawe.
and no one other may bury beloved by themselves.

I cannot translate the whole of what precedes, even with the help of guessing at the meaning of one or two of the words; yet the subject can be made out sufficiently to obtain an insight into the construction of the sentences, which throw more light upon the structure of the language than any other inscription yet translated.

The first paragraph, down to the word *son*, admits of no doubt; the only words to be remarked in it are *poinafu* and *prinafatu*, instead of *prinafu* and *prinafatu*, as we find them

written elsewhere; as these are probably errors in making the copy, they have been corrected above.

The general meaning of the second paragraph cannot be mistaken, but it is not easy to explain the use of each separate word in it. I have some doubt whether the first word should be *ysē* or *sē*; the first character *l* is often copied in the place of the stop, which is here omitted; and it is so rarely found preceding a consonant, that I never find it in such a position without suspecting that a mistake has been made. On the other hand, in Anquetil's vocabulary of Zend, *iēzē* is translated *if*, which is so appropriate in this sentence that it has been adopted. The fourth letter of the next word is imperfect; by reading it *r* we get *wāprū*, the nominative of *wāprīna*, which occurs in the inscription at page 226 of the same volume: it has already been proposed to translate this word *successor* or *heir*, from the context in these two passages: it occurs nowhere else, so there is no other clue to it. *Mēoā* will be readily admitted as the genitive of *me*; yet it must be observed, that this translation, although not improbable in itself, does not make a correctly grammatical sentence, as the inscription begins in the third person. *Towēs* takes the place of *tēse* in the inscription No. 14, and requires the same translation of *herein* or *therein*: the remaining words, down to the amount of the fine, have been explained before; but *sēeyē* requires a slightly different translation from that previously given, *any one* being here preferable to *whoever*.

The next short paragraph is clear; the only doubt is, whether to write *yutre* as we find it, or to consider *l* as the representative of the stops, and to spell the word *utre*. The latter seems the most probable, as that word occurs lower down in the inscription, but the former spelling is found in the fragment No. 16, so it must be left uncertain: in either case there is no doubt that it means *other*, as it is very close to the Latin *uter*, and to the cognate words in most languages of the same family, all of which favour the spelling *utre* rather than *yutre*.

It has been already pointed out that *itata* is an active, and

ilatadu a middle tense of the verb *bury*; the whole sentence turns upon the different meaning of the verb in the two voices: if the person who holds the property in the tomb *allows a stranger to be buried in it*, he is to be fined 30 adas, and *if another buries in it*, he is to pay 13 adas. At first sight the fines appear out of proportion, as a trespass upon the property of another is a greater offence than a breach of trust; but this apparent anomaly disappears if we take the two paragraphs as relating to the same act, and translate, *if my successor allows any one to bury herein let him pay a fine of 30 adas; and if another person [having such permission] buries [herein, let him pay] 13 adas*; putting it thus, the holder of the property is guilty of a greater offence in committing a breach of trust, than the stranger who acts upon his orders or permission.

The numerals are exactly identical with those used by the Phœnicians, which are explained in Gesenius's work on the Phœnician Monuments, chap. vi.; the upright lines are *units*, the horizontal lines *tens*, and O *twenty*.

The sentence which follows the second set of numerals, probably directs the manner in which the amount of the fine is to be applied, which is apparently to be in two parts; the analogy of the Greek inscriptions found in the country, would lead us to suppose that half was to go to the public treasury, and half to the informer. The copy of this part of the inscription must not be altogether relied on; the third word cannot be correct, and the *l* which follows is apparently the beginning of a word of which all the rest is lost: $\uparrow + B$ occurs nowhere else, and has probably lost a vowel at the end. I mention these apparent errors, in the hope that they may be examined by some other traveller who may visit Lycia.

The detached sentence at the end points out the parties who are allowed to make use of the tomb, which is not stated in the usual manner in the beginning of the inscription: the first two words, *ēsēdu inēfe*, describe the persons intended: the same words occur among the relations in the upper inscription of the same

page, so that we may be sure that they are terms of relationship, but I have not made out what degree they describe: they are followed by the character ॐ, which Mr. Yates pointed out to be a stop; in the long inscription on the obelisk at Xanthus it marks the end of a sentence; here its force is slighter, hardly exceeding that of a comma. I conjecture that *peytu* may mean *no one*, as that is the only translation which makes the sentence intelligible: *itatu* is another form of the verb *bury*; *prinēze* is the participle of a verb, which in Sanscrit is *prinami*, to *love*; compared with the Greek it would be the passive aorist participle; it occurs in two other inscriptions, No. 9 and No. 11, Plate XXXVI.; the former is a fragment, but in the latter it is applied to a name taking the place of the word *wife* thus, *for his beloved*, &c.: *atlawe* is the dative of *atle*, *himself*, a word of constant occurrence. The sentence put together runs thus: *so and so, and no other, may bury those beloved by them.*

The form of several of the letters in this inscription is peculiar, and their slope and position are very irregular.

Upper inscription at page 225 of your former Journal.

ēwuiṇu : prinaro : mēte prinafatu mumrofe : gitēnowcōū :
this work made Mumrofe Gitenowc's

tedēeme oûrppe ēsēdē inēfe : ginawe cōûwe cōûe : sē chorttgc
son for wife his him and

lada sēinē sāmate teygc : kweyēwes : mēinē neyēso ēsēdē inēfe :

eptēwe : itēpata sēeyē : itatūtu : tēse meite aḍadawale : ada : III.
whoever let bury herein pays a fine adas 3.

Very little of this inscription has yet been made out. The second word *prinaro* is probably mis-copied, and should perhaps be *prinafo*, a noun derived from the verb *prinafami*, or another form of its participle. *Esēdē inēfe* occur in the last inscription commented upon; their position here shows that these

words apply to some part of the family, but I have not been able to trace their meaning: the following word *ginawe* is either the genitive or dative of *gina*, another term for *wife*; in Zend *ghēnd* has this meaning (Burnouf, *Comm.* p. 272); and the Greek *γυνή* is also related to it. Some of the following words are already known to us, but not enough to give any clue to the meaning of the middle part of the inscription; the conclusion is similar to that of No. 14, imposing a fine upon trespassers.

INSCRIPTION No. 13. PLATE XXXVI.

ēwuinu : *prinafū* : mute *prinafatu* : ē . . . emino . . a semotēōā :
this *work* *made* *N.* *Semote's*

tedēeme : oûrppe : atle : ēōūwe sē : une : ēōūwe.
son *for* *self* *his* *and* *mother* *his.*

In the original copy the last word but one is *yune*; I have substituted a stop : for the *l*, which leaves *une*, a word which occurs elsewhere, and which has been already compared with the Arabic *um*, signifying *mother*. The rest of the inscription requires no remark, all the words having been already met with.

INSCRIPTION No. 15. Page 36.

ēwuinu : gopū : mēte *prinafatu* : apinūtama oûrppe : lade :
this *tomb* *made* *Apinutama* *for* *wife*

ēōūwe : sē : tedēmē : mēepi : podu : teitē gawra we :
his *and* *children.*

eazzeyē : kwayra.

The beginning of this inscription requires no explanation, being similar to several already considered; I have not been able to make anything out of the latter part, in which every word is unknown, and several of the letters are probably incorrect.

It is useless to write out all the imperfect inscriptions, so I will merely run through those which remain on Plate XXXVI., making such remarks as suggest themselves upon each.

No. 1 is in Phœnician, accompanied with a Greek translation: both are very imperfect.

No. 2, the tomb of Mēdlēmode: several words are wanting at the end of the first line, and the whole is very imperfect.

No. 4 is a short funereal inscription very imperfectly copied, which contains nothing of interest.

No. 6 contains only the end of what appears to have been a long funereal inscription; it ends with the mention of a fine of twelve adas.

No. 9 is a funereal inscription, of which only the first part of each line is copied, so that we have not more than a third part of the whole.

No. 10. The Lycian words are *Lezue, the son of Soukaza*; the Greek are *ἐπιτυνχανοντος του ονιμυθου*, between which I can discover no connection: *ἐπιτυνχανων* occurs as a man's name on one of the Greek inscriptions which you have brought home, and may be so here; in which case he may be the artist, and Lezue the owner of the tomb.

No. 11, a monument erected by Ddapsana; the lines are incomplete at the end, and a great part of the inscription is very incorrect and unintelligible. The second line begins *overppe prinēze ēōiawe orewellawa, for his beloved Orewella*; the last word being apparently the name of the wife of the owner of the tomb.

No. 12 seems to want the termination of each line, and the whole is full of errors: it is a funereal inscription beginning in the usual manner, but too imperfect to be understood.

No. 16 contains only the beginning of each line of a long funereal inscription in the usual style, ending with the infliction of a fine. More than half of each line is lost, but what we have is tolerably correct.

No. 17 is very incorrect, and in the same manner has only the commencement of each line.

No. 19 is part of a long funereal inscription in a very imperfect state: two or three words can be made out here and there, but the rest is quite hopeless.

No. 22 is a similar inscription in rather better condition than the last, yet too imperfect to be made out.

No. 23 is an inscription of a different class, and which promises more interest than any of the others; but it is so imperfect that I can make nothing of it. Comparing it with the drawing of the monument on which it occurs, at p. 219 of your former Journal, the first part appears very nearly complete, but only a few detached words have been copied of the lower part. The inscription does not begin in the manner of any of those we have yet met with, nor does it contain any words of a funereal character; and I should rather think that it is a royal decree in the style of those on the obelisk at Xanthus. - In the second line are the words $\Sigma \uparrow B \uparrow : \Pi \Lambda \Sigma B \Psi \uparrow$, the second of which requires some correction, and should probably be $\Pi \Lambda \Sigma \Lambda \Psi$, leaving the ϵ as part of the next word, and making *sēwē pasan*, *of the king of kings*, an expression which occurs on the obelisk, and which will be fully discussed hereafter. *Zerssē*, in the first line, has a strong resemblance to Xerxes; but it would be rash to assert it to be that name from such imperfect evidence, and without understanding the context. From the manner in which the letter B is used as a vowel, I am inclined to think this one of the oldest of the inscriptions you have copied, but not quite so ancient as those on the first two sides of the obelisk at Xanthus.

In the present imperfect state of this inscription I cannot even divide it into words. It is to be hoped that future travellers in Lycia will endeavour to make a better copy of this document, the contents of which may be of great historical interest.

INSCRIPTIONS ON THE TOMB OF PAYARA.

The three following inscriptions occur upon different sides of the same monument, and have therefore, in all probability, some reference to one another: for this reason they are here brought together, although I can throw very little light upon them. The monument itself is represented at the frontispiece, and again at p. 228 of your former Journal, where one of the inscriptions may be seen: at p. 230 of that volume is a representation of the bas-relief on the other side of the tomb, with an inscription over it, and Plate XXIII. of the present volume represents the figures and inscription at the end of the tomb. The monument is very beautiful, and the sculpture upon it of the highest style of art.

At the end of the tomb are two armed figures, with the following inscription:—

payara : ēd
 tedēeme
 raoû : tēluze
 pēaty gēe
 ofētstēre g
 eyeyu
 ēraḡazeya : ēr
 amē prifagū
 owawe : te : r
 gmzdeayi . . de

This is obviously incomplete; and I suspect that you have not allowed space enough in the drawing for the words lost at the end of each line: several of the letters must be corrected before the words can be pronounced.

Payara is the name of the owner of the tomb, and is probably one of the heroes represented in the accompanying bas-relief: the next word has been the name of his mother, followed by *tedēeme*, son: *tēluze* is the aorist or participle of a verb, of which I cannot determine the meaning: by a very slight cor-

rection we obtain in the seventh line *ērafazeya*, which occurs in the bilingual inscription No. 3, translated *μνημα*, a tomb: all the rest is quite unintelligible.

The inscription over the battle-scene on one side of the tomb is not very perfect: with some slight corrections we may read

payara manage se prinafantu prinafū cwuinu,

Payara and Manage caused this work to be made. The name of *Payara* is obtained by merely changing *f* into *r*; the second word is more doubtful; nor is it clear whether the verb is as given above, in the plural, or *prinafatu*, in the singular.

Over the group of figures on the other side of the tomb is an inscription, of which I can make nothing.

ēwēeya grofata mēeyē peyētū : rat . . at . . a : gssadrapapr
a : pdū : tēluze : ēpattē : trāmeles ēma

The only words which I can recognise here are *ēwēeya*, the feminine of *this*, and *trāmele*, *Lycian*.

The inscription under the battle-scene, represented at Plate XXXI, is also a complete puzzle to me, as I cannot make out whether it is to be read continuously or in short detached sentences, applying to the different groups of figures: as I can give no explanation of any part of it, I have not repeated it here, and merely refer to the Plate containing it.

INSCRIPTIONS ON THE OBELISK AT XANTHUS.

Having gone through all the shorter inscriptions, we now come to the most important, which cover the four sides of the Obelisk at Xanthus, represented at Plate XX.

In these I am able to translate very little. In the short funereal inscriptions, which differ very little from one another, the context points out the meaning of many of the words, which may be considered as certain, if it is confirmed by finding an analogous word in any of the languages to which Lycian is

related; but in a long inscription, such as we are now going to examine, of which the subject is quite unknown, this resource is of no avail, unless a sufficient number of words in the same sentence can be determined, to form a connected sense: in the present state of the study this is very rarely the case.

On the north-east side of the monument, about twenty lines are wanting at the top to make up the same height as on the north-west. The first four lines which follow this blank are in Lycian, but so imperfectly copied as to defy all attempts at explanation; and in the last line of the four there is a mixture of Greek and Lycian characters, which causes complete confusion.

The next eleven lines are in Greek: it would be of great assistance towards understanding the Lycian inscriptions on this monument if we could read this part, and gain from it a general idea of the subject; but it is unfortunately the most imperfectly copied, and only a few words can be made out here and there.

Lycia and *Lycians* occur several times, but with an inaccuracy of spelling, being written *λυχια* and *λυχια*: this circumstance is in itself very slight, but shows us that we must not expect very good orthography in the rest. In the third line we may read *και το αε μου μνημα* (*αε* being used for *αει*), or *και τοδε μου μνημα*; in either case this is enough to show that it is a decree running in the first person. In the next line, *αρπαγο υιος αριστευς*, or *αριστευσας*: probably *υ* has been omitted in copying the first of these words, and we ought to read it *αρπαγου υιος*; or the *ο* may be used instead of the diphthong *ου*, as *αε* in the preceding line instead of *αει*: the word which precedes these must be the name of the son of Harpagus, but it is imperfect: *αριστευς* seems to be used for *governor*, which is not its usual meaning, but it is probably the translation of some Persian title. The name of Harpagus occurs twice in the Lycian part of the inscription; at the end of the twenty-sixth and beginning of the twenty-seventh line on this side, *arppagos* in the nominative; and in the thirty-fourth line of the south-west side,

arppagoot ledēeme, or son of *Harpagus*: in this passage also the son's name is lost. The only difference in the Greek and Lycian manner of writing this name is the doubling of the *p* in the latter. In the seventh line, by altering one letter, we get *δωκε μέρος βασιλεως*; and in the following *αρινα*, which has been shown to be the ancient name of the city of Xanthus, where this monument stands, and which occurs several times in the Lycian part of the inscription.

It is dangerous to draw conclusions from such slight premises, yet as these few words are all that can be made out, we must make the most of them. Harpagus, as we learn from Herodotus, book i. c. 142 to 177, was a Mede, who commanded in Asia Minor for Cyrus the Great, and conquered Ionia, Caria, Lycia, and the *whole of Lower Asia*. He would naturally be appointed governor over the countries he had conquered, and the words of the inscription, *gave a part of the kingdom*, may allude to this appointment: as these are in the third, while the beginning of the decree is in the first person, they seem to apply to a donation or appointment by one of the predecessors of the king issuing the decree. The son of Harpagus previously spoken of must be supposed to have succeeded his father in the government, and to have been in the command at the time the decree was made.

The account given by Xenophon (Cyrop., book viii. c. 7.) of the distribution of his estates made by Cyrus the Great on his death-bed, confirms the preceding supposition: he named Cambyses king, and his younger son, Tanoaxares (called Smerdis by Herodotus) satrap of the Medes, Armenians, and Cadusii. The exclusion of Asia Minor from the satrapy of Tanoaxares, to which it would geographically be a natural addition, seems to show that it was not at that time in the king's gift, which it could not be if previously granted to Harpagus and his son.

The Greek part of the inscription is followed by thirty-four lines in Lycian, which are for the most part complete, and fairly copied, yet containing occasional errors, of which I have ven-

tured to correct a few which are obvious: these corrections are distinguished as before by italics. The words which I have succeeded in translating are so few, that they are not worth printing in separate lines. The sentences being separated by a stop 3, the most convenient method is to go through the whole, sentence by sentence, pointing out such words in each as can be translated.

The Lycian, which follows the Greek part of the inscription, is not a translation of it; it is therefore probable that the upper part of the stone contained, in Lycian, the decree of which the Greek is a translation; but this can only be known when some future traveller shall bring home an accurate copy of the Greek and of the uppermost portion of the inscription. The rest is as follows:—

North-east side, commencing below the Greek.

1. swertē : mēzewēma : sawasemau ruēpē : sēwē : pasaū
2. natre : slate : gosztē : deslē getawo sēwē itēla
3. mratroyēle : zazate : noūōū : | : troūōūe * k*ēpē : mēdēz p
4. ple : gegwatoū : wētūlēemessekētēse : ofē ** r.
5. ē ruplez sēwē lule : ren*pc : ma*ase toleyēc
6. ēanrp : troūōūde : genea : mē gwadez : kode : mr*****
7. kssf : trāmele : ya : ofē teralmrofasa : kopll
8. sēwē gwadase ēsunūmla : | ēwe nowē kērē : sēs
9. ode slūmate : troūōūlū : āōūru : more : toplēlēme
10. az : sēwē swertu pzōūte : lēlēwede : gitawase
11. rē : nekē : fagse : pewe : krēsē : r*ārale : prēde : gapa*e : y*
12. rde : mpn*rsofute : sēwe lulamre : gitawaemc slūme
13. troūōūēū : | mē ofē kēmeyēde : rgsade : troūōūetēz erēm
14. ē mēde : gwadasade kode mafatē : klēēma : feyēdre : it
15. ofctune : pdorade : sēwē : pasaū : | itēnē rokēte : gwede
16. fine : olagade zrutune : sē runare**oprete : toragss
17. aēe : na : tretēmlonafatē : foūgsade : feztasrpazi : |
18. ukēwēe goste tlomp**azi oūllēe mēde : swertu : gwad
19. ez : tofe pēnēra drēta : gēacga : froksa : noree : sēwe zri

20. *gale* : *nēetaċ**sē* : *dēkere sreso* : *winū tweso* : *prētē*
 21. *lagade* : *zrutunc* : *sēwēwē werzu* : *otakeya trāmelez*
 22. *tweplu traplu toworez pdorade* : *gozrofutez* : |
 23. *ūzwe tomenēse* : *witafū* : *kredēse* : *sēwede* : *werzu zef*
 24. *edēfāsasa* : *mofat** *zrutuncz* : *ade* : *nofe ladē* : *ēpetade*
 25. *sēwe pasawū* : | *nēpē wceescootēto itēleya* : *pedretu*
 26. *ncrerle* : *moaulēde* : *toworez* : *o*lēzez* : *sefē tese* : *arpp*
 27. *agos ute* : *tāpēfute* : | *kewe ofē nēo* : *tssēyē* : *wedrede* : *er*
 28. *gadeze ruplē mēde ruplē* : *grade* : *fagsa* : *tpreyēlē* : *mu*
 29. *me* : *mafele klēe mēde* : *almūnala* : | *kezē* : *oūlēpulitas*
 30. *ēdedēwe kode* : *powrate* : *pērē* : *mēdeyē tekē* : *gozritas*
 31. *es eg roūoūlatu* : *troūoūitase tale ērmēdēlēle* : *toleyēle*
 32. *feg sawa lawamē tāmē gwalē* : *luhpē* : *tonēpine* : *sewē ru*
 33. *pīc sawa k** : *wētwelēēna troūoūez* : *tweso* : *slreyē kawo*
 34. *oū sē aēmasa*.

First sentence: *swertē* may be compared to the Arabic *suret*, an *image*, *copy* or *transcript*; the last is the meaning most suitable to the context; it is in the plural—the singular *swertu* occurs below in line 10. I derive the next word, *mēzewēma*, from the Zend, but with some doubt as to the explanation which follows: *tema* in that language is the sign of the superlative (Burnouf Comment., p. 265); if we regard *ema* as having the same use in Lycian, there will remain *mēzewē*; we shall find as we advance that the Lycian genitives are formed *ewe*, *wē*, *ēwē*, *awa*, or by the addition of *ū*, so that this may be regarded as the genitive of *mēze*, in which we recognise the Zend root *maz*, *great* (Burn. Introd., p. 81). The principal difficulty arises from the manner in which the superlative suffix *ema* is added to the termination of the genitive case, a formation so different from all that we are accustomed to, that it requires confirmation: in the passage of the Zend-Avesta to which M. Burnouf's Commentary above quoted applies, the superlative sign *tema* is added to the genitive case of the name of Zoroaster thus, *Zarathrusthrō-temāi*, the whole forming a compound adjective;

this construction, though not identical with that under consideration, is very analogous to it.

The words *sawasema*, *sēwē* and *pasau* are all derived from the same root as the Persian *shah*, a *king*. This root appears in Lycian to be *sa*: it is doubtful whether this occurs in the nominative in the inscriptions before us, but it is the only form to which all the derivatives can be reduced: if, as I have no doubt, the *s* was pronounced as *sh*, it would become *sha*, which is very close to the modern Persian *shah*: this word seems to have formed its genitive in two manners, *saū* and *sawa*; the latter occurs repeatedly on this monument, and from it is formed the genitive plural *sēwē*, *of kings*. *Pasau* is the genitive of *pasa*, or, altering the pronunciation of the *s*, *pasha*, to which we must not attach the inferior meaning given to it by the Turks, but that of the Persian *padshah*, *emperor*, a title superior to that of *shah*, and of which the kings of Persia are very jealous: see d'Herbelot, Dict. Orient. v. *padischah*; it is formed of *pad*, *chief* and *shah*. The two words *sēwē pasa* form together the well-known title of the kings of Persia, the *king of kings*, or, as it would be more literally translated in the present instance, the *emperor of kings*, corresponding to the Persian *shahin padshah*. *Sawasemaū* is the genitive of *sasema* or *sawasema*; if of the former, the first syllable of the word, as well as the last, changes its form in the genitive case; of this we shall find many instances, and this change of the plural *sēwē* from the singular *sawa* is analogous to it: if the nominative is *sawasema*, the compound word has been formed from the oblique case *sawa*, instead of the nominative: the Sanscrit *s'asena*, a *decree*, supplies the meaning of this word. The next word appears to be *ruēepē*, but it is imperfectly copied and I cannot find its meaning; from its position it seems to qualify the decree: omitting this word, the line may be translated *transcripts of the greatest decree of the king of kings*, referring to the two copies of the royal decree in Lycian and Greek engraved on the upper part of the stone. The name of the king might be expected to ac-

company his title, but I cannot detect it in the sentence, nor does the Greek decree commence with it: probably the Lycian decree, which stood first on the monument, began with the name and titles of the king, and it was not thought necessary to repeat them again.

The Zend form of the word *shah* is *khchaya*, the Persepolitan is *khchahyoh*, according to M. Burnouf's reading of the cuneiform inscriptions (*Mémoire sur deux Inscriptions cunéiformes*, etc., p. 76); therefore in this word the Lycian form has more resemblance to the Sanscrit and modern Persian than to the Zend or Persepolitan. The contrary is far more common.

The title of *king of kings* was borne by the kings of Persia until Alexander's conquest: from that period the title was not used until it was revived by the Mahometan sultans in the tenth century. But as the Arabic conquest put down the fire-religion and the worship of Ormuzd, this title, coupled with the mention of Ormuzd, whose name we shall find repeatedly on this monument, would prove, even if we had no other evidence, that the inscription was more ancient than the time of Alexander. I cannot trace the original use of *padshah*, in distinction to *shah*: it does not appear to be of pure Persian origin, although it is given as such in the Persian dictionaries, for there is no analogous word in Zend; nor does it occur in the Persepolitan inscriptions, where the royal title is *khchahyoh khchahyohanam*; and the usual Greek translation βασιλεὺς βασιλεων, agrees better with *shah of shahs* than with the Lycian phrase *pashah of shahs*. The earliest mention of it which I can find, is among the Pehlvi words in Anquetil's vocabulary, where the Zend word *khscheed*, king, is rendered in Pehlvi by *padescha*: it would seem, therefore, that *pad* was an addition of Semitic origin, which came into use when Pehlvi was the language of the Persian court.

If this view is correct, it explains our finding the word *pasa* in the Lycian language, which has evidently a mixture of Semitic words, although not to the same extent as Pehlvi. If we could find *pasa* in the Persian language at the time of Cyrus

the Great, it would explain the derivation of the name of Pasargada, which has given much trouble: that city was built by Cyrus, and the name is translated by Stephanus Byzantinus, *camp of the Persians*; but to sustain this etymology, it should be written *Parsagada*: the word *pasa* suggests the derivation of *pasa's castle*.

Of the rest of this sentence I can say but very little: I have altered the division of the words in the latter part of the second line, and suspect that several letters require correction, but I cannot attempt a translation: *getawo* should probably be *gitawo*, an *order*, related to the verb *gitawaeme*, to *order*, of which we shall meet with many tenses, and whose meaning is deduced from the Arabic *kitab*, a *book, writing, or order*: *sēwē* must here be in the dative plural, that case and the genitive being usually, if not always, the same; when not accompanied by *pasa*, this word can hardly be translated *kings*, but must describe the *governors or satraps* to whom the king's decree is directed: *zazate* has a strong resemblance to the Sanscrit *s'asa*, to *command or govern*, a word derived from the same root as *shah*; yet in that case it should rather be written *sazate*, unless the Lycians confused together the letters *z* and *s*, of which we shall perhaps meet with other instances. There is a Zend verb *zaza*, which M. Burnouf translates *laisser aller, faire couler* (Comm., p. 411, note); this exactly answers to our word in form, but that meaning can hardly apply to the passage before us, and I am rather disposed to translate it *commands*; it is obviously the third person singular of the present tense of a verb. The word *nodod* is so near to *novus*, that it should probably be rendered *new*; but without knowing the general bearing of the sentence, such resemblances cannot be relied upon.

It is evident, from the commencement of this sentence, that this part of the inscription is not a royal decree, but is issued by some subordinate authority, probably by the son of Harpagus, as satrap or governor.

Of the second sentence beginning in the middle of line 3,

I can explain but few words, and those are only geographical names. The first word is imperfect; it should probably be *troôôles*, the *Troes* or people of Tlos, whose history has been already considered at some length; *troôôde* in the sixth line refers to the same people: this name occurs with many different terminations, perhaps designating the town of Tlos, the district or province of which that city was the capital, and their inhabitants, but I have no clue by which to apportion the names to each. In line 7 we have *trămele*, the *Termilæ* or *Tremilæ* of the Greek geographers and of Herodotus, whose capital was Xanthus, and between whom and the *Troes* the whole of Lycia seems divided. *Mêdē* or *mêdēz*, (for the division of the words is here lost) which occurs at the end of the third line, admits of no doubt; frequent mention of the *Medes* is to be expected in connection with the name of Harpagus, who was of that nation: the nominative singular of this word is apparently *mêde*, the nominative plural *mêdē*, and *mêdēz* may be the accusative plural; but there is some doubt about these terminations in *z*, which are not uncommon. *Geywatoŋ*, *gwadez* and *gwadase* are different tenses of one verb, of which the meaning is still unknown; the syllable *ge* in the first is a reduplication, as is common in Greek and Sanscrit. *Sēwē*, the *schahs* or *governors*, occurs twice in this sentence. *Ya* at line 7 is the relative pronoun *which* or *that*; in Sanscrit *ya* is the feminine, *yat* the neuter pronoun; but from the constant omission of the terminal consonant in Lycian, this word may be in the neuter. In the sixth line I have restored *gēæga*, the town of *Gagæ*, of which the coins have been already described; and at the end of line 7, *kopll* should probably be restored to *kopalle*, of which there are several coins, and which I propose to identify with the district of *Cabalia* or *Caballis*. The rest of this sentence must be left for the present in complete obscurity; many of the words are still undivided, and others imperfect.

The next sentence begins in line 8; the first word *ēwe*

p. 423, and the difficulties attending it are thoroughly considered; but instead of adopting the derivation which that author has given of the term *Caianian*, as *descendants of the sun*, p. 454, it would be more simple to consider *sa* or *shah*, and *ka*, *kai*, or *ké* (for there is a doubt as to the form of the nominative), as modifications of the Zend form *khchaya*, which have adapted themselves to the different powers of pronunciation of the neighbouring people.

From this point to the bottom of the inscription are two sentences about which little can be said; the Medes are mentioned several times, and also the Troes. In lines 32 and 33 the word *sawa* occurs twice; this is the singular of *shah*, either in the genitive or dative case; and in line 32 is the plural *sēwē*.

You see that as yet but little progress has been made in translating this interesting inscription, as the few words which have been picked out here and there are not sufficient to show even the general bearing of the document. I could have increased the number very much, by adding all those which have a resemblance to any words in the neighbouring languages, but that would not have added anything to the knowledge of the subject, but would rather have confused it, by overwhelming the little that is known with a mass of conjecture.

In this and the inscriptions on the other sides of the same monument the Medes are frequently spoken of, but we find no mention of the Persians, unless the word *fagsa*, which, as well as its derivatives, is of frequent occurrence, be considered to represent Persia; the name of that country may be written with either *p* or *f*, and the letter *r* is in some eastern dialects changed into a guttural; yet the change from *Persia*, or *Farsa*, to *fagsa*, is too great to be admitted without corroborative evidence, and I only allude to it because we might expect some mention of the Persians in connection with the Medes, and *fagsa* is the only word in the inscription which has the slightest resemblance to *Persia*. Herodotus was well acquainted with the history of

both Medes and Persians, but the name which he uses in preference is Mede; he speaks of the "army of the Medes," and of "Darius, the king of the Medes." As Harpagus was a Mede, it is probable that the troops with which he conquered Lycia were principally of that nation, so that we need not be surprised at finding the Medes constantly spoken of here.

The only remaining remarks which I have to make upon this inscription, relate to the orthography: the letter **B** occurs single fifty-two times, in many of which it must be considered as a mere vowel, although in the majority of cases it is either a consonant or a semi-vowel; **B B** occurs six times, in all of which they must both be vowels; **+** only occurs once; **Æ** single occurs ten times, being sometimes vowel and sometimes consonant; and the same double four times, all of which are vowels exactly equivalent to **B B**. It will be seen that their proportions are very different on the south-west and south-east sides of the monument, on which **+** is a character far oftener used than **B**.

North-west side of the Obelisk at Xanthus.

1. — koû : ēdāōûru ētr etofry —
2. — erēe mēde sēwē l*û : ylūt —
3. — lēde : aēkēmlume ēkēml —
4. — feseđe profyr | aloûrû nakēm —
5. — rsaoûretû pētols ēleyē —
6. zroûpēdone kēwē tămerē r —
7. roûû ofēte sokru : | rloûmowu —
8. ēzete winu : twa : gozritrû —
9. ala : ralaraema : sapale fē —
10. eûmû : tēfē sē arăpû : | atle —
11. ēlole sē : trămelē : kopr —
12. — wede ortoma ssgû : —
13. — wē sekē : lostroûgē —
14. — kwez sē wofēdre ap —

15. — nē otene lēlpwēdepē —
16. — gnu : kopre eptocte : ot —
17. — adē : ēre flēwē troūoūite t —
18. — as l deteo itada giney —
19. — pfēre : gēregri uzo ssddgo —
20. — e sē kēto ēfū uezo se tara et —
21. — tw*solostte : nrāare mēde oūg —
22. — otdadēitē : tēru eketēyu ātonē ci —
23. ē ēyēpi tēru kērē tūgacya koterssa —
24. zayaēn mētē nēma ssgatyortofūz mar —
25. trāmelēwē tēkēre : trēegale po sē gor —
26. oūroūōūle : mēcyē loūūma : pssēse : slana kūr —
27. upreya zūga : mone troūoūde tasi towade
28. mum*ēzi : trapale : mētonē opreyē ēeyēd
29. kewē mērēde uekāōūremez : itofetune or
30. dēsez fagssade : kewē mērēde : snekāōūre
31. mez : itofetune : ordēscz fagssade tow
32. orez ukēdēpi : prēde : eazate : zrewaēc :
33. nekēdēze : motala : apitade : tētūwēte :
34. laura : | mēmone troūoūde tofe : ofadra mēt
35. opēnē tēnunc : wiza : preyēleya : llēdēpo :
36. gēzā : gwadasa : aēdse dadopē : sēwē pasw
37. ēse : ēsunumla : | pēsyēpu : reyēte : elune :
38. — wēzāme mēkēdewē : wēledēle : alwūpē :
39. — kopttlē : mogssa : peyēlomlēz : itēml —
40. *e : meaē : ledēwē : lweyu etrēnēfinē : |
41. gitawopē : kitrē : ēofepē : wosaffin
42. — ēa traliyē : feyēdperē : alwagū āōūru
43. — cēmē : molune puzpple : utrēwē : asg
44. — ey . . . ralamo eagzzūtūpē : troūoūcz r
45. trāmelē : zāpdē ēsēte gēregazi : ēpēoūze
46. trapalao : repssēde prllēle : kēdepē : itē
47. nu : ēprekē : zete : kalo : | *ēsūtineo : wipwū
48. o*faga mlatefzzyaeyēse : mēfēlromc : mrm
49. ē ertte lekē gostte kewe drala : kēpē n —

50. zeoso krēde : kewē : pasao : | ortto : wēledē
51. le kewē emēepe rēri : nēsttē : mlate : gwada
52. sez tofē mēde : leyēndfēz : nofagū : ppu —
53. ze : kewē : rrogsse : roūoūe nēzes : | mēgēre
54. zi : ſhoūru : sēwa : reka*sa : sē wofēdre : oras*
55. mēnē ofēlūtē : repssē umomē ofēūic : ssē
56. gozrofuta ecā : fagssē : atlase : nē worune :
57. trāmele : ute repssu tāpēfute : sēwē etē
58. sukunē : mūmrēkērorē mēdoto : losaleya :
59. zunanomte : ūrofasaz | mēoūleyo : gopēleyo :
60. cwēleyēcz : ddēlopēlez : neofē : logūto : sū
61. mute : kēlēcmē witele ofēpllofe : mloūgūt
62. e : tonēfini : | mēfunu tramēleya : kāmasade
63. sladepē wēlēleya onetupē : orto tmarūz
64. troūoūul*etenē kāmute ponū madēde ēsūnūm
65. la : | gomaē adē nuneyētema sūgāteyē oūzze
66. meruinē genase kēsēse ſhoūre kēwora sēwū
67. nēse kētēdēsc kēgogase gitaſaza meaē t
68. cdeyē witra elunēde : ētāoūre sitēma sūgā
69. gopdedo we oūlunc aēde trēegale ketssēl
70. *ſpre sofaraseyē zū edrasade : | nēez wētofez
71. trāmelē sokre gīſawato tdtōaē : troūoūite.

The subject of the present inscription must be left in still greater obscurity than the last, as there are very few words in it which I can venture to translate. The stone has been so much defaced at the upper part that the first twenty-two lines are more or less imperfect, and it is impossible to know where many of the sentences are to be divided. I can therefore do no more than go through the whole, line by line, pointing out those words which can be translated.

In line 1, *ēdāoūru*; the latter part, *ſhoūru*, is the name of *Ormuzd*; the first syllable *ēd* seems to be connected with the Sanscrit verb *ēda*, to *praise*; the whole forms a compound word, of which perhaps the end is lost in a decayed part of the stone.

The Persepolitan inscriptions, translated by M. Burnouf, begin with *Ormuzd is God*, and the inscription before us probably commenced with some similar declaration of religious belief.

Line 2, *mēde* is perhaps Mede, unless it is the conclusion of the preceding word; *sēwē*, the *shahs*. Line 6, *kēwē*, the *kings*. Line 10, *atle, self*, a word met with in many of the funereal inscriptions of Plate XXXVI. Line 11, *sē trāmelē*, and the *Tremile*. Line 17, *troōūite*, the *Troes*. Line 18, *itada*: when this word occurred on the tombs it was translated *should bury*; here it would be more proper to interpret it *should place*, as there is nothing to connect it with a tomb, and the verb admits of either meaning. Line 21, *mēde*. The word *tēru* occurs both in lines 22 and 23; this is very close to the Zend preposition *taro*, which M. Burnouf (Comm., p. 85) translates *trans, beyond*, or *across*. Line 24, *mēlē*, the demonstrative particle explained already. Line 25, *trāmelēwē*, the dative plural of *trāmele*; and line 27, *troōūde*, the *Troes*: these two names continually occur near together, the one being rarely mentioned without the other following a line or two below. Line 28, *trapale* seems to be the town of *Trabala*, the Lycians using *p* where the Greeks wrote *b*.

At line 29 we have *kewē mērēde uekăōūremez itofetune ordesez fagssade*, and this paragraph is immediately repeated again, merely substituting *snekăōūremez* for *uekăōūremez*: therefore the opposition of the two sentences turns upon those two words. *Aōūremez* is the name of Ormuzd; it approaches very near to the original Zend name of *Ahura mazda*, yet has been slightly contracted; from which circumstance we may conclude that this inscription is more modern than the Zend-Avesta. The prefix *vi* is used in Zend to signify *opposition to*; thus *vidaevō* in the Zend-Avesta is *opposed to the Devas* or evil genii (Burnouf, Comm., p. 8); this explains *uekăōūremez* to be *opposed to* or *hostile to Ormuzd*. The other prefix *snek* may naturally be supposed to have the contrary meaning of *friendly to* or *follower of*: in the note to p. 518 of his Commentary, M. Bur-

nouf translates the Zend radical *khchuu*, *aborder quelqu'un en lui offrant des prières*, which supplies the exact translation we require of *snekāōtremez*, *worshiper of Ormuzd*: the change from *khch* in Zend to *s* in Lycian is the same which we have already met with in the word *shah*, which in Zend is *khchaya*, in Lycian *sa*. Thus in this sentence a distinction is established between the worshipers of Ormuzd and those of a contrary religion, but to what effect is still unknown: some of the remaining words have occurred before; *kewē*, the genitive plural of *kings*; *mērēde*, which may be divided into the particle *de*, and *mērē*, which has been considered the town of *Myra*, of which we have a coin, No. 10, with the legend *mērē*: separating from *fayssade* the same particle *de*, we have *fayssa*, a word of frequent occurrence on this monument, and which I have sometimes thought might be *Persia*. I am quite at a loss with the remainder of the sentence.

In line 34 is *troōōlde*, which we have met so often before, one of the derivatives from the *Troes*: in lines 36 and 37, *sēwe paswēse*, which applies to the *king of kings*; the second word differs in termination from what we met with before; the final *se* is only the enclitic *and*; but I have some hesitation about relying on the copy in this instance, as *paswē* is a form not met with again, and is here broken between the two lines, where mistakes are most likely to occur. If the version is correct I should suppose it to be the dative.

Mogssa, in line 39, resembles *mogissa*, which Stephanus Byzantinus (see *Monogissa*) states to mean a *stone* in the Carian language: this is the only one of the Carian words mentioned by the Greek authors which has a resemblance to any word in the Lycian inscriptions, yet the Carian and Lycian languages were probably closely related to each other.

Line 41, *gitawopē* is connected with the verb *gilawaeme*, to *order*, which has occurred in several forms. Line 42, *āōdr* is doubtless imperfect for *āōāru*, *Ormuzd*, one letter being lost at the end of the line. Line 43, *ulrēwē*, the genitive or dative

plural of *utre*, *other*. For several lines the inscription is here very imperfect; in line 44 we may restore *troboûez*, and at the beginning of line 45 *trämelē*, the *Troes* and the *Tremilæ*, constantly mentioned together. In the same line *gēregazi* is perhaps incorrectly copied for *gēaega*, the town of *Gugæ*, and in the next line *trapalao* is the genitive of *Trabala*.

In line 49 we find *kewē*, of the *kings*; and in the next *kēwē pasao*, of the *king of kings*. In the same line *wēled*, a *son*, connected with the Arabic *wuled*, which has that meaning; or, judging from line 38, this should be joined to the letters at the beginning of the next line, forming *wēledēle*, which must be derived from the same root. *Kewē* occurs again both in lines 51 and 53, and at 52 *mōde*, the *Mede*.

Line 54, *āōdru*, Ormuzd; *sēwa*, *shah* or *governor*; 57, *trämele*, the *Termilæ*; *sōwē*, the *shahs*; 62, *trämeleya*, another case of *trämele*, resembling the locative of *Zend*, which frequently ends in *ya*; and in line 64 *trodoûl* etc., the *Troes*. In line 66 *āōdre*, perhaps the dative of *āōdru*, Ormuzd; which occurs again in line 68 preceded by *ēt*, forming apparently a compound word similar to *ēdāōdra*, which are found in the first line of this inscription; but as many of the stops are here lost, we cannot be sure of the separation of these words. In the last line we find again the *Troes* and the *Tremilæ* mentioned together in the words *trämelē* and *Trodoûite*.

From the little which has been made out on this side, we can just see that the inscription is in the name of Ormuzd, and therefore erected by the Persians: the frequent mention of the Medes and of the *Tremilæ* and *Troes*, and the distinction between the worshipers and opponents of Ormuzd, suits the supposition that we have before us a series of proclamations of the Persian governor addressed to the conquered Lycians, and pointing out the respective rights of the two people of different religions.

The orthography of this inscription is exactly similar to that on the north-east side: the letter + only occurs twice; æ

occurs single thirty-one times, being either vowel or consonant, and the same double three times, both being vowels; **B** is met with single forty-one times, sometimes as vowel and sometimes as consonant; and **B B** five times, both being vowels. From the use of these letters, I have judged this and the preceding inscription to be the most ancient of which we have copies.

South-west side of the Obelisk at Xanthus..

1. — \bar{e} : sew \bar{e} : to —
2. — $\bar{e}w\bar{e}$: m $\bar{e}r\bar{e}$: \bar{e} —
3. — f $\bar{e}ze$: $\bar{e}w\bar{e}d$ —
4. — $\bar{c}\bar{a}$: g $\bar{e}r\bar{e}\bar{h}\bar{a}w\bar{e}$: —
5. — galal : m $\bar{e}cte$: wa —
6. — gnawatosi tele —
7. — ima : s \bar{e} citunu : po —
8. — \bar{e} prinaf \bar{u} $\bar{a}m\bar{e}t$ —
9. — $\bar{e}ri$: s \bar{e} et $\bar{e}let\bar{e}$ le —
10. — \bar{e} k $\bar{e}wora$: s $\bar{e}f\bar{e}$: mag \bar{u} : \bar{e}
11. — m $\bar{e}r\bar{e}we$: son $\bar{e}manadi$ —
12. — $\bar{e}s\bar{e}yu$ chortta $\bar{e}wuwu$: g $\bar{e}r$ —
13. *of $\bar{e}t\bar{e}$ * \bar{e} $\bar{e}wuinu$ n $\bar{e}l\bar{e}d$ —
14. tok $\bar{e}dre$ tof $\bar{e}t\bar{e}re$ ch $\bar{u}kor$ —
15. $\bar{e}eme$ arafazey \bar{e} d $\bar{e}koprd$ —
16. eazeya prenara t $\bar{e}tom$ —
17. tro $\bar{u}o\bar{u}s$ atlaw \bar{e} $\bar{e}o\bar{u}wey\bar{e}$ —
18. te it $\bar{e}pe$: po $\bar{f}\bar{e}y\bar{e}w\bar{e}$: chor —
19. it $\bar{e}fu$: $\bar{e}ro\bar{u}o\bar{u}c$ naw $\bar{e}y\bar{e}ze$: g —
20. we s \bar{e} it $\bar{e}fu$ t $\bar{e}chche$: $\bar{e}ro\bar{u}ey$ —
21. s \bar{e} it $\bar{e}fu$ maw $\bar{u}na$: n $\bar{e}l\bar{e}z\bar{e}$ —
22. $\bar{e}y\bar{e}te$: m $\bar{e}razzu$ kom* : $\bar{e}k$ —
23. t $\bar{e}gestt\bar{e}$: un $\bar{e}we$: s \bar{e} ginawe —
24. we : arppagoo \bar{u} : ted $\bar{e}eme$: g $\bar{e}re$ —
25. prll $\bar{e}o\bar{u}$: g $\bar{u}wo\bar{u}$: g $\bar{e}zegao\bar{u}$: tow $\bar{e}s$ l —
26. azey $\bar{e}de$: uin \bar{e} gestt \bar{e} faradra —
27. muzw \bar{e} tum \bar{e} ofadrage : $\bar{e}s\bar{e}$: sazzo

28. ēlēwe : agūara : nēlēdē arina : mētēp
29. agū : trāmelē ezrēde : rēdēde : itērēz
30. wasē : topa : ēsrēde : wumēnēde : trāmelē
31. de : sē mēdēzēde : radrū tawēde : woūoūdae
32. *ē : sē mooūoūunēde : topēleyu : trāneles
33. *maconeme* : rofēwēwi : topēleyu : sē
34. *wa *maēoneme* : rofēwēwi se creyu ūn —
35. oleya ēredē : ezrēde : zuūteya : ēoūwey
36. de : tagawa : nēlēdē : wūtawē : utae : tomenē
37. we : nēlēdē : wūtawē : sttare : maleyēwe : wūt
38. awē : gwane : ēsē : troūoūuneme : tēwētē : pēri sē
39. melasū itaū : pddu nēke : gwūseyē : ezrēde
40. ēoūweyēde : wūtawē : tlūi mēdē : nēlē : tarwe
41. dē : gērue : wastlē uēri : tlawi : ēroūoūēde : wu
42. tawē : mēdweyawē : ēsē gērue : tēwētē : pēri
43. se fagssērdeme : ute : zēwe : oūwūte : | o**ē
44. itēre : gērena tēri : wutawē ūka : ērēklē
45. se waglasa : parraste : ūwedē : oūre gitafa
46. tawe : ēsē : tawūna : tēri : eygnū : eyaē osrs
47. kue igna sē : wūtawē : mokalē : tēfuzē : sūma
48. te : troūoūētu : toragsse : zūgūna tēri : ēs
49. ē : womrūgū tēwūna tēri : wūtawē.

So much of the upper part of this inscription is lost, and the first thirty lines which remain are so imperfect, that we cannot hope to find out much of its contents, but must be satisfied with translating insulated words.

Line 2, *mērē*, the town of *Myra*, which we have met with already, and shall find mentioned again lower down. Line 5, *mēcte*; in Anquetil's Zend vocabulary this word is translated *measure*. Line 8, *prinafū*; on several of the tombs this signified a *work* or *building*. Line 10, *magū* seems to be the singular of *Magi*, the well-known name of the Persian priests. Line 11, *mērēwe*, the genitive or dative of *mērē*, which occurred above. Line 13, *ēwūnu*, the neuter of the preposition *this*, a word of

frequent occurrence on the tombs. Line 14, *tokēdre* seems to be related to the Arabic *tekadir* or *tekdir*, the *fates* or *divine decree*. Line 15, *arafazeyē* must be translated *tombs*; in the bilingual inscription, No. 3, *ērafazeya* is rendered in Greek by *μνημα*; the word occurs again on the tomb of Payara; the first letter should probably be altered in this place into *ē*. Line 17, *trouoius*, the *Troes*: *atlawē ēotūweyē*, the dative for *themselves*, the plural of *atle ēotūwe*, which occurs in many of the funereal inscriptions of Plate XXXVI.

Line 19, *itēfu* is a verb of such constant occurrence, that it is very desirable that we should ascertain its meaning; besides this form, we have at line 47 *tēfuzē*, and at 18 *itēpe*, which belong to the same verb, unless the latter is incorrectly copied for *itēre*, which occurs elsewhere: the form of *itēfu* indicates that it is the third person of the imperfect of a verb taking an augment. The nearest word to it which I can find is the Sanscrit *ḍēpa*, to *shine*, a meaning which does not at all suit our inscription: in the same language there are the verbs *tēpa*, *ḍēpa*, and *ḍēbha*, all signifying to *direct* or *order*: this is a probable meaning to a word frequently repeated in a decree, and the different length of the first vowel is not a fatal obstacle to it.

At line 23, *unēwe sē ginawe*, the last of which words has required a little restoration; these are oblique cases of *une* and *gina*, both of which were before found in the funereal inscriptions, where they were translated *mother* and *wife*. In the next line we find *arppagooū tedēme*, the *son of Harpagus*. Line 25, *towēs*; this occurred on some of the tombs, where it was translated *herein* or *therein*. The stops which should divide the sentences are all lost in the early part of this inscription, from the lines being incomplete; and we change from one subject to another without seeing that we have got into a fresh sentence, which was perhaps a decree issued at a different period from the preceding one.

From the number of names of towns and people which occur in the rest of the inscription, we seem to have changed into a

new decree about line 26 or 27, which continues to the stop in line 43. *Faradra*, at line 26, seems related to the Zend adverb *fratarā*, which is translated by M. Burnouf, p. 284, *anterior*. Line 27, *ēsē* has already been translated *if*. Line 28, *nēlēdē arina*; in treating of the Lycian coins, *arina* was identified with *Arna*, which Stephanus Byzantinus states to have been the ancient name of the city of Xanthus; the same name occurs in the eighth line of the Greek inscription on this monument: *nēlēdē* may be translated *people*; in Zend, *nēresch* is a *man*; that language has no *l*, the liquid *r* taking the place of both *l* and *r* in other languages. Consequently *nēlēdē arina* may be translated *the people of Xanthus*. The *Tremilæ* are named in the two following lines; in the latter in connection with the Medes, *trāmelēde sē mēdēzēde*, and again in line 32. *Eotweyē*, at line 35, is the dative plural of *his* or *their*, a word which has occurred frequently. Line 36, *tagawa* may perhaps be connected with *dagyū*, the Zend for *province* (Burnouf, p. 374); the next word, *nēlēdē*, has just been translated *people*: this is repeated again in line 37, preceded by *tomenēwe*, the dative plural of *inhabitant*.

In line 38 we have *ēsē troúōūneme tēwōte pēri sē melasū*; and below, at line 42, *ēsē gērue tēwōte pēri sē fagssērdeme*: there are many instances of this sort of repetition which marks an opposition of subject, which is striking, even though we do not understand to what it relates, and which will prove of great help when the study is further advanced. Of these words we know from the coins that *troúōūneme* and *fagssērdeme* are the names of towns, and they have been identified with Tlos and Pedassa. The construction points out that *melasū* and *gērue* must also be towns: I cannot find the former mentioned by the geographers, but its termination in *asu* answers to the *assos*, in which the Greek names of the Lycian and Carian towns constantly end, and of which the coin No. 26, gave us an example in *pttarazu* for Patara: the other, *gērue*, occurs in Ptolemy's list of Lycian towns, as *Κάρυα* or *Carya*. Of the other words, *ēsē*

has hitherto been translated *if*, which is hardly applicable here; *tēwēte* is probably a pronominal adverb; *pēri*, which I have restored from *peai* in the original copy, is a preposition of place, in opposition with *tēri* in the following sentence. The Zend prepositions answering to these will be found in M. Burnouf's Commentary, p. 85: *pēri* signifies *before*, or *on this side of*; and *tēri*, *beyond*. This part of the inscription seems, from the abundance of names of towns accompanied by locative prepositions, to refer to the boundaries of the townships, or some such local matters. Of the remaining words we know *ēōūweyēde*, the plural of *their*; *mēdē*, the *Medes*; and *nēlē*, a *man*, or *men*. *Uēri*, in line 41, seems related to the Zend *virā*, and the Latin *vir*, a *man*; and in *ute* we have to choose between the Zend *uta*, or, and *aiti*, *voilà* (Comm., p. 65 of the Introduction).

In the last sentence the construction depends upon *tēri*, *beyond*, which is repeated four times; and several towns may be expected to be named: in line 44 *ēreklē* is *Heraclea*; in the next line *waglaza* may be *Bargasa*, a town in Caria mentioned by Stephanus Byzantinus. The only name I can detect besides these two is *trōōūcltu*, which relates to the *Troes*; but as the last lines are very imperfectly copied, there may be others undiscovered.

The few words thus translated are not sufficient to show the subject of this inscription: in the upper part are some expressions which suit a tomb, but they are not confirmed by the latter part of the inscription, nor by those on the other sides of the stone. It is remarkable that Ormuzd is not once named, nor have we met with the phrase *king of kings*; yet the mention of the *Medes*, and of the *son of Harpagus*, show that this was inscribed while Lycia was still under the Persian government.

There is a great difference between this inscription and the last two which have been examined, in the less frequent use of the letter B and the constant repetition of +, which has partially taken the place of B. The +, which was only used once or twice on the north-east and north-west sides of the monu-

ment, is here used fifty-six times, and the **B** only occurs singly twenty-two times, being less than half of the number there met with; yet the former letter never occurs doubled, while **B B** is found here as often as before, and when thus doubled is used as a vowel, while the single **B** may here be always rendered by our *w*. It seems, therefore, that it is only for some particular purposes that the **B** has been changed for another letter; not that the two characters are equivalent to one another. The character **Ɔ** is used nearly the same as elsewhere. The letter **Ɔ**, which we did not meet with before, is found here four times; none of the words in which it occurs enable us to fix its value, which we shall find better determined in the next inscription, where it is more common.

South-east side of the Obelisk at Xanthus.

1. — ya : proleya : ute pddu —
2. — ya : sēyē sttēwēlerona —
3. — ē : tūmadē : tūgazeyē mē it —
4. — u : sē uēuēre sē rezūna : tey —
5. — ēm roūoūul*de gwewi : wi —
6. — — — — — āmēde : arosi : kwewo : to —
7. — — — — — z se*rewo gūkwe : kwewo —
8. — — — — — iŕērē fētēwe komēzeya —
9. — — — — — ēde pzzfdēzē*alāmawe : to —
10. — — — — — ottwades ēroūoūe : sēt : efe —
11. — — — — — ēe ēztēoūr*awax troūoūuneme —
12. — — — — — ē teri watu **ēwtūaūc ow —
13. — — — — — lūzea ēoūe : oūlau ēsē tru —
14. — — — — — rēgwawi : sēnagorawe p —
15. — — — — — oūoūe : trosi : sē toworēwe : st —
16. — — — — — d : troūoūe : uinēe : mechrapata : c
17. — — — — — rī : gafalēs : ddēreyē meyē : s —
18. — — — — — atē arofūtēyēse : sttrat —
19. — — — — — ēyētē : mēn ēroūoūēde towēc
20. — — — — — reyūnū : sēeyē monē ctrpo —

21. ——— ēyē sēoû : sē taloma : wutrewēr ———
22. ——— yūna : treyē rukeyē zunago
23. ——— tētreyē rugēruwē : wite : t ———
24. ——— ērēwe : weyūnagū : fēlēdeyē ———
25. ——— a : mērē : ētēwē sē tēfune : peyē ———
26. ——— esi : eyūnesi : spoartaze : atūna ———
27. ——— ūohortū : sēina : weyu : sē towēde ———
28. ——— ade : sēina weyēde ddēurāmesz : po ———
29. ——— ri*a : penanē : tlafa : fēdrē peswa
30. ——— tadde : plāmadde : sēoû : ēwinēde pd ———
31. ——— ēde : sērssē ** zeyēde : sē okēweze ———
32. ——— ēpartae sē **e : trofēpē eyade : uēp ———
33. ——— sē orowle*ēde : pre : troûoûas : wēges
34. ——— lēzēze : ēroûoûe : sttūte : tēle : wēwi
35. ——— lēyē sē : tēri ponērēwē : sēwē pewē rē
36. ——— ūasppēa sēte : gītafatu tofe : sēwē
37. ——— u arafazeya : itēfu nēmo : sēgchchū |
38. ——— rēdēfu ēmo : komēzēetete : mērafaz
39. ——— ēdē : tomenēwe mlatraza : tegzzede
40. ——— awāmūte : warazotate : tēze arofūt
41. ——— tokedre : sē : ētepoēue : sē : orowle
42. ——— dē : goaze*ē : sē tokēdre atrū tēwlo
43. ——— ē echrāmū : pewe kēte : gorzazu komēz
44. ——— snē : owazata : faeū : tresine : sē itēpd
45. ——— zappodēenē arafazeyē : ēoūweyē : kwe
46. ——— nēemu adrodē : mawūe : sēddē : awatawa
47. ——— nuoûlawe : ēwētēwe : sē mawūna : ēwūtē
48. ——— arīna tomenēte : kērchwe : gūkwe : ēreē
49. ——— tēmluse tūma : sē fēnēpē : asttē trā
50. ——— e**sēddē tofētu : komēzeya : uērē uērē
51. troûoûite : pddū tawe : winū kwa : ūssune : ēoû
52. we : tawawaza : komēzezeya : padretawe : ari
53. na tomenēweya : komēzeya gūkweya komē
54. zeya sē tokēdre : kērchcho : adē orowle iu ———
55. wūe awē towēwe : prinēze : sē leoûwēzē ēoûw

56. eyē : sē dēcuzggaza : sē itofērewa : adē se
 57. gchlkūna : ūoŋawa : sē ginawa sē gitafate
 58. azzalūe itareyēo sēwe : sē : ērtagssc
 59. — rzawē : chredē : wrewa : trāmcle sēsēte : t
 60. — che fūewe : adēmū : lechchfe oūlūme setune : ew
 61. — cya garūe zēose itēfu : | gitafate swer
 62. — edē : gitafate : topēdēzeyē sē itēfu sog
 63. — enay ntrēdēyēē : gitafate : ēsprowt.

The inscription on the south-east side of the obelisk is much more imperfect than any of the three others: besides wanting the upper part, and having been worn off the stone at both ends of many of the lines, the part which remains is full of inaccuracies. There are fewer known words than usual, and also there are many combinations of letters which have not been met with before; but it is uncertain whether we must attribute these to the errors of the copy or to further changes in the language: the frequent repetition of the character *l* must arise from the former cause; but it is not often that these errors can be corrected, owing to the number of inaccuracies, which prevent many words from being recognized. The consequence is, that we cannot yet obtain any insight into the subject of the inscription, but must be content with translating a few detached words.

The first word of any importance which we have met before is in line 11, *troūōūneme*, the town of *Tros*: the fragment at the top of the inscription was joined to the rest, judging from the form of the fracture, before any attempts were made to decipher the letters; and this word proves that on this side the union has been made correctly. Line 12, *tēri*, *beyond*. In line 14, the word *sēnagorawe* has a strong resemblance to the *Xenagoræ*, small islands on the coast of Lycia; yet in the state in which we have the inscription at present we can only rely upon such words as are well known from other sources. At line 16, *troūōūle* refers in some way to the *Troes*.

For many lines together there is hardly a word which has yet been made out: at line 20 is *sēyē*, which was translated *who-er* or *any one* in several of the funeral inscriptions. Line 25, *mērē*, the town of *Myra*. Line 25, *pre trouōūas*; the latter word is the name of the *Troes*, the former may be the preposition *before*. Here we again meet some words with which we are already acquainted; in line 35, *tēri*, the preposition *beyond*, followed by *ponērēwē*, which the alteration of a single letter would change into *pēnērēwē*, from *pēnēra*, which has been supposed to be the town of *Pinara*: *sēwē*, the dative plural of *shah*, which is repeated in the next line: *gitafatu*, the middle aorist of the verb *gitawaeme*, to *order* or *write*. Line 37, *arafazeya*, which has been translated *tomb* or *monument*: *itēfu*, probably he *ordered*: *nēmo* seems the same as the Zend *nemo*, meaning *adoration* (Burnouf, Comm., p. 446). These words can hardly be all correctly translated, since they seem to have no bearing upon one another.

The next sentence begins at the thirty-eighth line; it is not more intelligible than the preceding. In line 39, *tomenēwe* is the dative plural of *tomene*, *dwelling in*, or *inhabitant*. Line 41 and 42, *tokēdre*, which occurred before, was conjectured to be a *decree*. Line 45, *arafazeyē ēōūweyē* is *their tombs*. Line 46, *awatawa*, and in the next line *ēwētēwe*, are two words related to one another, and probably pronouns connected with the Zend *ah*, *aha*, *that*, from which is formed *aētahē*, *of that* (Burn. Comm., p. 496 note): the character which I have rendered *w* is also connected with the Zend *h*, and the words before us might perhaps be written *ahataha* and *ēhētēhe*, which would bring them close to the Zend pronoun: this is another instance of the manner in which the declension affects every syllable of the Lycian pronouns, to which some curious analogies might be shown in the pronouns of the other Indo-Germanic languages.

In line 48 we find again *arina tomenēte*, the *inhabitants of* in line 50, *uērē uērē*, a repetition of the word *men*, express a great number: repetitions of this kind

are common in Zend when great emphasis is required. Line 51, *trodoûite*, the *Troes*: the word ending line 49, and partially lost at the beginning of line 50, was apparently the *Tres*. Line 51, *ēōdwe*, *his* or *their*. Lines 52 and 53, *arina tomenēweya*, the *inhabitants of Xanthus*, who were mentioned just before; but in the declension of the word *tomenēweya* is the peculiarity, that *ya*, the termination peculiar to another case, is added to a word already in the genitive or dative. M. Burnouf has pointed out a somewhat similar construction in the dialect of the arrow-headed inscriptions at Persepolis (*Mémoire*, p. 61), "à peu près comme si on disoit en latin *dominusum* au lieu de *dominum*." Line 54, *tokēdre*, a *decree*, is followed by *kērchche*, a word which has so much resemblance to the Persepolitan form of Xerxes, *khchārchā*, that if it were accompanied in this passage by any royal titles, it might be taken for that monarch; but as that is not the case, the resemblance may be accidental. Line 55, *prinēze*, the participle *loved*, a word found on several of the tombs.

The word *dēusggaza*, in line 56, connects the inscription with the religious opinions of the early Persians. The Zend-Avesta is full of threatenings against those who worship the Dews or Devas, evil spirits created by Ahriman to lead mankind astray. The word designating these worshipers is *daēvayāzo* (Burn. Comm., p. 401, note); the Lycian word requires correction in the sixth or seventh letter, but as it does not occur again it must be left as it is for the present.

In the rest of the inscription there are some words which have already been explained: in line 57, *ginawa*, from *gina*, a wife, and *gitafate*, he orders, which is repeated several times lower down: line 58, *sēwē*, the *shahs*; 59, the *Termilæ*; 61 and 62, *itēfu*, supposed to be he ordered. The last line is very imperfect.

The orthography of this inscription is nearly the same as that of the south-west side of the monument, the letter *ch* very much taken the place of *B*; which latter char-

always be read like our *w*, except where it is doubled, when it is clearly a long vowel. There are here very few words in which ~~might~~ might not be rendered *h*, as it usually stands between two *els*, in which this inscription differs from many of the others. These changes in the use of the letters add very much to the difficulty of the present inquiry. The letter *χ* is of more common occurrence here than in any other inscription; it is once confounded with *ϣ*, which arises, without doubt, from the resemblance of the two letters; but there are words in which it takes the place of *K*, so that it may safely be considered as equivalent to the Greek *chi*; to mark its occurrence it has been always printed *ch*, although *k* might have been adopted for it without much impropriety.

P.S. While the preceding remarks were in the press, it has occurred to me, that some of the difficulties connected with the Lycian alphabet might be got rid of by considering both *ϒ* and *Ϝ*, and all their varieties of form, as the short *u*; *B* as a long or double *o*; *+* as *ou*; and *Ϟ* and its varieties as a long or double *u*: each of the last three being also used as a consonant or semivowel nearly similar to our *w*. This change would still leave many anomalies, which can only be explained by supposing the language to have altered during the period of the inscriptions before us; but it has the advantage of establishing a distinction between the three letters, which are very nearly allied without being exactly identical.

le letter
atier chi