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THE FIGURE WITH THE PLAN (KING GUDEA).
(From De Sarzec, *Découvertes*, Pl. 19.)

ORDINARY MEETING.*

H. CADMAN JONES, ESQ., M.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed, and ;

The following Paper was then read by the Author.—[Since he did so the important results of subsequent researches induced him to much extend its limits and to add descriptions of certain valuable discoveries ; hence the Paper and discussion are now, 1893, in an amplified and perfected form.]

NOTES UPON SOME OF THE RECENT DISCOVERIES IN THE REALM OF ASSYRIOLOGY, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PRIVATE LIFE OF THE BABYLONIANS.

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BRITISH MUSEUM.

I.

Principally from an Inscription of King Gudea, about 2500 B.C.

Toiling among the dust of ages, we Assyriologists fulfil, in our own domain, and as far as we may, that dictum which says, that mankind's own true study is man. But mankind's own study is not man only, but everything that pertains to him. The student of Assyriology therefore not only tries in his special line to answer all questions concerning him—his origin in his native land, his history, his surroundings, his thoughts, his feelings, and his religion—but he studies his language too, and tells of his joys and sorrows. Day by day the quest goes on, and the cloud-masses obscuring the vista are little by little cleared away ; and a time will doubt-

* 3rd meeting, 26th Session.

less come at last when the wide domain of Assyriology will have yielded up, as far as may be, its secrets, and the history of the human race and of civilization will present there no gap.

Upon an extensive waterway, known as the Shatt-al-Hai, which unites the Tigris and the Euphrates, and runs in a south-south-easterly direction from Kut-al-Amara to Suk-ash-Shuyukh, lies, shut in a bend in the waterway, a series of hillocks or mounds of which the principal, known as Telloh, marks the position of an ancient Babylonian temple or royal palace, from which, from time to time, fragments of sculpture, bricks, &c., have reached the western world. It is on this spot that M. Ernest de Sarzec, appointed Vice-consul of France at Bassorah in 1877, had the good fortune to discover some most important early Babylonian remains, which, by his energy and enthusiasm, have been most carefully and scientifically unearthed, under his direction, for the French government, who has made them accessible to scholars in a splendid publication* prepared by MM. de Sarzec and Léon Heuzey, Keeper of the Oriental Antiquities at the Louvre.

This site has been long known to Assyriologists as representing the ancient city \rightarrow \langle Ξ Ψ \rightarrow \langle \langle Ξ (*sir + pur + la + ki* †) formerly read as Zirgulla, and identified with a site close by, known as Zerghul. As, however, I pointed out in 1883, the true reading is *Lagaš*, of which name Prof. Hommel has found the variant *Laḡaš* (with guttural *g*). This name, with its final *š*, is of importance, in that it implies Kassite or Cossaeian influence, and is parallel to the well-known ancient native name of Babylonia, namely, *Kar-duniaš*, in which the Kassite ending *š* occurs again. The modern name, *Tel-loh*, has been explained as a corruption of the Arabic تلّ الوح , *Tell-al-Loh*, "the mound of the writing-tablet,"—an explanation which has its probabilities. For my part, however, I am inclined to regard the second element, *Loh*, as a weakening of *Laḡaš*, with the loss of the terminal syllable (compare *Kar-Duni* for *Kar-Duniaš*) and the weakening or loss of the guttural *g*. If this be the case,

* *Découvertes en Chaldée*, par Ernest de Sarzec . . . , publié par les soins de Léon Heuzey . . . , sous les auspices du Ministère de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts. Ernest Leroux. Folio.

† Given by the syllabaries as *Sirpurlākiku*, the form used by the Babylonian scribes when dictating.

there is no need to suppose that the article *al* has been dropped by the Arabs, the correct form of the name being تَل لوه, *Tell-Loh*, for تَل لوج or تَل لوج.

Though the name of *Lagaš* does not occur with very great frequency in the literature of Babylonia in general, yet, as it was a very important place, it was often mentioned under some other name, such as 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪, *Ninā*, 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪, *Girsu*, 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪, *Uru-azaga*, and 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪, *Gišgala*, the names, probably, of certain districts within the city. The principal name, after *Lagaš*, was *Girsu*. Thus we have, in the lists of the temples, 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪, "the 3rd temple (of Nergal) of Girsu;" 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪, *bêt D.P. Nergal ša Girsu D.S.*, "the temple of Nergal of Girsu;" and the temple 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪, known as "temple 60" (𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪) was also in Girsu. *Lagaš* (𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪) was renowned for a temple known as "the house of the great light of heaven" (𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪), the 64th (𒌦𒍪𒌦𒍪 𒌦𒍪) on the list of Babylonian temples. The cities of *Lagaš* and *Girsu* are also mentioned in incantations, of which one (K. 2726) reads as follows:—

Tentative Translation.

"O spirit of his (*Ē-girsu's*?) consort, lady whose heart is exalted, she who causeth suffering to go forth from a man, who perfecteth the body (?) with lordly clothing, O Bau, lady of Girsu, shining forth in *Lagaš*, mayest thou exorcise (the evil thing) in Niffer.*

* The wedge-text of this is as follows:—



The renown of Bau of Girsu and Lagaš was therefore so great that she was invoked at Niffer, of which city her consort Ninip (= Ê-girsu, "Lord of Girsu") was one of the principal gods—indeed they were both held in great esteem, as the deities of healing, all over Babylonia. Like most of the Babylonian deities, they were known under several different names, some of which occur in the following pages.

The splendid discoveries, so splendidly published, of M. de Sarzec, show us not only what ancient Babylonian architecture, art, and sculpture were, but also reveal to us somewhat of contemporaneous literature. And here a matter of very great importance may be noticed, namely, the Akkadian question. It is all very well for the anti-Akkadists of the continent to say that there was no such thing as an Akkadian language—that the inscriptions said to be written in that language are mere cryptographs—puzzles which the ancient scribes set their successors and themselves. Facts—hard, stony facts—do not bear them out. If there were Sumerians and Akkadians—and this no one denies—it is only reasonable to suppose that they had languages, and they certainly had no use for a cryptography. What king wishing the renown of his name to be spread abroad, and handed down to posterity (and this was a great thing with those who ruled in Mesopotamia of old), would write his records in a language or script which was bound to become so troublesome to read as to make them practically sealed books to the greater part of his people, even though they might know the character in which they were written? The Babylonian kings wrote inscriptions for their own glory, and they were not any more than the Assyrians the people to hide their light under a bushel. Now all the inscriptions from Tell-Loh are written in this so-called cryptography, known among the more reasonable Assyriologists as Akkadian, and the pictures which we now exhibit show what they are like, and with what painstaking

Transcription of the Akkadian version:—

1. Zi nitalamāni
2. ni ša-zu maḡa
3. êne
4. saga lu-gišgal-lu
5. unu kuba
6. nam-nunna ba-šul
7. D.P. Bau, ni Gir-su D.S.
8. Lagasa D.S. sig-êa
9. Ellil (D.S.)-gi ḡipā

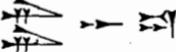
Tentative restoration of the Assyrian version:—

1. Niš [ḡamirti-šu]
2. bêl[ti ša libbi-ki štru]
3. muš[têšitu]
4. pu[h amêli]
5. ša [makana lubušti]
6. [bêlūti suklulat]
7. [Bau, bêlit Girsu]
8. ša [ina Lagaš šūpat]
9. [ina Nippuri lutamāti].

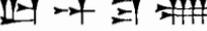
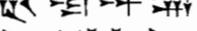
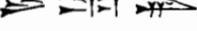
care they have been carved. What trouble—what enormous trouble—to take with a useless puzzle.*

From the remarkable series of monuments obtained by M. de Sarzec from Tell-Loh, the following royal names (which I transcribe from archaic into late Babylonian), among others, have been obtained:—

Kings.

	<i>Igi-gina.†</i>
	<i>Ili-gala-gina (or Nini-gala-gina),</i> who seems not to have reigned, was father of
	<i>Ur-Nina.‡</i>
	<i>A-Kur-gala,§</i> son of Ur-Nina.
	<i>Uru-kagina. </i>
	<i>Taltal-kur-gala.</i>

Patesis (viceroys).

	<i>En-te-na.</i>
	<i>En-ana-gin,</i> his son.
	<i>Ur-Bau.</i>
	<i>Gudea.¶</i>
	<i>Ur-E-girsu,**</i> his son.
	<i>Nammağani.††</i>
	<i>Gala-Lamma,</i> son of.
	<i>Lukāni.††</i>
	With a few others.

* It has been left to the 19th century to invent a Volapük—that addition to the languages of the world which no really practical man can take seriously. There are languages enough to learn already without adding to their number, and even Volapük can hardly be easier for the foreigner to learn than English, a World-speech even now.

† "He who goes before."

‡ "Man of (the goddess) Nina."

§ "The son of Bel (?)."

|| Or *Uru-enima-gina*, "City of the faithful saying"

¶ "The proclaimer" or "prophet."

** "Man of E-girsu," or "Ninip."

†† "His supremacy."

‡‡ Or *Lu-enimani*, "Man of his word."

Besides the royal houses and rulers of that period, however, there are many other things which are illustrated by these often long inscriptions; namely, the religion, civilization, art, occupations, language, manners, and customs of the people of that ancient time. We see, first, the beginnings of their art and writing, both of them rough and crude, the latter in sketchy and inartistic hieroglyphic form—the former stiff and laboured, showing observation and a certain skill, but also much clumsiness and want of finish.

Notwithstanding this, the progress in art and civilization made by the little under-kingdom of Lagaš must have been great. Hampered of yore by dearth of stone, it was the good fortune of King Gudea to have an opportunity of bringing large masses of diorite from Makan, a place which is now regarded as some part of the peninsula of Sinai. Here was a chance for the sculptors of Lagaš, and they used it to such good effect that the little capital must have been the envy of many another state in the Euphrates valley. To-day these works of Babylonian art are the boast of the Assyriologists of France, and they are most important.

We cannot say, unfortunately, that the style of art exhibited by these sculptures is by any means elegant—indeed, the lines are stiff, and the whole is rather clumsy. Probably the hardness of the stone and the solidity of the blocks had something to do with this, and their shape, when in the rough, may have influenced the carver. As a rule, the standing figures are rather squat, the seated ones sit very low (thus exhibiting, to a certain extent, the same defect), and the drapery sticks out stiffly. Nevertheless the appearance of the whole is not displeasing. It is very unlucky that these important statues are, without exception, headless; but, as a slight compensation, two heads have been found without the bodies to which they belong. (Plate II). These heads, as will easily be seen, are a redeeming point, and (supposing all the statues to have had the heads equally well formed and finished as these) make us excuse the shortcomings of the lower parts of the figures. It cannot be said with certainty whether the features are Semitic or not, that important member of the face, the nose, being wanting in both cases. It may probably safely be said, however, that, though the hatless example shows clear Semitic features, the covered one has at least *some* unsemitic indications, high cheekbones, unprominent lips, and a broad, firm, and square chin, a true contrast to the other, which may be regarded as a characterless face, its distinctive features being a round



AKKADIAN TYPE OF FEATURES.



HEAD OF STATUETTE
SHOWING OBLIQUE
EYES.

(*De S., Pl. 25.*)



FEMALE HEAD.

(*De S., Pl. 25.*)



SEMITIC TYPE OF FEATURES.

(*From De Sarzec, Découvertes, Pl. 12.*)

head, unprominent cheekbones, pouting lips, and a round chin. The head, with the thick-brimmed hat, seems to me to show distinctly the Akkadian type, whilst the other is distinctly Semitic. Nevertheless it may be regarded as certain that in both cases there is some admixture of foreign blood—Semitic Babylonian in the one case, and Akkadian in the other. In the case of a smaller head from a statuette of baked clay, in which the nose is of truly Roman or German-Jewish dimensions, the general type (which is rather ludicrous) may be regarded as the accidental production of a not over-skilled modeller, this feature not being so noticeable in the case of the small bronze statuettes of Gudea holding the cone or firestick. Again, it may be noted that all the kings and viceroys of this period have most pronounced non-Semitic names; indeed, we do not know how to render some of them into Semitic Babylonian at all, and it is therefore to be expected that we should come across ethnic types indicating difference of race such as is shown in the case of the head with the thick-brimmed hat.

It is also remarkable that these two heads are quite beardless, and agree, in this, with the royal figures on the cylinder-seals: yet in the East the beard is considered such a very important thing. The gods worshipped by these people, however, are invariably bearded, like the bronze statuettes of Gudea. Is it possible that the early non-Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia shaved their beards until they reached a certain age?—it would seem so.

Of course the more noble of these two types—the Akkadian—was destined to disappear in the course of centuries; nevertheless, it left its impress not only on the outward form of the Babylonian nation, and through that, on the Assyrian, but also on the temperament of the two nations. They both exhibit all the energy of a mixed race, the Babylonians in the arts of peace, the Assyrians in those of war—both excelling, though, also in branches which were not their respective specialities; for the Assyrian, though warlike in the extreme, was learned and artistic; and the Babylonian, though a trader, could also act the brave warrior and the learned man and author, and was not without a certain kindheartedness mingled with his shrewdness and closeness in money-matters, as we shall see farther on.

Let us turn, however, to the long and interesting inscriptions with which these statues are covered, for it is there that we shall probably find the best picture of the life of the people of Mesopotamia at that early period. The picture

which I shall try to give will be imperfect, but I shall do the best with the material at my command. When more is known of the Akkadian language, all Assyriologists will doubtless be able to do better; for, could we only translate these Akkadian inscriptions with even the same certainty that we can a great part of those in the Assyrian tongue, the story that we should have to tell would not only be free from lacunæ, but also more precise, and, being deprived of all element of doubt, more interesting.

Of all the kings of that ancient line, Gudea seems to have been the most renowned. Outside of his own capital, it is true, no mention of him has been found. As his realm was one of importance in Babylonia, however, it is to be supposed that it was not seldom mentioned in the records of the land, and the fact that there is no record to hand of Gudea and the renown of his kingdom, must be attributed to mere chance, such as often seems to rule in the domain of antiquarian research.

The inscription of which I now give a paraphrase or attempted translation, covers all the plainer parts of a very fine statue (headless, unfortunately) of Gudea (frontispiece), and is divided into nine columns, with a total of about 366 lines of writing. Portions have been translated by Professors Hommel and Oppert, and renderings of the whole have been given by the late M. Amiaud, the most promising Assyriologist of France, lately deceased. The present rendering differs in some particulars from those already given.

Gudea begins with a kind of superscription referring to the gifts made by him to the great temple of Ê-girsu (the god Ninip). It begins as follows:—

“(This), in the temple of Ê-girsu, his king, (is) the image of Gudea, viceroy of Lagaš, who built (the temple called) Ê-ninnū.”

Here follow the offerings made by him—fermented drink, food (of each 1 *ka*), and two other things (of each half a *ka*). The inscription then proceeds:—

“In the day of revocation, the word of Ê-girsu shall place the ban on the viceroy, who shall revoke them. May his gifts be revoked in the temple of Ê-girsu—may the word of his mouth be cut off!”*

* In Akkadian: *Û gu-ba gallam patesi gu-nibgigia, me Ê-girsu-ka baniplâ. Saduga-na E-Ê-girsu-ka-ta gu-gibgi, gu ka-ni yišir.* According to the syllabaries and bilingual lists, the following would be the Semitic rendering: *Ina ùm rugummê (or pukurrê) iššakku ša inaggag (or ippal),*

This is followed by the invocation of the god Ê-girsu, "the powerful warrior of Ellilla," or Bel, by "Gudea, the renowned (?) one, viceroy of Lagaš, proclaimed as the faithful-hearted shepherd of Ê-girsu, the favourably-regarded one of the goddess Nina, the power-endowed one of the god Nin-dara, the word-outpouring (= eloquent) man of the goddess Bau, the begotten son of the goddess Ga-tumu-dugu, endowed with the sovereignty and a supreme sceptre by the god Gal-alima, the living-hearted wide-renowned one of the god Dun-šagā, the bright-sceptred chief of Ê-giš-zida, his god."

In the difficult passage which follows I adopt, in part, Amiaud's rendering. The text seems to be to the effect that, "after the god Ê-girsu had looked upon his city favourably, and had chosen Gudea to be shepherd over the people, and among the divisions of men had established his power, he gave to the city a glorious name." A reference to building then occurs, and is followed by some lines which are translated by Amiaud to the effect that he (Gudea) had banished from the city the "adorers of demons (?),* evokers of spirits (?), necromancers (?), and prophetesses of divine decrees." If this rendering be in any way correct, it may be concluded therefrom that Gudea was firmly set against the childish rites and ceremonies and the foolish superstitions of the Babylonians, so renowned for things of that kind. It is doubtful, however, whether any Babylonian king was ever enlightened enough to throw off the trammels of that superstition which was for ages so rife in the land. The two following lines are translated by Amiaud, "Whoever has not departed obediently has been expelled perforce by the warriors." †

"The temple of the god Ê-girsu," the inscription con-

paraš Ê-girsu irakkissu (?). *Sattukki-su ina bêt Ê-girsu likiku, amat pi-šu likta*. The above is probably a very barbarous rendering, the Assyrian equivalents being probably not the usual ones, but as they are given by the syllabaries, they may be regarded as at least approximately correct.

* The original list points rather to "preparers of simples" (*lu tuğa imğala*, "who edible herb prepares"), the second character of the group being the character for mouth with the sign for vegetable within, in late Assyrian \rightarrow $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{𐎶} \\ \text{𐎶} \end{array} \right]$.

† In Akkadian: *Ila-bi sale nu-ila, saga ur-saga emunadu*, a phrase that I am inclined to translate: "That ascent (*ila-bi*) had never yet been made (*nu-ila*), (and) the soldiery (*ur-saga*) were at the head" (of the procession). More information, however, is required from the syllabaries.

tinues, "he made like Eridu,* a glorious place." Then, after two doubtful lines, mention is made, apparently, of certain officials, who, as M. Amiaud has it, "during the execution of this work have worn garments of (?)." The next few lines are doubtful, but these I am inclined to translate "(Whilst) the construction (?) was in hand,† the high place of the city was not occupied, a funeral-pile was not set,‡ the minister did not perform (?) a service (?), (or) utter lamentation, (and) the mother of lamentation did not utter her lamentation; within the boundaries of Lagaš no litigant has taken a man to the place of swearing the oath, (and) no pledger has taken the house of a man in pledge."

The latter part of this passage, with its mention of lamentation (there is no doubt as to the meaning here), gives the clue to the true rendering of the beginning. We see from this that the "high place" (𒀭 𒀭𒀭 *ki-maša* §) was the spot to which the dead were carried, apparently to be disposed of by fire. The word translated by Amiaud as "corpse + earth" || I have rendered, in conformity with this, "funereal pile," the characters 𒀭 𒀭𒀭 seeming to me to form a group by themselves, meaning, seemingly, a place where fire was lighted, for this same group, with the prefix for god (𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭), forms, as is well known, one of the common ideograms for the moon-god Sin in his special character of "lightgiver" (*Nannaru* = *Nannaros*).

The inscription then continues:—

"For Ê-girsu, his king, whose glory shines forth, he has built the temple Ê-ninnû ("temple fifty") of the bright-shining Zû-bird,¶ (and) has restored its site. He has constructed within it his beloved holy place of cedar-wood."

* In this case (as also in some others) I believe Eridu ("the good city," also called, as here, "the city of the prince," *Nun-ki*) to be the abode of the blessed in the world to come.

† Amiaud has, "During all the time of (its construction)," a rendering which may be regarded as very close. The text reads: *Nam-sig u-ba mugalam*, "Foundation (?) in hand being."

‡ Amiaud translates: "In the cemetery of the city no ditch has been excavated (?), no corpse has been interred," and this translation may be regarded as giving the sense very well.

§ More correctly "supreme place."

|| The line is 𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭, which he seems to have analysed "corpse + earth + not + placed" = "a corpse has not been interred."

¶ 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭. The paragraph here translated occurs on a large number of monuments, mostly small inscriptions. The reading of the third character as 𒀭𒀭 instead of 𒀭𒀭 is based on one

(𐎠𐎫 𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎫), "a mountain of Phœnicia," identified by Prof. Hommel with the Tidnu of the Semitic Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions, which would correspond to the mountainous portion of Syria and Canaan.* This stone was used for the *urpadda* (𐎶𐎫 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶), probably gate-posts, provided with slots to receive the bars of the gates. From a place called *Kâ-gala-ada* (𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫)—apparently the Assyrian 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎫 *Abulli-âbi-šu*,† which is explained‡ as equivalent to 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶 𐎠𐎫 *Bâbu hurruš*—in the mountains of Ki-maš or Kibar (𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫), copper (𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫) was brought to make a certain part of the structure or its decorations.¶ From Melugga (𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫), identified by Lenormant as part of the peninsula of Sinai, *êšu*-wood was brought for the edifice, and the same kind of wood seems to have been gotten from Kirzan (𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 *Kirzanu*^m) also. From the mountains named Ġaġu^m (𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫) and from the mountains of Melugga (Sinai) gold-dust (𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 *guškin saġaraba*) seems to have been obtained, not for Ê-ninnû, but for a temple called Ê-martu. Gudea imported also a material called *lidri* (𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫), and *ġalup*-wood (𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫) from *Gubin* (𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫), "the land of *Ġalup*-trees" (𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫), apparently to make pillars to support the roof of the temple. A material¶ suggested by Amiaud to be bitumen was obtained from Madga (𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫), which is described as a mountainous country by the river Luruda (𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 *ġursag Luruda-ta*, lit., "a mountain in the river Luruda"). From a place called

* In the lists (𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫), printed for the first time correctly by Brünnow. The Semitic rendering is *aharrû*.

† "His father's great gate"—a parallel to the modern "sublime Porte."

‡ W.A.I. II, 52, 55.

§ "The hollow gate" *i.e.* "passage,"—"hohle Gasse."

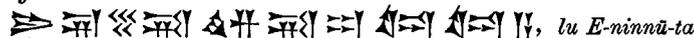
¶ M. Amiaud connects the name of the place called *Ki-maš* with the word read as *kēmašû*, translated as "copper." This I doubt. The phrase in question in which it occurs is *kima kē-mašši limmaššî*, which I translate "may he (the sick man) be pure like bronze." The Akkadian equivalent of *kē-mašši* in this passage is 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 (*sipar*). *Kē-mašši* may be connected with *kimaš*, but it is worthy of note that one of the words for bronze was 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫, *kū*, which may have been regarded as the nominative case of *kē*, in which case *kē-mašši* would be a compound.

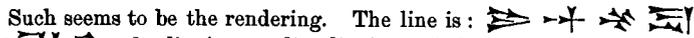
¶ 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 (= 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫?).

“To his statue I proclaimed aloud: ‘This statue neither of precious metal, nor of lapis bright (?), nor of copper, nor of lead, nor of bronze has anyone made, (but) of *Ēšu*-stone (diorite). Let it remain in this place of libation, and let no man destroy anything that has been brought here.* The statue before thee, O *Ē-girsu*, (is) the statue of *Gudea*, viceroy of *Lagaš*, the man who built *Ē-ninnū* for *Ē-girsu*. Whoever removes it from *Ē-ninnū*,† and destroys the inscription; whoever shall set aside (?) my fair record (?), whoever shall make my god his god,‡ O *Ē-girsu*, my king, put his people to flight, take away (his) judges, reject (his) gifts;§ make confirmation (?) of the festival instituted by me|| and of my name, removing his name.¶ (In) the sanctuary (?) of *Ē-girsu* every (?) king who does (?) wrong (?) shall not be in his presence. From this day, (O thou) of the glorious seed, *patesi* of *Lagaš*, restore** *Ē-ninnū* of *Ē-girsu*, my king. (As for) the man whose glory shines forth (= *Gudea*), no one shall change his words or transgress his judgment.’”

Here follows an imprecation, in which the gods *Anu*, *Bel*, *Nin-gursaga*, *Ēa*, *Sin*, “whose name none repeats,”†† *Ē-girsu*, “lord of the weapon,”‡‡ *Nina*, “lady of interpretation,” *Nin-dara*, “the warrior-king,” “the mother of the city of *Lagaš*,”§§

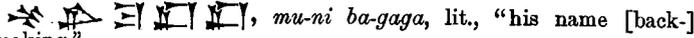
*  *kia-nag-e ġaba-gub, nig-a-zi-ga-ka lu nammigule.*

+  *lu Ē-ninnū-ta imtabbēa.*

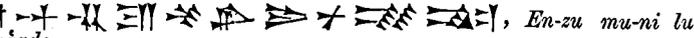
‡ Such seems to be the rendering. The line is:  *lu dingira-mu dim dingirani*, “The man my god making his god.” The figure of the deity was not to be altered so that it might serve for another ruler’s favourite god.

§ Lit., “Rejecting his gifts” ( *nigbaga bā-gigida*).

|| Lit., “of my festival-fixing” ( *isini-guba-mu*).

¶  *mu-ni ba-gaga*, lit., “his name [back-] gift making.”

** Lit., “make.”

††  *En-zu mu-ni lu nu-taġade.*

‡‡ Lit., “king of the weapon,”  *ama Lagaš, D.S.*

§§  *ama Lagaš, D.S.*

the lady* Ga-tumuduge (Gatumudue), Bau, "sister of the eldest son of Anu," Innanna (= Ištar), "Lady of battle," Utuki (= Šamaš, the Sungod), "king of the pouring-out of oil," † Sig-saga, ‡ "the ruler of the people of the gods Gal-alima and Dun-šagana," Nin-marki, "eldest child of Nina," Dumuzi-abzu (Tammuz of the Abyss), "lady of the city Kinunir," and Ê-giš-zida are called upon to change the destiny of any man who shall change the words of Gudea, *patesi* of Lagaš, felling him like an ox, and quelling him like a wild bull (*rîmu* in Assyrian) in the fulness of his strength. The inscription then concludes: "May the weapons of my steadfast people throw him down in the dust, may the diminution of his renowned (?) name come to be heard of; may they erase his name from the tablet in the house of his god; may his god not look favourably on his land; may he destroy it with rain from heaven; may he destroy it with the water of the earth (inundations); may he go forth nameless, and may his reign be made (one of) subjection. May that man, like a man doing evil to his chief, § find a habitation || afar under the vault of heaven. May the people proclaim the greatness of the champion (?) of the gods, the lord Ê-girsu."

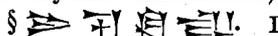
Such is, as nearly as can now be made out, the tenor of the principal inscription, that of "the architect with the plan," ¶ and its importance can hardly be overlooked. It is of value not only for the history and geography of an important part of the world at an extremely early period (at least 2500 years before Christ), but also for an insight into the manners and customs of the time.

The passage which refers to the burning of the dead has already been mentioned, and whilst it must be confessed that the rendering is somewhat doubtful, yet it may be taken as very probable. Excavations made by the German expedition to Al-hibba in southern Babylonia show that they un-

* Or: "Glorious one."

† , *lugal ni sega-gi*.

‡ The same as the god Išum, the "glorious sacrificer" (a rendering to which, notwithstanding prior publication by another, I lay claim of first discovery and communication).

§ . D.P. *si-sa-ra*, lit., "to his director."

|| , *šu-na nibari*, lit., "set his hand."

¶ So called from the incised plan which he holds on his knees.

doubtedly buried their dead, but the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions seem to show that they also burned them. Many of the ancient kings of Babylonia seem to have been burned when dead.* The Akkadian words for funeral-pile seem to have been *kuku*, *giškuru*, *kibir* and *giškibir*, and the Semitic Babylonian words *ēšše*, *makaddu*, *kaddu*, *kūru*, and *kibirru* (the last two borrowed from Akkadian). Time alone will show how far cremation was practised with the Akkadian and Semitic inhabitants of ancient Babylonia. Our text testifies to the fact that the Eastern custom of employing professional mourners was in vogue among the Akkadians, and this may also be gathered from the legend of the descent of the goddess Istar into Hades, where male and female mourners for Tammuz her husband are referred to.

Whether the Akkadians were a law-abiding people or not there is but little to show, but it may safely be said, that they were a law-loving people. The paragraph where reference is made to litigation shows what their character was in that respect, and this love for legal forms probably lasted to the end. We know, from the many law-tablets of the later Babylonians, how great their love for legal formalities was, and we may suppose that this was inherited from their Akkadian forefathers.

Like the whole Babylonian race, the Akkadians were, in their way, very religious, and superstitious withal. To this the whole inscription testifies. The part which attracts our attention, however, the most, is probably that where Gudea gives command to his statue to invoke "the statue of his king." If this translation be the correct one, he practically calls on his own statue to represent him in the temple, and probably intends thereby, that it should intercede for him with the god whom he worshipped, when he should be absent from the fane—indeed, he may have intended it to represent him in this way when he should have departed this life.

The power of the daughter to represent a house in which there was no son, testifies to the honour paid by the Akkadians to women in a part of the world where she was, and still is, regarded, more or less, as a chattel. This Akkadian custom seems to have had its influence even to the latest times of the Babylonian empire, as we see from the part which

* See Geo. Smith's article in the third volume of the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, pp. 374-376 (ll. 27, [32], and 37).

Babylonian women took in bearing their share of the burthens of life, as shown by the late Babylonian contract-tablets. The so-called "tablet of Akkadian laws" and other texts also testify to this being the case. Upon this question, however, I shall speak elsewhere.*

Of course, the Akkadians were slave-holders, but they seem to have been of a kindly disposition, and to have treated their slaves well. In this case seven days' holiday are said to have been given them, and this is the only record known of such a thing. In later times masters showed their appreciation of the service rendered to them by their slaves by conferring on them certain privileges, and it is probable that, at least in the majority of cases, the lot of a slave was not one of hardship.

The question of religion touched upon by this text of Gudea would carry me much farther than I intend to go at present, but there is one important fact, in view of the anti-Akkadian theory, to be noted, and that is, that the names of all the gods mentioned in this text are non-Semitic. Some of their more noteworthy titles I have mentioned, the most striking being that referring to the moon-god Sin, of whom it is said that no man repeats his name (𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 mu-ni lu nu-tagade, "name + his + man + not + repeating"). The pronunciation of Sin for 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 (the moon-god) is given by a Babylonian syllabary, but we have no indication as to how the characters 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 (the form of his name used in the text now under examination) were pronounced. Their usual value is 𒀭𒀭 En-zu, and they probably mean "lord of knowledge," but whether this is the true pronunciation or not is uncertain. It has been thought that they should be pronounced backwards, thus: Zu-en, later corrupted to Sin, but of this there is no confirmation except that there is sometimes found a phonetic complement na, showing that the word, whatever it was, had n as its final consonant. It is also worthy of note that the goddess Bau, besides being the goddess of healing, seems also to have been goddess of eloquence. This is implied by a passage in this text, in which Gudea is described as "Bau's eloquent one" † (𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 lu enima sega D.P. Bau-gi), though this may simply mean that Gudea was eloquent in singing her praises. From the

* It is to be noted that it was only in Akkadian times that queens really reigned.

† See p. 131.

goddess Nina, "lady of interpretation" (𒀭𒀫 𒀭𒀫𒀭𒀫 𒀭𒀫𒀭𒀫 𒀭𒀫𒀭𒀫 𒀭𒀫𒀭𒀫 *Nina, nin induba-gi* = Assyrian *Nina, bēlit pirišti*), a portion of the city of Lagas, as well as the world-renowned city of Nineveh, seem to have taken their names. What connection, however, the Assyrian Nineveh may have had with that of Babylonia, is unknown.

Court-life in Babylonia at this early period was probably of a very simple kind. The *patesi* or viceroy seems to have been nothing more than a chief among his people, and was most likely also chief priest, as were likewise the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Egyptian rulers in general. We know from the large number of letters which passed between the Assyrian kings and their subjects, what the relations between ruler and ruled were, and it is probable that, if we could only light upon the Babylonian royal record-office, we should find that nearly, if not quite, the same interest was taken by the king in his subjects in Babylonia as in Assyria, in early as in late times—though, as it is probable that fewer persons, in the earlier ages, knew how to write, fewer records referring to this relationship would be found. History indicates, too, that the Babylonian rulers always strove to make themselves popular, and, aside from the petty jealousies which were sometimes rife in the land, seem to have succeeded very well.

II.

From private documents of about 2300 B.C.

We have obtained a few glimpses of life in Babylonia at the very early period when Gudea was ruler, from one of his royal inscriptions. Let us now briefly glance at it from the people's point of view.

In studying the tablets of the early Babylonian period, mostly contracts, we are at once struck by a fact which has already been noticed several times, namely, that whilst most of the names are Semitic, yet the documents themselves are, with few exceptions, in the Accadian language. The reason of this is obvious when we examine the texts in question, for it is only the documents whose contents are unusual that are in Semitic Babylonian—almost all the others relate to sales of land and similar things in which a set form of words is used, and the time-honoured expressions employed by the scribes were, as is usual in all cases of the kind, long in dying

out. The following will serve as an example of the style of the wholly Akkadian documents: *

"One acre of field-land beside the plantation of Ibnî-Sin the gardener and beside the field of Ura-Utu (the chief), (its) end the field-land of the sons of Sin-azu, and its end the field-land of Utuki-šemi, the inheritance of Utuki-idinnam son of Nannar-me-giš. With Utuki-idinnam son of Nannar-me-giš, Šili-Innanna son of Ili-lağ and Apil-ili his brother have priced it, $1\frac{2}{3}$ shekels of silver they have weighed as its complete price. For future days, for time to come, they shall not dispute, they shall not withdraw. They have invoked the spirit of the king.

"Before Nabi-Bêl (son of Nidittu^m);

"Before Kîšti-Ura the scribe (?);

"Before Sin-yatu^m son of Pirḫu^m;

"Before Ili-ikîša^m son of Narâm-Addi;

"Before Aplu^m son of Ša-ili;

"Before Nannar-igi-guba, the *nâru*.

"The tablet of the contracting-parties is ended.

"Year of Tašmêtu^m."

I transcribe the text here:—

(1) *Aš gan gana-ki* (2) *da (giš)-šar Ibnî-Sin, nu-(giš)-šar*
 (3) *u da ašag Uru-Utu,* (4) *saga gana-ki du-meš* →† *Sin-azu*
 (5) *u saga-bi gana-ki* →† *Utuki-šemi,* (6) *ğala* →† *Utuki-idinnam*
du →† *Nannar-me-giš.* (7) *Ki Utuki-idinnam du* →† *Nannar-*
me-giš, (8) *Šili-Innanna du Ili-lağ* (9) *u Apil-ili, šesa-ni*
 (10) *inšišamameš;* (11) *gi-šanabi gin azaga* (12) *šama-tilani-šu*
innánlal (13) *U-kur-šu, u-nu-mea-kam* (14) *nu-mundapale*
 (15) *nu-mungigine,* (16) *Mu lugala-li inpada.* (17) *Igi Nabi-*
 →† *Ellilla, etc., etc.* (25) *Mu* →† *Tašmetu^m.*†

Anyone with a slight knowledge of Semitic languages will see that the character of the above transcription is not by any means Semitic. In the names, however, he will find Semitic forms, as well as Akkadian, but the former predominate. The names with Semitic elements are Ibnî-Sin, "Sin has made," Utuki-šemi, "Sungod, hear!" Utuki-idinnam, "the Sungod has given," Apil-ili, "Son of God," Nabi-Bêl, "Prophet of Bêl," etc., etc. Out of seventeen names eleven have Semitic elements in them, and it is possible that some of those that I have transcribed as Akkadian

* Strassmaier's *Texte Altbabylonische Verträge aus Warka*, No. 60. According to the labels, these tablets came from Tell-Sifr.

† The cuneiform text of this tablet with the variants from the version on the envelope, will be given at the end.

were pronounced and read as Semitic Babylonian. Tablets of this class belong; it seems to me, to a period when the Semitic members of the population were beginning to outnumber their Akkadian compatriots.

But this is shown still more distinctly in those tablets which, as already mentioned, refer to the more unusual class of transactions. In the tablet of the brotherhood, translated by me in 1885, besides the few Akkadian names, only 6 short lines out of 36 are Akkadian;* and in the tablet of the "Rival Claimants" only 3 lines out of 45 are Akkadian. These Akkadian lines are the paragraphs invoking, in the same set terms, the gods and the king; and the date.

In these longer texts the love of legal forms again appears. On the tablet of "the brotherhood" the man mentioned in the contract above translated, Šili-Innanna, and Iriba^m-Sin, "make brotherhood" (*tapputa^m ipušū*) and meet to ratify the compact. They "took a judge" (*da'ani ikšudū*), who led them to the temple of the Sungod (*ana bêt Šamaš itrudu†-šunuti*) and caused them to take judgment (*dina^m ušāhizū-šunuti*) there,‡ and the people answered and confirmed their brotherhood (*āhiati-šunu ūppilū*). The contracting parties had to make offerings (of slaves) to the temple, and then comes some good advice, "Brother shall not be angry with, shall not injure, brother." The priest then proclaimed in the temple of the Sungod, "Brother shall be kind to, shall not injure, brother; and brother shall not make claim against brother." They then invoked the spirits of certain gods and of Hammurabi the king. The list of witnesses and the date follow.

The tablet of the rival claimants is of the same simple nature. It begins, "Concerning the plantation of Sin-magir, which Na'id-Martu bought for silver" (*Aššum kirī ša Sin-magir, ša Na'id-Martu ana kaspi išāmu-šu*). Ilu-banī applied for a royal decree, and went to the judges (*Ilu-banī ana šimdat šarri ibkurur-ma ana da'anē illiku*). The judges took them § (owner and claimant) to the gate of Nin-Marki ||

* On the envelope, 7 out of 41.

† The Arabic equivalent, طرد, means "to drive away."

‡ In view of this phrase, it has since occurred to me that perhaps *tapputu* means "reconciliation." The bilingual texts, however, are against this. See the introduction to my "Early Babylonian Deed of Brotherhood," *P.S.B.A.* for November, 1885.

§ Here again *itrudu-šunuti*.

|| Name of a deity, "Lady of the west."

and the judges of Nin-Marki. Ilu-banî declared thus in the gate of Nin-Marki: "Indeed the son of Sin-magir am-I, he adopted me as his son (*Lû mâr Sin-magir anaku, ana mârûti lu-ilkia-anni**). . . . He said thus: "After Rim-Sin (apparently the king of that name) the plantation and house shall descend to Ilu-banî." Sin-mubaliṭ kept back the plantation of Ilu-banî, applied and went to the judges, and the judges took them (Sin-mubaliṭ and Ilu-banî) to the assembled people and the elders, and at another gate of the city the question was again discussed. Ilu-banî repeated his statement before the elders: "Indeed the son am I." They said: "The plantation and house belongs to Ilu-banî. Sin-mubaliṭ shall not withhold and shall not make a claim." The transaction concludes with the words: "They have invoked the spirit of Nannaros, Samaš, Marduk, and Ḥammurabi the king."

Here follow the names of the witnesses, and the words, "the seal of the contracting parties (has been impressed)." On the edge is the date, "Month Tammuz, day 4th, year when Ḥammurabi the king made prayer to Tašmêtu^m." †

A great many other examples of tablets of this class might be quoted, and from each of them arguments in favour of the Akkadian theory might be drawn, and the picture of ancient Babylonian life might at the same time be continued. As, however, they are all very difficult, I leave them for the present, and conclude this section with a translation of a text of even greater interest, namely, the marriage ceremony.

The text in question is one of great importance. It is written in the two languages, Akkadian and Semitic Babylonian, and this gives additional interest to the contents, besides furnishing us with material of value for philologists. The tablet seems, at first sight, to be one of those containing pattern phrases to be learned by Babylonian students preparing for the position of priest or scribe, the phrases being of a very miscellaneous nature, though they all seem to be classified. The text probably belongs, however, to a certain series of incantations, of which fragments have been found on the site of Nineveh, and to which the attention of scholars has already been directed.

* Lit., "To sonship he took me."

† This is the same year as the Contract of Brotherhood was drawn up in.

The interesting part is in Column II, which I reproduce here in transcription (Semitic Babylonian or Assyrian only). It refers to the wedding ceremony, and the bridegroom's party is apparently on its way to the place where the wedding is to be :—

La bêl ilani

imtaḥḥarū

Ḳati-šu[nu]

anaḡ kati-šu [iškunu].

Šēpi-[šunu]

ana šēpi-šu [iškunu].

Ki[šad-sa]

itti kišadi-šu [taškun?]

Raman-šu

uštēbillu

Māru rubē anaku, iḳbiš

Kaspu, ḥurašu sun-ka umallu

Atta lū-aššatu

anaku lū-mut-ka

iḳbī-ši

Ḳīma inib kiri

ana šāši lalē

ulallī-ši

Amelūti [ramani-šu]

The impious

are approaching.

Their hands

to his hands they place.

Their feet

to his feet they place.

[Her] neck

with his neck [she has placed].

Himself

he has caused to be brought,

"The son of a prince am I,"

he has said to her,

"Silver and gold shall fill thy

lap."

"Thou shalt be (my) wife

I will be thy husband"

he has said to her.

"Like the fruit of a plantation

to this (woman) abundance

I will fill for her."

His own people

Here the tablet unfortunately breaks off, but he who wishes to catch yet another glimpse, may consult a text of a more ritualistic nature, published by me in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record* for August, 1887, where the words of the priest, as well as directions as to the offerings to be made, are given.

As a testimony to the extreme antiquity of the above-quoted form of ritual, it is to be noted, that in the story of Gilgamesh,* where the goddess Istar makes a proposal to the Babylonian hero, she uses practically the same form of words as is given above, changing only the pronouns. The text is as follows :—

"To the beauty of Gilgamesh the lady Istar lift up her eyes. Come, Gilgamesh, mayest thou be my husband.

* Hitherto known as the "Gistubar-legends."

Thy fruit to me give as a gift; thou shalt be my husband and I will be thy wife. Mayest thou be caused to have a chariot of *lapis lazuli* and gold, the body of which shall be gold and diamond its pole," &c., &c.'"

The words "Give to me thy fruit as a gift" (*Inbi-ka yáši kášu kišamma*), apparently have reference to the words of the extract from the ritual quoted above: "He shall fill abundance to this woman like the fruit (*inib*, construct case of *inbu*, oblique case *inbi*) of a plantation." The phrase is a curious one, however, and probably had some special meaning, now lost.

From two tablets which, by a strange chance, I had an opportunity of copying some months ago, we find that the wedding contract was made in duplicate, differing slightly in form, though the same phrases, with the essential words ("husband" and "wife") transposed, were used. Each "contracting party" brought special witnesses. It is worthy of note, that the woman, as well as the man, might pronounce the words of divorce ("thou art not my husband"), but whereas he was only fined, the woman was regarded as worthy of (practically) excommunication. Infidelity was punished with death.

III.

THE CHARACTER OF THE BABYLONIANS.

From documents of the time of the later Babylonian Empire.

There is a question which doubtless occurs to many of us, and that is: "I wonder what sort of people the Babylonians were to deal with?"

It is difficult to say whether we ought to make any distinction between them and the Assyrians. There was probably but slight difference between them. The Babylonian seems to have been less warlike than the Assyrian, that is all. The Babylonian was warlike too when the occasion demanded it.

The Babylonian was a keen trader, careful in money-matters, ever ready to drive a hard bargain. He lent money out at an interest of about 20 per cent. per annum, and took substantial security, as a rule, for the same. In later, as in

earlier times, too, he dearly loved a lawsuit. Unlike the nations of modern times, he seems easily to have adapted himself to foreign rule; whether his kinsman the Assyrian did so or not we do not know.

Three excellent points, however, did the Babylonian possess:—

Painstaking in study, he easily became a learned man in his own particular way; but better than this, he was kind-hearted; respectful and considerate to his parents; and steadfast in friendship.

One of the most interesting texts bearing upon this is now in New York (it belongs to the Wolfe collection, which was obtained by Dr. Hayes Ward in Babylonia). It is a will, in which a man, named Nabû-šum-iddina, whilst leaving certain slaves and the produce of certain lands to his wife, Tabluṭu, takes care also to make provision for his mother. Day by day, and year by year, as long as she lived, she was to receive a certain quantity of grain, fruit, &c.; as well as meat and poultry. The sustenance of the parents, indeed, seems to have been regarded as an obligation, as witness the following letter:—*

“[Letter of] Iddina-âhâ [to] Rêmut his son. May [Bel] and Nebo bespeak peace and life for my son. He, my son, knows that there is no corn in the house. Let my son cause 2 or 3 *gur* of corn to be brought by the hands of someone whom thou knowest. Wilt thou not send by the hands of the boatman whom thou indicatedst? As for him, [he is coming?] unto me—send a gift, cause it to go forth to (thy) father. To-day I pray Bel and Nebo for the preservation of the life of my son. Rêmat asks after the peace of Rêmut, her son.”

There is something plaintive about this gentle but urgent appeal. And then the ending, in which the father mentions Rêmat, the mother after whom Rêmut has apparently been named, adds, by the suggestion of her needs, to the gentle urgency of it.

Steadfastness in friendship, how often do we see it now? The tendency of the world is to believe ill of others—to listen to slanders of the most spiteful kind, and to act accordingly. A slight fault, or even no fault at all, but merely a supposed one, is magnified, and repeated to the disadvantage of another. He who is going down-hill is sped on his way, and the sooner he arrives at the bottom

* This text is in private hands.

the better,—at least, such seems to be the policy now-a-days, and slanderous tongues wag to good (or bad) effect.

Steadfastness in friendship is always a rare thing—probably the Babylonians did not possess it in any special measure, but what they were capable of the following letter shows clearly:—

“Letter from Nabû-zēr-ibnî to Ugaraa, Balatu, Nabû-bêl-šumati, and Šamaš-udammik, his brothers. I now pray Nebo and Nanâ to save the life of my brothers. Bêl-êpuš, who is along with you, is my brother. Whoever will speak his slander (lit., evil words, *dibbi b'išati*), as my brothers wish to do, let him be silent. As for him (*i.e.*, Bêl-êpuš), from the beginning to the end brothers of each other are we (*ultu rêš âdi kit âhê âhaweš nîni*). As warning to my brothers I send this. May my brothers do what is right. Let me see an answer to (this) letter from my brothers.”

Of course the words “brother” and “brothers” here mean “friend” and “friends” respectively. It is on the whole a remarkable letter. For one man to write to four others in this strain, telling them clearly that they were slanderers, is a thing which but few would be bold enough to do. But Nabû-zēr-ibnî did it, and fate—or providence—has preserved his letter as a lesson to the people of our own day, after 2500 years.

The next stage, that of charity to people in distress, was not unknown among the Babylonians. The lending of a fairly large sum of money, without interest, for an indefinite period, during a time of famine, is not what every businessman would do; but Rêmut, in the year 648 B.C., when the armies of Aššur-banî-apli had devastated the land, did so, and the following record of the event has come down to us:—

“Five-sixths of a mana (50 shekels) of silver from Rêmut, son of . . . , unto Mušêzib-Marduk, and Kullâ, his wife, for necessities. In the day when the face of the land sprouts (again) (*ina ûme pan mâti ittaptû*) the money, five-sixths of a mana, in its full amount, Mušêzib-Marduk and Kullâ will repay to Rêmut.”

Here follow the names of five witnesses and the scribe, with the date, “Babylon, month Tebet, day 9th, year 19th, Šamaš-šum-ukîn, king of Babylon.”

Then comes the paragraph:—

“At this time, in the city of Lamima (?), want and famine (are) in the land, the people are dying for want of food.”

Here is a man who, at a time when everything was in confusion, lends money, without interest, to two other people, only stipulating that it should be repaid "when the land sprouts again." This may not have taken place—that is to say, in a profitable way for the people to whom the silver was lent—for a long time, and the lender stood the chance of losing his money altogether if the borrowers should die in the meanwhile. A man who lends money at interest is always obliged to take the risk, when not covered as he usually is, by some substantial security; but Rêmut, in this document, evidently takes the risk out of pure kindness. Naturally inscriptions of this kind are rare, but this one shows that fellow-feeling was not by any means absent from the hearts of the Semites of the Euphrates valley.

In the present paper I have tried to reproduce some of the more noteworthy traits of the private life of one of the most interesting nations of antiquity. I am aware that my attempt is not by any means as it should be—it is simply a series of rough sketches hastily strung together. Such as they are, I trust that they may be found not altogether valueless. To add to and perfect them will be one of the ends which, in my studies, I shall keep in view. In the printing of the present paper, I hope to add to its permanent value by giving the cuneiform text of most of the inscriptions here published for the first time, and this, with the notes I shall give, will help to add interest to, and to round off, some of the pictures of Babylonian life here presented. My apology for such an imperfect paper must be, that the subject is a difficult one, especially from the all-important point of view of philology. This, however, is a part of the study which is better understood every day, and which, in the end, will bring us to that certainty in the matter of translation which is absolutely needful not only to this, but to every other branch of the science of Assyriology.

- Igi Sin-ya-tum du Pi-ir-ḥu-um *
 Igi I-li-i-ki-ša-am du Na-ra-am-Addi
 21. Igi Ap-lum du Ša-ili
 Igi Nannar-igi-guba, nar
 Dup D.P. † enim-ma-bi-meš
 24. ip - ra
 Mu D.P. Taš-me-tum ‡

TRANSLATION.

- One acre of field-land
 beside the plantation of Ibnī-Sin the gardener
 3. and beside the field of Ura-Utu, § .
 The end || the field-land of the sons of Sin-azu
 and its end the field-land of Utukī-šemi
 6. the inheritance of Utukī-idinnam son of Nannar-me-giš
 With Utukī-idinnam son of Nannar-me-giš
 Šili-Innanna son of Ili-laḡ
 9. and Apil-ili his brother
 they have priced it—
 1½ shekels of silver
 12. as its complete price they have given
 For another day, for a day not existing
 they shall not dispute
 15. they shall not withdraw.
 They have ¶ invoked the spirit of the king.
 Before Nabi-Elilla (or Nabi-Bêl); **
 18. Before Kišti-Ura, the scribe;
 Before Sin-yatum †† son of Pirḥum;
 Before Ili-ikišam son of Narām-Addi;
 21. Before Aplum son of Ša-ili;
 Before Nannar-igi-guba, the *nāru*
 The seal of the contracting parties
 24. has been impressed.
 Year of Tašmētu^m. ††

* The envelope has *Igi Sin-mu-ba-li-iṭ du Pir-ḥu-um*.

† The envelope has (*ki* (?) before *enima*).

‡ The envelope has *Iti kin D.P. Innanna, ud u-kam | Mu Ha-am-ru-
 ra-bi lugal-e | D.P. Taš-me-tum gu-šeg-šeg-ga-ni*.

§ The envelope adds "the chief."

|| The envelope has "its end."

¶ Literally: "he has."

** The envelope adds "son of Nidittum."

†† The envelope has "Before Sin-mubalit."

‡‡ The date on the envelope is:

"Month Elul, day 10th
 year Ḥammurabi the king
 Tašmētu^m besought."

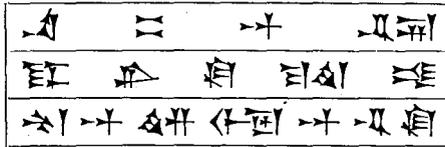
REMARKS.

It is to be noted that the reading of many of the names is uncertain, especially when one of the component parts is the name of a god. The following Semitic readings may therefore be substituted for some of them:—

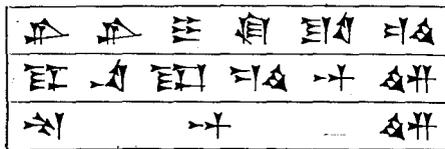
Arad-Šamaš for Uru-Utu
 Šamaš-šemî for Utuki-šemî
 Šamaš-idinnam for Utuki-idinnam
 Nannaru-ḫâli-šemî for Nannar-me-giš
 Sili-Ištar for Šili-Innanna
 Īli-pušuši for Ili-laḡ
 Nannaru-manzaz-pani for Nannar-igi-guba.

In line 19 the substitution of Sin-mubaliṭ for Sin-yatum would seem to imply that the former was brother of the latter, and had taken his place as witness when the envelope was inscribed.

For the sake of completeness I transcribe here such inscriptions of the seal-impressions as can be read easily:—



Na-bi-Bêl	<i>Nabî-Bêl</i>
du Ni-di-it-tum	<i>son of Nidittum</i>
ura Meri u En-ki	<i>servant of Meri* and Enki†</i>



I-li-i-ki-ša-am	<i>Ili-ikišam</i>
du Na-ra-am-Addi	<i>son of Narâm-Addi</i>
ura Meri	<i>servant of Meri*</i>

In Semitic these would be *Nabî-Bêl*, *mâr Nidittum*, *arad Addi û Aê*, and *Ili-ikišam*, *mâr Narâm-Addi*, *arad Addi*, respectively.

* Meri is the Akkadian name of the god whom the Assyrians and Babylonians called Addu (Hadad) and Rammanu (Rimmon).

† More generally called Êa (Hea), better Aê (Oannes).

COLUMN II.

	<p>對 十 小 四 四 對 十 小 四 四</p>	<p>四 一 命 十 十 四 一 命 十 十</p>
3	<p>四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四</p>	<p>四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四</p>
6	<p>四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四</p>	<p>四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四</p>
9	<p>四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四</p>	<p>四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四</p>
12	<p>四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四</p>	<p>四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四</p>
15	<p>四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四</p>	<p>四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四</p>
18	<p>四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四</p>	<p>四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四</p>

COLUMN III (reverse).

	<p>四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四</p>	<p>四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四</p>
3	<p>四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四</p>	<p>四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四</p>
6	<p>四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四</p>	<p>四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四 四</p>

COLUMN II.

	<i>Akkadian.</i>	<i>Semitic Babylonian.</i>
	Dun dingira - nu - tug - ra gaba - immanrieš	La bēl il[ani] imtaḥḥarū
3	Su - nenea šu - ni bangarreš	Ḳati - šu[nu] ana ḳati-šu i[škunū]
6	Gira - nenea gira - ni bangarreš	Šēpi - [šunu] ana šēpi-šu [iškunū]
	Gu - ni gu - da immangara	Ki[šad - sa] itti kišadi-šu [taškun]
9	Nite - a - ni šu - bala - babšin - šā	Raman - šu uštēbillu
	Du-nanna mae-men ban-ingu	Māru rubē anaku, iḳbīš
12	Guskin, kubabar ura-zu baninsi	Kaspu, ḥurašu sun-ka umallu
	Dama - mu ḡimen mae dama - zu ḡia	Atta lû - aššatu anaku lû-mut - ka
15	munabbī	iḳbī - ši
	Duru (?) ḡiš - šar - dim nig la - la	Kima inib kirī ana šāši lalē
18	immingara	ulalli - ši
	Lū - ḡišgal - lu nite - a - ni	D.P. Ame[li ramani-šu

COLUMN III.

	u
3	Su-e-ḡal (?) u - mu - un - ni[- in] - kešda ruku[s - ma]
	Su-esir giri[- ne - ne] umunnin [kešda?]	Šēnu ana šēpi šu[nu] šēn - ma
6	Su - a - mal - la kešda - ni umunnin - šumu	Naruḳa rakistu idin - šunuti - ma
9	Su-nig-na guskin kubabar ku-tuga - bi umunnin - kešda	Kīsu kaspi ḥurasi ina sisikti - šunu rukus - ma

	<i>Akkadian.</i>	<i>Semitic Babylonian.</i>
12	Kisega edinna ġabarab - lale	Kispa ina sēri likallim - ka
	Ku* u - giri - ku umunnin - gubu	Ina i[<i>bid</i> ?] asāgi šuzi[s] - sunuti - ma
15	Īgi - bi D.P. Utu - šua - šu umenim - gara ku umeni - ġur	Pani-šunu ana erib D.P. Šamši tašakkan - ma kima tesru - ma
18	Zi dingir - galgalēne i - ri - pada ġabara - dun	Niši ilāni rabūti utammi - ka lû - tattallak
21	[Ku]šurra En - ki - gi . . . - pad sub - ba D.P. Šilig-lu-šar du guru- [dug-ga gi	Kušurra ša D.P. Êa šutukku ša Marduk [<i>mâr Eridi</i>]
24	anna - ta - pale	la ta-

COLUMN IV.

	. . ta . . zu (?) ab na
	. . ra-ba-an-ma-ku(?)
3	[Ê] - a en - na [ba]ranta - rinaš	Adi [ina bēti (?)] la
6	[Uru] - a en - na [ba]raziga - ennaš	Adi ina âli la tassuġu
	[U ba]ranbab - kuen [a ba]randab - lagen	Akalu lâ tâkal mê la tašatta
9	[A - aab]ba a - duga [a - šeš]a a id - Digna [a] id - Puranunu D.S.	Mê tântim ^m , mê tâbutu mê marrutu, mê Idiglat mê Purattu
12	[A - tul - ta] a - idda [baran] - šušu - nen	me bûri, mê mâri la telime
15	[Ana - šu ba -]ri - en [pa nan - tug]tug	Ana šamê napriš-ma gappa e - taršî
	[kia - šu ba - gubb]en [tur namba - ga]ga	Ina iršitim nakli-ma šubta e - taškun
18	[Dun du dingirra -]na	Idlu D.P. mâr îli-šu libîb -muttu

TRANSLATION.

COLUMN I.

[Apparently a list of unfortunate men worthy of the commiseration of the Deity.]

- [The man whom, in] the street, like a barrier,
[the evil spirit?] before him keeps sitting ;
-
- 3 The man who, by the hand of his fate
evilly is treated ;
-
- The man whom, by his wierd,
6 a barrier binds ;
-
- The man whom, in the street, with weeping,
his mother was caused to bring him forth ;
-
- 9 The man whom grief
his body afflicts ;
-
- The man whose god
12 evilly binds him ;
-
- The man whose goddess
torments him ;
-
- 15 The man who has no wife,
(whose) child is not grown up ;
-
- The man who on his wife's bosom
18 Has not taken pleasure ;
-
- The man who on the bosom of his wife
has not torn the garment ;
-
- 21 The man who from the house of his affinity
has been sent forth.
-
- The man
-
- 24 [Many lines lost.]

COLUMN II.

[The Words of the wedding-ceremony.]

- The impious
are approaching
-
- 3 Their hands
to his hands [they have placed]
-
- [Their] feet
6 To his feet [they have placed].
-
- [Her] neck
with his neck [she has placed].
-

- 9 [Him]self
he has caused to be brought,
"The son of a prince am I," he has said to her,
- 12 "Silver and gold shall fill thy lap,"
"Thou shalt be my wife,
I will be thy husband,"
- 15 he has said to her
"Like the fruit of a plantation
to this (woman) abundance
- 18 I will make abundant to her."
His own people
.....
[Many lines lost.]

COLUMN III.

[Apparently a ceremony after the wedding.]

- ...
A leathern
- 3 bind thou on, and
The shoe on their feet
place, and
- 6 A strap for binding
give them, and
a purse of silver and gold
- 9 in their garment
bind, and
a spot in the desert
- 12 may he point out to thee.
By the stalk of the thorn-vine
cause them to stand, and
- 15 Before them at sunset
thou shalt stand, and
a garment thou shalt put on [and]
- 18 (When) the spirit of the great gods
has called thee,
mayest thou go.
- 21 The robe of the god Êa,
the *sutukku*,
of Marduk, son of Eridu
- 24 thou shalt not [transgress?]

COLUMN IV.

[An incantation, probably the continuation of Col. III.]

.....

3 Whilst [in the house]
 thou hast not settled,

Whilst into the city
 6 thou hast not removed,

Food thou shalt not eat,
 water thou shalt not drink

9 The waters of the sea, sweet waters,
 bitter waters, the waters of the Tigris,
 the waters of the Euphrates,

12 well-water, river-water,
 thou shalt not taste.

To heaven departing, though
 15 wings thou hast not gotten?

In earth remaining, though
 a seat thou hast not made?

18 The man, the son of his god,
 let him be pure.

.....

THE LETTER OF NABŪ-ZÉR-IBNĪ.

(See page 147.)

82-3-23, 925.

𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠
 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠
 3 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠
 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠
 6 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠
 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠
 9 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠
 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠
 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎠

REVERSE.

12 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
 15 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
 18 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
 21 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭
 EDGE. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

LEFT HAND EDGE. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭

TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION.

OBVERSE.

Duppi Nabû-zēr-ibnî a-na Ugar-a	<i>Tablet of Nabû-zēr-ibnî to Ugar,</i>
3 Ba-la-tu, Nabû-bêl-šumāti u Šamaš-udamm-iḫ âhê-šu	<i>Balaṭu, Nabû-bêl-šumāti, and Šamaš-udammik, his brothers.</i>
A-du-u Nabû u Na-na-a 6 a-na balat napšati ša âhe-e-a	<i>Now Nebo and Nanâ For the preservation of the life of my brothers</i>
u-sal-la. Bêl-êp-uš ša a-gan-na-ku-nu	<i>I pray. Bêl-êpuš who (is) along with you</i>
9 âhu-u-a šu-u man-ma dib-bi-šu bi-i-šu-tu	<i>my brother (is) he, whoever his words evil</i>

REVERSE.

12 i-dib-bu-bu ki-i ša âhe-e-a i-li'-u	<i>speaks as my brothers wish</i>
15 lu-sak-ki-tu Šu-u ul-tu re-eš a-di ki-it âhê	<i>let him be silent. As for him, from the beginning to the end brothers of</i>
18 a-ḥa-weš ni-ni Ki-i na-kut-ti a-na âhê-a	<i>each other (are) we. As warning to my brothers</i>

21 Lu-u-tâbu ša âhe-e-a ip-pu-šu-nu gab-ri ši-pir-ti ša âhe-e-a lu-mur	I send this May it be good what my brothers will do An answer (to this) letter from my brothers let me see.
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THE TABLET OF THE LOAN DURING THE FAMINE.*

(See page 147.)

81-11-3, 71.

OBVERSE

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REVERSE.

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* This and the previous text (p. 161) were also discovered by Mr. Rassam.

TRANSCRIPTION.

OBSERVE.

- Parap mana kaspi ša Rêmut mâr . . .
 ina êli Mušêzib - Marduk u Kul[lâ]
 3 aššati - šu ana ħubuttu.
 Ina ūme pan mâti ittaptû,
 kaspâ, parap mana, ina kaḫḫadi - šu
 6 Mušêzib - Marduk u Kullâ
 ana Rêmut
 inamdinnu.
-

REVERSE.

- 9 D.P. Mukinnu: Ablâ,
 mâr Arad - bêt - Nergal;
 Šapik - zêri mâr Mušêzib - Marduk;
 12 Bêl - upaḫḫir mâr Tullubu;
 Ugarâ mâr Šippê;
 Nabû - šum - ūsur mâr paḫari;
 15 ū D.P. rabi, Marduk - êtir. Bâbili,
 ârah Tebeti, ūmu tišû, šattu tišu - êšrit,
 Šamaš - šum - ukîn, šar Bâbili.
 18 Ina ūme - šu, ina âl Lamîma (?),
 sunkû u dannātu ina mâti [šakin - ma]
 nisê ina lâ mâkalê
 21 imuttu
-

TRANSLATION.

OBSERVE.

- $\frac{5}{8}$ ths of a mana of silver from Rêmut son of . . .
 unto Mušêzib-Marduk and Kullâ
 3 his wife, for necessities.
 In the day the face of the land sprouts,*
 the money, $\frac{5}{8}$ ths of a mana, in its full amount,
 6 Mušêzib-Marduk and Kullâ
 to Rêmut
 shall pay.
-

REVERSE.

- 9 Witnessing: Ablâ
 son of Arad-bêt-Nergal;
 Šapik-zêri, son of Mušêzib-Marduk;
-

* Or, "is ploughed," lit. "opened" (Tallqvist).

- 12 *Bél-upaḥḫir son of Tullubu ;
Ugarā son of Sippé ;
Nabū-šum-ušur, son of the potter ;*
-
- 15 *and the scribe, Marduk-ētir. Babylon,
month Tebet, day 9th, year 19th,
Saosduchinos king of Babylon.*
-
- 18 *At this time, in the city of Lamîma (?)
want and famine is in the land,
the people without food*
- 21 *are dying.*

NOTES.

Page 124. Mr. Hormuzd Rassam tells me that the Shatt el Hai is, in his opinion, "a natural outlet from the Tigris to the Euphrates, because, from the nature of its channel, and the flat banks that surround it, there is not the least sign of any embankment having been formed from the soil which naturally would have existed had "the Shatt" been dug out by human hands."

The suggestion that Tell Loh means "the mound of the tablet" I first heard some years ago from Prof. Hommel. It is also to be found in M. de Sarzec's *Découvertes en Chaldée*, p. 8; footnote. With regard to this etymology Mr. Rassam writes to me that in Arabic Tel-loh is written تل لوه, and not تل لوح. "There is a tradition," he says, "in Southern Mesopotamia that Noah lived, after the Deluge, in those parts, and the word لوه may therefore be a corruption of نوح." The derivation which I propose, namely, that *Loh* is a corruption or shortening of *Lagaš*, depends greatly upon the old pronunciation of the *g* in that word. With regard to the disappearance of the last syllable, *aš*, that may have taken place in comparatively recent times. It is worthy of note that a gentleman whose native tongue is Arabic, when speaking of the king whose name has been transcribed *Hammuragaš*, always called him *Hammuraga*. Probably the next stage of weakening would have been *Hammurah*—the same mutilation as the name *Lagaš* seems to have suffered.

Page 125. The god Ê-Girsu seems to have been named after the city Girsu, mentioned in the text here quoted. The principal temple seems to have been called simply $\text{𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗}$, *Êgirsu*, which is explained (80-6-17, 1024) as the temple of Ê-Girsu ("the Lord of Girsu" = Nergal) or *Mersû* (the dialectic form of the name).* From traces of another explanation of the name $\text{𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗}$ given on the above-quoted fragment, it would seem to have been called, in Semitic Babylonian, $\text{𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗}$, *Bit teliltu*, "house of glory," which is also the translation of another temple-name, namely $\text{𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗}$, *Ê-gia*,† the temple of the consort of Ê-Girsu, one of whose many names is $\text{𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗}$, *Ê-êgia*.

Page 129 (description of the early Semites of Babylonia). The Chaldean Christians of the Euphrates valley still show the same type.

Page 130. *Ê-ninnû* ($\text{𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗}$) means "Temple 50." Why it was distinguished by this name we do not know. It was a common thing, however, as will be seen from page 125, to give the temples numbers, though on the tablet there quoted it may have been simply for convenience of reference.

Page 131. *Ga-tumu-dugu* ($\text{𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗}$) ‡ seems also to have been one of the names of the goddess Bau. It was usual with the Assyrians and Babylonians to invoke the same deity under several different names.

"Among the divisions of men *had established his power.*" This is the general sense of these lines. The original has "had set his hand therein." $\text{𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗}$, *šū-ni ba-ta-an-ubbā*, Col. III, 18). The "reference to building" seems to record that "he set the beams, he arranged the brickwork" (*gišuru mu-gar, šege nepā*). The characters which Amiaud renders "adorers of demons" are $\text{𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗}$, for a better rendering of which see the footnote. The phrase "prophetesses of divine decrees" is written with the characters $\text{𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗}$, *sal-*-dug-ga*, "woman-*-saying."

* The full dialectic form of the name of Ê-Girsu is $\text{𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗}$, *U-mersi*.

† There is evidently some confusion here on account of the Babylonian 𒂗𒂗 standing for both 𒂗𒂗 and 𒂗𒂗 (Assyrian). From W.A.I. II, 59, 29 the pronunciation *gagia* would rather be expected.

‡ The dialectic form of this name is $\text{𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗} \text{ 𒂗𒂗}$, *Mašibšib*.

The character represented by the star may be a variant of either  or .

Page 132. The wedge-text of the phrase beginning with line 6 is as follows:—

   	Nam-sig šu-ba	<i>The construction*</i>
   	mu-gal-am	<i>being in hand</i>
   	ki-maga-uru ka	<i>the high place</i>
  	al-nu-gar	<i>of the city was unoccupied</i>
   	uru-ki nu-gin	<i>a funeral pile was unset</i>
    	gal-e* nu-gin	<i>{the minister performed* not the service,* lamen- tation he gave not forth.</i>
   	iri-nu-ta-ê	
   	ama iri-gi iri	<i>the mother of lamentation</i>
  	nu-še-gu	<i>uttered not lamentation</i>
  	ki-šur-ra	<i>in the boundary</i>
   	Lagaša(D.S.)-ka	<i>of Lagaš</i>
  	lu-di-tug	<i>a man making judgment</i>
   	ki-nam-erima-šu	<i>on the place of the oath</i>
  	lu nu-gin	<i>set not a man</i>
  	lu-ḥur-ra	<i>a man pledging</i>
   	ê lu gu-nu-taḡa	<i>the house of a man claimed not</i>

The words marked with a star are doubtful, and the whole translation must be regarded as somewhat tentative.

Page 133, line 4, and note*. The words in the original literally mean "He opened everything to him" (*GAL-muna-KADA*), the compound separable verb *GAL-KADA* being equivalent to *pētû*, "to open." The name *Amālu*^m (line 5) is written    *Ama-a-lum*—a combination of syllables foreign to *Semitic* Babylonian or Assyrian, who would rather have written     () *A-ma-a-lum* (-num). *Šaku* or *Ušūhi*-trees (lines 15-16) were hardly to be regarded as a foreign product, as a plantation of them is mentioned on B. 78 † as existing at Tel-Sifr, or at Warka in the time of

† Strassmaier's *Altbabylonische Verträge aus Warka*.

Samsuiluna (B.C. 2150), but perhaps those of our text were remarkably fine specimens, as they are really called "great šaku-trees" (𐎲 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎲 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎲 𐎠𐎺𐎠).

Page 134. A similar name to *Kâ-gala-ada* = *Abulli-abi-šu*, "His father's great gate," is to be found in the name of the kingdom of which Damascus was the capital, namely *Ša-imēri-šu* ("the country or city) of his ass," probably a derisive etymology manufactured by the Assyrians.

Page 135. The cuneiform text of lines 21-22 is as follows:—

𐎲 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎲	Gu-de-a	<i>Gudea</i>
𐎲 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎲	šalam - e	<i>this statue</i>
𐎲 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎲	gu - im - ma -	<i>command</i>
𐎲 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎲	šum - mu	<i>gave:</i>
𐎲 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎲	Šalam lugala -	<i>"The statue of</i>
𐎲 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎲	mu	<i>my king</i>
𐎲 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎲	u - na - gu	<i>invoke!"</i>

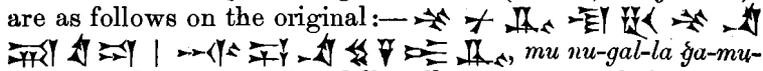
The ending 𐎲, *e*, seems here to have a demonstrative force.* GU-imma-SUMMU, is a form from the compound separable verb GU-ŠUMMU, "to give a command,"† and literally means "word it-to gave." *Unagu* (root *gu*) is formed with the imperative prefix *u*, and the infix *na*, literally "do it-to speak." Many read *ša* instead of *u*, which is possible.

Page 136. The original text of lines 15-17 is as follows:—

𐎲 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎲	Ū-ul-li-a-ta	<i>From this day</i>
𐎲 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎲	numuna-ia-ta	<i>of the glorious seed</i>
𐎲 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎲	pa-te-si	<i>viceroy</i>
𐎲 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎲	Lagaša D.S.	<i>(of) Lagaš</i>
𐎲 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎲	Ê - ninnū	<i>Ê-ninnū</i>
𐎲 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎲	D.P. Ê-gir-su	<i>(of) Êgirsu</i>
𐎲 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎲	lugala - mu	<i>my king</i>
𐎲 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎲	u-na-du-a	<i>make</i>

* See p.136, l. 1, where, on the original, "this statue" is also expressed by 𐎲 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎲 *šalam-e*. See also note * on the next page, *kia-nag-e* "this place of libation."

† Instead of GU-ŠUMMU, ENIMA-ŠUMMU is also a possible reading.

Page 137. In lines 17 and 18 the words "may he go forth nameless, and may his reign be made (one of) subjection," are as follows on the original:—

mu nu-gal-la ġa-mu-na-ta-ê, bal-e-na še-gar ġi-gal, literally "name not-being, may he it-from go-forth, reign-his subjection may it be."

Page 143. (Tablet of the Rival Claimants.) It will be remembered that, in the legal transaction recorded in the book of Ruth, Boaz went to the gate of the city, and agreed with his kinsman there, before the elders, concerning the land which he afterwards redeemed, and the question of wedding also Ruth the Moabitess.

Page 144. It is not unlikely that the whole tablet refers to the wedding-ceremony, but the text has too many and too extensive gaps to enable this to be decided satisfactorily. A translation of the whole will be found on pp. 159-161.

Page 147. Further testimony to the famine in the 19th year of Samaš-šum-ukin or Saosduchinos occurs on tablet 83-1-18, 2597. We there learn that a man and his son sell their female slave for so much money and *so much corn*. This was in Tammuz—six months earlier than the date of the tablet published. Another tablet, in the possession of Miss Ripley (published by Dr. Budge in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archæology for Jan., 1888), dated in the *eighteenth* year of the same king, also makes reference to the famine. The note at the end of this text reads:—"At this time also want and famine are in the land, and mother to daughter opens not the gate" (*Ina ūmu-šu-ma sunku u dan-natu in a māti iššakin-ma ummu ana mārti ūl ipattī bāba*). The state of the country at the time was evidently most appalling.

Pages 154, 157, and 159 (col. ii, ll. 1 and 2). A roughly-written tablet, rather mutilated, apparently gives, as an extract from this text, these two lines and some others preceding them. The corresponding portion of this new text (81-7-1, 207) is as follows:—



DUN DINGIR-NU-TUG-RA GAB-im-ma-an-RI-eš.

Ana idlu lâ-bêlu-îlâni
 imtaḥḥarū.

"To the man the impious are approaching."

occurs in W.A.I. IV, pl. 1, col. ii, ll. 56—63. This is in Akkadian only, and has furnished the material for the restoration of the present text.

The words "To heaven departing," etc., seem to mean, "Dost thou think to reach heaven without wings? to remain on earth without a resting-place? Purify thyself, then, with fasting, that, being a son of thy god (*i.e.*, a pious man) thou mayest attain thy desire."

We must wait patiently for the East to yield up its treasures, to enable us to complete this mutilated, but interesting and important text.

Page 163 (Loan-tablet, l. 19). The characters *šakin-ma*, at the end are restored by comparison with the other British Museum text referring to this famine, mentioned on p. 169. Miss Ripley's tablet gives *iššakin-ma*, which is also a probable restoration.

The CHAIRMAN (H. CADMAN JONES, Esq., M.A.)—I am sure I may return the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Pinches for his exceedingly interesting Paper. It is now open for those present to take part in the discussion.

Mr. W. St. C. BOSCAWEN, F.R.Hist. Soc.—I think this is one of the most important Papers that I have seen for many years, and one which has long been wanted, and as Mr. Pinches has devoted so much study to the Akkadian every word of his comes with a special force. I have worked at the same study to some extent; and I must say the conclusions that I have come to are, almost in every case, the same as his. The importance of the monuments which he has described is very great, not only on account of the inscriptions on them, but also by reason of their value from an archæological point of view. The fact that the stone used for these monuments is not to be found anywhere in the neighbourhood of Babylonia, but, as was pointed out at a recent meeting held here, evidently came from the Sinaitic Peninsula, is extremely important, because it has a bearing on the connection between Egypt and Chaldea. At a time when the sixth dynasty were relinquishing the quarries and mines, their place would appear to have been taken by traders from Babylonia. I have lately received from Paris a small chip of the porphyry used in these Babylonian monuments, which I had always been inclined to think were not from the quarries worked in Roman

times, and it is now very interesting to find that it is not the Mons Porphyriticus porphyry, but another kind found in the immediate neighbourhood of Magharah. Mr. Pinches' Paper gives us an extremely valuable insight into Babylonian civilisation. It settles many questions; but one of the most interesting which it leaves open, and which I always maintain will be left open, is that of the disposal of the dead. No doubt in the number of little state communities which grew up in Babylonia, various customs would prevail, as shown by the words themselves. The word for burial may also be used in many cases for burning, as the custom changed. We know in our own country our words for trees have changed from one class to another, as shown by the late Professor Rolleston.

Another point in Mr. Pinches' Paper, which I think of special interest, has reference to the types of the faces. They go to prove that we are not, in Babylonia, to deal emphatically with pure races. It has always been a country of mixed races; and to say this is an Akkadian head or that a Semitic head is almost impossible. From the earliest times we find traces of mixed races there, and no doubt men rose to power in those days by intermarriage; therefore, to get a purely characteristic ethnological type would be extremely difficult. Indeed we never have found, and probably never shall find, any evidence of such purity of type as you find in Egypt; in Egypt the Egyptian language was the one language from the Cataract down to the Delta; with the exception of the infiltration of the Nubian words in one element, and Semitic in the others, it has been changed but little.

With regard to Mr. Pinches' defence of the Akkadian language, I do not think it needs defending. The theory put forward by a Continental Assyriologist is simply a crotchet which scarce requires notice, although indeed even from crotchets one does sometimes get a valuable hint.

M. BERTIN (the late).—I agree with what Mr. Boscawen has said about the theory put forward in regard to the Akkadian language. I would go further and say that it seems a mania. There are two people on the Continent who take up that theory of cryptography. One of these cannot bear the idea of anyone not of Semitic race inventing anything; and so, when any discovery in Assyrian civilisation is attributed to the Akkadians (who were non-Semites), he finds a simple way of doing away with it by sup-

pressing Akkadian and the Akkadians. The other is a very learned German Assyriologist who has found so much difficulty in Akkadian that he has adopted the very simple way of ignoring the existence of the language. But no one can really settle any question in that way!

The Paper is very important, for it deals with the subject practically, and shows us something of the inner life of the people. As to the burial and burning of the dead, I think I was one of the first who expressed the idea that the Akkadians burned their dead. The burning of the dead has been an expensive process at all times. In Holland, for instance, all the rich people were burned and the lower classes, who could not afford to pay, were buried; and so in Egypt, all the rich people were turned into mummies, and the poor were buried; and those who were killed in battle, unless they were victors, were burned to avoid pestilence. As to the remains which are found in the East (in Babylonia and Assyria), showing that people were buried, I do not believe in them, because in all cases where the monuments have been attributed to the Assyrians and Babylonians it has been found on examination that they were neither Assyrian nor Babylonian, but of a later period—the Greek period generally. I have not seen the monuments found in Germany, but I think the Akkadians and the Germans used to burn the dead, and the lower classes were buried like dogs, because they were of no importance.

I believe Akkadian was a dead language a very long time before these inscriptions were written, but that it was the official language to a late period, and that these remains were written in Akkadian at a time when their language was Semitic, and very likely their names were not those given in this Paper, but a Semitic translation. I think that Gudea's name was really Nabû, and not Gudea. The name does not prove the nationality or the language, because people often have names that are not of the language they speak. I am very thankful for what Mr. Pinches has done in regard to this subject, and I hope he will publish much more about those inscriptions of Tell Loh.

Rev. W. ST. CLAIR TISDALL, M.A.—Although I have not yet studied Akkadian very thoroughly, yet what little I do know of it has satisfied me that it was very closely connected with the Turkish family of languages. This is by no means a new discovery, as I am aware, having been pointed out by others. I venture to record

my opinion on the subject, merely in confirmation of this view, and because I have arrived at it independently through comparing Akkadian with modern Osmanli, and more particularly with the Turko-Tâtâric tongues of Central Asia. The resemblance is not confined to words, but on a comparison being instituted between these languages and Akkadian, one is struck by observing that the methods of expressing grammatical relationship, the terminations of the cases, the pronouns and pronominal affixes, and in fact the system underlying, so to speak, the whole framework and arrangement of these tongues are very similar. This incidentally proves—what it is hard to realise having ever been doubted—that Akkadian was really a spoken language, and not a merely artificial tongue invented for the purpose of preserving the secrets of the priesthood. (A similar theory was once urged and learnedly supported by Professor Dunbar with regard to Sanskrit, which he believed was never a spoken tongue, but a literary language formed out of Latin and Greek by the Brâhmans!) The grammar of the Akkadian is so very different in system from that of all Semitic languages that it is impossible seriously to maintain the theory that it was *invented* by Semites.

It has occurred to me—though I have not worked the idea out—that we may still find in other languages words borrowed from the Akkadian which bear witness to the early proficiency of the Akkadians in architecture. The Hebrew הֵיכָלֹּא Aram. הֵיכָלֹּא הֵיכָלֹּא; Syr. ܫܘܚܠܐ, ܫܘܚܠܐ; Arabic هَيْكَلٌ, “a palace,” “a temple,” are known to be derived from the Akkadian *He-gal*, “large house,” “palace.” The Assyrian word *temennu*, “foundation-stone,” is known to be of Akkadian origin. May not the Osmanli-Turkish تَمَلْ (*temel*) “foundation,” be the same word, and is the Greek θεμελιος or θεμελιον certainly a purely Hellenic vocable?

The Akkadian *nen* means “mother.” I have heard the same word in the form *nana* from the lips of a native of Tabrîz, who told me that the word is used as frequently in his native city in this form as in the form *ana* (أنا) which alone is found in Turkish dictionaries. It is well known that the Akkadian *Dimir* or *Dingir*, a god, is the Turkish تَنْگْرِی (tangri, tengri, tenri); Chagataish tangri, God;

Uigour *tangri*, *tingri*, God, heaven; Yakutish *tañara*, heaven, deity (*vide* Professor Vámbéry, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Turko-Tatarischen Sprachen*.)

As to the question of burning *versus* burial in Akkad, it may be worth while to mention that, as we know, in Idian at the present time *both* practices are in vogue among the Hindûs. All caste people, I believe, are burned when they die, as are also some who belong to no caste at all. But many who have no caste or are of very low caste are buried even at the present day. The latter custom seems to have prevailed in India in pre-Aryan times.

Rev. JAMES NEIL, M.A.—First, may I ask when we in England shall know more about those invaluable tablets of Tel-el-Amarna. I was much struck, when Mr. Pinches spoke about the conveyance of land, by the fact that the only tablet referring to that speaks of a plantation and houses. In a Paper recently read here, I called attention to the fact that to this hour there was not anywhere throughout the East, and there never was in ancient times, any individual holding, in broad acres. In all Eastern lands lots were cast every year for every rod of arable ground, owned, as it was, in common by the whole village. Now it is very interesting to see that in all cases where a holding in severalty is mentioned, it was that of plantations and houses, not of broad acres. Almost everything is the same to-day as in Mr. Pinches' pictures of this wonderfully primitive life. I do not know that I could quite yield to so early a date as 3800 B.C., but, not being an Assyriologist, it becomes me to speak very modestly on this point; but the life referred to is evidently very ancient. In the East, as I have said, life is much the same now as then. Money is still lent in times of distress without interest, and they punish infidelity with death. This last is going on now everywhere throughout Palestine and all Syria, and the Turks try in vain to stop it. As to the words of address to the wife, about which Mr. Pinches spoke of feeling some difficulty, it is most interesting to observe that the expression "Be thou the Mother of Millions" is to this very hour the Eastern symbolic way of addressing a bride on the occasion of her marriage by all her relatives and friends. It is indeed an ancient life that Mr. Pinches' Paper reveals, but it is, most of it, the life of to-day.

The HON. SECRETARY (Capt. F. PETRIE).—With regard to the

question asked in reference to the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, it will be in the recollection of all that the first description of them was given to this Institute by Professor Sayce in the 1889 Annual Address. At that time those in the Museum in Berlin and in the Egyptian Museum (now transferred from Boulaq to the Palace at Gizeh), were admirably arranged; and the Berlin Museum afterwards issued excellent photographically illustrated descriptions of those in its possession.*

REV. W. J. ADAMS, B.A., D.C.L.—Before the discussion closes may I ask a question on a point of Assyrian history? We are told in Scripture that Manasseh, King of Judah, was carried away captive by Esar Haddon out of Jerusalem to Babylon. Now, as Esar Haddon was an Assyrian monarch, we should naturally suppose that he would have taken his captive to Nineveh, not Babylon.

THE AUTHOR.—I will not occupy you very long, as I am a man of few words, as a rule. I will take Dr. Adams' question first because the reply is brief. King Manasseh was taken to Babylon because, as research has shown, Esar Haddon was at that time master of Babylon as well as of Assyria, and held court in that city.

With regard to the question of Anti-Akkadism, of course it is well to remember that one cannot nip error of this kind in the bud too soon. The fact that both the scholars referred to by M. Bertin, one in France and the other in Germany, are Anti-Akkadists, and that they have pupils, makes it probable that they will teach the erroneous doctrine to their pupils, which will naturally bring discredit on our Science later on, because, if we do not shew a bold front and try to disprove these wild statements at once, people will probably say, as they have said before, that we are not agreed amongst ourselves, and are probably very much in doubt as to the reading of words, and the whole history of Assyria and Babylonia. The question of Akkadian being connected with Turkish, as Mr. Tisdall has said, has already been mooted, and he has cited the word "Temen" in support of this. There is still another word which is often quoted, however, and that is the Akkadian "*Dingir*," meaning God, which

* Last year, 1892, the British Museum followed suit in this respect.

is compared with the Turkish word (I do not know Turkish except from books) which is, I believe, "Tengri."

I thank those who have spoken for their very appreciative remarks, and I am very pleased that I have succeeded in presenting something which may be regarded as of interest. (Applause.)

The meeting was then adjourned.

REMARKS ON THE FOREGOING PAPER.

FROM MAJOR C. R. CONDER, B.E., D.C.L., &c.

Mr. Pinches has contributed a most valuable and interesting Paper to the Institute, and no one in England is better fitted to write on the subject. It is satisfactory to see that he attributes a date about 2500 B.C. to the inscriptions, representing the civilisation of Babylonia about the time of Abraham or rather earlier; for some scholars have spoken of these statues as dating about 4000 B.C., for which date there is no sound reason, while the advance in the character of the writing from its first hieroglyphic state to the conventional forms used, is far more probably to be assigned to the date which Mr. Pinches adopts.

De Sarzec's work has been in my possession for the last two years, and represents one of the most important of recent additions to knowledge of Cuneiform writing, and of early Asiatic history. The texts are not only in Akkadian, but in a character so archaic and so nearly approaching the original hieroglyphic forms of the emblems, as to make it clear that these were originally rude sketches of natural objects. None who are unfamiliar with the history of this character would, at first sight, suppose the signs to be the same which in a much modified form were used by the Assyrians 800 years later, but the labours of Amiaud and Méchineau have shown the gradual changes which went on, and have served to connect the oldest and latest forms in a satisfactory manner. It is now clearly shown that the emblems, which at Tell Loh stand upright, while the syllables of the words (as in Hittite) are placed in vertical columns, and the words in the line divided off by vertical divisions, were afterwards turned on their sides, and are so used in the Assyrian and later Babylonian writing.

It was this change which at first rendered it so difficult to understand the hieroglyphic meaning of the emblems.

My interest is chiefly in the light which these and other texts cast on the Hittite question. The Hittite and Cuneiform were separate scripts; yet there can be little doubt that both, with the Chinese and probably the Egyptian, sprang from one original source—a rude system of picture writing—although they developed separately, so that the signs used as grammatical symbols—verb and noun endings, &c.—have no connection. I believe that at least 70 out of some 200 emblems used at Tell Loh may be recognised as having had the same sound and meaning with similar emblems used by the Hittites. These include the signs for “water,” “sprout,” “bird,” “bull,” “yoke,” “ship,” “run,” “city,” “eye,” “heart,” “wind,” “take,” “put,” “go,” “sheep,” “key,” “star,” “throne,” “altar,” “town,” “footprint,” “plant,” “no,” “sun,” the plural emblem, “heaven,” “stag,” “dog,” “tablet,” “tree,” and “arrow;” but when we come to pronouns and case endings the two systems show no connexion at all.

The character of the sculpture at Tell Loh, rude as it is, is superior to that of the Hittite monuments, which are perhaps of the same age or even older. As regards the language there is now every reason to suppose that Akkadian and Hittite were cognate dialects. At Tel-el-Amarna a letter has been found, nearly 1000 years less ancient than the Tell Loh texts, addressed by a Hittite prince to Amenophis III., and written in a dialect very like Akkadian—as has been recognised already in Germany. This fully confirms the theory I proposed in 1887 as to the Hittite. There is also a letter by Dusratta, king of Mitani, written in the language of Mitani—a region in Mesopotamia, east of the Euphrates and opposite the Hittite city of Carchemish. This dialect, as I hope to show in a paper now in print for the Palestine Exploration Fund, was also akin to Hittite and Akkadian, by aid of which it can easily be read.

Now on these views Mr. Pinches' inscription from Tell Loh casts most important light. We see that the Akkadian prince Gudea ruled from the South Sea (Persian Gulf) to the North Sea (or Mediterranean near Alexandretta) and cut cedars on Amanus, the northern mountain of the Lebanon chain. Hence we perceive that in 2500 B.C. the Akkadians were already extending into the Hittite country west of the Euphrates. They have never

before been shown to have gone so far west, but this proof, with the facts deducible from the Tel-el-Amarna letters, viz., that the Hittite language was an Akkadian dialect, and that the intermediate people of Mitani, between Babylonia and Hittite Syria, spoke a kindred language, serves to connect the Hittites and Akkadians, and to shew that the old Mongol race was very widely spread over Western Asia.

I venture to think Mr. Pinches is too modest in speaking of an "Akkadian question." His own labours have added to our knowledge, and it is agreed by authorities such as Sir Henry Rawlinson, Oppert, Lenormant, Delitzsch, Hommel, and Dr. Sayce, that such a language existed, that it was not Semitic, and that in grammatical structure and vocabulary it is closely akin to the Mongol, Turkic, and Finnic languages of later times. I am not aware that any great name save that of Halévy (a Semitic scholar) can be quoted on the other side, and the theory as to cryptograms and secret characters is but one of those clumsy excuses which are set up to bar the way for scientific progress, by prejudiced scholars. We have bilingual texts in Akkadian and Assyrian, bilingual syllabaries explaining to Semitic scribes the Akkadian language, and other such aids to study, which prove beyond doubt the existence of this old Mongolic speech; and the translation of Akkadian texts by scholars who, being versed in Semitic languages, know how to distinguish texts which are not Semitic, puts the question beyond the pale of controversy.

As regards the racial type, the round-headed and high-cheeked personage at Tell Loh is clearly more like a Mongol than like any other type. It may be that these Akkadians shaved—the Phœnicians shaved head and upper lip in 1600 B.C., and the Egyptians shaved—but it may be that the bare face shows Mongol nationality; for the Tartar beard grows very late in life, and the bearded figures—kings and deities—may be intended to represent very ancient and venerable persons.

As regards further study of Akkadian, it seems to me that the method followed by Oppert and Lenormant is the safest, namely, the comparison with the most archaic living dialects of Turkic, Finnic, and Mongol speech. It is true that Chinese has a remote radical connexion with this group; but even the oldest known Chinese dialects are so much corrupted, and have so much in them that is foreign, that Chinese could only be used to illustrate

Akkadian as English could be used to illustrate Sanskrit. The knowledge of English would not enable anyone to understand a Sanskrit book.

If it be finally established that Gudea says that he drove out necromancers and wizards—as Saul drove them out in Israel—this does not of necessity show a very great advance of thought on his part. The Zulu kings in our own day spend most of their time in cooking various magic decoctions, to be used in “smelling out” wizards and witches, and this, which was common to all the ancients, may be here intended. The mention of a holiday, when slaves and masters were equal for a week, reminds us of the Saturnalia among the Romans, celebrated in the middle of December each year. Their Saturnalia also lasted for a week. Slaves were allowed free speech, and even to ridicule their masters. The Roman custom may have been of Etruscan origin, and have come from the East; for there are sound reasons for supposing the Etruscans to have been a people from Asia Minor, of the same Mongol stock with the Akkadians and Hittites.

If Magan really means Sinai or the region near Egypt, the Akkadians in 2500 B.C., would have probably been acquainted with the whole of Palestine. Magan may mean “the wall of the land,” or “the walled land,” and be connected with *Shur*, the wall on the east limits of Egypt. Lenormant has written fully on this question, but it would be well to know for certain that diorite cannot be found nearer than Sinai to Tell Loh. The Hittites also used basalt for their inscriptions, but this they found near them in Syria. As regards *Kimash*, it may perhaps be legitimate to ask whether this has any connection with *Kar-Kamasha* (Car-Chemish) the Hittite Capital. The latter name might mean “City of Kamasha,” and the country might be called Kimash or Kamash. It is not very far from the mountains of the Taurus chain.

The mention of the King having a “tablet in the temple of his God,” is very interesting. It perhaps explains the use of the tablets of Gudea found at Tell Loh and elsewhere; and one cannot but be reminded of the Chinese ancestral tablets, so carefully preserved and, indeed, worshipped. This again is a very characteristic Mongol custom.

As regards burial and burning, it does not seem to have been ever shown that Semitic peoples or Egyptians burned the dead. The Mongols and the Aryans had the custom in early times. In

India and in Europe burial and burning existed, and still exist side by side among the same peoples. It must be remembered that burning was always expensive as compared with burial. Hence only the rich could afford a splendid pyre. But at Tell Loh itself we have a representation of the dead laid in rows head to foot alternately, and covered with a mound to which labourers are bringing baskets of earth. This may represent burial of enemies slain in battle; but there seems to be much to suggest that, while the Semitic peoples buried, the Akkadians burned the dead, or at least burned their chiefs, as did the Tartars in early ages of their history.

I venture to make two suggestions as to Akkadian words: *lu dingirra-nu-dim* might perhaps be rendered "this godlike man, or literally "man + God + this + like." On the other hand, Akkadian syntax would hardly allow of *En Zu*, meaning "Lord of Knowledge," the word should be *En Zu-na* or *Zu-en* "Lord + Knowledge + of" or "Knowledge + Lord."

The freedom of women among Akkadians distinguishes them somewhat from Semitic peoples, though, as Mr. Pinches notes, the Babylonian ladies in later times engaged in trade and business on their own account, and the freedom of women in the East is still, among Arabs, much greater than we suppose at home. The Etruscans also did not seclude their women, who sat at table with the men, and engaged in dances with them.

I may be excused for saying that Mr. Pinches takes rather a gloomy view of the present as compared with the past. We know how furious were the cruel passions of the Assyrians, and I think Assyrian scribes no doubt fell foul of each other as to their writings, much as a certain class of modern pedants have done, not only now, but ever since Jerome's days. M. Mohl complained of this spirit of unworthy bickering when he was President of the Asiatic Society of France, in the days of Botta's first explorations. On the other hand, Mr. Pinches will admit that there is no lack, either at home or abroad, of honest and kindly scholars, who are willing to recognise the value of the work of others, and to take interest in their progress. I at least, as a student of Oriental antiquities, have always found such help, and not least from Mr. Pinches himself.

FROM THE REV. H. G. TOMKINS.

Mr. Pinches has given in his paper some interesting results of very laborious research. May I offer a few brief remarks :

1. The geographical names in Gudea's long inscription (*pp.* 133-4) deserve careful study. The reading, *Samalun*, reminds me of the Samalua of the list of Thothes III. of Northern Syria

(No. 314. ) which seems to be the Sam'alla

land of Assyrian inscriptions, as I have long ago suggested.

2. Is it possible that *Gubin* (*p.* 134) was Gebal, the Kapina of Egyptian record ?

3. The old name Magan always reminds me of the Mükna or Makna of the land of Midian, to the east of the head of the Gulf of Akaba, and of the Sinaïtic Peninsula.

4. If Gudea really commanded his statue to invoke the statue of his God, as he would have done if present himself, this would be parallel with the deputed functions of statues in the religious ideas of the Egyptians.

5. *P.* 135. It is very curious to find the characteristic "misrule" of the *Saturnalia* at so very early a date in Southern Babylonia, and the period of seven days is to be remarked in connexion with the institution of the Sabbath. The kind treatment of slaves agrees with intimations in the history of Abraham in the Book of Genesis.

6. *P.* 138. As to the funereal pyre and the supposed cremation, one would like to see the result of further research. The process of burying the dead in a mound is given in a *stela* found by M. de Sarzec (*see* woodcuts in *Babylon*, *pp.* 42, 76), and Loftus and Canon Rawlinson have given much on that subject. Are we really to think that the familiar  of the Hebrew originated in the pyre of cremation, and not in the burial-tumulus ?

7. *P.* 142. The oath by invocation of the spirit or life of the King is of course equally characteristic of the ancient Egyptians. One would greatly rejoice to find monumental information as to the intercourse of these early Chaldæans with the Egyptians, who in their very early dynasties worked Sinaïtic quarries and mines, and used with such consummate skill the intractable diorite, which

was brought eastwards with hardy enterprise for the sculptors of Gudea.

These primæval *rappports* of the great races of the Nile and the Euphrates are among the most attractive problems of history.

I wish to add a few words on the researches of Mr. Pinches in their Biblical bearing : p. 124.—Is it possible that the name *Lagash*, transplanted to Southern Palestine, is the name of the celebrated Canaanite city לַכִּישׁ, *Lakish*, whose ruins Dr. Flinders Petrie has been exploring at Tel-el-Hesi ? I do not see any difficulty in the name being identical, and I should like to know what Assyriologists say to this suggestion.

In my book, *Studies on the Times of Abraham*, I tried to show the value of an enlarged view of the conditions of life under the great primæval civilisations of the Old World as illustrating the narratives of the Old Testament. All that Assyriology and Egyptology can tell us of these things have that specific interest, I mean in their Biblical aspect, as well as the importance that belongs to them in their general bearings on universal history, anthropology, and the like.

For instance, what we learn from these sources of the status of daughters and wives (p. 138), of the confidential and easy condition of house-slaves, of the solemnity of marriage (144), of the strong and trusty special alliance of friends (142-6), and the well-known legal assurances and transfers of property, all bear out the conditions of life under which we find Abraham and his family to have fulfilled their course. I need not refer to well-worn Bibles for proof of these congruities.

Again, the methodical care of registrations and records, of pedigrees and muniments of title; the minute elaboration of the commercial system of securities, and of testamentary dispositions, both in Chaldea and in Egypt, all show how ludicrously defective were our familiar notions of Old World affairs.

But time does not allow me to add more.

This sort of inquiry is making excellent progress; and the readers and lovers of Holy Scripture have nothing to fear, but everything to hope, from such lore as this.

FURTHER REPLY BY THE AUTHOR.

In Major Conder's valuable remarks I see that he has mentioned the date, 2500 B.C., which I have fixed as that of Gudea, as it is a date which seems to me to be most reasonable; but I am bound to confess that I may be wrong. Perhaps it may be as much too late as that of the French Assyriologists is too early. It may, indeed, be as early as 4000 B.C., but until we get more certain information I think it is better to keep to the lower figure—2500 B.C., or a few hundred years earlier, and I am glad that Major Conder is in agreement with me in this. His note about Carchemish is very interesting; for Kimaš may really be, as he suggests, connected with the second element of the word, namely, *chemish*. The Assyrians call the city Gar-gamiš or Kar-gamiš. The termination *iš* (= *ish*) is suggestive, and recalls various other parallels, such as Ša-imērišu, the Assyrian name of the kingdom of Damascus, probably from a native form Šāimēriš (Šaīmēriš); the Rev. H. G. Tomkins's suggestion as to Lachish would bring that name, with Lagaš, into the same category; and the well-known name of a part of Babylonia, Kar-duniaš (Karduniash), seems to exhibit the same termination, which, under the form of *aš*, was a common one in the Kassite language. Upon this question, however, a great deal might be said.

I am very glad to see Mr. Tomkins's other remarks; he is a scholar who has taken much interest in the geographical side of the question, and one cannot criticise his statements offhand; nor, indeed, should I feel inclined to do so, because they require consideration.

The oblique-eyed head on Pl. II is a noteworthy illustration of Major Conder's remarks as to the racial type being Mongolian, and bears out in a remarkable way the researches of the Rev. C. J. Ball and Prof. de Lacouperie.