

of Venice. Although the orthography is different, the identity of the name is, I think, certain. I would also point out that Gautier Meine Abeuf was very possibly a relative of Barthélemy Mainebeuf, one of the vassals of Julian, Sire of Sagette, whose signature we find at the end of a deed of sale drawn up for his suzerain in 1254.*

Meine Abeuf or Meine à beuf seems to me a merely different form of the name Mainébeuf, if it is really thus that these names are spelt in the original documents, which unluckily here are not accessible to me.

The name of the wife Alemane recalls that of the family of Aleman who played a somewhat important part in the Holy Land.† The inscription has various orthographic irregularities, and contains several points which deserve to be examined by experts. For instance, I do not know what to make of the character which ends the epitaph of the husband; perhaps it is indistinct at this point: one would naturally look for the name of a month—June or July perhaps.

The wife, it seems, died the same year, in the month of August, and apparently soon followed her husband to the grave; the exact date of her decease is uncertain, as the units following XX are indistinct.

The epitaph of Madame Alemane was, I conclude, added afterwards, and, as far as one can tell from the copy, was not so carefully engraved, for the letters are not divided by two points, as are those in the epitaph of the husband. But whatever its correct form may be, this inscription is none the less a precious record in connection with the history of the Crusaders.

A PHœNICIAN FUNERAL TABLET.

THE bronze tablet from the collection of M. Péretié, of Beyrout, of which Lieutenant Conder, R.E., published a description and a drawing,‡ is of so much interest as a work of art, and an illustration of the religious ideas of Western Asia, that I would venture to add some remarks upon it. In these notes I have chiefly drawn upon Assyrian and Babylonian sources, as it is evident upon the most casual inspection of the bronze, that the Phœnician artist has also engrafted the mythological conceptions and art representations of Assyria and Egypt, and even of the tribes of North Syria, the Hittites, into his representation of the Story of Death which he has portrayed in so weird a manner in this tablet. The mixed character of the sculpture is quite in agreement with the other examples of Phœnician metal work which have been preserved to us. In the bronze bowls from Cyprus, which form so valuable a portion of the Cesnola collection; and in

* Archives de Venise. *Mélanges diplomat.* Busta XV, No. 297; also "Recherches sur la domination des Latins en l'Orient."

† Paoli *Codice Diplomatico* I, No. 123; also Ducange.

Ducange. *Les familles d'outre Mer.*, ed. Rey, pp. 505, 559.

‡ *Quarterly Statement*, July, 1881.

the examples from Nimroud, found by Sir Henry Layard, the same fusion of styles is met with. The more explorations are carried out on the shores, and among the islands of the Mediterranean, the stronger are the facts which accumulate to prove how greatly the Phœnicians had contributed to the spread of culture and civilisation westward. Yet, strange as it may seem, this enterprising race of "the cunning Phœnicians," who in their black ships bore to Greece her alphabet and schooled her in the early paths of art—these early navigators, whose ships passed by the bounding pillars of Heracles, and who, returning, carried back with them the wealth of many lands, leaving behind them colonies whose influence extends even to the present day—have bequeathed to us no distinctive art remains, no purely national style of architecture. They seem to have borrowed, adapted, transmitted, but never to have invented. It was this hardy race who carried abroad the teaching of the schools of Nineveh, the art, the myths and legends taught in the temple schools, and thus spread the learning and wisdom of the Chaldean over the Mediterranean. The alphabet which they bore to the western world, and made the script of commerce and diplomacy, was but a modification of the hieratic script of Egypt, which they had found too cumbrous for the exigencies of trade. So in Assyria and Babylonia had their ancestors on the shores of the Erythrean Sea, adopted from the inventive Akkadians the script of the land in order to pursue their vocation of trade. Cumbrous as the cuneiform syllabary was with its ideographs, determinatives, and polyphonic characters, these adaptive Semites had rendered it suitable to the required end. Art, mythology, and science had alike been borrowed and utilized by the kinsmen of the Phœnician in the Tigro-Euphrates valley. And if any conclusive proof of the way in which the Phœnician civilisation was made up of a mosaic of borrowings and adaptations was required, perhaps no more striking one could be produced than this tablet of which M. Péretié is the fortunate possessor. As I have pointed out in the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology," we may always see in the ideas which a nation held of the glories of the life to come—the state after death—an idealised form of the state of civilisation existent at that time. The heaven of the Assyrians was but an idealised life on earth; the god Anu, the Assyrian Zeus, held in heaven his kingly court, and it was but a glorified king of Assur, with his Ninevite court. The North American Indian, whose daily existence is the hunter's life, sees his Ælysium in the happy hunting-grounds; and even the extent to which this may be carried, is shown by the Esquimaux's idea of heaven as a vast ice-house beneath ground, a conception which would seem irrational, were it not based on the earthly life.* This tablet of M. Péretié, with its symbolism gathered from so many sources, shows how mixed a character was the civilisation of Phœnicia. The figure which covers the back of the tablet, and grins over the top, is the demon of Death, "the devourer." The description of this figure given by Lieutenant Conder

* Rink. "The Esquimaux."

corresponds exactly with the figures of the Assyrian demon of death. The demon has four wings, a lion or dog's body, eagle claws, a short tail, and a serpent in front. The head is that of a lion or some beast of prey. This demon is again figured in the lower and largest compartment of the obverse of the tablet. This is certainly the "demon of death," the Namtar  or "destiny" of the Akkadians, a demon who was regarded as the chief opponent of "the life of man."* This demon, who was the servant of the Queen of Hades, or the "House of Death," the "Bit Mituv" or Arali, and was especially said to preside over that most terrible form of death in the East, "the plague." In that beautiful legend of the "land whence none return," the story of the descent of Istar into Hades (W.A.I. IV, pl. 31), Hades is called "the house of corruption," the abode of the god  IR-KALLA, a deity who bears the title of "the devourer," a name applicable to the demon of death, who is here fitly represented on this bronze as a beast of prey. The god of death, Namtar, was regarded as the son of Hea or Mul-ge, the Akkadian Pluto or Hades, and his wife, Nin-ki-gal or Allat, the Queen of the Tombland Arali, the Persephone of the Greeks. He was the servant of his mother, and when Istar, the rival Queen, penetrated into the land of death and its seven-walled city, it was Namtar or "Death" who was sent against her to afflict her with diseases in all her members. In my consideration of this story of death, which the Phœnician artist has derived from the Akkadian or Assyrian conception of that dread demon, I must reverse the order of explanation of the tiers or compartments of the obverse of the tablet, and commence with the lower, which affords us a glimpse of the land of death. Here we see depicted the voyage on the river of death, and the Assyrian origin of this tableau is very apparent. On the bank we see again the demon of death, who stands by the river of death. This tableau receives very full illustration from the voyage of Isdubar to visit the translated Tamzi or Adrakhasis, and to inquire of him the secret of immortality, which is detailed in the Xth of the Isdubar legends. Isdubar, to reach the abode of the Chaldean Noah, had to cross the waters of death, which no one had previously crossed, and to do this he has to gain the services of the Assyrian Charon, a deity whose name was Nes-Hea, the "lion of Hea," the god of the underworld, in whose boat the dead crossed the waters of death. The land where the translated Khasisadra dwelt was on the remote side of the river or waters of death, and its position is indicated in the Deluge Tablet. Khasisadra telling Isdubar of his translation, states that the gods took him "and caused him to dwell in a remote place at the mouth of the rivers." We may therefore consider the mythic house of death to have been in the extreme south of Babylonia, in the district now known as the Afadj. In these reedy marshes, with their dark

* Figures similar to this have been found at Nineveh, and one evil spirit thus represented was the demon of the hot south-east wind.—(Lenormant, "Chald. Magic.")

sluggish streams, was the dwelling of the departed, and through it flowed the river or "waters of death."* The representation of the stream which the Phœnician artist here gives, would seem to correspond to the Assyrian idea, as the river is flanked by tall dark weeds. The artist seems to have drawn in this compartment rather on Assyrian than Egyptian sources. But in the group of the voyagers on the river, we have one of those blendings of various conceptions which are so peculiar a characteristic of Phœnician art. The description of this group, by Lieutenant Conder, R. E., is as follows: "A fearful lion-headed goddess with eagle claws, kneels on one knee on a horse (the emblem of death), which is carried in a kneeling attitude on a boat with a bird-headed prow. The goddess crushes a serpent in either hand, and two lion cubs are represented sucking her breasts." Here we have a fusion of the Asiatic and Egyptian conceptions of the Queen of the under-world. The type, however presented, is extremely interesting, as it shows certain local features connected with the worship of the mother goddess. In the form which the Phœnician artist has presented to us, we can see blended together many of the various conceptions of the great Asiatic mother-goddess, the goddess, Anatha, or Anatis, whose worship was introduced into Egypt about the time of Seti I, of the XIXth Dynasty, and who was a war-goddess. On the rocks at Redosieh in Upper Egypt this goddess is represented as clad in warlike costume, mounted on a horse, and wielding a battle-axe: but her association with death is shown by a funereal tablet in the British Museum† where she is represented as standing on a lion, and holding in one hand flowers and in the other a pair of serpents. It is clear that the Phœnician artist has not confined himself solely to the form of this goddess as she appears in the Egyptian representations of the time of the XIXth Dynasty, but has also borrowed from the North Syrian form of the goddess as worshipped by the Hittites. The statue found at Jerablus or Carchemish, the sacred city of this deity, exhibits a somewhat similar conception to that of the Phœnician artist. The Hittite goddess had long locks, was full-breasted, and is representing as standing on a lion‡ or a cow§ both of which animals were sacred to her. It was this full-breasted goddess, the Nutrice of all nature, whose worship spread from Babylon to Ephesus. Neith, the Egyptian representative of this nature goddess, is represented as suckling crocodiles, and the statues of Artemis Polymastos represent her as giving nourishment to all the animal kingdom.|| This figure from the tablet of M. Péretié forms a link between

* The south point of the compass was with the Akkadian "the point of Arali," or the tomb.

† Figure in Sharpe's "Egyptian Inscriptions," and in Cooper's "Serpent Myths," *Vict. Inst.*, 1873. The name of this goddess occurs in the name Bent-Anat, the sister of Rameses II.

‡ On a sculpture at Milidijeh, on the Upper Euphrates.

§ A gem in the possession of S. Tommassini, of Aleppo.

|| See articles in the "Builder," 1880, on a "New Chapter in Art," where this connection is fully explained.

the representations of the mother goddess in Syria, Assyria, Egypt, and Asia Minor. Here, however, the Phœnician artist represents the mother goddess in her character of the great Earth Mother Demeter, who as mother of all living was also queen of all death, and mistress of 𐤀𐤌𐤌𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤏 as E-MAD-BAT or ARALI, the house of the land of death, "the tomb." There appear to have been in Assyrian and Akkadian mythology three mother goddesses of the under-world.

1. DAY-KI-NA. "The earth mother" or Demeter, the Dauke of of Damacius, the Baau or Bahu of Phœnician cosmogony, the 𐤁𐤏𐤏 of the Hebrew (Gen. i, 2).
2. NIN-KI-GAL. She was the queen of the great land, and dwelt in the palace of the under-world.
3. NIN-A-ZU. "The lady of the waters;" this was a title of the death goddess, and she appears in the XIIth Isdubar legend under this name.

Since the Akkadian age, when magic formulæ were passing into hymns and fetish spirits in deities, Nin-ki-gal and Nin-a-zu have changed genders. In a magical litany, W.A.I. II, pl. 19, the following weird description of death and the fight for the soul of the departed is given :--

Nin-ki-gal, spouse of Nin-azu,
 May she cause him to turn his face to the place
 Where she is.*
 May the wicked spirits depart,
 May they lay hold of each other.
 The favourable demon and the propitious giant,
 May they enter into the body.†

But in the later description of death and its dread queen which is preserved to us in the XIIth Isdubar legend, we see Nin-a-zu as the dark queen of death—

Oh Darkness! Darkness! mother Nin-a-zu,
 Her mighty shade as a cloak covers him,
 Her womb as a pit enfolds him.

This idea of the queen of death enfolding and enshrouding the dead man is one of the most beautiful in the Assyrian inscriptions; and the poetic idea of those who die returning to the embrace of the mother goddess is beautifully expressed. We see how closely this idea is followed in the story of Saul and the witch of Endor, where the dead Samuel was called from the palace of death wrapt in a mantle (1 Sam. xxviii, 14). Such are some of the ideas of the dread queen which centre round this figure, in which the Phœnician artist has embodied so many of the symbols of death current in the West of Asia.

The boat in which the goddess rides is in all probability the boat of

* The tomb-land.

† The struggle for the possession of the body and soul of the deceased.

Nes Hea, the "Lion of Hea," the Assyrian Charon; it may be the sacred ship of the king of the under-world (W.A.I. IV, pl. 25) in which the goddess sails over the waters of the sea of the Inferno.

I now pass to the second compartment, which deals more especially with the departed one for whom the tablet was made; and here we see again how much the Assyrian or Akkadian teaching has been followed. To illustrate this I will first quote a fragment from the XIIth Isdubar legend, to which I have already referred, which seems very graphically to ascribe portions of this tableau:—

On a couch he reclines, and
 Pure waters he drinks,
 Who in the battle was slain. Thou seest and I see*
 His father and his mother (guard) his head;
 His wife weeps over him.
 Those who are his friends (allies) in the field† are standing.
 Thou seest and I see*
 His spoil of the earth he regards not.
 Thou seest and I see*
 Those who are his offspring long for food. The food
 Which is placed in the tent‡ is eaten.

The two fish-clad creatures who stand by the couch are two spirit messengers of Hea, the life giver. The attributes of this god are clearly shown in a tablet of the Creation series—

Lord of the illustrious incantation, vivificator of the dead,
 Who to the hostile gods has granted a return,
 The homage they have rendered he has caused his opponents to bow
 down to;
 To fear them he made mankind:
 The merciful one with whom is life.

In this same hymn we find Hea, whom M. Lenormant has proved to be synonymous with the Musarus Oannes, entitled "the lord of prosperous life." In some cases Hea deputed his son Merodach, the Silik-mulu-khi, "protector of the god man," the work of raising the dead to life. The two demons who are fighting in this tableau are the evil spirits, the wicked  U-TU-KI or demons, who being ejected from the body of the dead man, are now fighting with each other: "Of each other they take hold," as the magic formula above quoted states. This ejection by Hea and his son Merodach of the devils or evil spirits which in the form of sickness or disease and even death possess the man is

* This passage is a dialogue between Isdubar and the witch who has raised the spirit of his friend and chief adviser Hea-bani, the Satyr. Hea-bani was to Isdubar what Samuel was to Saul.

† Heaven is regarded as a vast camp.

‡ This probably refers to some custom similar to the Egyptian offerings of food.

the great doctrine and basis of all the Babylonian religio-magic creed. The bearded figure on the right of this group is somewhat difficult to explain, it seems to me best explained as the shade or εἶδωλον of the man for whom the tablet was composed. The extent to which this idea of the soul as a transparent form of the body was very elaborately worked out among the Egyptians is shown by M. Renouf* in the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology." The idea of the shade was not unknown to the Assyrian, as in the XIIth Isdubar legend, from which we have already gained so much information, the spirit of Hea-bani when raised by the witch from Hades is said to be transparent like glass. This passage has been somewhat differently translated by Professor Sayce, but I think there can be little doubt about the reading, "The spirit of Hea-bani as glass from the earth ascended." I therefore, judging both from Egyptian and Assyrian analogies, think that we may see in the figure here represented as bearded and clad as the Phœnicians are represented on the monuments, the shade of the departed one for whom the tablet was engraved.

The two remaining compartments of this tablet are purely symbolical, and probably represent the deities of the Phœnician pantheon who were worshipped at the time when the tablet was made; and in them we see the same borrowing and appropriating of symbolism from surrounding nations. In the lower of the two tiers we have the gods and their bodily forms, while in the upper we have their symbols.

The deities all face to the right, and so commencing with the first, I will endeavour to explain some of the forms here represented.

- (1.) The serpent-headed deity is probably the Phœnician Ophion or **אֹפִיּוֹן**, the history of whose defeat by the god El resembles that of the defeat of Kirkir Tiamat, the dark serpent, by Merodach.
- (2.) The bird-headed deity may be the same as the raven-headed creatures which figure on the walls of Assyrian palaces, and these "men with the heads of ravens" mentioned in the Cutha legend of the creation. They were called **NAṬ-TIḶ** by the Akkadians, but to which of the great gods they belonged is doubtful. The figures may be of Egyptian origin, and represent Phœnician forms of Ra or Khonsu. (See Birch's "Catalogue Egypt. Antiq.")
- (3.) The boar-headed figure. This must be the Winter god of Phœnicia, who with the boar's tusk of winter slew the youthful Tammuz. The boar does not appear in either Assyrian, Akkadian, or Egyptian mythology.
- (4.) The "ram-headed;" this is in all probability the Egyptian Chnonmi, who had passed into the Phœnician pantheon.
- (5.) The dog-headed is possibly the genus of the inferno, one of the four dogs of Merodach, or perhaps a form of death as the devourer, like the Vedic-Yama. (See M. Müller "Rig. Ved.")
- (6.) The lion-headed is the Akkadian and Assyrian **NERGAL**, the

* Vol. vi, on the word "Ka."

god to whom the lion-headed figures and winged lions were dedicated. He was like Horus the midnight sun, which illuminated the "land of death."

It would seem to me, as far as I am able to judge, that we have here the gods of inferno, the gods who rule the "land of death and darkness, and oppose the passage of the soul of the good man;" and it may serve to illustrate the emblems of these seven gods, to quote the following from a hymn addressed to the Seven Evil Spirits. (W.A.I, IV, pl. 6.) "The passage unfortunately broken may be of use. In the recurring days* were the wicked gods, rebellious spirits, who in the lower part of heaven had been created; they wrought their evil work, devising with wicked heads at sunset;† as a sea beast to the river they turned. Among the seven of them, the first was a scorpion‡ . . . the second a thunderbolt, the third a leopard,§ the fourth a serpent, the fifth a watch dog,|| the sixth the raging tempest,¶ which to god or king submits not; the seventh the messenger of the fatal wind."

I have endeavoured in these notes on the animal-headed gods only to suggest points which may be of use to other students, and I anxiously await the results of the examination of this valuable tablet by that master of Phœnician art and archaeology, M. Ganneau, who will no doubt be able to solve many points which are now obscure.

The upper tier is occupied by the symbolic emblems of the gods.

In the consideration of this portion of the tablet, I would venture to suggest that these are the emblems of the *good gods*, the protectors of the good man deceased against the hostile gods figured on the tablet. The emblems are nearly all of them common to Assyrian and Babylonian religious tablets, but some of them appear to be of special interest in the religions of Syria and Phœnicia, and so I will add a few remarks on them, referring students to tablets and sculptures in which similar examples are to be found—

(1.) The Seven Stars, the Pleiades, the god invoked in the Bavarian inscription of Sennacherib as the "god Seven," →| . On the

* The seven *Mustakridhat* of Syria, from February 25th to March 3rd, when evil spirits were supposed to have special power. (Sayce-Smith, "Chald. Gen.," p. 99.)

† The period when the evil spirits and demons begin their work, after the sun, their great opponent, has gone to rest. Compare the Hebrew idea of the "pestilence that walketh in darkness."

‡ "The piercer of the rain-cloud," most probably the lightning, *birku*, the  "Smasher."

§ *Nimru*, a leopard or panther, the Arab *نمر nimr*. This may be one of the carnivorous-headed figures of the tablet.

|| This must be the equivalent of the Indian *Vama* and his dog, and perhaps the deity from whom the Dog River derives its name.

¶ The winter-cloud, the boar-headed figure of the tablet, whose rude onset slew Tammuz the Summer Sun.

statue of Esarhaddon, at the mouth of the Nahr el Kelb, these appear, and I do not know of any other royal statue on which they appear, though they are frequently found on the gems. I should be inclined to connect them with the Cabiri.

- (2.) The crescent moon is certainly the emblem of Istar or Astarte. She was, as I have shown, the goddess of the moon from the commencement of the last quarter to the end of the first. The Hittite moon goddess has a helmet surmounted with a crescent.
- (3.) The winged circle, the Persian Fervhar, is the emblem of the golden rayed sun-god. (*See "Athenæum,"* September 6th, 1881.)
- (4.) The rayed disk the moon.—The solar disk when not represented as the winged circle of Fervhar, is distinguished from the lunar by having eight star-like limbs, and eight wave-like rays, so seen on the tablet discovered by Mr. Rassam at Abou Hubba or Sippara of the Sun, the Chaldean Heliopolis, and on the boundary stone of Merodach-Baladan I (B.C. 1300), and Merodach-Nadinakhi (B.C. 1100).
- (5.) The two next emblems  are difficult to explain, but they appear to be the Asherah or wooden posts, the אֲשֵׁרָה or אֲשֵׁרִים, the posts which, like the fir tree of Cybele, took so important a part in the worship of the Asiatic mother goddess.
- (6.) The Trissul is here clearly the thunderbolt of Rimmon, the Jupiter Tonans of Syria and Assyria. This is of frequent occurrence on seals and gems, and on the statue of Esarhaddon at the Nahr el Kelb, and on the boundary stones mentioned above.
- (7.) The peculiar club or staff  is the emblem of Merodach in Assyrian, and probably of the Phœnician Melkarth. It is the weapon described in the tablet of the War of the Gods. It is the same as Khreb  borne by Perseus against the Dragon which tradition says he slew at Joppa, and of which a tradition may linger in the story of St. George, located in St. George's Bay at Beyrout.*
- (8.) The horned cap was the emblem of Baal or Bel, and was always worn by him. The examples of it are numerous, on the Bavian rocks, on the statues of Assurnazirpal, Samsi-Rimmon, in the British Museum, and that of Esarhaddon at the Nahr el Kelb, and on the boundary-stones mentioned above.

The curious group of figures arranged in the lower compartment are very difficult to explain without a careful examination of the original tablet, and I think that the suggestion of Lieutenant Conder of their being offerings to the shade "and the gods of death" is a very possible solution. At the same time I would suggest the comparison with Hittite inscriptions, whereof the signs, as far as I can distinguish of them, several occur. On

* On a boundary stone of the 14th century B.C., discovered by Mr. Rassam at Babylon, this staff has a dog's head.

the monuments at Jerablus we have the vase, the altar, jar, or basket, boots, horse's foot and quiver, the remaining character appears to be a harp, which does not occur.

In my account of the seals in the possession of S. Tommassini, of Aleppo, which appeared in the "Athenæum" of March, 1880, I pointed out how in one seal the Phœnician artist had turned a cuneiform character, meaning name or signature, into a *tree*, and worked it into the field of his tent. It is possible that we may have here a conventionalised representation which once was an inscription.

I must now conclude these notes, but if by them I have raised an interest in this valuable tablet, I shall be amply rewarded, and I hope that a careful photograph or a cast may be accessible to students, and that thus points now obscure may be cleared up. There are many matters I feel that students of Phœnician and Egyptian mythology can throw more light than I have been able to gather from the records of Assyria, on this—Story of Death.

W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN.

KADESH ON ORONTES.

THE report of Lieutenant Conder, R.E., on Kadesh, in the July *Quarterly Statement* (pp. 163 *et seq.*), is full of very interesting and valuable matter, for which all students of Hittite and Egyptian affairs owe him hearty thanks. But I cannot agree with him in identifying Tell Neby Mendeh (or Mindau, Mindoh, *Burton*; Mindow, *Porter*) as the site of the Hittite Kadesh, however the name may be found there. As Lieutenant Conder has mentioned, I took pains to collate all attainable Egyptian information for him before he left England, and I have since studied the matter again, and have given some results in a paper read November 1st, to the Society of Biblical Archæology. Now I will try to put the question clearly in the light of the Egyptian records, which are remarkably concordant, both in narrative and picture.

The celebrated battle-scene described by the court poet Pentaur is given twice on the walls of the Ramesseum. On the *second* pylon (Rosellini, M.R. cix, cx, Lepsius, "Denkm.," vol. iii, 164) the Orontes flows from the left into a lake which curves upwards, and at the top turns to the right, where the doubly-moated Kadesh stands on an island, with a bridge above and below, the *lower being south*, for the force of the Kheta, shewn there, crossed the *southern* moat to attack the brigade of Ra, as the narrative tells us. Below the river is a straight embanked canal, running right across the picture. The *first* pylon ("Denkm.," vol. iii, 157-160) agrees in these particulars, and we have to the left the important addition of the point where the canal flows out of the river on its *east side*, running north-east. In both Kadesh must be at the north-east end of the lake, which is at least five times as long as the island where the fortified Kadesh stands. In the enormous battle-piece of Abusimbel the Orontes flows similarly into the