

NOTES ON ASSYRIAN AND EGYPTIAN HISTORY.

AN ARAMAIC OSTRACON.

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I.

I can throw a little more light on the names of the Assyrian kings which have come down to us from Ktesias in a more or less corrupted form. The 16th king is Askatades (Sync.) or Astakadis (Euseb.), who was followed by Amyntes, Belokhos II, Balatores (Sync.) or Bellepares (Euseb.), Lamprides, Sosares, Lampares, Panyas, Sosarmos, and Mithraios. It is now some years ago since I pointed out that Sosares and Sosarmos are variants of an Assyrian Samas-Ramman, the two elements of which are reversed in Arma-mithres, the 7th king, who is made the predecessor of Belokhos I and the successor of Baleus. Samas regularly becomes Σωσ in Greek—Shesh in the Hebrew Shesh-bazzar—and Samas-Ramman II, the conqueror of Media, is represented by Sosarmos in Ktesias's list of Median kings. It is true that in the name of Hadad-nirari the name of the deity was pronounced Hadad or Adad by the Assyrians; but the divine name is also written Ram-ma-nu, Ra-man, and Ra-ma-nu, and the Biblical Hadad-Rimmon is evidence that the two names were equivalent and interchangeable. The Persian representative of Samas is Mitra, Greek Mithres or Mithras; hence Mithraios is merely a translation of Sosarmos and Sosares, and Arma-mithres is but another form of Arma-sôs. It may be noted that Tukulti-In-aristi calls himself "the Sun-god of all mankind."

I have further pointed out that the Belitaras and Belitanas of the Ktesian list, as given by George the Syncellus and Photius, is the Belêtaras of Agathias (*De regn. Just.*, II, 25, 15). Belêtaras,

according to Bion and Polyhistor, had been the gardener of Beleous, the last of the Derketades or Delketades, whom he overthrew and whose crown he seized. Beleous will be the Bêlôkhos of Ktesias (also written Belokhoos), and the Derketades, who are called the descendants of Semiramis, are simply the descendants of the goddess Derketo, that is to say 'Atar-gatis or Istar, the goddess of Nineveh. The Askatades of Ktesias is clearly a corruption of Derketades, which has been still further corrupted into Astakadis.

All this I first pointed out twenty-two years ago. But I can now add something more. Lampares, with the Greek patronymic Lamprides which has been formed from it, shows that Bel-lepares must be the Bilu-labiru, "Bel the elder," of Tiglath-pileser I, to whom a temple was dedicated at Assur. Panyas, which is formed like Ninyas from Ninus, is probably taken from the Assyrian *paniu*, "the older," a synonym of *labiru*, rather than from *sar pani*, "former king." It is possible that there may be also a reference to the fact that the ideographic name of Assur was "the city of the old dynasty" (*pali labiri*). Bellepares, which is the spelling of Jerome, appears as Balepares in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius (II, 36) and Belleropares—with an obvious reminiscence of the name of Bellerophon—in the excerpts of the Latin Barbarus.

In another passage of the *Chronicon* (I, 65), however, Eusebius writes Balatores, the Belêtaras of Agathias, further transformed by Photius into Belitanas, whose tomb, according to Ktesias, was the temple of Bel at Babylon. If the conjecture is right that Belitanas is בל-איתן "Bel the elder," Ktesias will have confounded the temple of Bel-Merodach at Babylon with the temple of the older Bel at Nippur. In any case the form Belêtaras is due to the "euhemerism" which associated the name of Bilu-labiru with the fall of the first Assyrian dynasty. In-aristi-pal-esarra, according to his descendant Tiglath-pileser I,<sup>1</sup> was the founder of a new line of Assyrian kings about B.C. 1200, the old line apparently ending with Bel-kudur-utsur, and as Belokhos could correspond with the abbreviated form of the name Bel-kudur-utsur, so in Belêtares we could have the pal-esarra or pileser of In-aristi-pal-esarra. Amyntes is the Greek translation of *natsir* or *utsur*, and it is noticeable that the

<sup>1</sup> A fragmentary inscription, however, recently found by the German excavators at Qal'at Sherqat makes In-aristi-pal-esarra the son of Erba-Hadad (*Mitt. d. D. Orient-Gesellschaft*, April, 1905, p. 60). It is possible that the Arma-mithres of Ktesias may have been influenced by the name of Erba-Hadad.

same length of reign (45 years) is ascribed to him as to the other two kings, Panyas and Laosthenes, who bear Greek names in the Ktesian list.

The changes are thus rung in the list on the following names: Belokhos II = Amyntes = Askatades (Derketades), Bel-lepares = Lampares = Panyas, Sosarmos = Sosares = Lamprides = Mithraios. A Samas-Ramman, it may be added, built the temple of Bel in Assur, called the House of the Bull of the World, which may have been the same as the temple of Bel-labiru (see *W.A.I.*, I, 14, 87).

The same names, with slight alterations, recur in an earlier part of the list of Ktesias, where, however, their order is reversed. Here we have (1) Baleus, of which Xerxes, the Persian Khshayârshâ, is given as an equivalent, (2) Arma-mithres, *i.e.*, Sos-armos, (3) Belokhos I, (4) Balaios, "he who belongs to Bel" (the elder), and (5) Altadas, which a comparison with the variant Sethos in the Syncellus shows must be a corruption of Askatades, *i.e.*, Derketades. Altadas is followed by Mamitos, the Assyrian deity Mamit, reduplicated a little later in the list under the form of Mamylos, *i.e.*, Mama-ilu, "Mama the god," where, however, Eusebius has Mamitos II; by Mankhaleus or Askhalios, which I cannot explain; and by Sphairos with its duplicate Sparetos or Sparthaios. Light is thrown on the latter by bricks found by the German excavators on the site of Assur, from which we learn that Assur-nirari I built, or rebuilt, the temple of Bel-sipria. By the side of *sipri* we also have *siprêti*.

Mithraios is fitly followed by Thinaios "he of the Moon-god (Sin)," Teutamios or Tautanes and Teutaïos being interposed between them. But this is because Teutamios was reputed to have sent help to Troy, and the siege of Troy in the chronology of Ktesias would have taken place at this particular point. Teutaïos seems to be "he of the sea-coast," Assyrian Tamti or Tavti, a native word with which the Teutamios of Greek legend was ingeniously connected.

The names which come after that of Thinaios are more difficult to interpret, partly because the reading is in more than one instance doubtful. Derkylos, when compared with Mamylos, is probably Derke(to)-ilu; Pyriatides or Pertiades, "the son of the Euphrates (Puratu)," and Ophrataios, "he of the Euphrates," explain themselves, and indicate the transference of the list from Assyria on the Tigris to Babylonia on the Euphrates. Thonos-Konkoleros, we are told, was the Sardanapallos of the Greeks; perhaps we should read Konkoderos and identify the name with that of Kandalanu.

## II.

It has long since been observed that Semiramis is the Assyrian Šammu-ramat, the name of the wife of the Assyrian king Hadad-nirari III. But Šammu-ramat itself has hitherto been difficult to explain. Now, however, the contract-tablets of the age of Khammu-rabi show that it is an old West-Semitic (and not purely Babylonian) name which belongs to the period when Babylon first became the capital of Babylonia and was provided with walls of defence. Among the names collected by Dr. RANKE which characterise this epoch is Šumu-ramê, the masculine correspondent of Šam(m)u-ramat. Šumu and Šamu are variant readings of the name of the West-Semitic god who represents phonetically the Hebrew Shem, and, as Dr. RANKE points out (*Early Babylonian Personal Names*, p. 137), Šumu-ramê is a formation similar to the hypocoristic Ramayatum and the Hebrew Remaiah (Ezra x, 25). It is quite possible that Semiramis (Šamu-ramat) was a historical character, the wife of Khammu-rabi or some other king of the First dynasty of Babylon, though popular tradition subsequently confounded her with the goddess Istar of Nineveh.

## III.

The Septuagint counts 2262 years from the Creation to the Deluge (B.C. 3246). According to Africanus there were 2280 from Menes to the end of the Eleventh dynasty and of the first Tomos of Manetho, with which therefore we may conclude that the first period of Egyptian history was supposed to end. When, however, we add together the years assigned by Africanus to the several kings and dynasties we find that they amount, not to 2280, but to 2263 years, which is practically identical with the 2262 years of the Septuagint. Considering the efforts made by the Septuagint translators to harmonise the Hebrew chronology with the Egyptian by altering the dates of the Hebrew text, it is impossible to believe that the coincidence can be accidental. In other words, the Manethonian chronology must have been known to the translators, and, accepting the dates usually assigned to the Septuagint translation of the Pentateuch on the one side and to Manetho on the other, it becomes probable that Manetho's chronology was one

which was already established among Egyptian historians before Manetho's work appeared.

From the Deluge to the migration of Jacob into Egypt the Septuagint reckons 1362 years. As this number is obtained by arbitrarily changing the Hebrew text and interpolating a new patriarch into the list, there must have been a special object in inventing it. Now one of the Hyksos kings has been shown by scarabs to have had the name of Jacob-el, abbreviated into Jacob, and with him, I believe, the Alexandrine Jews must have identified their own ancestor. We know from Josephus how ready they were to see their Israelitish forefathers in the Hyksos. If we knew the precise place of Jacob-el in the three Hyksos dynasties, we should thus have their chronology fixed according to the Manethonian scheme; as it is, the chronology approximates to that which BÖCKH and WIEDEMANN have obtained from the imperfect data of Africanus and Eusebius, and altogether excludes the shortened chronology at present in fashion among the Berlin school of Egyptologists.

#### IV.

In the Armenian Chronicle of Eusebius the Manethonian predecessors of Menes are given, but in a confused way. First of all we are told that the gods, Manes, demi-gods and three pre-Menic dynasties down to Bytes reigned altogether 13,090 lunar years. Then we learn that the demi-gods (including the Manes) reigned 1255 years. Then there were "other" kings for 1817 years, 30 Memphites for 1790 years and 10 Thinites for 350 years. Finally it is said that the Manes and demi-gods reigned for 5813 years, the predecessors of Menes reigning altogether 11,000 years. At first sight the numbers seem hopelessly confused and contradictory.

When, however, we add together  $1255 + 1817 + 1790 + 350 + 5813$  the sum total is 11,035, that is approximately 11,000, and if we suppose the reign of Bytes to have been computed at 35 years the number will be exactly 11,000. This would leave  $(13,090 - 11,035 =)$  2055 years only for the gods. But as the reign of the demi-gods and Manes is put at 1255 years in one place and at 5813 years in another, we may conclude that the demi-gods have been counted twice, once with the Manes and once with the gods, and so obtain  $(5813 - 1255 =)$  4558 years extra for the gods.

Bytes I identify with Buzau, which Prof. NAVILLE has shown is the true reading of the second name of the king called Nar-mer by Prof. PETRIE. The archæological evidence makes it clear that Nar Buzau was the immediate predecessor of Menes.

Hence, according to the Armenian Eusebius, Manetho's arrangement of the pre-Menic dynasties would have been:—

	Years.
(1) Gods ... ..	6613
(2) Manes ... ..	1255
(3) Other kings ... ..	1817
(4) Memphites, <i>i.e.</i> , kings of Lower Egypt ...	1790
(5) Thinites, <i>i.e.</i> , kings of Upper Egypt ...	350

the last king of the fifth dynasty being Bytes.

V.

At the northern end of the Gebel el-Tûkh, on the eastern side of the Nile, are the remains of a fortified town, of which little has now been left by the *sebakhin*. In one place is a flight of fifteen steps cut in the rock, which lead at present to a shêkh's tomb. In the cliff below the wall of the city are some tombs of the Pharaonic age, and in the desert at the foot of the Gebel an extensive cemetery of the Roman and Coptic periods, which has been hopelessly plundered by the natives. The cemetery was planted on the site of a "prehistoric" one. The town must be the Thomu of the itinerary of Antoninus Augustus. Thomu lay between Panopolis or Ekhmîm and Chenoboscion (Qasr es-Sayyâd), being 4 Roman miles from the former place and 50 miles from the latter. The distances would agree very fairly with the actual mileage, and there is no ancient site Southward of Ekhmîm that is nearer to the last-named city.

VI.

The Aramaic ostrakon which I obtained at Elephantinë in 1900, and which has been published by Mr. COWLEY as Ostrakon I (*Proceedings*, June 1903), has received a good deal of elucidation from the Assuan papyri which I have lately been engaged in editing. A re-examination of the ostrakon shows that Mr. COWLEY is right in reading הַבִּיָּה and הַלֵּל in lines 2 and 5 of the concave

side. In line 1 Prof. CLERMONT-GANNEAU sees in חנתא the Aramaic word for "shop," but this seems to make no sense here, and a word like "vessel" or "philtre" is required. I would now suggest the following translation for the whole inscription :

CONVEX SIDE : "Now [writes X] the . . rian to Malchiah my master, in regard to the document, that when you hear that thy princes (?) have paid tribute in Assuan send to me ; behold, there is come the papyrus which thou hast (?) in the hand ; send it to me ; and the papyrus which I sent to you is part of (?) the papyrus ; and the great papyrus which Malchiah gave to them, send ; it belongs to it."

CONCAVE SIDE : "Now, behold, the vessel(?) which Uriah has given to me for the libation ; convey it to Gemariah the son of Achio, and he shall prepare it with the beer, and do you mix it for Uriah. Moreover, behold [Pe]tosiris ; and he (Gemariah) shall go and write it on his (Petosiris's) arm above the writing which is upon his arm. Lo, thus he has sent, saying that they must not forget his child (whose name) is written above his own name."

CONVEX : l. 3. The mysterious ז before שרי turns out to be an abbreviation of זי used after לאמר, as in CONCAVE 5.

l. 4. Read שלחו or שלחה. The meaning I assign to קפיר is necessarily conjectural ; no such word is known elsewhere in Aramaic. Is the Greek πάπυρος for κφαπυρος ?

CONCAVE : l. 1. חנתא may throw light on the affinities of the Assyrian unutu, "a vessel," "instrument," "furniture." In an Aramaic fragment I have acquired this winter we read : "3 manehs . . . בחנתן." Compare Heb. חמת. See also Ostrakon IV, CONCAVE 6.

l. 3. We hear of Petosiris in the Assuan papyri as having been tattooed on his arm.

l. 4. Read וילך for וילין.

l. 5. וילין is the אלן of Dan. ii, 31.