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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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MEMOIR

ON THE

BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

BY

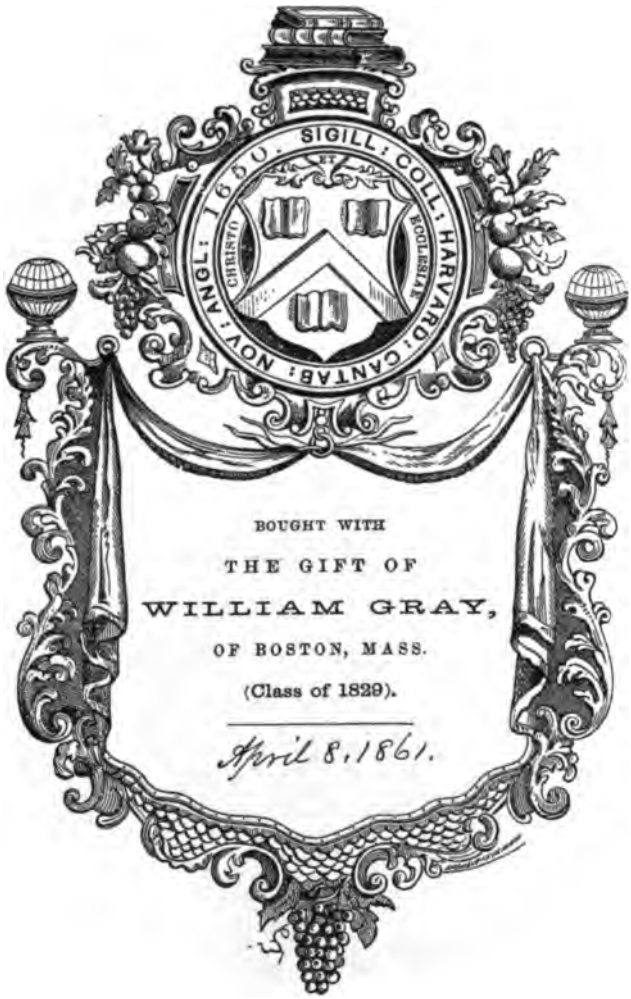
LIEUT.-COL. H. C. RAWLINSON, C.B.,

OF THE HON. EAST INDIA COMPANY'S BOMBAY SERVICE, AND POLITICAL AGENT AT BAGHDAD.

LONDON:

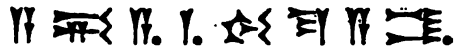
JOHN W. PARKER AND SON, WEST STRAND.

1851.



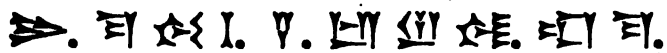
DETACHED INSCRIPTIONS AT BEHISTUN.

No. 1.



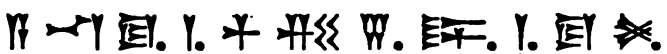
Ha g a. * Gu m a ta.

Hic (est) *Gomates*



* Ma gu su. sa. yap ru şu. ki ma.

Magus, qui mentitus est ita:



a na ku. * Bar si ya. bar. * Ku ras.

"Ego Bardes, filius Cyri."

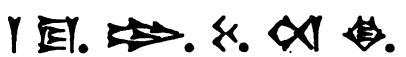
No. 2.

ha g a. * A si na.

Hic (est) Atrines,

sa. yap ru şu. ki ma.

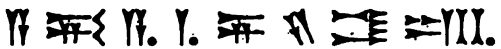
qui mentitus est ita:



ana ku. melek. * (— —).

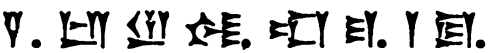
"Ego rex Susianæ."

No. 3.



ha g a. * Ni di ta bil.

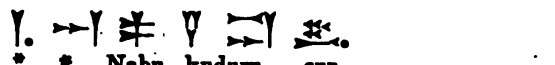
Hic (est) Niditabelus,



sa. yap ru şu. ki ma. ana ku.

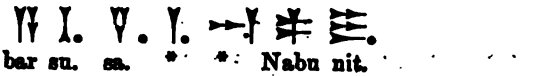
qui mentitus est ita: "Ego

No. 3,—(*continued.*)



* * Nabu kuduru ṣur.

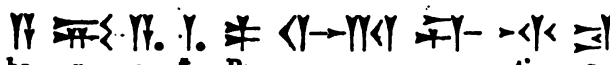
Nabochodrossor,



bar su. sa. * * Nabu nit.

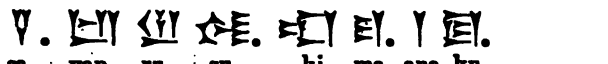
filius *Nabonidi.*"

No. 4.



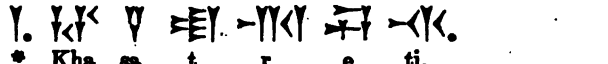
ha g a. * Pa r var ti s.

Hic (est) *Phraortes,*



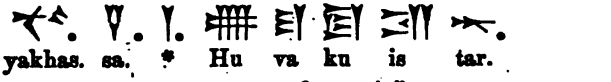
sa. yap ru ṣu. ki ma. ana ku.

qui mentitus est *ita;* "*Ego*



* Kha sa t r e ti.

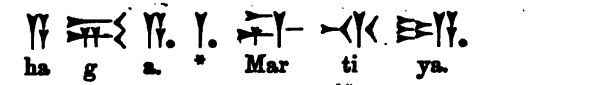
Xathrites,



yakhas. sa. * Hu va ku is tar.

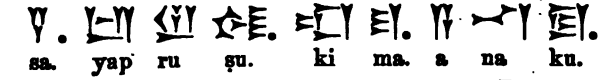
e stemmate *Cyaxaris.*"

No. 5.



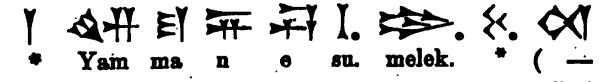
ha g a. * Mar ti ya.

Hic (est) *Maries,*



sa. yap ru ṣu. ki ma. a na ku.

qui mentitus est *ita:* "*Ego*



* Yam ma n e su. melek. * (— —).

Imanes, *rex* *Susianæ.*"

No. 6.

ha g a. * Si thra * takh mu.

Hic (est) *Sitratachmes,*

sa. yap ru ṣu. ki ma. ana ku.

qui mentitus est *ita:* *"Ego*

yakhas. sa. * Hu va ku is tar.

e stemmate *Cyaxaris.'*

No. 7.

ha g a. * Hu vi ṣ da (?) ta.

Hic (est) *Veisdates,*

sa. yap ru ṣu. ki ma. a na ku.

qui mentitus est *ita:* *"Ego*

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

Bardes, *filius* *Cyri."*

No. 8.

ha g a. * A ra khu.

Hic (est) *Aracus,*

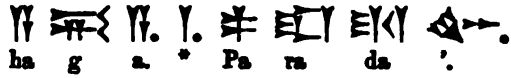
sa. yap ru ṣu. ki ma. a na ku.

qui mentitus est *ita:* *"Ego*

* * Nabu kuduru ṣur. bar. * * Nabu nit.

Nabochodrossor, *filius* *Nabonidi."*

No. 9.



ha g a. * Pa ra da '.

Hic est *Phraates,*

sa. yap ru ṣu. ki ma.

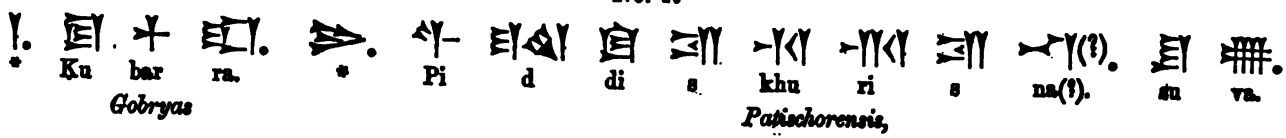
qui mentitus est *ita:*

ana ku. melek. * Mar gu '.

"Ego *rex* *Margianæ."*

DETACHED INSCRIPTIONS AT NAKHSH-I-RUSTAM.

No. 1.



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

Gobryas *Patischorensis,*

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

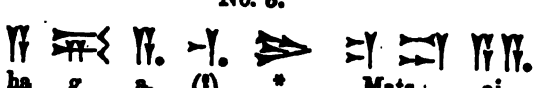
arcifer *Darii* *regis.*

No. 2.

* As pa si na. ha ga. sa. * D a ri ya vaş. melek. (— — — — —)

Aspathines *hic (est) qui* *Darii* *regis* *sagittarum custos fuit.*

No. 3.



ha g a. (?) * Mats ai.

hi (sunt) *Masii.*

INDISCRIMINATE LIST

OF

BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN CHARACTERS.

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

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

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

Num.	Forms.	Phonetic Power.	Ideographic value.	Phonetic powers arising from Ideographic values. (?)
1	𒀀	a. ha	"son"	*Pal. Bu*
2	𒀭. 𒀭𒀀	e	sign of dual number (?) "place"	*im* (?)
3	𒁹. 𒁹. 𒁹	i. ya	..	*nit*
4	𒁹𒀀. 𒁹𒀀. 𒁹𒀀	yá	..	..
5	𒁹𒁹	ya	"five"	..
6	𒀀𒀀𒀀	ai	monogram for "the moon"(?)	..
7	𒁺	u. va	name of "God;" "10;" "and"	..
8	𒌋. 𒌋𒀀𒀀	u. hu. hva	monogram for "the sun"	..
9	𒁀. 𒁀𒀀	,	..	..

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

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

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

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

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

Num.	Forms.	Phonetic Power.	Ideographic value.	Phonetic powers arising from Ideographic values. (?)
128		ul. val(?)	..	..
129		lat (?)	..	..
130		li *or* lu	..	..
131		ilu(?)	det. of "precious metals"	..
132		lik or lak	sign for "Merodach"	*mis* or *vis*, &c.
133		as	..	..
134		is. yas	..	*mil* or *vil*(?)
135		us. vas	masc. sign (?)	..
136		sa	"sun" or "fire"	..
137		si	"a thousand;" epithet of "sun"	*pan*
138		su	..	..
139		su	sign for "Merodach"	..
140		sar	"king"	*khar* or *khir*
141		sur	..	..
142		sip	..	..
143		sak	..	*rin*(?) &c. &c.
144		sut	..	..
145		aṣ	..	..
146		iṣ. yaṣ	det. of (—?) "fire"	..
147		uṣ. vaṣ	..	..
148		ṣa	..	..
149		ṣi	..	*ṣut*
150		ṣu	..	*nin* or *niba*(?)

Num.	Forms.	Phonetic Powers.	Ideographic value.	Phonetic powers arising from Ideographic values. (?)
151		ṣap	"mankind"	..
152		ṣan	name of "god"	*is*
153		aś	abbrev. for *Assur*, Assyria	..
154		śa	..	..
155		śi	..	..
156		śu	..	*rim*
157		śir	..	*ras*
158		śur	..	..
159		—z	..	..
160		zi	..	..
161		zu	..	..
162		sun or sin	..	..
163		sas(?)	sign of feminine	*gal*(?)
164		khal(?)	..	..
165		i	sign of plur. num.	..
166		..	..	..
167		..	..	..
168		..	..	..
169		lik(?)	..	..
170		rikh(?)	..	..
171		..	..	..
172		..	..	..
173		qa(?)	..	..
174		..	"chariot" (?)	..
175		..	"mother;" "woman"	..

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

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

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

NOTE BY COLONEL RAWLINSON.

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

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

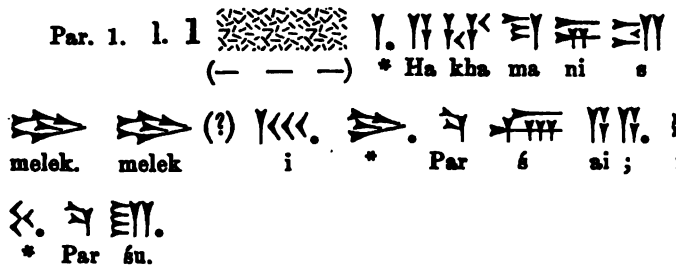
Insert the character  at the end of the last line but three in page 13 of the Memoir; and add the remark at the foot of page 15, in note 2, that is now ascertained to be Merodach.

ANALYSIS

OF

THE BABYLONIAN TEXT AT BEHISTUN.

Column I.

Par. 1. l. 1 

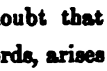
(— — —) * Ha kha ma ni s 'a ;

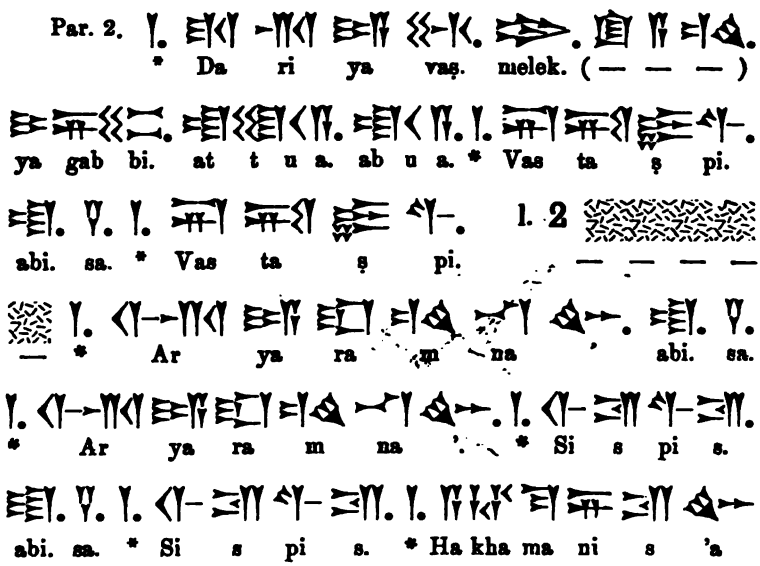
melek. melek (?) i * Par ś ai ; melek.

* Par śu.

The first word that can be made out is *Hakhamanis'a*, "the Achæmenian:" this is followed by , the monogram for "king;" then we have, either , "kings," or rather perhaps, , "Lord of the people," being an abbreviation for *Bil*, (Heb. בֵּל), "Lord," which is commonly used in the Inscriptions, both of Assyria and Babylon, and which is even found in the Behistun epigraph of *Frada*, No. 9; while is the determinative of a "race," or "nation."

The next word is *Parśai*, for the ethnic title "Persian," and the parag. ends with , "king of Persia;" the proper name, which is here written in the nominative, *Parśu*, being preceded by the geographical determinative . In the Persian and Tartar texts, the order in which the royal

titles are placed, is different from that followed in the version I am now examining; but the only doubt that can exist as to the identification of the Babylonian words, arises from the mutilation of the character, which may either be  or  . The translation, therefore is, "the Achæmenian, royal chief of the Persian nations,(?) king of Persia."

Par. 2. 

* Da ri ya vaṣ. melek. (— — —)

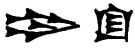
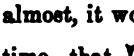
ya gab bi. at t u a. ab u a. * Vas ta ṣ pi.

abi. sa. * Vas ta ṣ pi. l. 2 — — — —

— * Ar ya ra m na abi. sa.

* Ar ya ra m na * Si s pi s.

abi. sa. * Si s pi s. * Ha kha ma ni s 'a

The meaning of the characters  , which in this Inscription almost everywhere follow the monogram for "king," are still unknown to me. I doubt their being phonetic. The group  , may be compared, perhaps, with (Beh., No. 9, l. 3), the adjuncts and being qualificative signs attached to the monogram for "king," at the option almost, it would seem, of the sculptor. I do not think, at the same time, that  or can be compared with , which,

in many of the Babylonian versions of the trilingual Inscriptions, is substituted for the Persian *wazarka*, in the phrase "the great king[1]," and which seems to be cognate with a class of Assyrian epithets, such as or or , commonly attached to the monograms or . I have no sufficient reason, I confess, for reading these monograms or as *melek*. One of the terms, indeed, employed in Babylonian for "king," was certainly a correspondent for מלך, for we have in numerous passages, nominative, *sarru* ; oblique, *sarri* , (see window Inscription of Darius at Persepolis, and Inscriptions of Khursabad, and of Nebuchadnezzar, passim); and this is moreover, I think, the power of or in the name of the Khursabad king, which I would read *Sargina;* but on the other hand, it seems impossible but that the word *melek* should have been employed in Babylonian and Assyrian, as it was employed in every other known language of the Semitic family; and I have also met with one passage, (B. M., 33. l. 8.), where "their king," is, I think, written phonetically *malik sun*[2].

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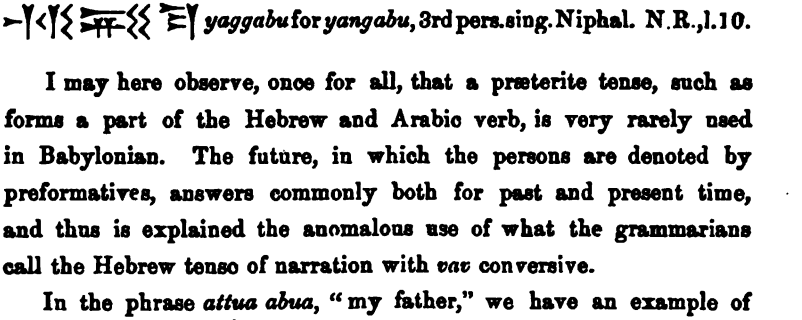
[1] This is incorrect. The expression . . which occurs at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, and generally in the Inscriptions of Xerxes, merely signifies "king of many kings," being the pronoun or article used to connect the nominative and genitive.

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

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


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

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

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

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

yaggabu for *yangabu*, 3rd pers. sing. Niphal. N. R., l. 10.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Par. 3.

* Da ri ya vaṣ. melek. (— — —)

ya gab bi. a na. eb bi. ha g a. — — —

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

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

This paragraph is full of difficulties. We cannot tell, in the first place, whether the phrase be complete, answering to the Persian *avahyarâdiya*, and signifying "for this reason," or whether the word for "reason," is not rather to be

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

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

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

a na. eb bi. ha g a } "*on account of* this [reason]." (Beh., l. 2.)

VIII. aś. eb. (—) ya. at t u a. } "8 *from out of* my race." (l. 3.)

hva ku. eb bi. b í su. yat lik kan. } "The state *into* sin fell." (l. 14.)

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

yad du ku. aś. eb bi su n. } "he slew *from among* them." (passim.)

eb b u. sa. — — la. yas s u. } "*so* that he did not destroy," (l. 28.)

eb b u. sa. ana ku. şi b á ka. } "*according* as I wished thee." (N. R., l. 24.)

aś. eb bi. } "In *that place*." (Beh., l. 47.)

eb b u. sa a na ku. (— — — —)
as ku n nu s su n.

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

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

"First *of* them,' or "*from among* them;" (B. M., 68. 9.)

(or) "I settled in that place." (Khurs. and Nim. Ins. passim.)

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

At the commencement of the third line, the orthography throughout is too doubtful to admit of any attempt at etymological analysis. "From antiquity," is rendered in B. M. 40. 14, and in other places, by [1]; and it is quite possible that these

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

[1] In the phrase—

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

may be the words employed in this passage. "From," is every where represented indifferently by and ; not as I think, with any attempt at alphabetic expression, for I cannot venture to force *val*, and *is*, into phonetic identity[1], but with a mere employment of equivalent ideographs. Possibly, the preposition thus strangely represented, may require to be sounded *min*, but I have no grounds for this conjecture beyond the general evidence of agreement between the Babylonian and the other Semitic tongues.

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

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

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

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[1] The letter has, however, in addition to its normal value of *is*, the secondary power of *mil* or *vil*, which nearly assimilates with , so that very possibly the term in question may, after all, be read as *viltu* or *valtu*. On the other hand, , "from," is sometimes replaced by , as if the pronunciation were *yastu*. In other passages, the particle is represented by *ta*, or *ti*, and sometimes even by .

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

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

Par. 4. [illegible]
* Da ri ya vaṣ. melek. (— — —)

[illegible]
ya gab bi; VIII. aś. 'eb. yakhasi ya. at t u a.

[illegible]
aś. pa na. t u a. melek ut. ya ti p su

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

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

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

1. ⋖ ⋖⊢. ⋕ ⋕⋖. *halik pania*, or ⋖ ⋖⊢. ⋕ ⋕ ⋘⋖. *halik paniya*, "he going before me." (Nim. Stand.' l. 15 and variants.)

2. ⋖⋖ ⋖⋖⋖ ⋕⋖. ⋘⋖(?) ⋖⋖⋖. ⋘⋖ ⋖⋖⋖ ⋘⋖. ⋖ ⋖⊢.
melk i ni rabi abuti ya. ha lik.

⊢⋘⊢ ⊢⋖⋖ ⋘⋖. ⊢. ⋕ ⋕⋖.
makh ri ya. aś. pa ni.

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

3. ⋘⋖. (— — —) ⋖ ⋖⊢. ⋕ ⋕⋖. ⋘ ⋘⊢. ⋕ ⋘⊢. ⋘ ⋘⊢. ⋘⋖ ⋘⊢ ⋘.
da (- - - -) ha lik. pa ni ya. ya na.
pa na. e bu su. (British Museum, 33, 13.)

"Which - - - he going before me formerly constructed[1]."

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

[1] See also ⋖⋘ ⋘. ⋘ ⋖⊢. ⋕ ⋕⋖, "from former times." Khurs., 163. 14.

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

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

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

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

Par. 5. l. 4 [illegible]

ya gab bi. aś. yaṣ mi. sa.

[illegible]

* Hu ri mi ṣ da '. ana ku. melek.

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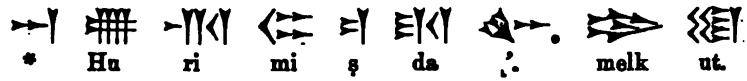
[1] The letter [illegible] in this form represents the conjugational characteristic, and the termination in u marks, of course, the plural number, like the Hebrew ו. It remains to be ascertained, however, whether there is any actual grammatical difference between the masculine plural endings in simple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



In the phrase *aś yaṣmi sa Hurimiṣda'*, for the Persian *washná A'uramazdáha*, remark that the particle ⊢ is here used in an instrumental sense, and that *yaṣmi* probably is the oblique case of a noun derived from a root signifying "to wish." Owing to the difficulty not only of discriminating between the Cuneiform sibilants, but of distinguishing also between the *m* and *v*, I cannot venture, at present, to identify the Hebrew root from which this noun is derived[1]. There is no certainty, indeed, that the word in question is even rendered phonetically, for I have not met with any cognate derivatives, and the letter ⊨, as an initial, is always liable to suspicion, from its extensive use as a determinative. We must be content then with knowing that ⊨ ⟨ answers to *washná*. The ⊽ *sa* is used to connect *yaṣmi* and *Hurimiṣda*, precisely as the article הַ would be employed in Hebrew according to Sect. 109 of Gesenius's grammar; and the following word, ⊢. ⊢ ⊨ ⟨ ⊨ ⊨ ⊢, represents the orthography generally adopted at Behistun for the name of Ormazd, instead of the more usual

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

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

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

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

* On further consideration, I am pretty well satisfied that [illegible] and [illegible] are cognate forms, pronounced *yaddinu* and *yaddanu*, and derived from a root *danan*, of the "ע class. (Compare יִסֹּב from סָבַב). There were probably two roots in Assyrian, *danan* and *dun*, immediately cognate, and both signifying "to give." They were extensively used, and one of their principal derivatives was the word for "law," or "religion," as a thing *given*. Compare *dâta*, דָּת from *dâ*, "to give.") This word is written in Assyrian [illegible] or [illegible], *danan*; but in Babylonian [illegible] *dina*; like the Hebrew דִּין and Arabic دين.

in which  could be supposed to have the power of *ta;* nor, if the root employed were really the Babylonian correspondent of נתן, would it be possible to dispense, I think, with the particle  before  .[1]

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

Par. 6. 

* Da ri ya vaṣ. melek. (— — —)

 l. 5

ya gab bi. ha g a.

melek su na. at tur. * Pa r śu.

* Nu va *. * Babel *. * Aś śur. * A ra bi.

* Mi ṣar. aś. Var ra ti. * S'a par du.

 l. 6

* Y a va nu.

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

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

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

normal pronunciation being probably *haparti* or *hafarti*, which is fully as difficult of explanation as the Assyrian [1].

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

, *aś varrati*, "in the sea[1];" the allusion evidently being to the Islands of the Archipelago, rather than to the maritime possessions of the Greeks, as I once supposed. It is remarkable, that *varrat*, the sea, should be here mentioned without the determinative , which in every other passage precedes it. The Assyrians employed the term to designate the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean, applying to the localities, however, sometimes the distinctive epithets of "this sea," and "that sea," as in Westergaard's H., ls. 9, 10, and 17, 18; and sometimes titles alluding perhaps to geographical position, as in the Cyprus stone, side 1, ls. 23 and 24. The name itself would seem to be cognate with the Latin *mare*, the root from which the word is derived having a reference to the *green* colour of the sea[2]. It is here in the oblique case.

The names of Saparda and Ionia are here written *S'apardu* and *Yávanu* (and) instead of the *S'aparda* and *Yavanu*, and of Nakhsh-i-Rustam. The termination in *u* is probably a mere mark of the nominative[3].

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

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

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

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

The title which follows is very remarkable. It is written— [illegible], which must be pronounced *Paruparaeśanna*, and as it answers to the name of *Gandara* in the Persian, corresponding with the Γανδάριοι of Herodotus, the natural inference is, that we have here the true orthography of a name which the Greeks rendered Παροπάνισος, and applied to the mountains above *Sindhu Gandhára*. As the name, however, of *Gandara* is reproduced in the Nakhsh-i-Rustam Inscription by the group [illegible], *Kandari;* as the conversion of *Paraeśanna* into *Panisus*, or *Pamisus*, requires a greater license of orthography than the Greeks even ordinarily indulged in, while in the Cuneiform word, moreover, the junction of the letters [illegible] and [illegible] is so unusual as to raise a doubt about their being employed phonetically; and lastly, as it appears quite unaccountable how or why the Babylonians, instead of the vernacular title of the country, should have employed a descriptive epithet evidently of a Sanscrit etymology, I cannot pretend that the "primâ facie" explanation of *Paruparaeśanna* which I have hazarded, is at all satisfactory[1].

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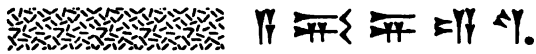
[1] The first syllable in Paropanisus is certainly पर्वः, *paruh*, "a mountain;" the etymology of the latter part of the name is more obscure.

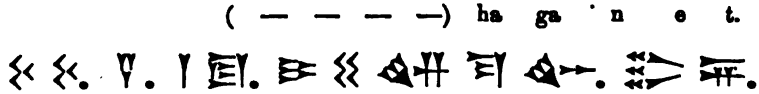
The only other names preserved in the Behistun Catalogue are [illegible] for Sacæ, and [illegible] *Sattagu* for the Persian *Thataghush*. In regard to the latter name, which answers to the Σατταγύδαι of Herodotus, I have only to remark on the employment of the soft sibilant for the Persian aspirated *th*, (pronounced like the Greek θ), a power which the Babylonians did not possess, and on the substitution for the Persian case ending in *ush*, of the Babylonian nominative in *u*; but the former name deserves a much more lengthened consideration. In the Nakhsh-i-Rustam Inscription, the name is every where written [illegible], which only differs from the Behistun orthography in the duplication of the final *r*, while in Assyrian, the form is usually found of [illegible], without the plural termination. It will thus be seen, that the initial [illegible] is preserved throughout, and up to the present time I have discovered no certain clue to the identification of the phonetic power of this character. As on the one hand, however, the termination of the name is certainly *miri* or *mirri*, while on the other, the identification of the Persian Sacæ or Scythians with the people named by the Greeks Κιμμέριοι, in Scripture גֹּמֶר, and by the Armenians *Gamir*, would seem highly probable, I venture to give to the character [illegible] the power of *Gi*, (which would otherwise be wanting in the alphabet,) and to read the entire name *Gimiri*. From the frequent occurrence of this name in the Inscriptions of Assyria, it would seem to have originally denoted the general militia of the tribes, and to have been without any special ethnographic application, but there is nothing improbable in the idea that the Celtic tribes may have subsequently appropriated the title to themselves, being thus known to the Greeks and Latins on their first immigration into Europe as Κιμμέριοι, or Cimbri, and having perpetuated their ancient designation, not only in the Crimea of Southern Russia, but in the Cymri of modern Wales.

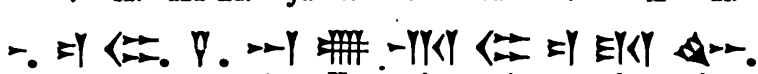
The names of Arachotia and Mecia, and the numerical total of the Satrapies which we find in the Persian text, are lost in the Baby-

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

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

Par. 7. l. 7 
(— — — —) ha ga n e t.


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


aś iṣ vi. sa. * Hu ri mi ṣ da '


a na. a na ku. (— — —) yit tu ru n.


man da t ta. l. 8 (— — — — — — —)


a na. s a su. yap nu su '.

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

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

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

In the next phrase—

𒁹𒁹𒁹. 𒁹𒁹𒁹. 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹. 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹.

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

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

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

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

yatsivva' inni, "they belonged to me."

yakkira' inni, "they rebelled against me."

yadammu' inni, "they obeyed me."

liṣṣur anni, "may he protect me."

yapti — — *anni*, "he granted to me."

takkira anni, "it rebelled against me[1]."

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

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

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

After the phrase answering to *washná Auramazdáha*, which has been already explained, we have 𒀸 𒁹𒁺. 𒀸 𒁹𒁺 𒁹𒁺. 𒁹 𒁹𒁺 𒁹𒁹𒁹. 𒁹𒁺𒁺 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹, for *maná badaká áha*, "to me submissive they have become." *Ana anaku*, "to me," does not require any special notice, but the other words are of interest. The term 𒁹 𒁹𒁺 𒁹𒁹𒁹, I can neither read not explain. It is hardly possible that the letters should have their true phonetic power, for *epnai* would be etymologically quite unintelligible. I would rather take 𒁹 𒁹𒁺 for a compound ideograph: 𒁹 at any rate, in other words, such as 𒁹𒁹 𒁹 for *fratama*, "chief;" 𒁹𒁺 𒁹 𒀸 for *dipi* "a tablet," &c., is evidently used with an abnormal value, derived, perhaps, from its ideographic application; and with regard to the 𒁺, although it is one of the least doubtful signs in the alphabet, its mere combination in this word with the plural ending in *i*, shows that it cannot represent its ordinary phonetic power of *na*. In the mean time, as I have met with no other example of the word in question, I abstain from conjecture, and pass on to the verb with which it is allied.

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

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

Sing.	Plur.
yattur, "he became,"	*yatturun*,
atki, "I assembled,"	*yatkuni*,
yatbá, "he came,"	*yatbuni*.")

It can hardly be that such forms belong to a tense resembling the Paragogic future of the Arabic; nor that the full termination and the apocopate may be used indifferently. I should rather attribute the appearance of the nasal to some prosodaic rule regarding the weight of the vowels in concave and defective roots; but the examples are too few to afford any determinate grounds for enquiry*. It should further be remarked, that the verb is here placed in the masculine gender, as more worthy than the feminine, and in consequence of being removed from immediate contact with the nominative, whilst the employment of the letter instead of for the silent terminal *n* after the vowel *u*, is owing probably to a mere laxity of orthography[2], such as is observable in the indifferent use of

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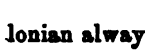
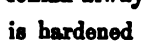
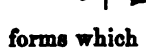
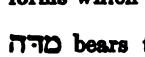
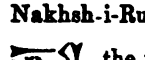
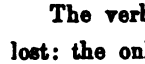
[1] The analogy between the forms *attur*, or *aturu*, and *adduk*, or *aduku*, would lead to a suspicion that the root of the substantive verb might be *tarar* like *dakak*, and that the duplication might be similar to the Dagheah used in Hebrew with the first radical of one of the future forms of the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

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

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

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

The next word is  *mandatta*, "tribute," a term which nearly coincides with the Chaldee מִנְדָּה, the Babylonian always hardening the feminine termination into a dental, as it is hardened in Arabic, and in the construct state of the Hebrew or Chaldee noun[1]. In Assyrian, the usual orthography employed is nom.  *madatu*, oblique  *madata*, forms which bear the same relation to  that מִדָּה bears to מִנְדָּה. The *n*, however, is sometimes found in the Assyrian term, and the duplication of the *t* is common. In the Nakhsh-i-Rustam Inscription the terminal letter is  instead of  , the final *a*, in both examples, marking the oblique case.

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

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

Inscription is [illegible], where [illegible] answers to the Behistun [illegible], and is apparently ideographic[1]. The verb [illegible] *yapnusu'*, "they did," is the 3rd person masculine plural of a root which seems to be identical with the Hebrew בָּנָה, signifying literally, "to build," but tropically, "to do," or "make." This explanation, however, is not quite satisfactory, for in the first place, the letter ה as the third radical of a Hebrew root should be converted in Babylonian to *i* or *u*; and in the next place, we have numerous examples of Cuneiform derivatives from בָּנָה, which do actually follow this orthographical rule. Compare [illegible] *apnu*, or [illegible] *aptani*, "I built;" [illegible] *yapni*, "he built," &c. All that I can say, therefore, at present is, that *yapnusu'* for *yapnusun*, comes from a Babylonian root, which may be either *banas* or *panas*, and which signifies, "to do," or "make[2]."

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

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

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[1] On a further consideration, I am satisfied that this phrase should be read [illegible] *ana apusu yabbusu'*, "they did the doing," according to a system of redundant expression which the Babylonian particularly affected.

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

Par. 8. * Da ri ya vaṣ. melek. (— — —)

ya gab bi. aś. bi *. mati. ha ga n e t.

* pi t ku t. a na. s a su.

l. 9 aś. yaṣ mi. sa.

* Hu ri mi ṣ da '. di n a t.

at t u a. aś. bi *. mati. ha ga n e t.

va sa s gu. sa. la. pa ni ya.

at t u a. l. 10

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

power of *v* or *m* after the vowel *u* must be admitted as the normal value of the sign, and this value attached to the syllable *bi*, would seem by some strange phonetic fiction to be combined into the single articulation of *bu* or *bo*, as in the last syllable of the name of the god Nebo[1]. I am however, for my own part, disinclined to read the word in question either as *bin* or *bu*. I would rather suppose the letter to correspond with the Hebrew בִּ, and would conjecture the to be a mere non-phonetic adjunct, employed for some purpose which must remain for the present obscure.

The next words are of interest. In the Persian, we have *martiya hya agatá aha;* in the Babylonian, , the last character being alone liable to doubt. Now, is well known as the monogram for "a man," which it was probably allowable to read phonetically as *ish*, or *adam*, or *mat*, or according to any of the sounds representing the idea of "a man;" and the second word, therefore, *pitkut*, stands for the Persian *agatá*, a noun which has hitherto baffled all attempts at interpretation. The root, however, *patak* or *batak*, is used in so many passages of the Assyrian and Babylonian Inscriptions, that its signification can hardly be mistaken. In all the following examples the allusion evidently is to "carving," or "fashioning," or "working," or perhaps "building;" and the root may, therefore, be compared either with the Piël form of פִּתֵּח, or with the verb בִּתֵּק, which is once used in Eze. xvi. 40[2].

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

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

1. da. * p í li. pi ṣ e.

ya na. ir. Ta ṣ ti a ti. yap tu ku.

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

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

melek. pa ni. makh ri ya.

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

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

yap ti ku. bi ti k su.

"Which the king before me had fashioned in silver." (E.I., c.3. l.4).

4. a na. * Nebo (— — — —) bit.

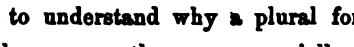
(— — —) ya na Bab ilu * *. ya na.

ku p ri. va. ha gur ri.

e p ti k. pi ti k su.

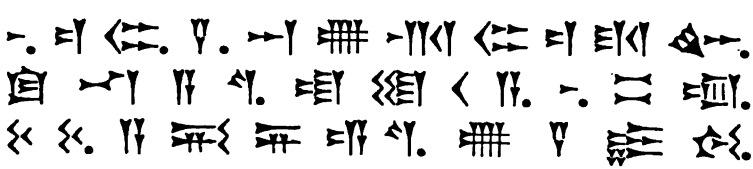
"To the god Nebo (- - -) a temple (- - -) in Babylon, of bitumen and brick, I fashioned or made." (E. I., col. 4. l. 18. sqq.)

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

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

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

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



Aś yaṣmi sa Hurimiṣda' dinát attua aś bi mati haganet hvasaṣgu; and they may be, I think, translated: "By the grace of Ormazd, my laws by these nations have been observed." There is indeed, an

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

[illegible] *dinát*, is of course the (fem.?) plural of a noun answering to the Hebrew דִּין, "a law," or "decree." We find, indeed, the two words *dat* and *din*, which are used as correspondents in this passage, associated in the Scriptural phrase כָּל יֹדְעֵי דָת וָדִין, (Esther i. 13), to express the same meaning. The root דִּין from which the Hebrew *din* is derived, is supposed to have the sense of "ruling," or "judging;" but as in the Persian, *dáta* certainly comes from *dá*, "to give," so would I assign a similar signification to the original Babylonian verb. *Din*, indeed, or *dun*, would be immediately cognate with the Latin *dono*, and the term [illegible] *yaddinu*, which answers so frequently to *ada*, "he gave," in the Standard trilingual Inscriptions, can only be explained as a derivative from the same root[1]. *Attua*, "my," united to *dinát*, has its usual possessive sense.

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

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

an alteration will not affect the general sense of the paragraph. If on the other hand, we scrupulously follow the Persian original, the reading of *aś bi* would seem to be preferable for ▷. ⊏ ⊏⊏|||, and an instrumental sense must be given to the particle.

The verb from which is derived ⊏⊏⊏⊏ ⊏ ⊏⊏⊏ ⊏⊏⊏ ⊏⊏⊏ ⊏⊏⊏ *hvasaṣgu*, I have not yet been able to identify, owing to the confusion and uncertainty in which is involved the employment of the Babylonian sibilants. I feel pretty certain, however, that the root must be *saṣag*, rather than *sagah*, and that the term employed is a mere plural passive participle, formed like the Arabic *ismi maf'ul*, rather than after the fashion of the Hebrew. I should expect, indeed, the Hebrew corresponding root to be written חֲסַק, and it is the more important follow out this etymology, as the commencement in ⊏⊏⊏⊏ ⊏ being identical with that which characterizes the Hiphil participle of the Babylonian, would be apt to mislead, were not due attention paid to the vowel-pointing. The initial ⊏⊏⊏⊏, as will be abundantly shown in the alphabet, answers to the ח of the Hebrew, and the termination in *u*, (which causes the second radical to be jesmated), is the inflexion of the plural masculine (for *un*), agreeing with *dindt*, and thus showing that either the plural ending in *dt* is not restricted to feminine nouns, or that the participial plural in *u* is common to both genders.

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

The termination of the line, ⊏. ▷⊏ ⊏⊏ ⊏⊏. ⊏⊏ ⊏⊏⊏ ⊏ ⊏, *sa la paniya attua*, is sufficiently clear. *Sa* is used in this passage for the relative, "that which;" and we thus see that the sign ⊏ or ⊏⊏

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

answers both to the article הַ and to the pronoun שֶׁ of the Phœnician and the Rabbinic Hebrew. It is interesting also to observe, that this pronoun is expressed by [illegible] or [illegible], by [illegible] or [illegible], and by [illegible] almost indifferently, an apt illustration being thus afforded of the direct passage of שֶׁ into the Chaldee דִּ without having recourse to the conjecture of Gesenius, which would derive the latter form from the demonstative זֶה through the Arabic الذى.

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

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

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

* In Mr. Layard's new Inscriptions [illegible] is repeatedly put for *lapani*, "from."

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

* Hu ri mi ṣ da '. melk ut.

yad da nu. * Hu ri mi ṣ da '. yaṣ śi.

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

l. 11 (— — — — –) ana ku. ap nu su.

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

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

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

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

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

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

me in the highest degree improbable; and *danu*, after the analogy of the probable relationship of [illegible] with דִּין, presents even some difficulties of explanation. All that I can do is to refer to the many phrases in Assyrian, where [illegible] indicates "strength," or "power," and suggest their derivation from the same root which has furnished the noun, here signifying "help," or "succour." Compare the title [illegible] (nom.) or [illegible] (oblique,) applying everywhere to the king of Assyria, and the epithet [illegible], or [illegible], or [illegible], constantly attached to cities to denote their *strength* or *magnitude*, [illegible], or "small," being the term used in contradistinction to [illegible] (See British Museum, 63, ls. 23 and 24). Another common phrase referring to an insurrection is—

[illegible]

"from among my servants (withdrawing himself) he rose into power."(?) I observe also [illegible] (British Museum, 89, 47), "At its head he placed;" (?) and again, [illegible] "I placed them in dependency on the city of Kerkha Sargina," (Khur. 147, 6), &c. &c. &c.*

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* Consequent on the discovery that [illegible] and [illegible] are mere variant orthographies for the same word, I would now propose to refer all these forms to a root *danan*, signifying primarily, "to give," but used like the Hebrew דִּין to express other meanings, such as "to rule," "to judge," "to protect," or "defend." *Danú*, "help," may thus be connected with the idea of "protection:" *danu*, applied to a king, may mean "ruling," or "governing," (see 1 Sam. ii. 10; Zech. iii. 7, &c.): *danát*, applied to cities, may indicate "walled cities," or "places of *defence*." The same word may also denote "laws," or "things given," and *limit hudinu*, as in the last

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

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

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

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

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

The translation then will be as follows:—

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

Par. 10. 

For the first clause, *ima tya maná kartam pasáwa yathá khshâyathiya abawam*, "this is what was done by me, after that I became king;" the Babylonian has, *haga sa anaku ebusu aṣ yaśmi Hurimiśda akhar sa ana melek hatur*, "this is what I did, by the grace of Ormazd, after that I became king." Most of these words are already known to us. *ebusu*, is the 1st person singular Kal future of the root *ebas*, of which we have already met with an Ifta'al form in *yatipsu*. The substitution of *u* for *a* between the 2nd and 3rd radicals, is in perfect accordance with Hebrew and Arabic grammar, and the termination in *u* corresponds also with the usage of the latter language.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

with is established beyond dispute by the orthography of the masc. plur. of the demonstrative pronoun, which is written in lines 106 and 112 of this Inscription*.

The phrase, *ana melek yattur*, "he was the king," which follows *kakannu*, may be compared with the *ana melek attur* of the last line, *attur* and *yattur* being the 1st and 3rd person respectively of the same tense.

For the fourth clause, which reads in the Persian, *Awahyá Kabujiyahyá brátá Bardiya náma áha*, we have in the Babylonian, *sa Kambusiya hagasuva akhisu Barsiya*, "of this Cambyses, the brother was Bardes."

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

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

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

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

After the name of *Barziya*, the word answering to *náma*, "by name," has been omitted as of no consequence: I pass on accordingly to the fifth clause, where for the Pers. *hamátá hampitá*, ὁμομήτριος, ὁμοπάτριος, we have the Babylonian  , *unicus erat pater eorum; unica erat mater eorum.* The use of  for the masculine ordinal of the number "one," is proved by many examples. We have thus at Hamadan, for *aivam parunám khsháyathiyam*,  or  , phrases, which I read as *yasdi aś meleki madut*, or *yasdi aś meleki makhrut*, "first of many kings," for  in other copies of the Standard trilingual Inscription, is written phonetically as  . "In the first year," again,

is rendered by . . . (British Museum, 88. 26,) and numerous other instances occur of the use of or for the cardinal "one," or ordinal "first."

With regard to the pronunciation of , I propose to read *asad* for the cardinal, and *isdi* or *yasdi* for the ordinal. The former word I compare immediately with אֶחָד, the ח being sometimes replaced by a sibilant in Babylonian, while I would explain *isdi* or *yasdi*, by supposing that the masculine termination in ִי by which the other ordinals are formed in Hebrew, applied also to *asad*, and that this inflexion caused a corresponding change in the initial vowel. But if , united with , "a father," be the masculine ordinal, which is prefixed to , "a mother," must be the feminine form. I have not been able to verify this use of the letter in the Inscriptions of Assyria, but the evidence of the passage which I am now considering is almost conclusive, and comparing the sign, therefore, with the Hebrew אַחַת, I give to it the phonetic power of *asat*. Perhaps, indeed, there is some connexion between the feminine ending, which we see in אַחַת and the normal value of *it* or *yat*, which belongs to the character . For the use of the numeral "one" with the sense of "the same," such as and must have in this phrase, see Gen. lx. 5, and Job xxxi. 15.

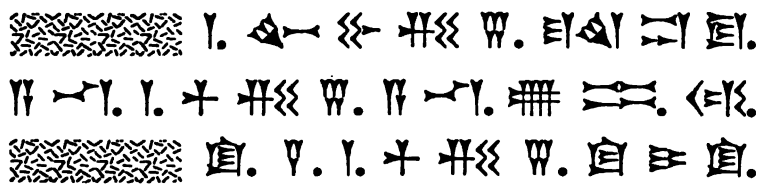
It remains to examine the sign . Being used in contradistinction to , which we know, from numerous examples, to denote "a father," it can only represent the idea of "mother." In the Inscriptions of Assyria, the sign is sometimes found, it is true, to denote *women* generally, as in the phrase,—

homines ejus, fœminas innumerabiles,

oves ejus et greges (et) boves(?) deportavi.

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

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



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

The Babylonian conjugation follows almost implicitly the analogy of the Hebrew, and the Behistun Inscription thus presents us with both forms. *Yadduku*, in fact, would be written in Hebrew as יָדֻק, while *aduku*, which we shall subsequently meet with, must be compared with אֻדֻק.[1] In the expression *ana Barsiya*, the particle is used like the Hebrew אֵת merely to mark the object of the verb; but in the following phrase, , it must rather stand for אֶל, "to." The noun with which it is joined, and which answers throughout this Inscription to the Persian *kára*, constitutes one of the many difficulties of Babylonian writing which I am still unable to resolve. I can hardly believe that such a term as *hvaku* could have been used for "the people," and yet I can give no other phonetic rendering to , nor can I explain the signs in any way ideographically. As far as its use is concerned, it answers in every respect to the Hebrew עַם.

The words which follow , are unfortunately mutilated. They consist, however, I believe, of the negative particle , and of a passive or participial form of a root, answering to the Hebrew יָדַע, "to know."

I was, for a long time, owing to the mutilation both of the Persian and Scythic texts, uncertain as to the meaning and etymology of the verb which is used in this and similar passages, but I am now satisfied that the word *niya* must be lost at the commencement of line 32 of the Persian text, and that the word *azadá*, which follows, must signify "known," being a derivation from זוּד.[2] In the mutilated Scythic text

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[1] That the root *dakak* was in use as well as *duk* is shown by the form of the participle in Assyrian, which is usually written = *vadakik*, or = *vadakiku*. See Brit. Mus., 17, 8; 76, 5; and Khur. revers, passim.

[2] It would of course be more correct etymologically to translate *azadá* by "unknown," supposing the initial *a* to be the privative particle; and in this par-

we have merely 𒀀𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 *anni tarnas*, "non fuit," but the term 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹, which answers to *azadá*, and signifies "known," may be restored with safety before *anni*. The letter 𒁹𒁹𒁹, then, which is clearly to be read in the Babylonian translation, must be recognised as the term that commonly interchanges with 𒁹𒁹𒁹 for the particle of negation, the one form being read as *val*, and the other as *la*, and the same relation existing between them which unites the Hebrew בַּל and לֹא. I cannot venture to complete orthographically the word ending in 𒁹𒁹𒁹, which follows 𒁹𒁹𒁹 and signifies "known," but I can cite some cognate derivatives and show their common connexion with the root יָדַע. The Persian phrase *adatiyá azadá bawátiya*, which occurs at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, and signifies "then shall it be known to thee," is thus rendered in Scythic by 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 "tunc cognitum sit tibi," and in Babylonian by 𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹, the last word, which I read *yavvadakka*, meaning "it shall be known to thee," and being, I think, the 3rd pers. sing. future of the passive form of *vadak*, with the suffix of the 2nd person added.[1] The same verb is found,

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

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

also, in another passage of that Inscription, the Persian text giving (as I would now propose to restore it,) *adamshám patiyakhshaiya maná bájim abarataniya*[1], "I made known to them to bring me tribute," (or "that they should bring me tribute"); the Scythic translation having [illegible], where the verb "to know" is again represented by the root [illegible], and the Babylonian version, which more immediately concerns us, being expressed by [illegible] *anaku aś eli sun sa aldak mandatta anasi*, "I to them what I made known [was] to bring tribute." Relying on the undoubted connexion of these three phrases, I feel pretty sure, 1stly, that the Babylonians used for the root יָדַע, the form of *vadak*, the initial *yod* as usual being altered to *vav*, and a guttural replacing the impossible articulation of *ain;* 2ndly, that the causative of this root, which in Hebrew would be הוֹדִיעַ, was in Babylonian *valdak*, the weak initial radical in *aldak* having fallen away before the conjugational characteristic *l*, which is constantly used in Babylonian to give a causative power to the verb; and 3rdly, that [illegible] must be pronounced *yavvadak*, and must be compared directly with יִוָּדַע the future of the Niphal conjugation.[2]

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

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[1] I should have expected *barataniya* for the infinive form; but there may have been an initial *a*, answering to the Sanscrit आ, and preserved in the modern Persian آوردن *awardán*, "to bring."

[2] But see the note on the last page.

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

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

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

ing to "when Cambyses to" is lost, and of the verb corresponding to *ashiyava*, the letter is alone legible. The phrase, however, standing for "then the state became wicked," is complete: it reads, which I conjecturally pronounce as *ebbi*, being a preposition corresponding with בְּ*, and , *biyasu* or *bísu*, representing a noun which may be derived from בְּאֵשׁ, "to be bad," and may be cognate with the Latin *pejus*, Turkish پیس, French *pis*, &c. I have already shown, however, in examining the Babylonian term, *pitkut*, that the Persian *arika*, which is here translated by , may be supposed, from the context, to signify "idle;" and I must add, that in a passage of the Nakhsh-i-Rustam Inscription, *biyasi* seems also to stand for "decay[1]," so that I cannot place any great dependence on the connexion of and בְּאֵשׁ. The verb, too, which terminates this clause has resisted all my attempts to analyse it, or to trace it to a Hebrew root. It may be read almost certainly as *yatlakkan*, the character having in this place its secondary power of *lak;* and if signify "into sin," the most suitable meaning for the verb will be "it fell." Whether *yatlakkan*, however, be a paragogic future of a root *dalak* or *talak*, or whether it be a

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* I now read as *qabi*, and compare קָבֵל, although it must be confessed that that particle will hardly suit the context of the present passage.

[1] The imperfect Persian phrase in the Nakhsh-i-Rustam Inscription, l. 52, *pátuwá hachá sara* — —, "protect from decay," is translated in Babylonian, by *liuṣṣr anni lapani mivva biyasi;* and the Scythic correspondent for this word, *biyasi*, , is the same which answers to the Persian *thàdaya*, "decay," in line 58 of the same Inscription.

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

The last clause which is expressed in Persian, by *pasáva darauga dahyauvá wasiya abava, utá Parsaiya, utá Mádaiya, utá aniya'uvá dahyaushuvá*, is complete in the Babylonian, with the exception of the two concluding words. The text has *akhar parṣat aś mati lu mādu yamidu, aś Parśu, Madai* — — — "Then lies became abundant in the countries, in Persia, in Media, [and in the other provinces."] The root *paraṣ*, "to lie," furnishes us with many forms

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* The connexion of and with and having suggested the attribution to the letter of the secondary power of *ga* or *ka*, I would now propose to read as *yatlakka*, and to explain it as the Tiphal form of a root answering to הָלַךְ, "to go," the duplication being similar to that which we also find in another Tiphal form *yatbavva*, and the first radical having fallen away as a weak letter, before the conjugational characteristic; or it might be better, considering the guttural and its congener to be especially appropriated to gutturals of the ק class, to derive *yatlaqqa* from לָקַח. In Tiphal forms of הָלַךְ, indeed, the conjugational characteristic would require, I think, to be doubled, to compensate for the lapse of the first radical.

in the Behistun Inscriptions, but is, I believe, without any correspondent in the other Semitic languages. The regular Kal future, 3rd person singular, is *yapruṣu;* the Piël form of the same is *yaparraṣ;* the Piël participle is *hvaparraṣi*, or *hvaparraṣu.* The Ifta'al participle is *vaptarriṣ,* and the plural noun is *parṣat.* These forms are not less valuable for grammatical illustration, than for the classification of the sibilant characters: they furnish us, indeed, with five out of the six normal characters belonging to the Samech, and determinately connect the signs in the same phonetic category. The noun *parṣat,* I may add, is precisely similar to *dinat,* being inflected with the plural termination appropriated in Hebrew and Arabic to the feminine gender.

For "abounded" or "became abundant," we have one of those redundant expressions in which all the Semitic languages delight. The phrase, , means literally, "abundantly they abounded;" *madu* and *yamidu* being derivatives from the same root, which root, in Hebrew, is written מְרַד or מְדָה, and is used with the kindred meaning of "length," or "extension." I cannot positively explain the sign which is prefixed to *madu.* In Assyrian, or , pronounced probably as *lu,* is very commonly used as a mere pleonastic particle, without in any way altering the sense of the sentence; here, however, I should rather take to be a preposition prefixed to the theme *madu,* in order to form an adverb; and presuming that the sign has its normal power of *lu,* should thus compare it with the Hebrew לְ in לְבַד. Of the term we have many different forms in the trilingual Inscriptions: or "many kings;"

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

The entire paragraph will thus read:

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

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

Par. 11. (— — — — — — —) yat b a.

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

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

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

T u. a na. (?) l. 16 (— — — — — — —)

* Kam bu zi ya. akhar. hva ku.

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

yat ti k ru '. ana. eli su.

yat ri ku '. * Par śu. * Ma d ai.

l. 17 (— — — — — — —) yaṣ ṣa bat. akhar.

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

mi ya ti.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Of the fifth clause nothing is visible but the last word, , "Cambyses."

The sixth clause is complete. "Then all the people from Cambyses rebelled," is expressed by , *akhar hvaki gabbi lapani Kambuziya yattikru'*. In examining the word *gabbi*, "all," I have been led to suspect the existence of a certain phonetic relationship between the Babylonian and Hebrew, which, if verified by subsequent research, will serve to explain many difficulties. It seems to me, then, that the final *l* of the Hebrew, is constantly softened in Babylonian to the vowel *u* or *i*; *gabbi*, "all," thus standing for *gabbal*, and being equivalent to כּוֹל, the true form of כֹּל, while the root *gabah* or *gabu*, "to say," will in the same way stand for *gabal*, and be equivalent to קוֹל.[2] It is, at any rate, impossible to avoid noticing the coincidence between the double meaning of "all," and "saying," appertaining to the Cuneiform , and the phonetic assimilation of כֹּל, and קוֹל, which are the Hebrew words possessing those respective significations. *Gabbi* is used in the trilingual Inscriptions indifferently

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[1] Since writing the above, I have examined some Assyrian Calendars brought by Mr. Layard from Nineveh, and I find that the year did consist of twelve lunations, of thirty days each. The same name, therefore, must be represented by variant monograms.

[2] With this indication, I would venture also to compare and with קְבַל or קָבַל, with which they certainly coincide very nearly in use, and would thus assign to the letter or the phonetic power of *qa*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

nikrut. Kal participle, masc. plural.

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

ana eli su yatriku' Parśu Madai — —, the two last words being lost. *Ana eli su* is properly "to upon him;" *eli*, indeed, (written indifferently or or) is identical with עַל or على, and usually signifies "over;" but in combination with other particles, (compare

𒁹. 𒌋𒄭𒁹𒀀; 𒁹 𒁍. 𒌋𒄭𒁹; 𒁹 𒁹𒁹. 𒌋𒄭𒁹𒀀, &c.) it is almost redundant, merely indicating "motion."

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

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

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

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

The last clause is as follows:— *akhar Kambusiya mitu, tura mannisu miyati*, the corresponding Persian phrase being *pasáva Kambujiya svámarshiyush*, "then Cambyses, self-wishing to die, died;" *mitu*, must be here accordingly, the rarely-used præterite form of מוּת, answering to מֵת, (or supposing a plural form to be used, to מֵתוּ), and the three following words must answer to *svámarshiyush*, which signifies literally, "self-wishing to die." I conjecture, then, that *tura* is a præterite form of the substantive verb, cognate with *attur, aturu, yattur, yatturun*, &c.; that , which I read doubtfully as *mannisu*[1],

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ya gab bi. l. 18 (— — — — — — —)

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

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

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

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

L. 19 (— — — — — —) * ni — ṣa ti ta.

su va. ana. melek. yat tur.

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

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

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

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[1] I observe, in many passages of this Inscription, an extraordinary similarity between suffixed pronouns of the 3rd person and forms of the substantive verb, a similarity which strikingly resembles the presumed relationship in Hebrew between the pronouns הוּא and הִיא and the verbs הָיוּ and הָיָה. In line 3, 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 *sun*, seems to be used for "have been." The common phrase 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 which precedes the dates, may mean "these were." 𒀀𒀭𒄿 𒁹𒁹𒁹 *sina*, in the same way, in line 100, replaces the substantive verb in the fem. plural, and 𒀀𒀭𒄿 𒁹𒁹𒁹 *siya*, in the present passage must, I think, be similarly explained as standing for the fem. sing. I conjecture, accordingly, that the suffix of the 3rd person, *agreeing with its antecedent in gender and number*, was optionally used in Babylonian for the substantive verb; and I thus define 𒀀𒀭𒄿 𒁹𒁹𒁹 *siya* as the suffix of the 3rd person singular, answering to the Hebrew הִיא, and put in the feminine gender to agree with the nominative *melkut* or *sarrut*, "empire."

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

The Babylonian fragments will thus read:

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

a — ma. la. hva ma ṣ śa nu. sa. la.

* Bar zi ya. ana ku. bar su. sa. * Ku ra s.

man ma. val. ya (— —) u. aś. eli.

l. 22 (— — — — — — — — — — —) ana ku.

* Hu ri mi ṣ da. aṣ(?) ṭal la.

* Hu ri mi ṣ da. yaṣ śi. da nu. aś.

yaṣ mi. sa. * Hu ri mi ṣ da.

l. 23 (— — — — — —) Ma gu su. va. (—)

(— — —). sa. yat ti su. aś. er.

Sik ta hu va t ti '. mat. Ni ṣ ś ai.

sum su. sa. aś. * Ma d ai. l. 24 (— —

— — — — — —) * Hu ri mi ṣ da.

melk u t. ana ku. yad da nu.

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

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

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

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

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

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[1] For the Piél participles, singular [illegible] *hvanakkim*, plur. [illegible] *hvanakkimu*; see East Ind. Ins., col. 7, l. 21, and 8, l. 18.

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

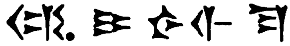
[3] Mons. Oppert's amended readings of the Behistun Inscription are now in the course of publication in the Journal Asiatique. His learning is undoubted, and some of his corrections are important; but a large portion of his criticism is to be found in my Behistun Vocabulary, the 1st volume of which was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

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

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

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

[1] As there appear to have been no signs of the 𒁹 class of sibilants, appropriated to the syllables *yaí* and *vaí*, the corresponding signs of the 𒁹 class (namely, 𒁹𒁹 and 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹) were necessarily used in conjunction with 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹, 𒁹𒁹𒁹, and 𒁹𒁹𒁹, but for the syllable *aí* there was a distinct character 𒁹𒁹; and wherever, accordingly, we find the 𒁹𒁹𒁹 assimilating with the *ía*, *íi* or *íu*, (as in this word 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹) it must be considered an instance of careless orthography.

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

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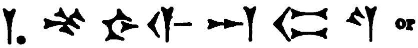
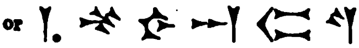
[1] The following are the materials I have collected for determining the power of  . In the annals of the Koyunjik king, it stands for the numeral 3. In the Khursabad Inscriptions, the term  commonly interchanges with  . The word  signifies "he dared." The standard epithet applied to the god  at Khursabad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

used for the Persian *pariya*, which signifies "about," or "regarding," and the noun which it governs, together with the infinitive form of the verb *gabah*, "to say," must be supposed to be lost at the commencement of line 22.

In the 6th clause, where, for "then I prayed to Oromasdes," we have [illegible], it is the last word only that requires explanation. This term must, I think, be read *aṣṣalla*, [illegible], which is usually *li*, having here the secondary power of *aṣ*, and [illegible], which usually stands for *ni*, having the power of *ṣal*. That [illegible] indeed, represents *ṣalla*, I am satisfied from numerous examples; (compare [illegible] *ṣalta*, "battle;" [illegible] *ṣalmanu*, "images;" [illegible] *vuṣalkha*, "victorious,[1]" &c.), and the context requiring absolutely that the verb should be in the 1st person singular, I am obliged to supply the value of *aṣ* for the initial syllable.[2] *Aṣṣalla*, of course, like the

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[1] [illegible] exchanges with [illegible] or [illegible], as the correspondent for *hamaranam*, "battle," throughout the Behistun Inscription. [illegible] *salmanu haganut*, "these images" (compare Hebrew צֶלֶם; Arab. صنم) occurs in Behistun Inscription, line 106, where, however, the printed text has an erroneous reading; and for *vusalkha*, "victorious," see the titles of Sargina, [Shalmaneser] in B. M., 33. l. 4.

[illegible]
rex qui ab initio regni ejus
[illegible]
reges hostes ejus non parcebat;
[illegible]
victor (in pugnis) innumerabilibus.

I derive *vusalkha*, of course, from צָלַח.

[2] As there are several characters which thus fluctuate between the *l* and *s*, there would seem to be some phonetic law connecting the two classes. At any

the cognate forms *ṣala*, "worship;" *yaṣlu*, "they worshipped," &c., is derived from a root answering to סָלַה, the doubling of the 1st radical being perhaps dialectic, as in *yaṣṣabat*, &c., and the second duplication indicating the Piël conjugation, as in *yagabbi*,[1] *yaparras*, *yamarru*, *yatsivva*, &c.

There is nothing more to be noted till we come to the phrase in the next line, answering to the Persian *martiyá fratamá anushiyá*, "his chief followers." The Babylonian text is here given as . ; being a monogram for "man" generically; the determinative of "rank;"[1] the name of the particular rank indicated by *fratama;* (Chaldee פְּרִתֻּמִים Esth. i. 3.) and the sign of the plural number. It is impossible of course to determine how this phrase should be pronounced, as not one of the signs composing it is phonetic. The following words, however, read *sa yatti*,, "who were with him;"

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rate, and interchange repeatedly: is sometimes put for : seems also to have the power of *aṣ*, and I am half inclined to think that what I have hitherto called Liphal and Iltaphal forms, are in reality Shaphel and Istaphal (for Hiphil and Hithpael); the sign having the power of *aṣ* as well as of *al;* for amongst other examples, I observe, that in the 1st pers. seems to answer to in the 3rd; and that and belong apparently to the same tense of the same verb. All this is very puzzling, and can only yield to careful and continued research.

[1] The sign or is constantly used in the Assyrian Inscriptions as determinative of "a title." Compare the word , "a general," (rendered by the Hebrews as תִּרְתָּן;) also ; ; and perhaps, .

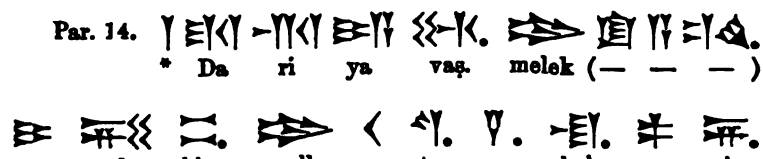
being equivalent to the Chaldee אִתּ, and the suffix of the 3rd person being irregularly omitted.

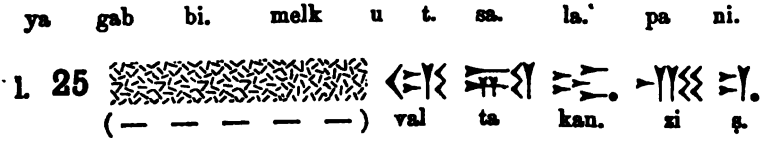
After this we have the Babylonian names answering to the Persian *Sikta'uwatish*, *Nisáya*, and *Media*, the former being preceded by which is the monogram for "a city," and was probably pronounced *ir*, (Heb. עִיר,) and the two latter by , or *mat*, denoting "a country." The two first letters of the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

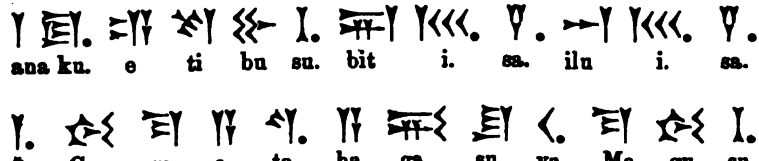
The translation of this paragraph then will be as follows:—

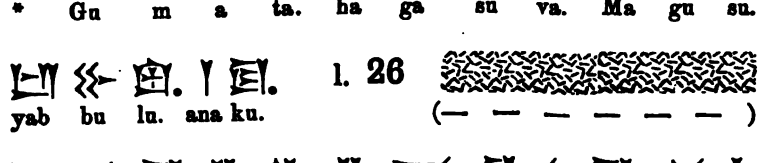
"Says Darius the king: there was not any one, [not a Persian, nor a Median, nor any one of our family, who] would rescue (or vindicate) the empire from that Gomates, the Magian: the people greatly feared him: [he would slay many people who knew the other Bardes: for that reason] he would slay them 'lest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

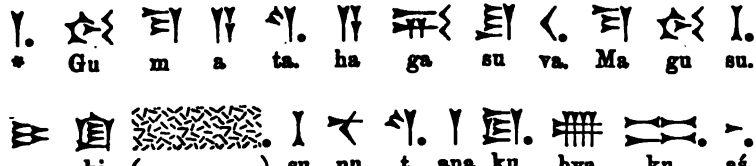
one dared about [Gomates, the Magian, to say anything, until I arrived:] then I prayed to Ormazd; Ormazd brought help to me: by the grace of Ormazd, [on the 10th day of the month (———) with my confederates I slew Gomates,] the Magian, and the leaders of the people who were with (him): In the town of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

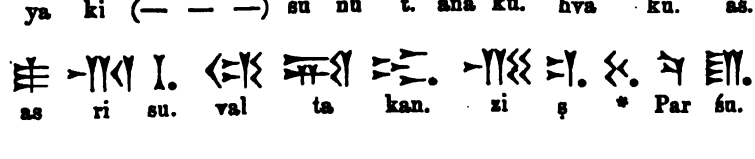
Par. 14. 
* Da ri ya vaṣ. melek (— — —)

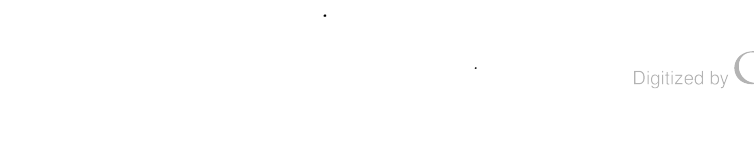

ya gab bi. melk u t. sa. la. pa ni.

l. 25 
(— — — — —) val ta kan. zi ṣ.


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


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


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

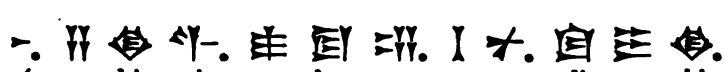

* Gu m a ta. ha ga su va. Ma gu su.

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

as ri su. val ta kan. zi ṣ * Par śu.

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

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

1. 
aś. ṣa ki pi. as ku n. su n. di ya ki.
Ad *crucem* *feci* *eos* *occisos*

Behistun, l. 63.

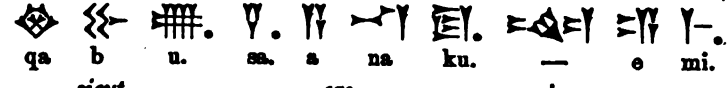
2. 
aś. ṣa ki pi. al ta kan. su. di ya ki
ad *crucem* *feci* *eum* *occisum*

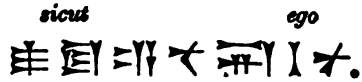
Behistun, l. 60. And again,—

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


ki ma.
ita.

Behistun, l. 88.

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


as ku n nu s su n.
feci *illis.*

Westergaard's H. l. 20.

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

ha g a. sa d u(?). — e mu.
hoc *loco* *jussum*

yas ta kan. a na. e pisu. (— —) va.
fecit *ad* *faciendam* *tabulam* *et*

nina. aś. eli. val. yas du r. akhar.
nunquam *super* [*eam*] *non* *inscripsit:* *postea*

a na ku. — e mu. al ta kan. a na.
ego *jussum* *feci* *ad*

sa da ri. (— —)
scribendam *tabulam*

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

Participle of Kal, or *vukin.*

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

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

Iltaphal, *altakan,* 1st person singular; *valtakan,* participle.

Tiphal, or *yatkuna, yatkun,* or *yatkunu,* 3rd person.

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

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

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

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

For the 5th clause, "the temples which Gomates the Magian had destroyed, I rebuilt," we have . . . . . the last word being alone wanting. "The temples," *ayadaná* in the Persian, is rendered by "the houses of the gods," being the monogram for "a house," with the phonetic power of *bit*, and for "a god," with the phonetic value of *ilu*. The verb *yabbulu*, "he destroyed," is also an interesting word, as it explains a passage of very frequent occurrence in the Historical Inscriptions of Assyria. This passage is usually written . . . . . *abbul. aggur. ás kuv* (?) *asrup*, "I destroyed; I undermined; I burnt with fire;" but the first word is sometimes written *abul*, without the duplication of the 1st radical, and we thus see that the derivation is from בָּלַל "to confound," rather than from נָבַל "to wither." The double form, indeed, of *abul* and *abbul*, like *adduk* and *aduku*, *attur* and *aturu*, determinately includes the root in the class of verbs ע"ע, and the significations, moreover, of "destroying" and "confounding" are very nearly allied. The word answering to *niyatrárayam* is unfortunately lost, as indeed is the passage which translates the very difficult commencement of the 6th clause in the Persian text. In that clause the name of Gomates the Magian is perfect, but the verb again, replacing the Persian *adina*, is also mutilated. If, however, it be restored to after the analogy of the correspondent to *adina* in the 2nd clause of the last paragraph, it will show that the Babylonian root signifying "to take away" or "dispossess," must be *kamam*, rather than *nakam*—that it is allied in

fact to the Hebrew קִיֵּם probably, instead of being identical, as I have before conjectured, with נָקַם "to avenge." The last word of the clause *sunut*, is the masculine plural of the pronoun of the 3rd person, and it agrees with the correspondent to the Persian *vithibish*, whether that term signify "houses" or "families."[1]

The 7th clause, "I established the state in its place," (or "firmly") is perfect. The Babylonian phrase is and the only words that have not been previously examined are *aś asriśu*, answering to the Persian *gâthwâ*. Now there is the same uncertainty about the signification of the Babylonian *asri*, that has been felt in regard to the Persian *gâthwâ*, the verb אָשַׁר from which

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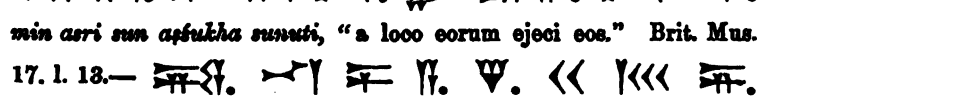
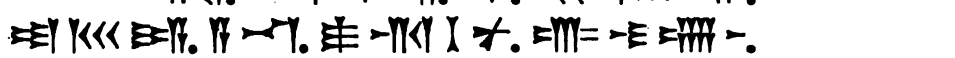
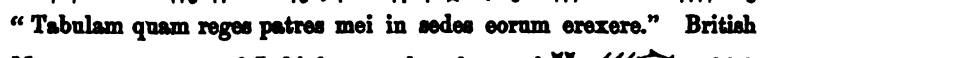
[1] I may here add a few words on the pronoun of the 3rd person. The masc. singular is *suva* (הוּא): the feminine *siya* (הִיא). The masc. plural is *sunut*; the fem. plural, *sinat*. The abbreviated forms used as suffixes are, masculine or *su*, singular; *sun*, plural: feminine (?) *si*, singular; *sin*, plural. *Sunuti* and *sinati* are used also for the oblique cases of the plural pronoun, and *sunu* and *sina* frequently take the place of *sun* and *sin*, for the plural suffix, without involving, I think, any grammatical distinction. With regard to the distinction between *ut* and *at*, for the masculine and feminine gender of plural, I may observe that a kindred rule of orthography seems to pervade the whole structure of the Babylonian grammar; we have thus, masculine *madut*, fem. *madat*, "many;" —masc. *haganut*, fem. *haganat*, "these;"—masculine *annut*, feminine *annat* (obl. *annitiś*) "those;"—masc. *ellut*, "gods," fem. *ellit*, "goddesses," &c. &c.

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

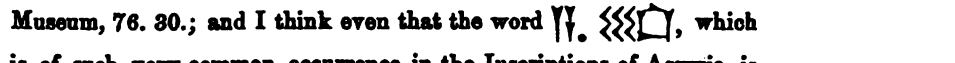
min asri sun aṣṭukha sunuti, "a loco eorum ejeci eos." Brit. Mus. 17. l. 13.—



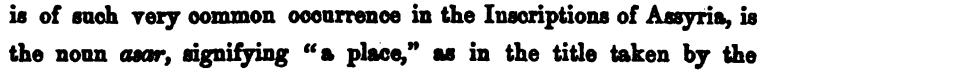
"Tabulam quam reges patres mei in sedes eorum erexere." British Museum, 76. 30.; and I think even that the word  , which is of such very common occurrence in the Inscriptions of Assyria, is the noun *asar*, signifying "a place," as in the title taken by the Khursabad king:—



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



ru hu ku Brit. Mus., 33. 8.

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

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

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

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

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

The Babylonian version of the last clause is opposed, I think, to the reading of Mons. Oppert, who translates *yathá Gumáta hya Magush vitham tyám amákham niyá parábara*, by "before that Gomates the Magian had usurped our country." [illegible] certainly means in other passages "so as" or "according as" (compare the examples quoted in page vi.), and [illegible] *yassu* (Hebrew יַשֵּׂא from נָשָׂא) is the exact equivalent of the Persian *parábara*, "he took away." The meaning, therefore, of the last clause must be, I think, "so that our family was not superseded by Gomates the Magian," and the entire paragraph may be translated as follows:—

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

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

Par. 16. l. 29 * Da ri ya vaş.

melek (— — —). ya gab bi. al la. ša.

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

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

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

melek. * — — * akhar. ish. — — * i.

yat ti k ru ʼ. la. pa ni ya.

l. 31 (— — — — —) * Na di ta bil.

sum su. bar su. sa. * A ni ri ʼ. su va.

aś. * Babel *. yat ba v va. ana. hva ku.

ya par ra ṣ. ki ma. ana ku. l. 32 (— — —

— — — — —) yat ti (— —) * Babel *.

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

yaṣ ṣa bat.

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

either with or without the *daghesh*. Another novelty is the employment of  , the monogram for "a man," to connect *Gomata* and *Magusu*, instead of the pronoun *hagasuva*. The sign in question is here used simply as a non-phonetic determinative before  . At the end of the line,  answers to the Persian *martiya*, and is to be read probably as אִישׁ or אֱנָשׁ. The last word of the 2nd clause, which is *udapatatá* in the Persian, and which signifies "he arose," is rendered in the Babylonian by  *yatbavva*, a kindred form with the term *yatbá*, which I had occasion to examine in line 15.[1] I suppose it to be the 3rd person singular masculine of the Tiphal future of בּוֹא, the duplication of the second radical being characteristic of this as well as of the Piël conjugation, and the sense being modified by the change of conjugation from "coming," to "arising." (Compare the Hebrew noun תְּבוּאָה, "produce," or "that which *springs up* from the earth.")

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

The name of  , which is usually applied to

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

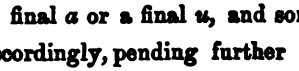
Susiana, and which is, I feel tolerably sure, composed of ideographs, has been remarked on in my notes to the 6th paragraph. It is worth while, however, to observe the form of . for "the people of Susiana," the addition of the plural sign to the proper name of the country being held to be sufficient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

In line 31 we first meet with the orthography of — . for the Persian *Naditabira*, and are thus enabled to attach to the sign (incorrectly printed in the text as) the power of *di*, and to identify the compound character (contraction of) as the monogram for the god *Bil* (Hebrew בֵּל). The name seems to have been commonly used among the Babylonians, as it is found repeated several times on a cylinder published by Grotefend (Zeitschrift, Tom. iii. p. 179), and it may be interpreted as "the gift of Bel," *nadita* being equivalent to the Hebrew נָדָה, "a liberal gift." Ezek. 16. 23.

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

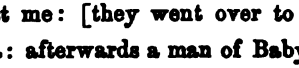
In line 32 the first word is doubtful. The analogy of line 16, where we have the two verbs *yatriku'* and *yattikru'* in immediate juxtaposition, would lead us to expect that *yattikir* would in this place be preceded by *yattirik*, the 3rd person singular masculine of the Ifta'al form of הָרַךְ, and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

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

For an explanation of  *yaṣṣabat*, "he seized," see line 17.

The paragraph accordingly reads as follows:—

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

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

Par. 18. l. 33 * Da ri ya vaş.

melek (— — —). ya gab bi. akhar. ana ku.

ana. * Babel *. al lak u. a na. eli.

l. 34 (— — — — — — —) hva ku. sa.

* Ni di ta bil. aś. eli. di k ta(?).

hva su z zu. a ba. ku l lu '.

* * * Tig gar. ma li. akhar. ana ku.

hva ku. l. 35 (— — — — — — — — —)

* Hu ri mi ş da. yaş śi. da nu. aś.

yaş mi. sa. * Hu ri mi ş da. * *.

Di k ta. ni ti bi r. ad du ku.

l. 36 (— — — — — —) yom. XXVI. (—) sa.

hodesh. kan. şi l ta. ni ti bu su.

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

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

the Inscriptions of Assyria, and which cannot possibly, I think, signify "ships," though I am still doubtful as to its real signification.[1] Of the many readings that have been suggested for this word, the most probable, I think, is "walls of defence;" and the question accordingly arises, whether the Persian *naviy á*can also have this meaning, or whether there can be such entirely different significations as "ships" and "walls" appertaining to the same noun 𒀭𒁹𒌋𒄩𒁹. Leaving this point to be decided by more competent inquirers, I go on to suggest that 𒁹𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 𒌋𒄩𒁹 𒁹𒁹𒁹 *hvasuzru*, which governs *dikta*, may be the plural participle of a root answering to חוז, "to take refuge," a sibilant, as is so often the case, being substituted for the Hebrew ח. The next word, 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹, however it be pronounced, undoubtedly stands for the Persian *awadá*, "there," for we have, in a subsequent passage 𒁹. 𒁹𒁹 𒁹𒁹 answering to *amuthá*, "from thence;" and 𒁹𒁹 𒌋𒄩𒁹 𒀭 𒁹𒁹 with equal certainty may be identified as the 3rd person plural præterite of a verb which corresponds with כָּלָא in Hebrew, and كلا in Arabic, and which signifies "to hold or

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

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

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

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

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

original form, I think, of the modern دجلة *Dijleh*, and which, singularly enough, corresponds in sound with the noun *dikta*, "ships" or "walls," that I have been just endeavouring to explain. The last word of this difficult clause, [illegible] *mali*, I suppose to be a derivative from the root מָלֵא, "to fill," regarding it either as the plural form of the Kal active participle, or, which is more probable, identifying it with the adverb מָלֵא, "fully." Many kindred forms at any rate are met with of this term, and in all of them we may, I think, detect a collective sense: *awashchiya*, "each of these," or "all these," is thus rendered by [illegible] *gabbi mala;* see Westergaard's E., l. 9: *vithapatiya*, "such as were at home" (Behistun, l. 43), is translated by [illegible] *mala ai bit*, and on Michaux's stone, side 2, l. 21, we have [illegible], which means perhaps "the great gods," each (or all) of them, on this tablet "their forms have been represented."[1] [illegible] or

[1] It may be convenient, also, to mention in this place, that I have at length decided in referring to the same root, מָלֵא, the terms [illegible] and [illegible], which occur so often in the trilingual Inscriptions, and which have hitherto resisted all explanation. I am satisfied, indeed, from comparing Bel. Cyl., side 2, l. 6; with East India Insc., Col. 6, l. 26, that the letter [illegible], which is usually *bul*, has also the power of *mal*, and in the same way, therefore, that [illegible] *mala ai bit*, answers to *vithápatiya*, so will [illegible] *diyaku va mallu*, answer to *usatayapatiya*, the signification being "slain *one and all*." The phrase, also, [illegible] *mallut vassabbit*, which occurs everywhere at Behistun, in the numerical notice of the slain and prisoners, must

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The last word of line 35, [illegible] *adduku*, "I smote," is already well known.

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

The paragraph ends with [illegible] *ṣilat nitibusu*, "we did battle," or "fought." The word for "battle," which is written indifferently [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible], and which must be a feminine noun, is derived probably from a root corresponding with the Hebrew סלל, the sense of "moving to and fro," which appertains to the Hebrew verb, being somewhat analogous to the meaning which belongs etymologically to the Persian correspondent *hamaranam*. There are so many terms,

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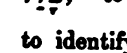
[1] That the letter [illegible] must have represented a sound more nearly resembling *i* than *a*, is shown by its being always preceded by a consonant of the *i* class, when it is included with such a consonant in a single articulation.

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

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

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

the term *nitibir*, which has been recently examined, it does not require any special explanation.

I give the following translation then for the 18th paragraph.

"Darius the king says: then I went to Babylon; against [that Niditabelus who was called Nabochodrossor]; the troops of Niditabelus having betaken themselves to their boats, there held (their position), filling (or guarding) the Tigris: then I a detachment [pushed across in rafts. I brought the enemy into difficulty, and carried his position]: Ormazd brought help to me: by the grace of Ormazd we crossed over the Tigris: I slew [many of the troops of Niditabelus.] On the 26th day of the month , we fought the battle."

Par. 19. (— — — — —) ya gab bi. akhar.

ana ku. ana. * Babel * at ta lik. ana. *

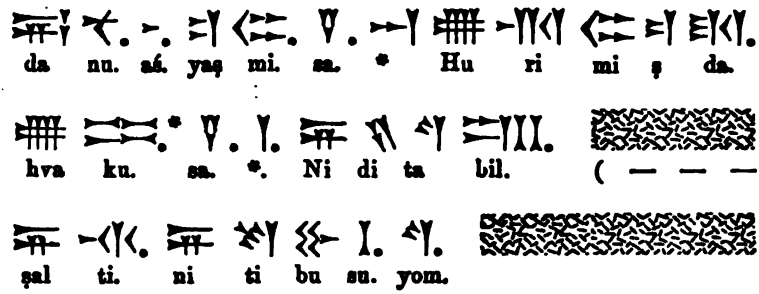
Babel *. la. ka sa du. aś. ir. Za za n nu.

sum su. sa. (—) * *. * Kip rat *.

l. 37 (— — — — —) ya gab bu. ki ma. ana ku.

* * Nabu kuduru ṣur. (— —) akhar. ṣa l ta.

ni ti bu su. * Hu ri mi ṣ da. yaṣ śi.



The verb [illegible] which terminates the 2nd clause, and which answers to the Persian *ashiyavam*, I am unable to read determinately, owing to the many different powers which seem to attach to the sign [illegible]. I propose, however, in this word to give to the character in question the value of *lik*, and to regard *attalik* as the 1st person singular of the Ifta'al form of הָלַךְ, the conjugational characteristic being doubled in order to compensate for the loss of the 1st radical, which has fallen out as a weak letter.[1]

In the 3rd clause, for "when I reached Babylon," we have *ana Babel la kasadu*, the two last words being the infinitive of a root

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* As this sheet of the Analysis is passing through the press, I think I have discovered that the sign [illegible] has the power of *khas*, as well as of *ku*, and this discovery has led to the identification of [illegible] or *hvakhas*, as a participial noun derived from עָשָׂה, "to do," and immediately cognate with מַעֲשֶׂה, which, indeed, exactly answers both in sense and etymology to the Persian *kara*. The equivalent of the Babylonian *kh* with the Hebrew כ, is proved by a multitude of examples.

[1] In many cases, the power of *lik* answers sufficiently well for [illegible], compare the orthography of [illegible] *Khilikku*, for Cilicia, and the constant union of [illegible] with a succeeding *k*; but I do not consider the value to be by any means established. The Hieratic form, however, of this letter is, I think, [illegible], and that sign has certainly the phonetic power of *lik* or *lak*.

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

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

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

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

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[1] It certainly appears to me as if the term [illegible] without being a geographical title, was still expressly employed to denote the valley of the Euphrates, or perhaps the Mesopotamian plains. In almost all cases where the king of Assyria takes the title of king of [illegible], that epithet supersedes the title of king of Babylon. (Compare British Museum, 12. 4; 19. 6, 17. 1; 33. 1; Obelisk, side 1, l. 16.) In the Khursabad Inscriptions again, the epithets "[illegible]" and "[illegible]" of Babylon" are always associated (see everywhere in commencement of Inscriptions of Sargina), and in the same way the [illegible] are joined with the [illegible] of Babylon and Borsippa in Khurs. 152. 2. The application of the term, however, seems more general in the epithet taken by the Nimrud king. British Museum, 1. l. 2.

[illegible]

a phrase which I doubtfully translate by "the strong ruler who, walking in the service of Assar, his lord, overcame innumerable kings of *the foreign countries*," or perhaps "*of the plains of Mesopotamia*." It should also be observed, that this term [illegible], is rendered in the East India Inscription, col. 10, l. 9, by [illegible], and on Bel. Cyl., side 3, l. 51, by [illegible],

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

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

There are no other words in this paragraph requiring to be noticed, except the variant forms of *ṣalta*, and *ṣalti*, for the word "battle."

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

Translation.

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

END OF THE FIRST COLUMN.

(Directions to Binders of the R. A. S. Journal.—One copy of the following Notice is to be bound up at the end of Vol. XI., and one copy at the end of Vol. XIV.)

The incomplete condition of the XIth and XIVth volumes of the Journal has been several times brought to the notice of the Council by members desirous of having their copies bound. The first-mentioned volume, containing the ancient Persian work by Sir H. C. Rawlinson, was left unfinished in consequence of the important discoveries made at Nineveh, which placed in that gentleman's hands an immense amount of new material in a language and character which had hitherto been almost wholly unattempted, and gave promise of affording an insight into the history of ages far more remote than any thing discoverable in the Persian inscriptions; and moreover, these last had already been fully investigated, so that any further interest in them would be philological only. The great amount of labour requisite for the investigation of this new material has hitherto prevented our learned Member from continuing the interrupted volume, and he is now of opinion that the subject has been exhausted by other investigators, who have left him nothing to communicate.

The XIVth volume, on the Assyrian and Babylonian Inscriptions, was interrupted by the departure of Sir H. Rawlinson from England on the important mission intrusted to him by Her Majesty's Government. The duties connected with the mission, followed by the laborious task of editing and publishing the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions in the British Museum, have proved an irremovable obstacle to continuing the volume. Sir H. Rawlinson is now persuaded that, considering the very great advances made in the study since the first part was printed, any attempt to complete the volume would result in a patchwork of which one half would be very unequal to the other.

The Council have therefore decided on issuing printed notices, to be bound up with the published parts of these two volumes, giving the reasons why they have been left incomplete.

MEMOIR

ON THE

BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

CHAPTER I.

ALPHABET.

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

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

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

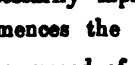
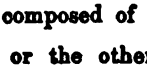
It can be shown beyond all possibility of dispute, that a very large proportion of the Assyrian signs are Polyphones—that is, they represent more than one sound; and strange as this irregularity may at first sight appear, it does not, I think, altogether defy explanation. The analogy of Egyptian writing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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

𒁹. 𒀀 𒁹 𒁹 } = Persian *Arabáya*. Arabia. (B. I., l. 5.[1])
A ra bi

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

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

B. I. Behistun Inscription.

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

Kh. Khursabad Inscriptions, published by the French Government.

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

E. I. East India House Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar.

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

W. Westergaard's Plates.

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

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

A ra ka t ri ' } = { Persian *Arakadarish.* Aracadres. (B. I., l. 15.)

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

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

Ha kha ma n ni s si 'a } = { Pers. *Hakhámanishiya.* The Achæmenian. (passim.)

A khu r ma ṣ da ' } = Pers. *Ahuramazdá.* Oromasdes. (passim.)

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

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

D á ri y á vaṣ or Da ri ya vaṣ[1] for Darius.

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

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

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

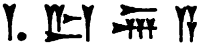
Ha mat ai } B. M., Pl. 90, l. 60.

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

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

 } Kh., Pl. 145. No. 2, l. 9.
· Ha ma t ti

 } B. M., 33, l. 8.[1]
Kha m ma ti

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

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

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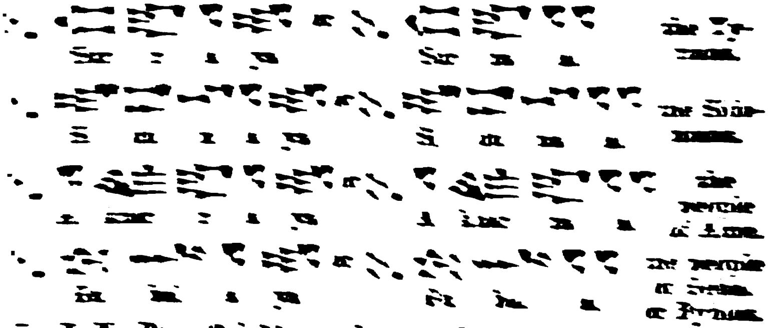
[1]  and  represent the proper name of the country, however, rather than the ethnic title, the nouns being apparently in the oblique case. That these two forms, moreover, denote the same place, notwithstanding the discrepant orthography, is proved by the name of the king of Hamath,  , who was one of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

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

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

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

[illegible] kingdom [illegible] empire, [illegible] As the suffix of the 1st person [illegible] very commonly interchanges with [illegible] In some cases this is a mere alphabetical variety [illegible] being equally expressed by [illegible]; but in other instances there must, I think, be a [illegible] distinction between [illegible] the plural [illegible] of the demonstrative pronoun being thus indifferently written [illegible] and [illegible] line 41 [illegible] the termination of the [illegible] plural, which [illegible] for the [illegible] ending [illegible] being [illegible] expressed by [illegible] and [illegible] Compare the [illegible] of the Phoenician [illegible] in the ancient Assyrian Inscriptions [illegible] where the orthography of the different signs is—



See B. M. Plate [illegible] with [illegible]

I must now consider the employment of [illegible] as an ideograph, and [illegible] of the [illegible] Assyrian [illegible]. The

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There must, however, be a [illegible] distinction between [illegible] the former being the [illegible] the latter the [illegible] and [illegible] ending.

[a] In another [illegible] I [illegible] the [illegible] with the [illegible] between the [illegible]

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

;[2]

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

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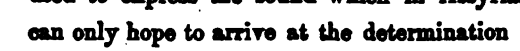
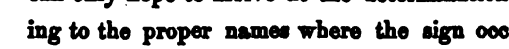
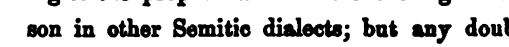
[1] This is the ordinary method of expressing filiation in the cursive Babylonian documents. There are, indeed, many hundred examples of the group on the clay cakes in the British Museum.

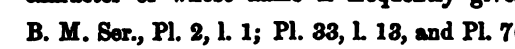
[2] The alphabetical machinery which is used to express these names, will be given in detail hereafter. For the title of Nabochodrossor three ideographic elements will be found to be employed. 1. The god *Nabo*, denoted by the letters or preceded by the determinative : 2. a compound ideograph , sometimes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

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

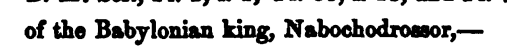
 or 

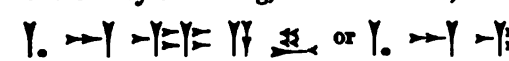
in whose name the  and  are seen to interchange.[1]

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

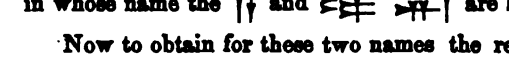
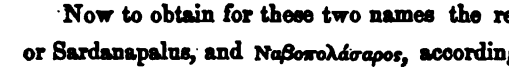
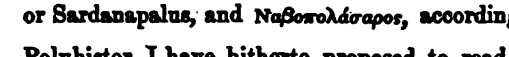
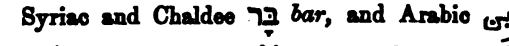
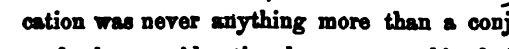
and 
Bu rat

(and with inflexional endings—

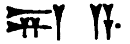

Bu rat tu;

and 
Bu rat ti:

or 
Bu rat ti;

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

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

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

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

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

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

[illegible] or [illegible] = עֵילָם { *Eluta*, or with inflexion *Eluti*, for "Elymais."[1]

[illegible] = עֵבֶר; from the root *ebar*, "to cross over."

[illegible] = עֶרֶב, غَرْبٌ; from *erab*, "to set (as the sun)."

[illegible] = עֶבֶד; from *ebad*, "to serve, or "make serve."

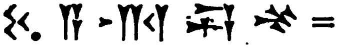
[illegible], thus showing that the phonetic power is the word signifying "a son." The same interchange takes place in the orthography of the third name; (comp. B. M. 86, ls. 2 and 16); and it may be inferred even that in the second name (B. M., 17. 1), the [illegible] represents the sound for "son,"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

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

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

 = עַל, علي } *eli*, "upon," "over;" and the same, answering to the root עָלָה or علا, "to go up," or "ascend."

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

 = . Persian *Hariva* } for Aria.
Ha r e vu

 [1] = Persian *Khshathrita* } for Xathrites.
Kha sa t r e ti

 = Persian *Imanish* } for Imanes[2].
Im ma n e su

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

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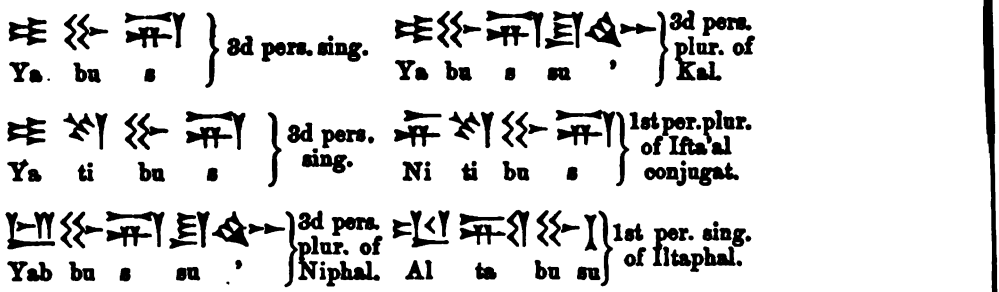
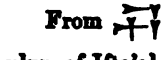
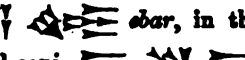
[1] This is the orthography used in the detached Insc. of Behistun, No. 4. In the great Insc., the name is written  *Khasatritti*.

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

in the category of the Hebrew feeble letters אהו, and the roots containing it might be classed with the "verba quiescentia" of the grammarians. Compare the following forms from the root *ebas*, which in the Hebrew would be of the "Pe guttural" class, and would preserve the *y* intact.



From  *ebar*, in the same way, we have 1st pers. plur. of Ifta'al conj.  *nitibir*.

The forms  and  [1] again show that the will interchange with the as the second radical; and there are also instances where the sign in question is elided as the third radical[2], as sometimes happens with the Hebrew verbs לא and לה.

The sign  is further used, especially to denote the dual number.

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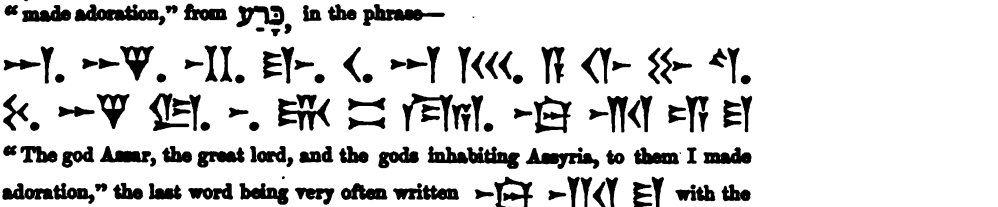
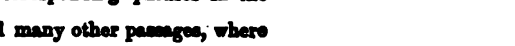
[1] I am not quite satisfied, however, that these two forms come from the same root.

[2] As for instance in the orthography of *akri* or *akre*, "I worshipped," or "made adoration," from כרע, in the phrase—



"The god Assur, the great lord, and the gods inhabiting Assyria, to them I made adoration," the last word being very often written  with the  suppressed. Compare Khur. 8. 2. 20, and corresponding phrases in the Standard Inscription, with B. M., 28. 27; 34. 9, and many other passages, where although different gods may be named, the construction is precisely similar.

We have thus upon the Nimrud Obelisk , "in my second year," where the is merely introduced to qualify the numeral II: again, on the Koyunjik Cylinder there is the same expression , for "in my second year[1];" and on the Nebuchadnezzar Cylinder, wherever the gods are paired, they are followed by the epithet *Baal*, in the dual number, which is expressed in the same manner. See

Side 1, l. 27.

Side 2, l. 34.

Side 2, l. 40.

[2]

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[1] See B. M., 88. 32 and 63. 21. There are many difficulties, however, connected with the Assyrian system of yearly notation which I am not yet able to explain. "Year" is expressed by or or , and the number is sometimes indicated by figures, and sometimes by words or signs. Thus, for "in my first year," we have in the Obelisk (B.M., 88. 26); but , on Col. Taylor's Cyl. and , on the B. M., Cylinder, 63. l. 18. "Second," is always expressed by ; but for "third," Colonel Taylor's Cylinder gives or instead of , which is found on all the other documents; while for "fourth," we have not only the regular , but, on Colonel Taylor's Cylinder, the same sign with the addition of ; and upon the Obelisk, "in the fourth year" is rendered by . (B. M., 89. 45.)

[2] As the god was the chief divinity of the Babylonians, and was in particular the special object of the worship of the great Nebuchadnezzar, the name, I think, must needs indicate the same deity, who was called

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

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

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

vu	ta	'	ya	mi	m
vu	ta	'	ya	m	i
vu	ti	'	im	mi	
vu	ti	'	im	'i	

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

1 Vas ta ś

Hystaspes;

2 ha m. i ga

-) *dic*

3 aṣ. pa na.

ante

4 ṣar. melek.

rex

5 ra ti.

Mare;

6 * Ki(m) mi

Cimmerii (aut

---

re undistinguishable

), in order to prevent

the Nakhsh-i-Rust

v 'a. tu ru n. man da t ta.

venere *fuere;* *tributa*

Da t ki(?) (- -). a n. s a s.

VIII. *nus* *(qui erat,)* *illum*

.i ś la. pa ni ya. at t u a.

rsdis *d* *a* *me*

10 mi eli. sa. melk ut. ha ga ta.

omasdes *ut* *regno* *hoc*

11 ki ha ki. sa. a n. melek. a tu r.

(- - *a* *quod* *rex* *flebam:*

12 ha kan abi. su n. imi. su n.

h *pater* *eorum,* *mater* *eorum*

13 * B u zi ya. a n * Mi ṣar.

nbyses *ad* *Ægyptum*

14 du. aṣ. * Par śu. * Ma da i.

ut, in Perside, Mediâ,

15 XIV. (- -) sa. (- - -). t u. a n.

14 *mo mensis Tu, in*

16 'a * Par śu. * Ma da i.

Persis, Media,

17 r. melek. ki ha m. i gab bi.

rex (- - -) dicit:

18 Ma gu s. melk u t. a n.

Magus regnum ad

19 i gab bi. man ma. y a nu.

dicit: aliquis non erat

20 du. la. pa ni su. ip ta bit(?).

ab eo metuebat(?):

va. — ma. i (- - -) u. aṣ. eli.

ita " *tis non ausus est, circum*

an ku. sa. * Hu ri mi ś da.

ego *Oromasdis*

s. va. (- - - sumu s. sa. aṣ. * Ma da i.

, et homin nominata, quæ in Mediâ,

ri mi bi. melk u t. sa. la. pa ni.

Oromasdes imperium quod a

val Ma gu s. ib bu l(u.) an ku.

s Magus dejecerat, ego

ha ga ś. * Par śu. * Ma da i.

ille olim; Persidem, Mediam,

u ri m bit. at tu n. aṣ. as ri s(u).

Oromasd ntem nostrûm firmiter eam

ɔt suit rwise

Hu rsu v. * Da ri ya ṣar.

leret. Par. XV. *Darius*

ri y* Ma gu s. up ki. (- - -)

Dariu *Magum,* *postea* *homo*

v lk ru 'a. la. pa ni ya.

rexit; *fiebant* *a me;*

in ta bpar ra ś. uv va. an ku.

ditabelus *ventitus est* *ita:* *"ego*

is(?). k. ki ha m. i gab bi.

; (- - -) *dicit:*

ku. a al lak u. a n. eli.

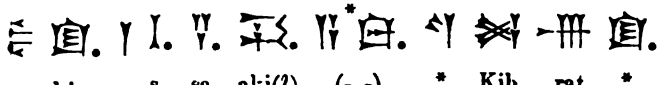
ego *progrediebar;* *ad*

ta bel, up ki. an ku. hva ki(?).

li *super* *postea* *ego* *agmen*

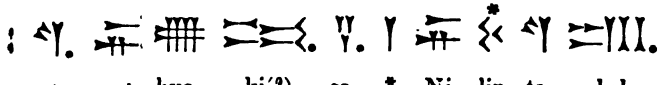
* ši.(?) ni ta bi r. at du k.

transibamus; debellavi



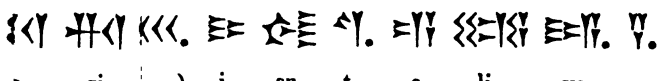
p ki. an s. sa. aki(?). (- -). * Kib rat *

postea atâ secundum flumen Euphratem,



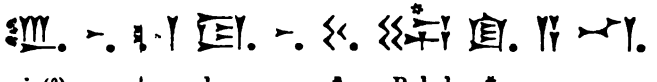
at. ni hva ki(?). sa. * Ni din ta bel.

m cd exercitum quem Naditabeli



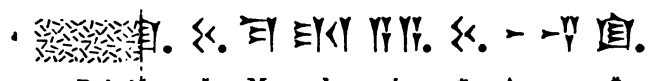
a ri -). i sn t. e li ya. sa.

Da bus fidelibus qui



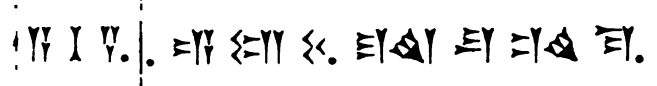
ris(?). aṣ. an ku. aṣ. * Babel * a n.

gi ego ad Babylonem



Babel* * Ma da i. * Aṣ ṣur *

Babylon Media; Assyria;



a s sa. E lu ti. it b av va.

filius Susianâ surrexit;

n. u s. * Da ri ya ṣar. melek.

tium.) Par. V. *Darius* *rex*

nn ku. i. ma la. aṣ. bit. la. pani ya.

" ego *quæ se tenebant domi* *a me*

n ku. t(?) a. * Psr śa i. a n.

ego *subjectus* *Persicus,* *ad*

n 'a. sumu s. sa. * Ma da i.

us *nomine* *Mediæ,*

a ki(śi l at. i t ip su 'a.

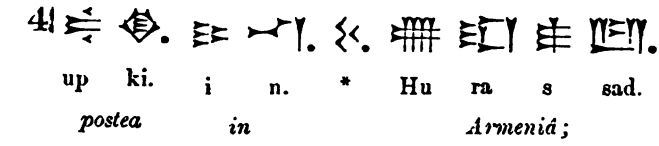
copiæ *prælium* *committebant;*

(?) ma al la ku. an. * Ma da i.

padâ *advenissem* *ad* *Mediam.*

u k. su n u t

illi dicebe *debella* *eas;"*

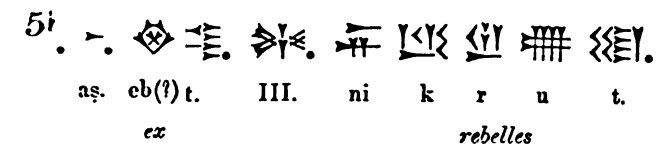


up ki. i n. * Hu ra s sad.

postea *in* *Armeniâ;*

v. it ki. i t ip su. ṣal at.

tea *committebant* *prælium*

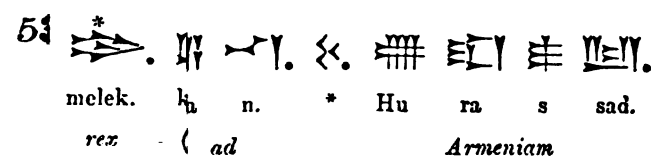


aṣ. eb(?) t. III. ni k r u t.

ex *rebelles*

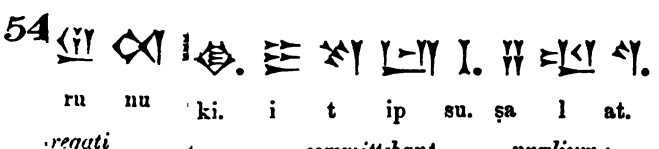
ri m[- -). i t ip su. ṣa l at.

Oromay(- -) *committebant* *prælium;*



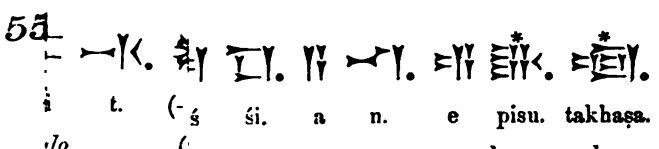
melek. k n. * Hu ra s sad.

rex *(ad* *Armeniam*



ru nu ki. i t ip su. ṣa l at.

regati *tea* *committebant* *prælium;*



i t. (- ś śi. a n. e pisu. takhaṣa.

ilo *(n* *ad pugnandum;*

zab bi t. MDLIX.

aptivis 1559.

ru. su mu s. aṣ. * Ma da i.

appellatâ in Mediâ,

* Pa r u var ti s.

Phraortis

up ki. a n ku. hva ki(?).

postea ego exercitum

ga ma ta nu. al ta kan us.

Ecbatanâ affixi eum;

ku. hva ki(?). * Ma da i.

ego copias Medicas

vi. sa. * Hu ra mi ś da.

Oromasdis

hardly

6. n. d i k. va. bul lu.

gab b

tota *occisos* *et suspensi (eos).* (?)
(aut. suspensos)

Pa r t u. a sib u.

Parthiâ *habitans*

t; sub dition

t. ha ga su n. (- -) XXII. (- -).

(?) n. aṣ.

illos, *die* 22 *mo*

t;

ś pi. hva ki(?). s a t.

(cum) *copiis* *his*

Rhage;

zab bit. IVCLXXXII.

i t i

aptivis 4182.

commis

Pa ra d 'a. su mu s.

ki ha

Phraates *nominatus,*

(- -

nt. ki. * Var gu va i.

cum *cum* *Margensibus;*

ppellatur;

the form o

70 sun. ar. melek. ki ha m.

iis *rex* (- - -)

71 ra. su mu bi. a n. hva ki(?).

nominatâ *ad* *rem*

72 * Par śu. v i at.

illo rex fiebat Per *Persidis* (- - -)

73 * Par śu. it it ti. hva ki(?).

Persidis *cum* *copiis*

74 — hvis.(?) Hu ra ma ś da.

tea *Oromasdis*

75 i ś d a il ur u. a n.

Veisdates *fugiebat* *ad*

76 vi. sa. * du vi ś d a ti.

á *Veisdatis;*

---

was never lettered.

7 bi. up su. gab bi. aṣ. ṣa ki p.

poste eo (erant), omnes ad crucem

7 al ta ga s u. sa. ik b u.

feci. ille qui appellabatur

7 du k 'a. va. a n.

ubjectum, Viban debellate et

8 ra ma ś da. hva ki(?).

s nominatum, Oromasdis copiæ

8 sa. * Hu ra ma ś da.

; in regione, G Oromasdis

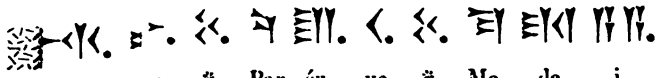
8 ki(?). i ṣut. e li ya.

(— — *qui istiu copiis fidelibus*

8 va. bul lu. sa. hva ki(?).

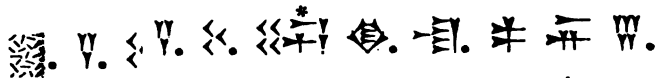
ficiebatur; eo et suspensit (eos)(?); (aut. suspensos) copiarum

overlined are a

84 

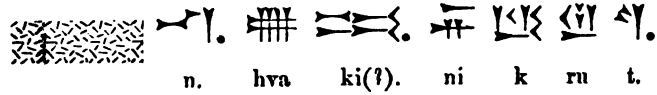
ti. aṣ. * Par śu. va. * Ma da i.

in Perside et Mediâ

85 

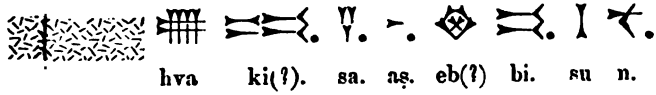
sa. sa. * Babel * la. pa ni ya.

qui Babylonis a me

86 

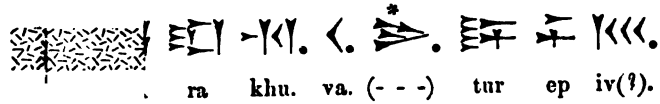
n. hva ki(?). ni k ru t.

subjectus copias rebelles

87 

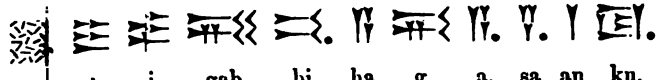
hva ki(?). sa. aṣ. eb(?) bi. su n.

Bab ille Int copias; qui earum

88 

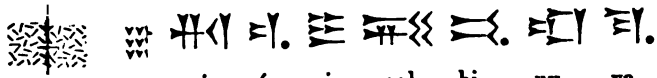
ra khu. va. (- - -) tur ep iv(?).

tur et cor Aracum et homines præcipuos

89 

i i gab bi. ha g a. sa. an ku.

d dicit: hoc quod ego

90 

IX ri ś. i gab bi. uv va.

feci gentitus dixit ita:

, but never been lettered.

9. va. an ku. * * Nebu kudur uṣṣur.

(- - : "Ego Nabochodrossor

fecit

9. r 1. * Kha sa t ri t ti.

Xathrites

Pl

9 a va s. * Mar gu va i. s u.

ie, Margensis, ille

C

9 ra ra s da. ha ga s u.

Armenicus, ille

tus ita di

9 va ki(?). at u a. aṣ. bi v(?).

copiis meis inter

us;" ille

9 zu in. da na s. su nu t.

tatem meam redacta illa

elles fuer

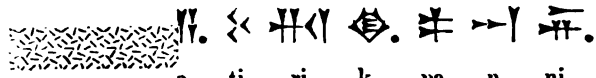
9 sa l us. k i. ta gab bu.

dele eum; si observes

s rex: O

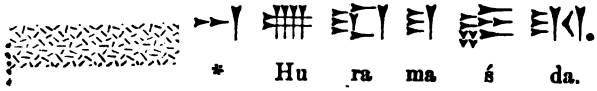
nknown form.

ces left

98 

a. ti ri k. pa n ni.

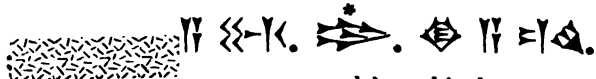
ze gratiâ Oromd) *monitio*(?) *sit tibi a me*

99 

* Hu ra ma ś da.

Oromasdis

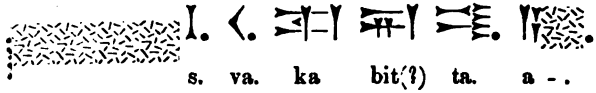
ripsi, totam na

100 

ṣar. melek. ki ha m.

rex (- - -)

tabulam posthac

101 

s. va. ka bit(?) ta. a - .

et (- - - - -)

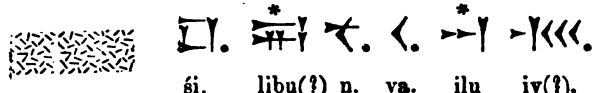
sdis a me perfec

102 

ś śi nu. an. hva ki(?).

eles, *ad* *regnum*

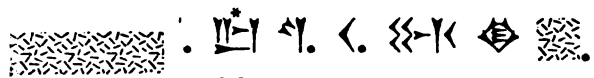
quam plurima

103 

śi. libu(?) n. va. ilu iv(?).

n *tulit,* *et* *dei*

factum, totum

104 

lak ta. va. ṣar ki —.

— — — — —)

ram; non injur

er—it may be

1(ra ṣu. va. (- -) par is a ni.

omnin tur et homo (qui) impius

1(n. ni m a nu. ha kan nu t.

go inst has effigies,

1(ma ś da. lu (- -) bi s.

nserva omasdes prosperet(?)

1(ra ma ś da. li ru lak(?).

anc t Oromasdes hostis fiat tibi,

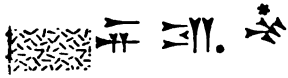
1(Gu m a t. ha ga s u.

I. Di Gomatem eum

1 th r 'a. * Par sa i.

, filia Socris, Persicus;

e tw

11 

ni s. sumu

us; Meg *nomin*

11 

m a

multas

es not