

erred in the application of it. Mr. Boscawen considers that my results are very unlikely, in consequence of the fact that they result in a "mixed vocabulary." Now my dictionary contains about 40 words, and in order to understand the charge, I should be glad of a few instances in which this property of *mixture* appears. Take the first three words, *asukh* an oil-jar, *ashdeka* to contemplate, and *ashibna* we restored. I really know not what the accusation means.

Mr. Boscawen says that the names of Hittite kings and towns are non-Semitic. Very likely. But then the names of Oxford and Cambridge Rhyd-Uchain and Caer-Grawnt are not English, and Laban the Syrian appears to have spoken Aramæan. It is also to be remarked that in the select Egyptian Hieratic Papyri, the Semitic words seem to be Aramæan, and that the Greek alphabet also was Aramæan.

As to the Cilician Boss, and other small finds, any one interested should give us an enlarged lithographic copy. It is a question of eyesight, and I do not at present see them to be Hittite. Fifty times more important than the Boss question is that of the name Jerablus. I read it in three places without the *l*, and I should be very much puzzled indeed if there be an *l*. Professor Wright has gone carefully into the subject, and says the *l* is due wholly to European travellers.

DUNBAR ISIDORE HEATH.

Esher, Surrey.

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## THE ASSYRIANS IN EASTERN PALESTINE AND SYRIA DESERTA.

THE existence of an Aramæan or Arab Semitic population as a trading element in Babylonia, together with the non-Semitic Sumero-Akkadian population, at a period as early as the eighteenth or nineteenth century before the Christian Era, is proved by the occurrence of Semitic names of a marked Arab character in the contract tablets of the time of the Kassite or Cossea dynasty founded by Khammuragas. Such names as Abbu, Abikhibu Libet, Kainuv (Hebrew Cain), Abbu (Abel), Mukhatu Pirkhu, and the many compound names formed with the gods Sin (Moon), and Shamas (Sun), both Arab deities as elements, seem to indicate the origin of the population who at this early period appear in the marts of Ur and Erech. It may not be a mere accident that the inscriptions of a bilingual class which were compiled by the scribes of Babylonia at an early period, and afterwards copied and re-edited by the scribes of Assurbanipal, are all of a commercial character, the non-Semitic phrases in one column being translated into Semitic Babylonian or Assyrian in the other. This would seem to show that the exigencies of trade produced these primitive editions of Clifton and Ollendorf.

Even earlier than the use of the Kassite dynasty, which is to be identified with the Median dynasty of Berosus, a Semitic population to

the north-west of Babylonia was known, and its character is clearly indicated by the generic name given to the people by the writers of the inscriptions. The name *Sukhi* (𐎶𐎵𐎲𐎠) appended to these tribes at a very early period is evidently like the Egyptian name Shasu, derived from their wandering life and marauding character, and we may connect it with the Hebrew root  $\text{סָחַף}$ . The root in Assyrian has the sense of "to rebel, to revolt, to create rebellion," and the noun, *Sikhu*, a revolt, occurs several times, notably in the Eponym Canon (W. A. I., 11, 52, lines 9, 10, 11, 25). We may conclude, therefore, that this name *Sukhi*, like the Egyptian Shasu, from the root  $\text{שָׁסַף}$  which signified the "plunderers," "spoilers," as the Arab Bedouin, was a characteristic name. The two curious inscriptions of Sargon I, King of Agane, give accounts of expeditions into Syria, but, as only general terms, such as the west, and Elam are employed, together with the "Great Sea," no historical argument can be based on these inscriptions. We may conclude that the Semitic population of Assyria was the outcome of these Semitic nomads who had been tempted to come into Chaldea, and be civilised by the learning and wisdom of the Chaldeans. And Abram, the ancestor of the Hebrew race, may be taken as one of the descendants of these primitive *fellahin*, who had settled round Ur.

It has been thus far necessary to sketch the early contact between Babylonia and the tribes of the desert and the West, in order to gain a knowledge of their character, and the name given to them shows the land to have been occupied by a nomadic people given to making *razzias* across the River Euphrates. That this was the case, is shown by the oft-recurring passages in the astronomical tablets, "The cattle of Akkad safely in the desert lie," "The foe plunders, and the corn of the land devours and seizes."

In about the thirteenth century before the Christian Era, this population became settled, and petty kingdoms were established on the west of the Euphrates. All along the Euphrates, both on the east and west bank, colonies of Arameans sprang up, and in the time of Tiglath-paliser I, B.C. 1120, they had obtained considerable power, and were largely connected with trade. The campaign of Tiglath-paliser I in Aram Zobah and the border of the Hittite land, is found recorded on his cylinder. (W. A. I., 1, p. 13, col. v, 44-63.) "In the service of Assur my lord, my chariots, and warriors, I gathered a divination (mut-bara),\* I took. . . . the land of the Armaya (Arameans) opponents of Assur my lord, then I marched from the frontiers of the land of the Sukhi (Bedouins), as far as the city of Kar-Gamish (Carchemish), of the land of the Hittites. . . In one day I swept (akhbudh),† their soldiers I slew, their spoil, their wealth, and property innumerable. . . I recovered.‡ The

\* Root  $\text{מָבַר}$ .

† Hebrew  $\text{מָבַר}$ , beat out, thrash out, devastate.

‡ Returned to myself.

remainder of their host, who from before the arrows of Assur my lord had fled away, and the river Euphrates they had crossed. After them in boats of inflated skins, the river Euphrates then I crossed. Six of their cities which are situated at the foot of the mountains of Bisiri. . . I captured and with fire I burned . . . threw down and dug up; and their wealth to my city of Assur I brought." During this raid the Assyrian king captured the city of Pitru or Pethor, the birth-place of Balaam. From the Kurkh inscription of Shalmanesar we have the following passage referring to that city: "At that time also (B.C. 854) to the city Assur-utir-azbat, which the men of the Hittites the city of Pethor call, which is above the river Sagura (*Sajur*), on the far bank (west) of the river Euphrates, and the city of Mutkin, which is on the near bank (east) of the Euphrates, which Tiglath-paliser I, the ancestor, the prince my predecessor had united to my country from Assur-rab,—Amar, King of Assyria, the King of the Arameans (Arumu), by force had spoiled. These cities to their place I restored." This passage shows that during the period of weakness which followed the death of Tiglath-paliser I (B.C. 1100), the Arameans had recovered the city of Pethor, an important Aramean city, and one which they appear to have regarded as one of the sacred cities. The above passages give us clearly the northern boundary of the Arameans. The city of Carchemish, the stronghold of the Hittites, was one day's forced march from the frontier of the Sukhi; and Pethor lay in the direct line, and above the river Sagura of the text, which we must identify with the modern Sadjur. The Sadjur is at the point where the old caravan road following the Euphrates crosses it three hours from Jerablus, the ruins of Carchemish, therefore from 10 to 11 miles at the pace my horses went. Above this river, and on the road to Carchemish, was the city of Pethor, and, apparently, with a city or fort on the opposite side of the river. The site of Pethor I feel certain will be found at Tokari-Tash-atan, a name which to this day retains an echo of the old name. There is a small stream flowing down from the limestone hills which form the watershed between the Sadjur and the Euphrates, and on this stream at the point where the caravan road crosses it, is the village of Tokari-Tash-atan. The natives say that the village derives its name from an old stone in the bed of the stream which was thrown there by an ancient Moslem Sheik, Tash-atan, meaning "he threw the stone." The stone in question proved, when I examined it, to be an old Roman milestone, very much defaced, but still with letters such as MCC, etc., remaining on it to prove its original use. We know that the Greco-Roman colonists called Carchemish Hierapolis, which the Arab conquerors corrupted into Jerablus, and the Turks into Jerabis.\* It would therefore seem that they confounded Pethor or Pitru with one of the numerous Petra or Petræ. The Turks translated the confused name by the Tashatan, "the village of (he who) threw the Stone," thus the

\* The name of this village is Yorablus among the Arabs, (يرابلس); the mound being *Kalaat Yerablus*. Jerabis is the Turkish corruption.

name may be traced. The proof of my argument will be found in the exploration of the large mound a little to the south-east of the village, between it and the Euphrates, and I feel certain, from a hasty inspection of the site, that it will re-pay exploration, as well if not better than Jerablus. There are fewer Greek and Roman remains about than at Jerablus, and so more of an earlier date may be expected.

The Arameans, as I pointed out before, had colonies all along the Euphrates, and when I come to speak of the wars of Assur-nazir-pal, and Shalmanesar II, in Aram Zobah and Damascus, the Hauran, &c., I shall have occasion to mention them more particularly. This explains the statement made in Numbers xxii, 5 : "He (Balak) sent messengers, therefore, to Balaam, the son of Beor, to Pethor פְּתוֹר which is by the river of the land of the children of his people" (i.e., the Euphrates); and again, in chapter xxiii, "the King of Moab hath brought me out of Aram, out of the mountains of the East." These passages from the inscription, and from the Scriptures, would connect the Arameans of the Euphrates Valley and Eastern Syria with the Moabites, and would account for Carchemish, once an Aramean city, but, taken by the Hittites, having a Semitic name.

During the period from B.C. 1100, until the accession of Assur-nazir-pal in B.C. 885, the Aramean or Syrian confederation had made great progress. In this interval the Jewish kingdom under Saul, David, and Solomon, had grown up, and the kingdom of Damascus, and of Aram Zobah, with those of Ammon, Moab, Edom, and Saba, or the Arabs, were all formed out of the mass of partially nomadic tribes of colonies of fellahin settled round strongholds or commercial stations on the Euphrates, or in various parts of Syria Deserta and the regions east of Jordan. In the time of David we have Hadadezer king of Aram, Zobah, and Hanun king of Ammon. During the reign of Solomon, we have the names of Hadad and Genubath as kings of Edom and Resin in Damascus. The foundation of Tadmor by Solomon, was intended to divert the Syro-Babylonian caravan route which, from time immemorial, had passed along the Euphrates, and through Carchemish into a more direct channel across the Syrian desert. It connected the Aramean tribes on the Euphrates and about the mouth of the Khabour, with Damascus and Syria direct. In the month Sivan,\* B.C. 879, the Assyrian king Assur-nazir-pal started from Kalah (*Nimroud*), and, after crossing the Tigris and the river Kharmis, the modern Sinjar, سنجار the classical Hermus,† he reached the Khabur, and followed its course as far as the city of Sadi-kanni, now Araban. Following the course of the river as far as its junction with the Euphrates, he received tribute of the city of Sirki, the classical circesium, the modern Karkesi (قرقيسيا). The towns in these regions all bore names of strongly Aramean type, such as Dur-kuvlimi, Bit-khalupi, Tsupri, Nagara-bani, Khindani. These towns and districts were situated between the mouth of

\* The third month, May.

† The upper part of the Sinjar, called N-al Huali.

the Khabour and the Wády el Seba. In his inscription the king thus speaks of the march through this district: "From the city of Khindani I departed in the mountains over against the Euphrates; I established a camp." These mountains must be the limestone ranges on the east bank, north of the Wády el Saba. The inscription states further, "I then departed from the mountains, and in Bit Sabaya (Wády el Saba), I encamped in the approach to the city of Kharidi" (Erzi). Departing from here the king next halted at the commencement of the city of Anat (Annah)\* Anat was situated on the opposite side of the Euphrates. Starting from here, the Assyrian king marched against the stronghold of the Sukhi (Bedouins), the city of Suru, the modern Sura or Soiera, a little south of Annah. The king of the Sukhi was Sadudu or Sadad (the invader). This opponent of the King of Assyria was aided by the Arameans or Chaldeans from Babylonia, commanded by the brother of Nabu-bal-iddina, King of Babylon, Zabdanu by name. The allies were defeated, and Sadad threw himself into the Euphrates, and swam across to save his life. The capture of these cities, and the whole of the Aramean colonies from the city of Ittu or Hit, as far as the mouth of the Sadjur, and the land of the Hittites, quite destroyed the commercial caravan route which had been established across the desert from Damascus *viâ* Tadmor, and the old line *viâ* Carchemish was once more used. The existence of these colonies of Arameans on the banks of the Euphrates, the Khabour and the Singar or Hermias, in the ninth century B.C., shows very clearly where we are to place Aram-Nahraim. In this region it exactly corresponds with the Nairi of the Assyrians and the Naharian of the Egyptians.

The principal kingdoms of the Eastern Arameans were:—

*East.* *Bit Adini*, from the Khabour as far north as Kalaat Nedjim or Tul Barsip, the Barsamsi of Ptolemy. This was the Eden of Ezekel xxvii, 23. "Haran, Kalneh and the merchants of Sheba, Assur and Chilmad were thy merchants." The Sheba (שְׁבָא) here is not the Arabian Sheba, but the Sabaya of the inscriptions of Assur-nazir-pal, now the Wády el Seba.

*West.* The S'ukhi or semi-nomadic population corresponding to the fellahin Arab of the present.

*Laka.* North of the Sukhi, extending along the present caravan route to Aleppo. The name is perhaps preserved in Lachadur and Lachadamie stations on that route.

The *Arumu* or Arameans, about the Sadjur and the country round Aleppo southward as far as Damascus. In the northern portion of this district, round Carchemish and Khilbun (Aleppo) the population was Aramean, but the Hittite conquerors were the dominant class, and ruled in these cities.

Up to the end of the reign of Assur-nazir-pal, B.C. 869, the Assyrian armies had only penetrated to the extreme west, the "shores of the sea

\* This expression is interesting, as Annah is a town extending a long way upon the river bank.

of the setting sun," by the route through Carchemish, the plain of North Syria, and the valleys of the Afrin and Orontes. In the reign of Shalmanesar II (B.C. 860-824), we shall find them in Eastern Palestine, Aram Zobah, and the regions of Bashan, Moab, and the Hauran.

It has been necessary to sketch thus, in as brief a manner as possible, the connection between the Arameans of the Euphrates Valley and Assyrians, in order the better to understand the connection which these tribes had with those of the lands of Moab and Ammon. This above *résumé* of the growth of the Syrian tribes enables us very clearly to see the nature of the kingdom of Solomon, King of Israel, the Alexander of the Arameans and Syrians, which reached from *the river* unto the land of the Philistines.

W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN.

(To be continued.)

## EGYPTIAN VIEW OF THE EXODUS

From the "Sixth Anastasi Papyrus."

WITHIN the last two or three years the history of the Exodus has aroused a much larger amount of interest than usual. Witness, among other signs, the publication of Brugsch—that of the anonymous author of the "Hebrew Migration from Egypt,"—and last, not least, the trans-Jordan expedition. As there is a great deal to say on the subject from Egyptian sources I will begin the collation of it at once.

The sixth Anastasi Papyrus was written by a very famous man, named Enna, who stood in close relation as a correspondent to another famous man, the scribe of the Treasury or Finance, named Kek-Kebu. The "Papyrus" contains six large pages, of which I notice at present only two and a half.

The first page is filled up by a splendid superscription in large letters, which may be condensed into the words "Under the reign of Seti II," viz., "Set-Emenephtah." I omit the usual long titles, but note that Seti is called a Ra-Horus, and son of a Ra-Horus, viz., not a mere Regent as his brother Bai-n-Ra Menephtah was, but a reigning king and son of a reigning king. His coffin is in the British Museum, with the word "Set" chipped out. Manetho would thus naturally read him as Emenophis, and his grandson Rameses III shows us in the great Harris papyrus how this Seti was unable to hold the Delta. In fact, after the deaths of his father Rameses II and his Brother Bai-n-Ra, he executed a strategic movement towards Ethiopia. This papyrus is, however, sufficient to show us that his civil and military officers were not obliged to leave their posts in the Delta, and in mitigation of the charge of cowardice, it is stated that when Seti ascended the throne he was upwards of 60 years old, infirm, blind, and helpless. Here follows the first letter:—

"The scribe Enna, for the satisfaction of his lord, viz., for the scribe of