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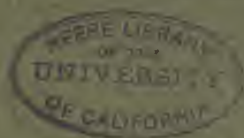
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The Old Babylonian Characters
AND
their Chinese Derivates,

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*THE OLD BABYLONIAN CHARACTERS
AND THEIR CHINESE DERIVATES.*

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I. INTRODUCTORY.

1. SINCE the time when the pictorial origin of the Chaldean signs of writing and the Turano-Scythian character of their sounds were shown to be facts by Dr. J. Oppert (1858),¹ a connection has been suggested by several scholars between them and the Chinese ideograms. G. Pauthier² attempted in 1868 to show, between a few characters Chinese and cuneiform, a similarity suggestive of common descent and most probably of Chinese origin. But his insufficient knowledge of the ancient characters of both writings did not permit him to find out the error of his premises. Later on Prof. Léon de Rosny³ in an ingenious letter, pointing out that the peculiarity of the phonetic complements exemplified in the cuneiform inscriptions, is familiar to the Japanese, was distinctly in favour of a common origin in Turanian Asia.

2. In 1879 Mr. W. St. Chad Boseawen,⁴ in an interesting paper on the pre-historic civilisation of Babylonia, compared as an illustration of similarity in hieroglyphism a dozen ideograms of the Egyptian, Babylonian, and Chinese writings. I have lately learned that a year before Dr. Hyde Clarke had read before the British Association at Dublin a paper⁵ on the pre-historic relations of the Babylonian, Egyptian, and Chinese characters and culture.⁶ In 1842, 1869, and 1870 a connection had been already vainly sought for the Chinese ideograms with the Egyptian hieroglyphs.⁷ François Lenormant has not made himself very busy with these questions of historical connection or of origin. He was satisfied in his various works to illustrate the principles of composition of the cuneiform characters with similar principles in the Egyptian, and especially the Chinese writing. He had, however, at a certain time (1868)

advanced the view that the Chinese writing had a common origin east of the Aral sea with that which, he supposed, was introduced by the Akkadians into Babylon;⁸ but it was a mere suggestion unsupported by any evidence, and on the 20th of June, 1880, he was able to write to me from Bossieu to congratulate me on my discovery⁹ of the derivation of the Chinese writing and civilization from those of Babylon.

3. But the value of all these suggestions and of any others, unknown as yet to me, which may have been made anywhere, was equal to zero because the real conditions historical and palæographical of the problem could not be grasped.¹⁰ The Chinese were granted a much greater antiquity than they are entitled to, and the attention of European scholars had not as yet been directed to their genuine primitive characters. Misguided by some of the aforesaid suggestions, I myself wasted several years in the wrong direction; until the facts and historical circumstances, as they gradually became clear to me in my investigations in ancient Chinese history and geography, and a protracted study of their oldest written characters, which no author of any of the theories and suggestions had ever thought of, proved stronger than any *magister-dixit* and prejudiced views.

4. I had to give up, as inadequate, worthless and unwarranted, the suggestions of a connexion of the Babylonian and Chinese characters resulting from a common descent or from a Chinese origin, and I was thus led, contrariwise of any previous suggestion, to my discovery of a comparatively late derivation of the Chinese symbols from the Babylonian characters. The insufficient antiquity (too short by two thousand years or more) which was then attributed to the Babylonian culture, seemed to be a difficulty in the way, as the lapse of time was not sufficient to allow the necessary changes; but this apparent obstacle to a full recognition of my disclosures in 1880,¹¹ was soon removed by the discovery of 3800 B.C. for the date of Sargon.

The following remarks on Babylonian hieroglyphs and cuneiform characters, and Chinese ideographs derived from them, are made up of some notes among many taken successively since the beginning of my palæographical studies in that direction, gradually amended and improved with the increase of knowledge and sources of information.

6. Being more of a Sinologist than an Assyriologist, and not a decipherer of cuneiform inscriptions, I have tried to make up my deficiency from the best sources available, taking care to check their respective statements to the extent of my power. The *Tableau comparé des Ecritures*

Babylonienne et Assyrienne Archaiques et Modernes, avec classement des signes d'après leur forme archaïque, by A. Amiaud and L. Méchineau, S. J. (Paris, 1887, 8vo.) I have found most valuable, as it presents the various and successive forms of the characters with reference to the sources. For the sounds and meanings, none of which are given in the previous work, I have used: T. G. Pinches' sign-list in his *Texts in the Babylonian Wedge-writing*, Part I. London, 1882; Dr. Paul Haupt's *Schrifttafel, Zeichensammlung* (cuneiform text), *Kurzes Akkadisches Glossar*, and *Ammerkangen zur schrifttafel*, in his *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte* (Leipzig, 1881-82); Joachim Ménant, *Le Syllabaire* in his *Manuel de la langue Assyrienne* (Paris, 1880); François Lenormant, *Les Syllabaires Cuneiformes* (Paris, 1877).

7. I have found great convenience in using the handy compilations of Ed. de Chossat, *Répertoire Assyrien* (Lyon, 1879, 4to), which includes an Assyrian dictionary and a "classification des caractères cuneiformes Babyloniens, Ninivites, Archaiques et modernes," and from the same industrious scholar *Répertoire Sumérien-Accadien* (Lyon, 1882, 8vo); the merit of both these works consists chiefly in this, that every statement is referred to its authority. Book and page are carefully quoted from the various works of Fr. Delitzsch, J. Halévy, Fr. Lenormant, J. Ménant, E. Norris, J. Oppert, A. H. Sayce, Eb. Schrader, G. Smith, and the collection of cuneiform inscriptions of Western Asia published by the British Museum. I have also received some assistance from slips and MS. notes of my collaborateur and friend, Mr. Theo. G. Pinches, about the original shape and sounds of several characters.

8. In what concerns the Chinese writing, the matter was more familiar to me. Some results of my researches in its history and evolution have been published in several of my works. The ancient forms of the characters quoted in the present paper are taken from the collections and palaeographical works compiled by native scholars, and which, known in Europe, would certainly receive a large and well-deserved tribute of admiration as worthy of European erudition. The works are numerous, but I shall quote only a few of those which require a special recognition. Foremost is the **六書通** *Luh shu t'ung* by 閔齊伋 Min Tsi-kih, who devoted a life of eighty-two years to its elaboration; the characters are given in their successive forms from the oldest antiquity, with minute reference to the inscription, or early texts when each is found. It is a most reliable work in ten books published in 1691, exactly similar to that which MM. Amiaud and Mechineau have just compiled about the cuneiform

characters. The Chinese symbols are classed therein according to 76 finals and the four tones. There is a Japanese edition, arranged according to the usual system of the 214 keys. Next to this work the *六書分類頁* *Luh-shu-fun-luy* by Fu-lwan-siang in 1751, in 14 books, similar to that of Min Tsi-kih, but more complete at the expense of accuracy and arranged by the 214 keys. The *篆字彙* *Tchuen tze wei*, published in 1691 by Tung-Wei-fu, is also a palæographical dictionary by keys, but no references are given therein as to the sources of the forms, which however, are accurately given. The *三字石經* *San tze shih king* (1806) where are found the remaining fragments of the Sacred Books as engraved on stone in the oldest forms of characters at the beginning of the Christian era. Several large collections of inscriptions reproduced in fac-simile, such as the *Sung yü fu tchai chung ting kw'an shih*, by Yü-fu of the Sung dynasty (XIIth cent.); the *Tsih ku tchai chung ting y k'i kw'an shih* by Yuen-yuen (1804); the *Kin shih tso pien* (1805), the *Kin shih so* (1821), the *Kin ting sze ts' ing ku kian* (1751); &c. I have also made use of the *Shwoh Wen*, the first dictionary worthy of the name, for the form and meaning of characters by Hü Shen in the first century of our era,¹² and of several other works.¹³

II. THE ALLEGED HIEROGLYPHS OF BABYLONIA.

9. Some efforts have been made by several scholars towards the elucidation of the pictures which are generally supposed to underlie the hieratic characters of Babylonia. Dr. Oppert¹⁴, among the first in the field, gave valuable suggestions, some of which remain true to the present day. The same must be said of Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen in his paper on the primitive civilization of Babylonia¹⁵ in 1879, and other papers. In the same year, the Rev. William Houghton gave his paper *On the hieroglyphic or picture origin of the characters of the Assyrian syllabary*, in which he attempted, rather prematurely,¹⁶ the explanation of about fifty-four characters. I am afraid many of his explanations and suggestions, however ingenious, must now be left aside. They rest too often on wrong premises. Serious advance has been made since that time in the decipherment of ancient characters, and much more of sound material is now at the disposition of the investigator. The decipherment of the inscriptions from Gudea, and especially those from Ur-Ba-u, Uru-kagina, En-anna-du, &c., brought from Tello have largely contributed to this happy result. Linear or hieratic shapes were formerly too easily accepted, either by inference from the archaic Babylonian forms, either from sham archaisms on seals of late date, or from wrong identifications.¹⁷ False, or non-genuine, forms

have suggested false explanations. The greatest danger in the cases of explaining well-ascertained forms is for our own imagination to get the better of our good sense, and overstep the limits of any justifiable inference. The latest scholar who has ventured to explain the figure of some characters (about fifteen) is Mr. G. Bertin in his paper *On the origin and development of the cuneiform syllabary*,¹⁸ but the ingenious Assyriologist has not escaped this danger, as we shall have occasion to show.





10. As to the position in which the archaic characters must be restored in order to permit an inkling of their original picture and its natural position, there are differences of opinion among the decipherers. The late G. Panthier was an echo of the current opinion when he stated that the cuneiform characters were laid down the head to the left.¹⁹ Mr. G. Bertin repeated last year the same statement with emphasis, declaring that there is no exception to the rule.²⁰ But this statement is largely contradicted by facts, as we shall see further on. Mr. T. G. Pinches was satisfied to say that the process was generally needful.²¹ The Rev. William Houghton and Prof. A. H. Sayce have not fettered themselves in their explanations with any absolute rule of the kind, and though many of their suggestions cannot remain, the two scholars were so far right in this respect.²²




11. The pictorial stage of the Babylonian characters is not represented in the oldest monuments hitherto known, some of which date most probably not long after the beginning in those countries, of civilisation which was introduced, according to tradition, from the Persian Gulf. The oldest characters belong to the hieratic stage, and indeed to a stage of hieratic rather remote from the hieroglyphic period. The latest discoveries must have disillusionised the Assyriologists in this respect. For my part I think that the pictorial stage has never existed in Chaldea, and probably nowhere as an independent body of writing, *direct and sole antecedent of the Babylonian characters*. We shall come across many cases which justify my inference.

12. The only objection to this view is that which rests on the fragments of one or two tablets found at Nimroud, so much spoken of, and at least for one fragment, published several times. Some old forms of characters are therein explained, so to speak, by pictures of objects and signs, as well as other characters equally old and probably older. But let us examine the value of the document, and much of its importance will vanish. For instance, we see that several objects explain one single



character. Now surely this simple fact excludes the possibility of their pictures being the original form of the character explained. It does not seem to belong to a work of historical etymology. The work seems most likely to have been a sort of guide-book intended in its way to make intelligible the various meanings engrafted upon the characters by the several causes which modify and increase, in course of time, the acceptations attached to ideograms. Or, perhaps the author himself did not know. We are often inclined to concede to the ancient writers more knowledge than they probably possessed, and we need be more careful than we generally are before trusting implicitly the statements of the ancients. A writer in cuneiform is not necessarily more trustworthy than a Persian.



13. Anyhow, the most clear of the pictorial characters on the tablet do not agree with anything we know of the various forms of the characters, hieratic or archaic, and the most strenuous efforts of imagination have been exerted in vain to find an impossible connection between these figures and the ascertained meanings:

14.  of the pictorial tablet²³, should this tablet be trusted, is just turned over in an inscription²⁴ of Gudea  and a cylinder of a *patesi*²⁵; it became  in ancient Babylonian and  in Assyrian. Now the picture and the character do not agree. The latter is apparently composed of the symbols for 'female' with another character, and this symbol does not appear in the hieroglyph, which is simply a figure of two branches of palm tree or the like.

The same remark applies to some other instances of the same tablets. In the same fragment as the previous character, second column appear two signs which are explained each by four pictures. The first is in Assyrian, , *az*, to go out, to appear.²⁶ The four objects which explain it on the tablet represent, as far as I can make out, the body of a chariot, two wheels, (each of the two with  subscribed), another two wheels with the axle-tree, and a fourth figure which I cannot assimilate. The second character also explained by four objects is the character Assyrian  *gir*, foot.²⁷ The objects, as far as I can make out, are, two wheels, a chariot seen from side, an inflated skin for swimming as represented in the Assyrian sculptures, and a seat, all objects having in common the idea of support as does the foot, and therefore easily reconcilable. But none of the forms of these objects in the two cases bear any

resemblance to the characters they explain, and cannot be looked upon as the graphical antecedent of their oldest form respectively. Let us see other cases still more telling than the previous ones.

15.  *da, ta*, described as *nasu sa nisi*, the summit of man (*i. e.* the extreme of touch) is composed of 'hand and foot,' both described below. There is no hesitation as to these two component parts, as the Assyro-Babylonians themselves used to denominate this compound by the technical name of *aradugunū*, which means *aradu*, form of the character for foot and *gunū*.²⁸ This disposes of the explanation proposed by the most recent writer on the subject, who wanted to see in it, the hand and fore-arm.²⁹ Modern Assyrian ³⁰ Same compound in Chinese, modern 捉, *tchok*, reaching.

16.  *id, it*, Assyrian ³¹; a symbol which has rather taxed the ingenuity of the decipherers, and which is simply a derivate of the preceding. The meanings ascertained are those of 'side, hand, limb, power,' &c. It is explained by the latest writer on the subject as representing the fore-arm and fist (his hypothesis for the preceding symbol) with an ornamental sleeve!³² In the fragment of the well-known pictorial tablet from Niniwy, the archaic Babylonian form, which does not differ from the hieratic, excepting the cuneitic shape of the strokes, is explained by three figures of objects, none of which can be the graphical antecedent of the character here described. This character seems to us to be simply the hand and foot as in the preceding, with the addition of the fourfold shaped symbol of an ear of corn (*cf. infra*) here adduced to suggest four, whence the four limbs; from this primary meaning may be easily inferred those of 'sides' and of 'might'! Now the objects represented on the tablet tell another story; one may be a quiver³³ full of arrows, another may be a different form of the same object³⁴, the third may be a throne,³⁵ *kussu*. The latter is one of the meanings for which the character was employed by the Assyro-Babylonians.³⁶

17. Surely the author of the tablet which dates only of the VIIth century B.C.³⁷ did not intend to give the pictorial form antecedent of the character, and wanted simply to illustrate its various meanings. The hieroglyphic and pictorial ancestry of the Chaldaean writing, though probable somewhere, cannot be said to be an established fact. This pictorial ancestor writing is apparently more remote in time than the introduction of the writing in Babylonia, which was then apparently at the hieratic stage. It was not introduced from the upper country of Elam (*cf. infra* § 46),

but most likely from the Persian Gulf; and therefore the Babylonian writing would not have ever been hieroglyphic, but was derived from a pictorial system of writing still unknown. In our opinion this older writing was that of the most ancient Kushite sea-coast traders, but this question requires a separate article.

III. GENERAL REMARKS.

18. Much useful information may be derived from a comparison of the cuneiform and Chinese writings; the written characters of China in their oldest forms, as I have already stated and shown elsewhere in a general way, being simply a derivation of the ancient but not of the oldest forms of those of Babylonians.

19. They may be compared, for the sake of illustrating the processes of combining phonetism and meaning in an ideographical writing. This has been done by most Assyriologists.

For instance, there is,

(I) the association of an ideogram as a determinative of a class of things or ideas employed without reference to its own particular sound,³⁸ with another or more ideograms used as phonograms with or without reference to their own particular meaning. The process is known in Egyptian, in Assyro-Babylonian and in Chinese. Only a few at first, the number of mute determinatives grew in proportion of the extension of notions and the necessity of new words to express them. The most frequently employed reached 43 in Egyptian, 70 in Babylonian³⁹ and 180 in Chinese.⁴⁰

There are in both writings many instances of

(II) Association of ideograms without any reference to their respective sounds, and read by the different word which the meaning of their association suggests.

20. There are also other processes common to both writings, indifferent to any historical connection. which, as far as I am ware, have not as yet been pointed out. We meet with, in their respective evolution, not a few instances of :

(III) a substitution of characters by analogy of shape, of sound, or of meaning. And there is :

(IV) the curious new use of old ideograms, with or without reference to their sounds, simply from the analogy of their shape to supply the want of hieroglyphs which they are fancied to represent; this being a system of writing-sparing which did not prevent the making of altogether new symbols and hieroglyphs, of which there are numerous cases in the

two writings. In both writings also, we see that

(V) a change in the natural position of an ideogram, isolate or in composition, implies with it a corresponding change in the meaning. We shall meet instances of all these five processes and several others less important, in the course of our *Remarks*.

21. But a comparison of the written characters of both countries in view of establishing their historical connection is another affair. The subject calls for some preliminary remarks of importance. The ancient characters of Chaldea and China cannot be compared one with the other in an off hand manner and on quite the same footing as there are serious difficulties in the way. The Ku-Wen or 'old symbols' of China have been, in that country of tradition, carefully preserved in some paleographical works and collections of inscriptions which are simply admirable.⁴¹ It is there, and there only, that scholars can find the original written characters of the Chinese⁴² which have nothing to do with the rude and spurious pictures published as such in many European books.⁴³

22. The Bak tribes brought the knowledge of writing into N.W. China in the twenty-third century B. C., but we do not know how long they had been acquainted with it in their former seats, west of the Hindu Kush. Certainly, not from the beginning, and they had no share in the invention. Slight details in the traditions seem to indicate that it was some time before the dismemberment of the Elam confederation which led to their migration to the East.⁴⁴ Chronology is therefore an important condition of comparison between the two writings.

23. There are more conditions to be respected. The earliest Chinese characters were cut incise on bamboo bark tablets and other vegetable material;⁴⁵ they were composed of strokes more or less curved and more or less thick at one end and thin at the other.⁴⁶ Those of Chaldæa that are now preserved were cut incise on stone or impressed on clay, and they are composed of straight strokes cuneiform, which conceal much of their former rude outlined pictographs. Reed tablets⁴⁷, papyrus⁴⁸, and perhaps other vegetable materials were also employed in W. Asia to write upon. But no specimen has been preserved, nor any copy or imitation of the style of current writing which their use imply. Of course it could not be the lapicide or monumental, but a less rigid, more roundish and cursive style of writing the characters. And these less angular forms of the symbols were more favourable to the preservation of a certain amount of the ideographical or pictorial spirit,

if I may say so, of the characters wheresoever there was any possibility. The similarity of materials employed by the ancestors of the Chinese shows that it is in the latter style that they were taught to write, and the resemblances, so peculiar in their characteristics between the 'old symbols' of China and those of Chaldaea bear fully this inference.

24. In fine, due allowance must be made for the respective ages and styles of the two writings compared, and the prototypes of the Chinese *ku-wen* must be sought for in those of Chaldaea of which the knowledge was extended into Elam, and not in the straight linear characters which, sometimes derived from the seals, may be and often are unfaithful archaisms;⁴⁹ nor must they be sought for in the most ancient characters of the inscriptions which go back to 4000 B.C. They are to be found in the ancient *cuneiform* characters, with the necessary allowance due to the fact that the ancestors of the Chinese were taught to write them in a cursive and roundish hand.

25. We shall have proofs of the fact all along our investigations. But we must not forget an important feature in the history of both writings; it is the relative plasticity of forms of the symbols which led to not a few mistakes and confusion between signs of different origin and signification. Another interesting peculiarity concerns the ideographism of the early Chinese characters; the meanings of not a few are lost, and it is not at all certain that the leaders of the Bak tribes when they learned to write in Western Asia have ever known them. It is not at all improbable; and we might even be more affirmative on this point, that some written characters were taught to them with phonetic values only. Moreover, some of these characters, originally pictorial,⁵⁰ though at a very remote time, had then lost beyond recovery all remnant of their hieroglyphic appearance, and their sense was therefore open easily to alterations and misinterpretation. Accordingly not a few of the early Chinese symbols, even when their ideographical value being known can still be fancied in their shape, are altogether different from what they would be, should their hieroglyphical ancestry have been regular and in China, which it was not. Everything shews that the primitive writing in China was an old and decayed one, and if I may be permitted to say so, a second-hand one.

26. Let us, for instance, look at the Chinese 'old symbols' of plants and vegetables interesting under several respects, and we may remark from the peculiar forms of many of them that they are not the direct representatives of former and faithful pictographs. They are unnatural. Their branches or leaves, as the case may be, are not turned upwards as truth to nature would generally require, and as we can still recognise that such was the case in the

most archaic symbols of Chaldæa. In the Chinese characters they are commonly turned, either all downwards, or some upwards and the others downwards. The similarity and identity of the Chinese with the Chaldæan ones is however glaring to the eyes of the palæographer, but there is a gap between the two. The Chinese are more deteriorated than the Chaldæan, and their deterioration is not a regular one, but looks like a second stage of corruption. Its characteristics suggest a derivation from a peculiar and simpler style of writing than the archaic cuneiform.

27. Now the foregoing general remarks explain away the difficulty. The peculiar deterioration which underlies the subsequent alteration which was caused by the cursive and roundish characteristic of the writing is that which happened when the cuneitic shape of the strokes composing the Chaldæan characters assumed a more pronounced form, and led these characters to a corruption of their older pictorial aspect. Looked under that light the unnatural appearance exemplified in the Chinese derivatives loses its eccentricity, and can be easily explained. The ideographs in cuneiform strokes, deteriorated as they forcibly were through the stiffness of these strokes and from the wear and tear of ages, when written in a cursive style were necessarily different from what they were otherwise or formerly, and the imitation of the cuneiform shape led to the peculiar disposition of the strokes which ought to have pictured the branches or leaves of the plants or trees.

28. On the other hand, this explains also *the many traces of the cuneiform apex* which like survivals are met with *in a not inconsiderable number of the Chinese oldest characters*. No doubt can be entertained that the leaders of the Bak tribes the ancestors of the Chinese, when settled on the northern borders of Elam, south of the Caspian Sea, were made acquainted with the cuneiform writing. Something of this knowledge has been handed down in their legends concerning the beginning of writing. These legends are of two sorts: there are those which refer to the invention of writing, and which from their own avowal concern a time long anterior to their own existence, but all of them refer to the same peculiarity of the written characters.

29. Shen-nung, the King Husbandman of Let-sam (Larsam), whose Chinese legend is a repetition of that of Sargon, with whom the comparison of the Chinese version of the Babylonian canon shows that he must be identified,⁵¹ is reputed to have used signs in the shape of tongues of fire to record facts.⁵² The story was told with indifferent details in 525 by Tchao-tze, Prince of the State of Luh, who was well acquainted with

the traditions of former times, and duly recorded in the *Tso-tchuen* of Tso Kiu-Ming, a younger disciple of Confucius.⁵³ At the time of Shen-nung-Sargon, the ancestors of the Chinese were not acquainted with the art of writing, and made use only of knotted words, otherwise quippos.

It was long afterwards, in the time of Nakhunte, *sinicè* Nai Hwang-ti, that Dunkit—the Chaldæan Dungi, taught the ancestors of the Chinese to write. Observing the marks on the soil of claws of birds and animals, he ascertained that by lines objects could be distinguished one from another.⁵⁵

This remarkable tradition so much to the point appears in several works older than the Christian era, as an echo of primitive times. I take it from a later work, that of Hû-shen, who in the first century of our era, made a critical study of the history of writing in his country, and mentioned it in his own introduction to his valuable dictionary the *Shwoh-wen*.

A description of the primitive writing, preserved in the works of Ts'ai Yung,⁵⁶ a palæographer of the second century A.D.,⁵⁷ says that "it was like drops of rain finely drawn out and freezing as they fall." This writing was said to have been seen on the back of a tortoise, a probable allusion to the somewhat curved form of the clay tablets.

All this evidence establishes most clearly that the ancestors of the Chinese were made acquainted with the cuneiform writing some 2500 B.C. in a region at proximity of Elam and Chaldæa. *Nakhunte* was the traditional name of the kings of Elam, and there are in the early Chinese institutions not a few similarities with those of that country.

30. We must dispel at once any objection which might forcibly be made by scholars unfamiliar with the history and evolution of the Chinese writing based upon the enormous number of Chinese characters of the Middle Kingdom. This number is the result of a steady growth from about 10,000 existing at the time of the Han dynasty, otherwise *circa* the Christian era. And those ten thousand, exactly 9353, was the outcome of centuries of civilization, of literary work, and increase of knowledge. It was the development of a slender basis consisting only of a few hundred, about 500, characters. Chinese tradition attributes to Dunkit (modern Tsang-hieh)⁵⁸ the Chaldæan Dungi, mentioned in the previous paragraph, the creation of 540 characters, including some compounds.⁵⁹ The figure is not much different from that which a survey of the ancient Assyro-Babylonian writing shows to have been used in Chaldæa. Prof. A. H. Sayce's Grammar gives many entries; M. J. Menant 496, MM. Amiaud

and Mechineau in their recent palæographical work give a great total of 556, out of which 326 only have hitherto been traced back to ancient forms. In Egyptian the number of hieroglyphs was also about 500.

IV. ANCIENT CUNEIFORM CHARACTERS AND THEIR CHINESE DERIVATES.

31. Though derived from the third stage of evolution (including the unrepresented pictorial stage) of the Babylonian characters, the Old symbols of China will sometimes prove very useful in suggesting what things or ideas were pictured by their antecedents. The Chinese have preserved the original meaning of a good many, though not of all their primitive characters, when they were taught to them. Generally these meanings and often these sounds agree with what is known of their Babylonian prototypes, sometimes they do not. The discrepancies may have resulted from different causes, such as the adoption of an old symbol for a new ideogram, or a regional variant in the sense and sound of the character. However identical to that of Chaldea may have been the civilization of Elam with which the ancestors of the Chinese were made acquainted, we may be certain that there were some differences, some of which would thus be revealed to us through the traditions carried to and preserved in the Flowery Land.





32. There is also one serious lesson which we learn from Chinese palæography, and which must be registered here for the sake of Babylonian palæography. It is the great imprudence of venturing to analyse the characters in view of historical etymology, without having made sure of the oldest form or forms of the symbols, as that plurality of forms, is often explaining or suggesting something of the idea of the character. And also the necessity of escaping from the attractive tendency of decomposing whole and indecomposable symbols into parts, only because there is an apparent analogy of forms between these parts and independent characters.







33. Prudence and diffidence are the more so wanted in dealing with the archaic and old Babylonian ideograms, that notwithstanding the stiffness of the cuneitic strokes, there was a certain amount of plasticity and apparent looseness in writing these characters. Under the style of the scribes they had not the rigidity and absoluteness of forms, which would seem to have been required in so peculiar a system of writing. The scribes, in writing their characters at that remote period, seem more to have kept in mind an ideal shape which they tried to imitate than to have written mechanically as we do our characters. And






this would be at a pace with the well-known existence, at the same time as the cuneiform style on stone and clay, of another style of writing the characters in a more current and roundish way on reed tablets and papyri.⁶⁰





34. The original things or ideas represented or suggested by the hieratic characters are not always impossible to recognize, though pretty often there is no clue between the possible former shape they suggest and their meaning. In a large number of the cases which can be made out for explaining the archaic cuneiforms they must be turned round so that their left side is the top in hieratic when the text was always, as in Chinese, written in columns from top to bottom, and thence from right to left.





35. For instance, the hieratic :



 *hu*, a bird of which it may have been intended to suggest the head, beak, body, and tail on the left, with the ground under it, it became  in ancient Babylonian, and  in Assyrian; early Chinese,  where we recognize the two wedges across of the Babylonian form, and the two strokes downwards. Modern Chinese 鳥 *o*, a blackbird, a crow.⁶¹



 *sé*, wheat, or an ear of corn with awns has become  and , in archaic Babylonian, whence the Chinese  modern , and  in Assyrian.⁶² The Chinese is derived from the second Babylonian form, the left to the top.






 and  *du*, child, son, *tur*, little, suggesting the legs, arms, and head of a child, became  in archaic Babylonian, and  in Assyrian. The derivates similar in early Chinese has become  *tih*, mod. *tze*, son.⁶³





36.  *Mak*, *ma*, a boat.⁶⁴ This form, narrowed for the sake of writing in columns, is exactly a figure of the boats, which are represented in the sculptures. It became  in Assyrian, and it had become  in archaic Babylonian from which  the old symbol of the Chinese⁶⁵ was derived.⁶⁶ *Zik* is indicated as another sound for the same character; in Chinese it was *tchuk* or *tsuk*; the sound *fu* or *ru* existed also⁶⁷ but it required the addition of a phonetic; both were used in the archaic texts.⁶⁸






 in Sargon and Gudea's inscriptions  became  in Hammurabi's old Babylonian and  in Assyrian. The readings are *ru*, *sub*, *sup*, and the meanings to present, to give, to hold,⁶⁹ agree with the picture of the two arms, holding or presenting.





 *si* the eye, has become and remained  ⁷⁰ a form which placed by




the Chinese the right to top has given  *i. e.*  *muk*,⁷¹ Assyro-Babylonian Amaru.





 *mu*⁷² appears on a cylinder of Dungi⁷³ as  and in old Babylonian  in Assyrian . It is also used for the Assyro-Babylonian *sattu* year. The figure is that of a root of tree or plant, and it means 'renown, glory, year.' In Chinese the old symbol derived from it, is  a year, modern 年. As to the sounds the ancient Chinese said *muh* for 'tree' and *sot* for 'year' with different characters.




37.  in Gudea's texts  *gis*, *iz.* wood, became in old Babylonian  in early Chinese  split wood; modern 片.




 in Gudea's texts,  and  in old Babylonian, replaced left to top in early Chinese  , modern,  mountain. It was employed for country by the ancient Chinese writers as in the cuneiform texts.



 female, in Gudea's texts,  , whence the early Chinese  , modern 女, woman; Assyrian . Sounds: Akkadian *rak*, old Chinese *njok*.




 *gut*, bull, in old Babylonian  whence, with the left to top  in early Chinese, modern, 牛 *ngo*, same meaning.




38.  *nu*, not, &c. in old Babylonian a similar form to the hieratic, and also  whence, left to top,  in early Chinese with the same meaning; modern 不, Assyrian .






 *ul*, *ra*, *dû*, similar form in old Babylonian, in early Chinese  modern 對 *tui* answering, fronting, Assyrian .





 *kin*, book, in old Babylonian  , in early Chinese the abridged form  modern 經 *king*, book, sacred book.






 *man*, *nis*, in old Babylonian and Assyrian; in early Chinese  *pan*, modern 平 *ping*, 'icicle.' Several meanings in Assyro-Babylonian, some still unknown, some known, do not agree with the sense attributed in Chinese to the character which may have been borrowed for the sound only.






39.  Akkadian *du*, to make, in old Babylonian  in early Chinese  *da*, modern 大 *ts'ai*, power to make.

 *su*, the hand, in old Babylonian and modern Assyrian  ; in early Chinese  *seu*, modern 手, same meaning. The form of the Chinese derivate is somewhat remote, but the sounds are similar-






 *ik, gal*, 'to be, pillar, door'; in old Babylonian among several forms more complicate , in early Chinese  and  *go*, modern  *hu*, door.⁸⁴





 *ta*, from, in, old Babylonian , early Chinese  *tu*, modern  *tze*, from.⁸⁵ Chinese lexicographers explain it as the 'nose,' the first part of the child spontaneously formed in the mother's womb, a view, shared by the Egyptians. In China the ancestor of a family is 'the nose,' and the youngest descendant is 'the ear' of the family.

40. , the head, old Babylonian  *sak*, early  Chinese *thi*, modern  *pi*, the nose. The similarity of the derivate is very striking though quite peculiar for a nose; as said about the previous character, the head of a family is the nose of the family. The Chinese have appropriated the symbol to its modern meaning. Assyrian .






 the mouth; the figure represents the head and the neck, like the preceding, with the addition of the beard, in order to call attention to the mouth. In old Babylonian  *ka*, in early Chinese  *gib*, the head, modern  *hie*. Assyrian .







41. The following characters do not require to be turned:

 the heart, in old Babylonian , whence old Chinese , modern  *sin*, Assyrian . Sounds: *sag* Akkadian, *sab* Sumerian, *sam* old Chinese, modern *sin*, Assyrian *libbu*.⁸⁸





 to cut, to divide, in old Babylonian , whence the old Chinese  a knife, modern  *libbu*.⁸⁹

42. The following were used in both directions :

 and  on the oldest monuments,  and several other forms in old Babylonian,  in early Chinese, modern  *ban*, old Chinese *kung*.⁹⁰

 on the Stèle des Vautours,  in Gudea's texts, 'foot,' is one of the characters which, like the preceding, appear to have been turned to the left or to the right, as survivals of a former system of boustrophedon. In old Babylonian , in early Chinese . The sounds were *du* and *gub* in Akkadian, *to* in early Chinese. Assyrian , Chinese .

43. The following call for some special remarks :

 *pa, hat*,  in old Babylonian and Assyrian,  in archaic Chinese *kun*, modern  *ku*, meaning lost, supposed to be 'top'.⁹²

𐎶 *pi*, the ear, 𐎶 in old Babylonian, 𠄎 *nip* in archaic Chinese, modern 耳, Assyrian 𐎶-𐎶.⁹³

They were turned upwards, left to top, on the ancient monuments against the exigencies of their natural and pictorial position. Another instance is found in 𐎶 *lik*, a dog, similar in form in old Babylonian and Assyrian 𐎶-𐎶,⁹⁴ which cannot be explained, when turned in the same way.⁹⁵ Whereas, if we look upon the horizontal position as its natural one, keeping in mind that the characteristic features of a dog are his head and tail on the body, while the head only does not characterize a dog, we may without great effort of mind compare this skeleton hieratic character to the Chinese old symbol 𠄎, with the addition of an underline for the ground.




The unprimitiveness of the arrangement of the original characters in columns is shown by many facts of the kind, and it may be remarked that the characters which are placed in a wrong position are those which had lost any appearance of their original pictorial features. The fish (A.M. 129) which remained hieroglyphic was preserved in its original position, while the *lingam* (A.M. 24) was wrongly placed alone or in the compounds. The following characters, numbered according to the palæographical work of MM. Amiaud and Mechineau : 38, 106, 144, 240, 252, 253, 258, 277, 278, 285, 288, 289, 291, &c. do not require to be turned to be understood, and many of those of this list which appear the left to top on the oldest monuments of Chaldæa could not have been so in their primitive and pictorial position.



44. 𐎶 *pad, pam*, to exorcise, also to announce, to remember; composed of "the eye," and "presenting,"—both symbols we have already noticed—and therefore meaning "presenting to the eye." In Assyrian it was 𐎶-𐎶; it had become in old Babylonian 𐎶-𐎶, from which 𠄎 the old symbol of the Chinese *mang*, modern 明 *ming*, seeing clearly, was derived.⁹⁶


45. The three following are peculiarly interesting:

𐎶 *gin*, Assyrian *amtu*, servant; the composition of the sign is 'woman of the mountains.' In Assyrian. 𐎶-𐎶. In Chinese 𠄎 *sien*; an ancient appellation of woman, of which the old form has not yet been found, composed of woman and mountain, as in old Babylonian.⁹⁷ The meaning of the latter as well as that of the following symbol is rather eloquent against the unproved theory of an origin of the writing in the mountainous region of Elam, proposed by Prof. A. H. Sayce.

𐎶 *uru*, Assyrian *ardu*, servant.⁹⁸ An early compound ideogram of mountain, and an old character for 'man,'⁹⁹ which was mixed very early

with the old form of  'male.' In Assyrian . We only know a modern form of the Chinese  similarly composed with the meaning of divine recluse and genii. The Babylonian meaning agrees with the remark made about the preceding character.

 *am*, Assyrian  *rimu*, wild bull, is a compound ideogram of 'bull,' and 'mountain';¹⁰¹ both characters were mentioned above. The symbol was not borrowed by the ancestors of the Chinese.

46. The fact that the disparaging stamp which the character for mountain infuses into this last compound and the two preceding ones is unknown to them seems to be rather significant. It agrees well with what might have been expected from the fact that they obtained their knowledge of writing from the mountainous Elam where no contemptuous meaning could be attached to the symbol for mountain. On the other hand, it is another case of improbability against the theory of a Highland origin of the Babylonian. While it possesses primitive symbols for 'boat' and for 'wind' represented by an inflated sail¹⁰², there are none for river, nor for 'bear' (it is a compound), all peculiarities shared by its Chinese derivat. The unique symbol for 'mountain' and 'land' reminds us that for seafarers or islanders, land always looks mountainous. Besides, it may be worth noticing that the sign for water  *ai* has also the meaning of father,¹⁰³ and this fact, which does not seem to be attributed to any late cause of graphical or phonetic attraction, looks primitivelike. All this confirms the origin of the civilized fathers from (the islands of) the Persian Gulf, as related by tradition.

47. These comparisons of old Babylonian cuneiform characters with those of the early Chinese which have been derived from them could be continued for a much larger number of symbols. We have only utilized here a portion of the many notes compiled by us in view of an extensive comparison when leisure and health permit it. The signs for brother, region, dark, officer, tribe, augure, stone, and bricks, already compared on the plate of my *Early History of Chinese Civilization* in 1880, and rather badly illustrated and described there, stand good but require a revise on a subsequent occasion. The signs of the points of space are illustrated and compared¹⁰⁴ in my paper on *The shifted cardinal points; from Elam to early China*.

V. CONCLUSIONS.

48. Everything must come to an end, even this paper, however interesting it may be for us to continue these comparisons, inasmuch as the printing of so many new types is a difficult matter. We hope to be able to continue them some day, not only with the object of bringing forward

new evidence in favour of its conclusions, but also and more especially in order to illustrate the processes of phonetic composition proper to the Babylonian symbols, and those employed in imitation by the ancient Chinese. With the help which the early Chinese symbols are entitled to offer, we may hope also to learn more about the primitive Babylonian symbols. Years ago, from the sole internal comparison of these early Chinese characters, we were enabled to draw several inferences as to the characteristics of the writing from which they were derived,¹⁹⁵ Several of these inferences prove to refer even to a period older than that of the Chinese derivation, and known only from survivals. We shall try to establish them finally in a later paper.

49. The instances met with in the previous pages have given us already a certain amount of information concerning the primitive characters of Babylonia.

We have seen that the oldest signs lately deciphered do not, in appearance, come much nearer to the pictorial period than did the archaic cuneiform characters stripped of their cuneitic features. In many cases, as shown by the various interpretations they received, any possible relation to a figurative shape, should it have ever existed, seems to have been irretrievably lost in the most remote times.

The fragments of tablet or tablets found at Nineveh, where figures are given as explanations of characters, cannot be looked upon otherwise than as parts of a sort of guide-book to illustrate the meanings of some characters, without any archæological purposes, nor any reference to their historical etymology. So that it is not at all unlikely, considering the remote date of the oldest signs known (4000 B.C.) that the pictorial period had not taken place in Chaldæa, and that the writing has been brought therein, at the hieratic stage.

A serious change in the writing took place and senses of characters appear to have been lost between the times of Uru-Sagina and En-anna-du and that of Dungi.

Some characters in the remotest time were used to left or to right, and therefore shew survivals of a former system of boustrophedon as in Egyptian. When a stringent system of writing the characters in regular columns from top to bottom became usual, the symbols were not all turned in the same way; some of them kept their pictorial position, whereas some others for certain reasons which escape us were placed in a wrong position. The size and shape of the symbols have had probably some influence in the matter, as well as the loss of their pictorial value, unless it be a survival of a former period.

As to the native country of the writing, it was not a mountainous region; the writing had been brought from the Persian Gulf, as Ber-sus the historian of Chaldea relates it.

These inferences have been obtained with the great help which the Chinese derivates of the Babylonian characters afford on their position, value and meaning.

50. We shall now resume the conclusions of the present paper as to its purpose, namely, the derivation of the Chinese writing from Western Asia:

We have had occasion to see that the oldest symbols of China are not primitive; the writing was already old and decayed when the ancestors of the Chinese were taught to write at the time of Dungi of Chaldæa (about 2500 B.C.) in the country north of Elam. These ancestors, the leaders of the Bak tribes, learnt to write from a people inhabiting a mountainous country, or in such a country.

The number of characters of this writing was about 500 (as in Babylonia). Many of these had lost all possible relation to a pictorial origin.

They were taught to engrave on bark of trees, with strokes thick at one end and thin at the other, in a rounded and cursive form, *the old cuneiform characters of Babylonia*. The Chinese symbols correspond sometimes to the hieratic characters, probably through some form of cuneiforms unknown in the inscriptions hitherto deciphered and preserved in the ancient writing, but the derivation is most often shown to have taken place from the cuneiform shapes. The comparison of the two writings show that the Babylonian characters, notwithstanding their cuneiform strokes and like the Chinese signs, display some plasticity and elasticity in the hands of the scribes.

The Chinese have preserved some legends of their beginnings, which show most clearly that their ancestors in W. Asia became acquainted with the cuneiform writing.

The Chinese have often preserved the original sounds attached to the characters at the time when they were taught to engrave them.

The important conclusions of this paper are intended to demonstrate the items 1, 2, 3, and 4 of my list of sixty points of civilization carried from W. Asia to early China in the XXIIIrd century B.C., which list I have given in my book on *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, § 192 (London, Nutt, 1887), and in *The Babylonian and Oriental Record* of last June.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

NOTES.

- 1) *Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie*, vol. II. Paris, 1858, fol. p. 63 sq.
- 2) *Deuxième Mémoire sur l'Antiquité de l'histoire et de la civilisation Chinoises*, in *Journal Asiatique* Avril-Mai, 1868. Cf. pp. 355, 362.
- 3) *Lettre à Mr. Oppert sur quelques particularités des inscriptions Cuneiformes anariennes*, pp. 269—276 of *Revue Orientale et Americaine*, vol. IX.
- 4) *The Pre-historic civilization of Babylonia*, pp. 21—36 of *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 1879, vol. VIII.
- 5) Rather unsound in statements and wildly fanciful.
- 6) I was unaware of this fact until my attention was called to pp. 646 and 653 of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for October 1888, where it is referred to by Mr. G. Bertin who, among other inexact statements, accuses me of having taken the ingenious theory of Dr. Hyde Clarke, "which, supported by only a few philologic considerations, was not, however, scientifically demonstrated" (*ibid.* p. 645), a theory partly put forward before by François Lenormant in 1868. Is it necessary for me to state that this statement of Mr. G. B. about me is baseless, not to say more? See the text above.
- 7) A comparison of the Chinese ideograms with the Egyptian hieroglyphs had been made several times, with suggestions of common origin. For instance: G. Pauthier, *Sinico-Egyptiaca, Essai sur l'Origine et la Formation similaire des Ecritures figuratives Chinoise et Egyptienne* (Paris, 1842, 8vo.); C. W. Goodwin, *Chinese and Egyptian hieroglyphics*, in *Notes and Queries of China and Japan*, Nov., 1869, and March, 1870; Johs. von Gumpach, same title, *ibid.* May, 1870.
- 8) *Manuel d'histoire ancienne*, 1868, vol. I., p. 401, and 1869, vol. II., p. 9. He does not refer to it in his valuable *Introduction à un Mémoire sur la propagation de l'Alphabet Phénicien*, nor in his *Histoire ancienne de l'orient*, 1881, vol. I., pp. 417—430, where he compares the process of composition in both writings.
- 9) "Découvertes d'une importance de premier ordre." Such were his words.
- 10) It may be said however that no discovery can be made now-a-days, which has not been suggested at least once somewhere by somebody, with more or less reason and chance; such suggestions being generally made on wrong premises, ill-ascertained facts and worthless coincidences which have no place in the principles of the scientific discovery when this happens to be made.
- 11) First made known by an article of Prof. R. K. Douglas, *The Progress of Chinese linguistic discovery* in *The Times*, 20 April, 1880. And T. de L.: *Early history of Chinese civilization*, London 1880, pp. 22—23 and 27—28. Reprinted with some alterations from the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, July 1880, vol. XXVIII, pp. 723—734, and the addition of a plate of early Chinese and Babylonian characters which requires very little alteration to be at the level of the latest decipherment. Cf: some complementary views in *The affinity of the ten stems of the Chinese cycle with the Akkadian numerals* (The Academy, 1st Sept. 1883), and also in *The Oldest Book of the Chinese*, 1882

sec. 110 and 115 n. 1; *On the history of the Archaic Chinese writing and texts*, (1882).

12) The Rev. Dr. J. Chalmers of China has published an able translation of a late edition of Hū Shen's work: *An account of the structure of Chinese characters*, under 300 primary forms, after the *Shwōhwān*, 1833 (London 1882), where the chemical process of disintegrating the characters is carried beyond reasonable limits.

13) I may also quote: the *Luh shu Ku* by Tai Tung of the XIIIth century, and the *Introduction to the Study of Chinese characters*, by the Rev. Dr. J. Edkins, of Peking (London, 1876) both works, only with great caution. My own *Dictionary of the Ku-wen*, compiled from many inscriptions and texts, in MS., has proved very useful.

14) *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, 1858, vol. II.

15) *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1879, vol. VIII., pp. 21-36.

16) *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1879, vol. VI., pp. 454-483.

17) This is one of the objections which have been made to many hieratic forms in Chossat's *Répertoire Assyrien*, Menant's *Manuel de la langue Assyrienne*, &c.

18) *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October, 1887, vol. XIX., pp. 625-654,

19) *Journal Asiatique*, 1868, vol. XI., p. 361.

20) *J. R. A. S.*, o. c., p. 630.

21) *Archaic forms of Babylonian characters*, p. 150 of *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, 1885, vol. II.

22) *Transactions S. B. A.*, l. c.

23) See the tablet in Houghton's paper.

24) Amiaud and Méchineau, 169, Pinches 236, Haupt 220, Ménant 45, Chossat 269. In the future notes I shall use only the initials instead of the names in full.

25) In the Louvre, figured No. 76 in J. Ménant's *Recherches sur la Glyptique Orientale*, 1883, vol. I., p. 133.

26) M. 417.—H. 71., C. 194, A. M. 209.—The Rev. W. Houghton, *O. C.*, pp. 471, has mistaken the signs, and indulged in a series of speculations which are worthless, on this sign and the following.

27) A. M. 203, P. 192, M. 230, C. 362.

28) Cf. Fr. Lenormant, *Les Syllabaires Cuneiformes* (Paris, 1879, p. 61.

29) G. Bertin, *J. R. A. S.*, o. c., p. 643.

30) A. M. 137, P. 131, H. 437, M. 442.

31) A. M. 138, P. 132, H. 135, M. 447, C. 1136.

32) G. Bertin, l. c., p. 633.

33) An earthenware coffin, according to Dr. J. Oppert; a comb, according to the Rev. W. Houghton, a quiver according to Mr. G. Bertin.

34) A crockery pot, a jug, according to Dr. Oppert, followed by Mr. G. Bertin; a comb according to the Rev. W. Houghton.

35) A throne, according to the Rev. W. Houghton followed by Mr. G. Bertin.

36) J. Menant, *Manuel*, p. 147.

37) J. Oppert, *Expédition en Mésopotamie*. II. p. 66.

38) It is most likely that the determinatives were at the beginning pronounced in speaking and casually dropped, only when the context made the sense clear without it. The habit grew and became regular.

39) When in Assyria the syllabary of 96 characters entered into use, the number of determinative ideograms preserved was only a dozen.

40) The number of Chinese determinatives is generally said to be 214, but this is only the number of distinct characters according to which the native dictionaries are now arranged since Mei-tan, the Lexicologist, in 1615 A.D.

41) Cf. *suprà*, § 8. A list of such books is to be found in A. Wylie, *Notes on Chinese literature*, pp. 12, 114, sq.; a few are mentioned by G. Pauthier *Journal Asiatique*, Avril Mai, 1868, pp. 363-365.

42) On the *Ku-wen* cf. my remarks in *The Oldest Book of the Chinese*, sec. 23 and notes. So little was known of these *Ku-wen* or 'old symbols,' before I began my researches, that an elder Sinologist who has made his name widely known by his long-continued study of ancient Chinese, declared that I was the first among the Sinologists to have shown the importance of these oldest written characters of the Chinese and the necessity of their study. The Chinese writing was the object of an important reform in 820 B.C., and the *Ku-wen* ceased to be employed except by tradition in special cases. The last of the transformations or reforms occurred in 375 A.D., from which time date the present characters.

43) These rude and not primitive characters which look, what many of them really are, i. e. signs written by uncultured people and makers' marks were published in the *Lettre de Peking sur l'origine et la formation de l'écriture chinoise*, by P. Cibot (Bruxelles, 1773), but the plates had appeared previously in the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xlix, pl. 20-46. Their number is 118. Julius Klaproth published 74 of them in his *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, vol. II., 1828, pp. 101-131. It is from these works that the specimens of supposed primitive Chinese characters have been quoted *ad nauseam* in European books. No hieroglyphic inscription has ever been found in China, the country of tradition and worship of antiquity, and none could have been found, as we know now that the writing introduced by the Bak tribes was an old and decayed one which had passed through the (purely hieroglyphic? and) hieratic periods. The Chinese have never lost sight of the ideographism of many of their characters, and have always striven at preserving it, and even increasing it. Nowhere, else than in China, could be seen the phenomenon, unique in the general history of writing, of a renovation of hieroglyphism which occurred in 820 B.C. A powerful ruler, Siuen Wang, of the Tchou dynasty, aided by a skilful minister, had the writing reformed and many characters remodelled in a pictorial direction, in order that the writing should be understood throughout his dominion, notwithstanding the regional dialects. I have compiled a vocabulary of some six hundred of such altered signs, still in MS., and I have already called attention to remarkable fact. (*Early history of Chinese civilization*, pp. 15-17; *The oldest Book of the Chinese*, sec. 24). In spite of these causes of preservation of hieroglyphism, and the natural additions to an ideographic body of writing, it is highly significative of the non-indigeneousness of the Chinese writing that 74 symbols only, including 30 spurious forms and maker's marks, should have been found as having a pictorial appearance,

or better a skeleton appearance of hieroglyphs, against the five hundred primitive characters of the Chinese writing.

44) Prof. A. H. Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, app. p. 434, mentions *as mine* a theory that the ancestors of the Chinese were once in contact, probably in Elam, with the inventors of the cuneiform writing. But I have never been led to such views by my researches, because I cannot accept Prof. Sayce's unproved theory that the cuneiform writing was invented in Elam, and because the ancestors of the Chinese are much later than this invention. This misconception of my discovery explains how the talented professor of Oxford "found it difficult to believe that the Bak tribes could have carried, not only the forms of the Sumerian ideographs, but also their pronunciation with so little alteration, across nearly the whole length of barbarous Asia." Now this is somewhat exaggerated. The Bak tribes have certainly preserved many sounds and forms of characters, but not all of them, and they had carried away with them written texts and lists of characters, as I have shown reasons to believe, in *The oldest book of the Chinese*, sec. 114 and 115. As to the length of the way, Prof. Sayce attaches too much significance to its importance. The journey did not last so long. There are several similar instances, such as the Kalmucks eastwards, the Yueh-ti westwards, &c. On the latter cf. my article on *The Yueh-ti*, &c. in *The Academy*, Dec, 31, 1887.

45) Representations of the graving knife employed are given in the *Hwa-pu wen-tze k'ao*, 1833, Bk. IV, f. 22.—On this question cf. also L. C. Hopkins, *The six scripts* (Amoy, 1881), pp. 6, 7.

46) Whence their name of *K'oh tou* or tadpole characters, given to them in the second century A.D. Cf. *Tai ping yü lan*, Bk. 747, f. 2; and the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. I, p. 135. Cf. also, *ibid.* p. 188.

47) The name of *Dungi*, an old king of Ur, is interpreted by Mr. T. G. Pinches as 'the man of the reed tablet;' in ancient Chinese legends his name is written *Dum-kit*, i. e. 'the carver of wood,' and it is to him that is attributed the invention of writing like bird's claws, and afterwards like tongues of fire. Cf. my *Early History of the Chinese civilization*, pp. 27-28.

48) On the *Gis-li-khu si* and *Gis-zu* cf. A. H. Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, p. 9, n. 2; *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, II, p. 208, and previously in *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archeology*, vol. I, p. 343 sq. Mr. T. G. Pinches has shown, *Tr. S. B. A.* vol. VI, p. 210, that use was made of papyrus, &c., at all periods.

49) These reservations apply only to the linear characters derived from seals of unknown date. 50) Cf. our reserves on this point § 11.

51) Cf. T. de L., *The Chinese mythical Kings and the Babylonian canon* in *The Academy*, Oct. 6, 1883.

52) Cf. G. Pauthier, *Journal Asiatique*, Avril Mai, 1868, p. 383.—The text extremely concise says: *y hwo ki*, i. e. used fire to record facts.

53) Tso tchuen, Tchao Kung, year XVII, § 3.

54) Hü Shen, *Shwoh wen*, introd. 55) Hü Shen *Shwoh wen*, introd.

56) *Siao Tchuen ts'an*.—Prof. R. K. Douglas, MS. note.

57) A. D. 133—192. Cf. Mayer's *Chinese Reader's Manual*, 755.

58) Said to be a contemporary of Nakhunte or Nai Hwang-ti. Cf. the own introduction of Hü Shen to his vocabulary the *Shwoh wen* (A.D. 100).


59) In the *Luh shu ku* by Tai Tung, of the XIIIth century, an elaborate work on the historical etymology of the characters, 479 graphic bases only are recognized. Cf. L. C. Hopkins, *The six scripts*, p. 1.—Abel Remusat

in his *Recherches sur l'origine et la formation de l'Écriture chinoise*, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1827, vol. VIII, suggested that the number of the primitive Chinese characters was only about 200, but he had no sufficient sources of information at his disposal.

60) I wish those of my readers who are desirous to examine my comparisons would closely draw themselves in a cursive and roundish form Babylonian cuneiform characters quoted, as then they cannot fail to grasp the Chinese symbols derived from them.

61) Amiaud and Mechineau 23, Pinches 30, Haupt 39, Chossat 23, Ménant 212.--Min Tsi kih, *Luh shu t'ung*, s. v. The slanting stroke in the hieratic Babylonian symbol is longer downwards than in the text above. The modern Chinese is 鳥 and not 鳥 as misprinted.

62) A.-M. 176, Pinches 175, Ménant 174. It is found in Nos. 55, 84, 196, and 251 of A.M. Min Tsi-kih, *Luh shu t'ung*, Bk. II, f. 4.

63) Amiaud-Mechineau 175, Pinches 133, Haupt 78, Ménant 414, and p. 90. This explanation of *du, tur* results from my comparison with the Chinese derivate, on the plate of Akkadian and Chinese characters in my *Early history of Chinese civilization* (London, 1880). I repeat it here with fuller confidence, despite Mr. G. Bertin's and Mr. T. G. Pinches' explanation of the symbol as representing the breasts with flowing milk. (Cf. Bertin, *l. c.* p. 643). Such a figure might suggest mother, food, or the like, but it cannot suggest a child. The early Chinese shape for 'son' has been dropped in the text, so that the last sentence must be restituted as follows: The derivate similar in early Chinese  *tih* has become 子 *tze* 'son' and also 兒 'child.'

64) Amiaud and Mechineau 39, Ménant 361, Chossat 263.

65) Min Tsi-kih, *Luh shu t'ung*, Bk. IV, ff. 45, 46.—Fu Iwan-tsiang, *Luh shu fen luy*, s. v.—Tung Wei-fu, *Tchuen tze-wei*, s. v.

66) Without any further change of position.

67) Cf. Chinese *fu*, Mandshu *weikku*, Mongolian *omo*, Kiranti *Bakhan*, *Bakhopu*, *Pokham*, *Kusundu wan*, &c.

68) Cf. Ménant 361, Chossat 263, Min Tsi-kih, *l. c.*

69) A.-M. 186, Pinches 166, Haupt 29, Ménant 59, Chossat 472.

70) Amiaud and Mechineau, 240, Pinches 159, Ménant 97, Haupt 191.

71) The hieroglyph being still clear to the scribes, there are many variants. Cf. Min tsi kih, *o. c.*, Fu Iwan tsiang, *o. c.*

72) A.-M. 12, Pinches 24, Ménant 206, Haupt 24, Chossat, s. v.

73) Figured in J. Ménant, *Recherches sur la glyptique orientale*, I, p. 141.

74) As the Nos. 74 to 83 of the notes are wanting in the text, we add at the beginning of each note the word of the character it refers. *Gis*. A. M. 60, P. 104, H. 114, M. 331. *Esu*, wood; in Chinese *shu* and *muk* are the words for tree.

75) 'Mountain,' A. M. 254, P. 198, M. 171, M. T. K. s. v.

76) 'Female,' A. M. 163, P. 234, H. 219, M. 41, C. 157, M. T. K. s. v.

77) Bull,' A. M. 47, M. 433, C. 266, M. T. K. s. v.

78) 'Not,' A. M. 22, P. 12, M. 240, C. 14, H. 36, M. T. K. s. v.

79) 'Answering,' A.M. 229, H. 187, M. 143, C. 544, M.T.-k. VII, 44.

80) 'Book,' A. M. 294, P. 229, M. 64, M. T. K. s. v.

81) 'Iceicle,' A.-M. 238, P. 168, M. 94, M. T. K. s. v.

82) 'To make.' A.M. 1 1, P. 45, M. 312. Min Tsi-kih, II, 5.

83) 'Hand.' A.M. 136, P. 139, M. 477, C. 235, H. 145, M.T.-k., VI, 37.

84) A.M. 37, H. 41, M. 213, C. 543. The first of the early Chinese derivates has been mislaid the top to the left in the printing, and the

hasta of the same derivate ought to be longer upwards and downwards.

85) A.M. 49, P. 81, H. 75, M. 261. Min Tsi-kih, VII, 8.

86) A.M. 221, P. 94, H. 63, M. 356.

87) A.M. 222, P. 68, H. 13. M. G. Bertin, *J.R.A.S.* 1887, XIX, p. 643, misconceived its original position, perhaps because he had not seen the oldest form here quoted from the *Stèle des Vautours*.

88) In the texts of En-Anna-du and Uru kagina.—A. M. 258, P. 190, H. 160, M. 160. M. T. K. s. v.

89) A. M. 184, P. 242, H. 7, M. 198. Also T. G. Pinches, MS. note. M. T. K. s. v.

90) A. M. 145, P. 125, H. 186, M. 185, C. 563.

91) A. M. 147, P. 61, H. 100, M. 380, C. 100. The sign's name was *arud ubu*.

92) Amiaud and Mechineau 51, Pinches 105, Ménant 319. The hieratic appears thus on a cylinder of a *patesi* figured in J. Ménant, *Glyptique Orientale*, I, 64.—On the Chinese besides Min Tsi-kih, s. v., and Fu lwan-tsiang, s. v., cf. J. Chalmers, *The structure of the Chinese characters after the Shwoh-wan*, 117.

93) A. M., 252, P. 109, H. 159, M. 156, C. 176, M. T. K. s. v.

94) A. M. 276, P. 248, H. 229, M. 61, C. 290, M. T. K. s. v.

95) It appears the left to top on the cylinders of the Ur-ba-u, and of Dungi, which are figured in J. Ménant's *Glyptique Orientale*, I, pp. 129, 140.—The attempts at explaining the character as the survival of a lying beast (Rev. W. Houghton l. c. Mr. G. Bertin l. c.) in various ways seems to be unsuccessful.

96) A. M. 243, Pinches 161, Menant 102. Min Tsi kih, Bk, IV, f. 25.

97) A. M. 165, P. 238, H. 224, M. 41. *K'ang hi tze-tien*, s. v.—*Tchuen-tze-wei*, s. v.

98) A. M. 8, P. 16.—Cf. M. 372.

99) The character appears in *Inscriptions of Western Asia*, III, pl. 43, col. 2, l. 4.—Mr. G. Bertin, *J. R. A. S.* l. c. p. 643, has misunderstood this character, which he fancies to represent the legs of a man walking.

100) Amiaud and Mechineau, *Tableau*, p. 4.

101) A. M. 48, C. 110, M. 383, H. 90, C. 596.

102) An ingenious explanation, from Mr. G. Bertin, l. c. p. 652.—The Chinese character is most certainly derived from the Babylonian form. Cf. A. M. 198, P. 208, M. 185, and Chinese M. T. K. s. v., or *Tchuen tze wei*, 182. Sounds: Akkadian *imi*, early Chinese *bam*, mod. *fung*.

103) M. 14, C- 58. It means also 'son.' H. 230, P. 250.

104) Making already a total of about 50 Babylonian and Chinese symbols identified. In another paper I shall give another fifty Chinese derivates of the old Babylonian cuneiform characters.

105) *The oldest Book of the Chinese*, § 111; *J. R. A. S.* 1883, vol. XV, pp. 278-279.

ERRATA AND CORRIGENDA.—Page 1, last line; *instead of* §36 *read* §31. 3, l. 27; *instead of* seeme to be a difficulty *read* seemed to be a difficulty. 4, l. 37; *instead of* when read where. 6, l. 12; *instead of* G. Panthier *read* G. Pauthier; l. 37; *instead of* well as other characters *read* as well as by other characters. 8, l. 19; *instead of* Ninivy *read* Nineveh; *delete* which. 9, l. 30; *instead of* I am ware *read* I am aware. 11, l. 9; *delete* and. 12, l. 14; *instead of* to a corruption *read* to a greater corruption. 13, lastline; *instead of* many entries *read* 522 entries. 18, l. 9; *instead of* only *read* alone. 19, l. 10; *instead of* to them *read* to the Chinese. T. de L.

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The Fabulous Fishmen
of Early Babylonia in Ancient
Chinese Legends.

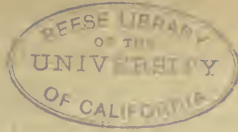
BY

PROF. DR. TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

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*THE FABULOUS FISHMEN OF EARLY BABYLONIA
IN ANCIENT CHINESE LEGENDS.*

THE fabulous legends of Babylonia attributed the introduction of the art of writing and of all its learning to the successive arrival of divine beings half-fish half-man from the Persian gulf. The tradition must have been carried to early China like so many others already mentioned, as we find it echoed there, and applied in a curious manner to the early leaders of the Chinese.

In the fragments preserved of the Babylonian history of Berossus¹ we are told that, in the first year², there came a reasonable being whose entire body was that of a fish; under the fish's head he had another head, with feet also below similar to those of a man subjoined to the fish's tail. He had appeared in that part of the Erythæan sea which borders upon Babylonia, and he gave to men an insight into letters, sciences, and arts of very kind. Every day when the sun had set, this being, Oannes, used to retire into the sea, and pass the night in the deep, for he was amphibious, and come again every morning.³

Similar fishmen, on the same errand, appeared during several successive reigns, and, though their names have been preserved in the said fragments or quotations from Berossus' work, there are a few discrepancies in the various reports as to the origin and times of their respective appearance. But the difficulty is not insuperable, and a great scholar, the late François Lenormant, who had paid peculiar attention to the subject, had come to the conclusion that the number of these monstrous apparitions or theophanies, was the same as that of the number of reigns from the first king to the seventh of the ten mythical antediluvian kings. However, even in combining the information derived from the various extracts and quotations of the lost work, we can agree with the late lamented scholar, only in excepting the second reign, as we cannot restore the list of the apparitions and reigns otherwise than as follows. The references are given in foot-notes.

- I. First King: *Alōros* (for *Adōros*=*Adiuru* in Akk.), the Chaldæan who ruled for 10 *sar*,⁴ in the first year of whose reign appears Oannes.⁵
- II. Second King: *Alaparos* or *Alasparos*,⁶ who ruled for 3 *sar*.
- III. Third King: *Amillaros*⁷ or *Amelōn* of Pantibiblon (Agadê), who ruled 13 *sar*. In the last, appearance of the first *Annēdotos* or *Euneudotos* (= *Anudata* in Akk. 'Anu law'⁸). Also called *Idotion*.
- IV. Fourth King: *Ammenōn*, the Chaldæan, of Pantibiblon, who ruled 12 *sar*. Appearance of the 2nd *Annēdotos* otherwise *Eneugamos* (for *Neugamos*=*Nukimmut* ? in Akk.)⁹
- V. Fifth King: *Amegalaros*, or *Megalaros*, or *Metalaros*, or *Megalanos* (for *Melargalos* ?= *Muru-urugal* in Akk.)¹⁰ of Pantibiblon, who ruled for 18 *sar*. Appearance of the 3rd *Annēdotos*, otherwise *Eneubulos* (= *Anu-bel*) during the second *sar*.
- VI. Sixth King: *Daōnos* or *Daōs* of Pantibiblon, who ruled for 10 *sar*. Appearance of the 4th *Annēdotos*, etherwise *Anēmentos* (= *Anu. mānātu* ? in Akk.)¹¹
- VII. Seventh King: *Euedōreskhos* or *Edōranchos* of Pantibiblon, who ruled for 18 *sar*. Appearance of *Anodaphos* or *Odakon* (for *Anōdakōn*, *i. e.* *Anu-Dagon*)¹².

And we are told that all those kings who came, subsequently to Oannes, explained in detail all that had been taught summarily by him.¹³

We have no need here to go further into the question and enquire if the first apparition is the prototype of which the others are only imitations, or if they conceal under a mythological dress some real immigration and importation severally repeated. Neither is it a part of our task to investigate the origin of the mythological arrival of Oannes, nor is it to examine, if it is the result of a combined information by which a solar myth has enveloped genuine traditions referring to the primeval arrival by sea in the country, of civilised men covered with fish skin coats, from the rising or setting sun regions in the Persian gulf. We shall examine these questions in a special paper. The only thing we have here to remember is that a long lingering tradition of several, probably seven, appearances of mysterious ichthyomorphic beings, or half-fish half-man, whose mission consisted in teaching the population, till then rude, of Babylonia, was linked with the earliest traditions of the country.

These peculiarities must have been communicated to the ancestors of the civilisers of the Chinese, when they were still in Western Asia, with the whole or nearly the whole apparatus of civilisation. Knowing how

conservative of mind the Chinese were, and are still, we should be surprised should we not find such peculiar legends in their early traditions. The following, therefore, must be taken as an imitation, more or less complete or completed of the fabulous events of which the tradition was reported to them, adapted to their surroundings and circumstances :

I. When the mists (in which the heavens were wrapt for three days and three nights) were removed, he (the emperor Hwang-ti=Nakhunte) made an excursion on the Loh (river) and saw a great fish; and sacrificed to it with five victims, whereupon torrents of rain came down for seven days and seven nights, when the fish floated off the sea and the emperor obtained the map writing, The dragon writing came forth from the Ho (river) and the Kwai (= Kut or tortoise) writing from the Loh (river).

II. Apparition to *K'ing-tu*, mother of Yao. "One morning the dragon came with a writing" which was the description of the future emperor Yao.

III. When Yao had been on the throne 70 years. . . . On the second month . . . when the day began to decline, a glorious light came forth from the Ho river. Then a Lung Ma (=dragon-horse) appeared, bearing in his mouth a scaly cuirass, with red lines on a green ground, ascended the altar, laid down the scheme, and went away. . . .

IV. Two years afterwards, on the banks of the Loh, at the decline of the day . . . "a red light appeared: a tortoise rose from the waters, with a writing in red lines on its back, and rested on the altar." . . .

V. In his 14th year Shun raised an altar at the Ho. "When the day declined, there came a fine and glorious light; and a yellow dragon issued and came to the altar, bearing a scheme on his back, . . . in lines of red and green intermingled. . . ."

VI. In the time of Yao, Shun brought Yü forward. As he was looking at the Ho, a tall man, with a white face and fish's body came out. . . . Having spoken, he gave Yü a chart of the Ho, containing all about the regulating of the waters: and returned into the deep."¹⁴

These six apparitions are the only ones which are referred to the primitive times in China, but they do not stand alone in the fabulous legends of the country. As usual with the Chinese compilers of history and ancient traditions, the circle has been extended so as to include the founders of the Shang and Tchou dynasties, whose own merits and virtues equal to those of the early leaders could not, in the judgment of the writers, have been deprived of the same glorious events which illustrated the lives of Huangti, Shun and Yao. We give here these secondary apparitions spurious imitations of the others :

T'ang (the founder of the Shang dynasty¹⁵) came east to the Loh . . . yellow fishes leaped in pairs . . . a black tortoise, with red lines forming characters. . . .

At the beginning of the Tchou dynasty¹⁶ Liu Shang went out ramb-ling, when he saw a red man come out from the Loh, who gave him

a writing with the words: As a backbone, you must assist Tchang (Wu Wang).

When Wu Wang was crossing the river at the ford of Meng in the middle of the stream, a white fish leaped into the king's boat under its eyes were red lines which formed the characters

When Wu Wang died, the young Tching Wang and Tan duke of Tchou as regent, went to view the Hoh and the the Loh, a green dragon appeared bearing a shell with red characters,¹⁷ &c.

These fabulous statements speak by themselves and do not require any further remark.

As we have pointed out in the case of the tree of life and calendar plant some remote and varied echoes of the legend are found in literature¹⁸. For instance, in the Romantic Geography of the *Shan hai king*¹⁹ we hear of the *Hu* people who had human faces and fish bodies, and who were descendants of Shen-nung (whose legend has been shown to be an echo of that of Sargon²⁰) through his grandson, *Ling kial*²¹.

The notion of mermen was certainly present to the mind of the writers who describing the Ti people from the great rivers in the west of China, and seen by any chance traveller, engaged in their usual occupation of fishing, half the body in the water. They were reported to have the lower part of their body as fishes, and their description appears in the same Romantic Geography²².

A last echo has probably made itself heard in the following fabulous description of the *Jin* (195 + 9) or fishmen, which are supposed to have been developed out of some notions on the *Dugang*,²³ the cetaceous mammal of the Indian Archipelago. It runs thus: "A sort of merman or mermaid, having eyebrows, ears, mouth, nose, hands, nails and head complete; its skin and flesh is as white as alabaster, it has no scales, and is covered with fine hair of various colours; the hair of its head is flowing like a horse's tail, five or six feet long, which is also the length of its body. People who live near the sea, catch and breed them in pools; the male and female live together like human beings²⁵."

*

The conclusion of this paper can be but very short. The loan to the Chinese legends of the Babylonian fabulous traditions of the arrival out of the water of fishmen acquainted with the art of writing, is so clear and evident that we need not insist again to make it understood. Though not the object of a special mention, the subject matter of this article is the elucidation and demonstration of one of the legends alluded to in the sixty items of the civilization of Babylonia carried to ancient China.

NOTES.

- 1) He was born circá 355 B.C.
- 2) Cf. Lenormant, *Essai de commentaire des fragments cosmogoniques de Bérose*, (Paris, 1871) p. 10.—*Les Origines de l'histoire*, t. I, (Paris, 1880), p. 581.—Also T. P. Cory, *Ancient fragments of the Phœnician, Chaldæan, Egyptian, Tyrian, Carthaginian, Indian, Persian, and other writers*, edit. Hodge, p. 51-52.
- 3) A representation of Oannes=Ea, corresponding with the description of Berosus has been found in the sculptures of the Assyrian palaces and on the Babylonian cylinders. Cf. for the former: Layard, *Nineveh and its remains*, II, 466; *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 343, 350; and for the latter: Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. XVI, 7; pl. XVII, 1, 3, 5, 8.
- 4) The *sar* is the well known Babylonian measure of time for 3600 years equivalent to six *ner* of 600 years; a *ner* being equivalent to ten *soos* of 60 years. The aggregate of the years of the reign of the ten antediluvian Kings makes 120 *sar*, which would make 432000 years, an interpretation which was current in antiquity as we find the same figure in the legends preserved in China. The unit of the primeval traditions may have been a sensible one. We shall examine the question in a special paper on *Babylonian Cycles, Numbers and Names in China*.
- 5) F. Lenormant, *Chaldæan Magic*, pp. 203-204; *Essai de commentaire des fragments cosmogoniques de Bérose*, pp. 243-251; *Les origines de l'histoire*, vol. I, pp. 580-589, App. II, Les Révelations divines antediluviennes chez les Chaldéens.
- 6) Lenormant, *Bérose*, pp. 235-236, has explained the two first names 'by the Assyrian *Ail-ur*, 'the ram of light.' *Alap-ur*, 'Bull of light.'
- 7) Explained by Lenormant, *ibid.*, p. 236' as the Assyrian *Abal-ur* son of light.'
- 8) F. Lenormant, *Bérose*, frag. XI, and p. 249.
- 9 & 10) F. Lenormant, *Chaldæan Magic*, p. 204.
- 11) All these suggestive explanations of proper names are borrowed from Lenormant's works above quoted.
- 12) A. H. Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures* of 1887, p. 132.
- 13) Beros. *ap.* Syncell, p. 39; Lenormant, *Bérose*, p. 241.
- 14) All these passages are quoted from the Annals of the Bamboo Books, *Tchuh shu ki nien*, in *Chinese Classics*, edit. Legge, vol. III, proleg. pp. 109, 112, 113, 114, 116, 117.—On this work cf. *B. & O. R.*, June, 1888. p. 151; and the note 9, p. 166 must be rectified and completed as follows: These Annals, which are concise as ephemerids, refer to the successive central dynasties until 770 B.C.; from that date to 440 B.C. it is the principality of Tsin in Shansi which is their chief object, and afterwards unto the end (394 B.C.) they refer to that of Wei (S. Shansi & N. Honan).
- 15) In the XVth cent. B. C.
- 16) In the XIth cent. B. C.
- 17) *Tchuh shu Ki nien*, *ibid.*, pp. 118, 128, 143 and 147.
- 18) *The Tree of life and Calendar plant of Babylonia and China*, in *B. & O. R.*, June 1888, vol. II, pp. 152-153 (repr. pp. 4-5.)
- 19) Chap. XVI, edit. Pi yuen, fol. 6 v.
- 20) In my papers *Traditions of Babylonia in early Chinese documents* (*The Academy*, Nov. 17, 1883), *Wheat carried from Mesopotamia*

to early China, in *B. & O. R.* July, 1888. vol. II, p. 185, (Repr. p. 2) ; and later in the confirmatory and most interesting article of Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen, *Shen-nung and Sargon.* *ibid.* pp. 208-209.

21) Does this name represent any lasting echo of *Larankha=Surippak*, one of the towns where ruled several of the mythical kings under the reign of whom the fishermensuccessors of Oannes made their appearance.

22) *Shan Hai King*, Bk. 13.

23) Wells Williams, *Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, s. v. p. 287.

24) *Halicore Dugung.* The word is Malay *dūyung*, also Javanese *duyung*; Macassar *ruyung*. Cf. Yule - Burnell, *Glossary of Anglo-Indian words*, p. 254.

25) *K'ang-hi tze tien*, s. v. 195 + 2.r—Meddhurst, *Chinese and English Dictionary*, p. 1389.



T H E

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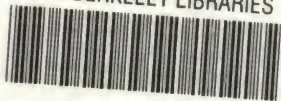
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