

the root *ktš* (also the substantive *mktš*) is used several times in connection with Egypt (Targum Onkelos Ex. xi 1; Deut. vii 15; xxviii 60, and Genesis Apocryphon XX, 16ff. with regard to the plague which came upon the Pharaoh and his household after he had taken Sarah into his palace). In my opinion the possibility to translate the targum text as follows: „either for a rod or for a disease or (to cause) famine etc.” is not totally excluded.

It would be possible to continue this comparison of the targum and the Biblical text, but this article cannot contain a full elaboration of the subject. What is offered here gives a clear impression of the targumic character of the Qumran Aramaic Job and its contents.

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THREE NOTES ON EARLY ETHIOPIAN GEOGRAPHY

I

The 'Trilingual Inscription' at Aksum, written in three languages, Greek, Ge'ez, and Epigraphic South Arabian, on three separate pieces of Stone (*Deutsche Aksum-Expedition*, vol. IV, nos. 4, 6, 7), records the conquest of the Begā in the 4th century A. D. by Sā'ezānā and Hadāfah the brother of 'Ēzānā. Having been brought to Aksum, the people, numbering 4400, with their six kings and their cattle and sheep, were fed and clothed and then sent with honour to a country the name of which has been a subject of some speculation. The Greek version is: ΤΙΝΑ ΤΟΙΟΝ ΤΗC ΕΜΕΤΕΡΑC ΧΟΡΑC ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΜΕΤΑΙΑ. The Ge'ez version (unvocalized) has

[Ⲛ]ⲕⲧⲓⲛⲟⲓⲁⲃⲁⲓⲛⲟⲓⲁ

in which the two middle letters of the last word are now illegible, though it has generally been read as

ⲛⲉⲣⲧⲕ

BYRN. The ESA version has, however, what is almost certainly:

ⲛⲟⲓⲁⲃⲁ

which in vocalized Ge'ez characters would be:

ⲛⲟⲓⲁⲃⲁ: BEHĒRNA

thus giving the meaning of 'our country' i.e. 'I sent them with honour to the boundary of our country', which at least makes sense. The name of the place given in the Greek version, also read as MATLIA, does not help in fixing the precise area on the boundary, as it is at present unidentified.

II

Inscription no. 8 in DAE. IV relates how 'Ēzānā in his campaign against his disobedient sub-kings came to FNSHT¹, to which came also SBL king of Gabaz bringing his tribute. Gabaz seems to be the country referred to in a picture in a manuscript of Cosmas (Cod Vat. Graec. 699, fol. 12v, of the 8th or 9th century) which shows 'The road leading from Adulis to Axōmē. / Ethiopians travelling. / The custom-house of Gabaza (τελώνιον γαβάζας). / Aidoulis. / The sea. / Samidi. / Axōmis.' One of the meanings of Ge'ez *gabaz* is 'shore'. A coin found at Adulis bears the words ΓΑΒΑΖΗΣ (Conti Rossini in *J. Asiat.* 10 ser., XIV, 1909, p. 284) which seems to confirm the existence of this 'kingdom', and to suggest that, in this case at least, the 'king' took his name from the 'kingdom'. Gabaz certainly lay to the NE of Aksum, and on the evidence cited above must have reached the coast. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, of the 1st century, says in chapter 5: 'Zōskalēs rules these parts [i.e. round Adulis] from the Moskhophagoi to the other Barbaria, mean of life, with an eye on the main chance, but otherwise high-minded, and skilled in Greek letters'. This Zōskalēs has generally been regarded as a king of Aksum, though the text does not say so, and he has even been identified with one Za Haqlē, who occurs in a king-list in British Museum MS Or. 817 and has been dated by Müller at A. D. 77–89 (*Geogr. Gr. Min.* I, prol. xcvi). The text of the PME says βασιλεύει... Ζωσκάλης. This word means not only 'is king', but also 'rules', and the verb is used elsewhere in the same sense, e.g. in chapter 14:

¹ It is tempting to identify this with the Fensātē of the *Chronicle of Āmda Seyon*, fol. 40; but this seems to be too far south.

οὐ βασιλεύεται δὲ ὁ τόπος, ἀλλὰ τυράννοις ἰδίοις καθ' ἑκαστον ἐμπόριον διοικεῖται. It seems more likely that Zōskalēs and the 'kings' of Gabaz were precursors of the 'sea-kings'. *bāhr nagāsi*, who were the governors of the north-eastern province of Ethiopia in later times. Cosmas describes the ruler of Adulis as ἄρχων. It is therefore needless and indeed misleading to try to identify Zōskalēs with any king of Aksum.

III

The inscription recorded by Cosmas on the throne which he found at Adulis, 'as you enter the town on the west beside the road leading in from Axōmē', contains the record of the conquests of an unknown king of Aksum, unknown because the beginning of the text is missing; it has been attributed to a king called Afilas. This throne is known as the Monumentum Adulitanum; and the text from which the following translation is taken is that of Winstedt (*The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes*, Bk. II, p. 74).

„... After which boldly having commanded the tribes nearest my kingdom to live in peace, I made war and conquered the tribes whose names are written hereafter: I attacked the Gaze^a [v. l. Gazēs] tribe, then Agamē [v. l. agamē, agamai] and Siguēnē^b [v. l. siguēn, sigoiēn] and conquered them, taking for myself half their possessions and leaving them half. Having crossed the river I reduced to submission the Aua and Zingabēnē and Angabē^c and Tiamaa^d [v. l. Tiama] and Athagaous and Kalaa and Samēnē [v. l. saminē, semēnai] a tribe dwelling across the Nile in inaccessible and snow-clad mountains where there are snowstorms and frosts and snow so deep that a man sinks to his knees in it; then the Lasinē^e [v. l. lasinai] and Zaa and Gabala who dwell beside a steep mountain where hot springs bubble, and Atalmō^f and Bēga and all the tribes beside them. Having subdued the <tribe of> Tangaitai [in the MSS simply ταγγαῖτων] who dwell as far as the bounds of Egypt, I made a road to be travelled on from the places of my kingdom as far as Egypt. Then I attacked

the Anninē⁸ [v. l. annēnē] and Metinē who dwell in precipitous mountains, and the Sēsēa^h tribe on a very great and inaccessible mountain I blockaded and brought down and chose for myself some of their youths and women and boys and girls and all the property belonging to them. The tribes of Rhausō [v. l. Rhausōn] dwelling inland from the Berber Incense-country in a great waterless plain I overcame, also the tribe of Sōlatē^k which I commanded to guard the sea-coast. All these tribes in difficult mountains were blockaded and I myself being present conquered them in the battles; and having subdued them I granted to them all the country under tribute. Many other tribes yielded willingly to me, under tribute. And across the Erythraean Sea I warred against the Arabitai^m and Kinaidokolpitai who dwell there. I sent a naval and a land force and subdued their kings, commanding them to pay tribute for their lands, and to travel in peace from Leukē Kōmē to the lands of the Sabaioi. And all these tribes I was the first and only king of my country to subdue, through the favour shown to me by the very great god Ares who begot me, through whom all the tribes bordering on my land from the east to the Incense country, from the west to the places of Ethiopia and Sasou^a I have made subject to myself, to some of which I went and conquered them, and to others I sent <my commanders>. And having settled in peace every ruler under me, I went down to Adouli to sacrifice to Zeus and to Ares and Poseidon for all those who sail the seas. And having mustered my armies and having put them under one <commander>, and having sat down in this place, I dedicated this throne as an offering to Ares in the twenty-seventh year of my reign". [Here Cosmas adds: 'This is what is written on the throne. And till our day, in the place where the throne stands, in front of it, they execute those who have been condemned; but whether this custom has continued from the time of Ptolemy I cannot say' (p. 76 Winstedt)].

In the margin of two of the MSS of the Christian Topography are written some scholia and glosses; the MSS are Codex Florentinus Laurent. Plut. IX 28, of the 9th century (distinguished as F), and Cod. Vaticanus Graecus 699, of the 8th or 9th century (R). These are:

- a „He says that Gazēn means the Axōmites, and to this day they call | them Agazē |. (F)
- b „They call Siguēnē the Souskinitai, and the tribes near them". (F)
- c „He says that the tribes near Adoulis are of the Tigrētes". (F)
- p „He says that Tiama are those called Tziamō and the Gambēla [v. l. Gambēla] and the tribes near them across the Nile". (R)
- e „These tribes are called so to this day". (R)
- f „Thus the Egyptians called the Blemmyes. He calls the Tangaitai Attabitē||and Adra[....]s". (F) [Ἀτταβιτη[.] Ἀδρα[....]s.]
- g „Anninē and Metinē: these tribes are called so till now". (F)
- h „Here clearly, tribes of Barbaria". (R)
- k „Sōlatē [v. l. Sōlatē] is the name of those living by the sea in Barbaria". (R). [„For he calls Sōlatē the Tigrētai of the coast in Barbaria", added in F.]
- m „Here he calls the Hōmēritai by the name of Arabitai; and the Kinaidokolpitai are called Adaneitai² by others". (F)
- n „This land of Sasou is the furthest of the Ethiopians, where there is much gold called tankharas³. Beyond it lies the Ocean and likewise the Barbareōtes who also traffic in incense". (F)

This inscription has been attributed to Afilas, whose name is known from coins on which he is called ΑΦΙΛΑC ΒΑCΙΑCΤC ΑΞΩΜΙΤΩΝ ΒΙCΙ ΔΙΜΗΑΗ, that is, Afilas king of the Axōmites, a man of the Dimēlē. The grounds for the attribution are perhaps slight, but (a) he is one of the few kings before 'Ēzānā of whom we have any knowledge apart from the king-lists (in which his name does not occur, at least in this form), and (b) he clearly preceded 'Ēzānā since he was not a Christian, and since the conquest of the Yemen early in the fourth century by the Arab Imru'ul-Qais made an Aksumite invasion impossible after the end of the third century.

The peoples conquered by the king are named in groups, and their identification presents some difficulties.

The first group consists of the Gazē tribe, Agamē, and Siguēnē. The scholion defines the Gazē as Aksumites and adds that to

² These are the people of Adanē (Pliny, Athanae), now Aden.

³ Ge'ez *tankarā*, 'topaz, precious stone'.

this day they are called Agazē. This last, being in a Hellenized form, may be equated with the Agūzāt of DAE. 8, 9, and with the word *ge'ez* which denotes their language. Agamē is without doubt the province still so called to the east of Aksum. The Si-guēnē are unidentifiable, even with the help of the alternative name Souskinitai.

The second group contains twelve names, all in one sentence. But it is clear that they do not form a topographical group, and some re-arrangement of punctuation of the text is needed. The wording of Winstedt's text, with altered punctuation, is:

Ἄουα καὶ Ζιγγαβηνὲ καὶ Ἀγγαβὲ καὶ Τιάμαα καὶ Ἀθαγαοὺς καὶ Καλαά, καὶ Σαμηνὲ ἔθνος πέραν τοῦ Νείλου ἐν δυσβάτοις καὶ χιονώδεσι ὄρεσιν οἰκοῦντας (ἐν οἷς, διὰ παντός νιφετοὶ καὶ κρύη καὶ χιόνες βαθεῖται, ὥς μέχρι γονάτων καταδύειν ἄνδρα), τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάς ὑπέταξα, ἔπειτα Λασινὲ καὶ Ζαά καὶ Γαβαλά οἰκοῦντας παρ' ὁρέεθι θερμῶν ὑδάτων βλύοντι καὶ καταρρύττω, <καὶ> Ἀταλμῶ καὶ Βεγά, καὶ τὰ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἔθνη πάντα.

Setting aside the words bracketed, which are parenthetical, the first six names — Aua, Zingabēnē, Angabē, Tiamaa, Athagaous, Kalaa — appear to form a group to the north of the Nile, i.e. the Takkazi, followed by the words Σαμηνὲ ἔθνος πέραν τοῦ Νείλου... οἰκοῦντας..., τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάς ὑπέταξα, in which οἰκοῦντας refers to Σαμηνὲ ἔθνος⁴. The sense of the passage will therefore be: 'I reduced the Aua, etc., and after crossing the river, the Samēnē tribe dwelling across the Takkazi, 'continuing' 'then Lasinē, Zaa, Gabala ... and Atalmō and Bega'. This is a reasonable grouping, in so far as it is possible to identify the names. Angabē is described in the scholion as 'tribes of the Tigrētes near Adoulis', in other words the people of Tigrē. If we interpret this statement in a broad sense, taking Tigrē as including the highland zone, Angabē might be represented by the place called Angaba in the chiefdom of Sēdyā between Adwā and the river Balasā NW of Entasew (Entic-cio); it might even be the same as the Angabo of DAE. 9. Of Tiamaa it is noted in a gloss that it was also called Tziamo 'and

⁴ Cf. similar usages elsewhere in Cosmas: Σεσέα ἔθνος... οὗς and n DAE. 4: ἀτακσησάντων τοῦ ἔθνους.

the Gambēla and the tribes near them across the Nile'. This gives a clue to the position of the Šeyāmo which occurs in the protocol to all 'Ēzānā's inscriptions in the next century. Gambēla may be the place called Gambēlā or Gambalā near Maqallē (in Endartā) mentioned in the Annals of Yoḥannes I (p. 25/26), and Šeyāmo may be in the same area⁵. Aua and Zingabēnē are difficult. The first may be the Auē between Adulis and Aksum mentioned by Nonnōsus in the 6th century (Dindorf, *Hist. Gr. Min.* I, p. 475). The second may be a textual error for Ζιγγαρηνὲ, and thus, as suggested in DAE. I, p. 43, might be Zangarēn in Ḥamāsēn. Athagaous and Kalaa are also unresolved, though the first is clearly the Atāgaw of DAE. 9, a people who lived somewhere near the Agūzāt, and Athagaous has even been identified with the Agaw, though this does not take the first syllable into consideration, and Cosmas himself, it may be noted, writes Ἀγαῦ for Agaw in his description of the 'silent trade' (p. 70 Winstedt). There are however place-names like Ad Agaw, and Athagaous might be regarded, though somewhat improbably, as a rendering of this. Then (ἔπειτα) comes a group comprising Lasinē, Zaa, and Gabala; to reach them the Takkazi must be crossed again, if Lasine is Lāstā and Gabala is Gabalē near Enṭalo. From here we pass, through no more than a comma (where I have added an explanatory καὶ) to the north-west, to the Atalmō and Bega, the latter being the ἔθνος τῶν Βουγασιτῶν of DAE. 4, a gloss on Atalmō saying 'thus the Egyptians call the Blemmyes'. This was the collective name used by the Greeks and Romans for the 'Beduin' Hamitic tribes between the Nile and the Red Sea. In Cosmas and DAE. 4 Bega means the Beja of the southern Sudan and northern Ethiopia, also called Bedawiye. There is a small affiliated tribe in Eritrea called Ad Elman (*Handbook of Afr. Langs.*, 1956, Pt. III, p. 119). If a relationship with Atalmō could be established, it would strengthen the equation of Atāgaw with Ad Agaw. This group is completed by the (ἔθνος) ταγγαῖτων living towards the Egyptian boundary. This may be a nasalized form of Taka, a place-name which occurs close to Kassala (Kasalā, DAE. 12) in the Sudan.

⁵ All these being 'across the Nile-Takkazi' from the Samēne, i.e. the Samēne to the west and the others to the east.

The account of the opening of a road to Egypt is followed, after a comma, by the mention of Anninē and Metinē in precipitous mountains; Antoine d'Abbadie shows (*Géodésie d'Ethiopie*, map 2) a Mount Annane (altitude 2311 metres) about 7 miles WNW of Dabra Damo. The last sentence takes the campaign to the south. Sēsēa, a tribe living 'on a very great and inaccessible mountain' is described in the scholion as 'plainly tribes of Barbaria'; there is no particular topographical feature that can be picked out for their home; possibly they lived in the Harar uplands. Next are named the Rhausō tribes, living inland from the Incense-country, μεσόγεια λιβανωτοφόρων βαρβάρων, in a waterless plain, which suggests almost anywhere in northern Somaliland. The king then subdued the Sōlatē tribe, which a gloss describes as living by the sea in Barbaria, that is, somewhere on the northern Somali coast. There are serious difficulties in the way of identifying these names with modern tribal names, because we do not know how old these modern names are. Barbaria can pretty safely be equated with 'Berber', and there is a modern Berbera on the Somali coast. Rhausō has been equated with the Arusi Galla, now living in SE Ethiopia, though the people call themselves Arsi; but we have no means of knowing whether this name was in use as early as the third century. Finally, Sasou, 'the furthest land of the Ethiopians where there is much gold called tankharas' (scholion) is possibly the Sidama country of southern Ethiopia — Kāfā, Enāryā, etc. — and the scholiast's statement that 'beyond it lies the ocean' must be due to ignorance of the geography. One would give a lot to know something about the qualifications of the writers of these scholia and glosses.

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ИЗГОТОВЛЕНИЕ ОДЕЖДЫ У ВАВИЛОНЯН В VI В. ДО Н. Э.

Одежда, особенно у цивилизованных народов, наряду с пищей и жильем, принадлежит к числу предметов первой необходимости. В этом отношении можно сказать, что все производство, в конечном счете, имеет целью создание, в первую очередь, пищи, одежды и жилья. Поэтому состояние производства одежды служит одним из важнейших показателей развития общества. Вместе с тем одежда, ее материал, покрой являются одним из главных этнографических признаков народа, изготовившего и пользовавшегося ею. Наконец, одежда, как пища и жилье, прямо связана с географической средой, в которой живет тот или иной народ. На одежде отражаются такие факторы окружающей природы, как климат, рельеф, флора, фауна и т. д.

В VI в. до н. э. вавилонская цивилизация имела за плечами возраст в три тысячи лет. Те времена, когда жители Южного Двуречья ходили полуголыми, в коротких юбичках или оборачивали тело куском ткани, давно канули в вечность. Вавилонское общество VI в. до н. э. знало резкую имущественную и социальную дифференциацию, которая отразилась и на одежде вавилонян. Бедняки и рабы довольствовались короткой одеждой вроде греческой эксомиды (по-вавилонски *mušērtu*), которая служила им на все случаи жизни. Что же касается общераспространенной моды, то она, по описанию Геродота, относящемуся к середине V в. до н. э., выглядела так:

„Одежда вавилонян следующая: спускающийся до пят льняной хитон, поверх его другой, шерстяной, хитон, а затем набрасывается небольшой белый плащ. Употребительная туземная обувь походит на беотийские башмаки. Волосы на голове длинные и скрепляются