

CHALDEAN MAGIC

Its Origin and Development



FRANÇOIS LENORMANT

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Anyone interested in magic and its history will find this a fascinating book. In it, the author discusses Chaldean magic and sorcery, demonology, amulets, the ritual of the dead, the development of Chaldean mythology, and the relationship of Chaldean magic to other traditions. A number of spells and incantations are included, permitting the reader a first hand look at Chaldean magical practices.

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À

M. SAMUEL BIRCH, LL.D., F.S.A., ETC.,

EN TÉMOIGNAGE

D'UNE VIEILLE ET RESPECTUEUSE

AFFECTION.



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THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THIS book came out in France three years ago.

Since that time science has been making rapid strides, and in prosecuting my studies I have found a confirmation of many of my opinions. I could not therefore allow a translation of my studies relating to "Chaldean Magic" to appear without making a new edition of it, subject to various corrections and additions. To this end I have carefully revised all the translations of Cuneiform texts contained in this volume, and in some cases slight modifications have been necessary to bring them into harmony with the latest discoveries. I have added a translation of several interesting fragments which were not comprised in the French

edition, and entirely rewritten some of the chapters. The book which I now offer the English public may, therefore, be regarded as an almost entirely new work, which alone represents the present state of my opinions and studies.





EDITOR'S PREFACE

“**L**A MAGIE CHEZ LES CHALDEENS,” of which this present volume is an enlarged edition, was issued by M. Lenormant in the autumn of 1874; it was preceded by *Les Premières Civilisations*, and closely followed in 1875 by *La Divination et la Science des Présages*; all these works possessing the same characteristic feature: the exposition of Assyrian thought, as evidenced by the language of the Cuneiform inscriptions themselves, compared with the traditions and usages of other contemporary and descended races, both Semitic and Turanian.

The interest excited in the philosophical world by these treatises was still further increased, by the publication in England, almost immediately afterwards, of the late George Smith's *Chaldean Genesis*,

in which for the first time since the era of Assurbanipal, the myths of the ancient Accadians were read in the light of day. By the additional texts thus recovered for the use of students, the premises of M. Lenormant were to a great extent confirmed; and the interest of Biblical scholars in Assyrian mythology showing every sign of increasing, it was deemed advisable to present the general public with an English edition of *La Magie*. This task was at once undertaken by Messrs. Bagster and Sons, and on the MSS. being sent to the author, he in the most generous manner offered to recast the earlier Chapters of the work, and to rewrite some of the latter. While this was being done, the researches of Prof. Sayce and other Assyriologists elucidated new facts, and discovered fresh parallels between the Accadian and Ugro-Finnic theologies. These discoveries had all to be considered and incorporated with the original text of M. Lenormant, and the result was, in the end, an almost entire remodelling of the French edition. To the editor was assigned, with the consent of the author, the office of adding references from English authorities to the citations already given from Continental writers, especially as

La Magie was, in its new form, designed for a larger circulation than that of scholars alone. The various texts issued in the *Records of the Past*, and the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, had to be cited wherever it was possible to do so; and further, such various readings noted as had been adopted by English translators. These numerous emendations, while they increased the value of the work, delayed its progress through the press far longer than was anticipated, and even now, at the last moment, it has been judged expedient by M. Lenormant to add an Appendix bearing upon the ethnographical meaning of the term "Sumirian," in reply to a pamphlet by Dr. Oppert, which has become the centre of a controversy, the waves of which have begun to reach our shores.

These circumstances will account for one or two apparent discrepancies in the present translation: viz., the use of the syllable "dug" for "khi," in the ideograms composing the name of the god Marduk, from p. 19 to p. 64, and its subsequent abandonment by the author in favour of the older reading in p. 108, *et seq.* The expansion of the note from Berosus on p. 157, regarding the deity Oannes into

an Appendix to Chapter XIII., at p. 201, is another example of the progressive revision which this translation has undergone.

These revisions and corrections, both of the original work and the present translation, as passed by M. Lenormant, are only such as from the nature of the theme, and the advancing condition of Assyrian philology might be expected. Of Assyriology it may truly be written, "day unto day uttereth knowledge." There is probably no section of the science of comparative mythology of which, till recently, less has been known, or of which, at present, more authentic materials remain, than the subject of "Chaldean Magic : its Origin and Development."

W. R. C.

VENTNOR,

November, 1877.



ERRATA.

Page 83, line 2 of note. *For* Osiris Baris *read* Osiris *Baris*.

Page 103, line 14. *For* Schu *read* Shu.

Page 133, line 6. *For* Chaldaic Babylonian *read* Chaldaio-Babylonian.

Page 134, line 24.

Page 172, line 20. *For* Silik-mulu-dug *read* Silik-mulu-khi.

Page 244, line 2 of note. *For* Asyekoks *read* Angekoks.



CHAPTER I.

The Magic and Sorcery of the Chaldeans.

A GENERAL, but tolerably complete idea of the magic conjuration of the Chaldeans, its processes and its principal applications, may be obtained from a document which Sir Henry Rawlinson and Mr. Edwin Norris published "in facsimile" in 1866, in the second volume of their collection of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*. This document is a large tablet from the library of the royal palace at Nineveh, containing a succession of 28 formulæ of deprecatory incantations, unfortunately partly destroyed, against the action of evil spirits, the effects of sorcery, disease, and the principal misfortunes which may attack man in the course of his daily life. The whole forms a litany of some length, divided into paragraphs, which all finish with the same solemn invocation. It would seem, judging from the concluding paragraph, that the intention was not to use the detached formulæ of this litany on special occasions, but to recite the whole as a protection

from all the fatal influences against which it provides. This tablet, however, like all the other works on magic from Assyria and Chaldea, is written in Accadian, that is, in the Turanian language, which was related to the Finnish and Tartaric dialects spoken by the primitive population of the marshy plains round the lower Euphrates. An Assyrian translation accompanies the ancient Accadian text, and is placed opposite to it. Centuries ago, when Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, of the VIIth century before our era, had the copy made which has been handed down to us, this kind of document could be understood only by aid of the Assyrian version, which may be traced to a much earlier date. The Accadian was already a dead language; but the Assyrians attributed so much the more mysterious power to the incantations expressed in this language, because the script had become unintelligible.

In order to place the reader at once in the midst of the strange world into which I ask him to follow me, I shall now reproduce in its entirety the formulæ of this tablet, those at least which it is possible to interpret, for there are still some phrases which defy explanation, and I shall accompany my translation with short notes. I have been preceded in this undertaking by M. Oppert, with whom in most cases I agree perfectly. Should anyone, however, wish to compare our two translations, he will find some differences, which almost all result from the fact, that the learned Professor of the College of France has translated from the Assyrian version, while I

have preferred to adhere to the original Accadian text. The Assyrian version is by no means always a literal one; and of this the reader may judge for himself, as I have annotated all the passages in which it differs from the earlier original. The Accadian text appears to be divided into rhythmical verses, each of which forms a separate line upon the tablet; I have marked these divisions carefully.

INCANTATION.

- 1 'The wicked god, the wicked demon,
the demon of the desert, the demon of the mountain,
the demon of the sea, the demon of the marsh,
the evil genius,² the enormous *uruku*³
the bad wind by itself,
the wicked demon which seizes the body(?), which
disturbs the body.
Spirit of the heavens, conjure it! Spirit of the earth,
conjure it!

- 2 The demon who seizes man,⁴ the demon who seizes man,
the *Gigim*⁵ who works evil, the production of a wicked
demon,
Spirit of the heavens, conjure it! Spirit of the earth,
conjure it!

- 3 ⁶The consecrated prostitute with the rebellious heart, who
abandons the place of prostitution,

¹ Another version of this tablet has been published by Mr. Sayce in *Records of the Past*, Vol. I., p. 130 (second edition).

² "Noxious cherub," Sayce.

³ I shall presently examine more closely these names of the various Chaldean demons.

⁴ The Assyrian version reads "the demon who takes possession of a man." This is analogous to the Egyptian doctrine of the interpenetration of the soul by an evil spirit. See an article by M. Chabas in *le Bulletin Archéologique*, June 1855, p. 44.—*Ed.*

⁵ "Spirit of the neck," Sayce.

⁶ This passage has not been translated by Mr. Sayce.

the prostitute of the god Anna,¹ who does not do his service,
 to the evening of the beginning of the incomplete month,
 the sacred slave² who fails to go to his place,
 who does not lacerate his chest,³
 who does not his hand,
 making his chest resound, completing⁴
 Spirit of the heavens, conjure it! Spirit of the earth,
 conjure it!

- 4 That which does not go away, that which is not propitious,
 that which grows up,⁵ ulcers of a bad kind,
 poignant ulcers, enlarged ulcers, excoriated ulcers,
 ulcers ,⁶
 ulcers which spread, malignant ulcers,
 Spirit of the heavens, conjure it! Spirit of the earth,
 conjure it!
-

- 5 Disease of the bowels, the disease of the heart, the palpitation of the diseased heart,
 disease of the vision, disease of the head, malignant dysentery,
 the tumour which swells,
 ulceration of the reins, the micturation which wastes,⁷
 cruel agony which never ceases,
 nightmare,

¹ This is the Accadian name of the god who is called in Assyrian Anu.

² That is, "the slave of the temple."

³ Compare 1 Kings xviii. 28.

⁴ Many explanations have already been given of the monstrous aberration of the spirit of heathen devotion, which had produced in the religions of ancient Asia the infamous rites of *gedeschim* and *gedeschoth*; I shall not dwell therefore on this repugnant subject, but refer the reader to what has already been said. I only wish to remark that our magical formula will henceforth be one of the most important texts on the subject.

⁵ "Spreading quinsy of the gullet." Sayce.

⁶ The Assyrian version does not repeat here each time "the ulcer."

⁷ Query, an unclean disease, Lev. xv. 1, etc.—*Ed.*

Spirit of the heavens, conjure it! Spirit of the earth,
conjure it!

-
- 6 He who forges images,¹ he who bewitches
the malevolent aspect, the evil eye,
the malevolent mouth, the malevolent tongue,
the malevolent lip, the finest sorcery,
Spirit of the heavens, conjure it! Spirit of the earth,
conjure it!
- 7 ^a The nurse.
The nurse whose breast² withers,
the nurse whose breast is bitter,
the nurse whose breast becomes ulcerated,
the nurse who dies of the ulceration of her breast,
the woman with child who does not preserve her offspring,
the woman with child whose embryo splits,
the woman with child whose embryo grows rotten,
the woman with child whose embryo does not prosper,
Spirit of the heavens, conjure it! Spirit of the earth,
conjure it!
- 8 Painful fever, violent fever,
the fever which never leaves man,
unremitting fever,
the lingering fever, malignant fever,
Spirit of the heavens, conjure it! Spirit of the earth,
conjure it!
- 9 Painful plague, violent plague,
plague which never leaves man,
unremitting plague,
the lingering plague, malignant plague,

¹ Here we have the first reference to a custom well known in the Middle Ages. A waxen figure was made, and as it melted before the fire the person represented by it was supposed similarly to waste away. It will be remembered that Horace (*Sat.* i. 8, 30, *et seq.*) speaks of the waxen figure made by the witch Canida in order that the lover might consume away in the fires of love. Roman and Mediæval sorcery had its origin in that of ancient Accad.—*Ed.*

² Untranslated by Sayce.

³ The words "whose breast," in this and the following verses, are a very happy explanatory addition to the Assyrian version.

- Spirit of the heavens, conjure it! Spirit of the earth,
conjure it!
- 10 ' Painful disease of the bowels,
the infirmity which makes gloomy and cuts,¹
the never-ceasing infirmity, the infirmity of the veins,
the infirmity which does not go away, the malignant
infirmity,
Spirit of the heavens, conjure it! Spirit of the earth,
conjure it!
- 11 That which acts in the mouth, the poison noxious to the
voice,²
the expectoration of the consumption which noxiously
prostrates,³
scrofula, pustules, falling off of the nails,
purulent eruptions, inveterate tetter, shingles causing pits and scars,⁴
leprosy covering the skin,
food which reduces the body of man to a skeleton,
food which eaten is returned again,
liquids which make the drinker swell,
fatal poison which does not . . . ⁵ the earth,
the pestilential wind which comes from the desert and
returns not,
Spirit of the heavens, conjure it! Spirit of the earth,
conjure it!
- 12 The frost which makes the earth to shiver,
the excess of heat which makes the skin of man to crack,
evil destiny

¹ Untranslated by Sayce.

² In the Assyrian version: "the colic disease." Is this a form of cutaneous malady in which the skin is hardened and cracks into sores?—*Ed.*

³ In the Assyrian version: "The poisonous consumption which in the mouth malignantly ascends."

⁴ Literally, the *sputa* or effete matter cast off by the lungs in mucus in advanced stages of the disease.

⁵ This qualification is added by the Assyrian version. Herpetic maladies. See the Eleventh Tablet of the Izdubar Series, *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Vol. III. part ii. p. 576, and Vol. IV. part i. pp. 68, 69.—*Ed.*

⁶ Here is a word still untranslatableable.

which unexpectedly cuts off a man's career,
 parching thirst which aids the Spirit of the plague,
 Spirit of the heavens, conjure it! Spirit of the earth,
 conjure it!

The XIIIth formula is too much effaced for me to attempt to translate it; but, judging from what remains, it was destined to avert the action of a demon dwelling in the desert.

The XIVth is in the same condition; its object was to ward off a misfortune which might attack a man at any time, eating, drinking, sleeping, or standing at his own fireside; possibly sudden death. Only the Accadian text remains of the four following formulæ; the Assyrian Version is destroyed.

- 15 He who in the gaol dies of hunger,
 he who in the gaol dies of thirst,
 he who being hungry in a pit (?)
 beseeching (is therefore reduced to eat) dust.
 he who in the earth or in the river,
 perishes and dies,
 the female slave who possesses no master,
 the free woman who has no husband.
 he who leaves an infamous memory of his name,
 he who leaves no memory of his name,
 he who in his hunger cannot recover,
 he who falls ill and cries at the beginning of an incomplete
 month,¹
 Spirit of the heavens, conjure it! Spirit of the earth,
 conjure it!
- 16 The protecting god of man,
 who (guarantees) the prolongation of man's life,
 may he fortify him to the sight of the Sun!²

¹ Or an unlucky month. See a list of these in Sayce's *Astronomy of the Babylonians*, *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Vol. III. part i. pp. 158, 159.—*Ed.*

² Compare Eccles. xi. 7, "a pleasant thing for the eyes to behold the sun."—*Ed.*

The genius, the favourable giant,
 may he penetrate into his head
 for the prolongation of his life!
 He will never depart from him!
 Spirit of the heavens, conjure it! Spirit of the earth,
 conjure it!

The XVIIth formula presents difficulties which cannot be explained in the present state of our acquaintance with the Accadian language; we can only discern that it was the prescription of a protective and conjuring rite.

- 18 Two double bands of white cloth¹
 upon the bed on the platform²
 as a talisman if he binds on the (right) hand,
 two double bands of black cloth
 if he binds on the left hand,³
 the bad demon, the wicked *Alal*, the wicked *Gigim*,⁴
 the bad *Telal*, the wicked god, the wicked *Maskim*,
 the phantom, the spectre, the vampyre,
 incubus, succubus, nightmare,
 wicked sorcery, the philter, liquid poison,
 that which gives pain, that which hurts, that which is evil,
 their head upon his head,
 their foot upon his foot,
 they never seize him, they will never return.⁵
 Spirit of the heavens, conjure it! Spirit of the earth,
 conjure it!⁶

A great gap occurs here, occasioned by a fracture

¹ Untranslated by Sayce.

² See in the plates of M. Place's great work (*Ninive et l'Assyrie*) the position of the platform of the bed in the bedrooms of the harem of the palace of Khorsabad.

³ We must follow the inversions of the text in order to preserve the division of the verses.

⁴ See note 3 page 3.

⁵ Rather "they shall never seize him, they shall never return."

⁶ See a partial rendering of this passage by Mr. Fox Talbot in *Records of the Past*, Vol. III. p. 140.—Ed.

of the tablet, in which at least two formulæ, and the beginning of a third, have disappeared. I discovered in the British Museum a small fragment, which is not in the published text, and which, finding here its proper place, shews the end of the XIXth formula.

.¹ May the wicked demon depart !
 May they seize one another !
 The propitious demon, the propitious giant,
 may they penetrate into his body !
 Spirit of the heavens, conjure it ! Spirit of the earth,
 conjure it !²

The first line of the XXth formula, which is found upon the same fragment, shows that its object was to cure some disease of the bowels.

The remainder of the XXIst contains an enumeration of all the parts of the house from which the magical words were to exclude demons. All this portion is extremely obscure, and its translation is rendered almost impossible by the multiplicity of the architectural terms employed, to which we have no key, particularly as the Assyrian version is here wanting.

22 The phantom, child of heaven,
 which the gods remember,
 the *Innin*,³ prince
 of the lords.
 the¹
 which produces painful fever,
 the vampyre which attacks man,

¹ Lacuna.

² Of these magical tablets there were at least 30,000 in the royal library of Assurbanipal. Smith's *Assyria*, p. 20.—*Ed.*

³ A species of Lemur. A kind of hobgoblin.

the *Uruku* multifold
 upon humanity,
 may they never seize him !
 Spirit of the heavens, conjure !
 Spirit of the earth, conjure !

The tablet, in its present state, gives only the beginnings of the lines of the XXIIIrd and XXIVth incantations in the Accadian version ; it is therefore impossible to try and translate them. All that can be discovered is, that in the first the god *Silik-mulu-khi*¹ is invoked, to whom texts of the same kind generally attribute the rôle of a mediator, and who is compared further on to the Marduk of the official religion of the Assyrian period ; the second is addressed to the god of fire, *Izdubar*, which we shall describe later with more precision.²

The XXVth formula only exists in the Accadian ; and that only as far as the first fourteen lines. These show, however, that it begins with an invocation to the water god, *Nin-a-zu* ; it then treats of diverse maladies, and ends thus :

The sea,
 the sea,
 the desert without water,
 the waters of the Tigris, the waters of the Euphrates,
 the mountain of the west, the mountain of the east,
 the agitated mountain,³
 may they close their chasms,
 Spirit of the heavens, conjure !

¹ See *Nimrod et les Ecritures Cuneiformes*, par Joseph Grivel, in *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, III. p. 137, where *Silikmulukhi* is identified with the god *Amarud* or *Marduk*.—*Ed.*

² The mythical hero *Izdubar*, whose name is said to mean, "Mass of fire." Rawlinson *On the Deluge Tablet*, in a letter to the *Athenæum*, 1873.—*Ed.*

³ Perhaps a volcano ; those near the river *Chaboras* were always active.

- Spirit of the earth, conjure !
- 26 Nin-ki-gal,¹ spouse of the god Nin-a-zu,
 may she cause him to turn his face toward the place
 where she is !
 May the wicked demons depart !
 May they seize one another !
 The favourable demon,² the favourable giant,
 may they penetrate into his body !³
 Spirit of the heavens, conjure !
 Spirit of the earth, conjure !
- 27 The god Ztak,⁴ the great messenger, the supreme
 ensnarer
 amongst the gods, like the god of the heights.⁵
 May he penetrate his head
 for the prolongation of his life !
 He will never depart from him !
 Spirit of the heavens, conjure !
 Spirit of the earth, conjure !
- 28 The man passing (on the earth), who makes sacrifices,
 may pardon and peace flow for him like molten brass !
 May the sun enlighten the days of this man !⁶
 Silik-mulu-khi,⁷ eldest son of the ocean,⁸
 strengthen in him peace and happiness !
 Spirit of the heavens, conjure !
 Spirit of the earth, conjure !

But the rich and varied information contained in

¹ Ninkigal, called in the Assyrian Allat, was the sister of Ishtar and the wife of the Assyrian Pluto; she was called "the lady of the great region," i.e., Hades. See Talbot, "The descent of Ishtar into Hades," *Records of the Past*, Vol. I. p. 141.—*Ed.*

² The Assyrian version has "the genius."

³ Into the body of the person on whose behalf the invocation is made.

⁴ The god who presides specially over the river Tigris; he keeps his Accadian name until the Assyrian epoch. His wife is called Nin-muk.

⁵ In the Assyrian version: "the god who has begotten him."

⁶ The Assyrian version has only "this man."

⁷ The Assyrian version replaces this name by that of Marduk.

⁸ Eldest son of Hea, the god of the ocean.

this text, which has now been placed for many years at the disposal of scholars, is extended and confirmed in the most happy manner by some new documents, which are soon to be presented to the public. Amongst the many thousand fragments of clay tablets discovered by M. Layard in the hall of the library in the palace of Kouyunjik on the site of Nineveh itself, and which are preserved at present in the British Museum, are the fragments of a vast work on magic, which, in its perfect state, formed a series of not less than two hundred tablets, and which was for Chaldea what the Atharva-Veda was for ancient India. This was such a collection of the formulæ, incantations, and hymns of the Chaldean magi as the classical writers speak of, and of whom Diodorus Siculus says: "They try to avert evil and procure good, either by purifications, sacrifices, or enchantments."¹ The fragments of this work have been patiently collected from the chaos of rubbish of all kinds in which they were buried; and they have been prepared for publication as the IVth volume of *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, by Sir Henry Rawlinson. This eminent Orientalist from the other side of the Channel has laboured more than any one else to decipher the Cuneiform Ananian text, in which work he has been assisted by his young colleague Mr. George Smith, who has since taken for himself a prominent place in science. To give an idea of the material extent of the fragments under consideration, suffice it to say, that they are more than fifty in number, and contain many perfect tablets covered with from three to

¹ Lib. ii. Cap. 29.

four hundred lines of writing, and that they fill almost the whole of thirty folio copper plates. With a scientific generosity seldom seen, of which I cannot better show my appreciation than by proclaiming it, Sir Henry Rawlinson kindly sent me the proofs of the fac-simile plates of this publication, before they were brought out. It is one of the most precious works which has ever enriched Assyriology; and from it I have taken greater part of the data of the present treatise.¹

The great work on magic, many copies of which had been executed by the scribes of Assurbanipal, according to the pattern placed centuries since in the library of the famous school for priests at Erech in Chaldea, was composed of three different books. We know the title of one of the three, "The Wicked Spirits," for we find at the end of each of the tablets, which come from it and which have been preserved entire, "Tablet No. — of the Wicked Spirits."² As the title shows, it was filled exclusively with formulæ of conjurations and imprecations, which were designed to repulse demons and other wicked spirits, to avert their fatal action, and to shelter the invoker from their attacks. Portions of a second book exist, and, judging from what remains of it, it would seem to be formed of a collection of these incantations, to which was attributed the power of curing various

¹ I thought it both fitting and useful to give in a note the origin of all the quotations I have borrowed from the volume which will soon appear, and which I designate by the abbreviation, *W. A. L.*, IV. The volume was issued to the public on the 1st of August, 1875.—*Ed.*

² See Fox Talbot, "The War of the Seven Evil Spirits," in *Records of the Past*, Vol. V. p. 163.—*Ed.*

maladies.¹ Lastly, the third book contained Hymns to certain gods. A supernatural and mysterious power was attributed to the chanting of these hymns, which are, however, of a very different character from the regular liturgical prayers of the official religion, a few of which have been preserved to us. It is curious to notice that the three parts composing thus the great work on magic, of which Sir Henry Rawlinson has found the remains, correspond exactly to the three classes of Chaldean doctors, which Daniel² enumerates, together with the astrologers and divines (*Kasdim* and *Gazrim*), that is, the *Khartumim* or conjurors, the *Chakamim* or physicians, and the *Asaphim* or theosophists. The further we advance in the knowledge of the Cuneiform texts, the greater does the necessity appear of reversing the condemnation much too prematurely pronounced by the German exegetical school against the date of the writings of the fourth of the greater prophets. The language of the Book of Daniel, interspersed as it is in various places with Greek words, proves without doubt that the definitive translation³ as we possess it, is posterior to the time of Alexander. But the foundation of the work dates much further back; it is tinged with a very decided Babylonian tint, and certain features of the life at the court of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors are there pictured with a truth and exactitude, to which a writer a few centuries later could hardly have attained.

¹ A similar text has been translated by Mr. Sayce in *Records of the Past*, Vol. III. p. 147, and by Mr. Smith in *History of Assyria*, p. 18.—Ed.

² Daniel ii. 2; v. 11.

³ "Redaction" in the original.—Ed.

The formulæ, hymns, and incantations in this triple collection are in the Accadian language, but they are accompanied by an Assyrian translation, placed according to the usual interlinear method. There are, however, some rare hymns, the original of which was no doubt already lost, since such a long period had elapsed since the first collection was made; and of these an Assyrian version only is given, of which the style bears the mark of a remote antiquity, and the syntax, by certain constructions contrary to the genius of the Semitic dialects, indicates the real character of the entirely different language in which the original was drawn up, and which has been lost to us for so many centuries. The different sections are separated by a deep mark, upon the tablet, and the beginning of each is preceded by the word *én*¹ "incantation," which indicates still more clearly the commencement of a new formula. All the hymns of the third book finish by the Accadian word *kakama*, which is translated in Assyrian by "amen" (*amanu*).

The style of the conjurations to be used against the malevolent spirits is very monotonous, as they are all cast in the same mould. They begin by enumerating the various kinds of demons whom the conjurations are to subdue by their power, and then describe the effects of the charm. The desire to see them repulsed, or to be delivered from them, follows; and this is often expressed in the

¹ The ideograph which expresses this word is a complex character formed of the sign *su*, which represents the idea of "gathering" and "cohibition," and the sign *an*, "god." It seems therefore that the formation of this character proceeds from an idea analogous to that of the *θεῶν ἀνάγκαι* of the Neoplatonic theurgy.

affirmative form. The formulæ finished by the mysterious invocation from which they derive their efficacy: "Spirit of the heavens, conjure! Spirit of the earth, conjure!" This part alone is necessary, and is never wanting, but sometimes similar invocations of other divine spirits are joined to it.

I shall as an example now quote one of these conjurations, which was intended to combat different demons, diseases, and fatal influences, such as the evil eye.¹

The plague and the fever which scourge a country,
 the disease which devastates a country,
 bad for the flesh, fatal for the entrails,
 the wicked demon, the wicked *Alal*, the wicked *Gigim*,
 the malevolent man, the malevolent eye, the malevolent
 mouth, the malevolent tongue
 —of the man, son of his god,² may they depart from his
 body, may they depart from his entrails.
 They shall never take possession of my body,³
 they shall never do any evil in my presence,
 they shall never walk in my train,
 they shall never enter my house,
 they shall never step over my timbers,
 they shall never enter into the habitation of my house.
 Spirit of the heavens, conjure!
 Spirit of the earth, conjure!
 Spirit of Mul-ge,⁴ lord of countries, conjure!
 Spirit of Nin-gelal,⁵ lady of countries, conjure!

¹ *W. A. I.*, IV. col. 3.

² I shall explain this expression afterwards.

³ This sudden change of person is a common feature of all Oriental composition to the present day, the Egyptian papyri and the chapters of the Koran abound with instances of it.—*Ed.*

⁴ This is the great god Bel of the Assyrians.

⁵ In the Assyrian, the goddess Belit.

Spirit of Nin-dar,¹ powerful warrior of Mul-ge, conjure!
 Spirit of Nuskū, sublime messenger of Mul-ge, conjure!
 Spirit of En-zuna,² eldest son of Mul-ge, conjure!
 Spirit of Tiskhu,³ mistress of the armies, conjure!
 Spirit of Mermer,⁴ king whose impetuosity is beneficent,
 conjure!

Spirit of Udu,⁵ king of justice, conjure!

Spirits Anunnia-ge,⁶ great gods, conjure!

Here is another, in which the final enumeration is less detailed.

The day of mourning, the wind which brings misfortune,
 the day of misfortune, the fatal wind which makes itself
 felt,
 the day of misfortune, the fatal wind which precedes it,
 the children of vengeance, the sons of vengeance,
 the messengers of loss,
 the ravagers of Nin-ki-gal,⁷
 the lightning which ravages the country,
 the seven gods of the vast heavens,
 the seven gods of the great earth,
 the seven gods of the igneous spheres,
 the seven gods, these are the seven gods,⁸
 the seven malevolent gods,
 the seven malevolent phantoms,
 the seven malevolent phantoms of the flames, in the
 heavens seven, on the earth seven,
 the wicked demon, the wicked *Alal*, the wicked *Gigim*,
 the wicked *Telal*, the wicked god, the wicked *Maskim*,

¹ In the Assyrian Adar, the Hercules of the religion of the borders of the Euphrates and Tigris, and the god of the planet Saturn.

² In the Assyrian Sin, the god of the Moon.

³ In the Assyrian Ishtar, the goddess of the planet Venus.

⁴ In the Assyrian Bin or Ramanu (the biblical Rimmon), the god of the luminous atmosphere and of the atmospheric phenomena.

⁵ In the Assyrian Samas, god of the Sun. Compare the Assyrian title of the Sun god Diannisu, "judge of men." Whence, probably, the title of the Indian Bacchus Dionysus. Fox Talbot.—*Ed.*

⁶ In the Assyrian Anunna-irtsiti, the spirits of the earth.

⁷ The earth personified as a goddess. This is an allusion to earthquakes.

⁸ The Assyrian text gives: "the seven gods of the (celestial) legions."

Spirit of the heavens, conjure !
 Spirit of the earth, conjure !
 Spirit of Mul-ge, king of the countries, conjure !
 Spirit of Nin-gelal, lady of the countries, conjure !
 Spirit of Nin-dar, son of the zenith, conjure !
 Spirit of Tiskhu, lady of the countries, which shines in
 the night, conjure !¹

But more generally there is no mythological enumeration at the end. As a type of the most simple formulæ I shall quote a conjuration against the seven subterraneous demons, called *Maskim*, which were considered to be amongst the most formidable of the spirits :²

They are seven ! they are seven !
 in the depths of the ocean, they are seven !³
 in the brilliancy of the heavens, they are seven !⁴
 They proceed from the ocean depths, from the hidden retreat.
 They are neither male nor female,
 those which stretch themselves out like chains.
 They have no spouse, they do not produce children ;
 they are strangers to benevolence ;
 they listen neither to prayers nor wishes.
 Vermin come forth from the mountain,
 enemies of the god Hea,
 they are the agents of the vengeance of the gods,
 raising up difficulties, obtaining power by violence.
 The enemies ! the enemies !
 they are seven ! they are seven ! they are twice seven !⁵
 Spirit of the heavens, may they be conjured !
 Spirit of the earth, may they be conjured !⁶

¹ *W. A. I.*, IV. 1.

² *W. A. I.*, IV. 2.

³ There is a beautiful mythological account of a rebellion by these same seven evil spirits against the greater deities, translated by Fox Talbot in *Records of the Past*, Vol. V., p. 161. A new translation of this valuable mythological document, by the author of this book, will be given in the Appendix.—*Ed.*

⁴ "In the heights of heaven." Fox Talbot.

⁵ "They are seven, they are seven ! twice over they are seven." Fox Talbot.

⁶ See another version by Fox Talbot in *Records of the Past*, Vol. III., p. 143.

We see that the Chaldean exorcist did not spare the use of invective against the demons he wished to repulse. The poetical imagination of the authors of the Accadian conjurations indulged itself in these accumulations of withering epithets, in descriptions of the sinister effects produced by the spirits of evil and of darkness, and further by an assemblage of images of a varied character, possessing often great brilliancy and remarkable power.

Sometimes also the formula of exorcism is extended, and partakes of a dramatic character. After having described the ravages made by the demons, it supposes that the complaint has been heard by the benevolent god Silik-mulu-dug,¹ who watches over man, and acts as a mediator between him and the superior gods.² But his power and science are not sufficient to conquer the more powerful spirits whose action must be averted. Silik-mulu-dug then addresses himself to his father Hea,³ the divine intelligence which penetrates the universe, the master of the eternal secrets, the god who presides over theurgical action; he it is who reveals to his son the mysterious rite, the formula, or the all-powerful hidden name, which shall thwart the efforts of the most formidable powers of the abyss.

The incantations against diseases describe a great variety of cases, as may easily be seen from the long litany which we translated at the beginning of this chapter. But the most numerous are those which

¹ While passing through the press M. Lenormant has found reason to prefer the reading *dug* for that of the last syllable of the name of the god who has hitherto been rendered Silik-mulu-khi.—*Ed.*

² See another version by Fox Talbot in *Records of the Past*, Vol. III., p. 143.

³ The Assyrians afterwards identified him with their Marduk, the god of the planet Jupiter, but they were quite different in their origin.—*Ed.*

aim at the cure of the plague, fever, and "disease of the head;" this latter, judging from the indications which are given of its symptoms and its effects, appears to have been a sort of erysipelas, or cutaneous disease. It would be interesting if a traveller who was also a physician could discover whether there is now an affection of this kind which is peculiar to the marshes of the Lower Euphrates, as the elephantiasis is to Damietta. These are the principal passages of a long incantation against "the disease of the head:" the tablet on which we find it bears six other long formulæ against the same evil.¹

The disease of the head exists on man,
The disease of the head, the ulceration of the forehead
exists on man.

The disease of the head marks like a tiara,²
the disease of the head from sunrise to sunset.
In the sea and the vast earth
a very small tiara is become the tiara,
the very large tiara, his tiara.³
The diseases of the head pierce like a bull,
the diseases of the head shoot like the palpitation of the heart.

.⁴
The diseases of the head, like doves to their dove-cotes,
like grasshoppers into the sky,
like birds into space may they fly away.
May the invalid be replaced in the protecting hands of
his god!

This specimen will give the reader an idea of the uniform composition of these incantations against

¹ *W. A. I.*, IV. 3, 4.

² Or, as we should call it, a crown or ring, a common result of scalp diseases.—*Ed.*

³ Meaning, "his power over the earth and the waters is diminished."

⁴ Throbbing of the temples, produced by the distention of the bloodvessels of the head, and indicating a tendency to internal cephalic disease, contrary to the preceding malady.—*Ed.*

⁵ Lacuna.

diseases, which filled the second book of the work under consideration. They all follow the same plan throughout, beginning with the definition of the disease and its symptoms, which occupies the greater part of the formula; and ending with a desire for deliverance from it, and the order for it to depart. Sometimes, however, the incantation of the magician assumes a dramatic form at the end, as we have just pointed out in certain conjurations against the evil spirits. An example is that dialogue in which the god Hea points out the remedy to his son, who has consulted him about it.

I have found another very remarkable illustration of this characteristic in a long formula, which required a whole tablet to itself.¹ The beginning is unfortunately very much effaced, and the gaps, which occur continually, prevent my giving a connected translation of this part. The text begins thus:

The disease of the forehead proceeds from the infernal regions,
it is come from the dwelling of the lord of the abyss,

In what remains of the verses which described in the most precise manner the effects of this malady; it treats of "the tumour which swells;" of "the suppuration which begins;" of the violence of the pain which "makes the sides of the head crack like those of an old ship." The text then relates that the invalid has tried the effect of purifying rites, which have not succeeded in subduing the scourge of the infernal regions: "He has purified himself, and has not conquered the bull; he has purified himself, and has not brought the buffalo under the

¹ *W. A. I.*, IV., 22, 1.

yoke ; the pain continues to gnaw him like swarms of crickets." Here therefore the gods intervene, and from that point the narrative is consecutive.

Silik-mulu-dug has helped him ;
he has gone to his father Hea into his dwelling, and has called him :

"My father, the disease of the head is gone forth from the infernal regions."

Twice he speaks to him thus :

"Prepare the remedy ; this man is not acquainted with it ; he submits to the remedy."

Hea has replied to his son Silik-mulu-dug :

"My son, thou dost not know the remedy ; let me teach it to thee.

Silik-mulu-dug, thou art not acquainted with the remedy ; allow me to teach thee the remedy.

What I know, thou knowest.

Come my son, Silik-mulu-dug.

Take a sieve ;

draw some water from the surface of the river.

Place thy sublime lip upon this water ;

make it shine with purity from thy sublime breath. . . .¹

Help the man, son of his god ;¹

cover his head.¹

Let the disease of his head depart.

May the disease of his head be dissipated like a nocturnal dew."¹

May he be cured by the command of Hea !

May Davkina² cure him !

May Silik-mulu-dug, the eldest son of the ocean, form the relieving image !

It is evident that in uttering these words, the magician is understood to do the things prescribed by the god.

¹ Lacuna.

² Wife of Hea.



CHAPTER II.

The Chaldean Demonology.

THE documents of which I have just spoken, and to which we must add the numerous talismanic inscriptions to be found in our museums, engraved upon all kinds of Babylonian and Assyrian objects, show that there existed amongst the Chaldeans a demonology as refined and rich as the imagination of Jacques Sprenger, Jean Bodin,¹ Wierus,² or Pierre de Lancre³ ever pictured. There is a complete world of malevolent spirits, the distinguishing characteristics of which are strongly marked, and their attributes determined with precision; while the hierarchy to which they belong is classed in a most learned manner. At the top of the scale are placed two classes of beings, which partake more nearly than the others of the divine nature; and are *genii* or *demi-gods*, a sort of inferior deities. The first bear the

¹ A French lawyer, a native of Angers who died A.D. 1596. His chief work, *La Demonomanie et des Sorciers*, has been often reprinted, and is a curious collection of illustrations of witchcraft and demonology.—*Ed.*

² A German demonologist, surnamed *Piscinarius*. He wrote a great book on witchcraft, entitled, *De Prestigiis Dæmonum*. He died A.D. 1588.—*Ed.*

³ A French writer on Demonology, who caused many persons to be burnt to death for sorcery in the XVIIth century. He died A.D. 1630. His chief work is *Le Livre des Princes*.—*Ed.*

Accadian name of *Mas* "soldier, warrior," which is substituted in the Assyrian by *Sed* "genius;" the second, the Accadian name of *Lamma* "giant," translated in Assyrian by *Lamas*. In the religious texts these names often designate propitious and protecting genii, under whose shelter people placed themselves;¹ but at other times, wicked and hurtful genii, whose power had to be charmed away. Whether the Chaldeans believed that there were opposing parties of good and bad *Mas* or *Alap*, of good and bad *Lamma*, or whether they supposed them to possess, like certain gods, a double character, and to show themselves according to circumstances, now beneficent, now malevolent, sometimes protectors, and sometimes adversaries; is a question which must be left undecided until new researches have thrown more light on the subject.

We are better acquainted with all that relates to the spirits of an inferior and decidedly malevolent order, the demons properly so called. Their generic name is *Utuq*, which has passed from the Turanian Accadian into the Semitic Assyrian. This term comprises all demons, and may also sometimes be well employed as a general appellation for all spirits of an inferior rank to those of which we have just spoken. The name *Utuq*, however, further takes the more limited and special signification of a particular kind of demons. The other species are the *Alal* or destroyer, called in the Assyrian *Alu*; the *Gigim*, in the Assyrian *Ekim*, the meaning of which is not known; the *Telal* or

¹ The winged bull which guards the gates of the Assyrian palaces is a beneficent genius or *Sed*; hence this class of spirits receives also the name of *Alap* "bull," a term adopted even in the Accadian. The winged lion or *Nirgallu*, which sometimes takes the place of the bull in the same position, belongs also to the category of the *Lamas*.

"warrior," in the Assyrian *Gallu*; and lastly the *Maskim* or "layer of ambushes," in the Assyrian *Rabits*. As a general rule each class is divided into groups of seven, that most important magical and mysterious number.

We have at present no light on the respective hierarchical rank of the five classes of demons which have just been enumerated, the only faint ray upon this subject comes from the following fact, that speculations upon the value of numbers held a very important place in the Chaldaic ideas of religious philosophy.¹ In consequence of these speculations, each god was designated by a whole number of the series between one and sixty, corresponding to his rank in the celestial hierarchy. One of the tablets in the library of Nineveh gives the list of the principal gods, each with his mystic number. Now it seems that in connection with this scale of whole numbers applied to the gods, there was a scale of fractional numbers applied to the demons, and corresponding in the same way to their reciprocal ranks.

The *Utug*, the *Gigim*, and the *Maskim*, were all three designated in writing by a complex group of ideographic signs, in which only the alteration of the first element effects a distinction, the others remaining the same; this variable element is always one of those signs which serve to note one of the most important divisions of unity in the sexagesimal

¹ There is an excellent tablet of these roots in *W. A. I.*, IV., Pl. 40. See also a special treatise on the mathematical values of the Chaldeans, by the author of this work. *Essai sur un Monument Mathématique Chaldéen, et sur le Système Métrique de Babylon*, Paris, 1868.—Ed.

system of numerations of fractions, one of the essential bases of Chaldean arithmetic. For the *Utug* it is $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{30}{60}$, for the *Gigim* $\frac{2}{3}$ or $\frac{40}{60}$, and lastly, for the *Maskim* $\frac{1}{3}$ or $\frac{20}{60}$.¹ I state this fact without undertaking to explain the odd speculations which gave birth to it, and I shall only remark that the hierarchical classification corresponding to the indication of these fractional numbers, placed each order of demons in a rank so much the more elevated, according as its numbers had a greater numerator. Of the three classes whose figures are known to us, the *Maskim* belonged to the highest, and the *Utug* to the lowest.

The demons of the Babylonians were of two kinds. The most powerful and formidable were those which had a cosmical character, whose action was exercised upon the general order of nature, and whose wickedness had power to trouble it. In one of the formulæ which we quoted earlier, we saw that seven bad spirits were placed in the heavens: "seven phantoms of flame;" seven demons "of the ignited spheres;" forming an exact counterpart to the seven gods of the planets who were invested with the government of the universe.² Unfortunately the

¹ May not the mystical use of certain numbers by the writers of the Jewish Cabala have had their origin from these Babylonian theories?—*Ed.*

² It may be of interest to some readers to add the names of the angels, spirits, and intelligences of the planets. According to the Cabbala, they are as follows:—

<i>Planet.</i>	<i>Angel.</i>	<i>Intelligence.</i>	<i>Spirit.</i>
Sun	Raphael	Nagiel	Smeliel
Venus	Hamiel	Hagiel	Noguel
Mercury	Michael	Tiriël	Cochabiel
Moon	Gabriel	Elimiel	Lemanael
Saturn	Zapkiel	Agiel	Sabathiel
Jupiter	Zadykiel	Sophiel	Zadakiel
Mars	Chamael	Graphael	Modiniel

Kircher, *Œdipus Judiacus* II., pars i., p. 210.—*Ed.*

conjunction which speaks of these spirits does not give their name, we do not know whether they belonged to one of the different classes of demons whose appellations we have seen, or whether they constituted a seventh group of genii distinct from the others.

We have more information about the seven spirits of the abyss, which are mentioned in the same way without giving their names, in another formula, which has been already quoted. These were certainly the seven *Maskim* or "ensnarers:" demons which dwelt in the bowels of the earth, and which surpassed all the others in power and in terror. I have found a long incantation in six verses,¹ which depicts their ravages, and was to be pronounced in order to stop a great convulsion in the economy of the world which was attributed to their action, probably in the case of an earthquake. It is in fact directed against the Seven, the malevolent *Maskim*, who ravage heaven and earth, who trouble the stars of the sky and interrupt their movements.

They, the Seven, proceeding from the western mountain,
they, the Seven, increasing the eastern mountain.

Acting thus contrary to the normal course of nature, and the regular movement of the stars, these spirits inhabited the depths of the earth, they caused its tremblings, "they are the terror of its mass," "they are without glory in heaven and earth." Their antagonist was "The god Fire' who elevates himself,

¹ *W. A. I.*, IV., 15.

² There is a beautiful hymn to this potent deity, the analogue of the Agni of the Aryans, in 4 R. 14, l. 6. It is translated by Talbot in *Records of the Past*, Vol. III., p. 137, and a revised translation of the same will appear further on in the work.

the great chief who extends the supreme power of the god of heaven, who exalts the earth, its possessions, its delights," and who tried vainly to oppose their ravages. Having stated this, the incantation directs the god Fire to address himself to Silik-mulu-dug, the mediator before Hea.

Approach Silik-mulu-dug, explain this prayer to him, to him, the command of whose mouth is propitious, the sublime judge of heaven.

The god Fire has approached Silik-mulu-dug and explained the prayer to him ;

the latter in the dead of night has heard the prayer.

He has gone into the house to his father Hea, and has called him :

"Father, the god Fire has come and explained his prayer to me.

Thou that understandest the movements of the Seven tell us in what places they dwell.

Listen, son of Eridu!"¹

Hea has replied to his son Silik-mulu-dug ; "My son, the Seven dwelling in the earth,

they, the Seven, proceeding from the earth ;

They, the Seven going from the earth,

they, the Seven which are born in the earth,

they, the Seven which unfold themselves in the earth, shaking the walls of the watery abyss.

Come, my son Silik-mulu-khi."

The indications given by Hea as to the means of conquering the terrible Seven follow, and are again also very obscure. He mentions some coniferous tree, cypress or cedar,² which is to break the power

¹ A town near the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, the Rata of Ptolemy, actually called Abu-Shahreïn. This was the earliest seat of the worship of Hea.

² The deity Marduk is often represented as holding a fir cone in his hand. See Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, figs. 151, 152 ; and Smith, *Chaldean Account of Genesis*.—Ed.