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A TEXT-BOOK  
OF  
NORTH-SEMITIC  
INSCRIPTIONS

Moabite, Hebrew, Phoenician, Aramaic  
Nabataean, Palmyrene, Jewish

BY THE

REV. G. A. COOKE, M.A.

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Ἄλλ' ὅμως ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τὴν τῶν πλανηθέντων σωτηρίαν ἠνέσχετο διὰ τούτων θεραπευθῆναι, δι' ὧν οἱ ἔξωθεν δαίμονας ἐθεράπευον, μικρὸν παραλλάξας αὐτά· ἵνα αὐτοὺς κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς συνηθείας ἀποσπᾶσας ἐπὶ τὴν ὑψηλὴν ἀγάγῃ φιλοσοφίαν.

S. CHRYSOSTOM *in Matth. Hom. vi. 3.*



**A TEXT-BOOK  
OF NORTH-SEMITIC  
INSCRIPTIONS**

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.  
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD  
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## P R E F A C E

THE present work took shape some years ago as an attempt to provide a text-book for students who offer the subject of Semitic Epigraphy in the Honour School of Oriental Studies at Oxford. The difficulty of obtaining access to inscriptions published in foreign journals, the costliness of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* and other works, made it desirable to prepare a collection which might bring the inscriptions conveniently within the reach of students; the texts set for the Schools were chosen to start with, and a good many more were added. The claims of other work, however, compelled me to lay aside my task for several years. Meanwhile, there appeared in 1898 Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, which for the first time has dealt with the whole subject in a systematic manner. I wish to acknowledge here, with emphasis and gratitude, my obligations to the *Handbuch*; the extent of them will appear in the following pages. Lidzbarski's work has done much to supply the want which first induced me to prepare this volume; it has not, however, led me to alter my original design. I have published the texts with translations and notes; Lidzbarski, along with much valuable introductory matter, gives the texts, a glossary, and an atlas of facsimiles. This last it has not been possible to attach to my collection; within the limits laid down by the

Delegates of the Press, I have only been able to give a set of representative facsimiles and tables of alphabets, which, while not attempting to meet all requirements, will at least be sufficient to familiarize the student with the characteristic features of the different scripts.

Though English scholars have not neglected the study of Semitic Epigraphy either in their academic teaching or in their published writings—the names of the late Professors William Wright and Robertson Smith will occur to the reader in this connexion, while to many students of the younger generation Dr. Driver's pages in *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* served as their first and stimulating introduction to the subject—yet the bulk of scientific work within recent years has been done by the scholars of France and Germany. The enterprise of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, and the enlightened policy of the French Government, have secured the majority of the inscriptions for the Louvre; hence it is that from Paris, in a manner possible nowhere else, the great Corpus is being issued, a work with which the eminent names of Renan, de Vogüé, Derenbourg, Halévy, Berger, Clermont-Ganneau, will always be associated. To Paris belongs the unique distinction of having recognized the study of oriental archaeology and epigraphy by the foundation of a professorship in the Collège de France, now held by M. Clermont-Ganneau, to whose original and keen researches the present work is indebted from beginning to end. For years past French scholars have been excavating and classifying the remains of Punic antiquity in the French colonies of N. Africa; in the Holy Land much excellent

work is being done by the Dominican convent of St. Étienne at Jerusalem, an 'école pratique d'études bibliques,' under the accomplished direction of Père Lagrange.

In Germany the efforts of scholars have been devoted rather to the critical and grammatical examination of the documents than to the discovery of fresh material. For the Phoenician language the treatises of Schröder and Stade, though somewhat out of date, contain much that is of permanent value; on the Nabataean, Palmyrene, and other Aramaic dialects Nöldeke has written with unimpeachable authority; on points of grammar and exegesis the names of G. Hoffmann, Landau, D. H. Müller, Sachau, the two Mordtmanns, Reckendorf, Winckler (always interesting, if seldom convincing) will be of frequent occurrence in the following pages. But German scholars have also been engaged in the discovery of new material, especially in N. Arabia and N. Syria. Thanks to the courage and skill of the veteran epigraphist Julius Euting, we now possess satisfactory copies of the Nabataean inscriptions in the Hejaz and the Sinaitic peninsula; the Orient-Comité of Berlin has unearthed the Old Aramaic inscriptions of Zinjirli, the most important discovery since the finding of the Moabite Stone; quite recently Littmann has published the results of his exploration of the Şafâ inscriptions, NE. of Jebel ed-Drûz<sup>1</sup>.

In the present work many of the inscriptions are, of necessity, the classical and familiar ones; many also are new; most of them now appear in English for the

<sup>1</sup> These inscriptions have also been investigated lately by Dussand and Maeler, and published in their volume *Voyage archéol. au Şafâ etc.*, 1901.

first time. I have tried to bring the collection up to date as far as possible, and in one way or another to print the most important inscriptions which have been discovered in the last five or ten years.

My aim throughout has been not to propose novel interpretations or reconstructions of my own, but rather to give, after careful study of the various authorities on the subject, what seemed to be the most probable verdict on the issues raised, and also to bring together the chief matters of importance bearing on the texts. The frequency with which the words 'probably' and 'possibly' appear may, perhaps, be somewhat of a disappointment to the reader, as indicating an attitude of caution rather than of courage; but it is well to be reminded how seldom we can speak with positiveness on questions of grammar and interpretation where the material is so limited and where there is no contemporary literature to shed light upon the monuments. At the same time our study ought to result in doing something to reduce the limits of the possible, and discover, as precisely as we can, the extent of the probable.

To those who have helped me in the production of my book I have some special acknowledgements to make. From the Delegates of the Press I have received most generous treatment in the matter of printing. To the courtesy of the Marquis de Vogüé, President of the Commission of the C. I. S., I owe permission to reproduce Plates i and iii from the Corpus, and Plate viii from his own *La Syrie Centrale*. I am indebted to Dr. Euting for Plates iv and vii, the latter from his *Nabatäische Inschriften*; to M. Heuzey

of the Louvre, for squeezes of the Nêrab inscriptions, Plates v and vi ; to Dr. Budge of the British Museum, for facilities of access to the stones and seals under his charge ; to Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. for the use of the blocks from Madden's *Coins of the Jews*. Mr. G. F. Hill of the British Museum has taken much trouble to help me with the coins, and has procured for me, by the courtesy of M. Babelon, casts of specimens in the Bibliothèque Nationale. M. Clermont-Ganneau, to whose published writings my book owes so much, has more than once given me the benefit of his opinion and advice. My former colleague, Mr. P. V. M. Benecke, Fellow and Tutor of Magdalen College, has verified and enriched several of my references to Greek and Latin authors. Above all, my grateful thanks are due to Dr. Driver for his constant encouragement. He is always ready to place his stores of knowledge at the service of his friends ; and in this case he has made time, in the midst of his own work, to read my book in proof, and to offer criticisms and suggestions which have done much to improve it.

G. A. COOKE.

THE PARSONAGE, DALKEITH, N. B.,

*Easter-tide*, 1903.





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## INTRODUCTION

THE inscriptions which make up the present collection are grouped under the common title of North-Semitic to distinguish them from the South-Semitic, or Sabaeen and Himyaritic, on the one hand, and from the Babylonian and Assyrian on the other. Geographically the area of this North-Semitic group extends from N. Syria to N. Arabia; on the East it is bounded by the Syrian desert; on the West it reaches into Asia Minor, Egypt, N. Africa, and the chief cities on the shores and islands of the Mediterranean. The languages in which the inscriptions are written belong to what may be called for convenience the Central, as distinguished from the Northern and Southern, division of the Semitic tongues<sup>1</sup>. This Central division is sub-divided into two main classes: i the Canaanite, which includes the Moabite, Hebrew, and Phoenician inscriptions, 9th cent. B.C.—3rd cent. A.D. and later; ii the Aramaic, represented by (a) the Old Aramaic inscriptions from Assyria, Babylonia, Asia Minor, and N. Syria, 8th—4th cent. B.C., (b) the Egyptian Aramaic, 5th—3rd cent. B.C., (c) the Nabataean and Palmyrene Aramaic, 1st cent. B.C.—3rd cent. A.D., a section to which we may assign the inscriptions from Têma as the earliest specimens (5th cent. B.C.) and the Sinaitic as the latest (1st—5th cent. A.D.). Some of these dialects are marked by peculiarities which, owing to local conditions, indicate a certain amount of overlapping from one class or division into another: thus the Old Aramaic spoken in the N. Syrian kingdoms of Ya'di and

<sup>1</sup> The Semitic languages are grouped in various ways; thus Wright, *Comp. Gr.* 12 ff., divides them into Northern i.e. Assyrian, Central i.e. Aramaic, Western i.e. Canaanite, Southern i.e. Arabic and Ethiopic. Zimmern, *Vergl. Gr.* 4 f., proposes a broader scheme, East-Semitic, i.e. Babylonian, Assyrian, and West-Semitic, i.e. Aramaic, Canaanite, Arabic, Ethiopic. The latter is preferred by König, *Hebräisch u. Semitisch* 123 f., on historical grounds, as suggesting the advance and separation of the Semitic tribes from their original home in E. Babylonia. The divisions given above are clearer for the present purpose.

Sam'al betrays several points of affinity to the Canaanite class; the Nabataean dialect, again, used for purposes of writing and commerce by the inhabitants of N. Arabia who were Arabs by race and spoke Arabic, was naturally much influenced by the language used in common speech, as appears especially in the forms of proper names; to a less degree the dialect of Palmyra, where the population was largely Arab, came under the same influence.

The chief interest of these inscriptions lies, of course, in the fact that they have preserved specimens of the North-Semitic dialects which we should otherwise know only from scattered allusions or by a process of inference very imperfect at the best. With the exception of the Hebrew and Aramaic writings of the Old Testament, there is no contemporary literature written in any of these languages. No fragments of the mythologies and histories said to have been composed in Phoenician by native writers have come down to us in the original; a few third- or fourth-hand extracts are preserved in Greek; but for the most part these Phoenician authors are names and nothing more<sup>1</sup>. The inscriptions, therefore, possess

<sup>1</sup> A cosmogony of Sidonian origin is preserved by Damascius de Primis Principiis 125, who borrowed it from the Greek of Eudemus, a pupil of Aristotle, and gave it a neo-Platonic interpretation. This was probably the work (*τὸ περὶ τῶν ἀτόμων δόγμα*) which is ascribed by Strabo (p. 645 ed. Müll.) to a Sidonian philosopher Mochus, who lived *πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν χρόνων*; his works, together with those of Theodotus and Hysicrates, are said to have been translated into Greek by a certain Laetus (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 437). Mochus, along with Hestaeus and the Egyptian Hieronymus, *οἱ τὰ Φοινικικὰ συνταξάμενοι*, is mentioned by *Jos. Ant.* i 39. Another cosmogony is described by Philo of Byblos (temp. Hadrian), who claims to have derived his traditions from an ancient sage Sanchuniathon (see pp. 100. 104 n. 2 ref.). Philo probably drew his material from various sources, and dignified it with an ancient name; see Baudissin *Stud. z. semit. Religionsgesch.* i 1-46. Native histories written by Phoenicians are cited by Josephus (*a*) the chronicles of Tyre transl. by Menander of Ephesus (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 445 ff.) *δ μεταφράσας ἀπὸ τῆς Φοινίκων διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν φωνὴν Ant.* viii 5 3. ix 14 2, c. *Ap.* i 18; (*b*) a list of kings from Nebuchadnezzar to Cyrus, for which he quotes *τὰς τῶν Φοινίκων ἀναγραφάς c. Ap.* i 21; (*c*) for the siege of Tyre by Nebuch. he gives as his authority Philostratos ἐν ταῖς Ἰνδικαῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ Φοινικικαῖς ἱστορίαις Ant. x 11 1, c. *Ap.* i 20; (*d*) for the history of Hiram i he refers to the Phoen. narrative of Dios (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 397 ff.) *ἐν ταῖς περὶ Φοινίκων ἱστορίαις c. Ap.* i 17, *Ant.* viii 5 3. The sources (*b*) and (*d*) are doubtless dependent upon Menander; it is probable that *Jos.* derived all these extracts from the work of Alexander Polyhistor (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 206 ff.). See further Meyer *Ency. Bibl.* 3751 ff.

all the greater value; and when they are brought into relation with the languages of the Old Testament their interest is increased. Thus comparing Phoenician with Hebrew we notice at once that the resemblance is exceedingly close, both in grammatical forms and in vocabulary; in some respects Phoenician has preserved older features (e.g. the fem. in ה, the absence of vowel-letters), others are later (e.g. יהן = נתן, ללל *God*), others again are peculiar to this dialect (e.g. the 3 mas. suff. in י, א, נם, the accus. sign תיא, the rel. שא, the Hif. in י), many words poetic or rare in Hebrew are common in Phoenician (see p. 23); these phenomena point to the conclusion that Phoenician and Hebrew are independent offshoots of a common ancestor, which can be none other than the ancient Canaanite, of which a few words have survived in the Canaanite glosses (15th cent. B.C.) to the Tell-el-Amarna letters<sup>1</sup>. It must be remembered, however, that the material is insufficient for a complete comparison<sup>2</sup>; and further, with the exception of II, almost all the Phoenician inscriptions are subsequent to the 6th cent. B.C., the majority belong to the 4th cent. and later, by which time the language had probably undergone a certain amount of decay. The evidence of the Aramaic inscriptions is specially valuable because it proves the wide extent to which Aramaic was used in the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian empires (cf. Is. 36 II), and because it exhibits the language at an earlier stage than the literary dialects. In the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions we find a dialect which is nearly related to the Western or Palestinian Aramaic of the Old Testament and of the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan. The dates of the Old Testament Aramaic cannot in all cases be determined; parts of Ezra are probably as early as the 4th cent. B.C., Daniel was written in the 2nd cent. B.C.; the inscriptions prove that this particular type of Aramaic was used in the countries bordering upon Palestine down to the 3rd cent. A.D.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The words are given in the vocabulary of Winckler's edition; see also *KAT*<sup>3</sup> 652 f.

<sup>2</sup> The fullest comparison is still that of Stade, *Erneute Prüfung des zwischen dem Phöniciſchen u. Hebräiſchen bestehenden Verwandtschaftsgrades in Morg. Forsch.* (1875) 169-232.

<sup>3</sup> Driver *Introduction*<sup>8</sup> 502 ff.

All the inscriptions here collected are written in varieties of the same alphabet, commonly called the Phoenician, the archetype of Greek and ultimately of all Western writing<sup>1</sup>. At the earliest stage known to us the characters are very much alike, both in the Canaanite and in the Aramaic groups; in the subsequent stages each followed a process of modification on diverging lines. Thus Phoenician, after leaving the mother-country, is seen to be acquiring a more cursive and flowing style on the stones from Cyprus and Attica; the tendency becomes more strongly marked at the Punic stage; until in Neo-Punic the writing, and the language too, reached their most degenerate form and went no further, as though the possibilities of both were exhausted. The modifications of the old Hebrew writing down to the 5th or 4th cents. B.C. cannot, for lack of material, be traced in much detail; so far as we know there seems to have been little change of any marked kind. The only Hebrew inscription of considerable length earlier than the Exile is the one found at Siloam (2); besides this, specimens of the old Hebrew writing are furnished only by the few words engraved upon seals (150 6-8) and stamped upon fragments of pottery<sup>2</sup>. Generations after the old Hebrew writing had fallen out of use it was revived, for political reasons, in characters which closely resemble those of the Siloam inscription and the legends on seals and pottery, upon the Jewish coins (149 C). The ancient writing was retained by the Samaritans when the Jews in general had taken to the Aramaic letters, and in an elaborated form the Samaritans use it still. The process by which the archaic Hebrew arrived at the modern square character is to be

<sup>1</sup> The various speculations on the origin of the Phoen. alphabet are summarized by Thatcher, art. Phoenicia *DB* iii.

<sup>2</sup> The recent excavations at Tell Zakariyâ and Tell eš-Šâfi, SW. of Jerusalem, conducted by Messrs. Bliss and Macalister, have produced some interesting jar-handles stamped with *למלך שומה, למלך הברק, למלך [מר?] שח*; between the words is the figure of a winged scarab. These were factory-marks; *למלך* belonging to the king probably signifies that the vessel came from the royal potteries, or perhaps that it came up to the official standard of capacity; *הברק* &c. that it was made at Hebron, Sokoh &c. The other potsherds are marked with what are probably private seals, e.g. *למלך הברק, למלך הברק, למלך הברק*. . . צפניא . . . a seal is engraved *למלך הברק*; the names are all written in two lines. See *PEFQS* 1899 and 1900; *Cl.-Gan. Rec.* iv § 1; *Lidzb. Eph.* i 54 ff. 178 ff.



traced in the development, not of the Hebrew, but of the Aramaic alphabet; and the reason is that the latter was adopted by the Jews after the Exile along with the use of the Aramaic language. The stages in this development may be followed in the Tables of the Aramaic Alphabets, Plates xiii and xiv; the most significant will be found in the Egyptian Aramaic and the Palmyrene. From this last it is but a few steps further to the square characters which appear in the Jewish inscriptions (e. g. 148 A and B), and in which the MSS. of the Old Testament are written<sup>1</sup>.

Besides their value as specimens of language and writing, the North-Semitic inscriptions possess considerable importance for the historian. With the exception of the Moabite Stone, the Zenjirli inscriptions, and two or three others, their importance is rather incidental than primary; a few of them are dedicated to or by historical personages, a great many are dated by the reigns of kings or the eras of cities, and thus enable us to piece history together. The inscriptions cover a long period, more than a thousand years, from the 9th cent. B.C. to the 3rd cent. A.D.; and in the course of it the history which they record is not, as a rule, the history of great events or of striking figures in the drama, but the history of every-day life, its business, its honours, its religion, its commemoration of the dead. These monuments of ancient civilization have a very human interest which gives to the study of them an unexpected and refreshing zest. But when we turn to them for information on such subjects as the institutions or organizations of public life we are apt to be disappointed. For example, the little that can be gathered from the inscriptions as to the constitution of Carthage is put together on pp. 115 f., but it adds practically nothing to what we learn from Greek and Latin writers. The North-Semitic races possessed none of that genius for civic order, or for administration on a large scale, which made the Athenians so careful to inscribe their public documents 'on a pillar of stone,' and the Romans to plant the memorials of their government in every part of the empire. It is only when these races

<sup>1</sup> For details see Index vi under Letters, Driver *Samuel* ix-xxix, Lidzbarski *Eph.* i 109 ff. and *Jewish Encycl.*, art. Alphabet.

come under the influence of Greek and Roman institutions that we are able to glean a little about their public life. The inscriptions reveal the fact that Palmyra was organized on the model of a Greek municipality; the great Tariff was dictated by Roman common-sense and love of order; to some extent Hellenic ideas of administration had penetrated into the Nabataean kingdom, for we hear of strategoi, eparchs, and chiliarchs; the Neo-Punic colonies in N. Africa had borrowed, as it seems, some institutions of municipal life from their Roman over-lords.

Lastly, the inscriptions have much to tell us about the religious customs and ideas of the people who wrote them. Some of these ideas are the common property of Semitic religion; a good many of them, especially those connected with the relation of the god to his worshippers, and with burial and the condition of the dead, illustrate in an interesting way the ideas of the Old Testament. But again it must not be forgotten that most of the monuments belong to a period not of religious freshness and simplicity but of religious decline. The less attractive features of North-Semitic religion may be gathered from Greek and Latin authors; the inscriptions tell us little of them; but a broad comparison between this and the religion of the Old Testament shows clearly enough the depths and heights which it was possible for different peoples to reach who were bound closely together by race, by neighbourhood, and by a considerable stock of common ideas. It is the difference which polytheism and monotheism work out in their results. Nevertheless in the later periods we can trace, however faintly, something like a reaction from the prevailing polytheism in the worship of Ba'al of Heaven among the Phoenicians, and of the unnamed god 'whose name is blessed for ever' among the Aramaeans of Palmyra (pp. 45, 296 ff.); and out of the common stock of religious ideas there were some which did not altogether lie outside of the scheme of Divine revelation, and were capable of being adopted into the higher faith.

## LIST OF PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Allor. Forsch.</i>	= Winckler <i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i> .
BAram.	= Biblical Aramaic.
CIA	= <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum</i> .
CIG	= <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> .
CIL	= <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> .
CIS	= <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i> .
Cl.-Gan. <i>Ét.</i>	= Clermont-Ganneau <i>Études d'archéologie orientale</i> .
Cl.-Gan. <i>Rec.</i>	= Clermont-Ganneau <i>Recueil d'archéologie orientale</i> .
COT	= Schrader <i>Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O.T.</i>
<u>Dalman Gr.</u>	= Dalman <i>Gram. des Jüdisch-Palästinischen Aramäisch</i> .
DB	= Hastings' <i>Dictionary of the Bible</i> .
Del. <i>Assyr. HWB</i>	= Delitzsch <i>Assyrisches Handwörterbuch</i> .
<i>Ency. Bibl.</i>	= <i>Encyclopaedia Biblica</i> .
Eut.	= Euting <i>Nabatäische Inschriften</i> .
Eut. <i>Carth.</i>	= Euting <i>Sammlung der carthagischen Inschriften</i> .
Eut. <i>Sin.</i>	= Euting <i>Sinaitische Inschriften</i> .
<i>Fr. Hist. Gr.</i>	= Müller <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> .
Gesenius, or Ges.-Kautzsch	} = Gesenius-Kautzsch <i>Hebrew Grammar</i> , transl. by A. E. Cowley.
JA	
KAT <sup>s</sup>	= <i>Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament</i> <sup>s</sup> .
KB	= <i>Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek</i> .
König <i>Lehrgeb.</i>	= König <i>Lehrgebäude der Hebr. Sprache</i> .
König <i>Syntax</i>	= König <i>Syntax der Hebr. Sprache</i> .
Lidzb.	= Lidzbarski <i>Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik</i> .
Lidzb. <i>Eph.</i> i	= Lidzbarski <i>Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik</i> i.
M. or Michel	= Michel <i>Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques</i> .
<i>Morg. Forsch.</i>	= <i>Morgenländische Forschungen</i> .
NHWB	= Levy <i>Neuhebräisches u. Chaldäisches Wörterbuch</i> .
NPun.	= Neo-Punic.
PA. or Pers. Ach.	= Babelon <i>Les Perses Achéménides</i> .
PEFQS	= <i>Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement</i> .

<u>RB</u>	= <i>Revue Biblique.</i>
<u>Rép.</u>	= <i>Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique.</i>
<u>RS</u>	= <i>Babelon Rois de Syrie.</i>
<u>SBBA</u>	= <i>Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie.</i>
Schröder	= Schröder <i>Die Phönizische Sprache.</i>
<i>Spic. Syr.</i>	= Cureton <i>Spicilegium Syriacum.</i>
Vog.	= de Vogüé <i>La Syrie Centrale.</i>
Wadd.	= Waddington <i>Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie.</i>
<u>ZA</u>	= <i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.</i>
<u>ZATW</u>	= <i>Zeitschrift für die alt-test. Wissenschaft.</i>
<u>ZDMG</u>	= <i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.</i>
<u>ZDPV</u>	= <i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.</i>

On the analogy of the familiar abbreviations ' and 'nn, the stroke ' is used to mark shortened forms; thus 'n denotes a word beginning with n; n' a word ending in n.

For old Hebrew - see. Maceiras - a century of excavations, p. 247-248,

Levan inscriptions

Levan Calendar tablet - a century + two later than the inscriptions )

bow dedicated to Baal of the Lebanon )

pottery from Megiddo. (see letters to Acad mit.)

Samaritan ostraca - (see Beussner's report of Harvard Excavations )

An Aramaic Incantation - Cyrus Gordon. *Annual of American Schools*. vol. XIV. 1934 p. 141.

An Aramaic Inscription of 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. re bones of King Uzziyah  
B. A. S. O. R. 44. pp 8-10.

Aramaic Palestinian Jar handles of 4<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C. show use of Aramaic Script.

Berytus  
Ar: inscriptions  
on amphora  
pp 170, 180,  
220.

*Journal Asiatique* - *Punicum* *inscriptions* *publ. Sept. 1921.*  
 JA OS. vol. 45 (269-277). *Moabitian inscriptions*, *Arabian 13th Century*. C.C. Torrey.  
 " " " " *Al-Baal 10th* " " " "  
 JA OS. vol. 46. p. 237-240 " " " " *El-Baal. 10th* " " " "  
 Syria. vol. VI. 1925. 101-117 " " " " *Nusaid.*  
 JA OS. vol. 46. p. 241-247 - *Aspeium* *Moabitic* *inscriptions*. C.C. Torrey.  
 Expos. Tunis. *Harvard Excavations*, *at Samaria*. March. 1927. pp. 264 ff.  
 Jour. Roy. Asiatic Soc. 1929. pp. 107-112. A. Cowley. *Two Aramaic Ostraca*. (also *Asiat. 450-460*)  
 - *Tell Fara*.

# NORTH SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS

See Z.A.T.W. *Neu Folge*. Band VI 1929 Heft. 2. (Rev. J. Roy. Asiatic Soc. - A. Cowley) pp. 150-157

J.B.L. vol. XL. 1921. p. 57. *An Aramaic Fragment of the Kingdom of Solomon*.  
 " J.H.S. 1917 p. 81. S.A. Cook. *Phidian - Aramaic Inscriptions from the Reign of Astarte*.  
 (quoted *Schweich Lecture* 1922 p. 52.)  
 " *Moabite* { *For ancient writing see.*  
*the Jewish Encyclopedia*  
*pub. Moabite Stone*

fragments d'inscriptions araméennes découvertes à Alep - Z.A.T.W. 1932. Heft 1/3 p. 178. also in  
 1. The Moabite Stone. Circ. 850 B.C. Louvre. *Mélanges de l'Université*  
*Saint-Joseph. XV (1937) #*  
*XV. 1931. 7. pp. 237-240*  
*date as early as 757/756*  
*(IA. Monography. Rec. 33)*  
*Revelation 7 p. 13. feet*

- אֲנֹכִי מִשְׁעֵי בֶן־כֶּמֶשׁ . . . מֶלֶךְ מֵאֲבֵי הַדּוּדַי  
 בְּנֵי אֲבֵי מֶלֶךְ עַל־מֵאֲבֵי שְׁלֹשָׁן שָׁתָּה וְאַנְךָ מֶלֶךְ  
 תִּי אַחֲרַי אֲבִי | וְאַעֲשֶׂה הַבְּמַת־זֹאת לְכֶמֶשׁ בַּקְרָחָה | בְּנֵי . . . [1]  
 שְׁעֵי כִי־הִשְׁעֵנִי מִכָּל־הָהָר לְכֶן וְכִי־הָרַאנִי בְּכָל־שְׁנָאִי | עִמָּר  
 5 יִמְלֹךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲנֶנּוּ אֶת־מֵאֲבֵי יִמְן רַב־בֶּן־כִּי־יֵאֲנֹף כֶּמֶשׁ בְּאֵר  
 6 צִהָה וַיַּחֲלֶפֶה בְּנָה וְיֹאמֶר גַּם־הָאֵל אֲעֻנֶנּוּ אֶת־מֵאֲבֵי | בִּימֵי אֲמָר . . . 7  
 7 וְאַרְאֶה־בָּהּ וּבְבַתָּהּ | וְיִשְׂרָאֵל אֲבָד־אֲבָד עַל־מֵי וִירֵשׁ עִמָּרִי אֶת־[אַר]  
 8 יִן־מֵהָרְבָּא וְיֹשֵׁב בָּהּ יִמָּה וְחֲצִי יִמֵּי בְּנָה אֲרַבְעֵן שָׁתָּה וְיֹשֵׁב  
 9 בָּהּ כֶּמֶשׁ בִּימֵי | וְאַבְנֵן אֶת־בַּעַלְמַעֲזָן וְאַעֲשֶׂה בָּהּ הָאֲשֹׁחַ וְאַבְ[ן]  
 10 אֶת־קַרְיָתָן | וְאַש־גַּד יֹשֵׁב בְּאַרְצָן עֲטַרְתָּ מַעֲלָם וְיִבְנֶן לָהּ מֶלֶךְ־יִ  
 11 שְׂרָאֵל אֶת־עֲטַרְתָּ | וְאַלְתָּחַם בַּקָּר וְאַחֲזָהּ | וְאַהֲרַג אֶת־כָּל־הָעַם־  
 12 הַקָּרִי־רִית לְכֶמֶשׁ וְלִמֵּאֲבֵי | וְאַש־בִּי מִשָּׁם אֶת־אַרְאֵל דְּרֹדֶה וְאַ[ם]  
 13 חֲבָה לְפָנַי כֶּמֶשׁ בַּקְרִית | וְאַש־בִּי אֶת־אֲשֵׁר שָׂרָן וְאַת־א[ש]  
 14 מַחְרַת | וְיֹאמֶר לֵי־כֶמֶשׁ לֶךְ אַחֲזֵן אֶת־נִבְהָה עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאַ  
 15 הַלֶּךְ בְּלִלָה וְאַלְתָּחַם בָּהּ מִבְּקַעַת הַשְּׁחַרְתָּ עַד־הַצְּהָרִים וְאַ  
 16 זֶה וְאַהֲרַג כָּל־שְׁבַע־עַת אֶלֶף גִּבֹּרֵי־וְ . . . | וְגִבְרַת־וְ . . .  
 17 תִּירְחַמְתָּ כִּי־לַעֲשֶׂתֶר כֶּמֶשׁ הִחְרַמְתָּהּ | וְאַקַּח מִשָּׁם אֶת־כָּל־  
 18 לֵי־יְהוָה וְאַסְחַב־הֶם לְפָנַי כֶּמֶשׁ | וְמֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּנָה אֶת־  
 19 יְהוֹזָבָב וְיֹשֵׁב בָּהּ בְּהַלְתָּחֶמָה בִּי | וְיִגְרֶשֶׁה כֶּמֶשׁ מִפָּנַי [ו]

Arab. = אֶלְתָּחַם

- 20 אִקְהָ־מִמַּאֲב־מֵאֲתָן־אִש־כָּל־רִשָּׁה | וְאִשְׁאָה־בִּיהִן־וְאִחֹהָ־  
 21 לְסַפֵּת־עַל־דִּיבָן | אֲנִךְ־בִּנְתִּי־קִרְחָה־חֲמַת־הִיעֵרָן־וְחַמַּת  
 22 הָעֶפְלָא | וְאֲנִךְ־בִּנְתִּי־שַׁעְרִיָּה־וְאֲנִךְ־בִּנְתִּי־מִגְדַּלְתָּה | וְאִ  
 23 נִךְ־בִּנְתִּי־בֵת־מֶלֶךְ־וְאֲנִךְ־עֲשִׂיתִי־כְּלָאִי־הָאִשׁוּן[ח־למ]יֵן בְּקַרְ[ב] <sup>23</sup>  
 24 הֶקֶר | וּבֵר־אֵן־בְּקִרְב־הֶקֶר־בְּקִרְחָה־וְאָמַר־לְכָל־הָעַם־עֲשׂוּ־לִי <sup>24</sup>  
 25 כִּם־אִש־בֵּר־בְּבֵיתָהּ | וְאֲנִךְ־כִּרְתִּי־הַמְּכַרְתָּת־לְקִרְחָה־בְּאַסֹּר־  
 26 יִשְׂרָאֵל | אֲנִךְ־בִּנְתִּי־עֵרְעֵר־וְאֲנִךְ־עֲשִׂיתִי־הַמְּסַלֵּת־בְּאֲרָנָן־  
 27 אֲנִךְ־בִּנְתִּי־בֵת־בְּמַת־כִּי־הָרַם־הָאֵל | אֲנִךְ־בִּנְתִּי־בְּצַר־כִּי־עִיָּן־  
 28 אִש־דִּיבָן־חַמְשָׁן־כִּי־כָל־דִּיבָן־מִשְׁמַעַת | וְאֲנִךְ־מֶלֶךְ־  
 29 תִּי־מֵאֲתָת־בְּקִרְן־אִשְׁר־יִסְפַּתִּי־עַל־הָאָרֶץ | וְאֲנִךְ־בִּנְתִּי־  
 30 יִי־[מֵהָרֶד]בְּאֵ־וּבַת־דְּבַלְתָּן | וּבַת־בַּעַלְמַעַן־וְאִשְׁא־שָׁם־אֶת־נִי־  
 31 צֶאֱן־הָאָרֶץ | וְחֹרֶנָן־יֵשֵׁב־בְּהֵב־וֶקֶם־אִש־  
 32 אָמַר־לִי־כַמֶּשׁ־רַד־הִלְתַּחֵם־בְּחֹרֶנָן | וְאֲרָד־  
 33 בְּהֵב־כַּמֶּשׁ־בִּימֵי־וְעַל־דָּה־מִשְׁש־עֵשׂ־  
 34 שֵׁת־שָׂדֵק | וְאֲנִי־

I am Mesha<sup>2</sup>, son of Kemosh- . . . king of Moab, the Daibonite.  
 My father was king over Moab thirty years, and I became  
 king after my father. And I made this high-place for  
 Kemosh in QRHH, with . . . [sal]<sup>4</sup>vation, because he saved  
 me from all the . . . and because he made me see my  
 desire upon all them that hated me.

<sup>5</sup>'Omri, king of Israel, he afflicted Moab many days, because  
 Kemosh was angry with his land<sup>6</sup>. And his son succeeded  
 him; and he too said, I will afflict Moab. In my days  
 he said . . . <sup>7</sup> and I saw my desire upon him and upon  
 his house, and Israel perished utterly for ever.

And <sup>8</sup>'Omri took possession of the [lan]d of Mehēdeba; and he  
 dwelt in it, his days and half his sons' days, forty years;  
 but Kemosh restored it in my days.

And I built Ba'al-me'on, and I made therein the reservoir (?); and I buil[t]<sup>10</sup> Qiryathān.

And the men of Gad had dwelt in the land of 'Atāroth from of old; and the king of Israel<sup>11</sup> built 'Aṭāroth for himself. And I fought against the city and took it. And I slew all the people. <sup>12</sup>the city, a gazingstock unto Kemosh and unto Moab. And I brought thence the altar-hearth of Daudoh (?), and I dr[ag]<sup>13</sup>ged it before Kemosh in Qeriyooth. And I caused the men of ŠRN to dwell therein, and the m[en]<sup>14</sup> of MḤRTH.

And Kemosh said to me, Go take Nebo against Israel. And I<sup>15</sup> went by night and fought against it from the break of dawn till the noontide, and I<sup>16</sup> took it and slew all seven thousand m[en] and . . . and women and . . .<sup>17</sup> and damsels, for I had devoted it to 'Ashtar-kemosh. And I took thence the . . .<sup>18</sup> of Yahweh, and I dragged them before Kemosh.

And the king of Israel had built<sup>19</sup> Yahaṣ, and dwelt therein while he fought against me. But Kemosh drove him out before me. <sup>20</sup>I took of Moab two hundred men, all the chiefs thereof; and I led them against Yahaṣ, and took it, <sup>21</sup>to add it to Daibon.

I built QRHH, the wall of Ye'arim, and the wall<sup>22</sup> of the Mound; and I built the gates thereof, and I built the towers thereof; and I<sup>23</sup> built the king's house; and I made the sluices (?) of the reserv[oir (?)] for wa]ter in the mid[st]<sup>24</sup> of the city. And there was no cistern in the midst of the city, in QRHH; and I said to all the people, Make you<sup>25</sup> each a cistern in his house. And I cut the cutting for QRHH with the help of prisoners of Israel.<sup>26</sup>

I built 'Aro'er, and I made the highway by the Arnon.

<sup>27</sup>I built Beth-bamoth, for it was overthrown. I built Beser, for it was in ruins . . . .<sup>28</sup> of Daibon were fifty, for all Daibon was obedient. And I became king . . . .<sup>29</sup> a hundred, in the cities which I added to the land. And I built<sup>30</sup> . . . [Mehēde]ba and Beth-diblahān. And as

for (?) Beth-ba'al-me'on, I led there the .....<sup>31</sup>  
sheep of the land.

And as for Hauronān, there dwelt therein ... and .....<sup>32</sup>  
..... Kemosh said to me, Go down, fight against  
Hauronān; and I went down .....<sup>33</sup>  
Kemosh in my days, and ..... from there .....<sup>34</sup>  
..... and I ..

The stone was discovered at Dībān (ll. 1 f. and O.T. רִיבֵן) in 1868. While the negotiations for its removal were going on, it was broken up by the Bedouin of the place, but not before a squeeze of the inscription had been secured while it was still intact. Two large fragments and eighteen small ones were recovered; the missing portions have been reconstructed from the original squeeze; so that the inscription can now be read in a tolerably complete text<sup>1</sup>.

It commemorates the successful efforts made by Mesha', king of Moab, to throw off the yoke of Israel. The Moabites had been reduced to subjection by David (2 S. 8 2), but how long they remained in that state is not told. Probably in the time of Jeroboam i, or soon after, they began to revolt; for the inscription implies that some measure of independence had been gained when it states that 'Omri oppressed Moab many days' (l. 5), which no doubt means that he found it necessary to put down a rebellion. He succeeded in capturing Mēdeba and its vicinity (l. 7 f.); 'the king of Israel' also fortified 'Aṭāroth, the ancient dwelling-place of the families of Gad (l. 10 f.); Nebo and Yahaṣ became Israelite strongholds (ll. 14. 18 f.). It is interesting to find that there was a sanctuary of Yahweh at Nebo (l. 17 f.), where the Israelites must have established themselves in some numbers. 'Omri's powerful arm, however, did not reach so far as the Arnon, for the more southern cities, Dibon, 'Aro'er, Qeriyoth, remained in the possession of Moab; but how effectually the land was subdued may be judged from the heavy tribute which 'Omri's successor, Ahab, exacted from king Mesha' (2 K. 3 4). Then, in the latter years of Ahab's reign, perhaps at the moment when he was engaged in the war against Syria (1 K. 22), Mesha' revolted. According to 2 K. 1 1. 3 5 the revolt occurred after the death of Ahab; but the inscription, with the authority of a contemporary document, corrects

<sup>1</sup> A recent attempt to trace the missing fragments is vividly described by Gautier, *Autour de la Mer Morte*, Genève (1901) 93-98. The text given above is based upon that of Lidzbarski *Nordsem. Epigr.* 415 f., corrected by his later investigations in *Ephemeris Sem. Epigr.* i (1900) 1-10.



this detail of the history. The king of Moab recovered the cities occupied by Israel, and strengthened various weak spots in his territory. The towns mentioned in the inscription were situated, with the exception of Ḥauronān, in the debatable land N. of the Arnon, which was nominally assigned to Reuben and Gad (Num. 32 34-38. Josh. 13 15-28); but Mesha's revolt seems to have produced a durable settlement, and for the future these towns belonged to the kingdom of Moab (Am. 2 2. Is. 15 2 ff. Jer. 48 1 ff. Eze. 25 9). The inscription appears to be silent about the invasion of the allied kings recorded in 2 K. 3, unless there is an allusion to it in l. 4. Taking the inscription to be a comprehensive summary of Mesha's reign, as it was probably intended, we must suppose that the king of Moab ignores his reverses (2 K. 3 24-27), just as the Hebrew history omits to mention the losses of Israel (Bennett *DB* iii 411, art. Moab).

The language of Moab, as the inscription proves, was only a dialect of Hebrew (cf. Dt. 2 11). Such characteristic idioms as the impf. with waw conv., the inf. abs. with the fin. verb (used similarly, however, in Arabic and Syriac) אבד l. 7, the use of אשר for the relative, ראה ב', the words הושיע *save*, ירש *take in possession*, גרש *drive out*, הרג *slay*, החרים *ban*, ואעש (apoc. form), לפני, בקרב, show that Moabite was more closely akin to Hebrew than to any other Semitic tongue. The forms of the proper names point in the same direction. The following differences may be noted: הַבְּמַת (Hebr. הַזֹּאת), the fem. sing. ending ת and the dual and plural ending ן (sometimes in the O.T.), שַׁת for שְׁנֵה, the conj. הַלְתַּחֵם (Arab. conj. viii), אַחוּ city, אַחוּ (Hebr. לַכָּד) *take a city*, the use *in prose* of הִלַּךְ *succeed* l. 6, בַּקַּע *break of dawn* l. 15, נבֶרַת and נבֶרַת l. 16 for אַנְשִׁים and נְשִׁים *damsels* l. 17. These differences are merely dialectical; some of them are related to Phoenician or Canaanite on the one side, and to Arabic<sup>1</sup>, the language of Moab's neighbours in Edom, on the other. The words אִשׁוּחַ l. 9, רִית l. 12, מַכְרַת l. 25, do not occur in the O.T. The inscription is the classical example of the archaic form of Hebr. writing (cf. 2). The scriptio defectiva is the rule, e.g. הַא is used for the 3rd sing. mas. pronoun, though consonants are employed for final vowels, e.g. אֲבִי, לִפְנֵי, בִּי, בָּה, and in דִּיבְנִי, דִּיבֵּן; the suffix of the 3rd sing. mas. is ה' for י'; the words are divided and separated by dots as in the ancient inscriptions 2. 61-63 (old Aram.), but also 13 and 16 (Phoen.). In general style the inscription is a real piece of literature, and indicates that Moab in the ninth cent. B. C. was not behind Israel

<sup>1</sup> See notes on אִלְתַּחֵם ll. 11. 19; מֵאֵת l. 20; מִדְּרַבָּא l. 8 (?); אַחוּ l. 11; הִלַּךְ l. 6.

in civilization. Finally, we have here clear evidence that not merely the language, but also the ideas, of the two nations had much in common. The religion of Kemosh was evidently very like the popular religion of Yahweh; and the manner in which the national god of Moab was regarded and spoken of finds remarkable parallels in expressions used of Yahweh in the O.T.

Among recent commentaries on the Moabite Stone the following are the most important: Bennett, art. Moab, *Hastings' Dict. of the Bible* (1900); Lidzbarski *Ephemeris* i (1900); Halévy *Rev. Sém.* (1900), see Lidzb. *Eph.* i 145; Lagrange *Rev. Bibl.* x (1901); Driver, art. Mesha, *Ency. Bibl.* (1902).

Line 1. אֲנִי Not pronounced אֲנִי as in Hebr., for elsewhere in the inscr. י is written where the final vowel was sounded. In Phoen. the 1st pers. pron. is אֲנִי 3 1 n., in Canaanite *anuki* (Tell-el-Am. 180 66. 69), in Assy. *anāku*, in old Aram. אֲנִי 61 1 and אֲנִי 62 19. In later Aram., Arab., Eth. the form is אַנַּא, 'ana. מִשַׁע i.e. *deliverance*, from יִשַׁע, in 2 K. 3 4 מִיִּשַׁע, LXX Μωσαΐ; the latter form implies a derivative from the Hif. stem like הוֹשַׁע, מוֹשַׁעוֹת Ps. 68 21. The pronunciation, therefore, may have been either *Mesha'* or *Mosha'*. There is room for only two letters after 'כַּמֶּשׁ', so כַּמֶּשֶׁמֶלֶךְ is not correct. Clermont-Ganneau reads כַּמֶּשֶׁנֶּר; Lidzbarski, after a fresh examination of the stone, suggests כַּמֶּשֶׁכֶּן, cf. יִכְנִיחֶהּ, כְּנִיחֶהּ, *Eph.* i 3 f. See l. 3 n. הַרְיַבְנִי The name רִיבֵן ll. 21. 28 was probably pronounced *Daïbon* rather than *Dibon* (O.T. רִיבֵן, LXX Δαίβων), for the latter would not be written with the vowel letter; cf. חוֹרֵנִי l. 31 f. prob. *Hauronān*, הַרְדֵּה l. 12 prob. *Daudoh*. Nöldeke, however, thinks that the vowel was *é*, *Inscr. Kön. Mesa* (1870) 33; cf. בֵּיתָה l. 25, which, as בָּתָה l. 7 shows, could not have sounded *baitho*. But in רִיבֵן the י is invariably written, and this is rather in favour of the former view. *Dibon*, Is. 15 2. Jer. 48 18. 22 &c., now *Dibān* (دیبان)<sup>1</sup>, lay a little to the N. of the Arnon; Buhl *Geogr. alt. Paläst.* 268.

L. 2. שֶׁלְשֵׁם שֶׁנָּה Hebr. שלשם שנה; שֶׁנָּה is therefore sing., see 6 1 n., and cf. l. 8. The plur. ending ן in the O.T. (twenty-five or twenty-six times, fifteen times in Job) is mostly dialectical or late; in Aram. it is normal, e.g. 63 9. 13 מַלְכֵן רַבְרַבֵּן.

L. 3. זֶמְתָּהּ Cf. Phoen. הַאֲדָם 3 15. 4 6 &c., and see add. note ii p. 26. The fem. sing. ends in *ath*, as in Phoen. and occasionally in the O.T.; see add. note i p. 25. With the expression הַבְּמָתָה וְאֶעֱשֶׂה

<sup>1</sup> Modern forms from Kampffmeyer *ZDPV* xv-xvi (1892-3).

cf. 2 Ch. 21 11 עשה במוֹת; a sanctuary or altar is prob. intended, rather than a literal 'high-place.' Illustrate from 1 K. 11 7. Is. 15 2. 16 12. Jer. 48 35. לכמוש Kemosh was the national god of the Moabites (Num. 21 29. 1 K. 11 7. 33. Jer. 48 46 &c.), occupying among them much the same position as Yahweh among the Israelites. The name is found in compounds, e. g. l. 1 [מש]. לכמוש-נאדב, *king of Moab*, *KB* ii 90 (=Schrader *COT* 288); לכמוש-נאדב on Moab. seals, *Lidzb. Eph.* i 136 ff. The identification of Kemosh with Ares is based upon an error of Eusebius, *Onom.* 228 66 ff. ed. Lagarde. Other deities worshipped by the Moabites were עשתר לכמוש l. 17; לכמוש l. 30, בעל פער Num. 25 1-3, local cults of Ba'al (? of Kemosh); and possibly נבה l. 14 n. קרחה ll. 21. 24 f. The stone is expressly associated with the sanctuary at QRHH ('this high-place to K. at QRHH'), but it was found at Dibon, evidently *in situ*. We may suppose, therefore, that QRHH was the name of a place *in the district of* Dibon (Nordlander), see l. 21 n. Among the Moabites Dibon may have had this extended sense, although in the O.T. it seems to be always the name of a town. QRHH can hardly have been the acropolis of Dibon (Cl-Gan. &c.), for this is inconsistent with the terms of ll. 21 ff. Another explanation is suggested by Lagrange, *Rev. Bibl.* x 527 f. He takes לכמוש בקרחה closely together, Kemosh-at-QRHH, like לבעשמש באינצם 39 1. 24 2 n. This expression is used of the cult of a deity transplanted from one place to another, especially to a foreign land; it would be unnatural in Moab, where Kemosh was the chief god of the whole country<sup>1</sup>. According to Sayce קרחה is the Karhu mentioned in the Karnak list of the conquests of Ramses ii, *Patr. Pal.* 237 cf. 21. The pronunciation of the word is not certain; it was either קרחה or perhaps rather קרחה like ירחו, with the ending ה' as in שילה, גילה, and prob. דורה l. 12; Driver *Samuel* xc. [י] Lidzb. detects traces of נ and ס, and reads לכמוש בנפ[ך · י]שע with a drink-offering of deliverance; for ב cf. 2 Ch. 29 35 בנסכים. Lev. 16 3; illustrate from Ps. 116 13. Lagrange proposes לכמוש בנפ[ך · י]שע cf. Ex. 17 15; other suggestions are

<sup>1</sup> Lagrange identifies קרחה with קיר הרש, קיר הרשה Is. 16 7. 11. Jer. 48 31. 36. 2 K. 3 25; regarding the latter as a corrupt form of קיר הרשה 'New town' LXX Is. 16 7. 11 (so Cheyne *Ency. Bibl.* col. 2676), and קרחה as its ancient name. But the reading of the LXX in Jer. 48 (LXX 31) 31 καίραδας B, καιράδας A + αὐχμοῦ does not imply an original קרחה; it is merely a transliteration of קיר הרש (for קיר הרש). Qir-hāreseth is prob. the same as Qir-Moab = the modern Kerak (Targ. on Is. and Jer. loc. cit.). Nöld. has shown that there is no etymological connexion between קרחה and Kerak, *Inscr. Kön. Mesa* 8 f. See *Expos. Times* xiii (1902) 186 f.

משע *for the deliverance of Meshah*, Smend u. Socin *Inscr. Kön. Mesa* (1886) 17; *במה ישע* a *high-place of deliverance*, Driver l. c.

L. 4. *לכּוּן ה*. Perhaps *השׁלְכוּן* (Cl.-Gan., Nöld., Lidzb.), i. e. (*?*) *those who attack* (*?*), *assailants*, lit. *cast themselves*. Neither the form (*שׁלְכוּן* like *גִּבְבוּן*) nor the meaning occurs in Hebr., which uses only the Hif. and Hof. of *שׁלַח*. In Arab. *سلك* i = *to put in, make to enter*, possibly in Moab. the vb. = *impel, assail*. The reading *המלכּוּן* is less probable. *הראני בכל שנאי* Cf. l. 7. Ps. 59 11. 118 7 &c.

L. 5. *ויענו* i. e. *וַיַּעֲנוּ*, the 3rd rad. of the *לָוּ* (Hebr. *לָוָה*) verb being retained, as in *אענו* l. 6. If *מלך ישראל* = *king of Israel* as elsewhere, *ויענו* must be the impf. with waw conv. introducing the predicate, *'Omri . . . he oppressed*, a very harsh construction here; see Gesenius § 111 h; Driver *Tenses* § 127 a. The rendering *was king over I.* is more suitable, although this requires *על* after *מֶלֶךְ* (l. 2). Perhaps the prep. was omitted by accident. *אנף* Impf. of continuance in the past. The yodh seems certain (Lidzb.). For *אנף* cf. 1 K. 8 46 (Qal). 2 K. 17 18 (Hithp.). *בארצה* Cf. Num. 21 29. Jer. 48 46 *עם כמוש*. *מואב*. The ancient *ה* of the suff., *ahw-au-δ* *'*, is preserved in Moabite; contrast *'* in the Siloam inscr. 2 2-4. The form *ה'* is found in the O.T., e. g. *אֶהְלֶה* Gen. 9 21 &c.; Driver *Sam.* xxxv.

L. 6. *ויהלפה* i. e. *וַיַּחְלֶפָה* (Nöld.), or less probably *וַיַּחְלֶפֶה* in accordance with Hebr. usage; and similarly elsewhere in the inscr. *ויהלפה* = *succeeded him*; so *خلف* in Arab. In Hebr. the Hif. = *cause to succeed, substitute*, Is. 9 9. *ויאמר גם הא* Cf. Gen. 27 31. 1 S. 19 20-24. For *הא* see 3 9 n. After *אמר* there are traces of a letter, possibly *מ* (Lidzb.), doubtfully *כ*; the reading *ככה* or *כרבר* is thus very questionable.

L. 7. *עלם* *אבד* *אבד* i. e. *אָבַד אָבַד עָלָם*, *אָבַד* *אָבַד* *עָלָם* for *עלם* as in poetry, e. g. Ps. 89 2. 3. 38; or *אָבַד אָבַד עָלָם*, cf. Jer. 51 39 *וישנו שנת עולם* (Driver). *וירש* Either *וַיִּרֶשׁ* or *וַיִּרְשׁ*. The context requires a plupf. sense, for which *ועמרי ירש* would be the normal expression (l. 18).

L. 8. *מהרבא* i. e. *מֵהַרְבָּא* (Nöld.), in the O.T. *מִידְבָּא*, or *מֵהַרְבָּא* (Cl.-Gan. *Sièle de Dhiban* (1877) 55), as in the modern name *مادبا*; so König *Lehrgeb.* ii 345, explaining the form by the Arab. dialectical form *māhun* = *md'un* 'water'<sup>1</sup>. Medeba (Num. 21 30. Josh. 13 9.

<sup>1</sup> The *ה* in *מהרבא* and in *נה* l. 14 used to denote *ē* and *ō*, according to Hommel, marks an affinity with the Minaean dialect of Arabic known from the el-Öla inscr. (NW. Arabia); *Anc. Hebr. Trad.* 276. The alleged affinity between Moabite and Minaean must be received with caution; at the same time it is natural that the

Is. 15 2 &c.) was E. of the N. end of the Dead Sea. וישב The  
 subj., though grammatically 'Omri, must really be Israel. ימה  
 The reading seems certain; יָמָהּ for יָמֶיהָ *yamaih(u) = יָמָיו his days*.  
 For the form with *u* cf. the Hebr. יָרִיהוּ Hab. 3 10. נְבוֹרִיהוּ Nah. 2 4.  
עֵינִיהוּ Job 24 23, and the Syr. ܘܥܝܢܘܗ, where the original *h* of the suff.  
 is written but not sounded. For the plur. form without yodh cf. רִשָּׁה  
 l. 20. מְגַדְלָתָהּ l. 22, contrast שְׁעָרֶיהָ l. 22. בָּנָה Prob. is also plur.,  
*his sons* (see below); although בָּנָה l. 6 is sing.

L. 9. בָּה To be completed by restoring וַיֵּשׁב at the end of l. 8, i. e.  
וַיֵּשְׁבָהּ (Nöld.). Ll. 6-9 are important for the historical  
 setting of the inscr., although the exact bearing of some details is  
 obscure. וַיֹּאמֶר נָם הָא וּנְו l. 6 points to a fresh attempt made  
 by Ahab to assert his authority in Moab; this was prob. the im-  
 mediate cause of Mesha's revolt. וַיֹּאמֶר בָּהּ וּבְבַתָּהּ l. 7 indicates that  
 the revolt was successful both against Ahab (בָּהּ) and his dynasty  
 (בְּתָהּ, cf. בֵּית אַחָאב 2 K. 8 18. 9 7 ff. 10 11. Mic. 6 16 &c.). וַיִּשְׂרָאֵל  
עַלְמָ אַבְרָ אַבְרָ l. 7 records the final overthrow of Israel's power in  
 Moab, marked, as we may infer from 2 K. 3 27, by the futile con-  
 clusion of Joram's expedition<sup>1</sup>, or by the extinction of the house of  
 'Omri. Then in ll. 7-9 the inscr. goes back to the first stage of  
 the revolt. This began with the recovery of Mehēdeba (l. 8 end),  
 which had been occupied by 'Omri: 'and he dwelt in it his days and  
 half the days of his sons, forty years.' 'Omri's reign, according to  
 1 K. 16 23, lasted 18 years, Ahab's 22 (1 K. 16 29), Ahaziah's 2  
 (1 K. 22 52), Joram's 12 (2 K. 3 1). Thus 'Omri's 'days' were 18,  
 and 'half the days of his sons' were 18, making a total of 36, or  
 'forty years' in round numbers. 'Half the days' of 'Omri's sons  
 brings us, strictly speaking, to the 18th year of Ahab; at any rate  
it was in the closing years of Ahab's reign, and not after his death  
(2 K. 1 1. 3 5), that Mesha' began his struggle for independence.  
 But the biblical record so far agrees with the inscr., inasmuch as the  
 Moabite rebellion continued after Ahab's death, during the reigns of  
 his two successors (וּבְבַתָּהּ l. 7). This second stage of the rebellion is  
recorded in ll. 10 ff.; 'Aṭāroth, Nebo, Yahaṣ were recovered, until  
Israel was finally driven out. At the close of his 18 years' struggle,  
 Mesha' was able to commemorate his victories, and the efforts which  
 language of Moab should betray the influence of its Arabic-speaking neighbours.  
 See further König *Hebr. u. Sem.* 82.

<sup>1</sup> 2 K. 3 27<sup>b</sup> seems intentionally to cast a veil over the abrupt retirement of the allies. It may have been due to superstitious dread of the god of the land after the sacrifice of Mesha's son, or perhaps to an unexpected invasion of the Syrians. See Lagrange *Rev. Bibl.* x 538-545.

he made for the future security of his kingdom, on a triumphal inscription. The stone, be it noted, was set up in קרחה l. 3; but קרחה was not fortified till Moab's freedom had been won, and Israelite prisoners could be employed upon the works, ll. 24-26. The foregoing account to a great extent turns on the rendering of בנה l. 8 *his sons*<sup>1</sup>, i. e. יְגִנָּה like יָמָה *his days* in this line. To take בנה as a sing., *his son* i. e. Ahab, raises serious chronological difficulties. It is impossible to get 40 years out of 'Omri's 18 and the half of Ahab's 22. Wellhausen makes the attempt by discarding the dates in Kings, and lengthening the combined reigns to 60 years (*Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.*<sup>3</sup> 9 f.); but to do this is to dislocate the biblical chronology, and the translation of בנה *his son* is not so certain as to demand such a violent measure<sup>2</sup>. בעלמען l. 30 בת בעלמען Num. 32 38. Josh. 13 17. Jer. 48 23 (בית מעון). Eze. 25 9 &c. Now Mâ'in (ماعين), SW. of Mâdebâ. אשוח Prob. from שוח sink, so פִּי (cf. שוחה Jer. 18 20) or *reservoir* for water, l. 23. The word prob. occurs in this sense in Sirach 50 3, where אשיח בם is to be corrected to אשוח כים *λάκκος ὡσεὶ θαλάσσης* cod. A. See *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, Cambr. (1899) 63.

L. 10. קריתן = Hebr. קְרִיתִים Gen. 14 5. Jer. 48 1 &c., now Qurêyât (قریات), S. of 'Attârûs. For the form cf. רבלתן l. 30 = רבלתים l. 31 f. = סורנים. These names are prob. not in the dual—it is difficult to see what significance the dual could have—but in the sing., with the sing. termination ת, ם, called by Barth a 'local ending' (*Nominalb.* 319 n. 5); cf. רתן 2 K. 6 13. קרתן Josh. 21 32. This ending was subsequently expanded into ים; e. g. in Hebr. חורנים, ירושלים &c., in Aram. שמרן = שמרן, Hebr. שִׁמְרוֹן; similarly the Moab. צהרם = Hebr. צְהַרִים. If these forms were originally duals, it is not clear how ים, ין could have been contracted into ם, ת. It is true that the dual in Moab. ended in ך, e. g. מאתן l. 20 = מאתים, but the origin of this form is quite distinct. See Gesenius-Kautzsch 256; on the other hand, König *Lehrgeb.* ii 437, Wright *Comp. Gr.* 150, regard these forms as dual, and Nöldeke points יתן &c. ואש עטרת . . . Cf. Num. 32 34 JĒ. 'Atāroth = modern 'Attârûs (عطاروس),

<sup>1</sup> So Nordlander *Inschr. Kön. Mesa* (1896) 30 f. See Lidzbarski *Ephemeris* i 143 f.

<sup>2</sup> Marti has recently suggested the rendering 'he (i. e. 'Omri) dwelt therein his days, and half of my days (i. e. יָמָי for יָמֵי) his son (dwelt therein),' *Ency. Bibl.* i col. 792. This gets over the chronological difficulty, but it involves a very harsh construction. Marti rather exaggerates the awkwardness of the passage. Winckler cuts the knot by making חזי *the half* mean *the whole*! *Allor. Forsch.* ii 401-407.

about 8 miles NNW. of Dibon. For אש גר cf. אש ישראל Jud. 20 17 &c.

L. 11. וְאֶלְתַּחֲמִם i. e. וְאֶלְתַּחֲמִם = the Arab. *iftaḥal*; see Wright *Comp. Gr.* 208 f. The stem exists also in Assy., e. g. *iktašad* 'he plundered.' In Hebr. קיר = wall; but the meaning town appears in the Moab. pr. nn. קיר חרשת, קיר מואב; cf. Arab. *qir* village. וְאֶתְחִזֶּה i. e. וְאֶתְחִזֶּה; so in Arab. *axḏ* = take a city, in Hebr. לכר. At the end of the line מ is prob. to be restored.

L. 12. רית for רִאִית (לִי), so point רִית, cf. צְבִיָּה, אֲנִיָּה, קְרִיּוֹת (l. 13); Stade *Lehrb.* § 192 b. Cf. Nah. 3 6 רִאִי. Eze. 28 17 בְּרִאֵה. ואשב Prob. וְאֶשֶׁב from שוב, Josh. 14 7; or וְאֶשֶׁב from שבה. אראל Of the many interpretations proposed for this word the most suitable here is altar-hearth, Eze. 43 15. 16 from ארִי burn, Arab. *arī* whence [א] + ל hearth, as in ברמל, חשמל. Here אראל is in the constr. st., and in Eze. 43 15 f. it has the article; this is against treating אראל as a compound, hearth of El, as e. g. König does, *Lehrgeb.* ii 416. See Cheyne *Ency. Bibl.* i col. 298; Marti on Is. 29 1. The אראל was perhaps a fire-altar, i. e. a pillar surmounted by a cresset, Rob. Smith *Rel. of Sem.* 469. If אראל = lion of El as in 2 S. 23 20 and Is. 33 7, it is difficult to believe that this was the title of a priest, as Lidzb. takes it, *Eph.* i 278. דודא Prob. *Daudoh* (ll. 1 n. 3 n., cf. דודו Jud. 10 1), apparently a local god worshipped by the Israelites E. of Jordan<sup>1</sup>. As a pr. n. *Dūdu* occurs in the Tell-el-Am. letters, e. g. 44. 45; in Hebr. דוד, דודו, דודו, דודו, אלדר &c.; in Aram. דודעלה CIS ii 107; in Palm. דודא 139 2; and in the inscr. from *Ṣafâ* 2. The primary meaning is *loved one*, then *kinsman*, *uncle*. See Gray *Hebr. Pr. Names* 60 ff.<sup>2</sup> וְאֶסְתַּכְּבֶּה i. e. וְאֶסְתַּכְּבֶּה cf. Jer. 22 19. 2 S. 17 13. Arab. *sakab*.

L. 13. לפני יהוה Cf. לפני יהוה 1 S. 15 33. 2 S. 21 9. בקרית i. e. בקרית Jer. 48 24. Am. 2 2 (with art.), mentioned by the latter perhaps on account of this sanctuary of Kemosh (Nöld.). It is not unlikely that Ar, the capital of Moab, was the same place; see Driver on Am. 2 2. Its site is unknown, but it must have been on the N. or NE. border of Moab. Another suggestion identifies Qeriyoth with Rabbath-Moab, S. of the Arnon, Buhl *Geogr. Alt. Paläst.* 270. ואשב

<sup>1</sup> The difficult רך Am. 8. 14 LXX δ θεός σου is ingeniously corrected to רך by Winckler *Altor. Forsch.* i 195.

<sup>2</sup> Dussaud et Macler *Voyage Archéol. au Ṣafâ* (1901) 126.

<sup>3</sup> Winckler treats Ariel-Dôdah as a compound deity, i. e. 'nergal-Tammuz-Jahve with his consort Dodah'—an etymological extravagance; *Gesch. Isr.* ii 257 f.

i. e. וְאֵשֶׁב 2 K. 17 24. שָׂרוֹן if not a city, may be the שָׂרוֹן of 1 Ch. 5 16 (E. of Jordan) which is prob. the same as המישור Dt. 3 10. Josh. 13 9. 16 f. At the end of the line an א can be traced, prob. part of אש.

L. 14. מחרת Site unknown; not in the O. T. ויאמר לי כמש לך  
אחז Cf. l. 32. Josh. 8 1. Jud. 7 9. 1 S. 23 4 &c. נבה Num. 32 3.  
38 JE (assigned to Reuben). Is. 15 2. Jer. 48 1. 22. A city on or near Mt. Nebo; Buhl 266 f. The name may point to the worship of the Babyl. god Nebo in the city or on the mountain, though not necessarily, cf. Arab. التِّبَاوَة the height. וואהלך So in Job 16 22. 23. 8; in prose only Ex. 9 23.

L. 15. בללה Pronounced בִּלְלָה, as Is. 15 1 בְּלִיל. 21 11 מְלִיל מְלִיל show. אז יבקע כשחר אורך Cf. Is. 58 8 מבקע השחרת. In Hebr. עלה is usual, e. g. כעלות הש' 1 S. 9 26, and with 'מ' מעלות הש' Neh. 4 15. צהרם Prob. sing. with the ending *ām* (l. 10 n.) rather than dual. In Moab. the dual ends in 'ץ, מאתן l. 20.

L. 16. כל Restore כלה i. e. בְּלוּ. After שבעת we may read [גר] i. e. גר i. e. גר resident foreigner, sojourner (stranger, AV., RV.), or possibly, as this is not very suitable, גר young, child (Lidzb.); see 20 A 15 n.

L. 17. רחמת i. e. רְחַמַת cf. Jud. 5 30 רְחַמַתִּים, prob. female slaves. עשתר A compound deity like מלכעשתרת 10 3 n. עשתר was most likely a female deity, though the name is written without the usual fem. ending, as in the Babyl. *Ishtar*, the Palm. עתר (in עתרתה 112 4), and in the Phoen. pr. n. עברעשתר 22 1. The male עשתר belonged only to the S. Semites. See 4 1 n. החרמתה i. e. הַחְרַמְתָּהּ. For the practice of *devoting* a city to the god, cf. in Israel Num. 21 2 f. JE. Dt. 2 34. 3 6. Josh. 6 17-19. The *ban* (Arab. حَرَمَ separate, prohibit) involved the destruction both of persons and of property, Lev. 27 28 f. See Driver *Sam.* 101 f. *Deut.* 98 f., for the idea Rob. Smith *Rel. of Sem.* 434 &c., and 79 8 n. At the end of the line restore לי rather than א[ת. כ]לי; the latter in l. 12 is sing. and has א before it.

L. 18. ואסחב. הם The pron. is here used as an accus.; cf. הם *eos* Ezr. 4 10. הפון Dan. 2 35. In Bibl. Aram., as in Syr., there is no verbal suff. 3 plur.; in Syr. <sup>ه</sup>ا<sub>3</sub> are used instead.

L. 19. יהין Num. 21 23. Dt. 2 32. Is. 15 4. Jer. 48 21 &c. The site is not known, but it lay on the E. plains, N. of the Arnon; according to Eusebius it was between Dibon and Medaba (*Onom.* 264 96 ed. Lagarde). Yahaş was occupied by the Israelite king at the beginning of the war, prob. as an advanced post. בהלחמה i. e. בהלחמתה or



בְּהַלְתָּחֹמָה following the Arab. form اِقْتَتَالَ inf. conj. viii. The place-names אֲשַׁתְּמֵעַ, אֲשַׁתְּמַל are in form infinitives of conj. viii. ויגרשה וגו' Cf. of Yahweh Dt. 33 27. Josh. 24 18.

L. 20. מֵאֲתָנִים = מֵאֲתָנִים, pronounced מֵאֲתָנִים, cf. the dual ending of the oblique cases in Arab. —ين, and the contraction of *ai* to *ē* in Aram. مَآئِن, مَآئِن; or the pronunciation may have been מֵאֲתָנִים, like the Arab. مِائَتَان, Targ. מֵאֲתָנִים. רשה Prob. his chiefs, = רֵאשִׁיו, the plur. with suff. as בנה, ימה (?) l. 8. In Moab, as in Israel, the nation was organized in clans or families; e. g. Ex. 6 14 P. 18 25 JE. ואשאה i. e. וְאֲשָׁאָה cf. l. 30. The suff. is sing. collective.

L. 21. לִסְפַת Inf. of יספ (l. 29), i. e. לִסְפַת, as לִסְפּוֹת should be read in Num. 32 14. Is. 30 1. Ges.-Kautzsch 195 n.<sup>1</sup> ריבן Perhaps a district, rather than a city (l. 3 n.); note the expressions לִסְפַת עַל (cf. יספתי על הארץ l. 29) and מִשְׁמַעַת כָּל ד' 1. 28, which seem hardly applicable to a city (Nordlander 42). היערן Lit. the woods, prob. the royal groves or park קרחה; cf. Qoh. 2 6.

L. 22. העפל the acropolis of קרחה; cf. Neh. 3 27. 2 Ch. 27 3. Is. 32 14 &c. of the fortified mound within Jerusalem, 2 K. 5 24 within Samaria. שעריה Plur. with scriptio plena, cf. l. 8 n. מגרלתה must also be plur., i. e. מְגִרְלָתָהּ or מְגִרְלָתָהּ (Nöld.), l. 8 n.

L. 23. בת מלך Cf. 1 K. 16 18. בלאי Either both, double, Hebr. בְּלָאִים, Arab. كَلَا, كَلَا both, Eth. kel'ē, or sluices from בְּלָא, √ בְּלָא restrain. After האש there are traces of ו; restore [למ]ן. האש[ן] ח. [למ]ן. למין. למין or לְמִין. The ב in בקרב is doubtful (Lidzb.).

L. 24. אֵין i. e. אֵין. The order as in Gen. 47 13.

L. 25. המכרתת Prob. הַמְכַרְתָּת from כרת, cutting, perhaps for water. In Hebr. כרת is used of cutting trees, and כרה of cutting wells or trenches. כרת may be taken from כרה (point כְּרָתִי) whence מְכָרָה pit, Zeph. 2 9; but it is difficult to see how מכרתת can come from a ל'ה verb, unless it be a peculiar Moab. form. בְּאֶפְרַי i. e. באפרי. The yodh is faintly visible. For ב with the help of, cf. 1 S. 14 6 and l. 28 n.

L. 26. ערער Num. 32 34. Dt. 2 36. Jer. 48 19 &c. The ruins 'Ará'ir (عراير) S. of Dibon are on the N. edge of the ravine of the Arnon (W. el Mojib). After ארנן perhaps the stroke | followed.

L. 27. במת בעל Prob. the same as במות Num. 21 19 f. בעל 22 41 &c., situated perhaps on Mt. 'Attarús. הרם i. e. הרם 2 K. 3 25. בצר Dt. 4 43 (in Reuben) &c. 1 Macc. 5 26 ff. Βοσόρ. The site is unknown; it must have been towards the E. border of the Moab. table-land. עֵין i. e. עֵין Mic. 3 12.

L. 28. At the beginning we may conjecture ש[הא | ור]; for רש see l. 20 n. Halévy suggests plausibly ש[בא | היה], i. e. *with the help of fifty men of D.* (l. 25), *Rev. Sémi.* (1900) 292. משמעת obedience, cf. Is. 11 14 ובני עמון משמעתם. For the idiom see Driver *Tenses* § 189. 2. At the end of the line part of a כ can be discerned; restore [י]מלכת. In the space which follows על רש *over chiefs* may be supplied.

L. 29. בקרן Prob. בְּקָרָן *in the cities.* יספתי Cf. l. 21.

L. 30. Before ובת only בא can be seen, perhaps to be completed מהדבא l. 8. עלמן בה דבלתן Jer. 48 22. Num. 33 46 דבלתים. ובת בעלמען Cf. l. 9 n. The preceding stroke usually marks a stop; and as בעלמען was 'built' in l. 9, it seems unreasonable to take 'ובת ב' as accus. after בנתי l. 29. On the other hand if 'ובת ב' begins a new sentence as *casus pendens*, and as for *Beth-b.*, the construction of ואשא (cf. note on ויענו l. 5) becomes awkward. At the end of the line the usual restoration נקר is possible, meaning *breeders* of a particular kind of sheep; cf. 2 K. 3 4 (of Mesha').

L. 31. וחורנין See l. 1 n. 10 n. Is. 15 5. Jer. 48 3 ff. The city lay on the table-land S. of Wadi Kerak, but on lower ground; hence the verb ירד l. 32, and מורד ה' in the O.T. The word must be construed as a *casus pendens*. Neither [בן · דרן · ודרן] (Smend u. Socin) nor [בני · חורי] (Nöld.) can be supported by a close examination of the stone. Lidzb. suggests .בת · וק. As Hauronān lay in the S., and outside the Israelite occupation, it is likely that these lines gave an account of campaigns against the Edomites.

L. 32. אמר לי כמש Cf. l. 14. At the end of the line Halévy (l. c.) supplies רבן ימן בקר ימן רבן 'and I fought against the city many days.'

L. 33. בה. Restore וישבה i. e. וְיִשְׁבָּה l. 8 f. על[א]דה prob. the name of a place.

L. 34. שדק ? meaning.

See The Value of Manuscripts in Hebrew - Jones  
 Z. D. M. G. x xxvi. (1882) 720-50 (wells - south)  
 Z. D. P. V. x xii. (1899) 61 ff.  
 Jewish Encyclopedia - Art. Siloam.  
 R. E. F. Q. S. (1882)  
 Driver's Samuel xiv.

L'inscription de  
 Jardin de Siloam  
 (monocopt)  
 also c. Birkat  
 Fragments d'un poëme  
 cananéen.  
 1100 ans  
 du Tunnel.

# HEBREW

2. Siloam. Circ. 700 B. C. Imp. Mus., Constantinople.

..... הנקבה . וזה . היה . דבר . הנקבה . בעוד . . . . . 1  
 הגרון . אש . אל . רעו . ובעוד . שלש . אמת . להנקב . ב . נשמע . קל . אש . ק . 2  
 רא . אל . רעו . כי . הית . זרה . בצר . מימן . א . . . . . 3  
 נקבה . הכו . החצבנם . אש . לקרת . רעו . גרון . על . גרון . וילכו 4  
 המים . מן . המוצא . אל . הברכה . במאתים . ואלף . אמה . ומא 5  
 ת . אמה . היה . גבה . הצר . על . ראש . החצבנם 6

... the boring through! And this was the manner of the boring through: whilst yet . . . . .<sup>2</sup> the pick, each towards his fellow, and whilst yet there were three cubits to be bored [through, there was hear]d the voice of each calling to his fellow, for there was a split in the rock on the right hand . . . . . And on the day of the<sup>4</sup> boring through the miners struck, each to meet his fellow, pick upon pick; and<sup>5</sup> the waters flowed from the source to the pool for two hundred and a thousand cubits; and a hundred cubits was the height of the rock above the head of the miners.

(1) script facsimile  
 (2) find words  
 (3) do not work  
 (4) 7 covers  
 (5) words  
 (6) feminine  
 (7) agreement  
 (8) note in  
 Predicate does a stand first.

This ancient Hebrew inscr. was discovered in 1880 on the right wall of the tunnel which connects the Virgin's Spring ('Ain Sitti Maryam) with the pool of Siloam (Birket Silwân, Jn. 9 7), about 19 ft. from the Siloam end. This tunnel pierces the SE. spur of the hill on which the temple of Jerusalem formerly stood. Above the inscr. the rock was dressed for a considerable space, as though it had been prepared for some more writing, or for a relievo representing the miners at work (Cl.-Gan. Rec. i 295. ib. ii 285 illustrn.). The inscr. describes an incident in the boring of the tunnel: the gang which started from opposite ends successfully effected a junction, and so freed a passage for the water from the spring to the pool. The course of the tunnel is marked by two curious curves which perhaps were designed intentionally to avoid some underground obstacle, supposed by Cl.-Gan. to have been the tombs of the kings (Rec. ii

§ 66). A plan, showing the points where the excavators lost the direction and where they met, is given by Conder *PEFQS* (1882) 122; Stade *Gesch.* i 591; Benzing *Hebr. Arch.* 54 &c. For an interesting parallel see the Lat. inscr. of Lambaesis (N. Afr.), CIL viii 2728, which describes the excavation of a *cuniculus* or subterranean aqueduct on similar principles.

There can be little doubt that the work was carried out in the reign of Hezekiah. We are told that, as a precaution against a possible siege (2 Ch. 32 2 ff.), he brought water from the only natural spring near Jerusalem by a channel through the rock to a place of security within the walls; 2 Ch. 32 30. 2 K. 20 20. Sirach 48 17<sup>1</sup>. In ancient times the city walls took in the pool of Siloam; the 'waters of Gihon' were outside them; and the Gihon of the O.T., as the evidence implies, was identical with the Virgin's Spring<sup>2</sup>. The aqueduct, therefore, and with it the inscr., may be assigned to a date about 700 B.C.<sup>3</sup> The character of the writing points to the same period. It belongs to the archaic stage represented by the Moabite Stone; but in general form it is lighter and more flowing than the Moabite, and some of the letters, e. g. א, ו, ז, ח, צ, are considerably different. It will be noticed that the final vowels are represented by consonants, e. g. הִיָּה, נִקְבָּה, הִיָּה, וִילְכוּ, כִּי, וְזֶה; but within the word the vowel letter is not written, e. g. צָר, אַשׁ, יָמֵן, אֵשׁ;  $\delta$  = *au* diphth. is written *plene*, עוֹר, מוֹצֵא, but  $\delta$  =  $\bar{a}$  is written *defective*, שֶׁלֶשׁ, אַמְתָּה, קָל, חֲצֵבֶת. For the suff. 3 m. sing. י' is used instead of the archaic ה' (ה'), e. g. רָעוּ. The words are separated by dots (see p. 62). The style is pure and idiomatic, and reads like a good prose passage out of the O.T. The fullest account of the inscription, and the best facsimile, are given by Guthe *ZDMG* xxxvi (1882) 725-750. Cl.-Ganneau's facsimile in *Rec.* i Pl. xvi is remarkably clear; see also Driver *Samuel* xiv ff.; Socin *ZDPV* xxii (1899) 61 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Καὶ εἰσήγαγεν εἰς μέσσην αὐτῶν τὸν Γῶγγ (a corruption of ΤΟΥΔΩΡ) B. ὕδωρ A. In Hebr. the verse runs:—[L. וַיִּחְצֵב כְּנֹחֶשֶׁת (בְּנִי)]: יְחֻצְבֵי חֹכְמָה אֵל חֹכְמָה מִיָּם: וַיִּחְצֵב וַיִּחְצֵב הַרִים מִתְּהָה: יְחֻצְבֵי חֹכְמָה מִיָּם.

<sup>2</sup> Targ., Pesh. render גִּיחֹן 1 K. 1 33 by שִׁילֹחַ.

<sup>3</sup> Is. 8 6 can hardly refer to this invisible channel. An older water-course, which carried the water above ground down the Kidron valley into a reservoir formed by a dam across the opening of the Tyropaeon valley, was discovered by Schick some years ago (see Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii plan); this would agree with the prophet's reference. An ancient reservoir close to the present pool of Sil., and NE. of it, was unearthed lately by Gathe; this may have been the 'upper pool' of Is. 7 3. 36 2 and possibly the 'old pool' of Is. 22 11 (Stade 592). Other pools are mentioned in Is. 22 9. Neh. 2 14. 3 15. 16. It is impossible to identify with any certainty the details of the system of pools and channels in this quarter. See Guthe *ZDPV* v (1882) 355 ff.; Benzing 52-54; Conder *PEFQS* (1897) 204 ff.; and for recent excavations in the neighbourhood, Bliss *ib.* 11 ff. 91 ff. 173 ff.

L. 1. At the beginning of the line we may conjecture הִן behold! or זאח, or בים cf. l. 3. Blake (see *n.* 1 below) suggests תם; for the construction cf. Gen. 11 1. Is. 47 11. נקבה Not in the O. T.; but the vb. occurs in 2 K. 12 10 &c. = *pierce*, Arab. كَفَبَ *ib.* נקבה may be pointed נִקְבָה or נִקְבָה, Syr. حَمَل hole, Arab. نَقَب tunnel. The word is to be translated as a verbal noun active, *piercing through*; see l. 3. רבר Cf. Dt. 15 2 וזה רבר השמטה 19 4. 1 K. 9 15. In the lacuna there must have been a verb and a subject, e.g. *the miners were lifting up*, את מניפם החצבם (Ex. 20 25); or הניפו וגו'.

L. 2. רעו So Jer. 6 21 = רעהו. בעוד להנקה i.e. הִנְקָה; for the construction cf. Gen. 48 7. The נ is fairly clear (Socin l. c.), and a part of the top of ק (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 53). This restoration was proposed by Guthe l. c. 737. וישמע[ע Pf. as in 2 S. 12 22; or וישמע[ע].

L. 3. הית i.e. הִיִת 2 K. 9 37 Keth., rather than הִיִת which in this inscr. would be הִיִת (see above). זרה The context suggests *fissure*; but the meaning is uncertain, and the word not otherwise known. The וזר *see the, act presumptuously* gives no suitable sense<sup>1</sup>. After מימן many restore ומשמאל *and on the left*, i.e. *from S. to N.* facing the two gangs, in the direction of the tunnel. Socin in his facsimile gives אל and what are supposed to be fragments of ומ; but while the א is certain, the ל is very doubtful, and the restoration אל[ומשמ] is not sufficient to fill the gap (Lidzb. l. c.).

L. 4. החצבם *the hewers*; חצב of *hewing out* cisterns Dt. 6 11. 2 Ch. 26 10, and of *mining* Dt. 8 9. See the word in Sirach 48 17 (p. 16 *n.* 1). לקרת i.e. לְקָרַת from קרה. וילכו Note the use of waw conv. with impf.

L. 5. מוצא *spring* of water; i.e. the Virgin's Spring, from which the tunnel starts. Cf. 2 Ch. 32 30 מוצא מימי גיהון העליון מאתים. מוצא מאות ואלף For the unusual order cf. Num. 3 50 שלש מאות ואלף אמה. The actual length of the tunnel is 1706.8 ft. (Conder l. c. 122), very nearly 1200 cubits of 17 in.; but the 1200 is only a round number, like the 100 at the end of the line, and therefore is of no value for fixing the length of the cubit.

L. 6. הצר i.e. נִבְהָה הצר. The thickness of the rock above the excavators is roughly calculated at 100 cubits. 'Towards the north the rock surface is 170 feet above the roof of the tunnel.' Conder l. c. 127.

<sup>1</sup> Blake, in the *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.* xxii. i (1901) 52 f., suggests ורה from ור *which seems to have the primary meaning of narrow* in Syr. and Arab., وَرَّصَ *evacuavit, privavit* (Payne Smith), وَرَّصَ *fill, be in straits for water*, conj. *v* *straitened in one's bosom* (Lane). This is possible.

Read at this point

J A O S. v. 46 - 269 - 279

.. .. 46 237 - 247

Syna .. J. 1925. 101-117.

# PHOENICIAN

## PHOENICIA

3. Byblus. CIS i. v-iv cent. B. C. Paris.

- 1 אַנְךְ יְחֹמֶלֶךְ מֶלֶךְ גַּבְל בֶּן יְהַרְבַּעַל בֶּן בִּן אַרְמֶלֶךְ מֶלֶךְ
- 2 גַּבְל אִשׁ פַּעֲלַתָּן הִרְבַּת בַּעֲלַת גַּבְל מִמְּלַכְתָּךְ עַל גַּבְל וְקִרְא אַנְךְ
- 3 אֶת רַבְּתִי בַּעֲלַת גַּבְל [כ שִׁמְעַ] קָל וּפַעַל אַנְךְ לֵר בְּתִי בַּעֲלַת
- 4 גַּבְל הַמְּזֻבַּח נְחֹשֶׁת זֶן אִשׁ בַּח[צִ]ר זֶה הַפֶּתַח חֲרִיץ זֶן אִשׁ
- 5 עַל פֶּן פִּתְחִי זֶה וְהַעֲרַת חֲרִיץ אִשׁ בְּתַכַּת אַבְנֵי אִשׁ עַל פֶּתַח חֲרִיץ זֶן
- 6 וְהַעֲרַפְתָּ זֶה וְעַמְדָּה וְהַ... שׁ אִשׁ עֲלֵהֶם וּמִסְפַּנְתָּה פַּעַל אַנְךְ
- 7 יְחֹמֶלֶךְ מֶלֶךְ גַּבְל לְרַבְּתִי בַּעֲלַת גַּבְל כִּמְאִשׁ קִרְאֵת אֶת רַבְּתִי
- 8 בַּעֲלַת גַּבְל וְשִׁמְעַ קָל וּפַעַל לִי נִעַם תְּבַרַךְ בַּעֲלַת גַּבְל אֵיִת יְחֹמֶלֶךְ
- 9 מֶלֶךְ גַּבְל וְתַחֲוּ וְתַאֲרָךְ יְמוֹ וְשִׁנְתּוֹ עַל גַּבְל כִּי מֶלֶךְ צַדִּיק הָאֵל וְתַתָּן
- 10 [לוֹ הִרְבַּת בַּ]עֲלַת גַּבְל חֵן לַעֲן אֲלֵנָם וְלַעֲן עִם אֲרִיץ זֶה וְחֵן עִם אֲרִי
- 11 [יָן . . . . .] כֹּל מִמְּלַכְתָּךְ וְכֹל אֲדָם אִשׁ יִסַּף לַפַּעַל מִלְּאֲכַת עֲלַת מִזֶּה
- 12 [בַּח וְעֲלַת פֶּתַח חֲרִיץ זֶן וְעֲלַת עֲרַפְתָּ זֶה שֵׁם אַנְךְ יְחֹמֶלֶךְ
- 13 פַּעַל מִלְּאֲכַת הָאֵל וְאֵם אֲבַל תִּשְׁתֵּי שֵׁם אֵל . . . . . יָן וְאֵם הַ
- 14 אֵת הָאֵל . . . . . יָם . . . . . הַעֲלַת מִקְּדָשׁ זֶה . . . . .
- 15 הִרְבַּת בַּעֲלַת גַּבְל אֵיִת הָאֲדָם הָאֵל וְרַעֲוֹ

I am Yehaw-milk, king of Gebal, son of Yehar-ba'al, grandson of Uri-milk, king <sup>2</sup> of Gebal, whom the lady, mistress of Gebal, made king over Gebal; and I invoke <sup>3</sup> my lady, mistress of Gebal, [for she hears] my voice. And I make for my lady, mistress <sup>4</sup> of Gebal, this altar of bronze which is in this court, and this engraved work of gold which <sup>5</sup> is over against this engraved work of mine, and the uraeus (?) of gold which is in the midst of the stone, which is above this engraved work of gold, <sup>6</sup> and this portico and its pillars and the . . . which are

upon them and its roof do I, <sup>7</sup> Yehaw-milk, king of Gebal, make to my lady, mistress of Gebal; inasmuch as I invoked my lady, <sup>8</sup> mistress of Gebal, she has heard my voice and done kindness to me. May the mistress of Gebal bless Yehaw-milk, <sup>9</sup> king of Gebal, and grant him life and prolong his days and his years over Gebal, for he is a righteous king! And may <sup>10</sup> [the lady, m]istress of Gebal, give [him] favour in the eyes of the gods and in the eyes of the people of this land and the favour of the people of the lan[<sup>11</sup>d . . .]! Every prince and every man who shall make any addition to this alt[<sup>12</sup>ar or to this engraved wor]k of gold and to this portico I, Yehaw-milk, <sup>13</sup> . . . . . set . . . . . him who does that work; and if thou do not set there (??) . . and if . . . <sup>14</sup> . . . . . upon this place and . . . <sup>15</sup> . . . . . the lady, the mistress of Gebal, that man and his seed.

This is the oldest Phoenician inscr. yet found in Phoenicia itself. It belongs to the Persian age. Above the inscr. Yehaw-milk, in Persian dress, stands with left hand uplifted, and with the right offering a bowl to the seated goddess. The scene perhaps pictures the occasion when he dedicated the objects recorded below. A conjectural restoration of the stele standing on the two lions which were found near it is illustrated in Berger *Hist. de l'écriture* <sup>2</sup> 162.

L. 1. אַנְךְ The usual form of 1 sing. pron. in Phoen.; rarely אַנְכִי CIS i 103 c. 104. 107. Though not written (cf. פִּעֲלָתָן l. 2, ז, כ, &c.), the final ʾ vowel was prob. pronounced. In later Punic usage the final vowel seems to have been dropped in pronunciation as well as in spelling, e.g. Plautus *Poenulus* v 2 35 *anech*, Schröder xxix 18 4 אַנְךְ. Cf. 1 i n. יְחַוְּמִלְךָ i. e. יְחַוְּמִלְךָ let Milk grant life cf. תַּחֲוּוּ l. 9 and יְחַוְּמִלְךָ 2 Ch. 29 14. גַּבְלִי Cf. I K. 5 32. Eze. 27 9. The Greeks changed the name Gebal to Βύβλος; it is now called Djebêl, about half-way between Tripoli and Beirut, where the inscr. was found in 1869. *Gubla* is frequently mentioned in the Tell-el-Am. letters, e.g. 50 2. 53. 54. 123 &c. יְהַרְבֵּעַל *Ba'al is proud* cf. יְהַרְבֵּעַל *haughty* Pr. 21 24; NHebr. (Hithp.), Aram. יְהַרְבֵּעַל *be haughty*. The reading, however, is uncertain. The Corp. and Lidzbarski read יְחַרְבֵּעַל *B. rages*; Vogüé יְחַרְבֵּעַל *B. gives joy* cf. יְחַרְבֵּעַל I Ch. 5 24. בִּן Cf. 5 14. 27 4. CIS i 372. 391 f.; in Aram. 68 2; in Hebr. Ex.

10 2.  $\text{לך ארמלך}$  *fire of Milk* cf.  $\text{אִרְיָאֵל}$  I Ch. 6 9, and *Urumilki of Gebal* on the Taylor cylinder of Sennacherib, col. ii 50 (*KB* ii 91) —an earlier king of the same name. The occurrence of *milk* in the royal names  $\text{לך ארמלך}$  and  $\text{לך ארמלך}$  points to the cult of the patron-deity of Gebal, by tradition identified with *Kρόνος*, the mythical founder of the city, Philo Bybl. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 568  $\delta$  *Kρόνος* . . . *πόλιω πρώτην κτίξει τὴν ἐπὶ Φοινίκης Βύβλον*. Milk alone as the name of the god has not been found on any inscription; it is merely a title.

L. 2.  $\text{אש}$  The Phoen. relative, pronounced as a monosyllable *ish* or *ash*, e. g. Plaut. *Poen.* v 2 56 *assamar* =  $\text{אש אמר}$ , or possibly as a dissyllable  $\text{אַש}$ , Plaut. ib. 1 5; Apuleius *Herb. Medicam.* 47 (48) *nesso esse sade* =  $\text{אש שרה}$ .  $\text{נצה אש שרה}$ . The short form  $\text{ש}$  is also found, e. g. CIS i 112 b<sup>2</sup>, and more frequently in Pun. and NPun. e. g. 41 2. 3. 55 6. 57 7. 9. 10  $\text{שלו = שלא}$ , and in the transcriptions *si*, *se* Plaut. ib. 1 1. 8 &c. The etymology of  $\text{אש}$  is obscure. Taking  $\text{ש}$  as the original element, it is possible that  $\text{א}$ , properly a demonstrative sound, ‘Deutelauf,’ was added to it; cf. the  $\text{א}$  in  $\text{אָו}$ ,  $\text{אָוִי}$ ,  $\text{אָוִי}$ ,  $\text{אָפּוֹא}$ , König *Lehrgeb.* ii 323; on the other hand, in the Assy. *ša* the vowel sound followed the consonant. Whatever the relation between  $\text{אש}$  and  $\text{אשר}$  may be, in actual usage the Phoen.  $\text{אש}$  forms historically a link between the Hebr.  $\text{אשר}$  and  $\text{ש}$ . See Wright *Comp. Gr.* 119; Zimmern *Vergl. Gr.* 77.  $\text{פעלתנִי}$  i. e.  $\text{פְּעַלְתַּנִּי}$  cf.  $\text{תְּרַנּוֹן}$  4 7.  $\text{יעמסן}$  5 5. The form of the rel. sentence is exactly like Gen. 45 4  $\text{אני יוסף אשר}$   $\text{מכרתם אתי}$  (*Ges.* § 138 d). The sentence has been rendered ‘for whom . . . made the kingdom,’ treating the suff. as=prep. and suffix, as in  $\text{נתחני}$  Josh. 15 19 &c., but  $\text{ממלכת}$ =*royal person* not *kingdom* in Phoen.; see note below.  $\text{בעלת גבל}$  The title  $\text{בעלת גבל}$  is very ancient; it was used by the inhabitants of Gebal in the fifteenth cent. b.c. of the goddess of their city, *Bilit ša Gubla* (Tell-el-Am. letters 55–110). Whether *Bilit* ( $\text{בעלת}$ ) was the name of the deity, or whether it was used in an appellative sense, *mistress*, like  $\text{בעל}$  lit. *owner, lord*, cannot be decided with certainty<sup>1</sup>. Among the Phoenicians of a later age, at any rate, there is no clear evidence of a distinct goddess Ba'alath. The meaning of the expression  $\text{לרבת החררת בעלת}$  47 is too obscure to be decisive<sup>2</sup>. Probably, therefore,  $\text{בעלת גבל}$  is only the title of the chief goddess of the city, *the mistress*

<sup>1</sup> This goddess was, of course, a Canaanite not a Babylonian deity. But the Assy. *Bilit* raises the same difficulty; sometimes it is used as a pr. name, sometimes as a title ‘lady,’ sometimes—and this illustrates the usage here—merely as a designation of Ishtar. Jastrow *Rel. of Bab. and Assy.* 226; Zimmern *KAT*<sup>3</sup> 356.

<sup>2</sup> The NPun. pr. n.  $\text{עברבעלת}$  is uncertain; Berger *Inscr. céram. d'Hadrumète* 2.



of Gebal; her actual name was not pronounced, perhaps out of reverence. But there can be little doubt that the Ba'alath of Gebal was 'Ashtart, just as the Ba'al of Tyre was Melqarth (36 1), the Ba'al of H̄arran was Sin (p. 182), and בעלת מיפע was the title of an unnamed goddess in Sabaeen (CIS iv 172 3)<sup>1</sup>. There is abundant evidence that 'Ashtart was the chief goddess of Gebal. The city was specially sacred to her; its coins are stamped לנבל קרשת (149 B 11), with her symbol, the cone, standing in the temple-court (Rawlinson *Phoenicia* 146, Perrot et Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iii 60). Moreover, the goddess represented in the sacrificial scene above the inscr. is almost certainly 'Ashtart. In appearance, indeed, she resembles the Egyptian Isis-Hathor, having on her head the solar disk between two cow-horns<sup>2</sup>; but the Phoenicians borrowed some of the attributes, as well as the outward representation, of the Egyptian Isis for their own goddess. In an inscr. lately found at Memphis (1900) Isis and 'Ashtart are named together . . . לרבתי לאלם אדרת אס אלם עשתרה ולאלנם (p. 91 n. 1); and Plutarch has preserved the legend that Isis journeyed to Byblus (Gebal), where she was called 'Αστάρτη, *de Os. et Is.* § 15<sup>3</sup>. By the Greeks Ba'alath was taken to be a distinct deity, Βήλθης, Βααλτίς, and in particular the Ba'alath of Gebal was identified with Aphrodite, 'Αφροδίτη Βυβλίη, Lucian *de dea Syr.* 6<sup>4</sup>. In certain parts of Arabia the planet Venus had the name of *Balthi*<sup>5</sup>. The title רבת is given to 'Ashtart and to other goddesses; see 45 1. 47. 50. 60. 77 B. הרבת The article in Phoen. is far less common than in Hebr.; thus in 5 it occurs 7 times where Hebr. would have used it 28 times, Schröder 161. ממלכת *kingdom, sovereignty*, then generally, *royal person*, cf. l. 11. 57 2 &c.; in contrast to אדם 5 4. 6; and often on coins of African kings=מלך, 57 1 n. וקרא אן The ptc. followed by the pron. as in פעל

<sup>1</sup> So with the Nab. ארור lit. *lord of Shara*; the actual name of the god is unknown. Wellhausen *Reste Ar. Heid.* 51; and see E. Meyer *Ency. Bibl.* 3742.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Philo Bybl. ἡ δὲ 'Αστάρτη ἐπέθηκε τῇ ἰδίᾳ κεφαλῇ βασιλείας παράσημον κεφαλῇν ταύρου *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 569.

<sup>3</sup> Is. 10 4, if emended to וְכִי בְרַצְחָהּ בְּלִי (Lagarde), may further illustrate the combination of Phoen. and Egypt. deities; Beltis is perhaps the goddess of Gebal. Cheyne *Isaiah*, SBOT 137.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Philo Bybl. ὁ Κρόνος Βύβλων μὲν τὴν πόλιν τῇ θεᾷ Βααλτίδι, τῇ καὶ Διώνῃ, δίδωσι ἰβ.

<sup>5</sup> Chwolson *Die Ssabäer* ii 22 (= En-Nedîm i iv) يوم الجمعة الزهرة واسمها بلثي. Isaac of Antioch (died circ. 460 A. D.) speaks of Baaltis as a goddess common to the Osrhoenes and Arabs (*Opera* i 210 l. 98; 212 l. 129 ed. Bickell). Cumont in Pauly's *Realencyclopädie* (1896) s. v. Baltis.

קרא אני 13 48 Is. in Hebr. cf. 3 5 שכב אני 12. 1 שם אני 6. 3 ll. אנך Jer. 38 14 אני שאל. The idiom is more frequent in Aram., e.g. ידע אנה Dan. 2 8. In the Mishnah the ptc. and pron. are united and form a present tense, Driver *Tenses* § 135. 4. Cl.-Gan. thinks that the words refer to the scene above 'I am (here) invoking,' *Ét.* i 110.

L. 3. אה 1. 7. 28 4. 42 21 usually אית ll. 8. 15, the sign of the accus. אית was prob. pronounced 'iyath, later 'iyth, 'ilh=yth in Plautus, אה in later inscr. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* xl (1886) 738, suggests that the pronunciation was 'iúth ('iyáth, 'iyóth); but the analogy of the Hebr. form 'iwayath, 'iygath, 'eth, favours the vocalization אית. The Aram. forms ית, א, seem to be shortened from the fuller form preserved in Phoen. (61 28 n.); these, like the Arab. اِث, presuppose an original iyáth (so Nöld. l. c.): König *Lehrgeb.* ii 295, Wright *Comp. Gr.* 112. [ב שמע] קל Cf. the common formula 23 7. 24 2 &c. and Ps. 116 1. 13. 17.

L. 4. המבנה נחשת זן The word denoting material (נחשת) is in apposition to the preceding noun, a familiar construction in Hebr., e.g. הבקר הנחשת 2 K. 16 17 &c., Driver *Tenses* §§ 188 (1). 191; but in accordance with Phoen. usage (l. 2 n.) there is no article with נחשת זן, cf. הפתח חרץ זן in this line, הערת חרץ 1. 5, מרקע חרץ זן 24 1. נחשת might be explained as an accus. of limitation of the type זן הכרובים זהב 1 Ch. 28 18 and אَلْتَمَّ حديدًا (Driver l. c. § 193, Wright *Ar. Gr.* ii § 44 e), but the former construction is far more probable in Phoenician.

Ll. 4-6. The principal objects dedicated by Yehaw-milk were apparently three, (1) המבנה נחשת זן, (2) הפתח חרץ זן, (3) הערפת זן. Notice that these three have the demonstrative pron., and appear again in the recapitulation l. 11 f. Attached to (2) was הערת חרץ, just as עמרה, ו... מ, ומספנתה were attached to (3). The meaning of the second object, הפתח חרץ, הערת חרץ, is obscure. A reasonable sense is obtained for ll. 4 and 5 by treating פתח as = Hebr. פתוחה engraving on a seal (Ex. 28 11 &c.), or plate (1 K. 7 37), or wall (1 K. 6 29. 2 Ch. 3 7). פתח זן will then mean *this engraved work of mine*, i.e. the stele which bears the inscription; *over against, opposite to this* (על פון cf. 45 3. 1 K. 8 8. 2 Ch. 5 9), was הפתח זן חרץ, another incised stone, gilded, and surmounted by הערת חרץ set *in the midst of the stone*, i.e. prob. as a centre-piece at the top of it. What the gilded incised stone represented it is impossible to say for certain. Perhaps the stone was carved to represent a small shrine, like the façade of a temple, with the goddess standing or seated within, such as may be seen on the coins of Gebal, e.g.

Babelon *Pers. Achém.* nos. 1398, 1403, 1407 &c.; cf. the *aedicula* from Sardinia, CIS i 148, Pl. xxx. It has been suggested that פתח may mean not merely *engraved work* but *statue* or *bust*, and that the statue of the king (פתח' ז) was erected opposite to a gilded statue of the goddess (הפ' חרין זן); a position which may be illustrated from the Rosetta Stone, where the priests decree a statue of Ptolemy to be placed near the principal god of the temple, Cl.-Ganneau *Ét.* i 17. But whether פתח could be used in this sense is questionable; and even if the word is to be found in τοῖσι Φοινικῆϊοῖσι παταϊκοῖσι, which Herodotus says 'the Phoenicians place at the prow of their triremes' (iii 37), this single example of doubtful significance—παταϊκοῖσι may refer to figures of the Egyptian god Ptah—is hardly sufficient to warrant the rendering *statue*. An obvious meaning of פתח is *door*, here a *monumental door* or *pylon* (Vogüé, Renan); this suits זן חרין פתח but not ז פתח', which seems to denote the stele of the inscr. What is intended by הערית, if that be the right reading, is even more doubtful. Possibly ערת is the Phoen. equivalent of the Egyptian 'ar'a, i. e. the uraeus, or small serpent, which appears sometimes as an accessory to the winged disk and on the head-dress of gods and kings in Egyptian art. Cl.-Ganneau takes the word as a plur. denoting an uraeus-frieze of Egyptian pattern on the epistyle of the *aedicula* (הפתח); he gives several illustrations of Egyptian and Phoen. votive shrines with this decoration (l. c. 22-24).

זן חרין פתח in this court is the best restoration of the text; cf. 33 2. 3.

חרין = χρυσός, זהב, 4 5. 24 1. 33 3. 5. In Hebr. חרין is poetical, e. g. Ps. 68 14; many words poetical, archaic, or rare in Hebr. are common in Phoen.,

e. g. טוב for נעם, בשר for שאר, שור for אלה, רגל for פעם, עשה for פעל, ירה

for ירה &c. In this inscr. and in 4 5. 33 5 חרין has been rendered *incision, engraving* from חרין = *cut, sharpen* in Hebr. See 33 5 n. The rendering *gold* is preferable here and in 4 5.

בתחב. Prob. = בתוף. cf. עלת for על ll. 11. 12. 14 &c.

הערפת Prob. gallery, portico, stoá.

Etymologically the word is the same as the Arab. عَرَفَة lit. 'eaves to catch the rain,' or 'gable from which the rain drips'; then 'the gallery below the roof,' 'upper balcony'; see

Hoffmann *Ueb. einige Phön. Inschr.* 12 f. in *Abh. Gött. Ges.* xxxvi (1890). The word occurs again 10 1. 33 5. The Corp. reads, with

less probability, הערכה the row of columns, cf. the Hebr. מערכה a row (of lamps) Ex. 39 37. עמדיה i. e. עמדה

cf. in Sabaeen the dedication of the peristyle of 'Umdán, עמון מכנתן עמון CIS iv 240 6. וה...ם

perhaps וה[ראש]ם and the capitals, Ex. 36 38. 38 17. ומספנתה

and its ceiling cf. ספון in Jer. 22 14. Hag. 1 4.

L. 7. כמאש i. e. אש + כמ = אשר, כמו אשר, 10 9. קראת Pf. 1 sing.; cf. פעלח 5 19. ימנאת 18 2. Though not written, the final *i* was pronounced; Plaut. *Poen.* v 1 1 *corathi*. Schröder 204.

L. 8. ופעל . . . ושמע Pf., prob. pronounced as fem.; cf. טנא 56 1. ימנא 27 3. חוא 54 3 (NPun.) נדר CIS i 191 2 (Pun.). In Pun. inscr. the pf. 3 sing. fem. often ends in א (א-), e.g. CIS i 216 3 f. 280 2 f. &c. Contrast impf. with י after כאשר in Hebr., Ex. 16 34. פעל עשה חסר עם = Hebr. עשה טוב עם Gen. 26 29. Ps. 119 65 or עם Gen. 24 12 &c.

L. 9. ותחו Piel impf. 3 sing. fem. with suff. of 3 sing. mas. i. e. ותחיו. The same stem of the √חוו occurs in the pr. nn. יחומלך, יחובעל, יחואלן, יחובעל &c., cf. מחוואל Gen. 4 18 and perhaps תנה. ותארך i. e. ותארה; cf. 65 3. Ps. 21 5. ימו ושנתו are plur. Cf. Dt. 17 20. 1 K. 3 14. הא Pron. of 3 sing., used in this form for both

genders, prob. with a difference of pronunciation, *hu'* or *hi'*, according to the gender of the antecedent; e.g. mas. הא הדבר l. 15. הרבר הא 4 6. 5 10 &c. Moab. St. 1 6. 27. Old Aram. 61 30. 62 11. 22. 63 17 f. Palm. 147 ii c 6: fem. מלאכת הא l. 13. 5 11. 22. 27 2 &c.

L. 10. חן וחיים לען אלנם ובן אדם Cf. חן לען . . . חתן Cf. 5 9. 16. 18. 22. 10 7 (constr. st.). 20 A 3. B 3 (constr. st.). *Poen.* v 1 1 *alonim valonuth* = ואלנות; the sing. occurs only in pr. nn. יחואלן, יחועלן. This אלנם is not the direct equivalent of the Hebr. אלהים, for נ does not interchange with ה; it is an independent formation with the ending נ', like the Hebr. גאון; König *Lehrgeb.* ii 444. In the cases quoted אלנם has a plur. meaning *gods* (האלנם הקדשם 5 9. 22); contrast אלם, which, though plur. in form, is sing. in meaning, 33 6 n.

L. 11. No convincing restoration has been proposed for the beginning of the line. For the imprecations cf. 5 10-12. יסף Prob. Hif. impf. 3 sing. mas. על = עלת, after יסף 5 20. Moab. St. 1 21. 29.

L. 12. שם Ptcp., cf. l. 2 n. At the beginning of the next line we may restore מלך גבל פני ב to complete the construction, as in Lev. 20 5. Jer. 21 10 &c. Cl.-Ganneau l. c. restores [מלך גבל קמני ל]פעל, cf. 4 3 n.

L. 13. מלאכת הא. Phoen. omits the art. with the pron. in these cases, cf. הא הדם l. 15, and sometimes with the noun too, as here and 5 11 ממלכת הא. Cf. 1 3 הבמת זאת and add. note ii. The rest of the line is obscure. Cl.-Ganneau takes ואם . . . ואם as depre-

cative particles after the adjuration which he restores in l. 12 (קנמי), cf. Neh. 13 25, *Do not set there . . . nor.* אבל perhaps=בל *not*.

L. 14. Cl.-Ganneau suggests ה[סח]י *sweep* refuse into the sanctuary; cf. Lam. 3 45 סחי. The prohibition may be illustr. by a Gk. inscr. (B. c. 380) ἐπὶ τὰς ἱερᾶς γὰς κόπρον μὴ ἄγειν μηδεμίαν Michel *Rec. d'inscr. gr.* 702 21.

L. 15. זרעו In fig. sense as 4 7 n. 5 8. 11. 22; cf. also Ps. 21 11. זרעו is an isolated instance of the suff. ׳ with a noun instead of the usual ׳. A verb is required at the beginning of the line, such as תקץ *may . . . cut off!* 5 9 f. 22.

Judging from this inscr., the dialect of Gebal approached nearer to Hebr. than the normal Phoen. speech. Thus the suffixed forms follow the Hebr. type, זרעו l. 6, עלהם l. 15, זרעו l. 15, ימו ושנתו (plur.) l. 9, עמדה (plur.) l. 6, מספנתה (sing.) l. 6; תחוו l. 9 with יו for יהו cf. יחיהו Ps. 41 3. The verb חוה seems to have been used at Gebal; in NPun. it occurs rather often in the form חוא עוה, &c.; in Phoen. proper it is only found in compound names. Idioms which resemble Hebr. are כמאש=כמאש l. 7, כאשר על פן l. 5 *over against*, ימו תארר l. 9, תתן חן לען l. 9 f., [פני ב] יסם l. 12 f., יסם לפעל l. 11 cf. לעשות l. 1 K. 16 33. Dt. 13 12 &c. There is a Hebr. ring about the phrase מלך צדק הא l. 9.

*Additional note i. The fem. sing. ending in Phoenician.* The ending of the fem. sing. of nouns in Phoen., whether in the absol. or constr. state, is ת, an archaic form which belongs also to the language of Moab, e. g. במת 1 3. מסלת 26. 28. 29. The ת was prob. pronounced ת (in transcriptions 'ath), as in the names of the old Canaanite towns אפרת, בעלת, חלקת &c., in the O. T.; for Phoen. followed the same general laws of tone as Hebr., which lengthened the vowel of *ath* under the accent. Hebrew, however, went further, and aspirated the final ת into ה, e. g. in the Siloam inscr. 2 1. הנרכה, 5 1. אמה; the transcription of some pr. names suggests that the Punic dialect did the same to a limited extent, e. g. Dido=ידידא, Carthago=קרת חדשא, Ἰμυκλών=חמלכא &c., Schröder 126. The instances of the ending א' with fem. nouns cited by Schröder 172 n. 9 are all doubtful. With regard to the fem. ending of the verb, it seems that Phoen. proper did not use a consonantal form, e. g. 3 8. שמע . . . ופעל. The ending א', developed like the Hebr. ת out of an original ת, is confined to the Punic and Neo-Punic inscr., e. g. נדרע, נדרא *passim*, 27 3. שמעא=שמא CIS i 180 4. See Stade *Morgenl. Forschungen* (1875) 214 ff.; Wright *Comp. Gr.* 134.

*Additional note ii. The forms of the demonstrative pron. in Phoenician.*

Sing. (1) ז mas., sometimes fem. e.g. 3 10. 5 3. 7 1. 19 1. 42 3 &c., and often in NPun. ז אבן 54 1. 58 1. Cf. the Old Aram. ז in פמו 61 3. ומז 4. 22, and the Hebr. זו Ps. 12 8. It does not take the art. after a definite noun; cf. Moab. הבמת זאה 1 3; *Poen. v. 1 1 macom esse* = מקום הזה is an exception.

(2) זן mas. 3 4. 5. 12. Cf. Old Aram. זן 61 1. 62 1 and the emphatic זנה 62 22. 63 20. 64 3. 68 6. 76 c 2 (p. 185 n. 1); in Nab., Palm., Palest. (זין) and Bibl. Aram., דנה; Eth. *zentū*.

(3) זא fem. 3 6. 12. Cf. Old Aram. 61 18f. 69 13. 76 B 5 (used as fem. of זנה); in Nab., Bibl. Aram., דא (used as fem. of דנה); Palm. דה; Eth. *zāfi*.

(4) זת fem. NPun. 54 4. 57 3 &c.; in Plautus *syth*. Both זא and זת are, in origin, fem. formations from ז.

(5) אז mas. 11. 24 1. 25 1. 30 1, and fem. 13 2. 15 1. The א is a demonstrative sound, not the article.

Plur. אל 5 22. CIS i 14 5 &c.; cf. 1 Ch. 20 8; with the art. האל 27 3, cf. האל in the Pentateuch; in NPun. אלא, Plautus *ily*; Old Aram. אל (?) 61 29; Egypt. Aram. אלו 74 A 2; Nab. אלה 87 3 &c.; Palm. אלן 110 1 &c.; Bibl. Aram. אלקה, אלקה Jer. 10 11); Palest. Aram. אילין; late Hebr. אילי; Eth. *'eltu*.

4. Sidon. Tabnith. Circ. 300 B.C. Imp. Mus., Constantinople.

1 אנך תבנת כהן עשתרת מלך צדנם בן  
 2 אשמנעזר כהן עשתרת מלך צדנם שכב בארן  
 3 ז מי את כל אדם אש תפק אית הארן ז אל אל ת  
 4 פתח עלתי ואל תרגון כאי ארלן כסף אי ארלן  
 5 חרין וכל מנם משד בלת אנך שכב בארן ז אל אל תפת  
 6 ח עלתי ואל תרגון כתעבת עשתרת הדבר הא ואם פת  
 7 ח תפתח עלתי ורגו תרגון אל י[כן] ל[ך] זרע בחים תחת שמ  
 8 ש ומשכב את רפאם

I, Tabnith, priest of 'Ashtart, king of the Sidonians, son <sup>2</sup> of Eshmun-'azar, priest of 'Ashtart, king of the Sidonians, lie in this coffin: <sup>3</sup> My [curse be] with whatsoever man thou art that

bringest forth this coffin! Do not, do not <sup>4</sup> open me, nor disquiet me, for I have not indeed (?) silver, I have not indeed (?) <sup>5</sup> gold, nor any jewels of . . . only I am lying in this coffin: do not, do not open <sup>6</sup> me nor disquiet me, for that thing is an abomination to 'Ashtart. And if thou do at all <sup>7</sup> open me, and at all disquiet me, mayest thou have no seed among the living under the sun <sup>8</sup> nor resting-place among the shades!

The sarcophagus of Tabnith, like that of Eshmun-'azar ii (5), displays the characteristics of Egyptian workmanship; it was apparently stolen from an Egypt. tomb, for it bears the epitaph of an Egypt. general Penptah. The style is that of the fourth cent. B.C.; and as the dynasty of Eshmun-'azar i and Tabnith prob. belongs to the period after the occupation of Sidon by Alexander the Great in 332, the inscr. may be assigned to the end of the century, or perhaps rather to the first decade of the next, circ. 290, and 5 to a date 15 years later; see 5 18 n.

L. I. אֲנִי See 3 1 n. תבנת Father of Eshmun-'azar ii, 5 1. The name, pronounced Tabnith or Tabnêth, is preserved in that of a village near Nabatiyeh, SE. of Sidon, *Kefr Tibnith*. It corresponds to the Hebr. Tibni, 1 K 16 21 f. LXX Luc. Θαβεννει, but hardly to the Gk. *Τέννης*, the king of Sidon who rebelled against the Persians and was slain in 350, for his coins bear the letters תע as the initials of his name, Babelon *PA* 1574-8. כהן עשתרת cf. 5 15. It is prob. that the dynasty was founded by a priest of 'Ashtart at Sidon; cf. 1 K. 16 31 and Jos. c. *Ap.* i 18 *Ειβώβαλος ὁ τῆς Ἀστάρτης ἱερεύς*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> אַשְׁתַּרְתַּי pronounced 'Ashtart, as the Gk. *Ἀστάρτη* (LXX &c.) proves: the chief goddess of the Phoenicians. Her cult was established at Sidon (5. 6. 1 K. 11 5. 33), at Gebal (3), at Ashqelon (Herod. i 105 *τῆς Οὐρανίης Ἀφροδίτης τὸ ἱρόν . . . πάντων ἀρχαιότατον ἱρὸν ὅσα ταύτης τῆς θεοῦ*, prob. alluded to in 1 S. 31 10 where *עַשְׁתָּרַת* is to be read, LXX *τὸ Ἀσπάρτειον*; cf. the bilingual inscr. 32 1 *עַשְׁתָּרַת* שם בן עברששורח, in *אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי Ἀντίπατρος Ἀφροδισίου Ἀσκαλωνίτης*), in Cyprus (e. g. at Kition 13. 20), in Sicily at Eryx (CIS i 135 *הים אֲנִי עַשְׁתָּרַת* = the frequent *VENEREI ERYCINAI*), in Gaulus (38), and at Carthage (e. g. 45 1. CIS i 255 *עַשְׁתָּרַת עַשְׁתָּרַת עַשְׁתָּרַת* . . . *עַשְׁתָּרַת* 263 *אֲנִי עַשְׁתָּרַת* עַשְׁתָּרַת). The goddess of Carthage called by classical writers *Coelestis*, *Οὐρανία* (see quotation from Herodian below), was prob. none other than the Phoen. 'Ashtart; but see 48 1 n. As an element in compound pr. nn. 'Ashtart occurs very often. She was the goddess of fertility and generation (cf. Dt. 7 13. 28 4. 18. 51); and was identified both by Greeks and Phoenicians with Aphrodite, e. g. the common epithets *Κύπρις* and *Κυθήρεια* (of Kuthera in Crete) in Homer, and Cyprus, Paphia, as titles of Venus; *Λιβανίτις* was the title of Aphrodite worshipped in Lebanon (עַשְׁתָּרַת בְּלִבָּנון), Lucian *adv. indoct.* 3. There can be no doubt that the prototype of the Phoen. 'Ashtart was the Assy. Ishtar; to a considerable

L. 2. ארן Of a mummy-case, as Gen. 50 26.

L. 3. אש תפק מי את כל אדם אנתה The construction is uncertain. Taking מי as *whosoever* and את as = אנתה, we may render *whosoever thou art—any man—that shalt bring forth*; cf. מן את תהנם 64 5 f. *whosoever thou art that shalt rob* (so Cl.-Gan.); but here the construction is complicated by the insertion of כל אדם and becomes very laboured. Renan may be right in explaining מי as a mistake for קנמי, *my curse be with every man*; see 5 4 n. תפק is prob. Hifil impf. of פוק which means (1) *bring forth, fetch out*, e.g. Is. 58 10; cf. the Aram. נפק go forth, in Af. *bring forth*; or (2) *light upon, find*, e.g. Pr. 3 13 || מצא 8 35. The first meaning is preferable here. According to Hoffmann פוק = primarily *to come upon by accident, break in upon, break* (*Ueber einige phön. Inschr.* 57 ff.).

L. 4. ולא יתפתח עליהם II. 6. 7. 5 7. 10. CIS ii 226 2 אל תפתח עלי. עלי is prob. the prep. with suff., *upon me*, used pregnantly after תפתח lit. *open over me*; contrast 5 4 משכב ז א. אל יפתח אית משכב ז עלי is a noun (1) *inner chamber* (of the vault), the root עלה being used, as often in Assyr., in the sense of *going away*; so Winckler, *Altor. Forsch.* i 63 n.; or (2) *roof, lid*, lit. 'that which ascends,' cf. על־צֶמֶת upper part, על־צֶמֶת an elevated place; so Hoffmann l. c. But no derivative of the verb is actually used in Assyr. or in Arab. with the meanings proposed in (1) and (2). To take עלת as = Hebr. על־יה upper chamber does not suit the reference to a sepulchre. It is safer to render עלתי *upon me*. See further 5 6 n. תרניני Cf. 1 S. 28 15 of

degree the character of the goddesses was alike, and both filled the most prominent place in the worship of the two races. No satisfactory Semitic derivation of Ishtar-Ashtart has yet been found; hence it has been supposed that ultimately the name is of non-Semitic origin, Schrader *COT*<sup>2</sup> 179, Sayce *Hibb. Lects.* 252 f. The form עשרת with the fem. ending *t* is peculiar to the Palestinian deity. In Moabite the name occurs as עשרת with נכש 1 17; in Aram. it becomes עטר (= עשרת), e.g. Palm. ערועה 112 4 n. = 'Atargatis, and the pr. nn. ערועה CIS ii 52, ערועה Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* i 118. In S. Semitic (Sabaeen) the phonetic equivalent is עטר CIS iv 41 2. 46 5 &c., a male, not a female deity. 'Ashtart was not properly a moon-goddess, any more than Ishtar; but in some places she appears in this character, e.g. Lucian *de Dea Syr.* § 4 *ὡς μὲν αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, 'Αστάρτης ἐστίν 'Αστάρτην δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω Σεληναίην ἐμμεναι* (speaking of the temple at Sidon), and Herodian v 6 10 *λίβυες μὲν οὖν αὐτὴν Οὐρανιαὶν καλοῦσι· Φοίνικες δὲ 'Αστροάρχην ὀνομάζουσι, σελήνην εἶναι θέλοντες*. 'Ashtart was sometimes represented, as we have seen (3 2 n.), with the Egyptian symbols of Isis and Hathor, the solar disk between two cow-horns. It has been suggested that these were misunderstood, and taken to represent the full and crescent moon; and in this way 'Ashtart came to be conceived as a moon-goddess. See Schürer *Gesch.*<sup>2</sup> ii 23 f.; Driver, art. *Ashtoreth*, *Hastings Dict. Bibl.* vol. i; Lagrange *Rev. Bibl.* x (1901) 550 ff.; E. Meyer *Ency. Bibl.* 3741 ff.



disquieting the dead. א The Phoen. negative; twice in the O.T. 1 S. 4 21. Job 22 30; in Assyr. *a-a, é, ai*. It is the usual negative in Eth., and frequently occurs in Rabbinic, e.g. אִי אִפְשֵׁר. The pr. nn. אִיתְמַר, אִיזְבַּל do prob. *not* contain this form. The other neg. in Phoen. is בִּל 5 3 *n*. כִּי אִי 5 5 אִרְלֵן The parallel expression in בִּן אִרְלֵן like שֵׁם בִּן מִנָּם suggests that אִרְלֵן like בִּן must contain some such meaning as *with me*. At any rate the final ך' is prob. the suff. 1 sing. in the verbal form which was sometimes used with preps.; e.g. בִּן 5 9 תַּחְתָּנָם. Hoffmann l. c. reads אִרְ לֵן, which is quite possible, and takes אִרְ as a particle strengthening the preceding negative (cf. אִי בִל 42 18) = the Bibl. Aram. אִרְ = אִרְ, Pal. Talm. and Midr. הִרְי used sometimes with merely a demonstrative force, *here*; so he renders *there is not indeed with me* (לֵי = לֵן). It is possible that S. Augustine on Ps. 123 (*Op.* iv. col. 1407 ed. Ben.) is alluding to this particle when he writes 'quod Punicis dicunt *iar*, non lignum (יער), sed quando dubitant; hoc Graeci ἀρα; hoc Latini possunt vel solent dicere, "putas," cum ita loquuntur, "putas, evasi hoc?"' For הִנָּה after a negative cf. הִלָּא הִנָּה Hab. 2 13 and οὐχὶ ἰδοὺ Acts 2 7. Though Hoffmann's explanation cannot be regarded as certain, it is preferable to that of Halévy, who takes אִרְלֵן as = εἰδωλον. It was not the custom to bury εἰδωλα of gold and silver in sepulchres.

L. 5. מִנָּם 5 5. 45 2 f. Prob. = Aram. מִנָּם, מִנָּם, lit. *vessel*, used here like the Hebr. כְּלִי for *jewels*. Hoffmann takes the word as = μαμμωνᾶς, מִמון, *money, valuables* (Talm.); but this does not account for the plur. form. מִשֵּׁר Meaning unknown. בִּלְתִּי here apparently = בְּלִיתִי *only*. There is no exact parallel for such usage in Hebr.

L. 6. תַּעֲבַת עֲשֵׁתֶרֶת Cf. תַּעֲבַת יְהוָה Dt. 7 25. 17 1. 18 12 &c. Pr. 3 32. 11 20 &c. הָאֵה הַדְּבָרִי See 3 13 *n*. 9 *n*.

L. 7. רִנּוֹ תְרִנּוֹ i. e. רִנּוֹ תְרִנּוֹ. In Hebr. the Qal. inf. abs. is found occasionally with the fin. vb. in a derived conjugation, e.g. חָרַם עָרִים יְעָרֵם 1 S. 23 22. נִפְלַל יִפְקַל Ex. 19 13. יִכּוֹן לֶךְ The stone-cutter has accidentally omitted the כ in these two words. The verb כּוֹן is used in Phoen., as in Arab. and Ethiop., for the Hebr. הָיָה, in the sense *to exist, to be*; e.g. 5 8. 11. 20. 29 15. 42 3. 7. 13 &c. זָרַע For כָּחִים For זָרַע in metaph. sense cf. 61 20. 64 11. 69 12; and cf. the imprecations in 5 8-9. 11-12, and the Palm. זָרַע וְגַר עַד לֵא יְהוָה לֵה זָרַע וְגַר עַד עַלְמָא 145 4 f. חָחָה שִׁמְשֵׁה Cf. 5 12. The phrase is a favourite one with the author of Qoheleth.

L. 8. מִשְׁכַּב אֵת רַפְאָם Again in 5 8. For מִשְׁכַּב of a *resting-place* in the under-world cf. Eze. 32 25. For רַפְאָם cf. Is. 14 9. 26 14. 19.

יִכּוֹן  
 Z. A. W.  
 22 VI. 81 ff.  
 = euphemistic  
 usage (2nd)

Job 26 5. Ps. 88 11 &c.; the meaning usually given is *weak ones*,  $\sqrt{\text{רפח}}$  *to be weak*; but, as Cheyne remarks, 'the terrible' or 'the wise' is what we should expect; see *Ency. Bibl.* art. Dead.

5. Sidon. Eshmun-'azar. CIS i 3. Date, see p. 27. Louvre. Plate I.

בירח בל בשנת עסר וארבע — III | למלכי מלך אשמנעזר מלך צדנם  
בן מלך תבנת מלך צדנם דבר מלך אשמנעזר מלך צדנם לאמר נגולת  
בל עתי בן מסך ימם אזרם יתם בן אלמת ושכב אנך בחלת ז ובקבר ז  
במקם אש בנת קנמי את כל ממלכת וכל אדם אל יפתח אית משכב ז ו  
אל יבקש בן מנם כ אי שם בן מנם ואל ישא אית חלת משכבי ואל יעמ  
סן במשכב ז עלת משכב שני אף אם אדם ידברנך אל תשמע  
בדנם כ כל ממלכתו

כל אדם אש יפתח עלת משכב ז אם אש ישא אית חלת משכבי  
אם אש יעמסן במ

שכב ז אל יכן לס משכב את רפאם ואל יקבר בקבר ואל יכן לס בן זורע  
תחתנם ויסגרנם האלנם הקדשם את ממלכ אדר אש משל בנם לק  
צתנם אית ממלכת אם אדם הא אש יפתח עלת משכב ז אם אש ישא אית

חלת ז ואית זרע ממלת הא אם אדם המת אל יכן לס שרש למטו  
פר למעל ותאר בחים תחת שמש כ אנך נחן נגולת בל עתי בן מס  
ך ימם אזרם יתם בן אלמת אנך כ אנך אשמנעזר מלך צדנם בן

מלך תבנת מלך צדנם בן בן מלך אשמנעזר מלך צדנם ואמי אמעשתרת  
כהנת עשתרת רבתן המלכת בת מלך אשמנעזר מלך צדנם אם בנן

אית בת  
אלנם אית [בת עשתרת] ת בצדן ארין ים וישרן אית עשתרת שממאדרם  
ואנחן

אש בנן בת לאשמ[ן. ד.] קדש ען ידלל בהר וישבני שממאדרם ואנחן  
אש בנן בתם

ג 5

ע 6  
in. camy.

ce coote's  
note

6 x =

וישבני  
Perhaps better  
a Phil (50 in 2.16)  
וישבני

Probably  
5] שׁוֹט rather than שׁוֹט (heaven)  
Sidon—Eshmun-azar

31//

עֲשָׂה לִּי כְּעֲשָׂה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל

לאֵלן צִדְנָם בְּצִדְן אֶרֶץ יָם בַּת לִבְעַל צִדְן וּבַת לְעֵשְׂתֵרֶת שֵׁם בְּעַל  
וְעַד יִתֵּן לָן אֶרֶן מַלְכָּם

אֵית דָּאֵר וּיְפִי אֶרְצָת דְּגֵן הָאֶדְרֵת אִשׁ בְּשֵׁר שְׂרֹן לְמַדְתָּ עֲצֻמָּה  
אִשׁ פְּעֻלַּת וּיְסַפְנָנִים

עֵלַת גְּבַל אֶרֶץ לְכַנְנָם לְצִדְנָם לְעַל[ם] קִנְמִי אֵת כָּל מַמְלַכַת וּכְל  
אִדָּם אֵל יִפְתַּח עֲלָתִי

וְאֵל יַעַר עֲלָתִי וְאֵל יַעֲמֹסֵן בְּמִשְׁכְּבוֹ וְאֵל יִשָּׂא אֵית חֵלֶת מִשְׁכְּבִי לִּם יִסְגֵר  
אֲלֵנָם הַקֹּדֶשׁ אֵל וְיִקְצֹן הַמַּמְלַכַת הָאֵה וְהָאֲדָמָם הַמֵּת וּזְרַעֵם לְעַלְמָה

In the month Bul, in the fourteenth year 14 of the reign of king Eshmun-azar, king of the Sidonians, 2 son of king Tabnith, king of the Sidonians, spake king Eshmun-azar, king of the Sidonians, saying, I have been seized 3 before my time, the son of a (short) number of days . . . , an orphan, the son of a widow ; and I lie in this coffin and in this grave, 4 in the place which I built. I adjure every prince and every man that they open not this resting-place, 5 nor seek with me jewels, for there are no jewels with me there, nor take away the coffin of my resting-place, nor carry me from this resting-place (and lay me) on a second resting-place! Yea, if men speak to thee, do not listen to their words. For every prince and 7 every man who shall open this resting-place, or who shall take away the coffin of my resting-place, or who shall carry me from 8 this resting-place, may they have no resting-place with the Shades, nor be buried in a grave, nor have son or seed 9 in their stead ; and may the holy gods deliver them up to a mighty prince who shall rule over them, to cut off that prince or man who shall open this resting-place, or who shall take away 11 this coffin, and the seed of that prince or of those men! May they have no root downwards or 12 fruit upwards, nor any comeliness among the living under the sun! For I am to be pitied (?); I have been seized before my time, the son of 13 a (short) number of days . . . , an orphan, the son of a widow was I. For I, Eshmun-

'azar, king of the Sidonians, son <sup>14</sup> of king Tabnith, king of the Sidonians, grandson of king Eshmun-'azar, king of the Sidonians, and my mother Am-'ashtart, <sup>15</sup> priestess of 'Ashtart, our lady, the queen, daughter of king Eshmun-'azar, king of the Sidonians—(we are they) who built the houses <sup>16</sup> of the gods, the house of 'Ashtart in Sidon, the land of the sea, and we caused 'Ashtart to dwell there, making (her) glorious (?); and we <sup>17</sup> (are they) who built a house for Eshmun, in the holy field (?), the well of Yidalal in the mountain, and we caused him to dwell there, making (him) glorious (?). And we (are they) who built houses <sup>18</sup> for the gods of the Sidonians in Sidon, the land of the sea, a house for the Ba'al of Sidon, and a house for 'Ashtart, the Name of Ba'al. And further, the lord of kings gave to us <sup>19</sup> Dôr and Yâfê, the glorious corn-lands which are in the field of Sharon, in accordance with the great things which I did; and we added them <sup>20</sup> to the borders of the land, that they might belong to the Sidonians for ever. I adjure every prince and every man that they open me not, nor uncover me, nor carry me from this resting-place, nor take away the coffin of my resting-place, lest <sup>21</sup> these holy gods deliver them up, and cut off that prince and those men, and their seed, for ever !

L. 1. בל 12 1. 24 2. the eighth month, November, cf. 1 K. 6 38; Assyr. *Arah samna*, Palm. בון, Jewish מרחשון. The name is probably native Canaanite; its original meaning is not known. עטר For עשר, an orthographic peculiarity found only here; 42 3. 46 1 עשרת. In Phoen. as in Hebr. ש stands for *s* and *sh*, e.g. שמע l. 6 and ישא l. 7. שנת is plural. Phoen. uses 'in 14 years' for 'in the 14th year'; see 6 1 *n.* and cf. the construction vi בימם 12 1 *n.* למלכי is usually taken as inf. constr. with suff. 3 mas. sing., 'of his reign,' viz. of king Eshmun-'azar, cf. the Aram. idiom in which the suffixed noun is followed by י, ך, before the genitive. The Hebr. בבוא האיש Eze. 10 3 is similar; Ges. § 131 *n.* and note <sup>2</sup>, Schröd. 149 f. But the construction is awkward in Phoen., and the parallel which is quoted from 42 4 ff. אחרי השאר can be otherwise explained. Lidzsb. may be right in treating מלכי as inf. constr. with ך compaginis, cf. 6 1 f. בירח... [ב]י מלך ברעשתרת. In 24 2. 26 2 למלכי has the suff.

3 mas. sing., but the construction is different. אשמנעור i.e. Eshmun-azar ii, see 4 1 f.

L. 2. מ' תכנת בן מ' See 4 1. דבר . . . לאמר Elsewhere peculiar to Hebr. The ✓ דבר l. 6 has not been found in Phoen. outside this inscr.

L. 3. קפטו ולא עה l. 12, cf. Job 22 16 עה. Qoh. 7 17, and the beginning of Hezekiah's hymn, Is. 38 10. The Phoen. negative בל, in Hebr. poetic, occurs again in 42 15. 43 6. The other negative is אי l. 5 and 4 4 n.; the two are apparently combined in איבל 42 18. 21. 43 11. לא is not used in Phoen. The meaning of the eight following letters (again in l. 12 f.) is obscure. They may be read בן מסך ימם *the son of a (small) number of days*, cf. ימים מספר Num. 9 20 *a few days*. The word מסך prob. comes from סכך (for the form cf. קסך Ex. 26 36. מִסְכָּם Num. 31 28), and means *number, sum*, as סף in the Babyl. Aram. of the Talmud, e.g. *B. Bathr.* 2 1 a מקרי דרדקי סך *the number for a teacher of the young*; hence the denom. vb. סך *to sum, count up*, e.g. *B. Bathr.* 166 b (Levy *NHWB* s.v.); cf. the Syr. سَكَا (from سَمَى *sum, limit*, and Arab. سَكَّ *to stop, close up*). The Hebr. סוך (שוך) *to fence, hedge round* Job 3 23, מסוכה *hedge* Mic. 7 4, is prob. a kindred root. With regard to בן another explanation is possible; it may be written for מן before a word beginning with מ, cf. l. 6 n., 29 13 בן מנחת (Lidzb. 312); in Himyaritic בן is the equivalent of מן *from*, e.g. CIS iv 20 4 בעמחו = מִעֲמֹחוּ iv 2 9 f. If this is the case, tr. *from the (full) number of (my) days*. אורם l. 3. Meaning unknown. The four letters occur again in an inscr. from Hadrumetum (Susa), Euting *Hadr.* 9 2 מצב מלכבעל אורם (Carth. In. Anh. 6). To derive the word from אור *to gird* (Stade *Morg. Forsch.* 225 f.) gives no sense that suits the context; on the other hand, if the root be זרם, it may have the same sense as the Arab. زَرَمَ *cease, stop short*, and אורם, possibly an Afel form, may mean *cut off*, i.e. by disease (Winckler *Altor. Forsch.* i 67); but it is hard to say what part of the verb אורם (Afel) can be. None of the explanations which have been proposed, e.g. Hoffmann's אָרָם הם בְּנוּ [בְּנוּ] אֵלָּם, commend themselves. The letters which follow may be read אלמת perhaps = Hebr. אִלְמָנָה *widowhood, here widow*. חלת Prob. *sarcophagus*. The ✓ חלל = bore, hollow out; Arab. حَلَل, hence حَلَلَةٌ *box, case*; Aram. חֲלָא *sheath*; Bab. Talm. חלתא *bee-hive*; ll. 5. 7. 11. 21.

L. 4. בנת i.e. בְּנֵיתִי. קנמי את כל ונו' *my curse be with every . . .* l. 20. 4 3 (corr.). In the Mishnah קונם is used in adjurations and imprecations, very much in the same way as קרבן (e.g. *Nedarim* 10 a), *Gittin* 45 b a man of Sidon said to his wife מנרשך אמי קונם אם 'a

curse upon me if I do not divorce thee!'; the word may have been used in Phoen. for similar imprecations. It is to be explained most prob. by the Syr. **ܡܢܫܐ** *substantia, ἰπὸστασις*, so *person* (from **ܡܢܫܐ**), often used in such phrases as **ܡܢܫܐ ܢܦܝܝܝܢܐ** *tu ipse*, and with the suff. simply as an emphatic pers. pron. **ܡܢܫܐܐ** *egomet*. In imprecations **ܩܢܘܡ** will then be the object in an elliptical sentence, '(I pledge) myself, my person, with so and so (that I will avenge) . . .' See Wright *Comp. Gr.* 130. **ܩܢܘܡܐ ܩܢܘܡܐ ܩܢܘܡܐ** 3 2 *n.* **ܩܢܘܡܐ** and the vbs. which follow may be either sing. or plur. **ܩܢܘܡܐ** A *resting-place* in the grave, as 16 2. 2 Ch. 16 14. Is. 57 2, cf. 4 8 *n.* To violate a grave was the greatest indignity that could be offered to the dead; see Am. 2 1. Jer. 8 1 f.

L. 5. **ܩܢܘܡܐ** Either **ܩܢܘܡܐ** *with me* or **ܩܢܘܡܐ** *with us*. The former is better suited to the context, while the latter is what we should expect from the analogy of Hebr. But the sing. suff. with demonstrative **ܩܢܘܡܐ**, though properly belonging to verbs (e. g. **ܩܢܘܡܐ ܩܢܘܡܐ** 3 2. **ܩܢܘܡܐ ܩܢܘܡܐ** 8), may have been used in Phoen. with prepositions; cf. the form in **ܩܢܘܡܐ ܩܢܘܡܐ**. See note on **ܩܢܘܡܐ** 4 4. **ܩܢܘܡܐ** See 4 5 *n.* 65 6. The five letters **ܩܢܘܡܐ** are taken by the Corp. as one word **ܩܢܘܡܐ** for **ܩܢܘܡܐ** *treasures* cf. *μαμμωνά*. Stade, *Morg. Forsch.* 223, proposes **ܩܢܘܡܐ** (from **ܩܢܘܡܐ**) *a rich man*, lit. *a son of pounds*, cf. Talm. B. *Erubim* 85 b **ܩܢܘܡܐ**. Both explanations are improbable.

L. 6. **ܩܢܘܡܐ** **ܩܢܘܡܐ** **ܩܢܘܡܐ** **ܩܢܘܡܐ** **ܩܢܘܡܐ** Usually rendered, 'nor superimpose upon this resting-place the chamber of a second resting-place,' taking **ܩܢܘܡܐ** as impf. 3 plur. with ending **ܩܢܘܡܐ** (cf. **ܩܢܘܡܐ** 1. 22, **ܩܢܘܡܐ** 33 6), and **ܩܢܘܡܐ** as a noun, see 4 4 *n.* This rendering, however, is prob. incorrect. In Hebr. **ܩܢܘܡܐ** = (1) *lay a burden upon* (**ܩܢܘܡܐ**), *lade* Gen. 44 13. Neh. 13 15, and (2) *carry as a burden, lade oneself* Zech. 12 3 (with suff.). Neh. 4 11. Is. 46 3. Each time **ܩܢܘܡܐ** occurs in this inscr., ll. 5 f. 7. 21, the parallel verb in the context is **ܩܢܘܡܐ**, just as in Is. 46 3 **ܩܢܘܡܐ** . . . **ܩܢܘܡܐ** cf. v. 1 and Neh. 4 11; it is therefore most probable that **ܩܢܘܡܐ** means not *lay a burden upon* (which would require the prep. **ܩܢܘܡܐ** rather than **ܩܢܘܡܐ**), but *carry me as a burden*, the final **ܩܢܘܡܐ** being the suff. 1 sing. (cf. **ܩܢܘܡܐ** 4 6. **ܩܢܘܡܐ** 8. **ܩܢܘܡܐ** 15). Similarly in 42 13. **ܩܢܘܡܐ** 8 is used of an offering *carried* into the presence of the god; cf. also the pr. nn. **ܩܢܘܡܐ** 2. **ܩܢܘܡܐ** CIS i 941 &c. **ܩܢܘܡܐ** **ܩܢܘܡܐ** can hardly mean *carry me in this sepulchre*, for the **ܩܢܘܡܐ**, which denotes not the coffin but the sepulchre or place of burial, could not be carried away. The removal of the coffin or mummy-case is deprecated in the phrase **ܩܢܘܡܐ** **ܩܢܘܡܐ** **ܩܢܘܡܐ**, repeated three times in this context (ll. 5. 7. 21). Accordingly **ܩܢܘܡܐ** must mean *from this sepulchre*, the **ܩܢܘܡܐ** being written for **ܩܢܘܡܐ**

ܩܢܘܡܐ  
Arabic Energy  
ܩܢܘܡܐ Judge  
2 footnote.

(מן) before a word beginning with מ, see l. 3 n. The prep. ב itself cannot denote *from* (Winckler *Allor. Forsch.* i 64 f.); the instances quoted, e.g. 11 בראשת נחשת 3 9. בפלג לארך 3 9. בכסף אלם 6 33 are not conclusive. The meaning of עלת is disputed. It occurs after פתח three times in this inscr. ll. 7. 10. 20 (cf. l. 4 אית), and three times in 4, ll. 4. 6. 7; similarly after יער l. 21. It is safest to take it here (l. 6), and in every case, as the prep. עלת used in a pregnant sense; thus after יעמסן, *carry me (and lay me) on a second sepulchre*, after יפתח, *open over me, over this sepulchre i.e. open me up &c.*, exactly as the Palm. וּאִנְשׁ לֹא יִפְתַּח עֲלוּהִי נֹמְחָא *and let no man open over him this chamber* 145 3. Note the alternative construction with the accus. l. 4 אֵל יִפְתַּח אִית מִשְׁכַּב ז. See 4 4 n. ארם Plur. of ארם, not found in Hebr.; ll. 11. 22. 20 A 5. 33 4. 7. 42 16. 17. ידברנך For suff. after רבר cf. the rare usage in O.T., e.g. Gen. 37 4 דָּבְרוּ. The form here is Piel impf. 3 plur., and the suff. has a demonstrative נ; cf. יספננם l. 19. Ps. 50 23 יִכְבְּרֵנִי Gen. 27 19. 31 חִבְרֵנִי Job 7 14 תִּבְעֵתֵנִי; König *Lehrgeb.* ii 443 c. בנמ This might mean *their vain talk* from בר Is. 16 6. Jer. 48 30 &c., but it is much more likely that the stone-cutter made a mistake (cf. ll. 9. 15. 16), and intended to write ברברנמ i.e. בְּרִבְרֵיהֶם. For שמע ב cf. Gen. 22 18. 2 S. 12 18 &c. with בקול.

L. 7. 4 4 n. יפתח עלת אש אש or *who shall take away*. Here and in ll. 10. 11 אש by itself=*or*, a variation from the Hebr. usage. In 42 3 &c. אש . . . אש=*whether . . . or*, as in Hebr.

L. 8. 4 7 n. למ Prep. ל with suff. 3 plur., l. 11. Many scholars, however, take this suff. to be sing. and not plur., and suppose that it was pronounced לם -*ahim-ém* (as *ahi-é* ' , the usual form of this suff.); Schröd. 153-157, see 42 5 n. But in this inscr. the context does not require למ to be taken as sing. 4 8 רפאם

L. 9. תחנתם = תחנתיהם *in their stead*. ויסנרם Piel or Hifil impf. 3 plur. mas. with suff. נם, *and may . . . deliver them up*; here followed by את *with*, instead of ביר as in O.T. האלנם הקרשם Cf. l. 22. 3 10 n. Dan. 4 5. [ממלכת]ת So the text is prob. to be corrected. Cf. the mistake in ממלכת]ת l. 11. אדר splendid, mighty, an epithet assumed by the Ptolemaic kings, 10 6; cf. Ps. 136 18 מלכים אדירים. משל Qal ptc. where the impf. might be expected. בהם = בנמ See add. note on suff. נם p. 39.

L. 10. לקצנתם *to cut them off*, see add. note p. 39. The object of the inf. is expanded in the two long clauses which follow: '(even) that prince . . . or those men (l. 11).' It is possible to put the stop at לקצנתם and take אית ממלכת וגו' as accus. pendens, the construction

being resumed by אל יבן לם l. 11 (Hoffmann); but this is less in accordance with epigraphic style. אַם or l. 7 n.

L. 11. ממל[כ]ת L. 11. So correct the error of the mason. מ' הא 3 13 n. המַת = המַת l. 22. 29 5. 42 17 המת For the ending ת in המת cf. Eth. 'emüntü, 'emāntü, Assyr. šunūti, fem. šināti, Sab. hmt; König *Lehrgeb.* ii 368. שרש למט ונ' Cf. Is. 37 31. Am. 2 9. Job 18 16. For פַר cf. 44 2.

L. 12. תאר with the sense of *beauty* as in Is. 53 2. חחת שמש 4 7 n. נחן Apparently Nifal ptc. of חָנַן i.e. נָחַן to be pitied, cf. Jer. 22 23 מִהֲיִנְחָנֶה (text doubtful); for ptc. as gerundive cf. נורא Ps. 76 8. מהלל 18 4. It is possible (Lidzb.) that נחן may be some form (? ptc.) connected with the נוח and means *I am resting*; cf. נח of *rest* in the grave 16 2.

L. 14. בן בן refers to Eshmun-'azar, not to Tabnith; cf. 3 1. אמ[ת] עשתרת Not 'Ashtart is mother but *handmaid of 'Ashtart*, עשתרת 16 3, as is clear from אמאשמן CIS i 881 which must = אמ[ת] אשמן, for Eshmun could not be 'mother.'

L. 15. רבתן Cf. רבתי 3 3. 7. אַם An error for אש. בנן i.e. בְּנִינֵי. בתי Plur. = בְּתֵי.

L. 16. אלנם Jud. 17 5. For אלנם see 3 10 n. The 'house of 'Ashtart' mentioned here is prob. the great temple of 'Ασάρατη in Sidon which Lucian visited, *de dea Syr.* § 4; see p. 27. וישרן Prob. an error for וישבן l. 17, Hifil or Piel (cf. Eze. 25 4 and ישב in Mishnah) pf. 1 plur. of ישב and *we caused to dwell*. Winckler, however, *Allor. Forsch.* i 67, prefers the text, which he renders *and we brought in*, quoting the Assyr. *šīru* (a Canaanite word), *send or bring in something*, often in Tell-el-Amarna letters (Winckler, *Engl. Tr.*, p. 10\*). שממאדרם Meaning uncertain. The Corp. groups the letters שם מאדרם *there, making (her) glorious*, i.e. מְאָדְרִים cf. l. 19 n. Hoffmann explains ישם מְאָדְרִים in app. to עשתרת and in l. 17 to the suff. in וישבני, and illustrates the order by Ps. 47 10, and the idea by Ps. 7 18. 9 3 &c., comparing the name Semiramis = שמי רם; but it may be doubted whether שם can = nomen = numen. The rendering *of the glorious heavens* שמם אדרם does not suit l. 17. אֲנַחְנֵי = אַנְחֵן. The final vowel, though not written (cf. Aram. *أنا*, later *أنا*), was prob. pronounced.

L. 17. אשמן Eshmun was the god of vital force and healing; hence the Greeks and Romans identified him with Aesculapius, e.g. in the trilingual inscr. 40 1 לאשמן = ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΩΝ = AESCOLAPIO. He had a shrine near Berytus, τὸ τοῦ 'Ασκαληπιωῦ ἄλσος Strabo ed. Müll. 644; at Sidon his importance is implied by the name of king Eshmun-'azar. In Cyprus many pr. nn. were compounded with Eshmun, e.g. אשמןאון



12 4. עבראשמן 17 1 f. אשמנצלח 19 2 &c. At Carthage he had a temple which stood on the highest ground in the city, the Byrsa (cf. CIS i 252 4 'עבר בת א'). His worship was carried to the Carthaginian colonies, e. g. to Sardinia, cf. 40 and the pr. nn. עבראשמן ib. אשמנעמם 39 2 &c. At Carthage his attributes were combined with those of 'Ashtart, e. g. אשמנעשתרתה כהן עברמלקרת CIS i 245 3 f., and in Cyprus with those of Melqarth, e. g. לאשמנמלקרת לארני CIS i 16. The etymology of the name is obscure. According to the ancients אשמן was derived from שמי the eighth of the Κάβειροι<sup>1</sup>; recently G. Hoffmann has suggested a connexion with שָׁמֶן, אֶשְׁמֶן 'the fat one,' ZA xi 227. The two letters before קרש are almost obliterated; the latter of the two is ד or ר. The Corp. suggests יער = יר ק' the sacred grove; שד ק' = שדה l. 19 the sacred field (Lidzb.) is more likely. Hoffmann's holy demon (שִׁד) is improbable. ען ירלל Meaning uncertain; perhaps, well of Yidal. וישבני Hifil pf. 1 plur. with suff. ' and we caused him to dwell, i. e. וַיִּשְׁבְּנֵי.

L. 18. לאלן i. e. לְאֵלֵי plur. constr., cf. 20 A 3. לבעל צדן to the Ba'al of Sidon 33 6, cf. Hesychius Θαλάσσιος Ζεὺς ἐν Σιδῶνι τιμᾶται. For Ba'al with a local designation cf. לבנן ב' 11. ב' צר 36 1. תרו ב' 149 A 1 ff.; in O.T. ב' חרמון Jud. 3 3. ב' חצור 2 S. 13 23. פעור Dt. 4 3 &c. The actual name of the god was not pronounced; see 3 2 n. עשתרת שם בעל A. the name of Ba'al, i. e. the manifestation of B. In the O.T. the Name of Yahweh is frequently used for His manifested presence (Ex. 23 20 f. 1 K. 8 16. Is. 18 7 &c.), or His Person and attributes as revealed to men (Ex. 3 15. 34 5 f. &c.). The Phoenicians, in accordance with their polytheistic tendencies, personified the attributes of Ba'al, and the name of Ba'al became a distinct deity and underwent a change of gender; the manifestation of B. became 'Ashtart his consort. Cf. תנת פן פעל Tanith the Face of B. in the Carthaginian inscr.; and see further Vogüé *Mélanges d'Arch. Orient.* 53 ff., Stade *Morg. Forsch.* 196. Some authorities, however, interpret differently, pronouncing שם as שִׁמ, and rendering 'Ashtart of the heaven of Ba'al, Dillmann *Monatsber. d. Berl. Akad.* (1881) 606 ff., Nowack *Hebr. Archäol.* ii 306 f., E. Meyer *Ency. Bibl.* 3745. These scholars in l. 16 group the עשתרת שמם אדרם A. of the glorious heavens; see note in loc. But the meaning *Himmels-Astarte Baals*, i. e. 'Ashtart the consort of Βεελσαμην (Dillm.), can only be extracted

<sup>1</sup> E. g. Damascius ap. Phot. 352 b, ed. Migne iii 1305 οἱ δὲ τὸν Ἐσμοῦνον ὄγδοον ἀξιοῦσιν ἐρμηνεύειν ὅτι ὄγδοος ἦν τῷ Σαδύκῳ παῖτι. Philo Bybl. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 569 οἱ ἐπὶ Σιδῆκ παῖδες Κάβειροι, καὶ ὄγδοος αὐτῶν ἀδελφὸς Ἀσκληπιῶς.

from בעל שם ע' by violence; the equivalent of such a title would be ש' עשתרת ב' ש' or שמם ע' שם, see p. 27. Besides the temples of 'Ashtart and Eshmun (ll. 16. 17), perhaps the gods of the royal house (Hoffm.), the king and his mother had founded temples to the patron deities of the state, Ba'al of Sidon and 'Ashtart the Name of Ba'al (l. 18). The 'house of 'A.' in l. 18 is different from the 'house of 'A.' in l. 16; the same goddess was worshipped in two temples under different aspects.

יתן The Phoen. form of the Hebr. נתן. 11. 12 3 &c., and the pr. nn. בעליתן, יתנבעל &c. The form נתן, however, is implied in some names, e.g. מתן 2. מונאלם, מתנבעל &c.<sup>1</sup> ארן מלכם = the Ptolemaic title *κύριος βασιλέων* (Gk. inscr.), the chief holder of royal power in the East, e.g. 10 5 f. (Ptolemy iii). 27 1 (Ptolemy ii). 28 2 (Ptolemy i). 29 4 ff. (Ptolemy vii?); in 9 5 Alexander the Great (Seleucid era). Here the reference is perhaps to Ptolemy ii Philadelphus; and the position of Eshmun-azar as a subject-prince may be confirmed by Diodorus Sic. (xix 58), who mentions Phoen. kings after Alexander in the time of Antigonus (so Cl-Gan. *Rec.* i 86). As illustrating Eshmun-azar's commemoration of his suzerain's bounty, cf. what Theocritus says of Ptolemy ii, Πολλὸν δ' ἰφθίμοισι διδώρηται βασιλεύσιν Πολλὸν δὲ πολλέσσι, πολλὸν δ' ἀγαθοῖσιν ἑταίροις *Id.* xvii 110 f. The death of Eshmun-azar may have occurred about 275 B.C. His dynasty has been placed much earlier, in the Persian period; but the use of the title ארן מלכם favours the view adopted; the Persian king is always מלך מלכים, cf. 71 3; Cl-Gan. l.c. and *Rec.* v 223, E. Meyer l.c. 3762 n. See Appendix I.

L. 19. דאר The modern Tanṭura, on the coast, N. of Jaffa. In Assy. inscr. it is called *Du'ru*, Schrader *COT* 168; in the O.T. דור J Josh. 12 23 or דאר ib. 17 11 &c. יפי Joppa, Josh. 19 46. Jon. 1 3 יפו. הגדרת *great, glorious* ll. 9. 16 f. The idea of expanse is contained in the root (Ex. 15 10. Ps. 93 4 of the waves of the sea, majestic); so אדר is suitably applied to the wide corn-lands of שרן (Is. 65 10. 1 Chr. 27 29 &c.). שר = שרה cf. 29 9. למדת Prob. in proportion to, in accordance with, cf. כמדת 42 17; from מדר

<sup>1</sup> Winckler *Altor. Forsch.* i 69 f. explains יתן as originally (H)ifil of נתן (cf. ימנא), subsequently used as the basis of a new Qal formation. In the same way he accounts for the Hebr. יצק, יצה, יצב &c., viz. as Qal formations from the (H)ifil of verbs יץ. But (1) there is no evidence for a Hifil in Hebr. with ' for 'ה', and (2) the cognate languages show that these verbs were originally י'י, not י'ץ, e.g. יצב = Aram. (Targ.) יצב, Arab. وَصَبَ; יצע = Aram. یצע, cf. Arab. وَصَعَ; יצר = Aram. (Targ.) یצר, Arab. وَصَّرَ, Assy. *ēšēru*.

*measure.* 'עצמת ונר' *the mighty things which I did*, perhaps referring to the support given to Ptol. ii in his struggle with Antiochus i, which began about 275 B. C., Bevan *House of Seleucus* ii 233-235. The words have been transl. 'for the great tributes which I paid'; but מרה Neh. 5 4, BAram. מנרה, מרה, is a loan-word from Assy. (*madattu*), and even if it had found its way into Phoen. through Aram., פעל is not a suitable verb to go with it; the Hebr. עשה נדר is not really parallel. ויספננם Qal perf. 1 plur. with suff. and we added them i. e. ויספננם, see add. note; to take the form as Qal perf. 3 sing. with suff. does not account for the first נ. Stade, *Morg. Forsch.* 310, regards ויספננם as imperf. 3 sing. with waw conversive; but this idiom is not found elsewhere in the Phoen. inscrr. at present known (see 42 4 n.); and though the נ energeticum belongs to the imperf. rather than to the perf. in the cognate languages, yet a double energetic נ, with the verb and in the suff. נם, produces a combination too clumsy to be probable. יסף עלת 3 11.

was common  
not found in  
Phoenician

L. 20. לבננם = לְהַיּוֹתָם Cf. 4 7 n. and add. note below. נבל  
Prob. plur. = נְבִילָי.

L. 21. יער Piel juss. 3 sing. or plur. from ערה *lay bare, uncover*, cf. 2 Ch. 24 11 ויערו את הארון; here followed by the prep. עלת (cf. יפתח עלת l. 7 & c. 4 4 n.), unless עלת is to be taken as a noun, *inner-chamber* l. 6 n. למה = לְמַה in the sense of *lest*. In dialectical or late Hebr. למה preceded by the relat. has acquired this meaning, e.g. Cant. 1 7 שלמה. Dan. 1 10 אשר למה. In Aram. ܠܡܗ is the ordinary word for *lest*; so in BAram. די למה Ezr. 7 23, and למה alone Ezr. 4 22; Kautzsch *Gr. Bibl. Aram.* 131, see further Driver *Samuel* 123 f. In the expression לם יעמס CIS i 270 ff. (49 5 n.), לם has a prohibitive sense; cf. in Palm. למא ישבע *let him not be satisfied* 145 7. יסנרנם l. 9 n.

L. 22. אלה = אל Cf. 45 2. 27 3 האל. יקצן Qal or Piel impf. 3 plur. with ending י־, cf. ישאן 33 6. המת l. 11 n.

*Additional note on the suffix of 3 plur. in Phoen.* There are three forms: (1) הִם, so far only found in Plautus *Poen.* v 1 4 *syllöhöm* i. e. שְׁלָהִם, cf. Hebr. הֵם, Arab. هُمْ, Aram. הִים. (2) ׳ם prob. *ēm* (from *ahim*), e.g. זרעם l. 22. קלם 23 7. סנם 43 6. (3) נִם, with nouns sing., e.g. חברנם l. 6. ׳ם [בר]נם l. 6. 27 5; with nouns plur., e.g. עזרנם 25 2 (ptcp.); with the verb, e.g. לקצחנם l. 10. לכננם l. 20 (inf.). יסנרנם l. 9 (impf.). ויספננם l. 19 (pf.); with preps., e.g. תחתנם l. 9. בנם ib. This suff. is compounded of נ+ם, the נ being the energetic or demonstrative *nun* which is common in Arab. with the

impf. (also before suffixes, e. g. *yaqṭulan-ka* and *yaqṭulanna-ka*), and appears in Hebr. occasionally, e. g. יִבְרַךְ־נִי. In Phoen. it has been already noticed l. 6 above, יִדְבַרְנִךְ. This same נ is regularly used in the Aram. dialects with the plur. suff. attached to the verb, e. g. Bibl. Aram. נְבוֹן, Mand. נִבְנָן, 'נבון, 'נבחון (Nöldeke *Mand. Gr.* 88), Palest. Talm. נִבְנָן, 'נבון, 'נבון, 'נבון, 'נבון, 'נבון (Dalman *Gr. d. Jüd.-Pal. Aram.* 79). It is a peculiarity of Phoen. that this נ is combined with the suff. ם, and that this נ'ם is used as a suff. with nouns and preps. See König *Lehrgeb.* ii 444, Wright *Comp. Gr.* 194.

6. Sidon. CIS i 4. iv cent. B. C. Louvre.

- 1 בִּירַח מִפּ [ע] בִּשְׁתַּ מְלִכָּ [לכּ]  
 2 י מֶלֶךְ בִּרְעִשְׁתַּרְתַּ מֶלֶךְ  
 3 צִדְנָם כּ בִּן בִּרְעִשְׁתַּרְתַּ  
 4 מֶלֶךְ צִדְנָם אֵית שְׂרֹן אֶרְ[׳ן]  
 5 [ז] לְ[א] לִי לְעִשְׁתַּרְתַּ

see my note  
 on #13. for a list  
 of these months.

In the month MP', in the year when king Bod-'ashtart, king of the Sidonians, came to the throne, (it was) that Bod-'ashtart, king of the Sidonians, built the plain of this land to his god 'Ashtart.

L. 1. [ע] מִפּ Restored after 29 6. 'בִּשְׁתַּ מִלְכִּי מֶלֶךְ ב' lit. 'in the year of the reign of king B.,' i.e. prob. his first year. For the construction מֶלֶךְ מִלְכִּי see 5 I n.; in the latter case we find מִלְכִּי שַׁת (for שְׁנַת as בַּת for בְּנַת) is obviously singular here, as it is in such expressions as שַׁת אֵשׁ הָא שַׁת 27 2, and similarly 9 5. 10 8. בִּשְׁתַּ שְׁפַטָּם 40 2. 47 1. . . בִּשְׁתַּ . . בִּים 33 1; so on the Moab. St. 1 2. 8, and in Aram. 69 1. On Phoen. coins, to denote the year, it is always שַׁת or בִּשְׁתַּ, not שְׁנַת, e.g. Babelon *Pers. Ach.* p. 211 ff. On the other hand, שְׁנַת is the form used for the plural; thus . . בִּשְׁנַת . . בִּימָם 12 1. 13 1. 14 1. 23 1 and similarly 5 1. This is quite clear in the phrase אֵשׁ הַמַּת xxxiii שְׁנַת . . 29 5. In NPun. שְׁעִנַּחַת, שְׁנַת, is obviously plural, e.g. 53 2. 54 3. 56 4. 58 3. There are cases where בִּשְׁתַּ sing. is used, e.g. 9 4. 10 5. 33 1, instead of the normal בִּשְׁנַת plur. 23 6. 24 2. 26 2. 29 4. 8. 30 4; but these cases may be accounted for by the imitation of the Gk. formula ἐν ἔτει or ἔτους. Thus the usage seems to be estab-

lished: in Phoen. שח was used for the sing. and שנת for the plur. (cf. Hebr. בת and בנות). The above is worked out clearly by Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii § 75.

L. 2. ברעשתרת Perhaps *Straton* i 374-362 B. C.; cf. 149 B 13, and see Appendix I. The meaning of the prefix בר is disputed. The word may be explained by the Hebr. בר plur. בָּרִים *parts, members*. The theophorous pr. nn. which contain this prefix, e.g. ברמלקרת 39 2. ברמשן 42 2. ברנתה ib. 1, will then describe the individual as being under the protection of the deity, a *member* or *client* of 'Ashtart, Eshmun &c.; cf. נר 17 2 n. In the same way we can account for the use of בר in a series of Carthaginian inscrs. CIS i 269-286, where it occurs, not in connection with a deity, but with the name of the donor's patron, e.g. 49 2 f. (= CIS 269) בעלחנא אש צון בר ארני בר אשמניתון *B. the Sidonian, the client of his master Eshmun-yathon*. This usage is explained by the old Semitic custom which allowed a foreigner to place himself under the protection of a native, a *member* of whose household he became. The donors of these inscrs. were apparently strangers (e.g. אש צון) who availed themselves of the custom at Carthage; so Lidzbarski 134 n., Bloch *Phoen. Gloss.* 19 n. Most authorities (e.g. Corp. p. 345) take בר to be a shortened form of עבר *servant*; but this does not suit the cases where בר is used of women (CIS i 279. 280)—אמת would be the proper word—nor the cases where בר and עבר occur in the same context, e.g. עברמלקרת בן עברמלקרת and vice versa, CIS i 203. 199. The pronunciation of ברעשתרת &c. was prob. Bod'-ashtart &c., the short vowel before ר with daghesh (. . . בֵּר) being lengthened when בר was used in composition before another syllable; this pronunciation is supported by the Gk. form Βουδάστρατος, in an inscr. from Cos, Michel 424, Θήρων Βουδάστρατος Τύριος. A different etymology is suggested by Grunwald, *Eigennamen des A. T.* 7 n., who quotes the Assyr. *Pudi-ilu, Budu-ilu* = 'prince of God' (?) KB ii 91, *Budi-ba'al* ib. 173; this meaning of *Budu*, however, is not clearly established.

L. 3. כ בן i.e. כִּי בָּנָה for *he built*; or supplying a clause before the conjunction . . . (*it was*) *that he built*. Cf. 33 3.

L. 4. שרן אר[ץ] Various restorations and renderings have been suggested; the simplest is *the plain of this land*, שרן being a plain between the mountains and the sea, cf. 5 19. To *build the plain* is not a very natural expression, but it is paralleled by 1 K. 16 24 ויבן את ההר. Hoffmann, *Üb. ein. Phön. In.* 59, connects the word with אֶשְׂרָנָא *Ezr.* 5 3. 9 *walls* (Vulg.), a form which is itself equally obscure.

L. 5. ל[א] לי לע' Cf. 24 1. CIS i 94 4. The Phoen. suff. 3 m. sing.

is  $\text{ʿ} \ell$ , contracted from *ahi*; cf. Aram.  $\text{ܗܝ}$ ,  $\text{ܗܝ}$ ,  $\text{ܗܝ}$ . Both the Phoen. and Aram. have weakened the original *ahu* preserved in the Arab.  $\text{أه}$  and the Hebr.  $\text{אֵה}$ ,  $\text{אֵה}$ ,  $\text{אֵה}$ .

7. Sidon. Sid. 4. iii-ii cent. B.C. Louvre.  
 (Prof. - Hist. 1913 p. 38.)  
 המנחת ז אש יתן עבדמסכר רב עבר לספת 1  
 רב שני בן בעלצלה לאדני לשלמן יברך 2

This offering (is that) which 'Abd-miskar, governor of the other side of SFT, the second governor, son of Ba'al-šillah, gave to his lord Shalman: may he bless!

L. 1. מנחת Here of an offering in general, as perhaps in CIS i 14 5 מנחת//אל; elsewhere 'מ' is used of sacrifices, with or without blood, e.g. 29 13. 42 14. 43 10. For ז with a fem. noun see 3 add. note ii. עבדמסכר Cf. חטרמסכר 59 A 5. גרמסכר CIS i 267 &c. מסכר must be the name of a deity, though it appears as the name of individuals in the Latin forms *mescar*, *misicir* &c. CIL viii 5194. 5217. The etymology of the name is uncertain. Renan thinks of the Egypt. Sokari, who at Memphis was the god of the dead (Maspero *Hist. Anc.* 26. 412); another suggestion is that the name is pure Egypt. *mer-seker* 'loving silence,' a title of Hathor (cf. חטרמסכר *supr.*), with an elision of the *r*; Hoffmann proposes a compound of the Cyprian מרי (= מלקרת 40 1 n.) + the Egyptian Σώχαρις, *Skr*, ZA xi 239 f.; Cl.-Gan. suggests that מסכר = מזכר (cf. 9 6 n.), which may be the equivalent of Μνημοσύνη to whom a temple (*Aedes Memoriae*) was dedicated at Carthage, *Rev. Arch.* iii. t. 33, 274. This last explanation is certainly attractive.

עבר לספת רב שני Meaning obscure. Lidzbarski 367 renders, most plausibly, 'under-prefect of Trans-LSPT,' or 'of Trans-spt,' taking the ל as a prep. (cf. עבר לירדן) and ספת as the name of a stream (סוף), or as = Hebr. שפה *bank*; Eph. i 16. 147. This rendering may be illustrated by the legend on some Cilician coins of Mazaïos, וחלך על עברנהרא וחלך i.e. 'Mazaïos governor of Trans-Euphrates and Cilicia,' 149 A 6. Cl.-Ganneau's explanation, 'rab retired, moreover rab for the second time,' is less probable; it is difficult to believe that לספת = added to this, and שני = שנית. Landau, *Beitr. z. Altertumsk. d. Or.* ii 13, renders 'which 'A. gave for LSPT, the over-šNI,' treating ר in רב as due to dittography, and reading בעבור = בעבור.

L. 2. בעלצלה *Ba'al prospers*, cf. דעמצלה 32 2. אשמנצלה 35 2; צלח is Piel. שלמן The name of this deity has been found on a

Gr. inscr. from Shêh Barakât, N. of Aleppo, Σελαμανης CIG 4450. 4451. The Assyr. *Shulmanu* may be the same word (Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* ii 48), but as it occurs only in pr. nn., e.g. Shalman-asar, it may be merely the title of some god; Jastrow *Rel. of Bab. and Assyr.* 189. יכר A brief petition often found at the end of a votive inscr., e.g. 9 8. 12 4. 30 6 &c. (cp. *J. Theol. Studies* Oct. 1928. *Notes & Studies* - K. Budde. p. 16. *Salmer* = name of Babylonian for Saturn.)

8. Tyre. iii cent. B. C. Louvre.

רת עלת שמאלקצרי .. נפעל הסף ז	1
באבן צר ועד כסף כסף כסף כסף → טבע צר משנ	2
נדר עברך אדנבעל השפט בן עזמלך בן	3
[הש]פֹּט בן בדמלקרת השפט בן דעמלך	4
[השפ]ט בן עזמלך פעל אית חצי הסף ז	5
ת יתן אית החצי הסף ז	6
דל ... ד שפט בן בדמלקרת	7
צאת .. בן	8
[ע]בדבעל ...	9

L. 1. *רת עלת* is the prep. *upon*. The next four letters are read *שמאל* the left by Cl.-Ganneau *Rec.* i 89; but the letters are very doubtful. נפעל Nif. pf. 3 m. sing. הסף is used in the O.T. for a *sacrificial bowl* Ex. 12 22. 1 K. 7 50. Jer. 52 19. Here we must suppose that the word is used in an extended sense of a large receptacle or *reservoir*. The inscr. is carved on a small moulded cube of stone pierced with a round passage about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter; it was probably a spout through which water ran into a tank or reservoir. It seems to be the latter which is referred to as *הסף*, and not the stone which bears the inscr. The Hebr. סף has also the meaning *threshold*, e.g. Is. 6 4; but this meaning is not suitable here.

L. 2. *באבן צר* may possibly mean *in Tyrian weight*, cf. *המלך* אבן 2 S 14 26; but the first word is very uncertain. ועד כסף and moreover (?) *silver* (*shekels*). The first of the numerical signs is probably to be taken as the symbol for 1000 כ; it seems to be different from the three signs which follow. This symbol כ is found on the Aram. papyrus CIS ii 147; see Euting *Nabaläische Inschriften* 96 and Schröder *ZDMG* xxxix (1885) 317. The total number will be

1070. טבע צר *coinage of Tyre*, טבע lit. stamped; so in Arab. طَبَعَ seal, imprint. The coinage of Tyre, i.e. the Tyrian or Phoen. as distinct from the Attic standard, is frequently mentioned in the Talmud, e.g. *Bab. Qam.* 90 b מנה צורי *Bekoroth* 49 b. Jos. *Bell.* ii 21 2 Τυρίων νόμισμα. This was the standard adopted by the Hasmonean princes, as being the native and traditional one; see Levy *Gesch. jüd. Münz.* 155.

L. 3. השפט The title only here in Phoenicia itself. At an early date, in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, we hear of a succession of *judges* at Tyre, who took the place of the king; they held office for short terms, and in one instance two ruled together for six years, Jos. *c. Ap.* i 21. Whether this precedent was followed in the third cent. is not known; cf. 17 2. The *suffetes* at Carthage belonged to a more developed constitution. עומלך i.e. *Milk is (my) strength*, a common name in the Pun. inscr.

L. 4. בדמלקרת 6 2 n. דעם־מלך = דעמלך *D'om is king*, cf. 32' 2 רעמצלח בן דעמחנא צדני. These names show that דעם was a deity who had votaries among the Sidonians at the Piraeus. No further traces of him have as yet been found in Phoen.; but D. H. Müller, *ZDMG* xxx 691 f., quotes דעמם (with mimation) as a pr. name found in Himyaritic; in Arab. too pr. names are formed from the same root. The Arab. دَعَمٌ = *prop, support*; and it is possible that דעם = *Supporter, Upholder*.

L. 5. ז חצי הסף ז פעל אית חצי הסף ז *made the half of this tank*. חצי again in CIS i 169 11.

L. 6. חצי הסף is a grammatical anomaly.

9. Umm-el-'Awamid. CIS i 7. Date 132 B.C. Louvre.

- |   |                               |
|---|-------------------------------|
| 1 | [לאדן ל] בעל שמם אש נר עבדאלם |
| 2 | בן מתן בן עבדאלם בן בעלשמר    |
| 3 | בפלג לארך אית השער ז והדלהת   |
| 4 | אשל פעלת בתכלתי בנתי בשת צ    |
| 5 | צצצ לאדן מלכם צצצ III שת לעם  |
| 6 | צר לכני לי לסכר ושם נעם       |
| 7 | תחת פעם אדני בעל שמם          |
| 8 | לעלם יברכך                    |

צצצ  
נדי



To the lord Ba'al-shamem (this is that) which 'Abd-elim, <sup>2</sup>son of Mattan, son of 'Abd-elim, son of Ba'al-shamar, in <sup>3</sup>the district of Laodicaea, vowed:—even this gate and the doors <sup>4</sup>thereof I made in fulfilment of it (? ?); I built (this) in the year 180 <sup>5</sup>of the lord of kings, the 143rd year of the people <sup>6</sup>of Tyre, that it may be to me for a memorial and a good name <sup>7</sup>under the foot of my lord Ba'al-shamem <sup>8</sup>for ever: may he bless me!

Umm-el-'Awâmîd is a ruined site near the coast between Tyre and 'Akka.

L. I. בעל שמים *lord of the heavens*, i.e. the god who dwells in the heavens, to whom the heavens belong<sup>1</sup>. Unlike the early Ba'als who were connected with the earth and with special localities, *Ba'al of heaven* had a general, universal character. He makes his appearance in the later stages of Sem. religion, during the Gk. period. The earliest texts which mention him are the Punic (3-2 cent. B. C.), 30 I לַאדֹן לְבַעֲשָׁמִם; CIS i 379 הָנָא כְּהֹן שְׁבַעֲלִשְׁמִם (Carthage); קבר 'ונו בעלשמים כהן המלכת כהן בעלשמים (a newly discovered inscr. from Carthage, Lidzb. *Eph.* i 248 n.); Plaut. *Poen.* v 2 67 *balsamen*. But Carthage was not the original home of the cultus. This inscr., dated 132 B. C., gives evidence for Phoenicia, and throughout the N. Semitic world 'ב' ש' can be traced at this and a later period; thus among the Nabataeans of Ḥauran CIS ii 163 בַּעֲשָׁמִין. 176 לְבַעֲשָׁמִין; in the Ṣafâ inscr. בעל סמן (Littmann *Ṣafâ-Inscr.* 58. 70); in Palm. 133 I n. The name implies a conception of deity which seems to have been produced by outside influences. Lidzb. l. c. suggestively notices that the Jewish title יהוה אלהי השמים Ezr. 1 2. אל השמים Ps. 136 26. אלהי שמיא Ezr. 6 9 &c. מֶרַח שְׁמִיָּא Dan. 5 22 &c., which begins to be used in the Persian period, and may reflect the influence of Persian religion, was circulated by the Jews of the Dispersion at the very time when 'ב' ש' came into vogue (3-2 cent.); and it is probable that Jewish monotheistic ideas found their way into the surrounding heathenism, as they certainly did at Palmyra (135 I n.). On the other hand, when Syria came under Gk. rule, 'ב' ש' was readily

<sup>1</sup> The S. Arab. god דַּעְמִי is generally said to = 'ב' ש'; but Lidzb., *Eph.* i 243 ff., has proved that the identification cannot be sustained. The S. Arab. inscr. do not give דַּעְמִי the position of 'ב' ש'; he is only one among other deities; and 'heaven' is never written דַּעְמִי in S. Arab. The Minaean form is שְׁמִהִם, the Sabaeen שְׁמִין, and 'heaven' is always sing. (Hommel *Süd-ar. Chrest.* 46). Like other Arab. names with *ḥ*, possessor of . . , דַּעְמִי is an epithet, prob. = possessor of loftiness.

identified with Zeus, as later, under the Romans, with Jupiter; thus in 2 Macc. 6 2 **דדממב** = Ζεὺς Ὀλύμπιος and Z. Ζένιος<sup>1</sup>. Yet 'ש'ב' never occupied the predominant position of Zeus or Jupiter among the N. Semitic races<sup>2</sup>. Among the Nabataeans (supr.) in Roman times he never took the place of the national god Dushara; at Palmyra he was not counted among the *πατρώοι θεοί*, and it is remarkable that the dedications which contain his name were made by private persons, and they are few in number. There is no record of any official or general adoption of his worship by a king or city. A striking reference to the god occurs in the story of Ahiqar. Down to the fifth cent. A.D. his cult lasted in Syria, and from there passed into Armenia; see Lidzb. l. c. **מתן** Cf. 2 K. 11 18 **מתן** a priest of Ba'al; *Mitina* a king of Tyre, inscr. of Tiglath-pileser, *COT* 169; *muttun, mythum* &c. in Lat. inscr., CIL viii p. 1030 a. **עבראמט** \**Αβδηλιμος* Jos. c. *Ap.* i 21; see 33 6 n.

L. 3. **לארך בפלג** Cf. Hebr. **פלך** Neh. 3 17 f., and the Assy. *pulug(g)u* and *pulukku*, both in the sense of 'district,' 'border,' Delitzsch *Assyr. HWB* 525. 527. It is impossible to say which of the many *Laodiceas* in Syria is intended; perhaps L. ad mare, as distinguished from L. ad Libanum, is the most likely. Appian, *Syriaca* 57, mentions a *Λαοδίκεια ἢ ἐν τῇ Φοινικῇ*, and there is a series of coins belonging to L. ad Libanum which bear the legend **לארנכא אמ בכנען** 149 B 8<sup>3</sup>. In the Talm. a *לוריקיא* is mentioned, and the context implies that it was near Tyre, *Menaḥoth* 85 b: also *Siphre* (Deut.) 148 a, ed. Friedmann. The **ב** in **בפלג** is rendered 'oriundus a' by Winckler *Altor. Forsch.* i 65; but the rendering is scarcely supported, see 5 6 n. Cl.-Gan. takes **לארך** as the name of a month, *λαοδίκιος*, and explains thus: the vow was made in the middle (**בפלג** lit. *division*) of the month, and the building carried out at the end of it (**בתכלתי**), *Ét.* i 37 ff. **דלהת** From **דל** 20 A 5. Ps. 141 3 = **דלת**.

<sup>1</sup> The **שסס** of Dan. 12 11 &c. is prob. an intentional disfigurement of **בדל שסס**, Nestle *ZATW* (1884) 248, Driver *Daniel* 188. In *Julian* ed. Hoffmann 249 l. 8 he is mentioned along with Zeus, Hermes, Serapis.

<sup>2</sup> Philo of Bybl. exaggerates when he says *τοῦτον γὰρ (τὸ ἥλιον) θεὸν ἐνόμισον μόνον οὐρανοῦ κύριον Βεελσάμην καλοῦντες*, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 565 f. The identification with the sun is hardly correct.

<sup>3</sup> Babelon gives **לארנכא אמ בכנען** L. *the metropolis of Canaan*, *RS* p. 84, cf. p. 86 **לארנכא אמ בכנען**, 149 B 15 **לארנכא אמ בכנען**; but the construction **ב אמ בכנען** is objectionable, and **אמ** the rel. should be read, **מ** and **ש** being almost indistinguishable on the coins. It is surprising to find the same legend on coins of Berytus (Babelon *Pers. Ach.* clxiii f.); but the L. of the inscr. is not likely to have been Berytus, which was destroyed by Tryphon in 140 B. C.

For the ה artificially inserted in the plur., cf. Hebr. אֲמָהוֹת, Aram. אֲמָהוֹן, אֲמָהוֹן, Arab. أُمَّهَاتُ, and 63 16 n.

L. 4. אֶשֶׁל פִּעֵלַח בַּחֲכֻלָּתִי בִנְתִי No satisfactory explanation of these words has been discovered. The translation given above is that of the Corpus; אֶשֶׁל = לוֹ אֶשֶׁל, פִּעֵלַח, אֶשֶׁל, בַּחֲכֻלָּתִי in the fulfilment of it, i.e. the vow, בִּנְתִי Pf. 1 sing. But לֹ by itself = לִי (לוֹ) is contrary to usage, and the suff. in בַּחֲכֻלָּתִי has no direct antecedent. Another explanation is אֶשֶׁל לִפְעֵלַח בַּת פִּלְתִּי בִנְתִי which are for the making of the temple, I have finished; I built it . . . , or I have completely built. But we should expect the forms כֻּלַּח, בִּנַּח for the Pf. 1 sing., and perhaps הַבַּח. Lidzb. proposes to treat לֹ before פִּעֵלַח as an affirmative, the Arab. ج, and חֲכֻלָּתִי as a noun תְּכֻלָּתִי or תְּכֻלָּח with ׳ compaginis, and בִּנְתִי as inf. constr. with suff., which I have indeed made in the completion of my building; this involves too many doubtful assumptions.

בַּשַּׁח Sing.; see 6 1 n.

L. 5. לֵאדֹן מַלְכֵם 5 18 n. The date is reckoned by the Seleucid era which began in 312 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Strictly speaking the *lord of kings* was Alexander the Great (died 323 B.C.); at the time when the era was instituted, however, the reigning king was Seleucus i Nicator. 'The 180th year of the Seleucids' will be 132 B.C., and 'the 143rd year of the people of Tyre' thus makes the Tyrian era begin in 275 B.C., at which time the city, after its capture by Ptolemy Philadelphus, began to recover itself as an autonomous municipality.

L. 6. לְהִיחֹ = לִכְוֹנֵי לְבָנֵי שָׁם 56 זכר = סכר שם Cf. Is. 56 5; and for שָׁם נָעַם cf. שָׁם טַב 65 3, and in the Mishnah, e.g. Berakoth 17 a.

L. 7. פִּעַם = Hebr. רָגַל. אֲרֵנִי My or his lord. The context makes the former more suitable.

L. 8. יִבְרַן Cf. 7 2 n. The suff. shows that here and elsewhere the verb is Piel not Pual.

<sup>1</sup> Its starting-point was the victory of Ptolemy i Soter, the ally of Seleucus, over Demetrius Poliorcetes, son of Antigonus, at Gaza in 312 B.C. This was followed by the victory of Seleucus over Nicanor the general of Antigonus, the recovery of Babylon, and the conquest of Susiana and Media. Porphyr. Tyr. Fr. Hist. Gr. iii 707. See Cl.-Gan. Ét. i 60 ff.; Bevan House of Seleucus i 52. The Seleucid era was used by the Nabataeans, 97 iii n., by the Palmyrenes, 110 5 n., and by the Jews, who called it מִנַּח שְׁמִירוֹת the era of contracts, e.g. Ab. zar. 10 a. For other designations see 1 Macc. 1 11. Jos. Ant. xii 5 3. xiii 6 7.

## 10. Ma'sûb. Date 222 B. C. Louvre.

- ערפת כברת מצא שמש וצ 1  
 פלי אש בן האלם מלאך מלב 2  
 עשתרת ועבדי בעל חמן 3  
 לעשתרת באשרת אל חמן 4  
 בשת מ III III לפתלמים ארן 5  
 מלכם האדר פעל נעם בן פת 6  
 למים וארסנאם אלן א[ח] 7  
 ים שלש חמשם שת לעם [צר] 8  
 כמאש בן אית כל אחרי ... 9  
 ... אש בארץ לכן לם ל ... 10  
 עלם ... .. 11

The portico on the quarter (?) of the sun-rise and the north (side) <sup>2</sup> of it, which the Elim, the envoys of Milk-<sup>3</sup> 'Ashtart and her servants; the citizens of Ḥammon, built <sup>4</sup> to 'Ashtart in the ashērah (?), the god of Ḥammon, <sup>5</sup> in the <sup>60</sup>th year of Ptolemy, lord <sup>6</sup> of kings, the noble, the beneficent, son of Ptolemy and Arsinoë, the divine Adelphoi, in the three (and) fiftieth year of the people of [Tyre]; <sup>9</sup> as also they built all the rest <sup>10</sup> ... .. which <sup>11</sup> . in the land, to be to them for ... ..  
 ... ever.

Ma'sûb is situated to the S. of Umm-el-'Awâmîd, about half way between Tyre and Ptolemais ('Akka). The general purport of the inscr. seems to be this: Certain distinguished citizens of Ḥammon, a town near Tyre, build or restore a portico in the neighbouring temple of 'Ashtart at Ma'sûb, in honour of their own Milk-'Ashtart, the deity of Ḥammon. It may have been that the temple of Ḥammon was founded from that at Ma'sûb, and the restoration an act of piety towards the mother-shrine.

L. I. ערפת See 8 6 n.      כברת The √כבר=*be much, great*, as in Assy. *kabāru*, Old Aram. e.g. 61 11. 62 4. 9, Aram. *كَبْرَ*; so 'כ' may be taken as an adj. agreeing with ערפת *the great portico*.

A more expressive meaning, however, is suggested by the Assy. *kibratu* 'a (widely) extended territory,' 'a quarter of the world,' e.g. *šar kibrat arbati* 'king of the four quarters,' Schrader *COT* 247, cf. the Hebr. כְּבֶרֶת הָאָרֶץ Gen. 35 16 &c. a distance (lit. a large space) of land; hence we may render כ' quarter. In this case כְּבֶרֶת will be an accus. of place, defined more fully by the following genit. מִצַּע שָׁמַיִם (a single term) as often in Hebr., e.g. Ex. 33 10. 1 K. 19 13. Jer. 36 10. If כְּבֶרֶת be rendered *great*, then מִצַּע will be accus., *on the east*, cf. Josh. 1 4. 15. 23 4. For מִצַּע cf. Ps. 75 7 and the Old Aram. מוֹקָא שָׁמַיִם 62 14.

L. 2. וְצַפּוֹן וְצַפְלִי Perhaps *and the north (side) of it*, צַפּוֹן = צַפְלִי, נ being interchanged with ל, as לְשֹׁכָה and נִשְׁכָּה *chamber*. The ו co-ordinates the word with עֶרְפַּת, to which also the suff. refers. For the suff. ו' used for the fem. ('ע fem. in 3 פ) as well as for the mas. cf. עֶבְרִי l. 3 and CIS i 280 בְּרֵי אֲרִי . . . אֲשֶׁר נִרְאָה שֶׁרֵדְנָה. A different meaning is suggested by Halévy *Rev. Ét. Juiv.* xii 109 f., who takes צַפְלִי as a dialectical form of מַפֵּל (cf. נָצַר and נָטַר) = *attach, add*, in Rabb. Hebr. מַפֵּל *something attached, subordinate*, so וְצַפְלִיָּהּ = וְצַפְלִיָּהּ *and its annexes*. The first explanation is preferable. האֵלִים appears to be a title, 'primores,' *chiefs, leaders*; cf. אֵילֵי מוֹאָב Ex. 15 15. Eze. 17 13 &c. This use of the word is perhaps to be found again on the Phoen. seal 150 5 מִלְקֶרְתִּירְצָף אֲשֶׁר מִלְקֶרְתִּירְצָף. לְבַעֲלִיתוֹן אֲשֶׁר אֵלִים אֲשֶׁר מִלְקֶרְתִּירְצָף Plur. constr. = מִלְקֶרְתִּירְצָף, in appos. to האֵלִים. Cf. Le Bas-Waddington *Voy. Arch.* iii no. 1890 Δούκιος Ἀκκαβαίου εὐσεβ[ῶν] καὶ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς κυρίας Ἀταργάτης (from Kefr Hawar).

L. 3. מִלְכַּעֲשֶׁתֶרֶת The name of the goddess and her city occur again in inscr. from the same neighbourhood, CIS i 8 חֲמוֹן אֵל חֲמוֹן לְמִלְכַּעֲשֶׁתֶרֶת אֵל חֲמוֹן לְמִלְכַּעֲשֶׁתֶרֶת אֵל חֲמוֹן (recently discovered) Cl-Gan. *Rec.* v 151; cf. also the Pun. inscr. CIS i 250 עֶבֶד . . . בְּרֵעֵשֶׁתֶרֶת בְּתֵּה מִלְכַּעֲשֶׁתֶרֶת. Milk-'Ashtart is a distinct deity formed out of the combined attributes of Milk and 'Ashtart. In the combination 'Ashtart predominates, for the deity thus conceived is a goddess, not a god. Other examples of compound divinities are אֲשַׁמְעֵשֶׁתֶרֶת CIS i 245 3 f. עֶשֶׁתֶר כֶּמֶשׁ 1 17 מִלְכַּבְעֵל 37 1 n. מִלְכַּאֲסַר ib. מִלְקֶרְתִּירְצָף 150 5 &c.; see Baethgen *Beitr.* 37 ff. As the name of a god, מִלְךְ alone is not found (see, however, 50 1 n.); but the many pr. nn. of which מִלְךְ forms a part imply that a deity was worshipped in Phoenicia and its colonies under this title; 3 1 n., Driver *Deut.* 223<sup>1</sup>. וְעֶבְרִי Not plur. constr., for this form is not written with

<sup>1</sup> Hoffmann, *Ueb. einige Phön. Inscr.* 26, renders *Queen-'Ashtart* (Milkath-'Ashtart), *King Ba'al* &c. We

' in Phoen., e.g. מלאך l. 2, בעל (prob.) l. 3, אלן l. 7; it is therefore plur. with suff. 3 fem. sing. = עֲבָרִיָּהּ. Cf. צפלי l. 2 n. בעל חמן This must prob. be rendered *citizens of Hammon*, cf. CIS i 120 הרנא בעלת בזנתי 'Eirene, the citizeness of Byzantium.' 309 בעל תברבשי 3; NPun. בעל המכתערם 54 2; Sab. אבעל CIS iv 86 8. 172 1; and בעלי יריחו Josh. 24 11. Jud. 9 2. If בעל be taken as a divine name, עברי must = *her servant the Ba'al of H.*, an unsuitable expression, for Ba'al could not be termed the servant of 'Ashtart. To render *his servant B.-hammān's*, on the analogy of למלכי מלך אשמנעור 5 1, is to introduce confusion into the general sense of the inscr. A place called חמון (*hot spring?*), near Tyre, is mentioned in Josh. 19 28 as belonging to Asher; it is prob. to be identified with Umm-el-'Awāmīd (9), where there are ruins of a Phoen. city: Guérin *Galilée* ii 141, Hoffmann l. c., Buhl *Geogr. Alt. Pal.* 229<sup>1</sup>.

L. 4. לעשרת באשרת This difficult phrase is usually rendered *to 'Ashtart in the ashērah*, the goddess being regarded as dwelling in her symbol, the sacred pole (אֲשֵׁרָה); see Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* i 83, Robertson Smith *Rel. of Sem.* 172, Driver *Deuteron.* 202 f. We have no clear evidence, however, that the *ashērah* was the symbol of 'Ashtart. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Cyprus, the Bible and Homer* 165. 168, explains 'Ashtart in the ashērah as referring to an image of 'Ashtart standing in a niche in an *ashērah*, and he gives an illustration of Artemis in a similar position. But it is by no means certain that the poles or trees figured on gems &c. to which he alludes are *ashērahs*; so that this explanation has only the value of a conjecture. The most plausible solution of the difficulty is that proposed by Hoffmann l. c. The primary meaning of אשרת he takes to have been a *sign-post* set up to mark the site or the boundaries of a deity's influence; cf. Assy. *ašru* 'place,' Aram. אָלִין *place*, Arab. أَثَرٌ *sign, trace*, from the same root. Meaning originally the *sign* of the deity's habitation, the *ashērah* would readily be used of the *sacred precincts* or *τέμενος* of the god, which is exactly the sense required here; in Assy. *aširtu, eširtu*

must take מלך, like בעל and און, as an appellative; but while two divine names are sometimes compounded to form a single divinity as above, the language does not favour a combination of this kind; the analogy of ordinary pr. nn. compounded with מלך requires that מלך be taken as a predicate, e.g. מלכיה *Yah is king*. *Ba'al is king* would be a suitable name for a man, but not for the god himself.

<sup>1</sup> Meyer, *Ency. Bibl.* 3741, renders חמן ב' *B.-hammān* (37 4 n.) i. e. the numen occupying the *hammān* of Milk-'Ashtart, *the god of the hammān-pillar*, who in turn has an *ashērah* in which dwells an Astarte, the dedication being made to the latter. This seems improbable. Would חמן ב' be called *his servant* (עברי) in relation to חמן א'?

actually denotes a 'sanctuary' or 'temple'; so Zimmern *KAT*<sup>s</sup> 437 n. The fem. ending does not mark the gender, according to Hoffmann, but has merely a grammatical significance; it is the sign of a 'nomen unitatis' (Ges. § 122 t). The word *ashērah* has been read in only one other inscr., 14 3, and there the text is uncertain. It is true that אַשְׁרָה was a goddess, known in Assyria as *Ash-ra-tum*, in Arabia as *Athirat* (cf. 69 16 n.), and in Canaan, 1 K. 15 13 = 2 Ch. 15 16. 2 K. 21 7. 23 4. 7; see Lagrange *Relig. Sem.* 120 ff. Here, however, באַשְׁרָה cannot be treated as a divine name. אֱלֹהֵי חַמּוֹן Again in CIS i 8 חַמּוֹן אֱלֹהֵי חַמּוֹן לְמַלְכַּעֲשֶׁתְרַת אֱלֹהֵי חַמּוֹן from Umm-el-'Awāmîd; this shows that אֱלֹהֵי חַמּוֹן is in apposition to לְעֵשֶׁתְרַת.

L. 5. אֲדוֹן מַלְכָּם 5 18 n.; Ptolemy iii Euergetes, B.C. 247-221. בַּשָּׁח Sing. for the usual בַּשָּׁחַ plur., see 6 1 n.

L. 6. הַאֲדוֹר corresponds to the Gk. *μεγαλοδόξου*; see 5 9 n. פֶּעַל נֵעַם i.e. *εὐεργέτου*; cf. 3 8. בֶּן פְּחַלְמִים son of Ptolemy, i.e. of Ptolemy ii Philadelphus, B.C. 285-247. Cf. 27 1.

L. 7. אֲרִיסְנָאס i.e. *Ἀρσινόης*. The Phoen. has transcribed the genitive; cf. 27 2. אֱלֵן אֲחִינֹם i.e. אֱלֵן אֲחִינֹם cf. 3 10 n., the Phoen. equivalent of the title *θεῶν ἀδελφῶν* in Gk. Ptolemaic inscr., e.g. the bilingual inscr. of Canopus (B.C. 238), where Ptolemy iii is styled *τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν ἀδελφῶν*, Michel 551; see 95 1 n.

L. 8. [צַר] לַעַם See 9 5 n.

L. 9. כַּמָּאשׁ = כַּמּוֹ אֲשֶׁר, see 3 7 n.; lit. *according as*, introducing a fresh *item*; similarly 45 1. 4. בֶּן אַחֲרֵי The subj. is הַאֲלֵם l. 2. אַחֲרֵי אַחֲרֵי, here used in a concrete sense, as in 42 4. 8. 10 אַחֲרֵי אַחֲרֵי הַשָּׂאָר; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* i 85. Hoffmann conjectures [הַמְקֻרָשׁ] for the missing word.

L. 10. בַּאֲרֵץ Perhaps the land within the domain of the sanctuary of Ḥammon (Hoffm.). . . לֵבָן לָם לֵבָן Cf. 9 6, which suggests that the line may be restored לֵבָן וְשֵׁם נֵעַם לְעֵלָם.

## CYPRUS

11. Ba'al Lebanon. CIS i 5. viii cent. B. C. Biblioth. Nat., Paris.

ו סכנ קרתחדשת עבר חרם מלך צדנם אז יתן לבעל לבנן אדני *a*

*a* ... בראשת נחשת ח

*b* ... טב סכנ קרתחדשת

*c* [לב]על לבנן אדני

*a* ... governor of Qarth-ḥadasht, servant of Ḥiram, king of the Sidonians, gave this to Ba'al of Lebanon, his lord, of choicest bronze.

*b* ... ṬB, governor of Qarth-ḥadasht.

*c* to Ba'al of Lebanon, his lord.

These inscriptions, the most ancient examples of the Phoen. language and writing yet discovered, are found upon eight fragments of thin bronze, which formed parts of bowls or paterae used for ceremonial purposes<sup>1</sup>. Six of the fragments when pieced together make up inscr. *a*; the remaining two, *b* and *c*, are considered to have belonged to a second bowl, owing to slight differences in some of the letters, e. g. א and ל. The writing is of the archaic type represented by the Moabite Stone (ix cent.) and the Old Aramaic of the Zenzirli inscr. (viii cent.), allowing for the differences between engraving on metal and carving on stone. The Old Greek alphabet belongs to the same type; in particular, the correspondence between the ⚡ i. e. ρ and the † i. e. η and the same letters in Old Greek is noticeable. On this account Lidzbarski (p. 176) is disposed to assign the inscr. to a date not far from the period when the Greeks borrowed their alphabet from the Semites (2nd millennium B. C.), considerably earlier than the date of the Moabite Stone. Internal evidence, however, favours a later age,

<sup>1</sup> Fine specimens of these bowls, discovered at Nimroud, may be seen in the British Museum, Nimroud Gallery, table-cases C and D. They are the work of Phoen. artists; in some instances the artist's name is inscribed on the edge in Phoen. letters. The design and workmanship exhibit the characteristics of Egyptian art. The date of the bowls is not earlier than 700 B. C. See Brit. Mus. *Guide to Babyl. & Assy. Antiq.* (1900) 22 f.



that of the Zenjirli inscr. (61-63), the middle of the eighth cent. B.C.; and the character of the writing agrees with this.

The fragments, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, were found in Cyprus. The dedication to Ba'al of Lebanon seems at first sight to point to Phoenicia or Syria as their original home. But the Phoen. colony in Cyprus may well have carried with them the cult of their deity from the mother-land; or if the סבן *governor* came from Phoenicia, he may have wished to remember the god of his native place, just as the Tyrian colonists at Malta made their dedication to Melqarth, the Ba'al of Tyre, 36 1.

סבן *governor, prefect*, cf. סבין *steward* Is. 22 15. The title occurs in the Tell-el-Amarna letters, apparently as a Canaanite loan-word, *zukini* = *rabizi* 'officer' 237 9. The  $\sqrt{\text{}}$  = *be of use, service* (Hebr.), *care for* (Assyr.). קרחהרשת i.e. *new-town*, 'Carthage.' That there was a place of this name in *Cyprus* is made certain by the mention of Karti-hadas( $\$$ )*ti* (Assyr.  $\$$  interchanged with north-semitic  $\$$ ) in the lists of Asarhaddon and Ašurbanipal, along with well-known Cyprian towns, such as Paphos, Idalion, Tamassos; *KB* ii 240. It is clear from this inscr. that the city at this period was under the dominion of the Phoen. king. Its site is unknown. An attempt is made by Schrader, *Sitzungsb. Berl. Akad.* (1890) 337-344, to identify it with Kition, the modern Larnaka. Karti-hadast occupies, he says, the place on the Assyr. lists where we should expect to find Kition; and as the name קרחהרשת *new-town* suggests a previous 'old town,' it is probable that ק'ה was the Phoen. quarter of the ancient Kition. The identification he thinks to be confirmed by the discovery in Larnaka itself of an inscr. containing the words עבר הקרתחדשת 'Abd. the man of Carthage, 20 B 6. This is very likely the Cyprian Carthage; but the special mention of the individual's native place rather points to the fact that his home was not in Kition but elsewhere. The bronze fragments are said to have been found on a mountain 20 miles NE. of Limassol and 10 from the sea (*CIS* i p. 23), at some distance from Larnaka; but this can have no bearing on the argument, for the bowls may have been removed from the place to which they originally belonged. The evidence, in fact, is not sufficient to establish Schrader's identification. עבר *servant* i.e. high official as בבל מלך עבר in 2 K. 25 8. Lidzb., ? *vassal* as in the Zenjirli inscr. 63 3. חמלך i.e. חירם = אחירם *brother of the exalted one*; cf. חמלך 40 2. חמלכת ib. חמאל 1 K. 16 34 for אח. Hiram here has the title מלך צידן *king of the Sidonians*. It is improbable that he is the Hiram i

who was the friend of David and Solomon, for this Hiram is consistently called *king of Tyre* in the O.T., e.g. 2 S. 5 11. 1 K. 5 15. 9 11 &c.; and historical usage shows that צר מלך did not mean the same thing as מלך צידנים. The official title *king of the Sidonians* implies the union of Tyre and Sidon under one ruler; thus Ethba'al circ. 855 B.C. is called מלך צידנים in 1 K. 16 31 and *Τυρίων καὶ Σιδονίων βασιλεύς* by Josephus (*Ant.* viii 13 1 cf. *Τυρίων βασιλ.* ib. 13 2). The king of the Sidonians was virtually king of all Phoenicia, Sidonians being a general term for Phoenicians used by the people themselves (e.g. 4 1 f. 5 1 f.), by the Assyrians, by the Hebrews (e.g. Jud. 3 3. 1 K. 11 5 &c.), and by the Greeks (Homer, e.g. *Od.* 4 618. *Il.* 6 290). Another Hiram (*Hirummu*) is mentioned by Tiglath-pileser iii as paying tribute in 738 B.C. (*COT* 252). It is true he is called *of Tyre* (*Šurrai*); but since no king of Sidon is mentioned—if there had been one the Assyrian king would certainly not have allowed him to escape tribute—we may conclude that Sidon was at this time subject to Tyre, and Hiram ii king of both cities. Hence מלך צידנים would have been his full official title; and the probability is that this Hiram ii, who was reigning in 738, is the king alluded to in the inscr. The epigraphical evidence supports this date; for the character of the writing closely resembles that of the Old Aram. of the Zinjirli inscr., which belong to this period, and mention Tiglath-pileser by name, 62 15 f. 63 3. 6. The third Hiram known to us as the contemporary of Cyrus (*Jos. c. Ap. i 21*) is altogether excluded; he could not have been called מלך צידנים, for by his time the title had long been an anachronism. The union of the two cities under the hegemony of Tyre came to an end in 701, when Sennacherib expelled Luli šarru šiduni (= Ἐλουλαῖος king of Tyre, *Jos. Ant.* ix 14 2), and made Sidon subject to Assyria; *KB* ii 90. Tyre survived as a separate state with a king of its own. The above view is stated forcibly by Landau *Beitr. z. Altertumsk. d. Orients* i (1893) 17-29. אֵן Demonstr. pron.; add. note ii p. 26. בעל לבנן is not mentioned elsewhere; cf. הר בעל חרמון Jud. 3 3, and the Ζεὺς ὄρειος=בעל ההרים to whom a temple was dedicated at the gates of Sidon, Renan *Mission de Phénicie* 397. ארני Cf. 7 2. 12 4 &c. בראשת נ' Cf. Am. 6 6 ראשיה שמנים *the best of ointments*; it is also possible to render *as the first-fruits* (ἀπαρχή) of bronze, cf. Ex. 23 19 &c. The ב' is *beth essentialis*.

## 12. Kition. CIS i 10. B.C. 341. Paris.

1 בימם וו וו לירח בל בשנת מ | למ[לך פמייתן מלך כתי ו] |  
 2 אדיל ותמש בן מלך מלכיתן מלך כתי ואדיל מזבח א[ו] |  
 3 וארום אשנם ו אש יתן ברא כהן רשפחין בן יכנש |  
 4 לם בן אשמנארן לאדני לרשפחין יברך |

כך:  
 de his.

כך X72 = dem  
 } 572 + 72

On the 6th day of the month Bul, in the 21st year of ki[ng Pumi-yathon, king of Kition and] Idalion and Tamassos, son of king Milk-yathon, king of Kition and Idalion. This altar and two hearths (?) 2 (are they) which Bodo, priest of Reshef-ḥeṣ, son of Yakun-shalom, son of Eshmun-adon, gave to his lord Reshef-ḥeṣ. May he bless!

L. I. vi בימם lit. *in days*, 6 for *on the sixth day*, xxi בשנת lit. *in years*, 21 for *in the twenty-first year* (see 6 I n.). This clumsy expedient is used to express the ordinal numbers which Phoen. does not possess; instinctively the noun was written in the plur. before the numerical signs; cf. 14 I. 23 I. 27 I. In Hebr. and Aram. a similar usage is occasionally found, e.g. Ex. 19 15 לשלשת ימים *after three days*, i.e. *on the third day*; Dan. 12 12 unto 1335 days, i.e. *unto the 1335th day*; Mishnah *Berakoth* 9 b ער ג' שעות i.e. *to the third hour*; Mt. 20 3 מִצְחָם; König *Syntax* § 315 m, *Lehrgeb.* ii 255 n. A less probable explanation is that ימם is not plur. but sing., ימם, like the Aram. יממא, (Nöldeke *ZDMG* xl 721); the Aram. יממא, however, is used of *day* as distinguished from *night*, and not *in such constructions* as the above. Cf. 5 I n.

Restored from 13 I f. With פמייתן cf. עברפמי 23 6. מתפמי = מתפמי CIS i 55. [פמיש]מע] ib. 197 3. The form suggests that there is some connexion between פמי, clearly a divinity, and the god פעם in the pr. nn. עברפעם CIS i 112 c<sup>1</sup>. c<sup>2</sup>. נעמפעם Eut. *Carth.* 263 2 (*namphamo* &c. in Lat. inscr., CIL viii p. 1030 b), but the exact nature of the connexion has not been made out. It is possible that פעם forms an element in the names Pygmaios, Pygmalion (? פעם עליון<sup>1</sup>); at any rate Pygmalion could be confused with Pumi-yathon, as will appear below. An

<sup>1</sup> It is curious actually to find the name פגמליק in Phoen. (Punic), and in combination with עשהרת, apparently as a deity. It occurs in an inscr. on a gold medallion found in a grave at Carthage, 1894, and written in the earliest type of characters. The form of the name must be due to Gk. influence. The inscr. is given in Lidzbarski 171; see also Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* v 152 n.

interesting side-light is thrown by Gk. historians upon Pumi-yathon (361-312 B.C.). Athenaeus Deipnosoph., *Fr. Hist. Gr.* ii 472, on the authority of the historian Daris, says that Alexander, after the capture of Tyre (332 B.C.), gave to one Phytagoras an estate which Pasicyprus king of Amathous sold along with his crown to Pumatos of Kition, Πυμάτω τῷ Κιτιεῖ. There is good reason for believing that this estate was none other than Tamassos. For if we compare 26 I and this inscr., on the one hand, with 13 I on the other, we may infer that Pumi-yathon acquired Tamassos between the 8th and 21st year of his reign, and lost it between his 21st and 37th year, i.e. between 341 and 325. This agrees very well with the statement of Athenaeus that Alexander disposed of it in 332. Pumi-yathon's reign continued for some time after the latest date furnished by the inscr. (13 I), as appears from his coins, stamped with his 46th year (149 B 6). Diodorus Sic., xix 79, tells us how his reign came to an end; he was put to death by Ptolemy i Soter, who came to Cyprus ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπειθούντας τῶν βασιλέων Πυγμαλιῶνα δὲ εὐρὼν διαπρεσβευόμενον πρὸς Ἀντίγονον ἀνεῖλε. Diodorus calls him Pygmalion; but this is prob. only another name for Pumi-yathon; see Babelon *Pers. Achém.* cxxxi, Droysen *Hellenica* ii 2 10. His death took place in 312; after this, the reckoning by the era of כתי עם began, i.e. in 311 B.C. מלך כתי ואריל. The usual title of the kings of Cyprus. כתי = Kition, on the S. coast; the importance of the town was such that 'the people of Kition,' כתיים or כתיים, was the name given by the Hebrews to all the inhabitants of Cyprus. אריל = Idalion, in the middle of the island, NW. of Kition. This and the following city are found in the lists of Asarhaddon and Assur-banipal, *COT* 355 ll. 13. 19.

L. 2. תמש = Tamassos, N. of Idalion; only here in the Phoen. inscr. known. מלכות Cf. 13 2. CIS i 16. 89 &c., and on coins, 149 B 5. מובח Cf. 3 4.

L. 3. ארום Meaning uncertain, possibly lions (אַרְיִים = אַרְיִים), carved in stone and placed beside the altar; cf. τοὺς δύο λέοντας, dedicated to Ba'al or Zeus, in a Gk. inscr. found near Sidon, Renan *Miss. de Phén.* 397. More probably altar-hearths, from ארה (ארו, ארי) burn, Arab. أَرَّة plur. أَرُونَ hearth; אראל 1 12. אשנים = אשנים cf. אשן 23 6. For the prosthetic א cf. Arab. ائنان. ארד Cf. 14 2 f. 31 c, frequently in Carth. inscr. It is prob. that ארד is a shortened form of ארד-אשמן, ארד-מלקרת, or some such name, rather than of ארד; see 6 2 n. In Hebr. the ending would be און, e.g. חנא = חנאון = ארד = ארד. ארד The deity ארד, *Reshef* or *Resháf*, cf. the Assy. ארד (א) or ארד (א), occurs frequently in Cyprian inscr. and pr. nn.,

e.g. רשפיתן 15 2. 23 2-6. עבררשף 27 4; cf. מלקרתרצף 150 5. His cult was popular in Cyprus, and especially at Idalion; but beyond an allusion to his temple at Carthage CIS i 251 [עבר בת ארשף] (the reading [עברארשף] in ib. 393 is uncertain), Phoen. inscr. do not mention him outside Cyprus. In N. Syria, however, his worship was of ancient date; 61 2. 3. רשף = flame, lightning-flash, Ps. 78 48. Cant. 8 6; hence the god was identified with Apollo (30, Tam. 2, CIS i 89), who as *έκηβόλος, έκατηβόλος* &c. was the author of pestilence (*Il.* i 50f.). Thus רשף may have been the Phoen. Fire-god who smites men and cattle with fiery darts (cf. Dt. 32 23. Hab. 3 5; Driver *Deut.* 368). The name always has a qualifying term, e.g. רשף-מבל (24 2. 25 2. 26 2 from Idalion), ר' אליית (30 3 f. from Tamassos), ר' אלהיתם Tam. 2 4. In these three instances the qualifying term is the name of a place or city; it is probable, therefore, that the same is the case in ר' חץ *Reshef of ḤṢ, ? Issos* (Cilicia). Cl.-Ganneau, vocalizing ר' חץ, takes the name to be a Phoen. rendering of *Ἀπόλλων Ἀγυαίος* 'Apollo who guards the streets'; the explanation is ingenious, and may be illustrated by the Assyr. *ilu suki* 'the god of the streets.' The original pronunciation of רשף is preserved in the name of an Arab village near Jaffa, *ارسوف Arsuf* (cf. ארשף above) = the Seleucid *Apollonias*; *Rec.* i 176 ff. In Egyptian the god is called *Raspu* or *Resoup*; he is represented as bearded, like Apollo, and is mentioned among Asiatic deities; Müller *Asien u. Eur.* 311 f. The Corp. takes the view that ר' חץ = *Reshef of the arrow*, cf. Ps. 76 4 רשפי קשת; but the figure of *Raspu* from Egypt. monuments, given in Corp. p. 38, holds a spear, not an arrow, and for other reasons the view is improbable. יבנשלם i.e. *peace be (to him)*; again in 14 2 (rest.), and in NPun.

L. 4. אשמנארן See 5 17 n.

13. Kition. CIS i 11. B.C. 325.

1 בימם מ ווו לירה. מרפא. בשנת מ → ווו ווו למלך. פמייתן.  
 מלך. כת[ני]. ואדיל. בן. מלך.  
 2 מלכיתן. מלך. כתי. ואדיל. [ס]מלת. א[ן]. אש. יתן. וימנא.  
 מנחשת. יאש. אשת. [בעלת]יתן. עב  
 3 ד. בת. עשתרת. [בת] שמעא. [בן] ב[עליתן]. לרבותי. לעשתרת.  
 [תש]מע. [קל].

not used for  
 3rd s. fem.  
 actually 3sm  
 a(x)

Reading of Corp. not sure?

ר שף

On the 14th day of the month Merpa, in the 37th year of king Pumi-yathon, king of Kition and Idalion, son of king Milk-yathon, king of Kition and Idalion:—This statue (is that) which Yaash, wife of [Ba'alath?]-yathon, temple-serv[ant of 'Ashtar]t, daughter of Shime'o, son of Ba'al-yathon, gave and set up of bronze to her mistress, 'Ashtart; may she hear (her) voice!

This inscr. was found and inaccurately copied by Pococke at Larnaka in 1738, with 32 others; they have all since disappeared.

L. 1. xiv בימם See 12 i n. מרפא Name of a month, according to Euting, *Sechs Phön. Inscr.* (1875), the 7th month, October. It is also called מרפאם Idal. 7 (Euting *Sitz. Berl. Akad.* (1887) 422), CIS i 124 3 (Malta), 179 5 (Carthage). פמייתן See 12 i n. It is noteworthy that Tamassos does not occur in the king's title in his 37th year.

L. 2. מלח[ם] Fem., because the statue represented a female figure—the goddess 'Ashtart; similarly CIS i 40. When the statue represented a male the mas. is used, e. g. 23 2. 5. 25 1. 27 3; the same distinction is observed in the use of צלמא and צלמא in Palmyrene. In the O. T. יתן ויטא occurs Dt. 4 16. Eze. 8 3. 5. 2 Ch. 33 7. 15. יתן ויטא Perf. 3 fem.; the same formula in 23 2. 30 1. יטא is Hif., cf. יקדש 28 4. יקדשת 29 9. 14. The initial *h* of the Hifil was weakened into the *spiritus lenis* and written with initial י, but prob. pronounced *ihnl*, *iqdīsh*; cf. the similar weakening of the *h* into *ā* in Arabic, conj. iv; Stade *Morg. Forsch.* 208. In NPun. the Qal טא is used in the same sense. בעלת[יתן] So Corp.; but the reading is very doubtful.

L. 3. ע' עבד בת ע' So restored by Berger, and adopted by Corp.; frequently in Carth. inscr. שמעא In Hebr. שמעון, a diminutive from שמע-בעל 33 2. Adopting the text above, the husband, father, and grandfather of Yaash are mentioned. לרבתי The suff. י' is here used for the 3 sing. fem.; similarly בני 27 4.

#### 14. Kition. CIS i 13. B. C. 375.

1 [בני]מם מ לירח זבחששם בשנת 11 ..למלך מלכיתן מלך כתי  
 ואדיל סמלת ז אש יתן ו  
 2 יטא עבדאסר בן בדא בן יכ[נשלם על אשתי על... בת... בן... בן]  
 3 בדא לרבתי לאם האורת כ שמע קל תברך]

or half of.  
 see p. 79.

misspelling  
 for fem.  
 see #13

On the 20th day of the month Zebaḥ-Šišsim (?) in the 2nd (?) year of [ . . . . . ] 'Abd-osir, son of Bodo, son of Yak[un-shalom . . . .], set up [ . . . . ] of Bodo, to his lady, the glorious (?) Mother, because she heard [ . . . ].

More than half of the inscr. has perished; but most of what is missing may be supplied with probability from the preceding inscr. 12 and 13.

L. 1. xx בימם See 12 1 n. זבחששם The name of a month. The text here is rather obscure, but the reading given is determined by 29 4, where the word occurs again. Berger, *Rev. d'Assyr.* iii (1895) 69 ff., regards ששם as the name of a god, and, supposing that ש is interchanged with ס, identifies him with ססם *Sasom* in the Cyprian name עברססם 16 1 n. 27 3 &c. The month זבחששם is then explained as the month in which sacrifices were offered to *Sasom*; for the constr. cf. זבחי אלהים 'sacrifices offered to God,' Ps. 51 19. But as Cl.-Ganneau justly remarks, there is no evidence that *Sasom*, who seems to have been a foreign deity, occupied such a place of importance in the Phoen. pantheon as to have given his name to a month in the calendar. We should therefore render זבחששם *sacrifice of sixty*, i.e. the month of the sixty sacrifices, and compare *ἑκατομβαιών*, the name of the first month in the Athenian calendar; *Ét.* ii § 20. The king mentioned here was either Milk-yathon or Pumi-yathon, prob. the former; for the full style of Pumi-yathon, as given in 12 and 13, would make the line too long.

L. 2. ימנא See 13 2 n. עבראסר *Servant of Osiris*, cf. 16 1. 18 2 f. 36 2 (in Gk. Διονύσιος). 27 2 אמתאסר. 69 9 פטסרי ברא בן [יבנשלם] The same names in 12, 3 f., but not the same persons. The Bodo ben Yakun-shalom who dedicated an altar in the 21st year of Pumi-yathon (341) could hardly have had a son who set up a statue early in the reign of Milk-yathon, circ. 375.

L. 3. לרבתי Cf. 13 3. לאם For *Mother* as the title of a goddess cf. לאם רבת פן בעל 47. לתנה לרבתי לאם CIS i 195 2. 380 4, all Carthaginian. The *Mother* may have been a Phoen. goddess, or one adopted from the Gk. or Egypt. pantheon; there are traces of the worship of Demeter in Cyprus (see Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* i 154 f.). האורת The meaning is uncertain. Perhaps the א here = ע, and the name is ptcp. f. of עזר *she who helps*, cf. 52 5 ובאורת ובעורת; but א for ע is Punic and late. If the word be derived from אור the meaning will be *she who girds on*, figuratively *protects*;

the Piel would properly express this, Ps. 18 33. In CIS i 255 we find עֲשֵׂתֶרֶת הָאֹדֶרֶת i. e. (prob.) 'A. the *glorious*'; it is natural to suppose that הָאֹדֶרֶת here is merely a variety of this word.

15. **Kition.** CIS i 44. iv-iii cent. B. C. Brit. Mus., Cyprus Room no. 47.

הַמְצַבֶּת אוֹ לְאֵשְׁמוֹנָדָנִי שְׂרָדְל בֶּן עַבְדְּמֶלְקָרֶת בֶּן  
 2 רֶשֶׁפִּיתָן מֶלֶךְ הַכְּרֹסִים

This pillar (is) to Eshmun-adoni šRDL, son of 'Abd-melqarth, son of Reshef-yathon, interpreter of the thrones.

This inscr. is carved on the base of a marble obelisk, about 5 ft. high, terminating in a pyramidal or gabled top. The monument is an unusually perfect specimen of the Phoen. type of *maṣṣēbah* (see the heliogravure in CIS i Tab. viii, and the illustration in Nowack *Hebr. Arch.* ii 18, Benzinger *Hebr. Arch.* 380); it may be compared with the fine specimen discovered at Larnaka (Kition) in 1894, now in the Brit. Mus., no. 31, Cyprus Room; see 21.

L. 1. הַמְצַבֶּת The usual word in Phoen. (rarely מְצַבֶּת 56 1) for a gravestone or pillar erected over a tomb to commemorate the dead and perpetuate his memory among the living; cf. 16 1. 18 1 מצַבֶּת בְּחַיִּים 19 1. 21 1 &c.; similarly among the Hebrews, e. g. Gen. 35 20 מְצַבֶּת קִבְרַת רַחֵל. The name of the person commemorated is usually introduced by ל, e. g. 18 3 f. 19 3 f. CIS i 59 116; see further 16 2 n. Thus the usage of מְצַבֶּת and the form of the sentence leave little doubt as to the way in which this inscr. is to be interpreted; it records the fact the stone was erected to the memory of Eshmun-adoni šRDL and set up over his grave. The view, therefore, that the *maṣṣēbah* was a religious offering '(which) šRDL (erected) to Eshmun his lord' is not in accordance with the usage of the language; it requires אֵשׁ יְמוֹנָה to be supplied; and in the case of a dedication to a god the order of words would be different, as for instance in 12. 13 and 14. See add. note p. 26; † is also found after מְצַבֶּת 19 1. CIS i 61. אֵשְׁמוֹנָדָנִי is to be taken as a pr. name formed by a combination of Eshmun and Adon, the latter being the title of a god whose actual name was not pronounced. Similar combinations current in Cyprus are Eshmun-



melqarth (CIS i 16. 23. 24) and Adonis-Osiris<sup>1</sup>. In these cases, however, the combination forms the name of a deity, cf. 10 3 n. In CIS i 42 and 43 אשמנאדני is followed by what appears to be fragments of pr. names, . . . אשמנאדנייבז 42 and . . . אשמנאדנינשב 43; here the word which follows is שרדל, evidently also a pr. name. It is prob. that in all three instances we have the individual's nomen and cognomen given, a very unusual practice (so Lidzb.). The name שרדל is found again in a Pun. inscr. CIS i 444 3 f. [שרדל]; the etymology and pronunciation are unknown.

L. 2. רשפיתן See 12 3 n. It is curious to find the same name followed by the same title in 23 4 f. 6 and, according to some, in CIS i 22 כרסים [רשפ]יתן טל[י]. The three inscr. prob. belong to the same period; and though in 23 4 f. 6 the son of Reshef-yathon is Adon-shemesh, yet it is conceivable that he had another son, 'Abd-melqarth, who appears here. The facts are worth noticing, but they are not sufficient to establish an identification. מליץ הכרסים

The first word certainly means *interpreter* (to refs. above add CIS i 350 4 המליץ); it has this meaning in Gen. 42 23, cf. Job 33 23 and ἐρμηνευτής in Gk. inscriptions. כרסים is prob. the plur. of כרסי = Hebr. פּוֹרְסִיָּא *seat, throne*; for the form cf. Old Aram. כרסא 63 7; Aram. פּוֹרְסִיָּא, فَهْرَسَا; Arab. كُرْسِيٌّ. The title, then, may signify 'interpreter of the thrones,' i. e. dragoman to the court, whose office it was to act as interpreter between the Cyprian kings and the Persian or Greek courts.

16. Kition. CIS i 46. iv-iii cent. B. C. Bodl. Library, Oxford.

1 אַנְךְ · עַבְדָּאֶסֶר · בֶּן עַבְדַּסְסַם · בֶּן חֹר · מַצְבַּת ·  
 2 לַמְבַחֲיִי · יִמְנַאת · עַל · מִשְׁכַּב · נַחְתִּי · לְעַלְמִים · וְלֹא  
 3 שְׁתִּי · לְאַמְתַּעֲשֶׁתֶרֶת · בַּת · תַּאֵם · בֶּן עַבְדִּמְלֶךְ

I 'Abd-osir, son of 'Abd-sasom, son of Ḥor, set up (this) pillar in my life-time over my resting-place for ever; also to my wife, Amath-'ashtart, daughter of T'M, son of 'Abd-milk.

<sup>1</sup> Ἀμαθοῦς, πόλις Κύπρου ἀρχαιοτάτη, ἐν ᾗ Ἀδωνίς Ὀσίρις ἐπιμάτο, ὃν Αἰγύπτιον ὄντα Κύπριοι καὶ Φοίνικες ἰδιοποιοῦντο, Stephanus Byzant. ed. Meineke, p. 82.

L. 1. אנך The dead speaks in his own name. In other inscr. of this character we find the donor<sup>1</sup>, and once both the donor and the dead, using the 1st person (32). עבראכר See 14 2 n. עברססם Cf. 27 3. CIS i 49. 53. Tam. 2. The analogy of other proper names compounded with עבר shows that ססם is the name of a deity; it was prob. pronounced Sasom (Cypr. *apasasomose*, Ἀψάσωμος = עברססם Tam. 2, cf. LXX Σοσομαί I Ch. 2 40) or Sesom (Σέσματος = ססמ 28 3), or, as the Cypriote equivalent may imply, Sasm (Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* i 185, ii § 26). The fact that both here and in CIS i 53 (ע' בן עברחר) 'Abd-sasom belongs to families in which Egyptian names occur, makes it probable that ססם was a foreign deity, introduced, like Osiris and Horus, from Egypt. Nothing is known of the special character of this god; Baethgen *Beitr.* 64 f. On some coins of Sinope the Aram. legend עברססן is certified by Lidzbarski, as against Babelon's reading עברכמו *Pers. Achém.* lxxix ff. This ססן is, however, explained by Lidzbarski as the equivalent of the Persian name Σισίνης; it is therefore not to be identified with the Phoen. ססם; *Eph.* i 106. חר Horus, the Egyptian god.

L. 2. למבחי *during my life-time*; למן places the fact in the past, and ב gives the date; for the three preps. cf. 45 5 למבירח. 42 5 למבמחסר. There is no exact parallel in Hebr.; למפראשונה *for what was at first* I Ch. 15 13 is different, למב' being = למה + ל' as in למדי 2 Ch. 30 3. As a rule the מצבת was erected by the children (לאבי 18 3 f. לאבנם 19 3 f.) or a friend (32) to commemorate the dead 'among the living' בחים (e.g. 18 1); but here we have an exceptional instance of the מצבת being set up by the person commemorated during his life-time. This was done by persons who had no children to perform the pious duty, as may be seen from 2 S 18 18 ואבשלם לקח ויאצבילו בחיו את-מצבת אשר בעמדהפלך כי אמר אינלי בן בעביר הופיר על. הסמל... אש יטנאה לי 29 3 Perf. I sing., cf. 29 3 שמי. משכב נחתי Again in 21 5 נחתם על מ' נחתם. For משכב see 5 4 n.; for נתח cf. Is. 30 15.

L. 3. אמתעשתרת Cf. 5 14 n. and 27 2 אמתאסר. CIS i 395 3 אמתלקרת. ib. 446 2 f. אמתמלקרת. האם Restored in CIS i 66 1 but not found elsewhere. עברמלך Cf. Ἀβδμιλκων in the Cypr. text of CIS i 89 and in 670 3. The name also occurs in the Tell-el-Am. letters, e.g. 77 37 *Abd-milki*.

In this inscr. the words are separated by dots as in 13, and the ancient inscr. 1. 2. 61. 62. 63. It is noticeable that the tops of the letters ט, 4, א are open.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. CIS i 57 'the pillar which I, Menaḥem, set up to my father.'

## 17. Kition. CIS i 47.

לעטהר בת עבראש	1
מן השפט אשת גר	2
מלקרת בן בנחד	3
ש בן גרמלקרת ב	4
ן אשמנעזר	5

To 'TḤD, daughter of 'Abd-eshmun the judge, wife of Ger-melqarth, son of Ben-ḥodesh, son of Ger-melqarth, son of Eshmun-'azar.

L. 1. עטהר The meaning of this name is unknown. It has been explained as = עטה הוד Ps. 104 i. 2; but this derivation is too fanciful to be likely.

L. 2. השפט See 8 3 n. גרמלקרת i. e. *guest of Melqarth*, cf. גרמסכר 46 2. גרעשתרת 29 2. 3. גרצד 31 a 1. גרמסכר CIS i 267 3. גרהכל (= גר היכל) ib. 112 b<sup>1</sup>. b<sup>2</sup>. The 'guest' (= *πάροικος, παράσιτος*) was one who placed himself under the protection of the deity; cf. in Hebr. Ps. 15 i יגור באהלך (see Cheyne in loc.), and in Arab. جار الله i. e. one who dwells in Mekka, beside the Ka'aba; the verb جار in conj. iii is used of 'dwelling beside a temple' or 'receiving under protection as a client'; similarly 'cliens Bacchi,' Hor. *Ep.* ii 2 78. It is prob. that in 20 A 15. B 10 the גרם are mentioned as a class in the list of ministers and attendants of the temple of 'Ashtart at Kition. A good illustration of the religious practice is given by a Palmyrene מצבא in the Brit. Mus., Semitic Room no. 581, which is inscribed 'To Shadrapa the good god, that he might be a guest with him, he and all the sons of his house.' The religious idea of the 'guest' of a deity had its origin in the social custom of extending hospitality and protection to a stranger, and in the old Semitic right of sanctuary. Cf. 140 B 8 and בר 6 2 n.; see further Robertson Smith *Rel. of the Semites*<sup>1</sup> 75 ff., *Kinship* 41 f.

L. 3. בנחדש i. e. 'born on the new-moon.' The name is found again in 30 2 (Cypriote ὁ Νωμηνίωσ). 34. CIS i 117 where the Greek equivalent is ΝΟΥΜΗΝΙΟΣ. The naming of children after festivals was common in early Christian times, e. g. سحرمان = Κυριακός, Dominicus; سحرمان i. e. born on the Ascension; سحرمان i. e. born during the spring fast; Paschalis, Natalis &c.

## 18. Kition. CIS i 58.

מצבת בחים 1

אש יטנא עב 2

דאסר לאב 3

י לארכתא 4

The pillar among the living which 'Abd-osir set up to his father Arketha.

L. 1. מצבת בחים Cf. CIS i 116 1 מצבת סכר בחים. This inscr. proves that מצבת בחים cannot mean 'in (his) life-time' (16 2 למבחי), like the Gk. ζῶν, ζῶσα, and the Lat. vivus, viva, in similar cases; a son would not set up a memorial to his father while the latter was still alive. The meaning, therefore, is 'among the living'; see 15 n.

L. 3. עבראסר Cf. 14 2 n. The name Ἀβδούσιρος has been found on the Phoen. coast, Renan *Miss. de Phén.* 241; hence the conjecture that the Phoen. pronunciation of the Egyptian Osir was Usir. אבי

It is not certain whether the form was pronounced אָבִי = Hebr. אָבִי or אָבִי = Aram. אָבִי, Schröder 150 n. Nöldeke, *ZA* (1894) iv 402, thinks that the pronunciation was originally אָבִי, אָבִי, אָבִי 21 i. 3.

L. 4. לארכתא Possibly a Gk. name; Archytas has been suggested.

## 19. Kition. CIS i 60.

[מצב]ת ז אש יטנ 1

א אשמנצלה ו 2

מריחי לאבנ 3

ם למלגסנם 4

מהמ... 5

This is the pillar which Eshmun-šillah and Mar-yehai set up to their father Melexenos . . .

L. 1. ז Fem., see 3 add. note ii. אש יטנא Hif. pf. 3 plur.

L. 2. אשמנצלה Cf. בעלצלה 7 2. דעמצלה 32 2.

L. 3. מריחי i. e. prob. מְרִיחֵי *Mar gives life* (Piel), 27 3 ff. The name *Mar* has been explained by the Aram. מר, בעל=מר, אדן; it is conjectured that, like these names, מר was originally used in an appellative sense *lord*, and afterwards as the title of a deity. A better explanation is proposed by Hoffmann, *ZA* xi 240. He regards מר in מריחי, מר ברך CIS ii 85 (? Aram.), מר מסך Cl.-Gan. *JA* viii t. i 143, as a diminutive of מלקרת; and similarly *Mar* in θεῶν Βεελμάρι *Rev. Arch.* xxix (1875) 267 inscribed on a lamp from Tyre, and in Μάρνας the Philistine god of Gaza, who appears also in Ḥauran, Δὲ Μάρνα τῷ κυρίῳ Wadd. 2412 g; see also 40 i n. אשמנ מארח אבנם Cf. 27 5, and see 5 add. note.

L. 4. מלגסנס?=Μενέξενος.

20 A and B. Kition. CIS i 86 A and B. iv cent. B. C.  
Brit. Mus., Semitic Room.

A.

תכלת ירח אתנם 1

בחדש ירח אתנם 2

לאלן חרש קפא 3

1 III

לבנם אש בן אית בת עשתרת כת קפא.. 4

לפרכם ולאדמם אש על דל וקר 5

לאדם בער אש שכנם למלכת קדשת בים זק... 6

לנערם 3 קפא 7

לזבחם 2 קר / 8

לאשם 2 אש אם אית נער חלת למלכת... 9?

את פרכם קפא 1 10

לנערם 3 קפא 11

לגלבם פעלם על מלאכת קפא 12

לחרשם אש פעל אשתת אבן בבת מכ... 13

לעבראשמנ רב ספרם ולח בים ז קר 3 ו. ק. 14

15 [לכלבם] ולגרם קר || ופא ||  
 16 . . . . אש לח בים ז קר || ז . ב .  
 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 17

Total (?) for the month Ethanim. <sup>2</sup> On the new-moon of the month Ethanim:—<sup>3</sup> To the gods of the new-moon QP' 2. <sup>4</sup> To the builders who built the house of 'Ashtart? QP' . . . <sup>5</sup> To the *velarii*, and to the men who have charge of the door? QR 20. <sup>6</sup> To ??? who reside for the sacred service, on this day, Q . . . <sup>7</sup> To servants 2 QP' 2. <sup>8</sup> To sacrificers 2 QR 1. <sup>9</sup> To men 2 who ?????? for the service . . . <sup>10</sup> The *velarii*, QP' 1 . . . <sup>11</sup> To servants 3 QP' 3. <sup>12</sup> To the barbers officiating at the service QP' 2. <sup>13</sup> To the masons who made pillars (?) of stone in the house of MK . . . <sup>14</sup> To 'Abd-Eshmun, chief of the scribes, ?, on this day, QR 3 ? . . . <sup>15</sup> [To 'dogs'] and temple-clients QR 3 and P' 3. <sup>16</sup> . . . who ?, on this day, QR 2 ? . . .

The two inscr. A and B are *written* in black pigment on both sides of a stone tablet. The writing of A is in a small, close hand; that of B is in a bolder and clearer character. Many of the letters are difficult to decipher.

L. 1. חכלה *sum, total*; from כלה *be complete*. The first two letters, however, are uncertain. אתנם The month of *steady flowings*, the 7th month, Oct.–Nov.; cf. 30 4, 1 K. 8 2 ירח האתנים. Like the name of the month *bul* (5 1 n.), the name *ethanim* was prob. of Canaanite origin, and adopted by the Israelites from the Canaanite calendar: Benzinger *Hebr. Arch.* 201.

L. 2. בחדש *on the new-moon* i. e. the first day of the lunar month, cf. B 2. 29 4. Ps. 81 4.

L. 3. אלן Cf. B 3, plur. constr. as in 5 18. 10 7. Who 'the gods of the new-moon' were is not known. The religious celebration of the new-moon was an ancient custom; see 1 S. 20 5 f. Is. 1 13. Hos. 2 13. Am. 8 5. 2 K. 4 23. קפא A coin of some kind. The four strokes, grouped like numerals, between ll. 3 and 4 may possibly indicate the 4th day of the month; or they may merely separate the previous lines from what follows.

L. 4. לבנם אש בן i. e. לבנם אש בן. כת may mean *Kition*, as on coins from Sidon, 149 B 15, although כתי is the usual form.

L. 5. לפרכם Cf. l. 10; perhaps, 'those who have charge of the temple-curtains' (פְּרָכֶת Ex. 26 31 ff. &c.), cf. Talm. *Sheqalim* 11 ב and אלעזר על פרכת, and the *velarii*, i. e. slaves who drew the curtains, in the Lat. inscr. This explanation agrees well with what follows: 'the men in charge of the door.' For דל cf. 9 3 n. קר Cf. ll. 8. 14. 16. B 8. 10; a coin, here followed by the symbol for 20.

L. 6. לאדם בער Meaning and text obscure. It has been proposed to render בער *who kindles the fire*. In Hebr. the Piel is used in this sense, e. g. 2 Ch. 4 20 וְאֶת־הַמְּנֹרֹת וְנִרְתִּיָּהֶם לְבַעֵרם בְּמִשְׁפָּט, cf. 13 11. מלכת למלכת = למלכת *who reside for the work*. The construction is curious, but there is no doubt about the reading; למלכת = למלכת l. 12. 3 11. 13. 45 2. קדשת Adj., fem. sing. For the expression 'מלכת cf. מְלֹאכֶת עֲבֹדַת הַקֹּדֶשׁ Ex. 36 3 and 1 Ch. 9 13. 28 13 &c.

L. 9. לאיש i. e. לאישם cf. B 7. 46 1. In Phoen. איש (אִישׁ) is not used so frequently as אדם. אדם אית נער חלת The words are unintelligible.

L. 12. לגלבים i. e. לגלבים (Eze. 5 1), cf. נלב אלם CIS i 257 ff. and the pr. n. נלב 27 5. The barbers attached to the temple assisted at the hair-offerings, a customary form of devotion in heathen Semitic religion. Lucian, *de Dea Syr.* vi. lv, alludes to the practice of offering hair to Adonis at Byblus and Bambyce; it was a sacrificial act offered with the idea of attaching the worshipper to the deity and his shrine; see Robertson Smith *Rel. of Sem.*<sup>1</sup> 313. The ceremonial shaving of the head was forbidden to the Israelites as a heathen practice; and the prohibition was extended to making incisions in the flesh, which also was prob. performed by these temple-barbers. See Lev. 19 27 f. 21 5. Eze. 44 20.

L. 13. חרש For חרש cf. 22 2. 45 9. 52 6, CIS i 64 חרש רב מלכיתן. The word is generally used of workers in metal, but also of workers in stone, e. g. 2 S 5 11. קיר 'ח. 1 Ch. 22 14; see also 2 Ch. 24 12. אשתח Cf. B 5. The meaning of the word is uncertain. It has been taken as = שֹׁתֶת + אֵ prosth. *pillars*, Ps. 11 3. . . מכ In B 5 מכל אשתח. Elsewhere מכל occurs with the prefix רשף as the name of the god Reshef-mukl, 24 2 &c.; מכל is prob. the name of a city (Lidzb.).

L. 14. רב ספרם Cf. הספר frequently in Carth. inscr., e. g. CIS i 154 4. 240 ff. ולח Again l. 16. It is not unlikely that לח is an abbreviation for לח[ברם] *to the associates*, 42 2 n.

L. 15. ולגרים [לכלבים] Restored from B 10. Is the reference to persons or to animals? The words may be rendered *for the dogs and the whelps* (וּלְגֵרִים), supposing that the item of expenditure is food for the temple-hounds, which in some cases were considered sacred,

see note on p 76 line 2.  
Ανετος η Αμυγδαλας  
Lacedaemon.

e.g. the hound of Isis, Adonis, &c.; so Hoffmann *Über ein. Phön. Inschr.* 17. In a Gk. inscr. from Epidaurus sacred hounds are mentioned as connected with the temple of Aesculapius (=Eshmun), Michel 1069 126 f.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, כלבם and גרם may be persons: to the 'dogs' and temple-clients. In this case כלבם is explained by Dt. 23 19, cf. κύρες Apoc. 22 15; they were temple-prostitutes, otherwise called קַרְשִׁים in the O.T., e.g. Dt. 23 18. 1 K. 14 24 &c.; in Assyr. *ḥarimtu, ḫadištu* (of Ishtar), Zimmern *KAT*<sup>3</sup> 423. The pr. n. כלב אלם CIS i 49, and such names as Kalbi-Bau, Kalbi-Marduk &c. in Neo-Babyl. contracts, may be quoted in illustration, though in these cases it is likely that כלב was used as a term not of contempt but of self-abasement, *the humble slave of the gods*. The word is found in the Tell-el-Am. letters in this sense, e.g. *kalbu-šarri* 'servant, lit. dog, of the king' 75 36. 86 19. 161 15 &c.; cf. 2 K. 8 13 עבדך הכלב<sup>2</sup>. It is possible that כלבים=קַרְשִׁים originally had a similar meaning, *devoted followers*; we cannot tell. If כלבם='dogs' metaphorically, the גרם must be *the temple-clients*, lit. *guests*, here apparently a regular class attached to the temple and supported out of its funds; see 17 2 n. Or, again, גרם may be pointed גַרְם and mean *youths*, cf. 1 16 n.; but this is very uncertain.

## B.

→	עקב	1
→	בחדש ירח פעלת	2
→	לאן חדש קפא	3
→	לבעל ימם ברב שלם	4
→	לנפש בת אש לאשתת מכל וש ...	5
→	לעבראבסת הקרתחדשת' ...	6
→	לאשם . אש לקח מכנבם קפא ...	7
→	לרעם . אש ב??ף לכר קר    אש ב ...	8
→	לעלמת ולעלמת =    בזבח ...	9
→	לכלבם ולגרם קר    / ופא	10
→	לנערם     קפא	11
→	א . . . . .	12

<sup>1</sup> See Cl.-Ganneau *Rec.* i 235 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Further illustrations from Assyr. are given by Thureau-Dangin in *PSBA* xxi 133.



Continuation (?). <sup>2</sup> On the new-moon of the month Pa-  
 'aloth:—<sup>3</sup> To the gods of the new-moon QP' 2. <sup>4</sup> To the  
 ba'al's of the days for the ? peace-offering. <sup>5</sup> To the persons of  
 the house which is by the pillars (?) of Mikal and . . . <sup>6</sup> To  
 'Abd-ubast the Carthaginian . . . <sup>7</sup> To the men who were  
 taken (?) from the 'dogs' (?), QP' . . . <sup>8</sup> To the friends (?) who . . .  
 were taken (?), QR 2 which . . . <sup>9</sup> To the virgins and virgins 22  
 in the sacrifice . . . <sup>10</sup> To the 'dogs' and to the temple-clients  
 QR 3 and P' 2. <sup>11</sup> To servants 3 QP' 3.

L. 1. עקב Arabic usage shows that the root had the two meanings  
 of *follow, be behind* (conj. i) and *to pay back, recompense* (conj. iv). The  
 name יעקב, probably in full יעקב־אל, may have had either of these two  
 meanings originally; see Baethgen *Beiträge* 158, who compares the  
 Palmyrene name עתעקב *Ate follows, rewards*. Hence the noun here may  
 be rendered either *reward*, cf. עקב רב Ps. 19 12 and Pr. 22 4, or *continua-*  
*tion*, i. e. from the foregoing account.

L. 2. פעלח Name of a month, perhaps the 6th. It is found again in  
 23 1 (rest.). 29 8. Tam. 2 1.

L. 3. See A 3 n.

L. 4. לבעל ימים i. e. לִבְעֵל יָמִים is taken to mean 'the gods who  
 preside over the different days of the month.' ברב שלם *in magno*  
*sacrificio pacifico* (Corp.); but ברב is very doubtful. For שלם cf.  
 שלם כלל 42 3 ff.

L. 5. The sense is obscure; נפש may be sing. collective (not plur.,  
 which would be נפשות) in the sense of *persons*, men- and women-slaves,  
 as in Gen. 12 5. Lev. 22 11. Eze. 27 13 (with אדם). אשתת מכל  
 See A 13 n. also note p. 76 on line 2.

L. 6. לעבראבסת Cf. *Carth.* 161 6 (rest.). The name occurs in  
 an inscr. from the temple of Osiris at Abydos, 31 d, and in the  
 form Ἀβδουβάστριος in a Gk. inscr. from Sidon, Waddington 1866 c.  
 There can be no doubt that אבסת is the Egyptian goddess Bast,  
 with א prosth.; see Herodotus ii 60. 137 (temple of Bubastis). 156,  
 and cf. the name פעל אבסת 31 a. הקרתחרשתי *the Carthaginian*; the  
 Carthage in Cyprus (11 n.) or in Africa.

L. 7. לקח Either Qal *took* or Pual *were taken*, pf. 3 plur. מנבב  
 is unintelligible, unless it be a mistake for מכלבם l. 10.

L. 8. לרעם Possibly *to the friends* i. e. לְרַעְמָם. The Corp. renders  
 לבר *were taken* i. e. by lot, cf. 1 S. 10 20 f.; but this is uncertain.

L. 9. עלמת *virgins* who sang and danced in the temple rites; cf. עלמות תופפות Ps. 68 26. על עלמות Ps. 46 (title). 1 Ch. 15 20.

L. 10. See A 15 n.

21. Kition. iv cent. B. C. Brit. Mus., Cyprus Room no. 31. Plate II.

מצבת אז אש ימנא ארש רב סרסרם לאבי לפרסי 1  
 רב סרסרם בן ארש רב סרסרם בן מנחם רב סרסרם 2  
 בן משל רב סרסרם בן פרסי רב סרסרם ולאמי 3  
 לשמזבל בת בעלרם בן מלכיתן בן עזר רב חז 4  
 ענם על משבב נחתנם לעלם 5

This pillar (is that) which Arish, chief of the brokers, erected to his father, Parsi,<sup>2</sup> chief of the brokers, son of Arish, chief of the brokers, son of Menahem, chief of the brokers, <sup>3</sup>son of Mashal, chief of the brokers, son of Parsi, chief of the brokers; and to his mother, <sup>4</sup>Shem-zabul, daughter of Ba'al-ram, son of Milk-yathon, son of 'Azar, chief of the prefects (?), over their resting-place, for ever.

This inscr. is written on a fine monolith of white marble with a gabled top; it belongs to the type of memorial inscr. represented by 15. 16. 18. 19. The stone was found in the necropolis of Kition outside Old Larnaka in 1894.

L. 1. ארש is found again in 38 4 and often in Carth. inscr.; on a v cent. gold ring from Syria, Levy *Siegel u. Gemmen* 53; in the form *Arisus* CIL viii 3335, *Arsus* ib. 9054; cf. עברארש 45 7. The  $\sqrt{\text{ארש}}$  Assy. *êrêš* = *desire, request*, Hebr. אַרְשֵׁת; possibly this is the meaning of the name here. רב סרסרם Not found elsewhere. The usage of סְרָסוֹר in Rabbinic literature gives a clue to the meaning here. Thus in *Pesikta* ed. Buber 45 a סרסור = *mediator* and is applied to Moses, אף הסרסור הרגיש בעבורה 'even the mediator trembled on account of it'; in the Mishnah it is used of a *negotiator* in a business transaction, e.g. *Baba Bathra* 87 a, cf. the Midrash on this passage, Midr. R. *Deuteron.* § 3 fol. 91 b ('ס' applied to Moses); Talm. Jerus. *Megila* 74 d &c. In Arab. سَرَسُور denotes *intelligent, skilful*,

one who manages a business well. Thus the earliest authority for the word is this inscr.; and there is no reason to doubt that it is a genuine Phoen. word, a technical term of Phoen. commercial life. It was probably adopted from Phoenicia by the cognate languages. Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdw. in Arab.* (1886) 186, conjectured that the Arab. *سُرْسُور* was a loan-word from Aram., but since the discovery of this inscr. he has abandoned the conjecture, *ZA* (1896) x 99. So we may render *רב סרסרם* *chief of the brokers*, who probably formed a merchant guild or corporation, *ἀρχιπραγματευτής*. In the family of Arish the office was hereditary, having been held, on the father's side, for six generations. *לַאבִי* Cf. 18 3 f. n. *פּרְסִי* Perhaps *ὁ Πέρσης*, *הַפְּרָסִי* Neh. 12 22. The name has been found on the foot of a vase from Sidon, Cl.-Ganneau *Ét.* ii 155.

L. 2. מנחם Cf. 30 2. CIS i 87 3 (Cyprus). 102 b (Egypt).

L. 3. מִשַׁל Cf. Euting *Carth. Inscr.* 130 4 f. מלִקְרַח־מִשַׁל.

L. 4. שִׁמּוּבַל Perhaps the *Name has, or is, carried* cf. the fem. pr. n. *בַּעֲלֵאֲוַבַל* CIS i 158 2 f. In Assyr. *zabālu* = 'carry,' 'bring' (e.g. *KB* ii p. 235 l. 88; iii 2 p. 92 l. 53 &c.), ? = 'honour,' 'exalt,' as given in *COT*<sup>2</sup> 550; cf. Arab. *زَجَل* *take up and carry*. The pronunciation was prob. *zabul*; cf. the pr. n. *Zabullus* CIL viii 5987. 9947. The explanation suggested by Derenbourg, *Rev. Études Juiv.* xxx 118 ff., that *שִׁמּוּבַל* is a variation of such a name as *שְׁכַנְיָה* (similarly Halévy *Rev. Sémi.* iii 183 ff. 'heavenly name,' cf. Hab. 3 11) has little probability. The 'Name' may denote 'Asstart, called *בַּעַל* in 5 18.

*בַּעֲלָרַם* Cf. 23 2 n., a name belonging to the royal family of Kition. *מַלְכִיתָן*, also a royal name, is given to other persons, e.g. 41 6 f. (Carth.) &c. *עוֹר* Prob. shortened from *עוֹרֻבַעַל* or the like; it is found in Carth. inscr., e.g. CIS i 453 5 f. *Carth.* 27 5 f. &c. *רַב חוּעַנַם* Like *רב סרסרם* only met with here.

A careful examination of the stone makes it almost certain that *חוּעַנַם* is the right reading, and that the indentation in the stone after *ן* is not a letter, but a recent mark due to an accidental blow. The reading *חוּעַנַם*, given by Nöldeke, *ZA* iv 402 ff., cannot, therefore, be accepted. The meaning is doubtful. (1) The word may be connected with the Assyrian *ḫazānu* 'governor,' 'prefect,' of which the plur. is *ḫazianuti*,

pointing to *חַיָּה* as the root (Zimmern *ZA* vi 248); Tell-el-Am. 179 19. 147 5 *Zimridi ḫazānu ša Ziduna*, and often. This gives a suitable sense. The title may have passed from the Canaanite coast to Cyprus; Assyrian influence was predominant in both regions at various times.

The *ן*, not used in Assyrian, may be due to an attempt to express the long vowel. (2) It is natural to think of the Arab. *خزن* *lay up, store*,

guard; حَازِنٌ *guardian* of treasures, of Paradise Qur. 39 73. *Chief of the treasurers* would give a good sense here; but it is not likely that a pure Arab. title would be used of a local official in Cyprus. (3) Nöld., l. c., suggests הוֹי עֵינַיִם *eye-gazers*, i. e. *seers, diviners*, cf. *μαντιάρχης* Waddington 2795; but the construction *seers of*, i. e. *with, eyes* is not very natural, even if the reading הוֹי עֵינַם is to be accepted. (4) Halévy, *Rev. Sémi.* iii (1895) 183 ff., proposes *chief of the inspectors of wells* וְרֵב הוֹי עֵינַיִם; so Lidzb.(?). The plur. of עֵינַיִם in Hebr. is עֵינֹת, but the mas. form may have been used in Phoen.; Halévy compares הַעֵינִים Josh. 15 34, which is perhaps a dual. The office may be illustrated from a Gk. inscr., B. C. 333, where an official is rewarded for his services *περὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν κρηνῶν*, Michel 105 = CIA iv 2. 169 b; cf. also *ἐπιμελητῆς αἰρεθείς* \*Εφκας πηγῆς (from Palmyra), Waddington 2571 c.; procurator aquarum, Rushforth *Lat. Hist. Inscr.* 89. It may be questioned whether חֹזֶה *seer* could be used for *inspector*; שׁמַר *keeper* 38 7 would be a more natural term. On the whole (1) is to be preferred.

L. 5. על משכב נחתנם לעלם Cf. 16 2.

## 22. Kition. iv–iii cent. Larnaka.

1 לעברעשתר בן אשמנ . . .  
2 חרש עגלת פעל זי . . .

To 'Abd-'ashtar, son of Eshmun- . . ., the chariot-smith; ZI . . . made (it).

This inscr. was found at Larnaka in 1894; see Myres and Richter *Catal. of Cypr. Mus.* 172 and Plate viii. Below the inscr. is the incised outline of a figure resembling the steering-oar (?) carved on CIS i 265, Tab. xlvii. But the figure here can hardly be meant for an oar, nor does it look like any part of a chariot. Michon, *Rév. Arch.* (1900) 458, suggests that it represents some tool, such as a plane, and compares the monument of Boitēnos Hermes, a maker of beds, *κλεινοπηγός*, on which his tools are carved (CIG 2135).

L. 1. עברעשתר For the usual עברעשחרת 29 2. 5 &c.; see for the form 1 17 n. . . . אשמנ The full name was prob. compounded with עורן, ארן, or יתן.

L. 2. חרש עגלת i. e. חרש עגלת. For חרש a worker in metal or

wood cf. 20 A 13 n.; and for עגלת cf. CIS i 346 3 עין עגלת, which seems to mean (*maker of*) *chariots of wood*; a chariot is figured on a stone from Carthage illustrated in Corp. p. 397. The chariot is copiously represented in Cyprian art from the beginning of the Graeco-Phoenician period. In a private communication M. Clermont-Ganneau suggests that . . . זי is the fragment of a pr. n., such as זיבקים 38 5 &c., the name of the donor of the stele. To read [יברך] פעל ז leaves פעל without a subj., and the stele without a donor.

23. Idalion. CIS i 88. Date circ. 386 B.C. Louvre.

372-386:367-361/90 #12.

- #20 B line 2 p. 68
- 1 בימם → [III III III] לירח פע[ע]לת בש[נת III למלך מלכיתן] [מלך כתי
- 2 אדיל בן בעלרם . סמל אז אש יתן ויטנא ון[חד]ש כל[ה]ר[שפ]
- 3 יתן בן עזרתבעל מלין הכרסים לאדני למלקרת ש[מע קל]
- 4 פקר המפקד ז והסלמת אש למפקד [און] אש יפקד א[דנ]ש[מי]
- [בן רשפ]יתן
- 5 מלין כרסים . ופקד הת . . . סמלם בסלמת המפקד ו . . . אש [יפקד]
- 6 עברפמי ועברמלקרת אשן בן [אד]נשמש בן רשפיתן מלין כרסי
- III III III - בשנת III
- 7 למלך מלכיתן מלך כתי ון[אד]יל ב שמע מלקרת קלם יברכם
- Plural 7 פ
- num. 120 with Proothale 6th year

On the 1[6]th day of the month Pa'aloth, in the 3rd year of king Milk-yathon, [king of Kition and] <sup>2</sup>Idalion, son of Ba'alram:—This statue (is that) which R[eshef]-<sup>3</sup>yathon, son of 'Azrath-ba'al, interpreter of the thrones, gave and set up and entirely [renov]ated to his lord Melqarth who hears (his) voice. <sup>4</sup>This? . . . and the steps (?) which belong to this ? . . ., which were commissioned (?), A[don]-sh[amash, so]n of Reshef-[yathon], <sup>5</sup>interpreter of the thrones, commissioned. And the ? . . . statues on the steps (?) of the ? . . . and . . . which were [com]missioned (?), <sup>6</sup>'Abd-pumi and 'Abd-melqarth, the two sons of [Ad]on-shamash, son of Reshef-yathon, interpreter of the thrones, commissioned in the 6th year <sup>7</sup>of king

Milk-yathon, king of Kition and [Id]alion, because Melqarth heard their voice. May he bless them!

This inscr. belongs to the type illustrated by nos. 12-14.

L. 1. בימם See 12 1 n. פֶּלַח See 20 B 2 n. מְלִכִּיתוֹ Cf. 24. 25. 30. According to the chronology given by Babelon *Pers. Achém.* cxxvi, Milk-yathon reigned first from B.C. 392 to 388 and then from 387 to 361 (see 149 B 5). His third year will thus be 390.

L. 2. בעלרם 24 1<sup>1</sup>. סמל Cf. 13 2 n. חֲדָשׁ i. e. חֲדָשׁ, cf. 38 1. 46 1. 102 1; 2 Ch. 24 4. 12 (of the temple). 15 8 (of the altar). But this and the word following are uncertain.

L. 3. מְלִין הַכְּרִסִּים . . . רשפיתו See 15 2 n. עֲזֹרַת־בַּעַל perhaps *my help is Ba'al*; the usual form of the name is בעל עֲזֹרַת = מְלִקְרַת = מֶלֶךְ קִרְתָּה *king of the city*, cf. 29 3 &c. 36 1 and 3 2 n. This title belonged to Ba'al of Tyre, and came to be used as a pr. name; thus 36 1 עֲזֹרַת־בַּעַל לְמִלְקֶרֶת. In the Gk. form of the latter inscr. the equivalent of מְלִקְרַת is ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ ΑΡΧΗΓΕΤΕΙ. By the Greeks Melqarth was identified with Herakles, as we learn also from Philo of Byblus, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 568, Μελλάθρος ὁ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς. From Tyre the cult of Melqarth spread to Cyprus (as this inscr. and 29 and the Cyprian names 'עבדמ', 'גֵּרֵמ' testify), and to Egypt, Carthage, and other places; see Baethgen *Beitr.* 20 f. Melqarth is not mentioned in the O. T., but the worship of the Tyrian Ba'al introduced into N. Israel by Jezebel was most likely offered to him. שִׁמְעָה i. e. prob. שִׁמְעָה.

L. 4. Further objects dedicated to the deity. פֶּקֶד הַמְּפָקֶד has been rendered 'curavit hanc curam'; but this rendering of המפקד, while it agrees with that of פֶּקֶד (cf. *Ezr.* 1 2), does not suit והסלמת *and the stairs* (?). Accordingly Cl.-Ganneau explains the word from *Eze.* 43 21, where it is ordered to burn the sin-offering הַפִּיֵת בְּמִפְקֶד הַפִּיֵת לְמִקְדָּשׁ. The *mifqad*, then, was some place adjoining the temple,

<sup>1</sup> (1) Although this Ba'al-ram was the father of king Milk-yathon, he is not given the title of king either here or in 24 1; we may conclude, therefore, that he never was king. (2) In the bilingual inscr. CIS i 89 *our prince* (אֲרִיִן) Ba'al-ram, son of 'Abd-milk, dedicates a statue in the reign of Milk-yathon. This Ba'al-ram is prob. to be distinguished from (1). The Cypriote version gives δ *φάναξ* as the equivalent of אֲרִיִן, a title which belonged to princes of the Cyprian royal house, cf. Aristotle ap. Harpocration οἱ μὲν υἱοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καλοῦνται ἀνακτες, αἱ δὲ ἀδελφαὶ καὶ γυναῖκες ἀνασσαί *Fr. Hist. Gr.* ii 166; also Clearchus ap. Athen. Deipnos. ib. ii 311. (3) Another Ba'al-ram was king of Kition and Idalion, as his coins testify, about B. C. 396, just before Milk-yathon; but his name has not so far been read with certainty on any inscr.; in *Idal.* 7 1 [בעל]מלך not [בעל]מלך is prob. the right reading. See Babelon *Pers. Achém.* cxxvi-cxxx.

at the city  
of the underworld.  
right  
S.O.R. No. 87-  
942. p. 29.  
Alphabet -  
Religion  
No. 10 p. 87 - for  
is from the  
S.O.R. Tablets.

but outside the sanctuary; one of the gates of the city was near it, Neh. 3 31. There is nothing, however, in this inscr. to determine exactly what is meant by המפקד; but it prob. had something to do with the statue referred to in l. 2, perhaps *the pedestal* (so Lidzb. 158 n. 1). הסלמת The meaning of this word is also doubtful. It may be *steps*, from  $\sqrt{\text{סלל}}$  to *lift up, cast up*; hence סלם ladder Gen. 28 12. יפקר The word is uncertain; it may be Hofal pf. plur. as in l. 5. אדנשמש l. 6, only here; cf. עברשמש CIS i 116 2 (= ΗΑΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ). 117 2. מקשמש (name of a city) Lidzb. 316. Shamash was the sun-god; cf. in Old Aram. שמש 61 2 &c. 62 22. 64 9; in Ethiop. סמס.

L. 5. ופקר 3 plur.; the subject is 'Abd-pumi and 'Abd-Melqarth l. 6. A fresh dedication is mentioned here.

L. 6. עברפמי Only found here; for פמי see 12 1 n. אשן בן i. e. שני בני. The constr. st. occurs again in 36 2 בן שן, and the abs. in 12 3 אישנ (see n.). The sixth year of Milk-yathon was prob. B. C. 386, unless the reckoning started from 387 when he became king a second time according to Babelon's chronology (above).

L. 7. The formula of blessing resembles that in 36 3 f. For suff. in קלם see 5 add. note.

24. Idalion. CIS i 90. Date 391 B. C. Brit. Mus., Cyprus  
Room no. 289.

מרקע חרין אז אש יתן מלך מלכיתן מלך כתי ואדיל בן בעלרם לאר 1  
לרשף מבל באדיל בירח בל בשנת 11 למלכי על כתי ואדיל כ שמ 2  
קל יברך

<sup>1</sup>  
לרשף + מלכיתן  
שנת

This plating of gold (is that) which king Milk-yathon, king of Kition and Idalion, son of Ba'al-ram, gave to his god Reshef of Mukl in Idalion, in the month Bul, in the 2nd year of his reign over Kition and Idalion, because he heard (his) voice: may he bless!

This inscr. belongs to the same type as 25 and 26.

L. 1. מרקע i. e. מרשע, again in Idal. 7 3 מרק[ע נחש]ת (Euting *Sitzber. Pr. Akad.* (1887) 422). The  $\sqrt{\text{רקע}}$  = *beat out thin*, of metals, e. g. Jer. 10 9 מרקע מרשע. Ex. 39 3. Num. 17 3. Talm B. *Shegalim* 9 b

רקעי זהב. The word here prob. denotes the gold-plating of the image (סמל) of the god, cf. *ἄγαλμα ἐπίχρυσον*, Herod. ii 182, and Is. 40 19. If *מרקע* meant *bowl or vessel of beaten gold* (Corp.), the inscr. would have been written on the bowl itself, as 11, not on a stone tablet. *חרץ* See 3 4 n. *בעלרם* See 23 i. 2 n.

L. 2. *רשף מכל באדיל* Cf. 25 i f. 27 5. CIS i. 94 4 f. *מכל* is prob. the name of a city, see 20 A 13 n.; and *רשף מכל* = *τῶ Ἀπολλῶνι τῶ Ἀμυκλωῖ* CIS i 89 (Cypriote), *Ἀμυκλός* being a dialectical form of the classical *Ἀμυκλαῖος*. The Phoenicians usually tried to give the names of foreign deities a form familiar to themselves; thus 'Reshef of Mukl' was their way of representing Apollo of Amyclae in Lacedaemon. For *רשף* see 12 3 n.; this and the following inscr. show that he was specially honoured at Idalion. The prep. in *באדיל* implies that the cult of the deity was transplanted from its native home; similarly *באניצם* 39 i. *שהר בנרב* 64 2. 92 3. 99 2. In 45 i. 55 i, however, this appears not to be the case. *בל* See 5 i n. *למלכי* i. e. *לְמַלְכֵי* Inf. with suff. 3 m. sing., as in 26 2.

25. Idalion. CIS i 91. Brit. Mus., Cyprus Room no. 225.

סמל . אז . אש יתן . מלך . מלכיתן . מלך . כתי . ונאדיל בן בעלרם  
 לאלי לן  
 רשף . מכל . נצחת . את . סבי . היצאם . ועזרנם . . . .

This statue (is that) which king Milk-yathon, king of Kition and [Idalion, son of Ba'al-ram], gave [to his god] Reshef of Mukl. With his ? I conquered those who came out and their allies . . . .

The general type of this inscr. resembles that of 24 and 26.

L. 1. *סמל* Cf. 13 2 n.

L. 2. *רשף מכל* Cf. 24 2 n. *נצחת* i. e. *נִצְחָתָהּ* or *נִצְחָתָהּ*. The primary meaning of *נצח* is *shine*, as appears from Aram. usage, e.g. Apoc. 15 6 *רַיְמֵנְסָא זְמַלָּא נִצְחָתָהּ raiment fine, shining*. From this comes the derived meaning *be illustrious, triumph, conquer*, e.g. Midr. Rab. *Ekah* 1 § 11 ונצח חבריה (Qal), Targ. Jon. Num. 16 14 *נִתְנַצַּח* (Pael), Dan. 6 4 *בְּתִנְצַח* (Ethp.); *נִצְחָתָהּ victory* Jud. 15 18, *נִצְחָתָהּ* Targ. Jer. Ex. 14 14. 25; in the O.T. cf. the late passages



Lam. 3 18. 1 Ch. 29 11: Driver *Samuel* 98 f. אה Prep. as in 4  
8. 5 4 &c., here prob. *with the aid of*. סבי The reading is un-  
certain and the meaning unknown. The first letter looks like a ס,  
possibly a צ, the second appears to be a ג. The Corp. reads סרי  
*his counsel* (i. e. Reshef-yathon's), and quotes in illustration Ps. 25  
14 &c.; this is very doubtful. היצאם *those who came forth* i. e.  
to battle; for יצא in this sense cf. 1 S. 8 20. 2 S. 11 1. ועורנם  
Cf. 5 add. note. The reference appears to be to some historical occa-  
sion, perhaps a rebellion or political revolution.

26. Idalion. CIS i 92. Date 354 B. C.

1 [סמל אז אש יתן מלך פמייתן מלך] כתי . ואדיל . בן מלך . מלכי  
2 [מלך כתי ואדיל לאלי לרשף מכל בן] רח כרר בשנת שמן 111111  
למלכי על  
3 [כתי ואדיל כ שמע קל יברך]

The son of king Milk-yathon was Pumi-yathon (B. C. 361-312),  
see 12. 13. 149 B 6. The missing portions of the inscr. are restored  
after 24 and 25.

L. 2. כרר ירה כרר The name of this month occurs again in the  
NPun. inscr. 55 5. בשנת שמן למלכי Cf. 2 K. 24 12 בשנת ישמנה  
למלכו.

27. Idalion. CIS i 93. B. C. 254. Brit. Mus., Cyprus Room  
no. 239.

1 בימם 1111 לירח חיר בשנת א → לאדן מלכם פתלמים  
פתלמי[ם]...  
2 אש הא שת א א → 1111 לאש כתי כנפרם ארסנאם פלד  
אמתאמר בת מכ ..  
3 בן עבדססם בן גדעת הסמלם האל אש יטנא בתשלם בת מרי  
בן אשמנא[דן]

# 19:63 על בני על אשמנארן ושלם ועבדרשף שלשת בן מריחי בן  
 אשמנארן בן נחמי  
 בן גלב הנדר אש כן נדר אבנם מריחי בחיי לאדננם לרשף מכל  
 יברכם

On the 7th day of the month Ḥiyyar in the 31st year of the lord of kings Ptolemy son of Ptolemy . . . ,<sup>2</sup> which is the 57th year of the men of Kition, the Kanephoros of Arsinoë Philadelphos (being) Amath-osir, daughter of Mk . . . ,<sup>3</sup> son of 'Abd-sasom, son of Gad-'ath:—These statues (are those) which Bath-shalom, daughter of Mar-yehai, son of Eshmun-adon, set up<sup>4</sup> for her grandsons Eshmun-adon and Shallum and 'Abd-reshef, the three sons of Mar-yehai, son of Eshmun-adon, son of Naḥmai, <sup>5</sup> son of Gallab, (being) the vow which their father Mar-yehai had vowed during his life-time to their lord Reshef of Mukl: may he bless them!

L. 1. בימם See 12 1 n. חיר again in 31 d. 45 5, perhaps identical with the Aram. אַיִר, אַיִר Targ. Jon. Ex. 12 39, Hebr. וַי, the second month, April–May. פתלמים See 5 18 n.

i. e. Ptolemy ii Philadelphus, 285–247 B. C. The missing word at the end of the line is prob. פלדלף. Cf. 10 6 f. and 29 4 ff.

L. 2. אש הא שח i. e. אֲשֶׁר הִיא שְׁנַת. Note the pron. after the relat., a construction which occurs several times in Hebr., chiefly before an adj. or ptcip., e. g. Gen. 9 3 אֲשֶׁר הִיא חַי. Dt. 20 20. Hag. 1 9 &c.; in Aram., e. g. Dan. 7 17 רִי אֲנֹן אֲרַבֵּעַ . . . חַיִּיתָא. Targ. 2 S. 20 19 חַיִּיתָא; in Arab., e. g. Quran 43 51 هَذَا الَّذِي هُوَ مَهِيْنٌ *this who is a contemptible person*; the same is found in Ethiopic. See Driver *Tenses* § 199 obs., *Samuel* 64. For שח = שנת sing. cf. 6 1 n.

למש כתי The era of the people of Kition began in 311 B. C. In the previous year Pumi-yathon (12 1 n.) was put to death by Ptolemy i Sotër, king of Egypt, and this brought the native dynasty to an end. For the threefold indication of date cf. 29 4 f. כנפרם = κανηφόρος *Basket-bearer*, a title given to the virgins who carried the sacred baskets in the processions of Athene, Demeter, and Dionysos at Athens. In the cult of the Ptolemies, who were treated with divine honours (cf. 28 2–4, 29 5 ff.), the office of the Kanephoros was one of such dignity that in Egypt (and in Cyprus too) the year was indicated by

her name; for this there is evidence from papyri, from the bilingual inscr. of Canopus (238 B.C.) l. 2 *κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου Μενεκρατίας τῆς Φιλάμμωνος* (Michel no. 551) exactly as here, and from the Rosetta Stone l. 5 *κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου Ἀρείας τῆς Διογένους* (CIG 4697), &c., in all cases, be it noted, in connexion with Arsinoë and not with other Ptolemaic queens. From this inscr. it appears that the cult of the Ptolemies, with the *κανηφορία* of Arsinoë, was established in Cyprus. The name of the Kanephoros, Amath-Osir, is Egyptian (cf. עבראסר 14 2), but she was certainly a Phoenician by race. ארסנוס פלדלף (genitive) *Arsinoë Philadelphus*, the sister-consort of Ptolemy ii; the pair were worshipped as gods, cf. אלהי אלהים *θεοὶ ἀδελφοί* 10 7.

L. 3. עברססס See 16 1 n. גרעת Baethgen explains as *Fortune of Ath(e)*; cf. השמם 59 C 2 and the Pun. name *Giddeneme* in Plaut. *Poen.* = נעם נר CIS i 383 1, the Palm. גרצו Vog. 84 3, and the Hebr. גרצו Num. 13 10; for the deity עת, עתה, עתא see 112 4 n. Nöldeke, however, considers that the form prob. = גרעון, גרעון; cf. جُدَاعَة, جُدَيْع &c., ZDMG xlii 471. האל Cf. 5 22. ימנא Ifil. 3 sing. fem.; for the omission of the fem. ending cf. 3 add. note i, and 56 1

מנא. מריחי See 19 3 n.

L. 4. על on behalf of, cf. CIS i 178 בנם . . . על בנם 171 6 נדר בעלשלק. בנ See 3 1 n. בן is plur. [בכרם] מאת על בני על עברמלקרת constr.; בני sing. with suff. 3 sing. fem. Elsewhere this suff. is ה', e. g. 3 6; in Pun. א', e. g. קלא CIS i 371 6, or ע', e. g. קלע Carth. 142 5 &c. אשמנאדן Cf. CIS i 94 4 נחמי Cf. 28 3 n. בן נחמי

L. 5. גלב See 20 A 12 n. כן נדר As in Arab., the copulative verb כן is used with the perf. to express a pluperfect, e. g. *كَانَ خَرَجَ he had set out*: Wright *Ar. Gr.*<sup>3</sup> ii § 3 (c), König *Syntax* § 122, Nöldeke *Sem. Spr.* 26. This is the only instance of the idiom so far known in Phoen. The father had registered his vow for the benefit of his three sons, but he did not live to carry it out; so this was done by their grandmother. The inscr. CIS i 381-383 are perhaps to be understood in a somewhat similar way; thus 381 2 b [תן] י[תן] אש [נדר] רא [נדר] ת נדר בעלשל[ך] i. e. the son gave this gift which his father had vowed; so apparently 382 [נדר] אש [נדר] רא and 383 [נדר] אש . . . נדר מנן, the first-named carries out the vow which the second had made. אדננס . . . אבנס See 5 add. note. בחיי *during his life-time*, cf. 16 2 למבחיי *during my life-time*. רשא מכל See 24 2 n.

28. **Larnax Lapēthos.** CIS i 95. Date circ. end of iv cent. B. C.

Ἄθηνᾶ Σωτεῖρα Νίκη  
καὶ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου  
Πραξίδημος Σέσμαος τὸν  
βω[μὸ]ν ἀνέθ[ηκ]εν  
Ἄγα[θ]ῆ τύχη

	לענת עז חים	1
usually 6	= ולאד מלכם פתלמיש	2
	בעלשלם בן [ס]ממי	3
	יקדש [א]ת מ[ו]בה	4
	[למ]זל נעם	5

To Ἄnath, the strength of life, and to the lord of kings Ptolemy, Ba'al-shillem, son of Sesmai, consecrated this altar. To good luck!

This bilingual inscr. is written on a rock outside the village of Larnax Lapēthos, near the ancient city of Lapēthos on the N. coast of the island.

L. 1. לענת The goddess Ἄnath is met with again in *Idal.* 7 3 (Euting *Sitz.-ber. Berl. Ak.* (1887) 420 ff.). Her cult goes back to very early times in Syria and Palestine, and has left traces in the names of the old Canaanite towns Ἄnathoth (*Josh.* 21 18 &c.), Beth-Ἄnath (*Josh.* 19 38 &c.), Beth-Ἄnoth (*Josh.* 15 59), which were the seats of her worship. The father of Shamgar was called Ἄnath (*Jud.* 5 6)<sup>1</sup>. Most likely the goddess came originally from Babylonia, where Anatum was the consort of Anu (cf. עַנְתָּלָה 2 *K.* 17 31): *Jastrow Rel. of Bab. and Assy.* 153, *Cheyne Ency. Bibl.* s.v. Anath. At the same time it is curious that the Canaanites should have adopted Anatum and not the far more prominent Anu; possibly the resemblance between Anatum and ענת may be only

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps shortened from עברעג; in any case an unbecoming name for an Israelite. But it is possible that Shamgar was not a 'minor judge,' but a foreign oppressor of Israel (ענן וּבֶן עֵנָן is read by Cheyne l. c. in *Jud.* 5 6); the name Ἄnath, like Shamgar and Sisera, will then be purely foreign. See Moore *Judges* 143.

accidental; E. Meyer, *ZDMG* (1877) xxxi 717 ff., and Zimmern, *KAT*<sup>3</sup> 353, doubt the identification. From Syria the worship of 'Anath was introduced into Egypt, prob. by the Chetas (חתיים), and her name appears on the monuments from the 18th dynasty downwards. She was a war-goddess, and was represented helmeted and fully armed; see the monument in the Brit. Mus., Egypt. Saloon no. 191, illustrated in W. Max Müller *Asien u. Eur.* 313. Perhaps it was as a war-goddess that 'Anath becomes Athene in the Gk. version of this inscr.; and the similarity of the two names in sound no doubt assisted the identification (cf. 24 2 n.). Thus חים עז לענת = Ἀθηναῖα Σωτρεία; for חים עז cf. Ps. 27 1. 28 8, and 57 1 חים חי.

L. 2. אר מלכם For ארן מלכם 5 18 n. פתלמיש A local variety (cf. 29 4 ff.) of the usual form פתלמים 27 1 &c.; here Ptolemy i Soter (B.C. 323-285). According to Diodorus Sic. xix 79, Praxippos king of Lapēthos, along with other Cyprian princes, declared for Antigonos in the struggles of the Diadochoi. Seleucus as the ally of Ptolemy i laid siege to Kerynia and Lapēthos; later on, in 312, Ptolemy himself landed in Cyprus, put Pumi-yathon king of Kition to death (12 1 n.), and then seized the person of Praxippos, thus bringing to an end the dynasty of Lapēthos. The inscr. must have been written not long after Ptolemy's victory. The Gk. here is difficult to translate. The Corp. suggests an ellipse of νίκη in l. 2, thus: 'Athenae-victoriae et (victoriae) regis Ptolemaei.' Schröder, 156 n., takes the καί of l. 2 as belonging to the preceding word, 'and to the Victory of king Ptolemy.' The second explanation is, perhaps, preferable. For the cult of the Ptolemies, who in Egypt were associated with the ancient gods of the country, cf. 27 2 n.

L. 3. בעלשלם i. e. Ba'al requites (Piel), CIS i 338 3; cf. אשמנשלם 35 1. 55 1, and שלם 27 4. The Gk. has Πραξιδημος. On a Gk. inscr. from the same place one Πραξιδημος is ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ ναοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ Λαρνακαίου (Waddington 2779). ססמי This name is found in 1 Ch. 2 40 ססמי (LXX Σοσομαί, Luc. Σασαμαί, Vulg. Sisamoi) borne by a man of Judah descended from an Egyptian ancestor; it evidently has some connexion with the god ססם, see 16 1 n. Cl.-Gan. thinks that the name in full was [חי] ססמי Sasom-yehai, thus accounting for the final י. The Gk. Πραξιδημος Σέσματος admits of no clear explanation; perhaps Σέσματος = Σεσμαῖος (adj.), the י in ססמי being treated as the gentilic ending. It is difficult to believe that Σέσματος could have been written for Σεσμάου.

L. 4. יקרש Ifil perf., cf. יקרשת 29 9. 14 and ימנא 13 2 n. For the dedication of an altar cf. 3 4 and 40 1 נחשת מ' 12 2. 29 10 (plur.).

34. אֵת Usually אֵית as sign of accus., but cf. 3 3. 7; Cl.-Gan., however, reads קדשת י sing.

L. 5. לְמוֹל נַעַם *to good luck!*, a formula invoking a blessing; here at the end of the inscr., as in CIS i 89, where the Cypriote version has *τύχαι ἀγαθαί*. The formula occurs more often at the beginning, e. g. 29 י נַעַם נַעַם, and the frequent ἀγαθῆν τύχην in Gk. inscr.; cf. the Rabbinic לְמוֹל טוב i. e. לְמוֹל טוב. מְזָל Aram. מְזָל is a *star of fortune or fate*; the plur. מְזָלוֹת = *signs of the Zodiac* 2 K 23 5, מְזָרוֹת Job 38 32. In Arab. مَنَازِل plur. of مَنَزَل is used of the *stations* of the moon, e. g. Quran 10 5 'it is He who ordained . . . the moon for a light وَقَدَرَهُ مَنَازِلَ and appointed her stations.' Prob. מוֹל is a loan-word from Assy. *manzaltu* = 'station,' 'abode (of God).'

29. Larnax Lapēthos 2 or Narnaka. iii–ii cent. B. C.

Discovered 1893.

1 מ ש ל נ ע ם

2 הסמל ז משאנך יתנבעל רב ארץ בן גרעשתרת רב ארץ בן

עברע[שתרת] סר . . . . .

3 בן גרעשתרת בן שלם . . . רמל אש יטנאת לי אבמקדש מלקרת

ס . . . . . לשמי

4 בחדש זבחסשם אש בשנת ז לאדן מלכם פתלמיש בן אדן

מלכם פתלמיש

5 אש המת לעם לפט שנת ז — ו וכהן לאדן מלכם עברעשתרת

בן גרעשתרת

6 רב ארץ . . . רמל וּבִירַח מַפְעֵ אש בשנת ו לאדן מלכם פתלמיש

בן אדן מלכם

7 פתלמיש (אבחי אבי ישת במקדש מלקרת אית משפן אבי בנחשת

ובירח

8 פעלת אש בשנת ו ו לאדן מלכם פתלמיש בן אדן מלכם

פתלמיש בחי

אבי יתת ויקדשת חית שנית בגבל שד נרנך לארן אש לי למלקרר g) Provision for sacrifice  
 שבתבאת החית. מנעלת קמת עם ומזבחת לארן אש לי למלקרר 10  
 על היי ועל חי זרעי ים מר ים ולצמח צדק ולאשתו ולאדמי II. א. אשתי קינ  
 [בחדר] שם ובכסאם ירח מר ירח עד עלם כקדם ומהרלת הנחשת Hebr. X 8  
d1 Sept 7 600  
 תבת וסמרת בקר אש בן מנחת חני ופעלת אנך עלת as for itself  
id p. prof. 13 40th 70th  
 הימזאפבת בכסף משקל כ[כ]ר 11 ו 11 ו ויקדשת לארן of Heb 70 14  
 [אש לי למלקרר]ת פקת ונעם יבן לי ולזרעי ויסכרן מלקרת 15  
 נעם שרש 16

119:14  
 100  
 10x10

ויזרני

Good fortune! <sup>2</sup> This statue?? Yathan-ba'al governor of the district, son of Ger-'ashtart governor of the district, son of 'Abd-'a[shtart] . . . . . SR, <sup>3</sup> son of Ger-'ashtart, son of Shallum ?RML, (is that) which I set up for myself in the sanctuary of Melqarth, S . . . . . M, for my name, <sup>4</sup> on the new-moon of Zebaḥ-šišsim, which is in the 11th year of the lord of kings Ptolemy, son of the lord of kings Ptolemy, <sup>5</sup> which is the 33rd year of the people of Lapēthos, and the priest to the lord of kings (being) 'Abd-'ashtart, son of Ger-'ashtart <sup>6</sup> governor of the district . . . RML.—And in the month MP, which is in the 4th year of the lord of kings Ptolemy, son of the lord of kings <sup>7</sup> Ptolemy, in the life-time of my father, I placed in the sanctuary of Melqarth the MSPN of my father in bronze.—And in the month <sup>8</sup> Pa'aloṭh, which is in the 5th year of the lord of kings Ptolemy, son of the lord of kings Ptolemy, in the life-time <sup>9</sup> of my father, I gave and consecrated many (?) animals in the border of the country of Narnaka to the lord who is mine, Melqarth; <sup>10</sup> ?? the animals ??? and altars to the lord who is mine, Melqarth, <sup>11</sup> for my life and for the life of my seed, day by day, and to the legitimate offspring ? and to my lord (?) <sup>12</sup> on the new-moons and on the full-moons, month by month, for ever as aforetime (?), and ? of bronze <sup>13</sup> . . . ? and a yoke of oxen (?) which is part of the offering of my grace.—And I have made upon <sup>14</sup> . . . . . ??

in silver, (by) weight 100 and 2 (talents?), and I consecrated (it) to the lord <sup>15</sup> [who is mine, Melqa]rth; ? and good be to me and to my seed, and may Melqarth remember me . . . . . ? ?

L. 1. מִשַׁל נָעַם For מִזֶּל נָעַם (28 5 n.), a local peculiarity of pronunciation, of which other instances occur in this inscr., e. g. פתלמיש for פתלמים, possibly סמרת for צמרת l. 13, and אבמקדש for 'במ' l. 3 &c. As a rule this expression is in the dat., but the nom. is found in a Gk. inscr. from the neighbourhood of Pergamum, *τύχη ἀγαθή* (Michel 1360).

L. 2. משאנך Possibly the last three letters may be the 1st pers. pron.; Cl.-Gan., *Ét.* ii § 21, reads *זֶם שֶׁ אֲנִי סָמַל* *this statue is mine, (yea) mine, Yathan-ba'al.* He assumes זֶם to be a unique form of the demonstr. pron., and finds it twice again in l. 10; שֶׁ he takes as the rel. with suff. of 1st pron. = לִי אֲשֶׁר, and אֲנִי as added for emphasis after the suff. in שֶׁ (cf. in Hebr. בִּי אֲנִי הָעֵוֹן 1 S. 25 24 &c.). These are serious assumptions, especially the forms זֶם and שֶׁ. The suff. ך is nearly always written in this inscr., and the rel. here is inconvenient before אש in l. 3. רב ארין Cf. *χαράρχης*. The office prob. dated from the establishment of the autonomy of Lapēthos. נרעשתרת See 17 2 n. 46 2. The line prob. should be completed with [רב ארין בן עברא]סר.

L. 3. שלם Cf. 27 4. רמל . . . Here and in l. 6 Berger, *Rev. d'assyr.* (1895) iii 76, reads קורמל, taking it as the name of a place, Cape Krommyon, the NW. point of Cyprus. Cl.-Gan. reads פרכרמל, as a title of the רב ארין. In the latter case, the first three letters recall the Πραξ- in the names Πραξίδημος 28, Πράξιππος 28 2 n., Πράξανδρος Strabo 582 3 ed. Müll., the founder of Lapēthos—all names connected with this part of the island. אבמקדש Cf. 16 2. Apparently אב for אב, but in l. 7 we find במקדש; cf. אבחי l. 7 for בחי l. 8. For מלקרת see 23 3 n. A Gk. inscr. which mentions Poseidon Larnakios has been found on the same spot (p. 81 supr.); hence it is prob. that the Gks. regarded Melqarth as a marine deity and identified him with Poseidon. The missing letters may be restored [כר נעם ער על]ם a good memorial for ever.

L. 4. For the date reckoned by the universal, local, and ecclesiastical systems cf. Luke 3 1 f. בחדש i. e. on the first day of the month; see 20 A 2 n. For the name of the month see 14 1 n. פתלמיש See 28 2 n. There is nothing to determine with certainty which Ptolemy is referred to here; see note on l. 12 below.



L. 5. המה is the plur. of מה 5 11. 22. 42 17, the plur. being used because the number of the years is given, contrast 27 2 אש lvii מה שנה; מה שנה must be plur. too, like יום before dates 12 1 n. As המה agrees with שנה, the form was evidently used for both genders. לפט Cl.-Gan. לפש. On coins of Šidqi-milk, king of Lapēthos (circ. 449–420 B.C.), the name of the city is לפט, 149 B 7; in Gk. it is written Λάπηθος, Λάπαθος, Λάπιθος, Λήπηθις. When the era of Lapēthos began is uncertain; see below on l. 12. כהן priest i. e. of the deified Ptolemy; cf. the reckoning of the year by the name of the Kanephoros of Arsinoë at Idalion, 27 2. The latter inscr. also illustrates the threefold synchronism here.

L. 6. מפע Cf. 6 1.

L. 7. אבמקדש i. e. אבחי אבי i. e. אבחי אבי, but בחי l. 8; see l. 3 n. אבמקדש. ישת i. e. ישת Ifil perf. 1 sing. of שית, I set. משפן Meaning unknown. If ש=ש=ם, we may compare מספנת ceiling, covering 3 6; but this does not suggest any suitable sense. The context requires not the overlaying of an image but an image itself. ובירה The third section of inscr. begins here.

L. 8. פעלה See 20 B 2 n.

L. 9. יהח i. e. יתח. חית שנית Perhaps many animals (Lidzb.); יהח then will=שנית, the common Aram. word for many (שנייא, שניא), e. g. Palm. 121 5. 147 i 4. 6, used poetically in later Hebr., e. g. Job 8 7. Ps. 73 12 (שנה). Job 8 11 &c. (שנא). Cl.-Gan. renders stray animals, i. e. שנית (in form like פניה Ps. 128 3 &c.) from שנה, used to supply the daily and monthly sacrifices. נבל שרה i. e. נבל שרה cf. 5 19. 20. נרנך Narnaka = Λάρναξ near Lapēthos, cf. Nicosia = Leucosia. לי אש לארן A more solemn and emphatic expression than לארני; contrast לארני (?) l. 11.

L. 10. Owing to the condition of the stone, the text and meaning of the first half of the line are quite uncertain. None of the restorations are satisfactory. Cl.-Gan. reads ושבת באת החית זם פעלת קמת זם ומוזבחת and takes the general sense to be *and I made over the produce of these animals to the service of* (lit. as serving, ptc. fem.) *this QMT, and sacrificed* (Pual ptc.) *to Melqarth*. But the Qal of שוב, though occasionally used in Hebr. with a trans. sense (e. g. שוב שבות and Ps. 85 5. Is. 52 8 &c.), could hardly be used of rendering or applying a gift; if שוב=תבואת it must mean produce of the earth, not offspring of cattle. Landau improves on this by reading ועלת for פעלת, and the offerings of this foundation (??) and the altars to Melqarth (Beitr. z. Allertumsk. d. Or. ii 47). Berger's reading עם תקמת a rising of the people has little probability.

L. 11. על הי ועל חי זרעי The formula which occurs frequently in the Palm. inscr. is very similar, e.g. על חידיי וחיי בנוהי 135 4. 137 2. &c.; cf. 70 4. 95 2. ים מר ים *day by day* as ירח מר ירח *month by month* in the next line. מר is prob. the same as the Hebr. מְרִי lit. *out of the abundance of*, hence *as often as*, e.g. I S. 7 16 שנה בשנה. Is. 66 23 שבת בשבתו ומרי בחדשו ומרי שבת בשבתו. מרי חרש בחדשו ומרי שבת בשבתו. Apparently *and to the legitimate offspring*; for this fig. sense of צמח *shoot* cf. Jer. 23 5 צמח צדיק and 33 15. והקמתי לדור צמח צדיק here may be either an adj. צַדִּיק or more likely a noun צֶדֶק. צַדִּיק As they stand these words are untranslatable. See note below.

L. 12. [בחדר] שם וזכסאם The words thus restored and read prob. mean *on the new-moons and on the full-moons* i.e. at the beginning and the middle of the month; cf. Ps. 81 4 ליום 4 חקעו בחדש שופר בכסה ליום חקעו. Perhaps *as formerly*, cf. Jer. 30 20. Lam. 5 21. חננו.

M. Clermont-Ganneau (l.c.) makes a brilliant suggestion as to the meaning of the obscure expression in l. 11 ולאשתו ולארמי. His argument is as follows: (1) The ל in these words must have a different meaning from על in the same line, i.e. these words must denote not those for whose benefit (על) Yathan-ba'al made his offering, but those to whom religious service is due, like למלקרת in ll. 9. 10. (2) In the case of the great god Melqarth the sacrifice is to be offered daily (ים מר ים), but in the second case fortnightly, every month (בחדשם ונו'). There is, therefore, a difference of dignity between the objects of religious service. (3) The words ולאשתו ולארמי do not suggest any names of gods; but they may represent the names of some members of the Ptolemaic dynasty to whom divine honours were paid (27 2 n.), and the provision of the fortnightly sacrifice to them is in accordance with the Egyptian custom of celebrating a solemnity in honour of the reigning monarch on a fixed day over a month, called in Gk. and Rom. times 'the king's day.' The similarity of the letters in Phoen. makes it possible to read ולאשתו for כלאפתר, supposing a mason's error of ו for ר (though this is perhaps hardly necessary); and if a similar error of מ for נ may be admitted in the foll. word, we have the reading ולארמי. Thus the whole phrase will mean *And to the legitimate offspring* (lit. *shoot of righteousness*) *of Cleopatra and to my lord*. Two sets of historical conditions may be found to account for this remarkable and significant expression. (a) The inscr. may belong to the period when Ptolemy vii (vi) Philometor was engaged in a bitter struggle for power with his brother, afterwards Ptolemy ix (vii) Euergetes ii or Physkon, a struggle

which considerably affected Cyprus<sup>1</sup>. Their mother Cleopatra, the wife of Ptolemy v Epiphanes, was regent for her eldest son from 181 to her death in 174. Yathan-ba'al thus protests his loyalty to the claims of the eldest son, *the legitimate offspring of Cleopatra* and his lawful sovereign (לֵאדֹנִי), Ptolemy vii (vi). The 11th year of this king will give 171-170 as the date of the inscr., and 203 B.C. as the era of Lapēthos.

(b) A later period offers an even more suitable occasion. After the death of Ptolemy ix (vii) Euergetes ii or Physkon, his wife and niece Cleopatra iii attempted to secure the succession for her younger son Alexander, but the people refused to acknowledge him. Thereupon she sent him for safety to Cyprus, and had him appointed independent king of the island (B. C. 114). Later on, his elder brother Ptolemy x (viii) Soter ii or Lathyros was expelled by an insurrection at Alexandria instigated by his mother, and took refuge in Cyprus (B. C. 107). The situation in Cyprus at this period must have been embarrassing enough, especially for public officials like the רב ארץ at Lapēthos; and it may well be that political prudence suggested to Yathan-ba'al the equivocal expression *to the legitimate offspring of Cleopatra and to my lord*. In this case the 11th year of Ptolemy will be 107-106, and the era of Lapēthos will begin with 139 B. C. Cl.-Gan.'s correction and historical elucidation of the text are, of course, only conjectural; but the conjecture is a most suggestive one, and it is sufficiently supported to make it plausible.

L. 12. לְמִן הַדְּלָת הַנְּחֹשֶׁת might mean *and from the bronze doors*; for the construction see § 4 n. The first word, however, is uncertain. Cl.-Gan. reads הַדְּלָת = δέλτος *tablet*, and takes בְּקֶרֶם with this sentence; but his attempt to make sense of the passage is unsuccessful.

L. 13. At the beginning of the line Cl.-Ganneau restores אֲשֶׁר כִּי תִבְּחַת *which I have written*. The next words he takes to be בְּקֶרֶם וּסְמֵרָת *and I have nailed on the wall*, comparing the Hebr. מִסְמָר *nail*, Arab. مِسْمَار (prob. a loan-word from Aram., Fränkel *Aram. Fremdw.* 89). Lidzb. reads בְּקֶרֶם וּסְמֵרָת ב' = בְּקֶרֶם וְצִמְד *and a yoke of oxen*, which agrees better with the donation of sacrificial animals in l. 9 f. בֵּן מִנְחַת חֲנִי Perhaps *part of the offerings of my grace*, the prep. מִן being written בֵּן before another מ, see § 3 n. Cl.-Ganneau takes אֲשֶׁר בֵּן as =

<sup>1</sup> Thus Polybius, enlarging on Ptolemy's clemency towards his brother and rival, says επειτα, δόξας εκπεσειν από της αρχής υπό ταδελφού, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ λαβὼν κατ' αὐτοῦ καιρὸν ὁμολογούμενον, ἀμνησικακῆτον ἐποίησατο τὴν ἁμαρτίαν μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, πάλιν ἐπιβουλεύσαντος. τῇ Κύπρῳ, κύριος γενόμενος ἐν Λαπήθῳ τοῦ σώματος ἅμα καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ, τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχε τοῦ κολάζειν ὡς ἐχθρόν, ὥστε καὶ δωρεὰς προσέθηκε κ.τ.λ. xl 12.

וּפְעֵלָתָּהּ on which (is) the offering. For מנחת see 7 i n. Pf. i sing. The fourth section of the inscr. begins here—the dedication of some metal object.

L. 14. The first part of the line cannot be understood. בכסף of silver like בנחשת of bronze in l. 7. משקל will then be in apposition to the following word denoting weight, Driver *Tenses* § 192 (1); cf. 40 i מואת למרם משקל למובה נחשת משקל. The text has כר, but this is a corn or fluid measure. It is possible that כר is an abbreviation for ככר *talent*, CIS i 171 2. 4; but the value of 102 talents of silver by the Attic standard would amount to over £2480 of our money, too large a sum to be likely. However, we do not know the value of Phoen. weights and money sufficiently well to make us reject this explanation altogether.

L. 15. פקת Meaning unknown; *profit* has been suggested, from Aram. נפק *go forth*, but this is very doubtful. וְיִזְכְּרֵנִי = וְיִסְכְּרֵנִי For the suff. cf. 4 7 תרגון.

L. 16. The last words give no suitable sense.

30. Tamassos. Date 363 B. C. Brit. Mus., Cyprus Room no. 252.

סמל אז אש יתן ויטן	1
א · מנחם · בן בנחדש בן מנ	2
חם בן ערק לאדני ל[רש]ף	3
אליית בירה אתנם בשנת	4
שלשם מ → למלך מלכותן · מלך	5
כתי ואדיל · כ שמע קל · יברך	6

Cypriote :

to na ti ri a ta ne to nu · e to ke ne  
ka se · o ne te ke ne · ma na se se  
o no me ni o ne · to i ti o i  
to i a pe i lo ni · to i e le i  
ta i · i tu ka i

i. e. in Greek:

Τὸν ἀ[ν]δριά[ν]ταν τό[ν] νυ ἔδωκεν  
 κὰς ὀνέθηκεν Μανασῆς  
 ὁ Νωμηνίων τῶι θιῶι  
 τῶι Ἀπείλωνι τῶι Ἐλεί  
 ται ἐ[ν] τύχαι

This statue (is that) which Menaḥem, son of Ben-ḥodesh, son of Menaḥem, son of 'Araq, gave and set up to his lord Reshef of Eliyath, in the month Ethanim in the thirtieth year, 30, of king Milk-yathon, king of Kition and Idalion, because he heard (his) voice: may he bless!

This inscr. was found in 1885 on the site of the ancient Tamassos, between Lapēthos and Idalion. A sanctuary of Apollo has been discovered (1889) outside the town, and recent excavations at Frángissa, some 3 miles to the west, have revealed another sanctuary of the same god; Myres *Cypr. Mus. Catal.* 12. The inscr. may be compared with 12 and 13 from Kition, and with 23-26 from Idalion.

L. 2. מנחם Cf. 21 2; Cypr. *ma-na-se-se*, perhaps for *ma-na-he-se* (Menaḥem) or *m'-na-se-se* = Μνασέας, the nearest Gk. equivalent for the Phoen. Menaḥem; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* i 186 f. בנחור See 17 3 n.

L. 3. ערק Perhaps ערק like ערק &c. This pr. n. possibly may be connected with the ancient Phoen. clan 'ערק Gen. 10 17. 1 Ch. 1 15, i. e. the men of 'Αρκη (Jos. *Ant.* i 6 2), at the foot of Lebanon, still called Tell 'Arqa, 12 m. N. of Tripoli. See further Schrader *COT* 104; Tell-el-Amarna letters 78 12.

L. 4. אלהיית לרשף Cypr. τῶι Ἀπείλωνι τῶι Ἐλείται *Apollo of Helos*, either Helos in Lacedaemon or a Cyprian city of the same name. Hesychius, *Lexicon* s. v. Zeus in Cyprus, quotes several forms which resemble Ἐλείται here, thus Εἰλητι: Ζεὺς ἐν Κύπρω. Ἐλαθς: Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐν Κύπρω &c. In Tam. 2 4 f. אלהיית לרשף = Cypr. Ἀπό[λ]λωνι τῶι Ἀλασιώται, a Phoen. transcription of what is prob. the name of another Gk. town. In the bilingual inscr. CIS i 89 a third designation of the god occurs, מלך לרשף Cypr. τῶ Ἀπολῶνι τῶ Ἀμυκλοῖ *Apollo of Amyclae*; see 12 3 n. 24 2 n. אתנם See 20 A 1 n.

L. 5. מלכיתן See 23 1 n.

## EGYPT

31. Abydos. CIS i 102. Circ. iv cent. In situ.

*a*

אֲנִי פְעֻל־אֲבַסְתַּ בֶּן צְדִיתָן בֶּן גֶּר־שֶׁד הַצְרִי יֹשֵׁב רֹכֵי 1  
 בְּאֵן מִצְרַם בְּפִטְרַת בְּדִמְנֻקְצַת ה . נ . 2

*b*

אֲנִי בְעֻל־[י]ח[ן] בֶּן מְנֻקְצַת . יח . . .

*c*

אֲנִי מֶגֶן בֶּן בְּדֹא . חֶפְצֵבְעֵל מִנֶּפֶ .

*d*

אֲנִי עֲבֹד־אֲבַסְתַּ בֶּן צְדִיתָן 1  
 בְּאֵנְהַנְבְּרַצּ ॥ לִירַח חִיר 2

*a*

I am Pa'ala-ubast, son of Şed-yathon, son of Ger-şed, the Tyrian, dwelling here (?), in On of Egypt, after the departure (??) of Bod-MNQŞTH, the man of On (?).

*b*

I am Ba'al-[yaḥon], son of MNQŞTH . . .

*c*

I am Magon, son of Bodo, . Hefeş-ba'al . . .

*d*

I am 'Abd-ubast, son of Şed-yathon . . . . 2, in the month Ḥiyyar.

These inscrr. are a selection from those found on the walls of the temple of Osiris at Abydos (Egypt). Like the inscrr. on the colossus at Ipsambul (CIS i 111-113), and on the rocks beside the caravan-routes in the Sinaitic peninsula (103-109), they give the names, and occasionally the designations, of travellers.

a. L. 1. *פעלאבסחא Bast has made*; for Bast see *d* and 20 B 6 n., and for the compound name with *פעל* cf. *פעלעשתרת* in the inscr. discovered at Memphis in 1900, given below<sup>1</sup>, *בעלפעל* NPun. 94 2, *אלפעל* on coins from Byblus (149 B 9) and in 1 Ch. 8 11 ff.; cf. *עשהאל* 2 S. 2 18 &c. *צידיתן בן גרצד* Cf. *d* and *יתנצד* CIS i 184 4 f. *עברצד* 236 5 &c. *צד* (cf. Hebr. *צִיד* *hunting*, *צַיֵד* *hunter*) is clearly the name of a deity, perhaps the god of the chase; but it is found only in compound pr. nn.<sup>2</sup> The deity was associated with Melqarth and Tanith at Carthage, e. g. *צדמלקרת* CIS i 256, *צרתנת* 249. It is possible that the originals of the Phoen. gods *Ἀγρεύς* and *Ἀλιεύς* mentioned by Philo of Bybl., *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 566, were *צד וצרון* i. e. *Hunter and Fisher*. The name of the city *צדן* is perhaps related to that of the god *צד*, who is supposed by some to be the Phoen. Poseidon; see Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* i 154. For *גרצד* cf. *נרטמלקרת* 17 2 n.; Lidzb., however, reads *גרצד*. *דכי* Derenbourg's rendering (*Rev. d'Assyr.* i 93), *I dwell, crushed (with grief)*, is most improbable. *דכי* has been taken as a demonstrative adv., *here*, cf. Aram. *דִּי, דִּי, דִּי ille*; but in Phoen. the demonstr. is *ן*, not *ך*. The reading *רכי* is possible; this may be an adv. of place, cf. *וּנְכַל*, and see 4 4 n., where according to Hoffmann *אר* is a demonstr. particle. (*cf. Art. - by Eitan in AJSL. April 1929, p. 111* - *deceivable*)

L. 2. *באן מצרם* On, *Egypt. An*, = Heliopolis in Lower Egypt; cf. Gen. 41 45 (LXX *Ἡλίου πόλεως*). Eze. 30 17; it was celebrated for the worship of the sun-god, Ra. *בפטר* Possibly *after the departure*, i. e. *the decease, of B.* *פטר* has the sense *depart, escape*, e. g. 1 S. 19 10, and in post-bibl. Hebr. frequently occurs, in the Nifal, with the meaning *depart out of this life*, e. g. Talm. *Berakoth* 17 a *ונפטר*

1 *המטנא [ז] יטנ[את] אןך פעלעשתרת בן עברמלכת בן בנבעל בן עברמלכת בן בנבעל*  
 2 *בן עברמלכת] . . . על א[ז]חשמרנאלכי לרבותי לאום אורת אם אום עשתרת ולאום אש*  
 3 *אל[. יב.] אןך איתו ואת ב[נ] עוואכר ובנבעל ועבושמש ופעלעשתרת ואת אמנם חנעשתרת*  
 4 *[וי]תן לם חן וחסים לען אלנם וכן אום*

i. e. 'This erection I erected, I Pa'ala-'ashtart &c.,<sup>2</sup> son of 'Abd-malkath, . . . to my mistress, the mighty god-Isis, the god 'Ashtart, and to the (other) gods who<sup>3</sup> are (here?). May they bless [him and his] sons, 'Abd-osir &c., and their mother Ḥanni-'ashtart,<sup>4</sup> and give them favour and life in the eyes of the gods and the sons of men.' In l. 2 Lidzb. suggests *על ארוך שפיר נאלכי on account of the protection of my journey*, supposing that *נאלך* = *מולך*; see 33 6 n.; l. 3 *אל* perhaps the fragment of an adv., like the Hebr. *הלם*, the restoration *איתו ואת ב[נ]* is uncertain; l. 4 cf. 3 10 n. *Rép.* i nos. 1. 58; Lidzb. *Éph.* i 152.

<sup>2</sup> The names *Θήρον* (a Tyrian, Michel 424) and *Ἀψηρος* (gen.) in Gr. inscr. may be the one a translation of *צד*, the other a transcription of *עברצד*; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* i 187-192.

בשם טוב מן העולם. The commemoration of the dead was customary at the temple of Osiris; but this explanation of בפטרת cannot be regarded as certain. The reading of the word following is doubtful; the Corp. gives עבדמנקרת; Derenbourg l. c., Lidzb. ברמנקצת, cf. מנקצת in *b*. For . נ . ה the Corp. restores האני *the man of On*; Renan האנדכי, a gentilic noun, taking דכי from the end of l. 1.

*b*. . ח . בעל i. e. prob. בעליחן, cf. יחנבעל 46 2 and חנבעל. . . מנקצת יח. . . So Lidzb. The first word is uncertain and its etymology unknown; Derenbourg regards it as = ברמנקצת in *a*, and reads the next word as a gentilic form החני or החפי. Corp. מנקרתח[ח] מן Menqarth (i. e. *Melqarth*) protects; cf. יחמי perhaps = יחמייה may Yah protect 1 Ch. 7 2; Arab. حَمَى.

*c*. מנ Cf. 33 2 &c., a common Phoen. name. See 12 3 *n*. חפצבעל *pleasure of Ba'al*; the name of another person. נח Memphis, Eze. 30 13, of Nof מנף. It is doubtful whether the full form was מנפי, for this would require the art., as הצרי in *a*.

*d*. L. 1. For the two pr. nn. cf. *a*. The text followed is that of Derenbourg l. c.

L. 2. The meaning of the first group of letters is unknown. For חיר cf. 27 1 *n*.



## ATTICA

32. Athens. CIS i 115. Perhaps iv cent. B. C. Athens.

Ἀντίπατρος Ἀφροδισίου Ἀσκαλ[ωνίτης]

Δομσάλως Δομανῶ Σιδώνιος ἀνέθηκε

אָנאָן שׁמ . בן עבדשׁתרת אשׁלני

אשׁא יטאנא אָנא דעמלצא בן דעמחנא צדני

Μηθεῖς ἀνθρώπων θαυμαζέτω εἰκόνα τήνδε,  
ὡς περὶ μὲν μελέων, περὶ δὲγ πρῶρ' (ἐ)γκτετάνυσται.

ἦλθε γὰρ εἰχθρολέων τὰμὰ θέλων σποράσαι·  
ἀλλὰ φίλοι τ' ἤμυναν καὶ μοι κτέρισαν τάφον οὔτ[η],  
οὓς ἔθελον φιλέων, ἱερᾶς ἀπὸ νηὸς ἰόντες.

φοινίκην δὲ λιπ(ὼ)ν τεῖδε χθονὶ σῶμα κέκρυνμαι.

I am šm., son of 'Abd-'ashtart, an Ashqelonite. (This is that) which I D'om-šillah, son of D'om-ḥanno, a Sidonian, set up.

This bilingual inscr. is written on a gravestone now preserved in the *Κεντρικὸν Μουσεῖον* in Athens. Underneath the Phoen. lines is carved a representation of the incident alluded to in the Gk. verses below. A corpse lies upon a bier; on the left a lion is leaping up to devour the body, on the right is a human figure with the prow of a ship in the place of the head and shoulders; it seems to be defending the corpse from the lion. The scene is perhaps intended for an allegory; the lion representing the god of the underworld eager to snatch the body, the prow or 'holy ship' (apparently personified) being possibly connected with funeral rites, which protect the dead from violation. See Wolters in *Mith. Arch. Instituts*, Athenische Abth. xiii (1888) 310 ff. On account of the form of the Gk. letters the Corp. dates the inscr. in the second cent. B. C., Lidzb. in the fourth (?).

L. 1. אָנא In this inscr. both the person commemorated and the donor of the memorial speak in the first person; see 16 1 n. .שׁמ There appears to be the fragment of a letter after שׁ; but the full name cannot now be read. The Gk. equivalent is Ἀντίπατρος, a name specially common in the family of Herod.

L. 2. דעמחנא בן דעמצלח בן דעמחנא Δομοσάλως Δομανῶ; for the deity דעם see 8 4 n. דעמצלח cf. בעלצלח 7 2; דעמחנא cf. בעלחנא 39 1 f. In the latter name, חנא seems to be the Perf. of חנן with the suff. of 3rd m. sing. This form of the verbal suff. is usual in NPun., e.g. פעלא 57 11, ברכא (= שמעא) &c.; it occurs also earlier, in Pun., e.g. רפא 40 2. Cf. the nominal suff. in א in the frequent קלא.

## 33. Piraeus. Date 96 B.C. Louvre.

(a) בים ׀׀׀׀ למרוח בשת ׀׀׀׀ לעם צדן תם בדר צדנים בנאספת לעטר 1  
 אית שמעבעל בן מגן אש נשא הגו על בת אלם ועל מבנת הצר 2  
 בת אלם

עטרת חרץ בדרכנם ׀ למחת כ בן אית הצר בת אלם ופעל אית כל

(b) אש עלתי משרת אית רעת ז לכתב האדמם אש נשאם לן על בת 4

אלם עלת מצבת חרץ ויטנאי בערפת בת אלם ען אש לכתנו גו 5

(c) ערב עלת מצבת ז ישאן בכסף אלם בעלצדן דרכמנם ׀ למחת 6

לכן ידע הצדנים כ ידע הגו לשלם חלפת אית אדמם א. ש פעל 7

משרת את-פנינו 8

Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Σιδωνίων Διοπεΐθ(η)ε Σιδώνιον = *una in facie*  
 = *before*

On the 4th day of the Marzeah (?), in the 15th year of the people of Sidon, the community of the Sidonians resolved in assembly:—to crown <sup>2</sup> Shama'-ba'al, son of Magon, who (has been) president of the corporation in charge of the temple and the building of the temple court, <sup>3</sup> with a golden crown of 20 drachmae sterling, because he built the court of the temple and did all <sup>4</sup> the service (?) he was charged with:—that the men who are our presidents in charge of the temple write this (our) intention upon a golden stele, and set it up in the portico of the temple before men's eyes:—that the corporation be designated as surety (for it). For this stele let them bring 20 drachmae sterling of the money of the god the Ba'al of Sidon: <sup>7</sup> thereby the Sidonians shall know that the

corporation knows how to requite the men who have done  
 8 service before the corporation.

The Sidonian colony, settled at the port of Athens, is referred to or implied in 34. 35. CIS i 116 הצדני . . . לעבדתנתה, prob. also in 32. It was no doubt a community of merchants and ship-masters, maintaining in the land of their adoption the religion and organization of their native city (see 34. 35). This inscr. shows, however, that they had adapted themselves to the Greek civilization in the midst of which they lived; in characteristic Greek fashion they vote a crown and monument to a deserving officer, and they record their resolution in the recognized forms used in Greek inscrs. from the fifth cent. downwards. In fact, this inscr. almost seems to be a translation from a Greek original; see CIA ii 1 b = Michel 80; CIA ii 589 = M 145; CIA ii 603 = M 968; CIA ii 621 = M 984.

L. 1. מרוח Generally taken to be the name of a month, but the unparalleled omission of ירוח before it is noticeable. Cl.-Gan. suggests that it was the name of the annual מרוח = a solemn festival, perhaps lasting five days (Rec. ii 390 n. iv 344); see 42 16 n. בשת See 6 1 n. לעם  
 צדן The era of Sidon began when the city became autonomous in 111 B.C. This will give 96 B.C. as the date of the inscr., 9 years before Athens was taken by Sulla<sup>1</sup>. תם Pf. 3 m. sing., lit. *be complete*, here has decided, resolved. The verb governs the infins. לעטר l. 1 and לכתב l. 4, prob. also לכנת l. 5. בר צדנים must have some such meaning as the community of the Sidonians. In Hebr. צדנים denotes parts of the body i. e. members (Job 18 13), or parts of a vine i. e. branches (Eze. 17 6). In Phoen. the sing. בר is used to describe a worshipper as a member of his deity, as in the pr. nn. ברעשתרת, ברמלקרת, or a stranger as a member of a household; see 6 2 n. It is but an extension of this usage when בר is applied not to an individual but to a community; the Sidonian μέτοικοι at the Piraeus could describe themselves as בר צדנים the Sidonian protected aliens (Lidzb. 134 n.). G. Hoffmann, *Über einige Phön. Inscr.* 5 f., takes בר as a prep. בְּרִי lit. for the satisfaction of, for; but this does not admit of a satisfactory construction for תם, nor does it give a natural explanation of בר in pr. nn. A Gk. inscr. from Delos illustrates this part of the text; ἡ σύνοδος τῶν Τυρίων ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων στεφανοῖ Πάτρωνα κ.τ.λ. CIG 2271 = M 998. באספת The Nif. ptc. of אסף used as a noun, gathering,

<sup>1</sup> Köhler, CIA ii Suppl. 1335 b, thinks that the Gk. form of this inscr. is much older, about the second half of the third cent. B.C.; in which case the inscr. must be dated from some Sidonian era now lost to us. If the dynasty of Eshmun-azar ceased in 275 B. C. (p. 38), the era may have started then: Meyer *Ency. Bibl.* 3763.

assembly; it corresponds to the Gk. epigraphical formula ἐν τῆι ἀγορῆι τῆι κυρίαι CIA ii 585=M 152. לעטר Followed by a double accus.

as in Ps. 8 6. 103 4. The corresponding Gk. phrase is στεφανῶσαι (αὐτὸν) χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀπὸ . . . δραχμῶν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα, e. g. CIA iv 2 169 b=M 105 and often.

L. 2. שמעבעל i. e. *Ba'al hears*. The Gk. equivalent Διοσιείθης i. e. *obeying Zeus* is founded on a misunderstanding of the Phoen. נשא i. e. נשיא *chief*, cf. נשיאי העדה Ex. 16 22. Josh. 9 15 &c. His term of office had elapsed, and he now receives from his late colleagues this expression of their gratitude. גו is etymologically connected with

the Hebr. גוי *nation*, Aram. ܓܘܝ Sabaeen גו *community*, cf. Job 30 5 יגרשו מן-גו יגרשו they are driven far from folk, where גו should be pointed גוי, unless גוי be read; in Gk. inscr. τὸ κοινόν. אלה Cf. 5 15-18 בת אלה, and see l. 6 n. For על ב' א' cf. על המקדשם 46 1 n. מבנת A verbal noun, *building*; in Hebr. מִבְּנָה=*structure* Eze. 40 2.

L. 3. בדרכנם The prep. is ב of material; cf. 2 Ch. 9 18 (בוזה). Ex. 38 8. דרכנם is prob. an error for דרכמנם l. 6. In both places דרכמנם must be taken to represent *drachmae*; for in Gk. inscr. of this class the sums voted are given in δραχμαί (i. e. silver drachmae), a larger sum for the crown and a smaller one for the stele. In this inscr., however, the sum specified in both cases is the same; and as 20 silver drachmae would be too small an amount either for the עטרת הרץ or for the מצבת הרץ, we must take דרכמנם to be *gold* drachmae. A gold drachma represented about 9s. 1d., a silver drachma about 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. Hoffmann l. c. renders הרץ l. 5 not *gold* but *decision*; he is therefore compelled to take דרכנם l. 3 as gold drachmae and דרכמנם l. 6 as silver drachmae; but this is unnecessary and unnatural. On account of the form דרכנם, Meyer, *Entstehung d. Judenthums* 196 f., understands *darics* to be meant; *darics*, however, do not occur in Gk. inscr. in this connexion, and it is Gk. usage (above) which is closely followed here. The fact that דרכמנם in this case is the Phoen. form of δραχμαί throws a valuable light on the disputed meaning of דַּרְכְּמוֹנִים in Ezr. 2 69. Neh. 7 70-72 and of אַרְדְּרָנִים in 1 Ch. 29 7. Ezr. 8 27<sup>1</sup>. Both words are generally translated *darics* (R.V.); but this inscr. shows that דרכמנים was the recognized Semitic transcription of δραχμαί, as Lucian knew, for in the passages quoted he invariably

<sup>1</sup> The form אדרנים is open to suspicion. In 1 Ch. 29 7 רבו וא' is prob. a gloss, for the gold offering has been mentioned just before; in Ezr. (LXX 2 Esdr.) 8 27 דרכמנים is the better reading, testified by LXX A δδονδραχμανειν, and prob. implied by the reading of B δδονχαμανειν. In the biblical passages ר' refers not to money but to weight; a δραχμή among the Gks. was one-hundredth part of a μνᾶ.

renders δραχμάς. Moreover, the form דרבמנים corresponds with δραχμαί and not with δρακεοί. See Kennedy, art. Money in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible* iii 421. למחה l. 6. The context requires the meaning of *full weight*, standard current coin. The most plausible etymology of the word is that given by Hoffmann. He connects it with מחה *wipe off*, and supposes that it was used in the first place of corn-measures, 'to wipe off into the measure' i.e. 'to fill up to the full weight.' In the Babyl. dialect of the Talmud the Ethpaal of מחה is used in the sense *approved*, e.g. *Shabbath* 61 b וּאִיתְמַחֵי וְאִיתְמַחֵי אִיתְמַחֵי גִבְרָא וְאִיתְמַחֵי (i.e. *the physician*) is *approved* and *the amulet* is *approved*; similarly קָמִיעַ מוֹמַחָא a *tested amulet* ib. 61 a. In Syr. ܠܡܚܘܫܐ is used of *testing* a weight or measure, e.g. Epiphanius *de Mensur. et Pond.* in *Vet. Test. ab Origene recens. fragm.* ed. Lagarde p. 48, l. 32; p. 58, l. 67; p. 51, l. 7 וּמַתְחַלְמָא וּמַתְחַלְמָא מַתְחַמֵּי (cited by Hoffmann). Hence למחה will mean *by the tested weight, of full weight*; the prep. is ל of norm or standard.

L. 4. עלתי *אש* *which was incumbent upon him*; for על in this sense cf. Num. 7 9 עֲבַרְתָּ הַקֹּדֶשׁ עֲלֵהֶם. Ezr. 10 4. 12. 1 Ch. 9 27 &c. The construction of the words which follow is not very clear. In l. 8 משרת is certainly a noun, *service*, from שרת *to minister*, and possibly it may be a noun here, *all the service which was laid upon him*; so Lidzb. In such a sentence the natural order would be אית כל (ה) משרת אש עלתי; but as כל in Hebr. often stands before a relative clause containing a *verb*, which is strictly its genitive (e.g. את כל אשר עשה Gen. 1 31), so here the relative clause *אש עלתי מ*, though it contains a *noun*, may be regarded as the genitive after כל. It must be admitted, however, that this is not easy grammar. Hoffmann takes משרת as an infin. with מן i.e. מִשְׁרַת, governing רעת אית רעת *because (he) administered this . . .*; but the infin. would require a suffix in this case, e.g. מְרַעֲתִי Is. 48 4. If משרת be a verb, it is better to take it as a ptcip. i.e. מְרַעֲתִי dependent on the suffix in עלתי, *while he administered this . . .*, an imitation of Gk. idiom, but cf. 1 K. 14 6 קול רגליה באה and Ps. 69 4 (?). אית רעת The word רעת may be explained in two ways. (1) It may come from the Aram. רעה *to be favourably disposed towards a person* (in Targ. רַעֲנָא, Bibl. Aram. רַעֲנָא Ezr. 5 17. 7 18) = Arab. رَعَى *to be pleased, satisfied with* = Hebr. רצה; and we may render *this (our) good pleasure*. It is not necessary, however, to assume such a strong Aramaism here; for (2) רעת may come from the same root as the Arab. رَعَى *to watch, regard, be mindful of* = Syr. رَعَى *to observe, concern oneself with* (رَعَى), رَعَى *meditation, thought*; Targ. רַעֲנָא *desire*, Ps. 107 30) = Hebr. רעה, cf. Ps. 37 3. Pr. 15 14. Hos. 12 2 (?)

and רעה in Qoh. 1 14 &c. Hence רעה may be rendered *intention*, *wish*, either governed by the preceding משרת, or placed for emphasis before its verb לכתב<sup>1</sup>. To connect ר' with לכתב is in accordance with the Gk. formula ἀναγράφαι τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα, e.g. CIA ii 311=M 124, CIA ii 176=M 109 and often, but it involves an unusual construction for משרת . . כל (supr.). לכתב הארמם The infin. is governed by חם l. 1 and הארמם is its subject. Its object must be understood, 'this decree,' if אית רעה ז be taken with משרת. א' נשאם לן על ב' א' i. e. the present curators of the temple. These officials may be compared with the νεωποῖαι in Asiatic sanctuaries, e.g. CIG 2656=M 453 (Halicarnassus), M 835 (ib.), CIG 2671=M 462 (Iasus).

L. 5. הרין מצבת חרין a pillar of gold, i. e. prob. a gilded stele, cf. 24 1 n. On the Gk. inscr. it is always ἐν στήλει λιθίνει, e.g. CIA ii 613=M 977 and often; but here, contrary to Gk. practice, the same amount is voted both for the stele and the crown, and as the latter is specified as golden (l. 3), so the stele is to be golden (or prob. gilded) too. It is true that we do not hear of a gilded מצבת elsewhere, but such an object is not impossible in itself, and the language of the inscr. seems to demand it. Hoffmann takes הרין as = *decision, decree* (cf. הרין Joel 4 14. נחרצה Is. 10 23 &c.), and as the object of לכתב. If הרין does not mean *gold* it is simpler to give it the primary meaning of *engraving*, and to take it as the genit. after מצבת, a stele of engraving i. e. an inscribed stele (cf. 3 4. 5?). ימנאי Ifil impf. 3 plur. with suff. 3 fem. sing. i. e. ימנאי. ערפת portico, see 3 6 n. It corresponds to the πρόστωιον (CIA ii 613=M 977) or open pillared hall at the entrance of the temple. The custom was to place these monuments ἐν τῷ ἱερῶι τοῦ θεοῦ M 977, or πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ M 982, or ἐν τῷ προνάωι M 546, ἐν τῷ αὐλῆι τοῦ ἱεροῦ M 985, ἐν τῷ ἐπιστάντι προπύλωι τῷ τοῦ τεμένους M 476 &c. לעיני איש = ען אש; for the accus. instead of the prep. ל cf. פנת אלם 42 13. 43 8. The corresponding Gk. phrase is ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτωι τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοπῶι M 992, or ἐν ἱερῶι δὲ ἀν αὐτοῖς φαίνηται M 468. לכנת נו ערב to designate the corporation as surely (for it). לכנת Piel inf., governed prob. by חם l. 1, and followed by two accusatives. כנה lit. give a title or cognomen as in Aram. כנא, Arab. كنى, Hebr. Is. 45 4; so in a general sense to

<sup>1</sup> The above characterization of the root רעה = רעה = רעה is based upon Barth's study in *Wurzeluntersuchungen* (1902) 46 ff. He suggests that the primitive meaning was to keep (sheep). It must be noted, however, that the origin of the sense which רעה has in Ps. 37 3 &c. is far from clear. Besides the two roots above, Barth distinguishes a third, viz. רעו (ר') to bind together, attach, whence Hebr. רע friend.

*designate*. The infin. of כן *to be* is לכן 10 10, not לכנת, for which there is no analogy in ו'ע verbs.

L. 6. ערב A noun, prob. of participial form, *surety*. In Hebr. the vb. ערב *be surety for* is followed by the accus. (Gen. 43 9. 44 32. Ps. 119 122), once by ל (Pr. 6 1); so it is better to take עלת מצבת ז as dependent, not on ערב, but on the verb which follows; and this is more in accordance with the Gk. formula Εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δοῦναι . . . M 118 and often. ישאן i. e. ישאן, the subj. being the members of the corporation. For נשא in the sense of *bringing* (an offering) cf. in Pun. CIS i 411 3 עבראשמן, and Ps. 96 8. 1 Ch. 16 29; hence משאח *payment, tax* 42 3. 43 1 &c. בכסף The prep. ב = Gk. ἀπό; it is not ב of material as in בדרכנמ l. 3. אלם

בעלצור This is a clear instance of the plur. of אל being used to denote *god*, like the Heb. אלהים; we may conclude that אלם ll. 2. 5 is also sing. in meaning. Cf. 35 2 אלם נרגל 59 A 4 אלם הקידש, and the inscr. lately found at Memphis אלם אדרת אם אלם (p. 91 n. 1), where אלם is connected with a female deity, and even with a fem. adj.; the plur. ארנמ is used similarly, 49 3 n. In the following cases, אלם פנה 42 13. 43 8, אלם עבראלם, CIS i 194 1 f. (cf. מתנאל 406 3), אלם גלב 257 4 &c., אלם אמת 378 3, the sing. meaning is most probable. Contrast the use of אלנמ *gods*; see 3 10 n. The plur. אלם denotes a more abstract conception than the sing. אל, *godhead* as distinct from *god*: it sums up the various characteristics of the particular אל (Hoffm.); cf. the abstract plurals זקנים, געורים, נעורים (Ges. § 124 d). For the Ba'al of Sidon see 5 18. The order to defray the cost out of the temple treasury finds several parallels in the Gk. inscr., e. g. τὰν δὲ γενομένων δαπάναν ἐς τὰν ἀναγραφὰν τεισάντω τοὶ ναποῖαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τοῖς θεοῖς χρημάτων M 1003; εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δότω ὁ ἄρχων Ἀδείμαντος Δ δραχμὰς ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων M 968.

L. 7. לכן *accordingly*. ירע i. e. ירע. לשלם חלפת אית א' For the two accusatives after שלם cf. 1 S. 24 20. Pr. 13 21. חלפת *equivalent, return*, χάριτας ἀξίας, cf. Num. 18 21. 31 חלף עבדקתם; in Aram. the verb has the meaning *substitute* (lit. *change*), e. g. *Julian Ap.* ed. Hoffm. 105 25 ו'א; חסבפפ, and the frequent חלף *instead of*.

L. 8. משרת Here a noun, *service*, cf. πᾶσαν λειτουργίαν καὶ ὑπηρεσίαν ἐκτετελεκότα CIG 2786. אית אית i. e. פני אית lit. *with the presence, before*; אית is the prep. *with*, cf. Gen. 19 27. 1 S. 2 18 אית משרת אית &c. The last two lines correspond closely with the Gk. inscr., e. g. ὁπως ἂν εἰδῶσι πάντες, ὅτι ἐπίστανται Πειραιεῖς χάριτας ἀξίας ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς φιλοτιμουμένοις εἰς αὐτούς M 145 and often.

34. Piræus. CIS i 118. Date prob. ii-i cent. B. C. Piræus.

מוֹזֵבָה זֶ אֵשׁ יֵנָה בְּנַחְדֵּשׁ בֶּן בַּעֲלִיתָן הַשֹּׁפֵט • בֶּן עַבְדֵּאֲשְׁמֻן  
הַחֹתֵם • לְאַסְכֵּן אֲדָר • יְבָרַךְ

This altar (is that) which Ben-ḥodesh, son of Ba'al-yathon the judge, son of 'Abd-eshmun the sealer, erected to Askun-adar. May he bless!

מֹזֵבָה Cf. 3 4. 12 2. 28 4. יֵנָה Ifil pf. of נוֹחַ = Hebr. הִנִּיחַ  
2 K. 17 29; in Gk. ἀναθεῖναι. בְּנַחְדֵּשׁ See 17 3 n. הַשֹּׁפֵט  
i. e. the head of the Phoenician colony at the Piræus, corresponding to  
our 'consul,' not *suffete* in the Carthaginian sense, 42 1 n. הַחֹתֵם  
Either a maker of seals, or an official who seals. אֲסִכֵּן No doubt  
the same as אֲסִכֵּן, the deity who appears in the pr. nn. Σακκουνιάθων =  
סַכְנִיָּתוֹ Hadr. 8 (Euting *Carth.*, Anhang Taf. 6), עַבְדֵּאֲשְׁמֻן CIS i 112 a.  
גֵּרְסִכֵּן 46. וְרִסְכֵּן 52 4 f. The name was pronounced *Sakun*, as the form  
אֲסִכֵּן implies, or *Sakkun* (Secchun CIL viii 5099), and means 'one  
who cares for' (cf. Assyr. *sakdnu*, Tell-el-Am. 179 38. 180 13 &c.),  
the 'friend' or 'helper' of men; cf. the sense of סִכַּן in Hebr., *profit*,  
*benefit*, e.g. Job 15 3. 22 2. 34 9 &c. and 1 K. 1 2. 4. *Sakun* was  
the Phoen. counterpart to the Gk. *Hermes* (Schröder 197 n.); the  
two Gk. inscr. found near to this, one containing a dedication to  
*Hermes*, the other to Διὸς σωτήρι, apparently refer to this altar. אֲדָר  
is prob. an epithet, *glorious* 5 9 n.; cf. the pr. nn. אֲדָרְבַּעַל CIS i 157  
1 &c., אֲדָרְמֶלֶךְ on a coin of Byblus, Babelon *Pers. Ach.* 1354, רִשְׁאָדָר  
the name of a town, Rusadir, also on coins (Lidzb. 370). There is  
not sufficient evidence that אֲדָר was the name of a deity.

35. Piræus. CIS i 119. Prob. iii cent. B. C. Piræus.

Ἀσεπτῆ Ἐσσυμσελήμου Σιδωνία  
אֲנִי אֲסַפְתָּ בַת אֲשְׁמֻנ־שֵׁלֶם צִדְנַת אֵשׁ יֵמָנָה לִי 1  
יְתַנְבַּל בֶּן אֲשְׁמֻנ־עֵלָה רַב כְּהֵנָם אֵלֶם נִרְגַּל 2

I am Aseptā, daughter of Eshmun-shillem, a Sidonian.  
(This is that) which Yathan-bel, son of Eshmun-šilleḥ, chief-  
priest of the god Nergal, set up to me.



For this form of inscr., in which the deceased speaks in the first person and the monument is set up by some one else, cf. 32.

L. 1. אספת Perhaps the fem. of אסף, with a segholate termination אסףת, pronounced אסףת, as the transcription shows. אשמנשלם Cf. בעלשלם 28 3 n. In the Gk. Ἐστυμσελήμου the reduplication of the intensive stem (שלם) is not marked, cf. Δομσάως and Δομανῶ 32; but Βασιλλήχ = בעלשלך 38 6, Balsillec CIL viii 1249. צדנח i.e. צדנית. For the omission of the art. cf. אשקלני, צרני 32.

L. 2. יתנבעל = יתנבל (?); the y is frequently dropped in NPun. pr. nn., e.g. מתנבל NPun. 22 3. יעורבל ib. 13 1 f. אדנבל ib. 102 2. Perhaps, however, בל is the Babyl. bel, not the Phoen. ba'al; cf. עברבל CIS i 287, and נרגל below. אשמנצלח See 7 2 n. ἀρχιερεύς, cf. 45 8 (Carthage), a title almost equivalent to a pr. n., and therefore apparently רבכהנם is not in the constr. st. before the following gen.; see König *Syntax* § 285 h. The usage is, however, hardly paralleled elsewhere; it may be due partly to carelessness, and partly to the unconscious recollection of the title ἀρχιερεύς in current Gk. speech. Contrast the constructions כהן שבעלשמם CIS i 379, and כהן לאל עליון Gen. 14 18. אדם בעלצדן Cf. אדם נרגל 33 6 n. It is remarkable to find the Assyr. god Nergal (see 2 K. 17 30 and Zimmern *KAT*<sup>3</sup> 414), the god of battle and pestilence and the dead, worshipped by Phoenicians at the Piraeus. The Phoen. colony there was evidently eclectic in its tastes; in 34 the worship of אסכנ is referred to; and in the pr. nn. we find devotees of the Arabian (?) D'om (32), the Babylonian Shamash and Bel, and the Carthaginian Tanith (CIS i 116 לעברתנת בן עברשמש).

# PHOENICIAN: PUNIC

## MALTA

36. Malta. CIS i 122. Date ii cent. B. C. Louvre.

לאדנן למלקרת בעל צר אש נדר 1  
עבדך עבדאסר ואחי אסרשמר 2  
שן בן אסרשמר בן עבדאסר כ שמע 3  
קלם יברכם 4

Διονύσιος καὶ Σαραπίων οἱ  
Σαραπίωνος Τύριοι  
Ἡρακλεῖ ἀρχηγέτει

To our lord Melqarth, the Ba'al of Tyre, which thy servant 'Abd-osir and his brother Osir-shamar, the two sons of Osir-shamar, son of 'Abd-osir, vowed, because he heard their voice. May he bless them!

This inscr. is repeated in the same words on two pedestals, one at Valetta, the other in the Louvre, each supporting a small pillar. The two pillars dedicated to Melqarth (Herakles) recall the *στήλαι δύο* which Herodotus saw in the temple of Herakles at Tyre (ii 44); cf. also Philo Byb., who says that at Tyre *ἀνιερώσαι δὲ δύο στήλας πυρὶ καὶ πνεύματι, καὶ προσκυνήσαι*, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 566. The letters of this inscr. resemble the Tyrian and Sidonian type.

L. 1. צר בעל למלקרת See 23 3 n.; similarly in Sabaeen inscr., אום אלמקה בעל אום 'Ilmaqah, lord of Awwam' CIS iv 126 16, cf. 155 5. 240 5. שצרם בעל רימם תאלב 160 3 &c. מובא בעל עתתר 276 4. רמן בעל עלמן 140 2 f.; and see 3 2 n. With the Gk. equivalent, Ἡρακλεῖ ἀρχηγέτει, cf. an inscr. from Delos, dated at the beginning of the second cent. B.C., where the *σύνδοδος τῶν Τυρίων ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων* use a similar designation of Herakles, ἀρχηγοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπάρχοντος (CIG 2271 = M 998).

L. 2. עברך עבראסר The same words in CIS i 9; for עבראסר see 14 2 n. The Gk. equivalent is Διονύσιος, implying that Osiris was regarded as the counterpart of Διόνυσος. The Gk. name of אסרשמר was Σαραπίων; in this case Osiris is confused with Serapis (= Osiris-Apis), in Aram. written אֹסְרִי חֲפִי 72 (from Memphis). It is said that about 180 B.C., in the time of Ptolemy Philometor, the name of Serapis was first accepted for Osiris (CIG 2753 n.).

L. 3. שן בן i. e. שְׁנֵי בְנֵי; see 23 6 n.

37. Malta. CIS i 123 a. Date uncertain. Malta.

נצב מלכ	1
בעל אש ש	2
ם נחם לב	3
על חמן א	4
דן כ שמע	5
קל דברי	6

Pillar of Milk-Ba'al, which Naḥum placed to Ba'al-ḥammān (the) lord, because he heard the voice of his words.

The letters are of an archaic type; the W and W| ll. 1. 3. 5 (but 4| l. 4) resemble the forms in 1. 11. 41. Lidzbarski (p. 177) considers that this points to a date before the sixth cent.; but in an isolated colony the writing may have kept a rude and undeveloped character, and therefore furnishes no sure criterion of early date.

L. 1. נצב *cippus* or *pillar*, cf. Gen. 19 26 מלכ. The word occurs in the companion inscr. CIS i 123 b נצב מלכאסר, in 30 נצבם, 147 [ר] [י] שמע קל . . . כ בעל חמן . . . כ שמע קל [ר] [י] נצבם (Sardinia), 194 and 380 מלכבעל נ' (Carthage), מלכבעל נ' (Hadrumetum 9, Euting *Carth. Anhang* T. 6); in Old Aram. 61 I. 14. 62 I. 20 (with שם); and in Sabaeen, e. g. Mordtmann u. Müller *Sab. Denkm.* 95. The word is identical with the Arab. كَصَبَ pl. أَكْصَابٌ, an idol-stone to which worship was paid, e. g. *Qur.* v 92; see Wellhausen

*Reste Arab. Heident.* 101 f. The נצב in Phoen. was something of this kind, here a pillar of Milk-Ba'al, whose name occurs after נצב in each of the examples just given (except 39)<sup>1</sup>; it is thus distinguished from מצבת, which as a rule is a funeral monument. מלכבעל A deity formed out of the attributes of Milk and Ba'al in combination, cf. מלכאסר CIS i 123 b, מלכעשתרת 10 3 n.; the Palm. מלכבל 112 4 Μαλάχβηλος, Malagbelus, is a different name. It is curious that the pillar of one deity should be dedicated to another; but Milk-ba'al and Ba'al-ḥammān were prob. only different aspects of the same god.

L. 2. שם Cf. Gen. 28 22. 2 K. 21 7. Jer. 7 30.

L. 4. בעל חמן In the formula חמן לבעל חמן ולאדן לבעל חמן this title of Ba'al occurs more than 2000 times on the votive tablets from Carthage; see also the inscr. quoted above on l. 1. It corresponds to Hammoni J(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) on a Lat. inscr. from Mauretania Caesariensis, CIL viii 9018. חמן is found alone in CIS i 404. 405, prob. for לבעל חמן; cf. עברחמן NPun. 67 (Schröder p. 271), Ἀβδήμμονος Jos. c. Ap. i 17. The signification<sup>2</sup> of the title is uncertain, but חמן is prob. a derivative of חם *de hot*, whence חמה *heat, sun* Is. 24 23. Ps. 19 7. Analogy is in favour of taking חמן as a noun in the genit.; but it can hardly be the name of a place, for the deity of Ḥammon (אל חמן) is Milk-'ashtart (CIS i 8) or 'Ashtart (10 4), nor a 'sun-pillar,' for the O. T. חמנים are best explained as images of Ba'al-ḥammān<sup>2</sup>. Hence, as no suitable meaning can be obtained from a genit. noun, it is probable that חמן is an adj., *the glowing Ba'al*, cf. בעל מרפא *the healing B.* (CIS i 41), the article which Hebr. would require being dispensed with in Phoen. (see 3 2 n.). The title, thus explained, does not necessarily imply that Ba'al was regarded as a sun-god—a doubtful hypothesis (see Robertson Smith, art. Baal in *Ency. Bibl.*), but it describes him as the god of fertilizing warmth, an attribute which is quite in accordance with his usual character. חמן is in a very unusual position; cf. NPun. 31 אלם לבעל חמן אלהם.

L. 6. קל דברי Cf. Dt. 5 25. Dan. 10 9. דברי i. e. דְּבָרֵי (ו), following the Hebr. form; or possibly דְּבָרֵי, after the Aram. מְלִבְוֵי = מְלִבְוֵי, סַחַחֶסֶס; Wright *Comp. Gr.* 159. Cf. קרני 42 5.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Νίσιβις . . . Σημαίνει δέ, ὡς φησι Φίλων, Νάσιβις τὰς στήλας, ὡς δὲ Οὐράνιος, νέσιβις, φησί, σημαίνει τῇ Φοινίκων φωνῇ λίθου συγκείμενοι καὶ συμφορητοί *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 526.

<sup>2</sup> In the Palm. inscr. 136 we find a חמנא dedicated to שמש the sun-god. But this instance can hardly decide the original meaning of the ancient חמנים of the O. T. The Ἀμμονεῖς of the Phoen. temples, mentioned by Philo Byb. as inscribed ἀποκρύφοις γράμμασι (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 564), were probably חמנים.

38. Malta (*Gaulus-Gozo*). CIS i 132. iii-ii cent. Malta.

- ... פעל וחדש עם גול אית שלש 1  
 ... מקדש בת צדמבעל ואית מןקדש 2  
 ... מקדש בת עשתרת ואית מקדןש 3  
 ... בעת ר אדר ערכת ארש בן יאל 4  
 ... שפט בן זיבקם בן עבדאשמון בן יאל 5  
 ... זבה בעלשלך בן חנא בן עבדאשמון 6  
 ... בלא בן כלם בן יעזר שמר מחצב י 7  
 עם גול 8

The people of Gaulus made and renovated the three(?)...<sup>2</sup> the sanctuary of the temple of Şadam-ba'al, and the sa[nctuary]...<sup>3</sup> the sanctuary of the temple of 'Ashtart, and the sanctu[ary]...<sup>4</sup> in the time of (our) l(ord) of noble worth (?), Arish, son of Ya'el...<sup>5</sup> judge (?), son of Zibaqam, son of 'Abd-eshmun, son of Ya'e[1]...<sup>6</sup> sacrificer Ba'al-şhillek, son of Hanno, son of 'Abd-eshmu[n]...<sup>7</sup> BL', son of KLM, son of Ya'azor, keeper of the quarry...<sup>8</sup> (of) the people of Gaulus.

The inscr., though found at Malta, was prob. carried there from the neighbouring island of Gaulus, now Gozo. The writing is clear and well formed, and Carthaginian in character. The date of the inscr. is uncertain, because we do not know the era, prob. referred to in the missing portion of l. 7, from which the independence of Gaulus was reckoned. The date can hardly be later than 150 B. C., and may be earlier.

L. 1. חדש See 23 2 n. עם גול Plebs Gaulitana, CIL x 7508 f. גול was pronounced with a diphthong; in Gk. Γαυδος. שלש As the stone is broken off at this point, and it is uncertain how much of the lines is missing, we cannot tell what שלש refers to, or whether the word is complete. There are four, not three, sanctuaries mentioned in ll. 2-3.

L. 2. מקדש The inner sanctuary of the temple (בת, cf. 5 15 f.); cf. 29 3. 7. Eze. 48 21. Jer. 51 51. צדמבעל is generally taken as

= צלם *likeness of Ba'al*, cf. פן בעל 48 1 &c., שם בעל 5 18, a goddess known to the Greeks as Σαλαμβώ or Σαλάμβας, in Lat. Salambo, and identified with Aphrodite<sup>1</sup>, who had a temple in Gaulus, the remains of which still exist. For צדם = צלם cf. Γαῦδος = Gaulus, e. g. Strabo p. 230 ed. Müll. There is more probability, however, in the view of Hoffmann (*ZA* xi 244 f.) that צלם was a male deity whose name appears in the inscr. from Têma 89 3 ff. 70 3, perhaps the deity of the planet Saturn, *kakkubu Šalmu* 'the dark' (ظلم), Delitzsch *Assyr. HWB.* 569. Hoffmann considers that צלם was associated with the sun-god among Phoenicians, and only by Greeks identified with 'Ashtart-Aphrodite. Possibly צלם, צלם, a village near Edessa, contains the name of the deity, P. Smith *Thes.* col. 3410.

L. 4. בער ר Cf. 42 1. ר is an abbreviation of רב or רבן; cf. הרב in CIS i 229-235 and רב ארץ 29 2. 6. The reference here, as in the case of the other officials mentioned in ll. 5? 6. 7, is not to a definite year named after the chief magistrate (. . . בשנת שפמטם 40 2 n.), but to the period (עת) when these persons were engaged in the active duties of their office; so Lidzb. 113 n. אדר ערכת Meaning uncertain. In 5 9. 10 6 אדר = *great, powerful*; אדר ערכת has been explained by the Hebr. עָרָה a *valuation* paid for a commuted vow or due, Lev. 27 2 ff.; hence אדר ערכת is taken by the Corp. to denote *chief of the taxes*, or *assessments*, a revenue officer, or 'superintendent of public works,' cf. Aram. and Rabb. עֲרֵיָהּ *magistracy* (Wright *ZDMG* xxviii 143). But אדר is not a suitable word to be used as a noun for *chief*; and ערכת may be taken as a gen. of quality, in a figurative sense, *of noble worth*; for the construction cf. חכם לבב ואמין כח Job 9 4. רב חסד ואמת Ex. 34 6 &c. It must be admitted, however, that an expression of this kind is not customary in Phoen. inscr. Note that ערכת is fem., while in Hebr. ערך is mas., and not used in the plural. ארש

See 21 1 n. יאל is a divine name, as appears from יאלמעל Altib. 2 2<sup>2</sup>. Etymologically it may be identified with the Arab. وَائِل lit. *asylum* from وَايَل, *take refuge*, the god of the Arab tribe Bakr-Wâil; Wellhausen *Reste Arab. Heidentums* 64. This name occurs in Nabat. and Sin. as a pr. n. in the form ואלו and ואלת, e. g. CIS ii 214 2. 80 1. 90 2. 105, and often; in Gk. inscr. from Ḥauran Οὐάελος &c. Wadd. 2496<sup>3</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> Σαλαμβώ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη παρὰ Βαβυλωνίους, Hesych. *Lex.* s. v.; Σαλάμβας ἡ δαίμων [ῥ] . . . περιέρχεται θρηνοῦσα τὸν Ἄδων, *Etym. magn.*; Salambonem omni planctu et jactatione syriaci cultus exhibuit (Heliogabalus), Lamprid. *vit. Heliog.* vii in *Scr. Hist. Aug.*

<sup>2</sup> Berger *JA* ix (1887) 466 ff.

<sup>3</sup> In Polybius Ἰόλαος; the treaty between Hannibal and Philip was ratified

in Himyar. **ואל** CIS iv 159 *n.*; cf. also the name of a N. Arabian king Ya'lû on Asarhaddon's cylinder, col. iii 19, Schrader *COT* 25. 208. On Edessene coins (163-167 A.D.) **ואל** is the name of a king of Edessa; CIS ii p. 179. Perhaps the O.T. **ואל** is to be explained in this way, though the above names belong to Arab. rather than to Hebr. See Rob. Smith *Kinship* 194. 301; Gray *Hebr. Pr. Names* 153; Driver *Studia Bibl.* i 5 *n.*

L. 5. **שפט** Either another official (*the*) judge, supposing that l. 4 contained *son of . . . the*, or a pr. n. *Shafaṭ*, common in N. Africa. **זיבקם** The name occurs in Punic and Neo-Punic, e.g. CIS i 251. 423 &c. and 22 2 *n.*; perhaps it is of Libyan or Numidian, rather than Phoen. origin, and equivalent to Syphax (on coins **ספס**). The rest of the line prob. ran *and in the time of . . . the*.

L. 6. **זבח** The chief officiating priest, *ιεροθύτης* CIG 5752 = Mich. 554, a Maltese inscr. circa 210 B. C. For the year, or period, dated by the name of this official cf. 55 5 **שת בלל הזבח** (from Altiburur). **בעלשלך** Transcribed *Βασιλλήχ*, *balsillec* CIL viii 1249; see 35 1 *n.* The significance of **שלך**, found also in the name **אשמנשלך** CIS i 50 1. 197 4, is obscure. It is not probable that **שלך** = **שלח**, for **ח** is a soft guttural in Phoen., and therefore not interchangeable with **ך**; see 40 1 *n.* Cl.-Gan. explains **שלך** by the vulgar Arab. **سَلَّ**, which in the dialect of Algiers = *save, deliver*, *Rec.* i 165 f. **חנא 39 2** and often; perhaps shortened from **בעלחנא** or **חנבעל**.

L. 7. **בלא . . . כלם** *á. λ.* These names belong either to the genealogy of **(ה)זבח**, or to another official whose name stood in the missing part of l. 6. **יעור** Short for **יעורבעל**. **שמר** *Qal ptcp., manager, overseer, επιμελητής*; the third, or, if **שפט** = *judge* l. 5, the fourth official named. **מחצב** The form of the noun points to the meaning *quarry*; cf. **חצבם 2 4. 6. 1 K. 5 29**. It is conjectured that the end of the line furnished the date from which the **עם נול** (cf. 9 5 f. 27 2 &c.) reckoned their independence. The date is unknown; but in the second Punic war Malta, and presumably Gaulus too, severed its connexion with Carthage, Livy xxi 51.

*ἐναντίον δαίμονος Καρχηδονίων καὶ Ἡρακλέους καὶ Ἰολάου* vii 9. 2; cf. also Diod. Sic. iv 29. Perhaps the pr. nn. *Ialnoati* CIL viii 280, *Iolitana* ib. 9341, *Iolitan(us)* ib. 9767 contain the name of the god; Nöld. *ZDMG* xlii 471.

## SARDINIA

39. Caralis (Cagliari). CIS i 139. iii-ii cent. b.c. Cagliari.

לאדן לבעשמם באינצם נצבם והנוטם שנים || אש נדר בע 1  
 לחנא שבדמלקרת בן חנא בן אשמנעמם בן מהרבעל 2  
 בן אתש 3

To the lord Ba'a(1)-shamem in the Isle of Hawks: (these are the) pillars and two 2 ? which Ba'al-hanno, (son) of Bod-melqarth, son of Hhanno, son of Eshmun-'amas, son of Mahar-ba'al, son of Athash, vowed.

L. 1. בעשמם i.e. בעלשמם, see 9 1 n. For the quiescence of ל cf. in Nab. בעשמין CIS ii 163, לבעשמן ib. 176, in Palm. בונא 112 2 n., and in Pun. בעחנא CIS i 869 2, 'Αννίβα-ς=הנבעל, Bomilcar=בעלמלקרת, Μάκαρ=מלקרת &c.; see Schröder 100. The construction לבעשמם באינצם as in 24 2 n. אינצם='Ιεράκων νῆσος, mentioned by Ptolemaeus in his description of the islands round Sardinia, *Geogr.* iii 3, ed. Müll. p. 387; in the LXX ἰέραξ is the usual rendering of נץ, e.g. Lev. 11 16 b. Dt. 14 14 a. Job 39 26. The Phoen. name is preserved by Pliny, Habet (Sardinia) et a Gorditano promontorio duas insulas, quae vocantur Herculis: a Sulcensi, Enosin: a Caralitano, Ficariam, *Hist. Nat.* iii 13. The island is now called San Pietro. נצבם See 37 1 n. והנוטם Meaning obscure; but

evidently objects connected with the cult of the deity. In Hebr. חנט means *to embalm*, but this gives no suitable sense here. Renan (in Corp.) explains the word by the Gk. χωνευτά, used in the LXX for *molten images*, מַפְסִיכוֹת, e.g. 1 K. 14 9 A θεοὺς ἐτέροους χωνευτά.

L. 2. בעלחנא 47, cf. מלקרתחנא, דעמחנא 32 2 n. שבדמלקרת The rel. ש is here used, like של in late Hebr. and ד in Aram., to express the genitival relation, in this case instead of בן; cf. 41 2 f. רש שנגר. For ש elsewhere in Phoen. see 40 1? 41 3. 52. CIS i 133 מסלח בן מעורבעל (see 64 1 n.). 315 בן שמננן 316 ארש 317 (similarly). 379 שבעלשמם כהן. It is worth noticing that the form אש occurs along with ש in many of these inscrs. referred to; see 45 4 n. אשמנעמם *Eshmun carries*, cf. בעלעמם CIS i 169, and עמסיה 2 Ch. 17 16; see 5 6 n. מהרבעל A common



Pun. name, in Gk. Μέρβαλος a Tyrian king, Jos. c. Ap. i 21. מֶרַר is generally explained as *gift*, Hebr. מֶרַר the purchase *price* of a wife, Gen. 34 12 &c.; this explanation, however, is not convincing.

40. Pauli Gerrei (Santuiaci). CIS i 143. ii cent. B. C.  
Turin Mus.

*Cleon salari(us) soc(iorum) s(ervus) Aescolapio Merre  
donum dedit lubens merito merente.*

Ἀσκληπίῳ Μηρρῆ ἀνάθεμα βωμὸν ἔστησε Κλέων ὁ ἐπὶ  
τῶν ἀλῶν κατὰ πρόσταγμα.

1 לארן לאשמן מארה מזבח נחשת משקל למרם מאת א אש  
נדר אבלין שחסגם אש בממלהת שמ[ע]  
2 [ק]לא רפיא בשת שפטם חמלכת ועבראשמן בן חמלך

To the lord Eshmun Merre:—the altar of bronze, in weight a hundred 100 pounds, which Cleon of HSGM, who is over the salt-mines (?), vowed; he heard his voice (and) healed him. In the year of the suffetes Himilkath and 'Abd-eshmun, son of Himilk.

L. 1. לאשמן See 5 17 n. There is a mineral spring near to the place where the inscr. was found. מארה A title of Eshmun, explained by Nöldeke as the Piel ptcp. מְאַרֵם (note the doubled 2nd radical in the transcriptions *merre*, μηρρη) of ארה *wander, travel*, with the meaning *leader, guide*, cf. Eth. warëha *lead*; ZDMG xlii 472. Lidzbarski, p. 305, suggests the Ifil ptcp. of רוח, cf. Hebr. 1 S. 16 23 ורוח לשאול. Job 32 20; in Aram. (Ethpa.) *alleviatus est*, e. g. 2 Macc. 13 11 = ἀναψύχασθαι, *convuluit a morbo*; so מארה *he who alleviates, healer*, a suitable epithet for Eshmun-Aesculapius. In this case, however, the א is difficult to account for, unless it be merely euphonic. Hoffmann, ZA xi 238, takes מארה *Merre* as a diminutive of מלקרת, which sometimes takes the form of מרי, מר, Μαρκω, Μαρνας &c.; see 19 3 n. The Corp. regards מארה as = מארך scil. חיים, but in Phoen. ה is not a strong guttural, as appears from the transcriptions מארה

*merre*, חמלכת *himilco*, *imilco*, חתמלך *otmilc*, חנבעל *hannibal* &c.; see 38 6. On the whole the first explanation seems to be the most plausible. מרם See 28 4 n. - משקל See 29 14 n. למרם Plur. of the Gk. weight λίτρα. The form of the symbol for 100 may be contrasted with that in 9 4 f. 29 14. 42 6. אכלין = Cleon, with א prosthetic, as often in foreign names; Wright *Comp. Gr.* 45 f. שחסנם The ש is perhaps the rel. particle introducing the genit., either *son of* (see 39 2 n.), or possibly *servant of* (so Corp.). The significance of חסנם is unknown; it may be a (Sardinian) pr. n., or the title of an office; possibly a transliteration of *servus sociorum*, Hoffmann l. c. Cf. 59 B 4. אש בממלהת ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλῶν, *who is over the salt mines*, though strictly this requires על instead of ב; the Corp. therefore renders *who is in the salt business*. ממלהת must be a dialectical form of ממלחת; for מ' cf. מחצב 38 7.

L. 2. קלא i. e. קולו; for the form of suff. cf. 48 5 and often. רפא Pf. 3 sing. m. with suff. = רפא; cf. תברכא 48 5 and often. The רפא is here treated as ל'ה, the י of the root being retained before the suff., as occasionally in Hebr., e. g. הַיְיִי K. 20 35. חַיִּיהוּ Hab. 3 2, more frequently in the pausal forms חַיִּי Dt. 32 37. יֵאָתִי Job 16 22 (Ges. § 75 u, mm). בשת שפטם For the year reckoned by the suffetes cf. 42 1 n. (Marseilles-Carthage). CIS i 170 (Carthage). 45 5 f. (ib.). 46 1 (ib.). 55 5 f. (Altiburis). חמלך . . . חמלכת For 'חא, see 11 n., and l. 1 n. above. It has been proposed to read בן as בְּנֵי, making the suffetes brothers, and providing both with a brief genealogy; but this is improbable and unnecessary (see 45 5). The inscr. dates from after the first Punic war, when Sardinia was severed from Carthage and passed under the rule of Rome. The suffetes, therefore, were not Carthaginian; they belonged prob. to Caralis (39), the chief city in the neighbourhood. The form of the Latin letters is said to point to a date about 180 B.C.

41. Nora (Pula). CIS i 144. ? vi cent. Cagliari.

[מצ] 1

בת רש ש 2

נגד שהא 3

בשרדן ש 4

למה אש ל 5

נצבא מ	6
לכתן בן ר	7
ש בן נגר	8
לפסי	9

Pillar of Rosh, (son) of Nagid, who (dwelt) in Sardinia ; Milk-(ya)thon, son of Rosh, son of Nagid, (the) Liphsite, completed it (?), (even that) which (was required) for setting it up.

The character is of an archaic type, which perhaps points to a date not later than the sixth cent. (Lidzb. 177); cf. 37 n. The ancient form of ת, X, occurs here.

L. 2. רש Perhaps = ראש. In Gen. 46 21 this pr. n. is corrupt. ש נגר See 39 2 n.

L. 3. נגר Prob. a pr. n.; so in Aram. CIS ii 112 (? נגר).

L. 4. שהא בשרדן It is uncommon to find the dwelling-place mentioned; cf. 31 א מצרים ישב דכי באן מצרים. Euting *Sin. Inschr.* 551 פ' די עמר באילח.

L. 5. שלמה Piel pf. 3 sing. mas. The ה is possibly the suff. 3 sing. fem., anticipating the object in the relat. clause; to refer it to מצבת makes the construction more difficult. The subject of the vb. is מלכתן l. 6 f. שלם complete, perhaps with the thought of fulfilling a vow.

L. 6. לנצבא appears to be the inf. with suff. 3 sing. fem. of נצב; cf. Old Aram. 61 10 לנצב, Nab. 99 2 נצב pf., also in Palm. מלכתן For מלכיתן 12 2 &c.

L. 9. לפסי A gentilic form of the name of a city (unknown).

## GAUL

42. Marseilles. CIS i 165. Circ. iv cent. b. c. Marseilles Museum.

- 1 בת בעל[. . .] ב[עת המש]אתת אש טנא האשם ש על המשא[תת  
 2 עת [ר חלצ]בעל השפט בן בדתנת בן בד[אשמן וחלצבעל]  
 3 השפט בן בדאשמן בן חלצבעל וה[ברנם]  
 4 באלף כלל אם צועת אם שלם כלל לכהנם כסף עשרת — באחד  
 5 ובכלל יכן לם עלת פן המשאת ז ש[אר משקל שלשת מאת III א]  
 6 ובצועת קצרת ויצלת וכן הערת והשלבם והפעמם ואחרי השאר  
 7 לבעל הזבח  
 8 בעגל אש קרני למבמחסר באטומטא אם באיל כלל אם צו[עת] אם  
 9 שלם כלל לכהנם כסף חמשת II III באחד ובכלל יכן לם על  
 10 ת פן המשאת ז שאר משקל מאת וחמשם א 33 — ובצועת קצרת  
 11 ויצלת וכן הערת והשלבם והפע[מם] ואחרי השאר לבעל הזבח  
 12 ביבל אם בעז כלל אם צועת אם שלם כלל לכהנם כסף שקל I זר II  
 13 באחד ובצועת יכ[ן] לם עלת פן המשאת ז קצרת]  
 14 ויצלת וכן הערת והשלבם והפעמם ואחרי השאר לבעל הזבח  
 15 באמר אם בגרא אם בצרב איל כלל אם צועת-אם שלם כ[ל]ל  
 16 לכהנם כסף רבע שלשת זר . . . [באחד ובצועת יכן לם על  
 17 ת] פן המשאת ז קצרת ויצלת וכן הערת והשלבם והפעמם ואחרי  
 18 השאר לבעל [הזבח]  
 19 בצ[פר] אגנן אם ציץ שלם כל[ל]ל] אם שצף אם חזת לכהנם כסף רבע  
 20 שלשת זר II באחד וכן הש[אר] לבעל הזבח]  
 21 ע[ל] צפר אם קדמת קדשת אם זבח צד אם זבח שמן לכהנם כסף  
 22 א[גרת] — לבאחד . . . . .  
 23 ב[כל] צועת אש יעמס פנת אלם יכן לכהנם קצרת ויצלת  
 24 ו[ב]צועת . . . . .

14 [ע]ל בלל ועל חלב ועל חלב ועל כל זבח אש אדם לזבח  
במנח[ת] י . . . .

15 בכל זבח אש יזבח דל מקנא אם דל צפר בל יכן לכהנ[ם מנם]

16 כל מזרח וכל שפה וכל מרוח אלם וכל אדמם אש יזבח . .

17 האדמם המת משאת על זבח אחד כמדת שת בכתב[ת] . . .

18 [כ]ל משאת אש איבל שת בפס ז ונתן לפי הכתבת אש [כתב] . . . .

האשם אש על המשאתת עת ר חלצבעל בן ברתנ[ן]

19 ת וחלצבעל בן בדאשמן וחברנם

20 כל כהן אש יקח משאת בדין לאש שת בפס ז ונענ[ש] . . . .

21 פל בעל זבח אש איבל יתן את כ . . [ע]ל המשאת א[ש] . . . .

Temple of Ba'al-[ ]. Ta[riff of pay]ments e[rected by the overseers of pay]ments in the time of [the lord Hilleṣ-]ba'al the suffete, son of Bod-tanith, son of Bod-[eshmun, and of Hilleṣ-ba'al] <sup>2</sup>the suffete, son of Bod-eshmun, son of Hilleṣ-ba'al, and their col[leagues].

<sup>3</sup>For an ox, whole-offering or prayer-offering (?) or whole thank-offering, the priests shall have ten 10 silver (shekels) for each; and for a whole-offering they shall have, besides this payment, f[lesh weighing three hundred 300 (shekels)]; <sup>4</sup>and for a prayer-offering (?), the ? and the ?; but the skin and the ? and the feet and the rest of the flesh shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice.

<sup>5</sup>For a calf whose horns are wanting (?) ?, or for a hart, whole-offering or pray[er]-offering (?) or whole thank-offering, the priests shall have five [5] silver (shekels) [for each; and for a whole-offering they shall have, besid]es this payment, flesh weighing a hundred and fifty 150 (shekels); and for a prayer-offering (?) the ? and the ?; but the skin and ? and the fe[et and the rest of the flesh shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice].

<sup>7</sup>For a ram or for a goat, a whole-offering or a prayer-offering (?) or a whole thank-offering, the priests shall have

1 silver shekel 2 *zars* for each; and for a prayer-offering (?) they shall h[ave, besides this payment, the ?] <sup>8</sup> and the ?; but the skin and the ? and the feet and the rest of the flesh shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice.

<sup>9</sup> For a lamb or for a kid or for the young of a (?) hart, a whole-offering or a prayer-offering (?) or a whole thank-offering, the priests (shall have) three quarters of a silver (shekel) . . . *zars* [for each, and for a prayer-offering (?) they shall have, besides] <sup>10</sup> this payment, the ? and the ?; but the skin and the ? and the feet and the rest of the flesh shall belong to the person offering [the sacrifice].

<sup>11</sup> For a bird, domestic (?) or wild (?), a whole thank-offering or a ? or a ?, the priests (shall have) three quarters of a silver (shekel) 2 *zars* for each; but the fle[sh shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice].

<sup>12</sup> For a bird (?) or sacred first-fruits or sacrifice of game (?) or sacrifice of oil, the priests (shall have) 10 silver *a*[*gōrāhs* (?)] for each . . . .

<sup>13</sup> In every prayer-offering (?), which is carried before the gods, the priests shall have the ? and the ?; and for a prayer-offering (?) . . . .

<sup>14</sup> For a cake, for milk and for fat and for every sacrifice which a man is disposed to sacrifice for a meal-offering, . . . shall . . .

<sup>15</sup> For every sacrifice which a man may sacrifice who is poor in cattle or in birds, the priests shall have nothing [of them].

<sup>16</sup> Every *mizrah* and every ? and every religious guild, and all men who shall sacrifice . . . ., <sup>17</sup> such men (shall give) a payment for each sacrifice, according as is set down in the document . . . .

<sup>18</sup> Every payment which is not set down on this table shall be given according to the document which [. . . the overseers of payments drew up in the time of the lord Hilleṣ-ba'al, son of Bod-tan<sup>19</sup>jith, and of Hilleṣ-ba'al, son of Bod-eshmun, and their colleagues.

<sup>20</sup> Every priest who shall receive a payment other (?) than that which is set down on this tablet, shall be fin[ed . . .].

<sup>21</sup> Every person offering a sacrifice, who shall not give . . . for the payment which . . .<sup>1</sup>.

The stone, though found at Marseilles, must have come originally from the quarries near Carthage, as its geological formation shows. In style and contents the inscr. closely resembles the group 43. 44. CIS i 170, which belongs to Carthage; so it is probable, but not certain, that the stone was already inscribed before it travelled to Marseilles.

L. I. בת בעל The Corp. conjectures צפן after בעל, cf. עברצפן CIS i 265. ברצפן 108. [בעת המש] אתח Cf. 43 I. CIS i 171 7. The missing parts of the inscr. may be restored from 43, and from other lines of the inscr. itself. The context shows that בעת = *tariff*, but the etymology is doubtful. The word may be explained by the Arab. باع *make a covenant, stipulate, مَبَايَعَةٌ contract for buying or selling, بَيْعٌ buying or selling, and the meaning be agreement; or the meaning demand may be obtained from the Arab. بَغَى, Aram. בעא seek. משאתח* = Hebr. מִשְׁאֲחַ *dues, taxes, 2 Ch. 24 6. 9. Eze. 20 40. מנא 43 I, usually of setting up a statue on a pedestal (13 2 n.), or fixing a pillar in the ground (16 2 &c.). הא' ש על המ' Cf. 46 I. 33 2. 55 5. עת ר Cf. CIS i 170 I and 38 4. חלצבעל i. e. B. השפט* *delivers (piel); cf. אשמנחלין CIS i 168 2. 777 5 &c.*

Even if the inscr. did not come originally from Carthage, it gives us some information about the Carthaginian constitution, for the colony at Marseilles would be organized on the model of the mother-state. (1) At the head of the state in Carthage were two *suffetes* (ll. 1-2. 18-19) or chief magistrates; cf. 45 5. 6. 46 I (?). CIS i 170 I. 179 6 f. 196 4 f. By Gk. and Lat. writers they are called *βασιλείς* and *reges*, and they are generally given as two, being compared with the Roman consuls<sup>2</sup>. Similarly in Lat. inscr. from N. African cities two are named, CIL viii 797. 5306; in the NPun. inscr. from Altiburis and Maktar there are three, 55 5 f. 59 B 4 ff. (2) The *suffetes* give their names to the period (עת CIS i 170, cf. 38 4), or more usually to the year (שח 46 I,

<sup>1</sup> The above translation is based upon that given by Dr. Driver in *Authority and Archaeology* 77 f.

<sup>2</sup> Livy xxx 7 5 *Senatum itaque sufetes, quod velut consulare imperium apud eos erat, vocaverunt. Nepos Hann. vii 4 Ut enim Romae consules, sic Carthagine quotannis annui bini reges creabantur. In historical narratives, it is true, one 'king' is generally mentioned; but perhaps one was often away on distant duties, or one of the two may have been in some sense inferior to the other. At any rate, the comparison with the consuls is decisive.*

cf. 40 2), during which they held office. As the expression *בשח שפטם* suggests, the appointment was an annual one (see 45 5 n.)<sup>1</sup>; the series of votive tablets, CIS i 199–228, were dedicated by suffetes prob. during their year of office. These tablets show that although the office was not hereditary, yet it tended to become associated with a limited number of families, of long-descended and honourable race<sup>2</sup>.

(3) The name *שפט* implies that the office was magisterial, not hierarchical; thus in 45 8 the ‘chief priest’ is mentioned beside the suffetes; cf. 55 6 f. (4) Connected with the two chief magistrates were the *חברים* *colleagues*, who formed their council (ll. 2. 19, cf. 55 4 and *חבר היהודים* 149 C). Whether these *colleagues* correspond to the *γερονσία* of 100 (or 104), the ‘centum iudices,’ or to the executive committee of 30 chosen from the 100, we cannot tell. It may be assumed that the two suffetes presided over this senate (but see 45 6 n.); they certainly summoned it and conducted its business<sup>3</sup>.

(5) The office and title of *suffete* were characteristic of Carthage and of the Carth. colonies. In the latter, of course, the suffetes would not have the same importance, and prob. not exactly the same functions, as in the mother-state; they would be little more than local magistrates. They are met with in Sardinia 40, Sicily CIS i 135, Malta ib. 124, Altiburus 55, and in a number of N. African cities, CIL viii 7. 765. 797. 5306. 10525. The title *Judices*, given to governors or petty kings in Spain and Sardinia (Cagliari) in the Middle Ages, may be a survival from Punic times; see Ducange s. v. At the Piraeus there was a *שפט*, but prob. not in the Carth. sense, 34 n., and cf. 8 3 n. 17 2. The chief of a Phoen. city in Phoenicia itself, or in Cyprus, was called not *שפט* but *טלך*, e. g. 3 1. 4 1. 5 1. 12 2 &c.

<sup>1</sup> Nepos l. c.; Zonaras, *Annal.* viii 8 *τὸν γὰρ βασιλέα ἑαυτοῖς κληθῆναι ἐτησίῳ ἀρχῆς ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐπὶ χρονίῳ δυναστείᾳ προὐβάλλοντο*. Aristotle, *Pol.* ii 11, in his parallel with the Spartan kings, who ruled for life, does not notice this point of difference; perhaps he did not believe in it. Cicero, *Rep.* ii 23, seems to imply that the Carth. *reges* were elected for life (‘perpetua potestas’).

<sup>2</sup> From any family of full civic rights, not, as in Sparta, from one family and by hereditary dignity, Aristotle l. c.; but the text is uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> E. g. Polybius iii 33 3. Beside the *γερονσία*, Polyb. mentions the *σύγκλητος*, x 18 1; xxxvi 2 6. The latter was probably a general assembly of the people (vi 51 6), who took a real share in the government, Arist. l. c. The *γερονσία* of Arist. is perhaps to be identified with the *σύγκλητος* of Polyb.; see Henderson *Journ. Phil.* xxiv (1896) 119 ff. Under special circumstances a military command seems to have been bestowed upon a suffete by decree of the senate, but this was exceptional; the *βασιλεία* and the *στρατηγία* are distinguished by Arist. The word *ῥωσ* *judex* is in itself ambiguous; for the 104 were also called *judices*.



Ll. 3-14. A Table of Sacrifices and Dues. It appears that the sacrificial institutions of the Phoenicians had a good deal in common with those of the Hebrews, and gave expression to the same general religious ideas. Thus the chief types of sacrifice in both systems are analogous, the whole-offering, the thank-offering, the meal-offering. The Hebr. חטאת and אשם *sin-* and *guilt-offering*, however, are absent, unless something of the kind was intended by the obscure צועת, which is doubtful. The materials of sacrifice are generally alike, but in some respects the details differ: the Hebrews sacrificed domestic animals only, but the Phoenicians offered as well deer (איל), young(?) deer (צרב איל), wild-birds (? ציץ), game (צד), and included milk (חלב) and fat (חלב) in the מנחה. It is to be noticed that in this inscr. oxen, sheep and goats, birds, produce are mentioned in the same order as in Lev. 1-2. Certain parts of the sacrifice are assigned to the priests and to the worshipper, as in Lev. 6 19. 7 8. 15-19. 31-34. Dt. 18 3. 4 &c.; while the relief allowed to the poor man (l. 15) may be illustrated by Lev. 5 7. 11. 12 8. 14 21 (אם רל הוא). The resemblance, however, between the two systems is a general one. Many of the sacrificial terms in Phoenician are obscure in meaning, and those which are identical with the Hebr. (e.g. כלל, שלם) may have denoted different things; at any rate they acquired different shades of meaning in the course of their separate history. See Driver *Authority and Archaeology* 78 f.

L. 3. באלה The prep. here is *beth* of reference; cf. the use of في in Arab. (Wright *Ar. Gr.*<sup>3</sup> ii § 55 c); there is no exact parallel in Hebr. אלה *ox*, as in Assyr. *alpu*; in Hebr. the word is rare, and only used in the plur., e.g. Pr. 14 4. Is. 30 24. Ps. 8 8. Dt. 7 13. 28 4 ff. כלל 43 5 prob. = קליל *holocaust*, a word which in Hebr. hardly belongs to the ordinary terminology of sacrifice. It is used as a descriptive synonym of עולה, Dt. 33 10. 1 S. 7 9. Ps. 51 21; twice of the priests' מנחה, Lev. 6 15 f.; and figuratively in Dt. 13 17. Among the Phoenicians כלל was apparently the equivalent of the O.T. עולה. It was not wholly burned upon the altar<sup>1</sup>, because part of the flesh was assigned to the priests. אם . . . אם See 5 7 n. צועת 43 4 f. may be connected with the same root as the Eth. 𐩠𐩣𐩪: (צוע) *cry out, invoke*, hence צועת was perhaps a sacrifice accompanied by *prayer*; it is highly precarious to make the Ethiopic root correspond to צוה, שׁוּע, as Wright does, *Comp. Gr.* 60. The Eth. 𐩠𐩣𐩪: (שע),

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ex. 20 24, which orders the עולה to be slaughtered (תִּבְחַק) upon the altar, but says nothing about its being wholly burned upon it; Rob. Smith *Rel. of Sem.* 358 n.

whence **ספדו**: *sacrifice*, is again prob. a different root. **שלם כלל** may be rendered 'a **שלם** of (i. e. *accompanying*) a **כלל**' or 'a whole **שלם**.' It is probably incorrect to regard the 'ב' **ש** as a third kind of sacrifice, for in the second part of each direction only the **כלל** and the **צועה** are repeated. This implies that two, and not three, distinct species of sacrifice are contemplated, in which case the 'ב' **ש** will be a subordinate kind of **כלל**. Robertson Smith regards it as an ordinary sacrifice accompanying a **כלל**, *Rel. of Sem.* 219 n. It must remain uncertain what exactly the 'ב' **ש** was. The word **שלם** is of course the same as the Hebr. for *thank- or peace-offering*. **כסף עשרת** For the order cf. 2 S. 24 24. Neh. 5 15. 1 Ch. 22 13; **כסף** is in apposition to **שקלים** understood, cf. Gen. 20 16. 37 28 &c., and nominative to **יבן** which must be supplied before **לכהנם**; see Driver *Tenses* § 192 (1), König *Syntax* § 314 h. The money payments to the priests may be illustrated by CIL vi 820 pro sanguine . . et corium . . si holocaustum **XX**. **פן עלת פן** lit. *over, here over and above, besides*; similarly perhaps Ex. 20 3 **פני**. **שאר משקל ש' מ'** lit. *flesh, a weight of 300 (shekels)*; see Driver l. c.; **משקל** is in apposition to **שאר**, and prob. in the constr. state, as in 1 Ch. 21 25 **משקל שש מאות**; for **שקלים** understood after **משקל** cf. Num. 7 13 ff. The restoration is based on l. 6, the amount for an ox would be double of that for a calf. For **שאר** = Hebr. **בשר** see 3 4 n.

L. 4. **קצרת ויצלת** 43 8 evidently certain parts of the victim assigned to the worshipper, as the **שאר** was to the priests. The practice is illustrated by Lev. 7 15-19. 19 6 &c., and by a Gk. inscr. from Miletus (end of the fourth cent. B. C.) **λαμβάνειν δὲ τὰ δέρματα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα γέρεα ἣν ἐν θύηται, λάψεται γλωσσαν, ἐσφύν, δασέαν, ὠρήν κ.τ.λ.** Michel 726. The meaning of **קצרת ויצלת** is unknown. **קצרת** has been rendered *cuttings, prosecta*, from **קצר** *cut*; **יצלת** may be connected with the root **צץ**, and the Hebr. **צצילות** *joint*s. The breast and right shoulder were the perquisites of the priests in the Levitical law, Lev. 7 31 f. **וכן** ll. 6. 8. 10 f. 43 4 bis. 5. Here we have an instance of the waw conversive in Phoen. It is used with the perfect to introduce the predicate, as it is in Hebr. (Driver *Tenses* §§ 122. 123 a), i. when the subject follows the verb and intervenes between it and the clause introduced by **ל** (**לבעל הובח**); if the subject does not intervene the simple imperfect occurs, **לם** ll. 3. 7. **יבן לכהנם** 13. 15: ii. when the subject precedes the verb, the sentence having commenced with the *casus pendens*, l. 18 **ונתן . . . כל משאת אש**. 43 11. l. 20 **ונענש אש . . . כל כהן אש**. So far as is known at present, the idiom is found only in the small group of related inscr., 42. 43 and

CIS i 170 (rest.). The sister idiom, the imperfect with waw conversive, has not been discovered in Phoenician; 5 ויספננם 19 cannot safely be taken as an instance. The normal tense for continuing a narrative of finished acts is the perf. with weak waw, e.g. יתן ויטנא 13 2 &c. פעל וחרש 38 1. 46 1; and this construction occurs where in Hebr. the impf. with strong waw would be natural, e.g. 3 8. 5 16. 17 וישבני . . . בנן. 23 5 ופקר 29 13. 14. 33 3. The material is very limited both in extent and character, but, so far as it goes, it suggests the conclusion that the waw conversive was not used in ordinary Phoen. speech and writing. Yet it was not entirely unknown, and the few instances of its occurrence with the perf., preserved in the Carthaginian dialect, are perhaps survivals of what was once more common. The later biblical and post-biblical Hebr. shows that there was a tendency to drop the use of the waw conv., and that at last it was abandoned altogether. The same thing may have happened in Phoen., though it is not likely that at any period the idiom reached such a full development in Phoen. as in Hebrew.

הערת 43 2 f., i.e. הערת. In Hebr. עור is mas. with a fem. ending in the plur. The עור העלה is given to the priests in Lev. 7 8; in the case of the sin-offering it was burned, Ex. 29 14. Lev. 8 17. Num. 19 5.

שלבם In 43 4 and CIS i 170 2, אשלבם, ? *fatty parts*, cf. מַעֲלָבָה (only in the glossaries) *the fat of the hinder parts of birds*. In 1 K. 7 28 f. שְׁלָבִים may = *cross-bars, ribs*; the exact meaning is obscure.

הפעמם CIS i 170 2; see 3 4 n. אחרי prob. = Hebr. אחריה; see 10 9 n. בעל הזבח 43 2 f., lit. *owner of the sacrifice*; for בעל as a noun of relation cf. 45 9 חרש, and in Hebr. Gen. 37 19 החלמות ב' 2 K. 1 8. Gen. 14 13 ברית בעלי ברית 2 S. 1 6 &c.

L. 5. קרני i.e. קרני(ו); see 37 6 n. למבמחסר lit. *yet in want*, cf. Dt. 15 8. Jud. 18 10 &c.; for the accumulated preps. see 16 2 n. (of time). This is simpler than to take לם as = לו, an isolated example of this form of the *sing. suff.* (König *Lehrg.* ii 446 n. 2).

באטומטא is obviously a foreign word, Gk. or Berber. Its meaning is unknown. The Corp. suggests ἀτομητός for ἀτμητός *not castrated*.

איל Perhaps איל *hart* rather than איל *ram*, because the latter belongs to the class specified further on, l. 7. The sacrifice of wild animals is surprising, but it seems to be implied in this Table (p. 117). The restoration of the number is based on l. 3.

L. 6. שאר משקל See l. 3 n. For the form of the symbol for 100 see 40 1 n.

L. 7. יבל i.e. יבל *ram*; in the O.T. only of the ram's-horn trumpet

and of the 'year of the ram('s horn),' Ex. 19 13. Josh. 6 5. Lev. 25 13 &c. זר 43 7 a small coin, less than the quarter of a shekel l. 11. The Hebr. זר *border moulding* Ex. 25 11 ff., lit. 'that which presses, binds,' Aram. זמל *necklace*, זר *crown*, may possibly be connected; the √ זור = lit. *press down*.

L. 9. אמר *lamb*, Aram. אמר, Palm. אמריא (plur.) 147 ii a 41, Arab. إمر from the Aram., Fränkel *Ar. Fremdw.* 107 f. נדא = Hebr. נדי. צרב 43 5 = Aram. צרב *sheep*, Nöldeke *ZDMG* xl (1886) 737; cf. pr. n. צרבם CIS i 380 4. The context refers to the young of sheep and goats, so צרב is prob. the young of deer, איל l. 5. A gazelle could be sacrificed by heathen Arabs, but only as a poor substitute for a sheep; Wellhausen *Reste Ar. Heidenth.* 115.

L. 11. בצפר Cf. Lev. 1 14 העוף מן. 43 7 אננן אמ צין meaning very uncertain. אננן is rendered *enclosure*, cf. צן, جنة &c., √ ננן *surround, protect*; so *birds of enclosure* i. e. domestic birds. צין may = ציין *wing*, Jer. 48 9 (? text), Targ. ציין Dt. 14 9. 10. Ps. 139 9 &c., Sam. Targ. Gen. 15 9 ציין = גזול; so perhaps *birds of wing*, i. e. wild birds. According to Athenaeus ix 47 the quail was offered to the Tyrian Baal<sup>1</sup>. The Hebrews as a rule offered doves and pigeons for the עולה (Lev. 1 14 cf. Gen. 15 9 JE), and חמאת (Lev. 12 6. 8), or 'birds,' of a kind not specified (Vulg. *passeres*), for purification from leprosy (Lev. 14 4). חזת שצף Two species of sacrifice; but of what nature is unknown. שצף cannot be explained by Is. 54 8 (see Duham or Marti in loc.); possibly חזת may have been a sacrifice in connexion with auspices, חזה, חזות *vision*, cf. Is. 28 15. 18 (perhaps of a *vision* by necromancy). See Rob. Smith *Rel. of Sem.* 202.

L. 12. על צפר The repetition of צפר and the change of preposition are to be noted; contrast 43 7-8. Perhaps צפר here means some other kind of bird than צפר l. 11 or it may = צפיר *he-goat*, Ezr. 8 35. Dan. 8 5 &c.; or the words אמ צפר may be due to a sculptor's error. קדמת קדשת 43 9. 44 3 = Hebr. ראשית בכורים Lev. 2 12 f. Num. 18 12 and Dt. 18 4 &c. צר 43 9 = Hebr. צר *hunting* Gen. 10 9, *game* Gen. 25 28, or *food* Josh. 9 5. 14. Neh. 13 15. The latter may be intended here. זבה 43 9. זבה שמן, properly

<sup>1</sup> So far as date goes, there is no reason why the common domestic fowl should not have been sanctified at Carthage. It was first introduced into W. Asia by the Persians, too late to be included in the sacrificial lists of Lev. 1; but it may have reached N. Africa by the fourth or third cent. Egyptian wall-paintings represent only ducks and geese among domesticated poultry (Peters *New World* viii 36). צפר, in Phoen. 'birds for sacrifice,' has a wider sense than in Hebr. and Aram.; cf. דל צפר l. 15.

*slaughter*, has here the general sense of *offering*. For oil with the first-fruits see Lev. 2 14 ff.; in the Jewish system it was mingled with flour for the מנחה, but not offered separately, Lev. 2 4-6. [אגרת] Cf. 1 S. 2 36 לַאֲגֹרָת כֶּסֶף LXX ὀβολοῦ ἀργυρίου. The *agōrāh* (= מַעֵא Targ. 1 S. 2 36) was perhaps the same as the *gērah*, the 20th part of a shekel Ex. 30 13 &c., identified by Targ. and Talm. with the מַעֵא *obol*, ὀβολός LXX. לבאחד Cf. למבמחסר l. 5 n.

L. 13. יעמם 43 8, Nif. impf., see 5 6 n. אלם 43 8 i. e. לפני אלהים. For אלם see 33 6 n.

L. 14. בלל 44 2. 7 lit. *mixed* offering in connexion with the מנחה, so *cakes* or flour mixed with oil, as in the Hebr. מנחה, Ex. 29 2. Lev. 2 4. 7 10 &c. חלב . . חלב i. e. חֶלֶב . . חֶלֶב *milk . . fat*. Neither of these formed an element in the Hebr. meal-offering; the fat was sacrificed (Ex. 23 18 JE) and burned (1 S. 2 15 f. Lev. 3 3 ff. &c.); milk was not offered at all. Among the Arabs milk was poured as a libation: Wellhausen *supr.* 114; Rob. Smith *supr.* 203. In 43 10 only חלב occurs. אש אדם לזבח A striking case of similarity with Hebr. idiom, e. g. Hos. 9 13. Is. 10 32 &c.; Driver *Tenses* § 204. This construction, in which the inf. with ל forms the sole predicate, is freely used in later Hebr., e. g. *Aboth* 4 22 הילודים למות והמתים לדון; להחיות והחיים לדון; cf. the Syriac usage after לבב e. g. לבב לבב לבב לבב *they can give nothing*: Stade *Morg. Forsch.* 194; Nöldeke *Syr. Gr.* 216. במנחה 43 10 the ב as in בכלל l. 3, בצועות l. 4 &c.

L. 15. דל מקנא 43 6, cf. 45 2. 46 1; for דל see note above p. 117. מקנא is an accus. of limitation, *poor in respect of cattle*, like הַמְסִפֵּן הַרְיוּמָה Is. 40 20. קרוע בְּתִנְיָו 2 S. 15 32. After verbs of fullness and want the accus. is usual in Hebr.; Ewald *Synt.* §§ 281 b 2. 284 c. [מנם] From 43 6; see 5 add. note.

L. 16. The regulations here pass from individuals (ל. 14. אדם) to classes of men (ל. 16. כל אדם); hence it is prob. that the difficult words מורה ונו' are to be interpreted as collectives. מורה may be connected with the Hebr. אורה lit. *one arising* (ורה) *from the soil*, so *native*, 'a free tribesman,' here a *clan*, *society of freemen*, cf. 55 4, where והברנם המזבה is to be read 'וח' המורה, and 59 A 1 אש בנא . . המורה. 16. רב המורה. שפה belongs to the same root as the Hebr. משפחה, and may be rendered *family*. מרוח אלם Prob. a *festal gathering in honour of the gods*, θίασος; cf. the Athenian sacred *symposia*. The רוח apparently means *cry aloud*, and the noun מְרוּחַ is used in Hebr. of noisy revelry (Am. 6 7) or grief (Jer. 16 5, LXX θίασον), and in Rabbinic of a banquet,



## NORTH AFRICA

43. Carthage. CIS i 167. iv-iii cent. B.C. Brit. Mus., Semitic Room no. 490.

- 1 בעת המשאתת אש טנא [האשם אש על המשאתת]
- 2 [באלף כללם אם צועת וכן הע]רת לכהנם ותברת לבעל  
הזבח . . . . .
- 3 [בעגל כללם אם צועת וכן ה]ערת לכהנם ותברת לבעל הזבח  
. . . . . א
- 4 [ביבל אם בעז כללם אם] צועת וכן ערת העזם לכהנם וכן האשל]בם  
והפעמם].
- 5 [באמר אם בגרא אם ב]צרב איל כללם אם צועת וכן הערת  
לכה[נם]
- 6 [בכל זבח אש יזב]ח דל מקנא בל יכן לכהן מגם
- 7 [בצפר אגנן אם] בצין כסף זר ו על אחד
- 8 [בכל צועת א]ש יעמם בנת אלם כן לכהן קצרת ו[יצלת . . . . .
- 9 [על כל קדמת] קדשת ועל זבח צד ועל זבח שמן . . . . .
- 10 [על בלל ו]על חלב ועל זבח במנחת ועל [כל זבח אש אדם  
לזבח . . . . .
- 11 [כל משאת אש] איבל שת בפס ז ונתן]. . . . .

Tariff of payments erected by [the overseers of payments].

<sup>2</sup> [For an ox, whole-offerings or prayer-offering (?), the skin shall go] to the priests, but the ? shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice.

<sup>3</sup> [For a calf, whole-offerings or prayer-offering (?), the skin shall go] to the priests, but the ? shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice. . . . .

<sup>4</sup> [For a ram or for a goat, whole-offerings or] prayer-

offering (?), the skin of the goats shall go to the priests, but the ? [and the feet] shall go . . . . .

<sup>5</sup> [For a lamb or for a kid or for] the young (?) of a hart, whole-offerings or prayer-offering (?), the skin shall go to the pries[ts].

<sup>6</sup> [For every sacrifice which one may sacrifi]ce who is poor in cattle, nothing of them shall go to the priest.

<sup>7</sup> [For a bird, a domestic (?) or] for a wild (?) one, 2 silver *zars* for each.

<sup>8</sup> [For every prayer-offering (?) wh]ich is carried before the gods there goes to the priest the ? and [the ? . . . .

<sup>9</sup> [For all] sacred [first-fruits], and for a sacrifice of game (?) and for a sacrifice of oil . . . .

<sup>10</sup> [For a cake and] for milk and for a sacrifice for a meal-offering, and for [every sacrifice which a man is disposed to sacrifice . . . .

<sup>11</sup> [Every payment which] is not set down on this table shall be give[n . . . .

The lacunae are supplied from 42, which this inscr. closely resembles. An excellent facsimile is given by Ball, *Light from the East*, opp. p. 250.

L. 1. See 42 1.

L. 2. See 42 3 f. In contrast to 42 the שלם כלל is not mentioned here; and, instead of a money payment, the skin, which in 42 goes to the worshipper, is assigned to the priests, cf. Lev. 7 8. תברת l. 3 some part of the victim, ? *cuttings*, cf. the Arab. قَبَّرَ cut up, بَرَّ cut out.

L. 3. See 42 5 f.

L. 4. See 42 7 f. צועת 42 2. וכן 42 4. So אשלכם

CIS i 170 2; cf. 42 4. כלל Plur.; in 42 always כלל.

L. 5. See 42 9 f.

L. 6. See 42 15.

L. 7. See 42 11. כסף In apposition to זר (42 7), cf. I Ch. 22 13 זהב כברים מאה אלף; see 42 3 n.

L. 8. See 42 13. בנת An error for פנת כן For the usual וכן or יכן קצרת 42 4.

L. 9. See 42 12.

L. 10. See 42 14. על זבח במנחת An abbreviated form of אש אדם לזבח במנחת.

L. 11. See 42 18.



## 44. Carthage. CIS i 166. iv-iii cent. B. C.

1	ים הארבעי . . . . .	1
2	שח פר יא הקדש [בלל]	2
3	הקדש בחדרת ולחם קט[רת].	3
4	הקדשת יבן הלחם הא ורב	4
5	ותין יא לבן לקחת תשקד	5
6	וקטרת לבנת דקת שבע כמ	6
7	ים החמשי [בלל] וקדמת	7
8	לשת עלת החדרת נפת ע	8
9	בנמ מאתמ וכמ	9
10	ט חמשת . . . . .	10
1		The fourth day.
2	[cak]es	plants of fair fruit, the sacred . .
3	first-fruits	the sacred, in the chamber, and bread, inc[ense] . . . . .
4	veil (?) upon (?)	the sacred, that bread shall be, and . . . . .
5	which is fair and rich	and figs, fair (and) white, thou shalt be careful to fetch . . .
6	fine linen and a covering be[low ?]	and incense, fine frankincense, seven . . . . .
7	cakes and first-fruits.	The fifth day.
8		to set upon (?) the chamber, honey (?) . . . . .
9		? two hundred, and . . . . .
10		. . . five . . . . .

An obscure and fragmentary list of religious offerings for the days of the week, perhaps during the spring festival (קדמת &c.). It may be compared with the sacrificial calendar from Cos, M. 716-718 (iii cent. B.C.); see Hicks *Journ. Hell. St.* ix (1888) 323 ff.

L. 1. ים הארבעי Cf. Hebr. יום הששי Gen. 1 31; Driver *Tenses* § 209.

L. 2. בלל See 42 14 n. שח Prob. = Hebr. שיח *shrub* Gen.

2 5 &c. פֶּרִי = פֶּרִי 5 12; cf. Lev. 23 40. יֵא l. 5 = Aram. יֵא fitting, fair, Targ. Gen. 39 6 פְּהִינֹאָה. Pesh. Ps. 33 1 גִּלְגִּל = גִּלְגִּל. In Jer. 10 7 יֵאָתָה לֵא is an Aramaism. הקרש l. 3. הקרשת l. 4. These forms can hardly be verbs in (H)ifil, for the (H)if. of קרש in Phoen. is יקרש 28 4. They must be adjs. with the art.; but their construction is not apparent.

L. 3. קרמת See 42 12 n. חדרת l. 8 the chamber, i.e. of the temple, like the Hebr. רביר הקרשים, קרש הקרשים; cf. 47 לרבת לבעלת החדרת and CIS i 124 חדר a sepulchral chamber. The Hebr. חדר has neither of these special meanings. ולחם קטרת Either ἀσυνδέτως, bread (and) incense, or bread of incense (Corp.), incense in the form of a wafer. קטרת lit. smoke of offerings made by fire, then the incense-offering (Ex. 30 8), and then, as here, the material used in this offering (Lev. 10 1 &c.). The word occurs again in CIS i 334 מכר אקטרת the seller of incense. Various substances used for incense are mentioned in Sabaeen inscr.; see Mordtmann u. Müller *Sab. Inscr.* 78. 81 f.

L. 4. סוית Meaning uncertain; סוית? curtain, veil = Hebr. מִסְכָּה Ex. 34 34 P. עלת Perhaps prep. upon l. 8. The rendering of the Corp. upper chamber, i.e. עלת (Dan. 6 11) = עלת, is not probable. הקרשת l. 2 n. 42 12 n. The adj. here is fem., sing. or plur.

L. 5. מה fat, מחה, whence Hebr. מֶמֶס (plur. only) Is. 5 17. Ps. 66 15. In Talm. מִיחָא is used figuratively of choice flour. תין Perhaps = Arab. تين, Hebr. תֵּינָה. White figs are mentioned in Jer. Talm. *Terumoth* 43 a תאינים שחורות. לקחת תשקר For this use of the inf. with ל cf. Is. 5 2 ויקו לעשות; Driver *Tenses* § 207. The inf. of לקח takes the same form in Phoen. as in Hebr.; for other parts of the vb. cf. 20 B 7 לקח. 42 20 יקח שקר lit. watch, be wakeful, Jer. 1 12. 31 27 &c.

L. 6. בוין byssus, fine Egyptian linen, written plene because a foreign word. In Hebr. the word is met with only in late literature; its origin is uncertain. מכסה Acc. to Corp. = מכסה (cf. מקנה = מקנה 42 15) covering; cf. كِسْوَةٌ the covering of the Ka'aba at Mekka. תח Possibly to be completed [תח] לבנת λίβανος, so called from its white appearance. For דקת cf. Lev. 16 12 דקה סמים דקה. כמ is restored by Corp. כמרם priests, 55 7 and (Aram.) 64 1. 69 23 (rest.).

L. 8. לשת i.e. לְשִׁית. The significance of the prep. עלת is not clear in this context. נפת? = Hebr. נִפְתָּה Pr. 24 13.

L. 9. בנם may mean among them 5 9; '200 sons' for sacrifice (!) could not be mentioned in this way.

45. Carthage. iii-ii cent. B.C. Discovered 1898. Carthage Mus.

1 לרבת לעשתרת ולתנת בלבנן מקדשם חדשם כם כל אש בנ  
 2 והחרטית אש במקדשם אל ודל מלכת החרין ודל כל מנם א]ש  
 3 ודל כל מנם במאזנם המקדשם אל ודל העלם אש על פן המקדשם  
 אל  
 4 אש יבא עלת החרו שמקדשם אל כמש חגר השמרת להר הא  
 5 אדרנם ועד צערנם למבירה חיר שפטם עבדמלקרת ו  
 6 י שפטם שפט וחנא בן ארנבעל ורב עבדמלקרת בן מגן ב]ן  
 7 תן בן עברלאי בן בעליתן בן אשמנפלים ועברארש בן עבד  
 8 ון עבדמלקרת הרב ורב כהנם עזרבעל בן שפט רב כה]נים  
 9 לשלך רב כהנם ובעל חרש עכברם הפלם בן חנבעל

To the ladies 'Ashtart and Tanith in Lebanon. New sanctuaries as well as all that . . . built (?) . . . <sup>2</sup> and the sculptures which are in these sanctuaries and ? the gold-work, and ? all vessels wh[ich ? <sup>3</sup> and ? all vessels in ? these sanctuaries, and ? the ? which is over against [these] sanctuaries . . . <sup>4</sup> which approaches the ? of these sanctuaries; as also the fence enclosing (?) that hill . . . <sup>5</sup> the greatest of them even to the least of them: from the month Hiyar, the suffetes (being) 'Abd-melqarth and . . . <sup>6</sup> the suffetes (being) Shafaṭ and Hanno, son of Idniba'al, and the Rab (being) 'Abd-melqarth, son of Magon, so[n . . . Ba'al-ya]thon, son of 'Abd-lai, son of Ba'al-yathon, son of Eshmunpilles, and 'Abd-arish, son of 'Abd- . . . [so]n<sup>8</sup> of 'Abd-melqarth the Rab, and the chief-priest (being) 'Azru-ba'al, son of Shafaṭ the chief-prie[st . . . Ba'al]-<sup>9</sup>shillek the chief-priest; and the master-workman (was) 'Akboram the surveyor, son of Hanni-ba'al.

L. 1. לרבת Sing. or plur.; see 3 2 n. . לעשתרת ולתנת The combination is remarkable. Cl.-Gan., *Rec.* iii 186 ff., considers that

it points to a mythological connexion between the two goddesses, borrowed from the cult of Demeter and Persephone. It is possible that Tanith was associated with this cult (47. 48); but 'Ashtart, usually identified with Aphrodite (4 1 n.), seems at first sight foreign to it. 'Ashtart, however, absorbed a great variety of local types, and at Carthage she may have assumed the characteristics of Demeter. In later times a temple dedicated to Ceres and Proserpine appears to have stood on or near the site of these sanctuaries<sup>1</sup>; but this later dedication hardly proves Cl.-Ganneau's view, for it may have been due merely to a reminiscence of the earlier sanctuaries of 'Ashtart and Tanith.

בלבן Not the Lebanon in Syria, but an eminence in Carthage, prob. so called from the *white* colour of its stone (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 21); cf. the name Λεῦκος given to the city of Τύνης (Tunis) in Diod. xx 8. For the place-name with ב see 24 2 n. כם כל אש

Prob. = כמאש (כמו אש) + כל, cf. כמש l. 4 and 3 7 n. בן either בן they built or בן in them. Cl.-Gan., l. c. § 2, adopting the latter, continues with פעל עם קרת הרישת, as 38 1.

L. 2. הרטית Prob. plur., הרטית or הרטית; √ הרט = *cut, carve*, Aram. ܚܪܬܐ, Arab. حَرَطَ *peel off*, in modern usage *turn wood*. Here prob. the meaning is *sculptures*. אל See 5 22 n. دل Meaning uncertain.

Cl.-Gan.'s translation *conjunctim, item, lit. depending*, rests upon a questionable application of the √ דלה, Arab. نَلَّ *hang down*. Lidzb., l. c., renders with more probability *that which is damaged*, lit. *weak, poor*, supposing that repairs as well as new buildings are commemorated (38. 46); this may be the meaning of דל פעמם 46 1 *ruinous as to its steps*; elsewhere, however, in Phoen. (42 15) and in Hebr. דל is used of persons. מלכת For מלאכת 20 A 6. חרץ Perhaps *trench*, cf. חרוץ Dan. 9 25 (? text) and חריץ in Mishnah; so Halévy *Rev. Sémi.* ix (1901) 79 ff. מנם See 4 5 n.

L. 3. מאונם Meaning unknown; *armoury* lit. *place of weapons* has been proposed (*Rép.* i 16), connecting the word with און (√ און) *implements* Dt. 23 14; cf. Targ. אונא *arms* in בית אונין *quiver* Is. 49 2, און *weapons* (√ און). But the construction is not evident, and נם may be the suff. with מאן (? sense), or a ptc. plur. העלם Some fixed object *in front of* על פן (3 5) the temple; Cl.-Gan. renders *steps*, cf. עולות Eze. 40 26.

L. 4. יבא Sing. or plur. If העלם is the subj., יבא עלת may mean *comes (up) upon, ascends*, cf. Ex. 18 23. 2 Ch. 20 24. החרו Possibly connected with חרו *string together*, חרוים *strings of beads* Cant. 1 10; here perhaps *the circle round the precincts*; so Halévy. כמש =

<sup>1</sup> Delattre *Bull. et mém. soc. nat. des antiquaires de France* lviii (1899) 1-26.

ש כמאש l. 1, as in 10 9 introducing a further item of the dedication. In this inscr. ש is the relat. with the noun, אש with the predicate; חנר therefore must be a noun, not a verb. It means perhaps *enclosure*; the  $\sqrt{\text{חנר}}$  = *restrain, gird*, in Arab. حَجَرَ *the wall enclosing the Ka'aba*, Assyr. *igaru* 'wall.' שמרת Perhaps *watch-tower, or defence*. Lidzb. suggests a connexion with שְׁמִיר, שִׁמְרָה *thorn-hedge*, in which case חנר השמרת will be the *fence hedging* the sanctuaries. לבנן i. e. להר הא l. 1. Cf. 2 Ch. 33 14. After הא Halévy proposes [יקדש מ] *they have consecrated*.

L. 5. אדרנם ועד צערנם Cf. Jer. 14 3. Jon. 3 5. The suffixes refer to the temples and their furnishings. חיר למבירה *during or from the month Hiyar*, cf. למבחיי 16 2. למבחסר 42 5 (Lidzb.); for חיר see 27 1 n. Cl.-Gan. is prob. right in explaining the double mention of the reigning suffetes as an indication of a twofold date: 'when 'Abd-melqarth and . . . were suffetes [the work was begun, and lasted to the month . . .] when Shafaṭ and Ḥanno were suffetes.' The suffetes (42 1 n.) are mentioned without full genealogies, as in 40 2 n. CIS i 135 6. 179 6 f.

L. 6. The י at the beginning is prob. the last letter of the name of the month, the missing sentence prob. being in the same form as the preceding one. ארנבעל is transcribed Idnibal in 60. The constitutional position of the רב at Carthage is unknown. In 42 1 (restored from CIS i 170) ר i. e. רִבְנִי is merely a title of the suffete; but in this inscr. רב, who comes after the שפטם, is a distinct official; the same must be the case with הרב in CIS i 229-235 &c. An inscr. from Tyre, lately discovered, reads עברבעל רב מאת (Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 294 ff.); but whatever this may have meant at Tyre, it does not imply that the Rab was president of the 100 at Carthage (42 1 n. (4)). May the title have been given to an ex-suffete when his term of office was over, or to the members of the executive cabinet of 30 chosen from the 100? In 7 1 f. (Sidon). 29 2. 6 (Cyprus). 38 4 (Gaulus) the office was that of a district governor.

L. 7. עברלאי In form resembles the Aram. אמת-אלהי = *אמתלאי* the mother of Abraham, *Baba Bathra* 91 a; but the Western and Punic עברלאי cannot = *עבר-אלהי* (Lidzb.). It may be a Numidian or Berber name. ועברארש Apparently another official; his title and the name of his colleague prob. stood at the end of l. 6. עברארש occurs in CIS i 537. 805, cf. 52 2 עברארש. The prefixed עבר seems to imply that ארש was a deity, ? Ἀρῆς; for the name ארש see 21 1.

L. 8. רב כהנם Cf. 35 2 (Piraeus); evidently the office was hereditary.

L. 9. ובעל הרש Prob. *master of the workmen* (coll.), *contractor*.

As in the foregoing lines the office precedes the name. With בעל cf. הזבח בעל הזבח 42 4; חרש 20 A 13. עכבר i. e. *mouse*, cf. עכבר CIS i 178. 239 &c. Gen. 36 38 &c. הפלם i. e. הפלם lit. *leveller*, i. e. *surveyor, architect*; cf. Lat. *librator*. The פלם=lit. weigh (piel); so אשמנפלם l. 7 *whom E. weighs*; in the O. T. of *levelling* a path, e. g. Ps. 78 50. Is. 26 7.

46. Carthage. CIS i 175. Brit. Mus., Semitic Room.

חדש ופעל אית המטבח ז דל פעמם עשרת האשם אש על המקדשם  
 אש כן בשת ש . . . .  
 גרסכן וגרעשתרת בן יחנבעל בן עזרבעל בן שפט ובדעשתרת בן . . . .

The Decemvirs in charge of the sanctuaries renovated and made this slaughter-house (?) ? steps: which was in the year of the s[uffetes . . .] Ger-sakun and Ger-'ashtart, son of Yaḥon-ba'al, son of 'Azru-ba'al, son of Shafaṭ, and Bod-'ashtart, son . . . .

L. 1. חדש ופעל Plur.; cf. 38 1. 23 2. מטבח Possibly the place where animals were slaughtered before they were sacrificed; cf. the title הטבח CIS i 237 ff. 376. The word occurs in Is. 14 21 מטבח . . . פעמם דל Possibly *ruinous as to (its) steps*; see 45 2 n. The words might mean *twice* (i. e. פפעמים) *ruined*, G. Hoffmann quot. by Lidzb. *Eph.* i 22 n. 'א על המ' Cf. 55 5. 42 1. אש כן בשת ש]פטם Cf. 40 2. The name of the first of the suffetes is lost; the second is Ger-'ashtart, and apparently Bod-'ashtart is the third (Corp.). But this would be very unusual (42 1 n. (1)); possibly Bod-'ashtart had a different title, given at the end of the line.

L. 2. גרסכן See 17 2 n. 34 n. יחנבעל Again Euting *Carth.* 230 5 f. &c.; usually חנבעל; cf. עזרבעל and יעזרבל, in Hebr. פדיה and יפדיה. בדעשתרת See 6 3 n.

47. Carthage. CIS i 177.

לרבת לאמא ולרבת לבעלת החררת אש פעל חמלר בן בעלחנא

To the lady Amma, and to the lady, mistress of the inner shrine (?): which HMLR, son of Ba'al-ḥanno, made.

The mention of two goddesses is significant; see 45 1 n. אַמַּא is evidently the title of a deity worshipped as *Mother*, such as Rhea or Demeter; cf. Hesychius *Etyim. magn.* s.v. Ἀμμιάς . . . καὶ ἡ μήτηρ, καὶ ἡ Πεία, καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ. Demeter, rather than Rhea, is prob. to be looked for here, for the worship of Demeter and Persephone was introduced μετὰ πάσης σεμνότητος into Carthage from Sicily as a reparation for the pillaging of their temple by Himilco during his disastrous campaign in 396 B.C.; Diodorus xiv 77. The Carthaginians would naturally adapt the new worship to their own religion, and it seems likely that the Carth. goddess Tanith (48 1) assumed some of the attributes of Demeter; at any rate she is called *mother* in CIS i 195 לאם לרבת לתנת and 380 לאם לרבת. Perhaps this accounts for the head of Demeter (= Tanith?) figured on the coins of Carthage; see Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* i 149 ff. For the form אַמַּא cf. Plaut. *Poen.* iii 22 *amma* = אַמַּא; in 14 3 'Ashtart (?) is called *mother*. If אַמַּא is Demeter, the other goddess is prob. Persephone, who was certainly worshipped at Carthage; a characteristic figure of her surmounts the inscr. CIS i 176, though she is not mentioned by name. The exact meaning of בעלת החדרת is obscure (see 44 3 n.), possibly *mistress of the inner shrine*; cf. לאלן אקדש to the god of the sanctuary Costa 31 (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 39). It is prob. that חדרת corresponds to the Gk. μέγαρον *adytum* = מערה *cave*; the 'dark inner chamber, found in many temples both among the Semites and in Greece, was almost certainly in its origin a *cavé*' (Rob. Smith *R. of S.* 183); and in the worship of Demeter and Persephone the μέγαρον had a special significance. The title מערת given to Şed-tanith in CIS i 249 עבר בת צדחתת מערת, though it is generally explained as a topographical title *Megarensis*, may well denote the goddess of the sacred cave. For בעלת see 3 2 n. חמלר Cf. חמלרת CIS i 597. 787, for חמלך, חמלכת = חמ'מ' = 40 2 n.; either an error or a peculiarity of spelling. בעלחנא See 39 2 n.

48. Carthage. CIS i 181. Brit. Mus., Semitic Room.

- 1 לרבת לתנת פן בעל
- 2 ולאדן לבעל חמן אש
- 3 נדר בדמלקרת בן עבר
- 4 מלקרת בן חמלכת כ שם
- 5 ע קלא 'ברכא

To the lady Tanith, Face of Ba'al, and to the lord Ba'al-ḥammān: which Bod-melqarth, son of 'Abd-melqarth, son of Ḥamilkath, vowed, because he heard his voice: may he bless him!

More than 2000 votive tablets of this character have been unearthed on the site of ancient Carthage, in the neighbourhood of what was once the citadel (Byrsa). The stones are often inscribed with symbols of the two deities, and the formula of dedication is in nearly all cases the same. Judging from the style of the letters, the earliest tablets belong to the same period as the sacrificial tariffs 42-44; the latest of them must have been inscribed before the destruction of Carthage by the Romans in 146 B. C. They cover, therefore, a period of about 200 years.

L. I. לרבת See 3 2 n.; in CIS i 401 ff. לארן (possibly by accident). תנת A female deity, as appears from the title אנת which is found occasionally (p. 131). The vast number of these tablets proves that her worship was popular, though not necessarily predominant, at Carthage; it is to be noted that she always takes precedence of Ba'al-ḥammān in the formula of dedication<sup>1</sup>; but we cannot say for certain that she was the chief deity of Carthage, the δαίμων Καρχηδονίων (Polyb. vii 9 2). The etymology of the name is unknown; prob. it is to be looked for in Libyan or N. African, rather than in Phoenician. Nor is the pronunciation certain; *Tanith* is on the whole most likely<sup>2</sup>, but it may have been *Tun(i)th* if Τύνης, the town near Carthage, was named after the goddess. Outside Carthage and its dependencies in N. Africa she is not found; the Sidonian called עברתנת in an inscr. from Athens (CIS i 116) prob. had some connexion with Carthage. Tanith is never mentioned alone: in 45 1 בלבנן follows, elsewhere פן בעל. The latter title is generally taken to mean *the face of Ba'al*, a mythic phrase perhaps denoting the self-revelation of the divine nature, cf. פני Ex. 33 14 and מלאך פניו Is. 63 9; the *manifestation* of Ba'al, we may suppose, came to be regarded as a distinct deity, cf. שם בעל 5 18 n. On the other hand, Rob. Smith explains *Tanith with the Ba'al face*, i. e. the bearded, androgynous goddess, and quotes in support the title לארן beside לרבת noticed above (*R. of S.* 459). The combinations Milk-'ashtart, Eshmun-'ashtart, Sed-tanith may

<sup>1</sup> In several inscrs. from Cirta (Constantine), e. g. those given in Corp. pp. 296 and 365 and in Lidzb. *Eph.* i pp. 40 f., Ba'al-ḥammān comes before Tanith.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. TAINTIAA, said to have been found on a stone at Carthage, Corp. p. 288.



imply the same idea<sup>1</sup>. The character and attributes of Tanith are obscure. Some of the symbols on these tablets seem to connect her with 'Ashtart, the crescent surmounting the full moon (very common), the star, the dove, the dolphin. Two tablets (CIS i 398. 419) show the figure of a sheep, which was sacred to 'Ashtart. The commonest symbol of all, the triangle crowned by a circle with horns bent outwards, may belong either to Tanith or to Ba'al-hammān; Rob. Smith (l. c.) thinks that the horns are sheep-horns, pointing to 'Ashtart again<sup>2</sup>. We have seen that Tanith is occasionally called *Mother*, and that she was prob. assimilated to Demeter (47 n.); but Cl.-Ganneau seems to go too far when he alleges, on this ground, that the worship of Tanith was of foreign and Sicilian origin (*Ét.* i 149 ff.). Tanith, it is true, was rarely used in the composition of pr. names; 42 ז. צרתנתה CIS i 247-249. עברתנתה ib. 116 are almost all the instances; and she has not yet been found in Carth. names transcribed into Gk. and Lat.; but this does not necessarily imply that her cult was foreign. The evidence, so far as it goes, suggests that Tanith was a native, possibly a pre-Carthaginian, deity, who, in the process of religious syncretism, so characteristic of the Semitic genius, was identified with various goddesses according to circumstances, with 'Ashtart, with Demeter, and with Artemis (CIS i 116 עברתנתה = Ἀρτεμιδωρος, from Athens). After the overthrow of Carthage, the Romans introduced the worship of Juno Coelestis (Virgo Coelestis, Coelestis) into the ruined city; but we do not know that they intended thereby to identify Juno or Coelestis with Tanith<sup>3</sup>; see 4 i n.

L. 2. בעל חטן Prob. *the glowing B.*, see 37 4 n. In these inscr. he is always the πάρεδρος of Tanith.

L. 5. קלא יברכא For the suff. 3 sing. m. cf. 40 2 n.

<sup>1</sup> Meyer, *Ency. Bibl.* 3747, after Halévy, explains טן בעל as the name of a place, like טניאל in Gen. 32 32, 'TNT of Pne-ba'al,' and supports his view by CIS i 380 לראם לרבה טן בעל 'to the mother, the mistress of Pne-ba'al' (see p. 131). But the instance of טניאל seems to be too isolated to justify the inference, and analogy favours treating טן בעל as in appos. to לרבה, rather than as a genit. On the whole the first explanation given above is to be preferred provisionally.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sanchuniathon ap. Phil. Bybl. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 568 Κρόνη δὲ ἐγένοντο ἀπὸ Ἀστάρτης θυγατέρας ἐπὶ Τίτανιδες (? Τανιδίδες) ἢ Ἀρτέμιδες. The Persian or Babyl. Ἀναίτης mentioned by Strabo pp. 439. 456 (codd. Τανάιδος). 479 &c. ed. Müll., by Berosus *Fr. Hist. Gr.* ii 498, and other writers, was prob. the Babyl. Anatum rather than the Carth. Tanith.

<sup>3</sup> In CIL viii 999 *Dianae cael. aug.* the Virgo Coelestis is identified with Diana, cf. Tanith-Artemis; in iii 993 *Caelesti Augustae et Aesculapio Augusto et genio Carthaginis et genio Daciaram*, she is distinguished from the *genius* of Carthage, if that was Tanith.

## 49. Carthage. CIS i 269. Bibl. Nat., Paris.

- 1 לרבת לתנת פן בעל ולאדן  
 2 לבעל חמן אש נדר בעלה  
 3 נא אש צדן בר אדני בר  
 4 אשמניתן  
 5 עם קרתחדשת

Render ll. 2-5 'which Ba'al-ḥanno of Sidon, client of his lord, client of Eshmun-yathon, vowed. The people of Carthage.'

Twenty-four inscrs. of this type are given in the Corp., nos. 269-287. 288-293.

L. 2. בעלחנא As a rule the usual genealogy of the donor is not given in these inscrs., except in 271. '3f. '7. '87. '91, where the father is mentioned. It appears that among the Semites, as among the Greeks and Romans, a slave was not allowed to have a genealogy, e.g. CIS i 236 עבר פ' and בר חרי פ' בה *freed-man, -woman* in Nab. and Palm. inscr. (147 ii b 12; p. 250 n. 1), cf. עבר אין לו חיים Talm. B. *Qiddushin* 69 a; the same must have been the case with the 'dependent foreigner' (בר אדני) of these inscrs.; Lidzb. 133 f.

L. 3. אש צדן Not אש but the relat. אש, because in four inscrs. (273. '9. '80. '81) a woman dedicates the tablet. All the tablets of this group are offered by Sidonians, who prob. occupied a subordinate position in Carth. households. For בר see 6 2 n. אדני With suff. 3 sing. m.; in 276. 293 אדנם, which must be the honorific plur. (cf. אלם 33 6 n.), as only one 'lord' is mentioned.

L. 5. The expression 'people of Carthage,' occurring here without any verbal connexion, is to be accounted for by the full term לם לק' יעמם which is found elsewhere in this group, 270 ff. The meaning of the phrase is not certain, but it may be rendered 'let not the people of Carthage carry (it, i.e. the stone) away'—for building purposes. For the prohibitive לם cf. 5 21, and for יעמם *carry* cf. 5 6. Another explanation is suggested by Cl.-Gan., who renders ἀτελής i.e. 'free from public burdens,' cf. *immunis perpetuus* CIL viii 2714, taking יעמם as pass.; *Rec.* iii 2. This certainly suits such a case as 274 שפט אחרש אש צדן למיעמם בן שצפם i.e. 'Shafaṭ the artisan, the Sidonian, tax-free (?), the son of Shiṣifam.'

50. Carthage. iii-ii cent. B. C. Discovered 1899.

1 רבת חות אלת מלכת שיסכהא  
 2 אתך אנכי מצלה אית אמע[ש]תרת  
 3 ואית עמרת ואית כל אש לא כא  
 4 עלצא עלתי בכסף (אש) אברחת שלם  
 5 אם אית כל אדם אש עלץ עלתי  
 6 בר . ת הכסף ז כמ? ת יסך אעפרת

O ladies Hawwath, Elath, Milkath . . ! <sup>2</sup>I, Maṣliaḥ, bind Am-<sup>3</sup>ashtart and 'MRTH and all who belong to her; for <sup>4</sup>she exulted (?) over me in the matter of the money which I discharged (??) in full; <sup>5</sup>or every man who has exulted (?) over me <sup>6</sup>in . . . of this money, according to . . . the lead.

This inscr., found in the necropolis of Duimes at Carthage in 1899, is written on a small sheet of lead. It was intended, like the Gk. and Roman *tabellae devotionis*<sup>1</sup>, to be a missive to the gods of the underworld, and to act as a spell or imprecation against the writer's enemies. These *tabellae* were rolled up and dropped down a tube, which was used also for libations to the dii inferi, into the sepulchre below. See Berger *CR* (1899) 173. 179-186; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii 304-319; iv 87-97; Lidzb. *Eph.* i 26-34 (with facsimile); *Rép.* i no. 18. See also Deissmann *Bible Studies* 273 ff. for a Jewish-Greek specimen of the third cent. A. D.

L. 1. חות Cf. O. T. חַוָּה *Eve*, which according to Nöldeke and Wellhausen (see *Oxf. Hebr. Lex.* s. v.) meant originally *serpent*, cf. Arab. حَيَّة, a suitable name for the goddess of the underworld. אלת (see 80 3 n.) and מלכת (in pr. nn., e. g. המלכת, עברמ' &c.) may be the names of infernal deities, forming with חות a triad; so Cl.-Gan., *Rec.* iv 90, who compares the *triple* Hecate. Lidzb. takes אלת מלכת as epithets of חות, *goddess, queen*, and רבת as sing. שיסכהא After

<sup>1</sup> See Wünsch *Defixionum tabellae atticae* (1897) in CIA appendix, and Michel nos. 1319-1325. The foll. is a specimen: Φερένικος πρὸς τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν χθόνιον καὶ τὴν Ἐκάτην χθονίαν καταδέσθω Γαλήνην, ἥτις Φερένικαι, καταδέω πρὸς Ἑρμῆν χθονικὸν καὶ Ἐκάτην χθονίαν καταδέω καὶ ὡς οὗτος ὁ βόλυβδος ἀτιμος καὶ ψυχρός, οὕτω ἐκένος καὶ τὰ ἐκένου ἄτιμα καὶ ψυχρὰ ἔστω καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκένου ἀπερὶ ἐμὸ λέγοιεν καὶ βολευόιστο, Wünsch 107 = Michel 1324. Cf. Tacitus *Ann.* ii 69.

ש a noun ought to follow; so Cl.-Gan. takes יסך as = Hebr. יָסַךְ, (*this is that*) which is the libation, the dropping of the *tabella* into the grave being equivalent to a libation. The explanation is forced, but no better one has been suggested. The reading יסכרא (זכר = סכר), favoured by Lidzb., cannot be accepted.

L. 2. אתך Probably impf. 1 sing. from תכך, whence Heb. אָתָּךְ *oppression*, Aram. אֲתָכָא, Arab. نَكَدَ *chain, bond*, corresponding to the Gk. καταδέω *bind with magic*. מצלה Pr. n. as in CIS i 1171; in form either Hif. or Piel ptcp.

L. 3. עמרת Possibly the name of another woman beside Am-'ashtar (Berger, Lidzb.), though לא and עלצא in the foll. clauses are sing. Cl.-Gan. takes עמרת as an appellative, with some such meaning as ἐργαστήριον, as in the Gk. formula καταδῶ τὸν δέινα . . . καὶ τὸ ἐργαστήριον; but in this case we should expect the possessive suffix. כא = כי, as in the inscr. from Cirta, Costa 3 2 (Lidzb. p. 433) &c.; in NPun. כח and כע (Schröder p. 264 f.).

L. 4. עלצא Hebr. עלץ = *rejoice*; so here possibly *she exulted over me*, cf. Ps. 25 2 אל יעלצו אויבי לי. Or perhaps the meaning may be *attacked*, cf. Arab. علس iii *come to blows*. Lidzb. renders *tormented*, taking עלץ as = Hebr. אלץ Judg. 16 16, with ע for א as in NPun. בכסף So Cl.-Gan. In the inscr. אש is written over the line, prob. because it was accidentally left out after בכסף. The meaning *I have discharged* (אברחת Hif. pf. 1 sing. of ברח lit. *flee*) is conjectural, but not impossible<sup>1</sup>. Lidzb. reads בכספא ברחת צלמת *by her sorcery by the spirits of darkness*; כסף he supposes to = Hebr. קֶשֶׁף, and אש he takes up into l. 3. This is very improbable; the Phoen. ס = Hebr. ש not ש. Money matters are frequently the occasion for these imprecations in Gk. *tabellae*.

L. 5. אם or, cf. 5 7 n.

L. 6. The line should prob. begin with a noun + ב, בדרת?, following the construction ' עלצא עלתי ב' l. 4. It is not certain whether there was a letter between מ and ת; 42 17 might be read, at any rate כ according to is certain. יסך האעפרת the 'libation' of the lead (Cl.-Gan.). 'א = ה art.; the change is prob. due to the ע following. Lidzb. suggests כמ[א] תִּיִסָּף א' *as the lead is moulded*; but the Nif. form is improbable.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Talm. Jer. *Git.* V 47 אדם מבריה עצמו מן אדם מבריה עצמו מן השבועה ואין אדם מבריה עצמו מן אדם מבריה עצמו מן השבועה 'a man tries to discharge himself from an oath, but he does not try to discharge himself from a payment'; Levy *NHWB* s.v. ברוז.

51. Cirta (*Constantine*). Costa 8.

- 1 לארן לבעל חמן ולרבת לתנת פען בעל  
 2 נדר אש נדר חמלכת בן בעשתרת  
 3 בן נבל מלך אדם בשערם בתם  
 4 כ שמע קלא ברכיא

The inscriptions from Cirta, now Constantine, date from the period before the Roman occupation. The writing belongs to the stage of transition from the Punic to the Neo-Punic script, and many words begin to assume forms which are characteristic of the later language. Thus the quiescent letters come into use, but not to such an extent as in Neo-Punic, e. g. *פען בעל* for *פן ב' כ* = *כי* sometimes written *כא* or *כה*. A preference is shown for strong gutturals, e. g. *שמח* beside *שמע* and *בחרכא* for *ברכא*<sup>1</sup>. The form of the suff. 3 m. sing. is undecided, thus *מלכי* Costa 18 for *מלכא*, *קלא* for *קלא* for *ברכיא* for *ברכא* is written *בעש'*, and *תנת* sometimes *תינת* i. e. Tainith or Tênet. Specimens of these inscr. are given in the Corp. p. 365, by Berger *Actes du 11<sup>me</sup> congrès des Or.* (1897) § 4, 273-294, and by Lidzb. 433 f., *Eph.* i 38 ff. In general form they resemble the Carth. votive tablets, but differ from them mainly in two respects: the formula of dedication is not so stereotyped<sup>2</sup>, Ba'al-hammān generally takes precedence of Tanith, and often is named alone; notices of time and place are introduced more frequently.

L. 3. *מלך אדם* is evidently the title of a petty king or local chieftain; cf. Costa 100 *מלך אדם בשערם*. The year of the king's reign is sometimes given, e. g. Costa 18 . . . *מתנבעל*. Villefosse 69 *עזרבעל* . . . *בחמשם [שנת]* למלכי 98; *בחמש למלכי* *ברעשתרת* . . . [א]רבעת ארבעם שח למלכי *מלך אדם* is the title, not of the king, but of the deity, e. g. Costa 93 *לארן לבעל*; *לא' לב' ח' ולח' פן בעל מלך אדם בשרם בתם* Villefosse 69; *חמן מלך אדם*; cf. Altiburur 2 (*JA* viii t. 9. 467) [א]ר[ם] *מלך אדם*. The meaning of *אדם* is obscure. It can hardly be 'lord,' a variant of *ארון*, because

<sup>1</sup> Costa 75 *קלא* *שמח* <sup>2</sup> *בחרכא* ושמח *קלא*

<sup>2</sup> Note the variations in Costa 31 *חמן בעל חמן* *אקוש בעל חמן* 16; *לארן לארן לבעל חמן* 16; *לארן לארן אקוש בעל חמן* 33; *לארן לבעל ארד ולרבת לחינת פן בעל* 22; *לארן לבעל ארן ולבעל חמן* 33 are not different deities, but divine names regarded as equivalents of *חמן*. Berger l. c. 282.

this word occurs previously in the dedication. Perhaps מ' אדם = מ' אֲדָמָה, 'king of the land'; so Lidzb. l. c. בשערם בתם is clearly the name of a place, perhaps of Cirta, as the inscrr. come from there, or of a city dependent on Cirta; besides the inscrr. quoted above, cf. Costa 17 בתם בשרם בתם. לבעל חמן בשרם בתם. A group of 13 inscrr. from Carthage, CIS i 294-306, contains the expression in various forms, בשערם בתם, בשערם, בשער, בשר, &c., used apparently of a native of Cirta (?) resident in Carthage, but what the words exactly mean is not known. The name שערם possibly = שְׁעָרִים *gates*<sup>1</sup>, and may refer to the ravines and passes of the hills in the neighbourhood of Cirta, which stood on the S. of the range which stretches across the country west of Carthage. This country was known to the Romans as the land of the Massylli, a Numidian kingdom, one of whose kings, Massinissa, figured prominently in the Second Punic War (218-201 B. C.), and died (148 B. C.) just before the destruction of Carthage. The seat of his kingdom was Cirta<sup>2</sup>; but that the מלך אדם of these inscrr. was a predecessor of his we cannot say.

L. 4. An interesting variation of the formula occurs in Costa 6 3 f. בים ברך כ שמע קלא ברכא בים נעם [אש] בים ברך i. e. 'because he heard his voice (and) blessed him on a good day, on the day when he blessed'; cf. Is. 49 8.

52. Thugga. Brit. Mus., Semitic Room nos. 494-495.

- 1 [מ]צבת . שאטבן . בן . יפמטת . בן . פלו
- 2 הבנם . שאבנם עבארש . בן . עבדשתרת
- 3 זמר . בן אטבן . בן . יפמטת . בן . פלו .
- 4 מנגי . בן . ורסכן
- 5 ובאורת . שלא . . . . . זוי . וטמן . ורסכן
- 6 החרשם . שיר . מסרל . . . ננבסן . ואנכן . . . אשי
- 7 הנסכם שברזל . שפט . בן . כלל . ופפי . בן . כבי

<sup>1</sup> In a Lat. inscr. of 48-49 A. D. lately excavated at Thugga the sentence occurs: huic senatus et plebs ob merita patris omnium *portarum* sententis ornam(enta) sufetis gratis decrevit. Possibly the Pun. for *portae* would be שערם, as in these inscrr. from Cirta. Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii 325 n.; Lidzb. *Eph.* i 52.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo p. 706 ed. Müll. *Cirta* τέ ἐστιν ἐν μεσογαίᾳ, τὸ Μασσανάσσου καὶ τῶν ἐξῆς διαδόχων βασιλείου, πόλις εὐερκεστάτη καὶ κατεσθνεασμένη καλῶς τοῖς πᾶσι, καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ Μικίψα κ.τ.λ. Polyb. xxxvii 3.

This inscr. is bilingual, Punic and Berber. It was written on the E. side of a mausoleum discovered among the ruins of the ancient city of Tucca (Thugga) in Eastern Numidia; see Schröd. 257. The Pun. characters closely resemble those of 38. The monument was built evidently for a Numidian person of consequence, and the inscr. gives the names of the masons, carpenters (?), and iron-founders who erected it.

L. 1. מעשן עצמם For the relat. in this connexion cf. מועשן שיחמלך *the urn of the bones of Y.* Lidzb. 435; and in Palm. cf. 141 קברא דנה די עתנתן. The use of the relat. ש in this inscr. is remarkable; it has quite taken the place of the genit.; see 39 2 n. אמבן This and the other pr. nn. in the inscr. (exc. in ll. 2. 7) are Berber; their pronunciation and significance are unknown.

L. 2. הבנם שאבנם *the builders of the stones*, cf. 20 A 4. Three chief masons are mentioned in ll. 2-4 and their assistants in l. 5. עבדעשתרת . . . עבארש for עבדשתרת (45 7).

L. 4. ורוסן The prefix as in 55 7.

L. 5. ובאורת Prob. for ובעזרת *and with the help of*, cf. אם האורת 14 3 n. (?) . . . שלא The first letter is prob. the relat.

L. 6. החרשם *the workmen*, cf. 20 A 13. שיר Possibly = שיער *of wood*; cf. St. Aug. on Ps. 123 'quod Punici dicunt *iar*, non lignum, sed quando dubitant'; see Schröd. 19.

L. 7. הנסכם שברול *the melters, founders, of iron*, cf. CIS i 67 4 f. נסך ברול, and ib. 327 ff. נסך החרץ בלל Pr. n., as in 55 5.

## PHOENICIAN: NEO-PUNIC

The Neo-Punic inscrr. belong to the period extending from the destruction of Carthage (146 B. C.) prob. down to the first cent. A. D. They come from ancient sites in Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli, countries which were formerly under the dominion of Carthage or in alliance with her. The change from the Pun. to the NPun. writing began, no doubt, in Carthage itself; it was accelerated when the Pun. characters were adopted by neighbouring populations of a different race (e. g. the Numidians). Outside N. Africa, NPun. inscrr. have been found in Sardinia (60) and Sicily (CIS i 134). In appearance they are very different from the Punic inscrr. of the preceding age; the character of the writing and language shows how great had been the break with the past. So long as Carthage stood, national instinct cherished the preservation of the Phoen. mother-tongue; but under the domination of Rome there was not the same interest in keeping up the old tradition. A more cursive form of writing was adopted for greater ease and rapidity. A few letters, like ט, ס, ע, פ, are little changed; ב, ד, כ are as a rule indistinguishable, being represented by mere strokes; כ, נ, ת are generally much alike; while א, ה, ח, ט, ש become greatly debased. Thus the reading of these inscrr. is often uncertain and difficult, and the difficulty is increased by the arbitrary and irregular nature of the spelling. The use of א and ע as vowel-letters is a characteristic feature, ע = *a*, and א often = *o* or *u*, e. g. שענאת 53 2; these letters often take the place of ה and ח, e. g. אקבר for הקבר, עוע for חוא 53 7. 3; while there seems to have been a preference for ע over א, e. g. עבן for אבן, עוע for עוא, טענע for טענא 58, but אשרם for עשרם ib. The only inscrr. which throws much light on contemporary history is that of Micipsa (57). How long the NPun. speech lasted is not exactly known; it was spoken by the common people in the time of St. Augustine (see Schröd. 36); but long before that Latin had taken its place for purposes of writing.



## TUNIS

53. Tunis. NPun. 123. CIL viii 793. Berlin.

*Dis manib[us] sacr[um]. Gadaeus Felicis fil[ius] pius  
vix[it] annis LXVI hic sit[us] est.*

*Secunda Secundi fil[ia] v[ixit] a[nnis]  
Saturio et Gadaeus patri piissimo posuerunt.*

- 1 גע[ר]עי בן פלכש בן פחלען אקילא  
2 עוה שענא[ת] ש[אש]ם ושאש ושהקנר  
3 ע בת שקנדע אש[ת]י עווע שענת  
4 פהלא לאבענהם מת קבר שעטרי וגרעי  
5 ע. תכבעדרמונ. אאפהעמתרעק. אאתם  
6 בתהנמפהלאננצתג עווע שת הנמ. ובדמשי  
7 הע.... ע.... שעטר..... אקבר בשלם

Gadai, son of Felix, son of FHL'N Aquila (?), <sup>2</sup> lived sixty and six years. And Secunda, daughter of Secunda, his wife, lived \_\_\_\_\_ years. <sup>4</sup> Saturio and Gadai made it, a grave for their father deceased (?). <sup>5</sup>...<sup>6</sup>... lived...<sup>7</sup>... Saturio... the grave, in peace.

L. 1. גע[ר]עי Restored from the Latin; cf. the Pun. name גדי CIS i 300 5. פלכש Again CIS i 151 (Sardinia, NPun.). Cl-Gan. reads פלכס, cf. 54 2 n.

L. 2. שענא[ת] = שנת plur.; see 6 1 n.

L. 3. עווע Pf. 3 sing. m. = חווא. The number of years is left a blank, intended to be filled up after the mother's death.

L. 4. פהלא = פעלו, Euting *ZDMG* xxix (1875) 235 f. The termination of the 3 plur., however, is not usually written, and the א may be the suff. 3 sing. m., cf. נדרא 55 I. פעלא 57 II. רפיא 40 2 &c.; the suffix will then anticipate the obj. קבר. לאבענהם is apparently a unique form for the usual לאבנם; cf. the 3 plur. m. suff. with the verb

in Mandaic, לנאטינהן; Nöldeke *Mand. Gr.* § 203. מן May be ptcp. of מוח, but the reading is perhaps מן.

L. 6. Euting l. c. reads at the beginning ביהנם פהלא *their house* (i.e. grave) *they made*; but הני' may be read ה.

## 54. Tunis. NPun. 66.

טנא אבן ז לאחתמילכת בת בעמלק 1  
 רת אשת יעצאתען בן שעלדיא בעל 2  
 המכתערם והוא שנת ששם וחמש 3  
 הנכת עבנת תחת אבן זת קברת 4

This stone is set up to Aḥath-milkath, daughter of Bo'-melqarth, wife of Y'S'TH'N, son of She'lidi, the citizen of Makta'rim: and she lived sixty and five years. She is laid to rest (?) ? under this stone she is buried (?).

This is one of four inscr., NPun. 66. 67. 68. 69, which follow the same type. They are given by Schröd. 271 f.

L. 1. טנא Qal ptcp. pass. אחתמילכת Again in NPun. 68 1; cf. the forms חתמלכת, חתמלכת, and see 40 2 n. בעמלקרת for ברמ'; so in Pun., Euting *Carth.* no. 15, cf. במ' NPun. 86 (Schröd. 267).

L. 2. יעצאתען Cf. יעסתען 55 4. According to the facsimile, the א here is not quite in the usual form; it may be כ, in which case יעצכתען will be the same name as יעשכתען in NPun. 68 and the bilingual 69 = IASVCTA in the Lat. transcription. שעלדיא So NPun. 69, transcribed SELIDIV (genit.); in 59 B 2 f. סלדיא. Cl.-Gan., *Rec.* iii 333 n., reads ש here and ז in זת l. 4 as ס. בעל המכתערם So in NPun. 67. 69. For בעל *citizen* see 10 3 n. Under the Romans Maktar (now מקטר) appears as Colonia (or civitas) Aelia Aurelia Mactaris or Mactaritanorum, cf. CIL viii 677 (as rest.) &c. Maktar is in the neighbourhood of Thugga (52), and has yielded a good many NPun. inscr., see 59, and Schröd. 65 f.

L. 3. חווא ונו' Cf. 53 2. 3.

L. 4. The words of this line are repeated with unimportant variations in each of the inscr. of this group. Their precise meaning is not clear. If the forms קברת . . . הנכת עבנת are verbs, they may be pass. perf. 2 sing. fem. It is possible that הנכת may be connected with

√ נוח *rest*, cf. נחת 16 2; the interchange of ח with כ, though questionable in Phoen. (38 6 n.), is less unlikely in NPun.; Schröd., 203, thus renders *thou art laid to rest* (הַפְּנִיתָ Hof.). עבנת in NPun. would naturally be a variation of אבנח; Schröd. suggests that it is a denominative from אבן, *thou art covered with a stone* (עֲבַנְתָּ Pual). Another interpretation (Ewald) is *thou art shrouded, covered*, cf. the Arab. خَبِنَ *fold or hide in a garment*, so خَبِنَتْهُ خَبُونٌ *he is dead*. This is very uncertain. קברת is explained as = קִבְרָתָּ; but in each case it is doubtful how the form is to be taken.      את אבן or את זת Contrast ז אבן l. i, and see p. 26, add. note ii.

## ALGIERS

55. *Altiburus* (Medéina). NPun. 124. Louvre.

לאדן בעל חמן באלתברש נדר אש נדרא עבדמלקרת כנש בן  
כנסאען . . .

מעריש בן תברסן ושטמן בן יכסלתן ומסהבא בן לילעי וגגם בן שסיעת ו  
מאנמע בן תברסן ויעצמוזגר בן סבג ואדנבעל בן ילל וגור בן כנורמן  
ומעריש

בן לבוא חעלגם בן שטוען ויעסתאן בן מסהבא וחברנם המזבח ו  
נסמרן בנאת ואיספן עלת מקדשם בירח כרר שת בלל הזבח בן  
. . גטען ב

שפטם מסהבא בן יזרם ועזרבעל בן ברך וס. לסלן בן זעזבל ומביו  
הצפ . אש

על כמר ניעטמן וכהן לבעל חמן ורוסן בן ארש כא שמע קלם ברכם  
אש העלא [כ]א עלת או מ[נ]חת במקדש  
אש [עבד]מלך [שם] נדרא

To the lord Ba'al-ḥammān in *Altiburus*: the vow made by 'Abd-melqarth KNŠ, son of KNS'N . . . <sup>2</sup>Ma'rish, son of TBRSN, and ŠT'MN, son of YKSLTHN, and MSHB', son of LIL'I, and GGM, son of ŠSI'TH, and <sup>3</sup>M'GM', son of TBRSN, and Y'ŠMZGR, son of SBG, and Idni-ba'al, son of YLL, and GZR, son of KNZRMN, and Ma'rish, <sup>4</sup>son of LBU', and Z'LGM, son of ŠT'W'N, and Y'ST'N, son of MSHB', and their colleagues—the [miz[r]ah]; and <sup>5</sup>NSMRN (?), son of 'TH (?), and 'ISFN were over the sanctuaries; in the month KRR, the year of Balal the sacrificer, son of . . . GṬ'N, under (?) <sup>6</sup>the suffetes MSHB', son of YZRM, and 'Azru-ba'al, son of Barik, and S. KSLN, son of Z'ZBL, and MBIU the augur, who <sup>7</sup>was over the priests of Neitman (?); and the priest of Ba'al-ḥammān (being) WRWSN, son of Arish; because he heard their voice and blessed them.

56. Jol (Shershel 1). NPun. 130. Louvre.

1 סכר . . א לאשת נעמתמהרת טנא ת המנצבת רש בעת  
 2 עבדאשמן בן עזרבעל לאמא לתעונת אחר אש פעל ציוען  
 3 להחיים האש שלא עזרבעל הילד שחרבעל בען שקלן  
 4 אמא לשרת שנת חמשם באיחשבר למהרת נכתבת  
 5 ונשמרא . אתמיקנא ואידרא לימ . אמ עשרת  
 6 כמשלם . . . . עלא הנשכבת בת שמנס שת

The memorial . . . to the woman . . . . The pillar was set up by Rosh, daughter <sup>2</sup> of 'Abd-eshmun, son of 'Azru-ba'al, to her mother T'WNTH, after that a monument (?) had been made <sup>3</sup> for the living by her husband 'Azru-ba'al . . . Shaḥar-ba'al, son of ŠQLN (?), <sup>4</sup> his (?) mother, to minister (?) fifty years in the island of Ḥashbar (?) . . . prescribed <sup>5</sup> and observed (?) . . . and the island of Dara (?) . . . ten (?) <sup>6</sup> . . . . she who is laid to rest, being eighty years old.

L. 1. סכר See 9 6 n. The word which follows may be ברא, but no suitable meaning can be found for it. Perhaps *the good*; the foll. letters may be read מהרת (Derenbourg, *Comptes Rendus* (1875) 259 ff., translates *intelligent*, lit. *quick*=מְהִירָה), מהבת, or מחת. טנא Qal pf. 3 sing. fem. אית=Cf. 57 3. 60 3 f. מנצבת Cf. CIS i 159 1 מצבת 15 1. רש Here fem.; in 41 2 the name is mas. בת=בעת.

L. 2. לאמא = לאַמָּה: פעל Qal pf. 3 sing. mas. ציוען Perhaps=צִיִּין 2 K. 23 17; but the reading is uncertain.

L. 3. להרבת = להרבת. 57 7 לָרַעַת = להרעת, cf. לַחַיִּים= Apparently להחיים. 60 3, for, i. e. among, the living, cf. מצבת בחיים 18 1 n. האש Subj. of פעל l. 2. אַשְׁרָ לָהּ = שלא, cf. 57 7. 9 f. (mas.). הילד Reading and sense doubtful. שחרבעל whom B. seeks; cf. נְשַׁחְרִיָּה 1 Ch. 8 26. בן=בען. שקלן Apparently a pr. n., as in NPun. 76 5.

L. 4. The meaning of this and the foll. lines cannot be made out. Neither Euting, *ZDMG* xxx (1876) 285 f., nor Derenbourg, l. c., has anything satisfactory to propose. אמא Apparently = אַמּוֹ. באיחשבר לשבת? Piel inf.; לשבת may be read. אַמּוֹ like איררא l. 5, has been taken as the name of an island (אי); cf.

אִינַם 39 1. Derenbourg explains חֶשְׁבֵר as = Ἐσπέρα, which he supposes was the name of a small island in the lake Tritonis with a temple of Aphrodite upon it, near the harbour of Hesperides in Cyrene, mentioned by Strabo p. 710, ed. Müll. לְטַהֲרַת for the *cleansing* (Derenb.); but this meaning is doubtful. נִכְתַּבְתּוּ, like ל. 5 and הַנִּשְׁכַּבְתּוּ l. 6, appears to be a Nif. form.

L. 5. Derenb. reads מִי קָנָא רֵאת מִי וְנִשְׁמָרָא and translates *and she is kept from seeing the waters of Qana*; but רֵאת is uncertain, and מִי קָנָא may = מְקַנָּה (Lidzb.). עִשְׂרַת Meaning doubtful: *ten* does not suit the context.

L. 6. הַנִּשְׁכַּבְתּוּ Cf. מִשְׁכַּב of the *grave*, 5 4 n. שַׁת is sing., שָׁנַת l. 4 plur.; see 6 i n.

57. Jol (Shershel 2). Louvre.

- 1 מִיְקֻדֶשׁ קִנְאָם חֵי חִים מִכְפּוֹן מֶלֶךְ מְשָׁלִים  
 2 הַמִּלָּל מִיֶּשֶׁר אֶרֶצַת רַבַּת מִמְלֻכְאָת חֶשֶׁב נַעַם  
 3 לֹא טִנְאָת הַמֵּאֵשׁ זֹת . . הָאֲחֻבְעֵלָא קִבְרָא יַעֲזֹם  
 4 בֶן יִשְׁגָּגוֹן בֶּן בְּגַתָּת בֶּן מִזְנוֹן מִיָּקֶם אֵלֶם  
 5 זָכִי כָרֹד עֲלֻגְמָא . . . תִּמְאָ אֲדֹרְאֻכְמָאָת כְּנֵם  
 6 וְתֵ אֲכַהֲנִים אֵשׁ עֲלֻמִּים כֻּלָּא נְעֻזְכֻּלָּא לְמַח[יָא]  
 7 תֵ . נָם עֲלֵם עֵבֶ . . תֵ לַח . . א . . לְהִרְעֵת שְׁלֹא . . .  
 8 וְשַׁעֲוֹתֵם . . בַּעַל . . ל . . א . . מֵאֵ הַשֶּׁם . . .  
 9 רִבְאָ שְׁלֹא בְכַל חוֹת בְּנֵא . [מ]טַעָא . . .  
 10 רִצְאָת הַמְּחַקָּת שְׁלֹא תִבְנֵם רַב . . .  
 11 פְּעֵלָא אֶרֶשׁ בֶּן עֲבֵדָא . . .

L. 1. מִיְקֻדֶשׁ קִנְאָם *sanctuary of QNM*; cf. the beginning of 42. פְּעֵלָא . מַעְקָר הַרְעִיז לְקִנְאָם . 2 (Lidzb. 434) . מִיְקֻדֶשׁ קִנְאָם וְלֵאחֵיָא *Mo'qar the sculptor (?) made (this) for QNM and for his brothers (or life?)*. Berger suggests that קִנְאָם is the Egypt. deity *Hnûm* (*Inscr. néop. de Cherchell* (1889) 3 f.); but the opinion of Egyptologists is against the identification. חֵי חִים *the life of*

life; cf. לענת עז חים 28 i. מכפון מלך משליים *Mikipzan, king of the Massilians*, i. e. of Numidia; for the pr. n. in  $\gamma \acute{\alpha} n$  see 55 i n. This can be none other than the Micipsa who appears in the history of the Roman occupation of Carthage. He was the third son of Massinissa (51 3 n.), and succeeded to the kingdom after the premature death of his two elder brothers. An illegitimate son of his was the notorious Jugurtha (John of Antioch *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 560; Diod. Sic. xxxiv 35). The seat of his kingdom was Cirta, but he was buried at or near Jol<sup>1</sup>, where this inscr. was found; it must have been set up shortly after his death in 118 B.C. This reference to a historical personage, whose date can be fixed, is unique among the NPun. inscr. at present known. A specimen of Numidian coinage of this period, in the British Museum, bears on the obverse the letters מן, on the reverse הוה, i. e. possibly הממלכת *Mikipzan the king*<sup>2</sup>; so Berger, l. c. 10, who gives an illustration of the coin.

L. 2. המילל Lit. *who is to be extolled*, an epithet of the king, probably Pual ptc. מילל. In Hebr. ילל is used in Hif. *to howl*. מישר א' ר' *sovereign of broad lands*; מישר Piel ptc. of ישר, or perhaps from שרר. ממלכת = ממלכת *prince*; see 3 2 n. חשב נעם *who devises good*; cf. the Gk. title *Eupéνης*.

L. 3. The previous clause from מכפון is a casus pendens, resumed by לוא = לו: *Mikipzan . . . to him Ya'azam set up this statue*. אית = מאאא Cf. 60 4, where the Lat. version gives *statuam*. מאאא CIS i 151 2 is apparently the same word; the etymology is unknown.

עלא קברא *his grave*. The three letters preceding are עלא ? *over him*. The erection of a statue (if the rendering be correct) over a grave was unusual; Berger compares CIL viii 211 30 *statuam posuit* (over a mausoleum), but notices that the stone which bears the inscr. does not look as if it had once formed the base of a statue.

L. 4. מונון Possibly the Pun. form of the name Massinissa, written משתנאן on coins. מיקם אלם A title found in CIS i 227. 260-262 &c. and in a new Carth. inscr., *Rép.* i no. 13; it is prob. the equivalent of *praetor sacrorum, praefectus sacrorum* in Lat. inscr.

L. 5. In this and the foll. lines only a word here and there can be translated. אתמא may = אתמא which seems to be a pr. n. in CIS i 151 3.

<sup>1</sup> The burial-place of the Numidian princes was in the neighbourhood of Jol; Pomponius Mela i 6 30-1 Iol ad mare aliquando ignobilis, nunc quia Iubae regiae fuit et quod Caesarea vocitatur illustris . . . ultra monumentum commune regiae gentis.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the legend on coins of Juba הממלכת or יובעי הממלכת, of Bocchus הממלכת, and of Syphax הממלכת (Berger l. c.).

L. 6. ואת הכהנים = ות אכהנים. קי לו = ? כלא. למחיא  
*during his life-time* (Berger); but the form is uncertain.

L. 7. עלם ? eternity. להרעת Cf. 58 3 n., ? *for the good pleasure*  
*which was his*; see 33 4.

L. 9. רבא ? *his chief*. בכל חות בנא ? *during all the life of his*  
*son* (Berger).

L. 10. המחקת ? *the inscriptions*, from חקק.

L. 11. The name of the artist who *made it*.

58. Gelma. NPun. 24. Louvre.

עבן ז מענע לש 1  
בלת בת מעלל עו 2  
ע שענת אש 3  
רם ועמש א 4  
שת משיכעתן ב[ן] ? 5  
בנריעל 6

This stone is set up to ŠBLTH, daughter of Ma'lal; she lived twenty-five years; wife of MŠIK'THN, son (?) of BNRI'L.

L. 1. עבן = אבן, see p. 140. מענע = טענע Qal. ptc. pass.

L. 2. שבלת Perhaps = *ear of wheat*, Gen. 41 5 ff. הוא = עוע, cf. 53 3.

L. 4. עשרם וחמש = אשרם ועמש.

L. 5. משיכעתן ב[ן] So Lidzb.; but Schröder p. 270 reads משיכעתח and shows ח in the facsimile, xvii 8.

L. 6. בנריעל If Schröder's reading is followed, this will be בן ריעל.

59. Maktar. Discovered 1892.

A

i

המזרה אש לדרת אש בנא מקדש הצרת 1  
פחנת קרשם מחות שתעת אל עמת 2



- 3 עטרת אדראת לא ולעמא ישב אדמת  
 4 לאלם הקידש לשאת אחת שמם בסוב  
 5 מלך חטר מיסכר רזן ימם בעל חרדת  
 6 על גברתם כעתבתי יתנתי שבעת

## ii

- 7 סמל מרנ... חסיד תם . לתא עלם עבד  
 8 ירד בעמק הלח ואחרסת... תעת אדרת  
 9 ראשא צלק אתם ליטא . דל עק. צב חפערת  
 10 ש חרין דערכן ולנאחן יתן נכתחת  
 11 כילן באשרלב פעלן ביתן שבעת

## iii

- 12 שמאת המזרח אש  
 13 איכרמא תהמנחת  
 14 קרא לם מעלא מתא  
 15 למדתת . מעזרת

## v

## iv

- 16 רב מזרח סהלכני בן מאנזמער  
 17 מעסיר בן פלכעי 20 סהלכני בן יסתען  
 18 בעלשמע בן מעסקלת 21 שעפרגם בן דבער  
 19 קערטא בן סלסמין 22 מתנבעל בן ברכבעל

## vi

- 23 רופא בן מעסתיבער  
 24 מתנבעל בן בעות  
 25 בעליתן בן בובע .  
 26 יעסכתען בן בע... ל .

viii		vii
כעשא בן בעליתן 33		יערכני בן ארש 27
לקי בן געלגסת 34		מתנבעל בן סלכני 28
עברמלקרת בן בעליתן 35		ראסתיטטא בן ר. . י 29
שעפרגם בן ברכבעל 36		אי . נע בן מערשמא 30
בעסא בן אדרבעל 37		סלכני בן מעסקלת 31
רולני בן מעסיסען 38		א . . . בן ארשא 32
x		ix
ראגעטא בן הכהנת 45		ברכבעל בן דבער 39
אזרמען בן יסתענת 46		כס . פנל בן בעלשלך 40
עומזוגוער בן מעסירחן 47		יסכתען בן בעליתן 41
		בעלשמע בן מערוסא 42
		מעסקלת 43
		ברכבעל בן געגירת 44

## i

The *mizrah* of . . . which built sanctuary, courts, <sup>2</sup> also a chamber (?) for the holy things, lights (?), these columns (?) at the side of (?) <sup>3</sup> a rich cornice (?), for themselves and their people (?) who dwell in the land:—<sup>4</sup> To the holy god . . . . .

<sup>5</sup> Milk-ḥaṭar-miskar, prince of the seas (?), lord of terror.

<sup>6</sup> Upon . . . I, Yathan- . . wrote it . . .

## ii

## iii

<sup>12</sup> Names of the *mizrah* which <sup>13</sup> defrayed the offering.

<sup>14</sup> Read them from top to bottom (?) <sup>15</sup> . . . help.

This and the two following inscrr., B and C, were discovered in 1892 on the walls of a temple at Maktar (54 2). They were first published by Berger *Mémoire sur la grande inscription dédicatoire* . . .

à *Maktar* (1899); they have been treated also by Lidzbarski *Eph.* i 45-52 (1900), by Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii § 57 and § 3 (1900), and by Halévy *Rev. Sémi.* ix (1901) 268-287. The great inscription (A) consists of ten columns, and falls into two parts: (1) Coll. i and ii, the dedication of the temple and its appurtenances, (2) Coll. iii-x, the names of those who took part in the dedication. The writing of this inscr. is, on the whole, clear and well preserved; but the meaning of Coll. i and ii is exceedingly obscure. It is noteworthy that the letters ב, ד, ר are written almost in their ancient form. Inscr. A probably belongs to an earlier date than B and C.

L. 1. המורה ll. 12. 16. C 1. The word has been met with already in 42 16. 55 4. From this inscr. it is clear that the *mizrah* or *mazrah* was some kind of local council or association, in this case consisting of 32 members, including a president (ל. 16. רב מורה). It was certainly a native institution, no doubt tolerated under the Roman domination; Cl.-Gan. suggests that its nearest equivalent in Latin would be *curia* or *ordo decurionum*, terms which occur in the inscr. from N. Africa, l. c. § 3. In each instance the *mizrah* is mentioned in connexion with some religious act; so it may have been a religious rather than a secular association. אש לדרת of *DRTH*, perhaps a technical term describing the *mizrah*, ? of the habitations, cf. Arab. *كَلْبَان* house, Is. 38 12. If דרת were the name of a place (Lidzb. l. c., cf. דאר 5 19), we should expect the simple prep. ב rather than ל אש; cf. 24 2 n. חצרת Prob. plur. abs. To construe חצרת as a genit. after מקדש would not make good sense; the two words are to be taken ἀσυνδέτως. Cf. חצר 33 2 f.

L. 2. פחנת Lidzb. suggests that פ=אף, as ש=אש, and ת=אית in NPun. Then חנת (cf. p. 337) may=חניית, חניית cells Jer. 37 16, as having an arched or curved roof; cf. Aram. *مَنْبَلٌ* vaulted room, √ חנה = lit. bend, curve. Hence חנת קדשם may mean a vaulted chamber for the sacred vessels. מחוז Perhaps = מְחֻזָּה light, window 1 K. 7 4 f. As the previous words seem to denote parts of the sanctuary, Cl.-Gan. renders שתעת pillars, Hebr. שְׁתוֹת, and אלעמת porches, propyla, cf. Hebr. אֵילָם. In the case of the last word, however, the rendering is made doubtful by the fact that there is a space on the stone before and after אל (facsimile in Berger l. c.); hence Lidzb. renders מחוזת a place for the auspices (?) of Tat, the god of the community. He takes תעת as = תנת rather than the Egypt. Thoth (Berger), and for עמת compares CIS i 263 עשתרת [= איש] אש בעמת אש. 264 אש בעם אש בת מלקרת. It may be doubted whether תעת could be substituted for

the familiar תנת. Taking שתעת as = *pillars*, it is possible that אל = *these* and עמת = *beside*, Hebr. לְעִמָּת, cf. Ex. 25 27. 1 K. 7 20. Eze. 40 18. The deity to whom the dedication is made does not appear till l. 4.

L. 3. עטרת אדראת *a crown of splendour* or *a splendid cornice*; cf. 'cum ornamentis suis' in Lat. inscr. from this region. לא ולעמא The suffixes may refer to המזרה, *for themselves and their people*, cf. 'ad ornandam patriam' in N. African inscr., or to תעת אל עמת if these words contain the name of a goddess. ארמן In this connexion might be expected.

L. 4. לאלם הקודש *to the holy god* = לאלהים הקדוש; *the god of the sanctuary* would be אלן המקדש, cf. אלן אקדש Costa 31 (Constantine) in *Eph.* i p. 39; see 33 6 n. No certain meaning can be given to the words which follow. שמם may = *heaven*. The last word of the line is prob. בסוכ. The distinction between ס and צ (הצרת l. 1. צב l. 9. חרץ l. 10) is clear in this inscr.; see 55 1 n.

L. 5. מלך חטר מיסכר The name of the deity to whom the sanctuary was dedicated. The deity seems to have been a compound one (cf. מלכעשתרת 10 3), formed out of Punic and Egyptian elements, *Milk-ḥaṭar-miskar*. The temple of חטר מסכר is mentioned in CIS i 253 f. חטר is the Egypt. god Hathor, and מסכר is either an Egypt. word or Punic; see 7 1 n. The epithets of the deity describe him as רון ים i. e. *ruler of the seas* or *days* (רון Jud. 5 3. Ps. 2 2 &c.) and בעל חרת i. e. *lord of terror(s)*. A Lat. dedication\* to Saturn has been found in the temple near to this inscr.; and it is not unlikely that Milk-ḥaṭar-miskar was a deity with the same character and attributes as Saturn. A number of votive steles to Ba'al-ḥammān, found at Maktar, exhibit the fish in various forms, pointing to the worship of a marine deity.

L. 6. על נברתם ? meaning. After נ a letter has been erased on the stone. The words which follow may be a remark of the mason: כעתבתי prob. = פְּתַבְתִּי יתנ . . . (יתנתי ?) is perhaps a pr. n. שבעת, as in l. 11, is separated by a space; its meaning is not apparent. Lidzb. suggests בעת + ש *agreement, order*; see 42 1 n.

Column ii is exceedingly obscure. It seems to specify the dedication of an image of the god.

L. 7. The first word is clearly סמל *image, statue*; Cl.-Gan., however, suggests that it = שמאל *on the left*. . . . מרנ Cf. the pr. nn. beginning with מר, מרברך, מריחי 19 3 n. The next two words possibly = חסיד פם *kind, perfect*, a description of the god, to which עלם, or אעלם, *of the world*, may also belong. עבר is perhaps the first part

of a pr. n.; there seems to be a trace of letters after it in the facsimile. Lidzb. thinks that the particulars of the dedication of the סמל begin here; Cl.-Gan. reads על מעבר *on the west*.

L. 8. ירד Perhaps a verb, *brought down* (Ifil); בעמק *in the valley*; הלהל = ? הלהל *tablets* of stone (Ex. 34 1 &c.), or *planks* of wood (Ex. 27 8 &c.), or *plates* of metal (1 K. 7 36), in a collective sense. Cl.-Gan. takes ירד as Qal ptc., and, following out his view of the general sense, thinks that ירד בעמק refers to a part of the temple which 'descended into the valley.' He makes a new clause begin with הלהל. ואחרסת ? the same word as the obscure חרז 45 4, which is some part of a temple. תעת אדרת = ? שעתא (l. 2) *splendid pillars* (?).

L. 9. ראשא *his or her head, or capital* ?

L. 10. Cl.-Gan. reads חף ערת ש חרין, and supposes that the words refer to 'overlying with gold.' He compares the biblical חפה 2 Ch. 3 5 ff., and ערת in 3 5. ח' דערבן The rendering *gold of the daric*, cf. דרכנמ (for דרכנמ) 33 3, i.e. gold of standard quality, is pronounced impossible by experts in ancient coinage; see Lidzb. *Eph.* i 177.

L. 11. פועלן . . . בילן ? *we have finished* (Piel) . . . *we have made*; Halévy renders 'we have finished our work with happiness of heart (בְּאַשְׁרָ לֵב). By Yathon. Shib'ath.' ביתן The word בת *house* is not written with the vowel letter in Pun. שבעת l. 6 n.

L. 13. איברמא Berger explains by the Arab. أكرم *largiri, they paid the cost of*; this makes good sense. אית המנחת i.e. תהמנחת.

L. 14. קרא Prob. imperat. למ i.e. שמאת l. 12; Hal. takes למ as = למה *what*. מעלא מתא Lit. *upwards, downwards* (?), מתא ? = מטה; cf. 5 11 f. According to Hal. מתא = מאתא; he renders the line, 'Read what has been adduced (lit. brought) above.'

L. 15. למרת Lit. *according to the measure* (?). מעורת Apparently a noun from עור *help*.

Columns iv-x. A list of the members of the *mizrah*, headed by the president (l. 16). The names are mostly Numidian; some are Punic, some Latin. The Latin names, it will be noticed, belong to the sons, the native ones to the fathers. This no doubt indicates that the younger generation was fast becoming latinized, a process which has become complete in other NPun. inscrr. from Maktar, where the Latin names are followed by a Latin genealogy, e.g. Marcus son of Gaius Canuleius, Publius son of Valerius Nobilis; these last belong, therefore, to a later age. With regard to the Numidian names, the pronunciation of which is in most cases

unknown, the sibilant  $\sigma$  is characteristic, and the endings *án* and *ath*; the latter are not sounded in the Latin transcriptions, e. g. Jasuktan = Jasucta, Galgusath = Gulussa, &c. In the Punic forms of the Latin names *a* is represented by  $\epsilon$ , *e* and *o* by  $\alpha$ ; the ending *us* becomes  $\alpha$ , *ius* is dropped (Berger 36).

- L. 17. פלכעי Cl.-Gan. conjectures *Felicus, Felicio, Felicius*.  
 L. 19. קערטא = *Quartus*; or קעפטא = *Capito*.  
 L. 20. יסתען ? = *Istantius* (Algerian). Cl.-Gan. reads יסתענת l. 46.  
 L. 23. רופא = *Rufus*.  
 L. 26. יעסכחען Transcribed in Lat. *Jasucta* (NPun. 69, Schröd. p. 272).  
 L. 29. ראסתיתטא = *Restitutus*. L. 30. מרשמע = מערשמא.  
 L. 31. מעסקלת ? *Maskulath*, cf. *Masculus*.  
 L. 32. For ארשא Cl.-Gan. reads ארשם.  
 L. 33. כעשא ? = *Cassus*.  
 L. 34. לקי ? = *Lucius*. געלנסת Transcr. *Gulussa*.  
 L. 45. ראגעטא = *Rogatus*. הנהנת ? *the priestess*.

## B

- 1 נבנא [כ]א המקרש  $\sigma$  לעטר מסכר  
 2 בניא יפתען בן יפשו וברך בן סלדי  
 3 א ומתנבעל בן ברך ומתנבעל בן בעליתן  
 4 חסנן ש המקם שפטם עומזגוער  
 5 בן תתעי ומנדסען בן שבעטן מסולי  
 6 ומסיגרען בן קפסי. . . . . שמע קלם

This sanctuary was built here to 'Aṭar-miskar. It was built by Ift'an, son of Ifshar, and Barik, son of Selidi', and Muttun-ba'al, son of Barik, and Muttun-ba'al, son of Ba'al-yathon ? . of the place; the suffetes being 'Umzgu'ar, son of Tat'ai, and Mnds'an, son of Shb'aṭn, ? and Msigr'an, son of Qfsi . . . . . heard their voice.

L. 1. נבנא is not distinct in the facsimile. ז=ם. עטר מסכר  
 Cf. A 5.

L. 2. בניא Pf. 3 pl. with suff.; cf. 52 2. ברך See 55 6 n.  
 סלדיא = שעלדיא *Selidiv* NPun. 69 1 (Schröd. p. 272).

L. 4. חסנן Cf. חסנן 40 1 where it is possibly a transliteration of *sociorum*. שפטם Three suffetes are mentioned here, as in

55 6. עומזנוער Cf. A 47.

L. 5. מסולי Berger suggests that this is an ethnic form, meaning 'a man of Mascula' (in Numidia) CIL viii 2568 &c.; cf. השללי 60 2. אישקלני 32 1 &c.

## C

- |                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| המזרח אם                | 1 |
| גד הימם נדער נדרא אש ל  | 2 |
| שלא תתהא לאב ברכת מל[כ] | 3 |
| הנדער קלא שלא עזר       | 4 |

The *mizrah* . . . to Gad of the heavens (?) vowed their vow which . . . his ? to the father of blessing, king (?) . . . the vow; his voice helped . . .

L. 1. המזרח A 1. אש? = אם.

L. 2. גר הימם Perhaps rather השמם גר; for גר see 27 3 n. השמם corresponds with the N. African *Caelestis*. The whole expression finds a remarkable parallel in *Fortunae Caelestis sacrum* CIL viii 6943 from Cirta (Lidzb.). נדער נדרא The first is a verb, the second a noun with suff. 3 sing. m. agreeing with המזרח.

## SARDINIA

60. Sulci. CIS i 149. Museum of Cagliari.

*Himilconi Idnibalis . . . qui hanc aedem ex s[enatus]  
c[onsulto] fac[iundam] coeravit Himilco f[ilius] statuam  
[dedit].*

- 1 [ה]מלכת בן . ארנבעל . בן . המלכת  
2 הפרט על . מי . טבארשא . השלכי  
3 לבנאת . תהמקדש . להרבת לאלת  
4 טינא תהמאש . זת . בנא . המלכת

Himilkath, son of Idni-ba'al, son of Himilkath . . . . . to build this sanctuary to the lady Elath: his son Himilkath dedicated this statue.

This inscr. probably belongs to the first cent. B. C.; it is among the earliest NPun. inscrs. known.

L. 1. המלכת See 40 2 n. ארנבעל 45 6. 55 3, pronounced *Idnibal* (Lat. transcr.).

L. 2. The first four words prob. correspond to *qui ex senatus consulto curavit* in the Lat. version; but their exact meaning is unknown. טבארשא has a certain resemblance to *τοπαρχία*. השלכי Prob. *Sulcitanus, the man of Sulci*, cf. CIL 7518. The final letter is most likely י; for the form cf. הלוכי *the man of Lycia* CIS i 45, and the names בינתי *Buzántion*, כתי *Kétion*.

L. 3. לבנאת = לבנות, implying some word meaning *curavit* in l. 2. להרבת Cf. להחיים = לחים 56 3 n.; for רבת see 3 2 n. אלת Cf. 50 1 n. CIS i 243. 244 אלת ; בהן אלת ; in Aram. *Ilát* or *Allát*, see in Nab. 80 4 n. The Phoen. form אלת is the fem. of אל, or perhaps rather of אלן; in the latter case the vowel of the second syllable may have been long (Nöldeke *ZDMG* xlii 472)<sup>1</sup>.

L. 4. טינא looks like the Piel of טנא, cf. כילן (?) 59 A 11. מאש  
The Lat. version shows that this must mean *statue*; cf. 57 3. בנא =  
בני.

<sup>1</sup> The identification of אלת with 'Ελλωτία—ή Εὐρώπη τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκαλεῖτο, ὅτι οἱ Φοίνικες τὴν Παρθένον 'Ελλωτίαν καλοῦσι *Etyrn. Magn.* col. 332; 'Ελλωτίς' Ἀθηναῶν οὕτω καλουμένη, ἐπιμᾶτο ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ ἑορτὴ 'Ελλωτία *ib.* 333—is rejected by Nöldeke l. c. The forms 'Ελλωτίς, 'Ελλωτία are prob. genuine Greek.



28 חדה • איחת]ה ..... ירשי • שחת • יגנב איחיה • זכרי • ויקם  
 ותה • במצעה • מת • נשה = See note in Cooke  
 29 יאמר • אחכם • השחת • והג ..... א • ידיה • לאלה • אבה • נשה  
 יאמר • הן • אם • שמת • אמרת • אל • בפם  
 30 זר • אמר • קם • עיני • או • דלח • או ..... י • בפם • אנשי צרי • פהגו  
 זכר • הא • לתגמרו • איחה as loptat uall  
 31 זכרו • פלכתשה • באבני • והגו ר ..... רן • איחתה • פלכתשנה  
 באבני • והגו • לו • שחת  
 32 באשרה • ותלעי • עינך • בא • בב ..... על • קשתה • או • על  
 גברתה • או • על • אמרתה  
 33 או • על • נדבה • את • פא • ישרה • ב ..... ו • תהרגה  
 בחמ • [או] • בחמא • או  
 34 תחק • עליה • או • תאלב • אש • זר • להרגה • י .....  
 מו Paul q. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

I am Panammu, son of QRL, king of Ya'di, who have set up this statue to Hadad in my ? <sup>2</sup> There stood by me the god (?) Hadad and El and Reshef and Rekub-el and Shamash, and Hadad and El <sup>3</sup> and Rekub-el and Shamash gave into my hand the sceptre of ?; and Reshef stood by me; and whatsoever I take <sup>4</sup> in hand ... and whatsoever I as[k of] the gods they give me, and ?? <sup>5</sup> ..... a land of barley ? <sup>6</sup> ..... a land of wheat and a land of garlic, <sup>7</sup> and a land ..... they till the land and vineyards; <sup>8</sup> there dwell[t] ... of Panammu. Moreover I sat upon the seat of my father, and Hadad gave into my hand <sup>9</sup> the sceptre of ? ... sword and slander from my father's house. And in my days Ya'di (?) ? did both eat and drink. <sup>10</sup> And in my days ? ... to establish (?) cities and to establish (?), and for the sons of villages (?) ? .. takes (?) <sup>11</sup> each (?) ? and Hadad [and] El and Rekub-el and Shamash and Arqu-reshef did abundantly (?)

give greatness to me, and surety ?<sup>12</sup> with me. And in my days ? . ? to the gods, and indeed (?) they receive from my hands, and what I ask from the gods they have indeed (?) abundantly granted (?)<sup>13</sup> to me, and ? .. QRL, the gods indeed (?), and if Hadad gave indeed (?) to . he called me to build, and in my ?<sup>14</sup> Had[ad] gave indeed (?) . [to] build; and I built indeed (?), and set up this statue of Hadad, and the place of Panammu, son of QRL, king<sup>15</sup> of Ya'di, together with a statue. Whoever (?) of my sons shall hold the [scept]re, and sit upon my seat and grow strong (?) and sacrifice<sup>16</sup> to this Hadad . . . and sacrifice . . . sacrifice to Hadad, and make mention of the name of Hadad, or<sup>17</sup> . shall say, May the soul of Panammu [ea]t with thee, and may the [s]oul of Panammu drin[k] with thee!—shall moreover remember the soul of Panammu with<sup>18</sup> [Ha]dad . . . this his sacrifice . . . may he look [f]avourably upon him [?] to Hadad and to El and to Rekub-el and to Shamash<sup>19</sup> . . . [Pa]nammu . . . this . . . and I made the gods dwell in it, and in his ? I reposed (?)<sup>20</sup> . . . they have given me a seed . . . my son shall hold the sceptre, and sit upon my seat as king<sup>21</sup> over Ya'di, and grow strong (?) and sacrifice [to this Hadad and remem]ber the name of Panammu (and) say, May the soul of Panammu eat<sup>22</sup> with Hadad, and may the soul of Panammu drink with that Ha[d]ad . . . his sacrifice let him not look favourably upon it, and whatsoever<sup>23</sup> he shall ask let not Hadad give him; and let Hadad pour out wrath upon him . . . suffer him not to eat, in anger,<sup>24</sup> and withhold sleep from him by night, and terror (?) ? to him . . . kinsman (?) . my friend (?) put to death (?) .<sup>25</sup> shall hold the sceptre in Ya'd[i], and shall sit upon my seat and reig[n] . and pu]t his hand to the sword . or<sup>26</sup> . . . ? let him not slay either in anger or by . . . put to death (?) either by his bow or by his order<sup>27</sup> . . . shall allow to destroy after one of his kinsmen (?) or after one of his friends (?) or after<sup>28</sup> one of his kiaswomen (?) . . . he allow to destroy, his kinsmen (?) steal my memorial, and set it up in the midst thereof (?) indeed (?) ?<sup>29</sup> shall say, Your brother has destroyed (?) . . . his

hands to the god of his father ? shall say, If (?) ? I have put these (?) orders into the mouth <sup>30</sup> of a stranger, say thou (?) my eye was dim or terrified or . . . in the mouth of adversaries, and behold ! (?) it is a memorial (?), so that ye make his kinsman (?) discontinue <sup>31</sup> ? and let him crush him with stones ; and behold ! (?) . . . his kinswoman (?), and let him crush her (?) with stones ; and behold ! (?) if he have destroyed <sup>32</sup> after him, and thine eye be wearied (?) . . . by his bow or by his might or by his order <sup>(33)</sup> or by his instigation (?), thou (?) also ? . . . thou shalt slay him ? [or] in wrath, or <sup>34</sup> shalt write (?) concerning him, or teach a stranger to kill him . . .

Zenjirli (زنجيرلو) is a small village in NW. Syria, rather more than half way between Antakiyeh (Antioch) and Marsh. This inscription was found in 1890 at Gerjin (كرجين), half an hour NE. of Zenjirli. It is carved on a colossal statue of the god Hadad; the writing, like that of 62 and 63, is in relief, and belongs to the archaic type represented by the Moabite Stone. The contents show that this inscr. is earlier than 62 and 63, which date from the time of Tiglath-pileser iii (745-727 B. C.); moreover, in the latter inscr. the Aramaic character of the dialect is more strongly marked<sup>1</sup>.

Part i. ll. 1-15 a. Panammu acknowledges the good providence of Hadad and the other gods of his country, and records the prosperity of his reign.

L. I. אַךְ In 62 19 אַנְי; see 1 1 n. פִּנְמוּ בֵּר קֶרְל Panammu i 62 5, the predecessor of Panammu ii 62 1. 63 2, to whom 62 is dedicated. *Panammu of Sam'al* (prob. Panammu ii) is mentioned in inscr. of Tiglath-pileser iii, *KB* ii 20. 30. A similar name is met with in Asia Minor, in Caria, Παναμμύς (Ball *TrSBA* (1888) 432), and in Isauria, *Panemou-teichos*. (Ramsay *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Min.* 394 &c.). The derivation is unknown; prob., like קֶרְל, the name is of non-Semitic origin. יַאֲדִי 62 1. 5 &c. Ya'di was a town and petty kingdom of N. Syria, situated in the country N. of the Orontes.

<sup>1</sup> In connexion with these inscr. the following abbreviations are used: Sach. = Sachau in *Mitth. aus den Orient. Sammlungen*, Heft xi *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* (1893). Hal. = Halévy in *Revue Sémitique* i-ii (1893-4). DHM = D. H. Müller *Altsemitischen Inschr. von Sendschirli* (1893). Nöld. = Nöldeke in *ZDMG* xlvii (1893) 96-105. Hoffm. = G. Hoffmann in *Zeitschr. für Assyriol.* xi (1897). The text above is derived from the facsimile given by Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigr.*, Atlas taf. xxii, with reference to Euting's facsimile in *Ausgrab. in Sendschirli*.

Winckler, *Allor. Forsch.* i 1 ff., suggests that the well-known expressions in the Annals of Tiglath-pileser iii, *KB* ii 24 f., [*Azri*] *jāu* (*mātu*) *Jauddi*, [*A*] *surijāu* (*mātu*) *Jaudi*, which are usually taken to refer to 'Azariah (=Uzziah) the Judaeon', 'A. of the land of Judah', really refer to this יארי. The context implies that *Jaudi* was in N. Syria<sup>2</sup>; it speaks of nineteen districts of the city of Hamath as having revolted to *Azrijāu*, and there is little likelihood that the Judaeon Azariah would have mixed in the politics in N. Syria and formed an alliance with Hamath, 150 miles N. of Palestine. According to the biblical chronology Azariah was dead at this time (about 740 B. C.), but this difficulty can be overcome<sup>3</sup>. Winckler's view requires that two such names as *Azrijāu* and *Jaudi* (=either יארי or יהודה) existed at the same period in different parts, a mere coincidence, perhaps. *Azrijāu*, with the divine name יהו, is more characteristic of Judaea than N. Syria; יהו, however, was not unknown in the latter region<sup>4</sup>. There is much to be said for Winckler's contention, but it is hardly established beyond dispute<sup>5</sup>.

י The Old Aram. form of י (Bibl. Aram., Nab., Palm.), used as a relative (64 14. 69 9. 70 1 &c., and on coins 149 A 6) and as a sign of the genitive (66 a. 67. 68. 76 B 3 &c.). הַקִּימָת = הַקָּמַת. נַצַּב See 37 1 n. ןן So in Phoen. (Gebal); see add. note ii p. 26.

הרר 150 b, the chief deity of the Aramaeans; cf. Ἄδωδος βασιλεὺς θεῶν Philo Bybl. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 569. The statue on which the inscr. is carved represents a bearded human head with horns, the symbol of the god's power. In the O. T. his name occurs in compounds, e. g. הררעור 2 S. 8 3 ff. = Assy. *Dad'-idri*; בַּהֲרַר 1 K. 20 1 (*COT* 200 f.); הַדְרַרְמֹן *Zech.* 12 11. Nothing distinctive is known of his character; but he was prob. regarded as a god of storm and thunder, for he was identified by the Assyrians as a stranger-god from the Amorite country with Rammān; see Zimmern *KAT*<sup>3</sup> ii 443 f. The original significance of the name may possibly be found in the Ar. دَر break, crash, growl, دَرَان thunder; cf. Hebr. הַר, הַרְר shout (Baethgen *Beitr.* 67 f., Hal. ii 26 f.). As a personal pr. n. הרר is found in Sabaeon, *CIS* iv 55<sup>6</sup>.

בַּעֲלָמִי ? in my youth (בַּעֲלָמִי) not in my life-time (בַּעֲלָמִי); the latter, moreover,

<sup>1</sup> So e. g. Schrader *COT* 217 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also *Iauū* in the Nimrūd Inscr. of Sargon, *KB* ii 36.

<sup>3</sup> See Kittel *Gesch. d. Hebräer* ii 284 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Thus *Iau-bi'di* of Hamath, *KB* ii 36. 56, is interchanged with *Ilā-bi'di* (of Hamath), *ib.* 42.

<sup>5</sup> It is accepted by Benzinger *Könige* 166.

<sup>6</sup> Possibly Hadad was known to the ancient Arabs, Wellhausen *Reste Ar. Heidenthums* 55; but Wellhausen's translation is disputed by Hoffm. 228.

is expressed by בימי in the inscr. DHM renders *lord of waters* (בעל מי). Possibly עלמי is the name of a place.

L. 2. אלהו is explained as an abstract form, אלהותא *godhead* (Lidzb.). The reading is uncertain. אל 62 22, Assy. *ilu*. The name by itself is found in Sabaeen inscr., e. g. אל ועהתר Halévy no. 144 3. 150 4; elsewhere in N. Semitic inscr. it appears in compounds, e. g. ירפאל 150 c. רשף l. 3 see 12 3 *n.*, and cf. ארקרשף l. 11. רכבאל 62 22. 63 5. The name of this deity is known so far only in this district of N. Syria; it may mean *chariot* or *steed of El* (Rekub-el), or *charioteer of El* (Rakkab-el, Rekab-el), Hoffm. 252; cf. the Palm. ענלבו 139 6 *n.* On Assy. monuments the sun-god is sometimes represented as riding in a chariot drawn by griffins, and he is called *rakib narkabi*<sup>1</sup> (cf. 2 K. 23 11 מרכבות השמש and Ps. 18 11); but whether Rekub-el had any connexion with the sun-god, as his minister or attendant, we cannot tell; it is possible that he was a moon-god, for in the ancient East the moon came before the sun, as here (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 255 *n.*, cf. 112 4 *n.*). Sach. 61 f. suggests a transposition of ר and כ, and renders *cherub of El*; this is unnecessary. The pr. n. בררכב 62 1. 63 1 prob. means *son of the god Rekub-el*. שמש 62 22. 64 9 the sun-god, Assy. *shamash*, worshipped throughout the Semitic world, e. g. in Israel 2 K. 23 11. Dt. 17 3, in Palmyra 117 5. 136 3. 6. His cult is implied by such pr. nn. as בית שמש (Hebr.), עברשמש CIS i 116 f. (Phoen.), שמשעדרי ib. ii 87 (Aram.), לשמש 117 3. שמשגנם 145 1 (Palm.).

L. 3. חטר *branch, rod*, common in Aram., in Hebr. rare, Is. 11 1; here used for *sceptre*, Hebr. שבט. חלבבה Here and in ll. 9. 10 (rest.) this might be the name of a place not otherwise known; but in ll. 13. 19 it seems to be a fem. noun with a suffix. In each case the meaning 'blessing,' 'prosperity' (Hoffm., Lidzb.) or 'majesty' (Hal.), would suit the context. פמו i. e. פ + מה + ו פמו, in ll. 4. 22 ומזו, cf. מה חזה = מחזה 65 5. The conjunction פ, which is prob. to be found in אף, א (Nöld. 103 *n.*), is used in these inscr. like the Ar. ف, ll. 13 f. 31. 63 18; similarly in Nab., e. g. 80 7. 10. 83 3. 94 4 &c.; in Palm. 143 5. Another form of the conjunction is פא ll. 17. 33. 62 22. אחו

Peal impf. 1 sing.

L. 4. אלהי Pl. abs. = אלהין, ll. 12 f. 19. 62 23. For the omission of final י cf. שערי l. 5. חמי, שמי l. 6. אנשי צרי l. 30. אבני l. 31. שבעי 62 3 (see note); but contrast מלכן רברבן 63 10. 13. This peculiarity finds a parallel in Assy., which forms a plur. in *i* (or *é*) as well as in *áni*,

<sup>1</sup> Jastrow *Rel. of Babyl. and Assy.* 461; Sach. 70.

and in Aram. dialects, e. g. Talm. דיקלי *dates*, פירי *fruits*, cf. Γεθορημανῆ = נַת שְׁפָנִי (Dalman *Gram. Jüd.-Pal. Aram.* § 38, 3), and in Mandaic (Nöldeke *Mand. Gr.* 162). יחנּו In this dialect, and in that of Nêrab and Têma, the impf. 3 plur. ends in *u*, not, as is usual in Aram., in *an*, e. g. ll. 7. 12. 64 9. 11. 65 9. 73 B 3 (Egypt. Aram.); exceptionally in B. Aram., יאַבְרוּ Jer. 10 11. יְחִיטּוּ Ezr. 4 12. Dan. 5 10. וישנּם חוּיו Meaning unknown. DHM takes וישנּם as = נְשָׁלַם and reads רוּיו = בְּרִיּוּתָא, lit. *peace of satiety*; but the reading is uncertain.

L. 5. אַרְק 62 14 &c.; in 63 4. 66 a (and regularly on Nineveh weights) אַרְקָא = the later Aram. אַרְעָא, Hebr. אַרְץ, Arab. أَرْض. In Jer. 10 11 אַרְקָא occurs side by side with אַרְעָא; in Mandaic it appears prob. as an intentional archaism, Nöld. l. c. 73. For the *q* which is peculiar (Driver *Tenses* § 178) cf. רְקִי ll. 18. 22 = רְצִי = רְצִי; 62 13 = מַחַ = רַפְא = רַפְא, see p. 185. שְׁעָרִים Hebr. שְׁעָרִים, cf. 62 6. 9 and see l. 4 n. הָאֵל ? meaning. אֵל l. 29 is prob. the plur. of אֵל, but the article prefixed is not found in these inscriptions.

L. 6. חַטִּים = Hebr. חַטִּים; שְׁמִי = Hebr. שְׁמִי Num. 11 5.

L. 7. אֵז 62 9 perhaps for אֵז + וּי (DHM, Nöld.) *whatsoever*; or = Hebr. אֵז, Aram. אֵזְרִן *then*. יַעֲבֹדוּ Cf. Gen. 2 5 &c. (אֵח האַדְמָה). Dt. 28 39 (כַּרְמִים); in later Aram. פִּלַּח בְּאַרְעָא is the usual expression. See l. 4 n.

L. 8. DHM restores פִּנְמוּם [וכַר] אַרְק וּכְרָם פִּנְמוּם. שֵׁם יֵשׁ [בו ויעֲבֹדוּ אַרְק וּכְרָם] פִּנְמוּם l. 9. 62 16, cf. אֵנָם 62 5, is characteristic of Hebrew; it is found on the Moab. St., 1 6, but the later Aram. does not use it.

L. 9. DHM restores חַרְב [והִכַר] חַרְבַּת חַרְבַּת *tongue*, as the instrument of slander; cf. אִישׁ לְשׁוֹן Ps. 140 12. 15 3. 101 5. בֵּית 62 2. 7. 63 7 ff. The scriptio plena (cf. לִילָא l. 24. 30) is more frequent in 62, which is somewhat later. בְּיוֹמֵי = בְּיוֹמֵי 62 18, חַמָּה. In Aram. the vowel of the first syllable in יִמִּין is *o* not *a*, as in Hebr.; cf. 65 3. 76 A 4, constr. st. 62 11. אֲכַל וּשְׁתָּא If the last word of the line be read יַאֲדִי—Lidzb.'s facsimile shows traces of initial *y* and of *da*—these words may be taken as perfs.; cf. 62 9. DHM takes them as nouns, reading the last word אֲרוּי *food and drink were abundant*, cf. l. 4 n. Nöld. 103 reads וּרוּי *and was abundant*, i. e. *abundantly*.

L. 10. Meaning very obscure. DHM regards יַתְמָר = יַתְמָר *was appointed*, and לְנַצַּב as = לְנַצַּב (cf. Solomon's נַצַּבִּים 1 K. 4 7 ff.) *prefect of Q. . . and prefect of the Zerari*. But לְנַצַּב may be a verb, *to set up*, and קִירָה 62 4. 15; cf. הַצִּיב Dt. 32 8. Ps. 74 17. Pr. 15 25 (with גְּבוּל), 1 Ch. 18 3 (with יַד). The meaning of וּרְרִי is unknown. כְּפִירִי

Perhaps *villages*; cf. Neh. 6 2 (?), כְּפָרִים Cant. 7 12. 1 Ch. 27 25. But *sons of the villages* is not a very natural expression, and possibly כְּפָרִי is the name of a tribe or place. This, however, does not suit the context of בעלי כְּפָרִי in 62 10. יקה ? impf. of לקח. The reading is uncertain.

L. 11. אִשׁ רַעִיָה וַיִּתֵּר הָדָד (Lidzb.) ? *each his neighbour, and Hadad did richly*; but the text is very doubtful. יתֵר is possibly Pael of יתֵר l. 1 12. Euting's facsimile gives אִשְׁרוּ . . . יֵה . . . וְאִרְקֶשֶׁף The name of a god. Hoffm. 214. 252 connects אִרְק i. e. 'Arqu or 'Arqi with the רָצָה = רָקִי (l. 5 n.) *be favourable*, and compares אִרְצוּ (?), רָצוּ, apparently a divine name in Palm. (see 115 1 n.), אִרְצִי and the Arab. رِزَاءُ (Wellhausen *Reste Ar. Heid.*<sup>2</sup> 58 f.). כְּבָרוּ i. e. prob. כְּבָרוּ *greatness*.

DHM reads כְּבָרוּ (for כְּבוֹדָא) *honour*. נָתַן Perhaps perf. 3 plur. (or sing.) with suff. 3 sing. fem. = נָתַנָּה, the suff. resuming the object which precedes, *greatness they (he) gave it*. A Nifal form is improbable.

DHM reads אִמְן כָּרַח *a sure (covenant) they made*; אִמְן ? *faithfulness* occurs again in 62 21. Lidzb. reads זָכַרְתָּ, but neither the reading nor the form is clear.

L. 12. מַח Various meanings of this obscure word are proposed: thus *gift* in l. 12 = מָחָן; *males, male offspring* in ll. 13. 14. 62 4 = מַחִים, Assyr. *mutu*; *town, district* in l. 14. 62 10 = Assyr. *mātu* (Winckler *Allor. Forsch.* i 107), cf. CIS ii 31 במח בבשקן *in vico Bābsuqin*. But it seems more reasonable to give מח the same meaning throughout. Halévy regards it as an adverb, *aussitôt, forthwith*, and explains the form as a contraction of the Hebr. מַחֵי, cf. Assyr. *mat*. Lidzb. renders *surely, indeed*, a meaning which suits the context in each case, and may be accepted provisionally, though its etymology is not evident. יקחו See l. 4 n.

L. 13. וְאִרְקוּ is prob. some part of the verb רָצָה = רָקִי (l. 5 n.); *his land* would be אִרְקָה, like זָבַחָה l. 18. DHM restores קָרַל [שָׂאֵל] . קָרַל, rendering 'and QRL asked for a male offspring; and Hadad did not give a male offspring.' This gives a suitable sense, but the rendering of מח is doubtful, and פָּלוּ (l. 31. 62 11) seems to mean *and if*, אֵלֹ = לוֹ (Nöld. 104), rather than *and not*, לֹא = לוֹ. To fill the space, וְ[שָׂאֵל . יֵאָבִי], is a better restoration. קָרַנִי i. e. קָרַנִי Pf. 3 sing. m. with suff., from קָרַא. In Lidzb.'s facsimile the ק is clear. לֹכְנָא l. 14, inf. of בָּנָא חֻלְבַּתִּי l. 3 n.

L. 14. מָקַם *place*, possibly like τόπος in Gk. inscr., a *burial-place*.

L. 15. מִן מֵן מֵן Part ii. ll. 15 a-24 a. Panammu invokes the blessing of the gods upon his successor if he be faithful to his religious and filial duty, and a curse upon him if he neglect it. מֵן מֵן

The first מן is perhaps the indef. pron. מן, ܡܢ, Assy. *mannu*, *manu*. ויסעד אברו l. 21. In Hebr. סעד = *support, stay* esp. with food, e. g. Gen. 18 5; here perhaps in a more general sense, *strengthen*. אברו may be an abstr. form, אַבְרֵתָא = אֲבָרֵי (DHM), or possibly a plur. with suff. = אֲבָרָיו *his strong ones*, Jud. 5 22. Ps. 50 13; but the latter does not give a good sense, and the form lacks support (Nöld.).

L. 16. הדר The deity is in the accus. after זבח, cf. in Sabaeen לִידְבָחוּ . . עֹתְתָר CIS iv 74 11 f.; in Hebr. ל is required. The sacrifice was to be offered not to the dead, but to the god on behalf of the dead; see Lagrange *RB* (1902) xi 232 f. ויזכר אשם הדר Cf. the Hebr. idiom יהוה שם הזכיר *make mention of Yahweh's name*, i. e. to call upon, worship, Is. 26 13. Ex. 23 13. The verb here may be regarded as Afel. אשם = Arab. اِسْمٌ, Samaritan אשמא.

L. 17. פא l. 33. 62 22 = פ l. 3 n. [תאכ]ל נבש ונ' Cf. ll. 21 f., where the words are more legible. תאלף l. 34 = תאלב l. 34. נפש = נבש; cf. תאלף l. 34 = תאלב l. 34. עפרת = עפרת, and vice versa ברול = ברול &c.: Wright *Comp. Gr.* 64 f. תשתי Impf. of שתא l. 9; see l. 22 n. For the idea cf. Luke 22 30. עמך i. e. with Hadad. עור Prob. = עוד. זכר נבש . . עם The verb here and in l. 21 is Peal; contrast אשם הדר l. 16, where the verb is Afel.

L. 18. After ה[דר] Lidzb. reads [אמ]ר, but the word is illegible in the facsimile. זבחה l. 22; the last letter is perhaps the suffix, *his*. Hoffm. 234 regards the form as fem, and compares שחתה 62 2; see 62 6 n. זא l. 19 (?), though elsewhere fem. (see add. note p. 26), is here prob. mas., like the Arab. ذا, since it appears to agree with זבחה. ירקי l. 22 n., impf. of רקי l. 5 n.; cf. רצה ב in Hebr., e. g. Mic. 6 7. Hag. 1 8. שי Meaning unknown.

L. 19. ובחלבבתה חנאת and in his prosperity I rested (?), Lidzb., taking חנאת as Pf. 1 sing. of חנא = חנה *encamp*, cf. חנאה Pael 62 12 and מחנה 62 13 ff. But מחנה means *camp*, not as a *resting*-place, but as the place one *reaches* at the end of the day's march; so in Syr. ܡܫܠ = *incline towards, reach*. Possibly חנאה 62 12 may come from חנן *be gracious*, and חנאת be a pass. form, *I was treated graciously*.

L. 20. זרע See 4 7 n. The obligation of religious duty on the part of Panammu's successor is repeated; a clause expressing the possible neglect of it must be among the missing portions of ll. 20-22, to justify the imprecations in ll. 22 b-24 a.

L. 21. See ll. 15 f.

L. 22. הא in a demonstr. sense, cf. הו 73 A 3 עדנא הו *that time*. For הא after [זן] l. 21 cf. Gen. 32 3. ומז l. 4. תשתי ירקי i. e. תשתי &c., cf. ירשי l. 27 f. תלעי l. 32. The impf. 3 sing. of these לִי



verbs ends in י as in Palestinian Aram., Targ. &c.; contrast the Bibl. Aram. and Syr. ending א, י.

L. 23. חרא Perhaps = חרון *wrath*. ליחכה Afel (?) impf. 3 sing. mas. with suff. 3 sing. fem. from נתך *pour forth*, in a figurative sense with חמה, אף in the O.T., e.g. Jer. 42 18. 2 Ch. 34 21. The impf. is here preceded by ל = Arab. ج before the jussive, similarly למנע (i. e. לימנע) l. 24. לתנמרו l. 30. לכחשה (i. e. ליכחשה) l. 31, in each case with a jussive force; cf. in Sabaeen ליעתורו *ut descenderent*, ולידבחו *atque ut sacrificarent* CIS iv 74 10 ff. &c., and see Hommel *Süd-ar. Chrest.* 25. This usage has not been found hitherto in Aram. Possibly it may have given rise to the impf. in ל which occurs in B. Aram., Targ. Jon., Talmud Bab., and Mandaic; but in these dialects the ל has no distinctively jussive force, and may be merely a phonetic variation of the impf. in נ (Driver *Tenses* § 204 Obs. 1). אל יתן לה לאכל Cf. 2 Ch. 20 10 for the construction. ברנו Reading indistinct, but the word is clear in l. 26.

L. 24. שנה i. e. שנה. לימנע i. e. לימנע Nöld. 98 n., in a jussive sense; see note above. בליא With scriptio plena, Hebr. לילה, Arab. ليل, but Syr. جح. רלה *terror*, as often in Targ.; but the form is not apparent; it might be inf. constr. The perf. occurs in l. 30. נתן if Peal perf., does not construe; the form must remain uncertain. For the imprecations cf. 4. 5. 64. 65.

Part iii. ll. 24 b-34. Panammu denounces those who shall attempt to injure the persons or the power of his family and successors. Such seems to be the general drift of this most obscure section. DHM thinks that the reference is to the violation of the statue; this is apparently alluded to in l. 28, but the rest of the passage deals with the treatment of persons (note the verb הרג ll. 26. 33. 34). איה appears to be a title denoting a member of the royal family, איהי אבה 62 3, like the Hebr. בני המלך 2 Sam. 13 32 ff. 2 K. 10 6 ff. 11 2 &c., and בר מלכא CIS ii 38 2 'a prince of the royal house' (?). In ll. 27. 28 איחיה is plur. with suff., l. 30 איחה is sing. with suff., while איחתה ll. 28. 31 is prob. a fem. plur. or sing. with suff. The word may be a form of אח in a special sense. מורדיה l. 27 מורדיה is perhaps a noun from מורד, Arab. مريد, *love*, lit. *my loved one*, so friend (Lidzb.). מומח l. 26 seems to be Hofal ptcp. of מוח. מוח וישלח ידה בהרב Cf. Jud. 5 26 (ליתר). Panammu appears to have in mind the wholesale assassinations of the royal family which so frequently accompany the accession of an oriental king. 62 3 shows that his fears were justified. תי . . Lidzb. suggests תי[בי].

L. 26. חמס is some part of חמס *be violent*.

L. 27. ירשי l. 28, i. e. ירְשִׁי impf. 3 sing. mas. of רשי lit. *be able*, so perhaps *allow*, cf. רשיון permission Ezr. 3 7; see l. 22 n. שחת is perhaps inf. constr. באשר The word אשר = *place*, 62 18 (?). 64 8 אשרה *his place*. 68 6 אתרא 76 C 4 אתר. Here and in l. 32 באשר may perhaps be taken like the Syr. ܐܫܪܝܐ, i. e. ܐ + ܫܪܝܐ, in the sense of *after*, lit. *in the place of*; so Hoffm., Lidzb. The exact meaning, however, of the expression *destroy after one of his princes* is not clear.

חר must be constr. state before the gen. following, for in l. 28 it takes a fem. form before a fem. noun. For the construction cf. in Hebr. אחד העם Gen. 26 10. אחת האתנות 2 K. 4 22, &c. חר is the usual Aram. for אחד, e. g. 62 5. 63 13 &c.; in Hebr., Eze. 33 30.

L. 28. איהתה See l. 24 n. יונב איחיה זכרי Here and in the foll. lines to 30 b the offender is apparently not the future king but a member of the royal house, and the offence is the removal or violation of the statue which Panammu had erected. The details and general sense are very uncertain. ל זכרי l. 30 (?) *my memorial*; זכר has this meaning in 62 22, Palm. דכרן 135 1, and Nab. CIS ii 169 &c.; in Phoen. סכר 9 6 n. ויה Impf. 3 sing., rather than plur. as Nöld. 104.

Accus. particle with suff. This form is prob. preserved in ܘܢܐ, ܘܢܐ, but in later usage it has become ית, thus Nab. יתה 80 5, Palm. ית 121 4, BAR. יתהון Dan. 3 12 (only here), ית in Targ. and Sam., ܝܬ in Syr. (rare). This ויה, and the Phoen. איית, Hebr. את, may be accounted for by an original *'awayath* which passed into *'iwayath*, *'iyyath*, *'iyath*, *'eth*; see 3 3 n.

במצעה *in the midst of it*, supposing that we have here the Aram. מִצְעָה, מִצְעָה *midst*, as in 62 10. 63 9 f. Hoffm. 319, however, suggests in each case the meaning *place*, מִצְעָה, Arab. مَوْضِعٌ. What the suffix refers to is not clear. ויה l. 29 Meaning unknown.

L. 29. אחכם The suff. as in לְכֶם Ezr. 5 3 &c., for the usual Aram. בון; cf. להם 63 18 for להון. השחת Afel, either perf. or imperat. אלה i. e. אֱלֹהֵה or אֱלֹהֵה constr. state sing.; so in Nab. 88 6. 94 3. Palm. 136 7. This is the sing. form of the plur. אלהי l. 4. For ידיה cf. Ps. 44 21. הן Prob. = *if* 64 11, as in Bibl. Aram. Dan. 2 6 &c. Ezr. 4 13. The meaning of אם is not clear. שמת Perf. 1 sing. of שים. אמרת is plur., אל may = *these*.

ל. 30, with suff. פמי 65 4; Aram. פִּמְיָא, פִּמְיָא, Hebr. פִּה. For the expression cf. in Hebr. שים דבר בפי פ' Num. 22 38. 23 5. 12. 16 &c.

L. 30. זר *stranger* l. 34. אמר Either perf. or imperative. Apparently the offender is supposed to make the excuse that he did not realize what he was doing. קם עיני Cf. 1 K. 14 4. רלח Perf., cf. l. 24. אנשי צרי Prob. = אנשים צרים, although, since צר = Arab. ضَر, the dialect of this inscr. should have q for צ, on the analogy

of ארק and רקי. פהנו ? and behold; the reading is very indistinct, but it is supported by והנו l. 31 bis. זכר may = memorial as זכרי l. 28; it may also = male, a meaning which seems to be required for זכרו l. 31 (Lidzb.). לתגמר Impf. 2 plur. with cohortative ל; see l. 23 n. גמר = make an end, in a trans. sense.

L. 31. זכרו Lidzb. suggests that this is an abstract form for זכרותא mankind, men. פלכתשה Impf. with cohort. ל 3 sing. mas. with suff. 3 sing. mas., similarly פלכתשה with suff. 3 sing. fem. (?). כחש = break in pieces, shatter; in Hebr. Pr. 27 22 to pound, in Targ. Jon. Ex. 30 36 of pounding the incense, used in Ethpa. like the Syr. כחש = fight, strive. The punishment is to be stoning, whether the offender be a man or a woman. But it is not clear what the offence is, whether the violation of the memorial, which is apparently alluded to in the preceding lines, or the attempted assassination of Panammu's successor, which seems to be the drift of what follows. אבני i. e. אבנים l. 4 n. שחת The form is uncertain.

L. 32. באשרה Perhaps after him, l. 27 n. חלעי Meaning doubtful. The Aram. לעי = לאי means to be wearied, e. g. Targ. Jon. Dt. 25 18 ועיין ומשלהיין wearied and faint. גברתה his might, cf. גְבוּרָתָא Dan. 2 20.

L. 33. נדבה To render his generosity (cf. Hebr. נדבה) does not give a suitable sense; his instigation is better, cf. Arab. نَدَبَ impel, incite (DHM). את ? thou, 64 5. פא also, l. 17 n. ישרה is some part of ישר be straight. תהרגה thou shalt kill him. It is difficult to believe, as DHM does, that הרג can mean destroy (the monument).

L. 34. תחק Apparently impf. 2 sing. of חקק inscribe (Eze. 23 14), perhaps rather thou shalt write of him, or inscribe on it; the context is not decisive. חאלב Pael impf. of אלב = אלף learn, אלף teach; cf. נפש for נפש l. 17 n. להרגה Either inf. constr. to kill him, or impf. with ל that he kill him.

62. Zenjirli: Panammu. Between 745 and 727 B. C. Berlin.

#61. 2-n (בא 77 בא 77)

1 נצב · זון · שם · בררכב · לאבה · לפנמו · בר · ברצר מלך [יאדי] · ב ·

שנת · קל .. [א]בי · פנמו · ב · ק

2 אבה | פלטוה · אלה · יאדי · מן · שחתה · אלה · הות · בבית · אבוה ·

וקם · אלה · הד[ר] · ק · משבה · על · ו · ו · א · ושב · ו · שחת ·

seal

פנש

7 27

- 3 בבית אבה והרג אבה ברצר והרג שבעי :: איחי אבה :... :ל .  
 רכב : ה :... :בך : עלמ .ך : בעל . חל . ל . מו :... :  
 4 ויתרה מת מלא מסגרת והכבר קירת חרבת מן קירת  
 ישבת ו . נ . ק . . . . . ש . ש . תשמ .  
 5 חרב בביתי ותהרגו חד בני ואגם הוית חרב בארק יאדי  
 וחל אל פנמו בר קרל א . . . . . אבי . ס . ב . ר . אבר . . . . .  
 6 שאה ושורה וחטה ושערה וקם פרם בשקל ושטרב . . . . .  
 בשקל ואסנב משת בשקל ויבל אבי בר . . . . .  
 7 עד מלך אשור ומלכה על בית אבה והרג אבן שחת מן  
 בית אבה . . . . . מן אצר . . . . . ארק יאדי מן ב . . . . .  
 8 ופשש מסגרת והרפי שבי יאדי וק[ם] אבי והרפי נשי  
 בס . . . . . בא . בית קתילת וקנואל . . . . .  
 9 בית אבה והיטבה מן קדמתה וכברת חטה ושערה ושאה  
 ושורה ביומיה ואז אכלת ושת . . . . .  
 10 זאת מוכרו וביומי אבי פנמו שם מת בעלי כפירי ובעלי  
 רכב ו . ח . ב אבי פנמו במצעת מלכי כבר . . . . . [א]  
 11 בי לו בעל כסף הא ולו בעל זהב בחכמתה ובצדקה פי  
 אחז בכנף מ[ר]אה מלך אשור ר . . . . .  
 12 אשור פחי ואחי יאדי וחנאה מראה מלך אשור על מלכי  
 כבר ברש . . . . .  
 13 בגלגל מראה תגלתפלסר מלך אשור מחנת ת . מן מוקא  
 שמש ועד מערב ו[מז] . . . . .  
 14 רבעתארק ובנת מוקא שמש יבל מערב ובנת מערב יבל  
 מן[קא] שמש ואב[י] . . . . .  
 15 גבלה מראה תגלתפלסר מלך אשור קירת מן גבל גרגם  
 . . . . . וי . [וא]בי פנמו בר ב[רצר] . . . . .

ya were called

ya were called

ya were called

ya were called

ya were called

ya were called

ya were called

he multiplied

p.167.l.12

case fall

dry measure

call a mina

grain?

Comm. Aram.

fall

fall made him trip

high fall

presence

is correct state

he improved it

drove

see note

please

see note

שמרג וגם מת אבי פנמו בלגרי מראה תגלתפלסר מלך  
 אשור במחנת גם ....

ובניה איחה מלכו ובכיתה מחנת מראה מלך אשור כלה

ולקה מראה מלך אשור ...  
 נבשה והקם לה משתי בארח והעבר אבי מן דמשק  
 לאשר ביומי שר ....

יה ביתה כלה ואנכי ברכב בר פנמו בצדק אבי ובצדק  
 הושבני מראי ...

אבי פנמו בר ברצר ושמת נצב זן . [לאבי] לפנמו בר

ברצר ומ... ת בם  
 ואמר במשות ועל יבל אמן יסם... מלך... ויבל יו א  
 קדם קבר אבי פנמו] ...

וזכר זנה הא פא הדרד ואל ורכבאל בעל בית ושמש  
 וכל אלהי יאדי ...

קדם אלהי וקדם אנשי

This statue Bar-rekub placed to his father Panammu, son of Bar-şur, king [of Ya'di]: . . year . . my [fa]ther Panammu . . <sup>2</sup> his father; the gods of Ya'di delivered him from his destruction. There was a conspiracy (?) in his father's house, and the god Had[ad] rose . . . his seat (?) over (?) . . . destruction . . . <sup>3</sup> in the house of his father, and slew his father Bar-şur, and slew seventy 70 kinsmen of his father . . chariots . . . owner of . . . <sup>4</sup> and with the rest thereof indeed (?) he filled the prisons, and desolate cities he made more numerous than inhabited cities . . . . [ye] set (?) <sup>5</sup> the sword against my house and slay one of my sons, I have also caused the sword to be in the land of Ya'di . . Panammu, son of QRL . . my father . . . perished . . . <sup>6</sup> grain and corn and wheat and barley, and a peres stood at a shekel, and a shaṭrab . . at a shekel, and an 'esnab of ? at a shekel; and

my father brought . . . <sup>7</sup> to the king of Assyria, and he made him king over his father's house, and he slew ? of destruction from his father's house . . . from the treasure . . . of the land (?) of Ya'di, from . . . <sup>8</sup> and he ? the prisons, and released the captives of Ya'di; and my father aro[se] and released the women of . . . house of the women killed (?) and ? . . . <sup>9</sup> his father's house; and he made it better than it was before; and wheat and barley and grain and corn were plentiful in his days; and then . . . did eat and . . . <sup>10</sup> cheapness of price (?). And in the days of my father Panammu he appointed indeed (?) ? ? and charioteers, and . . . my father Panammu in the midst of the kings of ? . . . <sup>11</sup> my [fa]ther, whether he possessed silver or whether he possessed gold, in his wisdom and in his righteousness ? laid hold of the skirt of his lord the king of Assyria . . . <sup>12</sup> Assyria, the governors, and the princes of Ya'di, and his lord the king of Assyria was gracious to (?) him above the kings of ? . . . <sup>13</sup> at the wheel of his lord Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, (in) the campaigns . . . from the east even to the west, and [from] . . . <sup>14</sup> the four parts of the earth; and the daughters of the east he brought to the west, and the daughters of the west he brought to the [ea]st, and [my] father . . . <sup>15</sup> his border, his lord Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, cities from the border of Gurgum . . . and my [fa]ther Panammu, son of B[ar-şur] . . . <sup>16</sup> ? Moreover my father Panammu died while following his lord Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, in the camp, also . . . <sup>17</sup> and his kinsfolk bewailed him ?, and the whole camp of his lord the king of Assyria bewailed him, and his lord the king of Assyria took . . . <sup>18</sup> . his soul, and set up for him a ? on the way, and brought across my father from Damascus to (this) place (?). In my (?) days . . . <sup>19</sup> . the whole of his house. And as for me Bar-rekub, son of Panamm[u, for the righteous]ness of my father and for my own righteousness, [my] lord made me to sit . . . <sup>20</sup> of my father Panammu, son of Bar-şur; and I have placed this statue . . . to my [father] Panammu, son of Bar-şur . . . <sup>21</sup> and . said ? and concerning ? surety (?) . . . king . . . and ? . . . before (?)

the sepulchre of my father Pa[nammu] . . .<sup>22</sup> and a memorial is this (?). Also may Hadad and El and Rekub-el, lord of the house, and Shamash, and all the gods of Ya'di . . .<sup>23</sup> before the gods and before men!

The text given above is derived from the facsimile in *Ausgraben in Sendschirli*, and from the text as published by Lidzbarski in *Nordsem. Epigr.*

L. 1. אָן נַצַּב 61 1; for שָׁם נַצַּב see 37 1 n. בִּרְכַב 63 1 prob. a short form of בִּרְכַבְאֵל 61 2 n. אֲבָהּ Pronounced אֲבָהּ as appears from אֲבוּהָ l. 2; the full form is אֲבוּהִי 76 A 5. D 1, in Nab. 82 2, in Palm. 110 3 &c., in Syr. ܐܘܘܗܝ. ברַּצַּר As in בִּרְכַב, the latter part of the compound is a divine name צַר, which occurs in the biblical pr. n. פִּדְהַצֹּר Num. 1 10 &c., and in the place-name בִּיתְצֹר Josh. 15 58; see Gray *Hebr. Pr. Names* 195 ff.<sup>1</sup> מֶלֶךְ יִאֲרִי 61 1. After שָׁנָה Sach. reads פִּלְטָה [נ] i. e. a Nif. form (not used in Aram.), and translates '[in remembrance] of the year when his father was delivered.'

L. 2. פִּלְטוּהָ One of the objects of the inscr. was to commemorate the deliverance of the king, cf. 1 3 f. For פִּלְטָה, in Hebr. poetical, cf. Ps. 18 3. 44. 49. אֱלֹהֵי יִאֲרִי Contrast אֱלֹהֵי יִאֲרִי l. 22. Perhaps the י at the end of אֱלֹהֵי (constr. plur.) was left out here because יִאֲרִי follows. שַׁחַתָּה appears to be inf. constr. with suff., cf. 1. 7. 61 27 f., and see 61 18 n. אֱלֹהֵי Possibly = Hebr. אֱלֵהּ *oath*, here *conspiracy*, DHM approved by Nöld. The facsimile clearly gives אֱלֹהֵי, but Lidzb. reads אֲוֵהּ, a form of the relat. particle, cf. וְיִי (?). הוּחַ 3 sing. fem. of הוּיָא, in Bibl. Aram. הוּחַ, הוּחַ. מִשְׁבָּהּ Perhaps the same word as in 61 15. 25.

L. 3. וְהָרַג אֲבָהּ בִּרְצַר *His father* is ambiguous; the suffix may refer to the murderer, another son of Bar-şur and brother of Panammu, or it may refer to Panammu, the murderer being some member of the royal household. The latter is preferable (DHM). שְׁבַעֵי For the omission of final ך see 61 4 n., and cf. the forms of the tens (cardinals) in Assy. *šarā, šalāšā, ḥanšā* &c., and in Eth. *salāsā, ḥamsā* &c., and in late Syr. ܫܒܥܐ, ܠܫܘܐ &c. On a basalt fragment found at Zenjirli the usual form occurs with the same numerical symbols as

<sup>1</sup> The connexion between this divine name and the title צַר (ה) *the Rock* used of Yahweh in the O.T. (Dt. 32 4. 2 S. 23 3. Is. 17 10 &c.) is not clear. Very likely there is none; the title צַר (ה) seems too purely figurative to have suggested the existence of a separate deity called *Rock*. The bibl. and post-bibl. references to צַר are discussed by Wiegand in *ZATW* (1890) 85 ff.

here . . . [מלכ] . . . כשלשן, Sach. 71. As an illustration of the massacre see Jud. 9 5. 2 K. 10 7. איהי Apparently plur. constr.; see 61 24 n.

L. 4. ויתרה May be a verb (61 14 n.); but it is simpler to take it as a noun, cf. יָהָרָו Is. 44 19; the suff. will then be sing. collective, referring to those who took part in the plot. For the two accus. after מלא cf. 1 K. 18 35. Eze. 9 7 &c. מסנרת Cf. Ps. 18 46. Mic. 7 17. For מת see 61 12 n. חרבת Adj., cf. Eze. 36 35. ישבת Ptcp. pass. In Hebr. the Nif. ptcp. is used, e.g. Eze. 12 20 &c. חשמו DHM reads חשמו, and supposes that the speaker is the god Hadad, announcing a divine oracle.

L. 5. בני חד i.e. king Bar-šur; cf. Ps. 2 7. אנם See 61 8 n. הויה if it governs the foll. חרב must be Pael, *I caused to be, to fall*, cf. Arab. هوى *to fall*. The perf. after the impfs. in the preceding clause lays emphasis on the finality of the god's decision. פנמו בר קרל i.e. Panammu i, 61 1.

L. 6. שאה l. 9, prob. = *corn*, Assy. šeu. שורה The context requires some kind of *grain*. The use of the word here throws light upon Is. 28 25 חטמה ושערה, and shows that it is unnecessary to regard שורה as a corrupt repetition of שערה. חטמה ושערה Cf. שמעי 61 5. 6; for prices in a time of plenty cf. 2 K. 7 1 וסאתים סאה סלה בשקל וסאתים. In these words the fem. ending ה (absol. state) is noticeable; cf. ונה l. 22. 63 20. 61 18 n., and the usage of Bibl. Aram. and Nabataean. פרס lit. *half, a half mina*, cf. CIS ii 10 פרש, explained in the Assy. version as 'a half mina.' In Talm. B. *Peḏ* viii 5 פרס, as the context implies, = חצי מנה; cf. Dan. 5 25 פָּרַס, and see Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* i 142 f. שקל = חקל, the ש as in early Aram. inscr. from Nineveh, CIS ii 13 f. 43, cf. שלשא ib. 3.

שטרב The name of a dry (?) measure. There are traces of a letter after ב; perhaps the full form was שטרבת. אסנב Cf. סנב CIS ii 7 a, in the Assy. version, 'two-thirds of a mina,' perhaps the Sumerian *sinibu*. משה The meaning *drink* (= מִשְׁתֵּיָא Dan. 5 10) is too indefinite, and *load, something carried* (מִשְׂתָּא a fem. form of מִשָּׂא) is equally vague. Lidzb. reads משה *oil for anointing*, cf. 76 C 1 (?). 147 ii a 12 ff.; but the facsimile shows a ת. ויבל i.e. ויבל Pael pf. = ובל, ll. 14. 21. The object of the verb was prob. some such word as 'a present.' In consequence of the famine Panammu sought the protection of the Assyrian king, and no doubt had to purchase it by a gift.

L. 7. מלכה Pael pf.; illustrate from 2 K. 24 17. אבן שחת is rendered by DHM *stone of destruction*, cf. Is. 8 14. אבן נגף. Such an expression sounds too rhetorical for an inscription; moreover, אבן is an uncertain reading. מן אצר The sentence may be completed



אֵרֶק יֵאֵדִי [אלה] *from the treasury of the gods of the land of Ya'di.* The reading אֵרֶק is better supported by the facsimile than Lidzb.'s אלה. The passage may be illustrated by 2 K. 16 8; cf. אֵצְרוֹת בֵּית י' 1 K. 14 26 &c.

L. 8. פֶּשַׁשׁ DHM renders *searched*, and compares פֶּשַׁשׁ in Targ. and Talm. A better meaning, *suppressed*, may be obtained through the Assyr. *pasdsu* (פסס) = 'blot out,' 'extinguish,' esp. of sins. אֵפֶל הרפי pf. of רָפִי, cf. הִרְפָּה in Hebr., e.g. Cant. 3 4 אֶחָתִּי וְלֹא אֶרְפְּנִי Job 27 6. שְׁבִי מִצְרַיִם Cf. שְׁבִי יֵאֵדִי Is. 20 4. קָתִילת Ptcp. pass. plur. fem. The form קָתִיל agrees with the Arab. قَتَلَ as against the Hebr. and Aram. קָטַל; cf. פָּלַט Hebr., Aram. = Arab. نَلَت. The meaning of קָנֹאֵל is unknown.

L. 9. קִרְמָתָה Lit. *its former state*; cf. קִרְמָתֹן Eze. 16 55. 36 11. אִן *then, or whatever*; 61 7 n. אֶכְלָה cannot = אֶכְלָה *food*, for the fem. ending of nouns is ה in this inscr., e.g. חָטָה &c. The form seems to be perf. 3 sing. fem. וְשָׂתָה if these letters are correct, may be restored וְשָׂתָתָה or וְשָׂתָתָה *and did drink*. The subj. of both verbs is perhaps [יאֵדִי], though in 61 9 יֵאֵדִי is mas., or [אֵרֶקָא].

L. 10. זֹלָת may be explained by the Talm. זֹל *be cheap*, זֹלָת *cheapness*, e.g. Midr. Rab. *Qoh.* 10 c זֹה אוֹכֵל בְּזוֹל וְזֶה אוֹכֵל בְּיוֹקֵר וְזֶה אוֹכֵל בְּזוֹל *'value of barley at a cheap price.'* מוֹכְרוֹ The form is uncertain; DHM explains it as absol. st. of מוֹכְרוֹתָא = Hebr. מָכַר Num. 20 19. שֶׁם The subj. seems to be the king of Assyria. בְּעֵלֵי may well mean *charioteers*, cf. הִרְכַּב וּבְעֵלֵי הַפְּרָשִׁים 2 S. 1 6; but בְּעֵלֵי כְפִירֵי can hardly mean *villagers, citizens of villages* (see 10 3 n.) in this connexion. To render *lords over chariots, lords over villages*, gives an unusual meaning to בְּעֵל *owner*, but it may be illustrated by בְּעֵלֵי גֵימִים Is. 16 8. The meaning of כְּפִירֵי is uncertain; see 61 10 n. וְנִחְשַׁב וְנִחְשַׁב Hal. restores וְנִחְשַׁב *and was esteemed* which involves a Nifal form (l. 1 n.); Lidzb. וְהוֹשֵׁב. See 61 28 n. The last letter looks like ח or ה in the facsimile; but בְּמַצְעָה makes no sense. כְּבָר l. 12. כְּבָר may be the name of a place, cf. כְּבָרָה Eze. 1 1 &c., or a noun, *might*; cf. the verb כְּבָר l. 4.

L. 11. לוֹ . . . לוֹ *sive . . . sive*; for לוֹ *if* see 61 13 n. It is questionable whether לוֹ could have been written for the negative לֹא, as many take it. The general sense appears to be, 'my father, whatever the state of his exchequer (or, however wealthy he may have been), was prudent enough to seek the patronage of a powerful sūzerain.' Cf. 63 10 f. פִּי Not *my mouth*, which would be פִּי 61 29. Lidzb. takes פ as the conjunction, and reads פִּי אֲחֹז; but the impf. is out of place here, and the facsimile distinctly shows the dividing dot after פִּי.

Possibly פִּי may be an unusual form of the conjunction, = פֶּה l. 22. אָחוּ בְכִנְף is a figure for seeking alliance and protection, cf. Zech. 8 23. מִרְאָה From מִרָא 63 3. (constr. st.) with suff., cf. 76 A 7. In later Aram. the 3rd radical disappears before a suff., e. g. in Palm. מִן 126 2 &c., though it is retained in the Nab. form מִרְאָנָא 81 8 &c., and in the Bibl. Aram. מִרְאִי Dan. 4 16. 21 Kethib.

L. 12. אַחֵי פַחֵי must be regarded as plur. absol., not constr., and as equivalent to the Hebr. פְּחוּת (sing. פְּחָה), Assyr. *paḥāti* 'viceroy'; see Schrader *COT* 186. אַחֵי יַאֲדִי Prob. 'members of the royal family, lit. brethren, of Ya'di.' אַח is apparently a title like אִיח l. 3. חָנָא Possibly Pael perf. with suff. 3 sing. mas. from חָנָא = חָנָה *encamp*; 'he gave him a position in the Assyrian camp above the kings of KBR.' The suzerain was attended on his campaigns by dependent kings; cf. 1 K. 20 1. 12. 16. But the rendering *caused him to encamp* is uncertain; and as the context in 61 19 hardly admits *I encamped* as the sense of חָנָא, it is perhaps better in both cases to take the forms from חָנָן *be gracious* (DHM), although the א is difficult to explain. עַל מַלְכֵי כְבַר Illustrate from 2 K. 25 28.

L. 13. גִּלְגַּל 63 8 the same word as the Hebr. גִּלְגָּל, properly the *wheel* of a chariot, Is. 5 28. Jer. 47 3, or the *chariot* itself; illustrate from 1 K. 20 33. 2 K. 10 15. 16. The missing verb was prob. *and he caused me to ride, or and I ran* (63 8). תְּנַלְתַּפְסֵר So written in 2 K. 16 7; elsewhere תְּפֹלְאֵסֵר 2 K. 15 29. 16 10; in 63 3. 6 תְּפֹלְיֵסֵר. For the history of this warlike and successful king see Schrader *COT* 240 ff. מַחֲנֵי Prob. plur. rather than constr. sing. as in ll. 16. 17. The meaning here is *armies* or *campaigns* (DHM) rather than *camps*; cf. Jud. 4 15 f. 1 K. 22 34 &c. מַחֲנֵי must be governed by some verb now lost. מוֹקָא = מוֹצָא, see 61 5 n. In Hebr. יוֹצֵא is used of the sun rising, Gen. 19 23. Ps. 19 7. For מַעֲרֵב . . . מוֹקָא cf. Ps. 75 7.

L. 14. מִרְאָ רַבְעֵי אַרְקָא Cf. 63 4 רַבְעֵתְאֲרֵק. The latter expression shows that רַבְעֵת (Hebr. רִבְעָה *one fourth*) is plur. and not sing.; cf. the Assyr. *šar kibrat irbitti* or *arba'i* 'king of the four quarters,' a title used by Tiglath-pileser and the kings before and after him; *KB* ii 2. 8. 34 &c. וּבְנֵת מוֹקָא שִׁמְשׁ The allusion is prob. to the transportation of subject nations, a characteristic feature of Assyrian policy. בְּנֵת may be used figuratively for 'peoples' (cf. 'daughter of Zion'), or simply *women*.

L. 15. The connexion between this and the line before was prob., 'my father rendered him military service, and his lord . . . added to his border cities &c.' (DHM). גִּרְגֻם *Gurgum* or *Gamgum*, mentioned

in inscr. of Salmanassar ii, *KB* i 156. 172, a principality to the NE. of Sam'al among the border mountains between Syria and Cilicia, bounded by the districts of Kommagene (Assyr. *Kummuḥ*) and Melitene (*Milid*) on the NE. In the Annals of Tiglath-pileser iii the name occurs between *Samal* and *Milid*, *KB* ii 30. The chief town was *Marqasi* (CIS ii p. 15) = מַרְקֶשׁ = مَرْقَش; we may conclude that the Amanus district round Mar'ash formed the kingdom of Gurgum; / Sachau *Sitzungsab. Preuss. Akad.* (1892) pp. 320 ff.

L. 16. שמרני Prob. a pr. n.; cf. שִׁמְרָנִי Jud. 5 6, and p. 80 n. וּגַם 61 8 n. בלגני By metathesis for בִּלְגָנִי; cf. in Mandaic ליגרא = ܠܝܓܪܐ, אַרְקַבָּא = ܐܪܩܒܐ scorpion, Nöld. *Mand. Gram.* 74. בלגני Lit. *at the feet of*; cf. for the idiom Jud. 4 10. 1 S. 25 27 &c.

L. 17. ובכיה i. e. prob. וּבְכִיָּיה Pael pf. 3 sing., cf. 65 5 בכוני. The construction of the words following is obscure. איחה, though sing. in form (61 30), must have a plur. meaning; it may be regarded as a sing. collective. DHM takes מלכו as מַלְכוּתָא, cf. 61 11; but *his royal kinsmen* would be מלכו וְאִיחָהּ. Lidzb. simplifies the difficulty by rendering *his kinsmen, the kings*; apparently treating the abstract singular form as equivalent to a concrete plur., like אלהו in 61 2 (uncertain). כלה The suff. is fem., referring back to וּבְכִיָּיה וּבִיתָהּ כִּלָּה. For this idiomatic use of כל with suff., cf. l. 19 כִּלָּה וּבִיתָהּ, in Syr. כִּלָּה וּבִיתָהּ Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* § 218, in Hebr. Is. 9 8. Jer. 13 19 &c., in Arab. الْكَلْبُ الْكَلْبُ Wright *Ar. Gr.* ii § 82 (a); cf. 89 5 n.

L. 18. נבשה See 61 17 n. וְהָקַם i. e. וְהָקַם. משחי, if correct, will = מַשְׁחָה feast, a meaning which hardly agrees with . . . וְהָקַם. בארה Hal. reads משכי (שְׂכָה), a possible alternative, and compares מַשְׁכֵּייתָ Lev. 26 1. Num. 33 52, i. e. a figured stone with an image of a god; this gives a suitable sense. The reading מְבַכִּי a weeping (Sach. &c.) is not that of the facsimile. The passage finds a striking illustration in Gen. 50 7-13. והעבר אבי מן דמשק The subj. of the verb is Tiglath-pileser, who was engaged upon the siege of Damascus in 733-2 B.C. After 732 he returned home, and no further expedition to Syria is recorded; see Schrader *COT* 258 f. לאשר i. e. prob. to his native place. Panammu would naturally desire to be buried in his own country; cf. Gen. 47 29 f. 50 25. Ex. 13 19. Josh. 24 32.

L. 19. בררכב A careless spelling of בִּרְכַב. אנכי . . . הושבני The casus pendens, with the pers. pron. as subject; similarly in Hebr. Gen. 24 27 &c.; Driver *Tenses* § 197 (4). The form אנכי (61 1 אנך), a stranger to Aram., is a peculiar feature of this dialect; see

p. 185. בצדק אבי ונו' The phrase occurs again in 63 4 f. and in the basalt fragment (l. 3 n.) . . . בצדק אב[י ובצדקי] . . . cf. 65 2. The line may be completed על כרסא מלך אשור as in 63 6 f.

L. 20. ושמת i. e. וְשָׁמַת. After זכר נצב ון we may restore [זכר · לאב] as a memorial to my father. ובנית Sach. reads . . . ות . . .

The remainder of the inscr. is in many parts so much injured that the exact sense cannot be recovered. The general purport of l. 21 seems to be the safeguarding of the statue and sepulchre (?); ll. 22 f. probably invoke the curse of the gods upon any attempt to violate the memorial. The inscr. thus closes in the same way as 61, but with less elaborate detail.

L. 21. אמר may be either pf. 3 sing., or impf. 1 sing. במשותח Sach. connects with the Hebr. מִשְׁאוֹת portions, gifts, and the Phoen. מִשְׁאָתָא 42 1, and renders 'he gave orders in the matter of offerings.' Hoffm. derives the form from the שִׁית. The meaning must remain obscure. יבול Sach. concerning produce, Hebr. יבול אמן Perhaps surety, 61 11 n. ויבל? and he brought, l. 6.

L. 22. זכר ונה הא The rendering given above is conjectural. For this is a memorial we should expect the order זכר הא ונה, as in Hebr. זֶה הוּא בֵּית יְיָ 1 Chr. 21 31. Qoh. 1 17. The idiom is frequent in post-bibl. Hebr., and in Aram., e. g. Dan. 4 27 הָלֵא דָא הוּא בְּבַל רְבָתָא &c.; Driver *Tenses* § 201 (3) Obs. Normally the pronoun הוא anticipates the subject, which comes last (*this is it, Babylon*); but here the subject comes first for emphasis, and the pronoun reiterates it (*a memorial, this is it*). Similarly in Syr., the pronoun may refer either backwards or forwards to the subject; Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* § 311. בעל בית See 61 17 n. הדר ונו' See 61 2 n. פא owner of the temple (5 15 f.) rather than 'patron of the royal house.'

L. 23. אנש . . . אלהי Cf. 69 20 אנש . . . אלהי Jud. 9 9. 13 אלהים ואנשים

63. Zenzirli: Bar-rekub. Same period as 62. Imp. Museum, Constantinople.

- |                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| אנה · ב[ר]רכב ·                 | 1 |
| בר · פנמו · מלך · שמ            | 2 |
| אל · עבד · תגלתפליסר · מרא ·    | 3 |
| רבעי · ארקא · בצדק · אבי · ובצר | 4 |
| קי · הושבני · מראי · רכבאל ·    | 5 |

- 6 ומראי תגלתפליסר על  
 7 כרסא אבי ובית אבי ע  
 8 מל מן כל ורצת בגלגל  
 9 מראי מלך אשור במצע  
 10 ת מלכן רברבן בעלי כ  
 11 סף ובעלי זהב ואחות  
 12 בית אבי והיטבתה  
 13 מן בית חר מלכן רברב  
 14 ן והתנאבו אחי מלכי  
 15 א לכל מה טבת ביתי ו  
 16 בי טב לישא לאבהי מ  
 17 לכי שמאל הא בית כלמ = סלכו  
 18 ו להם פהא בית שתוא ל  
 19 הם והא בית כיצא ו  
 20 אנה בנית ביתא זנה

אנה י א ב

I am Bar-rekub, <sup>2</sup> son of Panammu, king of Sam<sup>3</sup>al, servant of Tiglath-pileser lord <sup>4</sup> of the four parts of the earth. For the righteousness of my father and for my own righteou<sup>5</sup>ness my lord Rekub-el <sup>6</sup> and my lord Tiglath-pileser made me to sit upon <sup>7</sup> the throne of my father. And my father's house laboured more than all: and I ran at the wheel <sup>9</sup> of my lord, the king of Assyria, in the midst <sup>10</sup> of mighty kings, possessors of silver and possessors of gold. And I took <sup>12</sup> the house of my father, and made it better <sup>13</sup> than the house of any of the mighty kings; and my brethren the kings coveted (?) <sup>15</sup> all the prosperity of my house. And <sup>16</sup> a good house (?) my fathers, the kings of Sam<sup>17</sup>al, did not possess; it was a house of ? <sup>18</sup> to them, and it was their summer house <sup>19</sup> and it was a winter house; so <sup>20</sup> I built this house.

This inscr. belongs not to a statue, like 61 and 62, but to a building—the new palace built by Bar-rekub. It was found in 1891 on the *Tell* of Zenjirli. On the left side of the inscr. is a figure of the king in Assyrian style carved in relief, holding a lotus flower in his hand. Another fine relief of Bar-rekub has been found at Zenjirli: the king is seated on his throne, with a eunuch behind and a scribe in front of him. On the right, and at the level of the king's crown, is carved the inscr. [אנה בררכב בר פנמי]. In the middle of the monument, between the head of the king and that of the eunuch, is the symbol of the lunar deity, a full moon and crescent; at the right of it runs the legend מראי בעלחרן i.e. 'My lord is Ba'al of H̄arran.' H̄arran, in N. Mesopotamia, possessed the great temple of Sin, the Assyrian moon-god; and this was no doubt the deity whom Bar-rekub worshipped; see 64 9 n. Halévy *Rev. Sémi.* (1895) 392 ff.; Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* ii 213, *Rec.* ii § 40, *Album d'Ant. Or.* Pl. xlvi (facsimile).

L. 1. אנה l. 20. 68 1. 73 A 3; contrast אנה 61 1. 19. The Aram. character of the dialect is more strongly marked in this inscr. than in the two preceding ones. בררכב The same person as the donor of 62; he was reigning prob. in the years 732–727 B.C.

L. 2. מלך שמהל The outline of the history of Sam'al may be traced in Assyrian inscriptions for about 233 years. It is first mentioned, as a country, by Salmanassar ii (860–825 B.C.), who defeated a coalition of N. Syrian kings at the beginning of his reign, *KB* i 156 f.: Sam'al was then an independent state. It is mentioned next by Tiglath-pileser iii in 738 and 734 B.C., as a town, with a king Panammu, *KB* ii 20. 30: at this period it became tributary. Then, in 681 B.C., the provincial governor of Sam'al gave his name to the first year of Asarhaddon (681–668 B.C.), Smith *Eponym. Canon* 68; and in 670 Asarhaddon made Sam'al a halting-place on his return from Egypt. By this time it had become part of the Assyrian empire. Lastly, the name appears in two lists of Syrian towns, temp. Ašurbanipal (668–626 B.C.), which must have been written before the end of his reign, Rawlinson *Cun. Inscr. of W. Asia* ii 53 1. 43; 53 3 l. 61; Sachau 58 ff. The situation of Sam'al may be inferred from the occurrence of the name in the inscriptions between Gurgum (62 15 n.) and Patin or Hamath (*KB* i 156; ii 20. 30); it lay in the country between the rivers Pyramos on the N. and Orontes on the S., at the foot of the Amanus mountains. The name has a Semitic sound, and perhaps, like the Hebr. שְׂמַחַל, means *left*, geographically *north*. In this inscription Bar-rekub, son of Panammu ii, calls himself 'king of Sam'al' and his ancestors 'kings of Sam'al' ll. 2. 16 f., but

Panammu ii is styled 'king of Ya'di' in 62, and likewise Panammu i in 61. The question arises, what is the relation between the two districts or cities? Sam'al, it seems, was ruled by the dynasty of Panammu ii and Bar-rekub; Tiglath-pileser speaks of 'Panammu of Sam'al' (supr.); and we may suppose that Ya'di, which had Panammu i for its king in an earlier generation (see 61 i n.), was attached to the neighbouring state of Sam'al in the time of Panammu ii, perhaps as a reward for his fidelity to the king of Assyria. The fact that a king of Sam'al and a king of Ya'di bore the same name, though belonging to different families, may be merely accidental or due to some previous alliance by marriage (Winckler *Allor. Forsch.* i 15 ff.). It is curious, however, that Bar-rekub, if he ruled over both places, in 62 makes no mention of Sam'al, and in 63 says nothing about Ya'di. Whether Zenjirli belonged to Ya'di or to Sam'al in ancient times is not clear; for both 62 (יאדי) and 63 (שמאל) were found there. The Hadad statue (61), which was found at Gerjin near Zenjirli, was certainly a product of Ya'di. Winckler argues that Zenjirli and Gerjin belonged to Ya'di, and were situated near the southern border of Sam'al, the neighbouring state.

L. 3. עבד תגלחפליסר See 62 13 n.; illustrate from 2 K. 16 7.

L. 4. רבעי ארקא In 62 14 רבעתארק ארקא is a clear instance of the emphatic state, cf. מלכיא l. 14. ביתא l. 20, and perhaps שתוא, כיצא ll. 18 f. In 61 and 62 this characteristic Aram. usage does not occur. בי בצדק אבי Cf. 62 19.

L. 5. רכבאל See 61 2 n.

L. 7. כרסא See 15 2 n. עמל Perf. 3 sing. or ptcp., probably laboured, toiled, as in Aram., Arab., and late Hebr.; מן will then have a comparative sense. Bar-rekub claims that his family was the most zealous of all the princely houses in the service of the suzerain.

L. 8. ורצת בגלגל Lit. *I ran at the wheel*, i. e. followed the chariot; cf. 62 13, and contrast 1 S. 8 11 ורצו לפני מרכבתו.

L. 9. במצעת See 61 28 n.

L. 10. מלכן רברבן The form of the plur. is clearly Aram.; see 61 4 n. The reduplicated form of רב is common in the Targ., רבִּרְבָא; in Syr. ܪܒܪܒܐ. בעלי כסף וגו' Cf. 62 11; בעל in this sense is frequent in the O. T., e. g. Qoh. 5 10. 12 &c.

L. 12. והיטבתה Perhaps out of spoils of the campaign; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 103.

L. 13. חר See 61 27 n.

L. 14. התנאבו is a double reflexive form, Ethnafal, from אבה or





61 15. כברו 11. זכרו 31. מלכו 62 17 (?); the ending ה of the fem. absol. 62 6 n.; the plur. ending in n, מלכן ברברנן 63 10. 13. שלשן 62 3 n., and without n, אלהי 61 4 n.; the suff. 3 sing. m. in ה' and 3 plur. in הם 63 18 n.; the accus. sign ות 61 28; the relative וי; היתה=הות 62 2; the impf. forms ירקי, תשתי &c. 61 22 n. ליתכה &c. 61 23 n.; the use of the perf. with weak waw; the absence of the article, and the use of the emphatic form in 63;—all these forms and usages are characteristic of Aramaic. On the other hand there are features which exhibit an affinity to the Canaanite group, Hebrew, Moabite, Phoenician, e. g. חרא, חקק, זור, זכר, חרג, היה, גם, בני, אנכי, אנך 61 10. 20. נתן, לקח, לילא, לילא 61 4 n.; the infin. without prefixed ט; while passages abound which find illustrations or parallels in the O.T., see esp. 61 9. 16. 18. 23. 29. 62 2. 3. 4. 6. 7. 11. 13. 18. 19. 63 3. 19 with the notes. Even more significant is the way in which this dialect allies itself with Hebr. (and Assyrian) rather than with the usual Aram., in the following consonantal equations, the first three of which are also characteristic of the dialect of Nêrab, 64. 65:—

Arab. Aram.	Hebr. Zenz.
ז = ד	= ז = ז, e. g. זי, זון, זנה, זחב, זכר, אחז, פמו, פמו <sup>1</sup> .
ט = ת	= ש = ש, e. g. ישב, שקל, אשר, שלשן.
ظ = ט	= צ = צ, e. g. כיצא 63 19.
ض = ק (ע)	= צ = ק, e. g. מוקא, רקי, ארק 61 5 n.).

In the last equation the alliance is with Aram., not with Hebrew. These facts point to the conclusion that the dialect belongs to an early stage of Aramaic, and differs in many respects from the later literary Aramaic, particularly in a closer resemblance to the language of the O.T. and of the early Aram. inscrr. from Nêrab, Babylon, and Egypt (61 1 n. 4 n. 5 n. 62 6 n. 63 19 n. &c.). It was a local dialect, with certain peculiarities of its own (e. g. פ and פמו, ומז, ליש, למה, למה?), some of which show a kinship with Arabic (e. g. זי = זو, כל מה, אשם, פ, ודר &c.); and no doubt it was influenced by contact with Assyria. The Hittite kingdom once predominated in the neighbourhood of Ya'di and Sam'al<sup>2</sup>, but the nature of its influence upon these petty states is not known at present.

<sup>1</sup> This equation is found also in the Aram. of Nineveh 66, Babylon CIS ii 65. 69-71, Asia Minor (Abydos 67, Cilicia 68. 149 A 6), Têma (Arabia) 69. 70, and Egypt 71. 74-77. It is characteristic of the Aram. of the early period, 8th-4th cent. B. C., as used in the Assyrian and Persian empires. The forms זי, זון, זנה, זחב are specially significant as distinguishing the old from the later Aram. of the O.T., Nab., Palm., and Palest. dialects (see p. 26).

<sup>2</sup> Lagrange *Rev. Biblique* (1901) 30 f. 35 = *Rel. Sémi.* (1903) 44. 50.

64. Nêrab 1. Prob. vii cent. B. C. Louvre.

כמר	ששנורבן	1
שהר	בנרב מת	2
זונה	צלמה	3
ואר	צתה	4
מן	את	5
תהנם	צלמא	6
זנה	וארצתא	7
מן	אשרה	8
שהר ושמש ונבל ונשך יסחו		9
שמך ואשרך מן חין ומות לחה		10
יבטלוך ויהאברו זרעך והן		11
תנצר	צלמא וארצתא זא	12
אחרה	ינצר	13
זי לך		14

Of Sin-zir-ban, priest <sup>2</sup> of Sahar in Nêrab, deceased. <sup>3</sup> And this is his image <sup>4</sup> and his couch. <sup>5</sup> Whosoever thou art <sup>6</sup> that shalt plunder this image <sup>7</sup> and couch <sup>8</sup> from its place, <sup>9</sup> may Sahar and Shamash and Nikal and Nusk pluck <sup>10</sup> thy name and thy place out of life, and with a ? death <sup>11</sup> kill thee, and cause thy seed to perish! But if <sup>12</sup> thou shalt protect this image and couch, <sup>13</sup> may another protect <sup>14</sup> thine!

The two inscrr. 64 and 65 were found in 1891 at Nêrab, a small village SE. of Aleppo. They accompany the bas-reliefs of two priests of the local sanctuary, finely executed in the Assyrian manner and singularly well preserved. No. 64 represents the priest Sin-zir-ban, with hands raised and joined in prayer; the upper part of the inscr. surrounds the head and hands, the lower part is written across the robe. The writing is not so archaic and rigid as that of the Zenjirli

inscr., while it belongs to an earlier stage than that of the inscr. from Têma (69. 70). An indication of date is afforded by the names of the deities mentioned. They are clearly Assyrian; and 'the moon-god at Nêrab,' the chief deity of the place, can be none other than the Assyrian Sin, whose great temple was at Ḥarran. The worship of Sin had already made its way from Ḥarran to N. Syria in the time of Bar-rekub, before 727 B.C. (see p. 182); and from the same quarter it found a home at Nêrab. The temple at Ḥarran was destroyed by the Medes in 605 and restored by Nabonid in 552. Cl.-Ganneau, with much plausibility, dates these monuments from this period. He suggests that after the catastrophe of 605, Nêrab offered the hospitality of a shrine to the moon-god and his allied divinities (*Ét.* ii 222).

L. 1. ששנורבן The first letter is not distinctly cut, but the traces are clear enough to justify the reading (Lidzb., Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii 106 f.). This ש must be the relative and sign of the genitive; cf. 65 1, and similarly in Phoen., at the head of an inscr., 39 2 n. In Aram. we should expect וי at this period (e. g. כספא וי CIS ii 70); but the usage here is perhaps influenced by the Assy. ša (possessive). שנורבן The name is Assy., *Sin-zir-ban* 'Sin has created a son,' a suitable name for a priest of שחר = Sin, the moon-god; cf. *Marduk-zir-bāni* CIS ii 18 end. כמר 65 1. 69 23. b 2; Nab. 98 4; Syr. كَمَرٌ; NPun. 55 7 (see n.). The כמר may be connected with the Assy. *kamāru* 'lay prostrate,' hence כמר priest, lit. 'one who prostrates himself.'

L. 2. שחר i. e. *the moon*; Aram. סיהר, סיהר, זיהר; Arab. شهر; cf. Hebr. שְׁהַלְיָיִם 'moon-shaped ornaments,' Jud. 8 21. 26. Is. 3 18; see further on l. 9. שחר the moon-god at Nêrab 65 1. For the expression see 24 2 n.; it implies that the deity was imported from elsewhere. נרב is still called النيرب. Three places of this name were known to antiquity, this one near Aleppo, another near Sermin (27½ m. SE. of Aleppo), and a third near Damascus. Nireb is mentioned in the list of Thothmes iii, *Rec. of the Past*, new ser., v 33; and Stephanus Byz. s. v. Νήραβος gives πόλις Συρίας, possibly, but not certainly, referring to the Nêrab here. It is not unlikely that Nêrab acknowledged the suzerainty of Assyria at this period, judging from the strongly marked impress of Assyrian influence on these inscriptions.

L. 3. זנה See add. note ii p. 26.

L. 4. ארצתה l. 7 ארצתא = ערשתא (Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* ii 196, Lidzb.) lit. *couch*, here *sarcophagus* 65 8, cf. Dt. 3 11 ערש ברזל; Palm. ערשא = κλίνη, Inscr. of Tayyibe, p. 296 n. 1. For the orthography cf. عسقلان = אשקלון, אחרקישו = *Athar* (عثر) is holy CIS ii 312 (Hoffm. *ZA* xi 211), and in

Mand. אטמא = עטמא = עצם, Nöld. *Mand. Gr.* 58 n. For צ = ש cf. יצחק and ישחק.

L. 5 f. מן את תהנס Cf. 65 8, the indefinite rel. מן as in Nab. 94 5 די מן כל די, מן די, and in Palm. 147 ii a 34. 45 ff. די מן. Cl.-Gan. finds a similar construction in 4 3 מן אש תפק; but see note in loc. The general sense of תהנס 65 8. 9 is clear from the context, but the etymology is uncertain. The form may be explained as the Hafel, or rather Peal, impf. of תהנס = אנס carry off by force, rob, a root frequent in the Targums, the ה being written for א as הין for אין, הלו, הלו, הלו for אלי 73 A 1; so Hoffm. 212. Or it may be the Hafel impf. apocopated of תהנס = תהנס (cf. 5 5) treated as a ל'ה verb, with the ה retained in Hafel as in האנדו l. 11 (Cl.-Gan. 197 f.). The first explanation is perhaps preferable.

L. 8. אשרה Cf. 61 27 n. Note that ש, as in the dialect of Zenjirli, here = Aram. ת = Arab. ش; see p. 185.

L. 9. שחר ושמש ונכל ונשך 65 9. Sahar (l. 2 n.) is the Aram. equivalent of the Assy. Sin, the moon-god (שחר mas.) of Ḥarran. Not only Sahar, but the other gods of Nêrab are Assyrian in origin. Thus Sin, Shamash, [Nergal], Nusku are invoked along with other deities, and in this order, by Salmanassar ii and frequently by Ašurbanipal, e. g. *KB* i 130. ii 154 f. 176 ff. 210. 216 ff. &c. In the cylinder from Abû-Habba (Sippar) Nabonid, 555-538 B.C., records how he rebuilt I-ḥul-ḥul, the temple of Sin at Ḥarran, which had been founded by Salmanassar ii and refounded by Ašurbanipal. In connexion with his work of restoration, Nabonid calls upon these same gods in the order Sin, Ningal (instead of Nergal), Shamash, [Ishtar], Nusku; *KB* iii 2 100 f. We may conclude, therefore, that along with Sin, these other deities, associated with the moon-god, were imported from Ḥarran. The god Shamash has been found already at Zenjirli, see 61 2 n. Nikal is no doubt the same as Ningal mentioned by Nabonid, the n being assimilated, and the k interchanged with g, as in *Tukulti* = תגלת-פלסר; moreover Jensen (*ZA* xi 296 f.) shows that the Sumerian NIN-GAL would be pronounced by the Assyrians *Nikal* or *Nikkal*. This form actually occurs as the name of the goddess, כוז נבל, worshipped at Ḥarran in *The Doctrine of Addai*, ed. Phillips 24 l. 17; and the same passage enumerates the other gods, נשך the eagle, prob. a copyist's misreading of נשך in the original, שחר the moon-god, and שחר the sun-god. In the inscr. of Nabonid, l. c., Ningal (= Nikal) is said to be the consort of Sin, and 'the mother of the great gods.' Nusku, the son of Sin, was a fire-god, the messenger of Bel; Jensen l. c. 295, Jastrow *Rel. of*

*Bab. and Assyr.* 220 f. The above argument is clearly stated by Cl.-Gan. 211-221. ינסחווו וזרעה ושמה From נסח *tear out*, cf. ינסחווו וזרעה ושמה 69 14 (optative). *Ezr.* 6 11; in *Hebr. Pr.* 2 22. *Ps.* 52 7 &c. For the impf. 3 plur. in *ל* for *לן* cf. יהאברו l. 11. יהבאשו 65 9, and see 61 4 n.

L. 10. חין מן *from life* rather than *from the living*, the plur. being in the absol. state, and having an abstract sense, like זקונים &c.; cf. ומת and unto life CIS ii 163 d. ארכה בחיין *Dan.* 7 12. לחה A second accus. of manner after the direct obj. in יבטלוך l. 11; cf. *Mal.* 3 24 והכיתי את הארץ חרם *Ps.* 64 8 ויָרַם אֱלֹהִים חֵץ. The meaning of לחה is unknown. Various explanations are possible: thus, a *destructive death*, *Syr.* חסא *destroy; a death in full vigour*, *Hebr.* לח *fresh*, cf. תבא לח אלי קבר *Ber. Rab.* § 79; an *ignominious death*, *Arab.* ملحي ملحي *ignominious*. The general sense must be the same as יהבאשו ממתתה 65 9 f.

L. 11. יבטלוך With כ for ק cf. כיצא 63 19, קשץ = كمش archer &c., *Wright Comp. Gr.* 50. ויהאברו For the ה retained in *Hafel* impf. cf. יהבאשו 65 9. יהנ[פק] 69 21, and the usage in *B. Aram.*, יהשפל *Dan.* 7 24. תהנוק *Ezr.* 4 13. The Peal of אבר occurs in 65 10.

L. 12. תנצר As in the *Zenjirli* inscr., צ = *Hebr.* צ = *Aram.* ט = *Arab.* ط; cf. כיצא 63 19, and see p. 185. The נ is not assimilated; cf. *Ps.* 61 8 &c., ינסחווי 69 14, and contrast יסחו l. 9.

L. 13. אחרה 65 8 a curious form, not easy to account for. *Hoffm.*, 213 ff., points it אַחְרָה, an older form of אַחֲרָן, with ה- added to the root as in רעה (from רע), לִבְנָה, אִשָּׁה, לִבְנָה; then, he says, to this *ohoré* was added the nominal ending הן. The addition ה- to a trilateral root is, however, a very rare occurrence, and it is doubtful whether it would be attached to such a common word as אחר. It seems much more likely that אחרה is merely the emphatic form, with ה for א, אחרה being an early form of the usual אחרנא, אחרנא.

65. Nêrab 2. Prob. same date as 64. Louvre.

שאגבר כמר שהר בנרב	1
זנה צלמה בצדקתי קדמוה	2
שמני שם טב והארך יומי	3
ביום מתת פמי לאתאחו מן מלן	4
ובעיני מחזה אנה בני רבע בכונ	5

6 י והום אתהמו ולשמו עמי מאן

7 כסף ונחש עם לבשי שמוני למען

8 לאחרה לתהנם ארצתי מן את תעשק

9 ותהנסני שהר ונבל ונשך יהבאשו

10 ממתתה ואחרתה תאבר

Of Agbar, priest of Sahar in Nêrab: <sup>2</sup>this is his image. For my righteousness before him <sup>3</sup>he gave me a good name and prolonged my days. <sup>4</sup>In the day that I died my mouth was not closed from words; <sup>5</sup>and with my eyes what do I see? Children of the fourth generation! They wept <sup>6</sup>for me, and were utterly distracted (?). And they did not lay with me any vessel <sup>7</sup>of silver or bronze; with my shroud they laid me, so that <sup>8</sup>for another(?) thou shouldest not plunder my couch. Whosoever thou art that shalt injure <sup>9</sup>and plunder me—may Sahar and Nikal and Nusk make his death miserable, <sup>10</sup>and may his posterity perish!

The priest Agbar is represented sitting, in the act of offering a libation before an altar. Facing him from behind the altar stands an attendant, holding a fan. The treatment of the scene recalls an Egyptian funeral rite, but the style of the figures is thoroughly Assyrian.

L. 1. שאנבר For ש see 64 1 n. The name *Agbaru* occurs in an Assy.-Aram. inscr., CIS ii 42 end; cf. the name of a chief in the Amanus district, *Gabbari*, *KB* i 162. The title as in 64 1.

L. 2. בצרקתי See 62 19 n. 3 9. קרם *before him*, 62 21; or the suff. cf. אבוה 62 2. 1 n., Palm. בנוה Vogtîé 21. 80 4.

L. 3. שם טב Cf. שם נעם 9 6. יומי והארך יומי Cf. 3 9.

L. 4. מתת Prob. perf. 1 sing., מִתַּת. If the form were a noun, the suff. 1 sing. would be needed. לאתאחו In this inscr. ל is written for א, לשמו l. 6. לתהנם l. 8. 63 16 n. אתאחו is the Ethpeal of אחו = Syr. *أَحْو* (see p. 185) *to be closed, hindered from* . . . , e. g. *أَحْو* . . . *أَحْو* Eze. 33 22, sometimes followed by *أَحْو*, as here. The general sense may be illustrated by Deut. 34 7.

L. 5. מחזה אנה Oratio directa: מ' = מָה *what?* or *how?* For the abbreviation cf. פמו 61 3. 4. 22. חזה is the ptc. = חָזָה. רבע = Hebr. רָבַע Ex. 20 5. 34 7 &c. בכוני i. e. בְּכֹנֵי Pael perf. 3 plur.

with suff.; cf. בכיה 62 17. The perf. 3 plur. in this dialect ends in *û*, not *ûn*, e. g. שמו l. 6, cf. קמו 61 2. נתנו ib. 20; read, therefore, בכוני בכון. Before the suff. the נ of the 3 plur. reappears, e. g. שמוני l. 7. Hoffm. (l. c. 224) reads בכון as = בכוני; but in this inscr. the suff. is always written.

L. 6. והוּם אַתְּהֶמוּ Lidzb.'s explanation of these difficult words may be accepted provisionally (*Eph.* i 193). He takes הוּם as an abstr. noun used as infin. abs., and אַתְּהֶמוּ as Ethpe. pf. 3 plur. of הוּם lit. *murmur, discomfit*, fig. *be distracted*, as in Hebr. e. g. Ps. 55 3. Hoffm. suggests יהוּם מַאֲתְהֶמוּ 'they wept for me—Oh woe!—the hundred of them,' taking יהוּם as = *ovai*, Heb. הוּי, אוּי, Syr. *أَوِي*, *أَوِي*, and מַאֲתְהֶמוּ as = מַאֲתְהֶמוּ (cf. תִּלְתְּהוּן Dan. 3 23); the form of the suff. is unusual, and must be treated as a case of the separate pron. הַמּוּ (76 B 4) being used as a suff., cf. Hebr. אֶלֶי־הֶקָה Eze. 40 16. וְיִי־תִי־הֶנָּה 1 11. 73 B 2; Kautzsch *Lehrg.* ii 447. וְלֹא שָׁמוּ i. e. וְלֹא שָׁמוּ מֵאֵן Cf. Dan. 5 2 מאני דהבא וכספא 4 5 n. 5 5.

L. 7. Apparently = Hebr. לְמַעַן *in order that*.

L. 8. לְאַחֲרָה לְתַהֲנַם The construction gives difficulty. It is natural to suppose that אַחֲרָה and תַּהֲנַם are the same forms as in 64 6. 13. Taking the לְ with both words as the negative, repeated for emphasis, we may render: 'in order that thou—other one—shouldest not plunder.' But such a construction is almost intolerably harsh; the לְ with אַחֲרָה may be the prep., *for another* (dat. commodi). מֵן אַתְּ See 64 5 n.

L. 9. For the gods see 64 9 n. יְהוּבֵאִשׁוּ The Hafel as in 64 11 n. The √ באש occurs in all the cognate languages, Aram. בַּאֲשׁ, *be evil*, cf. באיש 75 2; Arab. بَأْس ib.; Assy. *bāšu* 'evil'; Hebr. באש *stink*.

L. 10. מִמַּתָּתָהּ *his manner of death*; the change of persons after אַתְּ מֵן l. 8 is curious. For the meaning cf. מְרוּצָה *manner of running* 2 S. 18 27, and for the form cf. Targ. מְמַתָּתָהּ, מְמוּתָתָהּ; here the fem. ending is added to the root מוּת. אַחֲרָה In Nab. אַחַר (Arab. *أَخَّرَ*) is used in the sense of *posterity*, e. g. 79 2. 82 3 &c.; illustrate from Num. 24 20 וְאַחֲרֵיתוֹ עֲרִי אֲבִיר. The vivid style of the inscr. is noticeable, and recalls passages in 4. 5. 61, where similar imprecations are to be found.

## BABYLONIA

66. Nineveh. CIS ii 1. End of viii cent. B. C. Brit. Mus.

מנן - וו ב זי ארקא *a*  
 וו וו וו וו וו וו וו וו וו וו *b*  
 חמשת עשר מנין [ב זי] מלך *c*

*a* 15 double (?) minas of the country.

*b* 15.

*c* Fifteen double (?) minas of the king.

The inscr. is written upon one of the bronze lion-weights found at Nineveh; CIS ii 1-14. Twelve of these weights have Assy. as well as Aram. inscr., and bear the names of Salmanassar, Sargon, and Sennacherib; they belong, therefore, to the viii-vii cent.

*a.* מנן In Babyl. written ideographically MA. NA, of Sumerian, but possibly Semitic, origin; Hebr. מְנִים from מְנָה Eze. 45 12 &c., μνᾶ. The *mina* was the unit in the Babylonian system of weights, which was based on the sexagesimal principle; hence 60 shekels = one mina, and 60 minas = one talent. ב Prob. a symbol for *double*; CIS ii 2. 3. 4. In the Babyl. system there was a double series of weights, a heavy and a light one. The heavy mina = 982.4 grammes = 15160 grains, circ. 2½ lb. avoird.; the light mina was half the weight, i. e. 491.2 grammes = 7580 grains, circ. 1½ lb. avoird. The present weight weighs a little over 32 lb. 14 oz.; when new it prob. weighed about 33 lb. 6 oz.; its value, therefore, is that of the heavy standard. These lion-weights belong some to the one class, some to the other; the light weights sometimes have the shape of a duck. See Kennedy, art. Weights and Measures, Hastings' *Dict. Bibl.*; Benzinger *Hebr. Arch.* 180 ff.; Nowack *Lehrb. Hebr. Arch.* i 206 ff. וי Sign of the genit.; 61 1 n. ארקא 61 5 n.

*c.* מלך In Aram. מלכא would be usual; the form is prob. due to Assy. influence (Corp.). The 'minas of the king' corresponds to the Assy. *mana ša šarri*; cf. Hebr. אבן המלך 2 S. 14 26 (prob. a post-exilic addition, giving the weight by the Persian standard). These weights were found among the foundations of a royal palace, underneath a colossal winged bull; most of them bear the king's name in the Assyrian versions of the inscriptions.



## ASIA MINOR

67. Abydos. CIS ii 108. vi-v cent. B. C. Brit. Mus.

אספרן לקבל סתריא זי כספא a

A b

a Correct (?) according to the commissioners (?) of money.

This lion-weight, found at Abydos in Asia Minor, belongs to the Persian period, as the form of the letters shows. At this period Asia Minor was subject to Persian rule, and the Persian satraps used Aramaic in intercourse with the subject races in the west of the empire (cf. 71 n.). This was a trade weight officially certified to be of full standard. It weighs 25.657 grammes, i. e. originally 26 grammes = about 56 lb.; hence it appears that the standard was not the Babylonian one (66), nor the Persian silver talent of 33.6 kilogrs., but the Persian-Euboean gold talent of 25.92 kilogrs. On the back of the lion is the mark **A**, apparently from the Archaic Gk. alphabet; it seems to indicate that the weight was used in commerce with the Greeks.

a. אספרן is best explained as an Iranian word *uspurn* 'completeness,' 'whole' (Marti *Bibl.-Aram. Gr. Gloss.*), consequently the meaning here will be 'of full standard'; in Ezr. 5 8 &c. אִסְפְּרָנָא 'completely,' 'with exactness.' A different explanation is suggested by Hoffmann, *ZA* xi 235 f. He regards אספרן as an Aram. form of אִסְפְּרָן *nail*, with א prefixed as in אצבע, and with ס=צ as in סותא 69 13=سُوتَا; and compares the use of *supur* 'nail-sign' in Assy., e. g. 'instead of their seal they have made their nail-sign' (*supuršunu*), *KB* iv 104. The Persian etymology, however, seems more likely in view of the date and origin of the inscr.

147 i 10. סתריא Prob.= 'officials,' but the precise meaning is uncertain. Vogtlié renders 'guardians' from סתר *hide*, a questionable use of the root; Levy renders 'satraps'; Geiger 'stater,' 'correct in accordance with the silver stater' (Cook *Aram. Gloss.* 23); but the weight of the lion shows that the standard was the gold talent, as Meyer points out, *Entstehung d. Judenth.* 11 n. The proper expression for 'officials in charge of the money' would be על כספא זי סתריא (Halévy); the Aramaic of these Persian commissioners was perhaps not very correct.

68. Cilicia. v-iv cent. B. C. In situ.

- 1 אנה וְשֹׁנֵשׁ בֵּר  
 2 אִפּוֹשִׁי בֵּר בְּרַה זִי  
 3 וְשֹׁנֵשׁ וְאָמִי  
 4 אִשׁוֹלְכְרְתִי וְכֹזִי  
 5 צִידָא עֵבֵר אָנָּה תְנָה  
 6 וּבִאתְרָא זֵנָה מִשְׁתַּרְהָ אָנָּה

I am wšwnš, son <sup>2</sup> of 'fwšī, grandson of <sup>3</sup> wšwnš, and my mother is <sup>4</sup> šwlkrti; and while <sup>5</sup> I am hunting here, <sup>6</sup> it is in this place that I am making my meal.

The inscr. is carved upon a rock SE. of Sara'din, in the valley of the river Lamas, in the SE. of Cilicia. A facsimile is given by Nöld. l. c. infra.

L. 1. וְשֹׁנֵשׁ This and the other pr. nn. appear to be non-Semitic, perhaps Persian; but the forms are uncertain because the ו may be read נ. Halévy reads נ in each case, and takes גְּשֹׁנֵשׁ as = Ἐγγυγηνής, a dialectical form of Συγγυγηνής (גש=ξ), אִפּוֹשִׁי l. 2 = Ἀπάξιος; *Rev. Sém.* i (1893) 183 ff. Nöldeke reads ו, *ZA* vii (1892) 350 ff.

L. 2. בֵּר בְּרַה Cf. 3 1. For זִי in Cilicia = די cf. 149 A 6 and p. 185 n.

L. 4. אִשׁוֹלְכְרְתִי is explained by Halévy *Ashgal the Cretan*, or of *Cretopolis* (in Pisidia); for אִשְׁנָל he compares אִשְׁנָל Ps. 45 10 &c., and takes כְּרַתִּי as an ethnic form. כְּרִי הוּא 3 Palm. 121 when, cf. כְּרִי הוּא 3 Palm. 121 &c. כְּרִי כְּרִי more often mean *as*, e. g. 76 C 3. 94 4 &c.

L. 5. צִידָא עֵבֵר Lit. *doing a hunt*; עֵבֵר ptc. active. תְּנָה i. e. תְּנָה here = אָנָּה, as the Bibl. Aram. אָנָּה = אָנָּה.

L. 6. אִתְרָא Contrast אִשְׁרָה 64 8. מִשְׁתַּרְהָ reading ר rather than ד; the form is Ethpa. ptc. from שְׁרָה, and, like אִתְרָא = ἀριστᾶν in the N.T., e. g. John 21 12. 15, means *breaking (my) fast* (Nöldeke l. c.). The reading מִשְׁתַּרְהָ can only mean *I was cast down*, not 'je me repose' (Halévy).

## ARABIA

69. Têma. CIS ii 113. Date prob. v cent. B. C. Louvre.

a

- ..... בשת Z || 1
- .. [בתימ]א צלם [זי מחרם ושנגלא 2
- ואש]ירא אלהי תימא לצלם זי 3
- [הגם ... ] שמה ביומא זן [בתי]מא 4
- זי ..... 5
- ..... 6
- ..... 7
- א ..... א להן 8
- זי [הקי]ם צלמשזב בר פטסרי 9
- [בבית צ]לם זי הגם להן אלהי 10
- תימא צ[דק]ן לצלמשזב בר פטסרי 11
- ולזרעה בבית צלם זי הגם וגבר 12
- זי יחבל סותא זא אלהי תימא 13
- ינסחוהי זרעה ושמה מן אנפי 14
- תימא והא זא צדקתא זי י[הבו] 15
- צלם זי מחרם ושנגלא ואשירא 16
- אלהי תימא לצלם זי הגם א . 17
- מן חקלא דקלן — ||| ומן שימתא 18
- זי מלכא דקלן ||| || כל דקלן 19
- IZ .. שנה בשנה ואלהן ואנש 20
- לא יהנ[פק] צלמשזב בר פטסרי 21
- מן ביתא זנה ול[זר]עה ושמה 22
- כמ[ריא בב]יתא זנה [לעלמא] 23

b

צלמשזב

כמרא

a. . . . . in the 22nd year . . . <sup>2</sup>[in Têm]a, Şalm of Maḥram and Shingala <sup>3</sup> and Ashîra, the gods of Têma, to Şalm of <sup>4</sup>[Hajam] . . appointed him on this day [in Tê]ma . . . . . <sup>5</sup> which . . . . <sup>6</sup> . . . . <sup>7</sup> . . . . <sup>8</sup> therefore . . . . <sup>9</sup> which Şalm-shezzeb, son of Peṭ-osiri, set up <sup>10</sup>[in the temple of Ş]alm of Hajam, therefore the gods of <sup>11</sup>Têma ma[de gra]nts to Şalm-shezzeb, son of Peṭ-osiri, <sup>12</sup> and to his seed in the temple of Şalm of Hajam. And any man <sup>13</sup> who shall destroy this pillar, may the gods of Têma <sup>14</sup> pluck out him and his seed and his name from before <sup>15</sup> Têma! And this is the grant which <sup>16</sup> Şalm of Maḥram and Shingala and Ashîra, <sup>17</sup> the gods of Têma, have g[iven] to Şalm of Hajam . . : <sup>18</sup> from the field 16 palms, and from the treasure (?) <sup>19</sup> of the king 5 palms, in all <sup>20</sup> 21 palms . . year by year. And neither gods nor men <sup>21</sup> shall bri[ng out] Şalm-shezzeb, son of Peṭ-osiri, <sup>22</sup> from this temple, neither his se[ed] nor his name, (who are) <sup>23</sup> prie[sts in] this temple [for ever].

b. Şalm-shezzeb the priest.

The characters exhibit some archaic forms, e. g. ך and ם; but as a whole they belong to the early part of the middle period of Aramaic writing. Like 61-63 the inscr. is carved in relief. It records how a new deity, Şalm of Hajam, was introduced into Têma by the priest Şalm-shezzeb, who further provided an endowment for the new temple, and founded an hereditary priesthood. On one side of the stone the god Şalm of Hajam is represented in Assyrian fashion, and below him a priest stands before an altar, with the inscr. b underneath.

L. 1. בשת See 6 1 n. שת is in the constr. st. before the numeral as in 71 3, and often in Nab. and Palm., e. g. 78 4. 110 5.

L. 2. צלם 70 3 perhaps connected with √ צלם *be dark* (cf. Assy. *kakkabu şalmu* = the planet Kêwân or Saturn, and the pr. n. *Şalmu-ahî*, *KB* iv 150; see Am. 5 26), rather than abbreviated from עלם בעל *image of B.*; see 38 2 n. Şalm appears to have been an Aramaic or

N. Semitic deity, and not native to Arabia. Like בעל, he is given a local designation, ll. 10. 16. The names of the gods are here restored from l. 16.

L. 3. תימא Cf. 81 2 = תִּימָא Gen. 25 15 = 1 Chr. 1 30 a descendant of Ishmael, Is. 21 14. Jer. 25 23. The town, now called تَيْمَاءَ, is situated in N. Arabia (El-Hejaz) in an oasis famous, even in ancient times, for its abundant and inexhaustible spring. Caravans (Job 6 19) on their way to Egypt or Assyria halted here; and the influence of commerce with these two countries is evident in this stone: the name of the priest's father is Egyptian, the figures of the god and his minister are Assyrian. [לצלם זי]הנמ is governed by some verb denoting that the local gods had sanctioned the admission of this stranger deity; the Corp. suggests צדקו (l. 11) at the beginning of l. 2.

L. 4. שמה Prob. pf. 3 sing. m. with suff. = שְׁמִיהָ; the subj. will be the priest, the obj. the god.

L. 8. להן l. 10 = הֵן if + ל, then, therefore; Dan. 2 6. 9 &c.

L. 9. צלמשזב i.e. *Šalm has delivered*; cf. the Assyr. *Šalm-mušizib, Nabū-šizibanni* Schrader *COT* 421, and the Hebr. מְשִׁיבֵינָה Neh. 3 4 (Cook *Aram. Gl.* s. v.); שזב, in Targ. שְׂזִיב, Syr. مَسَّأ, is Shafel of יזב, 101 12 f. פטסרי 74 A 4 i.e. *he whom Osiris gave*, cf. the Egypt. *P'-dy-'st* 'he whom Isis gave,' *P'-dy-'Imn* 'he whom Ammon gave,' and the Bibl. פוטיפרע, פוטיפר i.e. *P'-dy-p'-R'* 'he whom the Ra gave'; see Driver, art. Potiphar, *DB* iv 23.

L. 10. הנם Prob. the name of a place where Šalm was worshipped; cf. *الفجيم* Yākūt ii 886 (ed. Wüstenfeld), in Yemen.

L. 11. צדקו Pael; cf. the meaning of the noun צדקתא l. 15 *gift, endowment*, Dan. 4 24 LXX ἐλεημοσύνη, Matt. 6 1 δικαιοσύνη; Arab. مَصَدَقَةٌ *alms*.

L. 12. וגבר וגו' See 64 and 65 for the adjurations.

L. 13. יחבל Pael, *destroy*; the root is found with this meaning in all the Semitic languages. סותא Perhaps the same word as مَوْو lit. *an elevation of land, a stone which indicates the road*, in pl. *tomb*, with ס = צ; see note on אספרן 67 (Hoffm.). In the Corp. the form is connected with the Syr. مَسَّأ found, make firm, مَسَّأ stability; but no derivative of this root is actually used in the sense of *monument*. Winckler considers that it = the Assyr. *asumitu* 'inscribed stele,' *Altor. Forsch.* ii 76 f. (in Delitzsch *Assyr. HWB* s. v. וסם), a plausible derivation.

L. 14. ינסחיה See 64 9 n.; for נ retained cf. יהנפק l. 21. תנצר 64 12 n. שמה l. 22. In Hebr. נָשַׁם is found with almost the same

meaning, *posterity*, e. g. Dt. 25 7. Ruth 4 5. 10 &c. Cf. מן אנפי  
 1 K. 9 7 (מעל פני). Dt. 28 63 (נסח, with מעל).

L. 15. הַאֲזָה Fem. of אָזָה = Arab. هَذَا, Syr. ܐܘܢܐ, Targ. ܐܘܢܐ. צדקתא  
 See l. 11 n. Winckler, however, regards this as a Babyl. loan-word =  
*sattuku* 'the regular dues or income of a temple' (Delitzsch *Assyr.*  
*HWB* 513), e. g. *KB* iii 2 32 l. 13. This is at any rate a plausible  
 explanation, for the influence of Babylonia upon Têma, especially  
 in religious matters, was certainly strong. See *Altor. Forsch.* i 183.

L. 16. מחרם No doubt the name of a place, like הגם. It is  
 apparently preserved in the Arab. محرمة near Jebel Selma, which is  
 in the neighbourhood of Têma, *Yākūt* iv 425. א שנגלא A deity  
 otherwise unknown; possibly the א is the fem. ending. The name  
 has been compared (Corp.) with that of a Babylonian goddess שגל  
 mentioned in the lexicon of Bar Bahlul, and stated to be the Chaldaean  
 equivalent of Aphrodite, Lagarde *Gesam. Abhandl.* 17. Another sug-  
 gestion is that Singala (*Sin-gala*) is the moon-god, Neubauer *St. Bibl.*  
 i 224 n. Cf. the Palm. שגל pr. n. fem. 143 12. א שירא l. 3. Halévy  
 suggests that א שירא = אסירא (with ש for ס as in שימתא l. 18), a form  
 which occurs in the name of a Palm. deity רבאסירא 'Ραβασιρηγ (prob.  
*Rab-osiris*) 147 i 10. But it is possible that א שירא in spite of the י-  
 is the goddess *Ashêra*, who was certainly known in Arabia; see 10 4 n.  
 and Lagrange *RB* x 549.

L. 17. . א The Corp. restores אַו, with the sense *scilicet*.

L. 18. חקלא Emph. st., Targ. חקלא, Syr. حَقْل field; cf. CIS ii 24.  
 27 רבת חקלא *record* or *tablet of the field*. This may well have been  
 the land with which the temple was endowed, or 'the land of the  
 priests'; see Gen. 47 22 and Lagrange *RB* x 219 who cites in illus-  
 tration the Nab. חרם, 79 8 n. דקלן Cf. Targ. Ex. 15 27 וְשִׁבְעֵין דְּקֵלִין  
 (at Elim). In the present day the value of land at Têma is reckoned  
 by the number of palms on it; the price of a tree is said to be 20  
 francs. אַסִּימְתָא = אַסִּימְתָא, Winckler explains the  
 word by the Babyl. *šimtu* 'a fixing' or 'fixed portion,' so אַסִּימְתָא  
 'the king's crown estates,' *Altor. Forsch.* i 184. The Babyl. *šimtu* does  
 not appear to be used exactly in this sense; at the same time it must  
 be admitted that 'treasury' is not a suitable word for what was clearly  
 landed property consisting of date-palms.

L. 19. For the prince's contribution to the sanctuary cf. Eze. 45 17;  
 in many Nab. inscr. the fine for violating a tomb is ordered to be  
 divided between the god and the king, e. g. 80 8 n. 81 7 f. &c.

L. 20. After the numerical symbol the Corp. restores אַו  
 אַו. אַו 76 C 7. There is no need to render 'divine

persons' i. e. members of the royal family (Halévy, Neubauer l. c. 212 n.).

L. 21. יהנפק For the ה retained in Hafel cf. ויהאברו 64 11 n., and for the נ cf. in Nab. ינפק 79 2. 80 5 &c., and see l. 14 n. The form here exactly resembles יהנויק Targ. Jon. Ex. 11 7; Dalman *Gr.* 241.

L. 23. כמריא See 64 1 n.

70. Têma. CIS ii 114. Circ. iv cent. B. C. Louvre.

[מ] יתבא זי קר	1
[ב] מענן בר עמ	2
[ר]ן לצלם אלה	3
א לחיי נפשה	4

The seat which Ma'nān, son of 'Imran, offered to the god Šalm, for the life of his soul.

The characters belong to a period late in the middle stage of Aram. writing. They are almost all of the same size, and written as it were between straight lines, like CIS ii 72 from Chaldaea; the Chaldaean manner, exemplified in the latter inscr., has perhaps influenced this style of writing (cf. 69 3 n.). The ז and י are archaic in form, ק is almost Nabataean, ע is shaped like a V, and א has the curious shape †, מ is written with the two down strokes equal in length.

L. 1. מיתבא Cf. מותב 80 4, here a *seat* on which the image of the god was placed on certain days, the Lat. *pulvinar deorum*; cf. Palm. ערשא in the inscr. from eṭ-Ṭayyibe p. 296 n. 1, and ארכתא (Nab.) p. 255 n. 1.

L. 2. מענן Cf. the Nab. pr. n. מענא CIS ii 294, Euting *Nab. Inschr.* 19, and the Palm. מעני *Mavvaio*s, e. g. Vogüé 27 4 &c. It is found in composition, e. g. מענאלהי CIS ii 118, and perhaps lies behind *Movvimos*, the name of a deity associated with the sun-god at Edessa; cf. the pr. nn. معن الله (Hejra) and مَحْنَةُ / حَنْوَل (a king of Edessa). עמרן = Εμρᾶνος from Ḥauran; cf. the Sinaitic עברעמרו Eut. *Sin. Inschr.* 72, Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 213; and עמרם (?) at Safâ, Dussaud et Macler *Safâ* no. 68. The root עמר, עמר = *live*, e. g. די עמר באילת Eut. *Sin. Inschr.* 551; the Arab. has also the meaning *worship*. Both pr. names have the ending *ân*, apparently usual among the Aramaeans of Arabia.

L. 3. צלם אלהא See 69 2 n.

L. 4. לחיי נפשה A favourite formula (with variations) in Palm. inscr.; cf. 29 11.

## EGYPT

71. Memphis. CIS ii 122. Date 482 B. C. Berlin Museum.

*a*

ברוך אבה בר חור ואחתבו ברת עדיה כל ׀׀ [זי?] חסתמה קרבתא 1  
 קדם אוסרי אלהא אבסלי בר אבה אמה אחתבו 2  
 כן אמר בשנת ׀׀׀׀ ירה מחיר חשיארש מלכא זי מ[לכיא] 3  
 ביד פמן... 4

*b* חכנא

*c* מ

*a.* Blessed be Abbâ, son of Hôr, and Aḥatbû, daughter of 'Adayâ, both assisted by divine favour (?)! The approach<sup>2</sup> before the god Osiris. Abseli, son of Abbâ, his mother (being) Aḥatbû,<sup>3</sup> spake thus in the 4th year, (in) the month Meḥîr, of Xerxes king of kings. <sup>4</sup> By the hand of Pamen . . .

*b.* Ḥakna.

The inscr. is written upon the base of a tablet carved with a representation of an Egyptian funeral scene. In the uppermost panel Osiris sits, attended by Isis and Nephthys; the parents of Abseli approach the deity with outstretched arms. Certain details, such as the clipped hair of the figures, betray the foreign nationality of the donor; the hieroglyphic inscr.<sup>1</sup> in the upper part of the tablet is evidently written by an unskilful hand. In general appearance the stone resembles 75. It belongs to the period when Egypt formed a part of the Persian empire (B. C. 525-332); and we learn from it that the Aram. settlers used their own language, which was also the language of the Persian government (cf. 67 *n.*), and at the same time adapted themselves to the religion of the country.

L. 1. ברוך 75 1; the plur. would be more correct here. אבה  
 Prob. = the Aram. אבא. חור Cf. the common Nab. pr. n. חורו  
 (= חור) 87 8. 90 5 &c., and the O. T. חור Ex. 17 10. Num.

<sup>1</sup> 'Offering made to Osiris, prince of Amenti, the great god, the lord of Abydos, that he may give good sepulture to (the spirit of) Aḥitobu, the matron faithful before the great god'; and behind the figure of Abba, 'the foreigner, surnamed Hitop.'



31 8. אַחַתְנוּ Perhaps = אַחַת אֲבִיהָ *sister of her father*, cf. the biblical אחאב and the Aram. אחמה (i. e. אַחְמִיָּה) ? *mother's brother*, Levy *Sieg. u. Gemmen* p. 14 no. 20. Lidzb. illustrates from Talm. B. *Baba Bathra* 110 a האם האם לְאָחֵי רוּמִין 'most sons are like the brothers of the mother.' עֵרִיָּה Prob. the same name as the Arab. *Adi, Adiya*, عَدِيَّاءُ, عَدِيَّاتِي; the root means *to pass, run, transgress*, cf. the O.T. עֵרַיָּה 2 K. 22 1 'Yah passes by.' But the word may be read עֵרִיָּה. The numerical symbols must refer to the parents of the donor.

חַסְתָּמָה The meaning is obscure. If the word is compounded of the Egypt. *hes, hestu* and *ameh*, it will mean *favoured by the god, faithful*; cf. 75 4 חַסִּיָּה plur. *those favoured* (by Osiris); in the Egypt. inscr. (p. 200 n. 1) *ameh* is rendered 'faithful.' It is an expression taken from the terminology of the Egypt. funeral rites. The form חַמָּה is found on a wooden sarcophagus of the Ptolemaic period in the Cairo Museum, Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 11.

קֶרְבָּתָא The confused way in which the word is written on the stone, with ב superadded, shows that the scribe was uncertain about the form. It is probably a noun, with the sense of a 'nomen actionis,' *a drawing near*, cf. 72 1 קֶרְבַּת and Ps. 73 28 קֶרְבַּת אֱלֹהִים לִי טוֹב; at any rate the word denotes the 'accession' to Osiris after death. According to Egyptian belief the departed soul, if judged pure, did not merely go to Osiris, but actually became Osiris.

L. 2. אֲבַסְלִי The second part of the compound resembles סָלַי Neh. 11 8. סָלַי ib. 12 7; the √סלה = *to weigh*. In inscr. *b* the Egyptian name is given, חַכְנָא *Hakna*.

L. 3. מַחִיר The name of the sixth month, Jan. 26–Feb. 24, in Egyptian, in Coptic *mechir*; see Brightman *Liturgies* i. 582. חֲשִׁיארֶשׁ = the old Persian *Hshayārshā* = אֲחַשְׁוֶרֶשׁ Esth. 1 1 &c., in Greek Ξέρξης; he reigned from 485 to 465 B.C. מַלְכָּא זֵי מַלְכִּיא A common title of the Persian kings; see 5 18 n., and Driver *Introd.* 546.

L. 4. בִּיד introduces the name of the scribe or sculptor, an Egyptian, פַּמֵּן = *Pa-amen* 'who belongs to the god Amen'; again in CIS ii 148 3.

72. Memphis. CIS ii 123. Date v–iv cent. B. C. Louvre.

- |                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| חַתְפִּי לְקֶרְבַּת בְּנַת לְאוּם | 1 |
| רִי חַפִּי עֵבֶר אֲבִיטֵב בֵּר    | 2 |
| בְּנַת כְּהִי עֵבֶר קֶרֶם אוּם    | 3 |
| חֲרִי חַפִּי                      | 4 |

Offering for the approach of Banith to Osiris<sup>2</sup>-Apis made by Abiṭab, son<sup>3</sup> of Banith. Thus(?) he made it before Osiris<sup>4</sup>-Apis.

The inscr. is written on an oblong vessel used for libations; it was found in the Serapaeum at Memphis.

L. 1. חתפי Prob. an Egypt. word *hotpit*, later *hotpi* = 'oblation.' לקרבת See 71 1 n. בנת An Egypt. pr. n., found again in CIS ii 148 3. The meaning is uncertain; *Pa-neit*, i. e. 'belonging to the goddess Neit,' has been suggested, but it is questionable whether the Semitic ב is ever used to transcribe the Egypt. *p*. Maspero explains *Banit* as = 'leaping' in Egyptian (Corp.).

L. 2. חפוי אורסי חפי Osiris-Apis, called by the Greeks Serapis, specially honoured at Memphis; חפי = Egypt. *Hapi*. It is probable that חף is to be read in Jer. 46 15 MT נִקְחָה אֲפִירִיךָ, which many moderns correct to לִם חָף אֲפִירִיךָ, after the LXX (26 15) διὰ τί ἐφύγεν ἀπὸ σοῦ ὁ Ἄπις; ὁ μόνος ὁ ἐκλεκτός σου κ.τ.λ. אביטב = the Hebr. אביטב 1 Chr. 8 11.

L. 3. כהי The context suggests the rendering *thus*; but there is no exact parallel for the form. It may be an abbreviation of חֵאִי (Bab.-Aram. = *this*) + כ; see Dalman 81, Wright *Comp. Gr.* 109. The word has been rendered 'a piece of bread,' i. e. a second offering, after a Coptic noun which it somewhat resembles; but this is not probable (Corp.).

73. Elephantina. CIS ii 137. iv cent. B. C. Berlin Museum.

B	A	
בען הן צבתי	בען הלו חלם	1
כל תובניהמו	ו חזית ומן	2
יאכלו יאנקיא	עדנא הו אנה	3
הלו לא	חמם שנא	4
שאר	[א]תחזי חז[ן]	5
קטין	מלוהי	6
	שלם	7

A. Now behold, the 1st dream I saw, and from that time I was very hot; there appeared an apparition; its words (were), 'Hail'! B. Now if ornaments (?) of all kinds thou sellest, the infants shall eat; behold, there is not a small remainder.

The above texts are written with a reed pen in Egyptian-Aram. characters on either side of a fragment of pottery. They are evidently complete in themselves, for the sentences are not broken off, but squeezed into the shape of the potsherd; the two texts form a single narrative. It was the custom to write down brief descriptions of dreams, and bring them to the temple to be interpreted.

A. L. 1. כען = כָּעַן *now* in Bibl. Aram. אָלִי Cf. הָלוּ in Dan. חָלַם Cf. τὸ πρῶτον ἐνύπνιον on a Gk. papyrus (Corp.).

L. 4. חָמַם = חָמַם, حَمَم. שָׁנָא is an adverb = שָׁנִיא Dan. 2 12 &c.

L. 5. תַּחֲזִי Prob. an error for אַתְּחֲזִי Ethpeal pf. (Corp.), 147 i 7. חָזוּ i.e. חָזוּ cf. חֲזִיָּה דְלִילָא Targ. Job 20 8.

L. 7. שָׁלַם i.e. שָׁלַם cf. Ἀπολλώνιον εἶδον προσπορεύεται μοι λέγει Χαῖρε, from the papyrus quoted above (Corp.).

B. L. 1. צַבְתִּי Plur. constr. before כָּל, cf. כָּל בְּכֹרֵי כָל Eze. 44 30. The meaning is prob. *ornaments*, Targ. צִבְתָּא, צִבְתָּא *finery*; cf. in Palm. 119 4 תַּצְבִּיתְהוֹן *their ornaments*. Hoffmann (ZA xi 223) renders *bundles*, cf. Hebr. צִבְתִּים Ru. 2 16; a less suitable sense.

L. 2. תּוֹבְנִיהֶמוּ Pael impf. 2 mas. or 3 fem. sing. For the suff. הֶמוּ see 65 6 n.

L. 3. יֵאֲכְלוּ Impf. 3 plur. without *nun*; see 61 4 n.

Ll. 4-6. לֹא שָׂאָר קָמִין The meaning seems to be 'there is plenty left.' שָׂאָר Prob. a noun = Hebr. שָׂאָר, cf. Nab. שְׂאֵרִית 94 3. For לֹא before a noun-clause cf. לֹא דוֹמִיָּה לִי Ps. 22 3. לֹא אִישׁ כְּמוֹנִי Job 9 32 &c.

74. Elephantina. CIS ii 138. iv cent. Brit. Mus. no. 14219.

B

A

... צַחַא בַּר תְּבַרְטִיסן	... פַּעַל אַסְמֵן בַּר	1
[י]תְּנוּן וְהֵן אַמְרוּ ס[הֲדִיא]	... בָּאֵלוּ מִנְחָמֵן זֵי הוּ	2
... חֲרַתְבָּא וּבְגַטְפָּא חֲבַרְטִי[סֵן]	... וִידְנִיָּה גְשׁוּרִיא מ	3

ן לן על פוחדך אמר	... ושאל על פמוסרי	4
..... אבתם לה סרן ו	... שחומו באלו ש	5
לא יהב לן	... ושאל על חנ	6
..... מלכיה סרן	... פטחרפחרט	7
..... [פ]טנתר בר	... בר כומן כ	8
..... יגלף	... מ	9

## A

## B

- <sup>1</sup> Isimen, son of . . made . . . . . . . . . . Şəḥo, son of ḤBRTISN
- <sup>2</sup> for these comforters (?), whom . . . they will give (?), and if the  
he . . . . . w[itnesses ?] have said
- <sup>3</sup> and Geshuria (?) shall judge . . . ḤRTB' and BGṬF; ḤBRTI[SN]  
him . . .
- <sup>4</sup> and he asked about Peṭosiris . . . to us against PUḤDK. He said
- <sup>5</sup> Şəḥumu for these . . . . . ? to him our prince (?), and
- <sup>6</sup> and he asked about . . . . . he did not give us
- <sup>7</sup> Peṭharpoḥ rates . . . . . of kings, our prince (?)
- <sup>8</sup> son of Kaumen . . . . . Peṭnutir, son of
- <sup>9</sup> . . . . . shall carve (?)

The above texts are written with ink on either side of a potsherd; they probably formed part of a legal document.

A. L. 1. אסמן An Egypt. pr. n., perhaps *Isi-men* = 'Isis is firm.'

L. 2. אלו 1. 5 = אלו in the Mishnah, Hebr. אלה; here preceding the noun, as אלו in Dan. 2 44. 7 17 and הלין in the Pal. Talmud, see Dalman *Gram.* 82. מנחמן Perhaps = מְנַחֵמָן *comforters* in the sense of supporters or witnesses in a legal action.

L. 3. וירניה Prob. = ויריניה. גשוריא It is not certain whether this is a pr. n. or a noun.

L. 4. פמוסרי See 69 9 n.

L. 5. שחומו Pr. n. with ending ו' as in Nab.

L. 7. פטחרפחרט An Egypt. pr. n. = 'he whom the god Harpocrates gave,' Πετεραποχράτης; again in CIS ii 147 11. The π is used to transcribe the softer and harder aspirate (like the Arab. ح and خ) in Egyptian.

L. 8. כומן An Egypt. pr. n. *Kamen, Kaumenu.*

B. L. 1. צהא 77 A 4 = the Egypt. *Zeho*, in Gk. Τεώς or Ταχώς. חברטים Perhaps a Persian name (Corp.).

L. 5. מרן l. 7 is explained as = שרנא *our prince*. For the suff. cf. Palm. מרן 128 3; Nab. מראנא 81 8.

L. 6. לן = לנא *to us*.

L. 7. מלכיה Seems to be written for מלכיא, and to be part of the phrase מלך מלכיא, the usual title of the Persian kings, 71 3 and Dan. 2 37 (of Nebuchadnezzar).

L. 8. [פ]טנתר = the Egypt. *Peṭenuṭiru* 'devoted to the gods.'

L. 9. יגלף Apparently from the Aram. גלף *to engrave on stone*; the reference is not clear.

75. Egypt; the Carpentras Stele. CIS ii 141. v-iv cent. B. C.  
Museum of Carpentras (S. France).

בריכה תבא ברת תחפי תמנחא זי אוסרי אלהא 1  
מנדעם באיש לא עברת וכרצי איש לא אמרת תמה 2  
קדם אוסרי בריכה הוי מן קדם אוסרי מין קחי 3  
הוי פלחה נמעתי ובין חסיה ..... 4

Blessed be Taba, daughter of Tahapi, devoted worshipper of the god Osiris. <sup>2</sup> Aught of evil thou hast not done, and calumny against any man thou hast never (?) spoken. <sup>3</sup> Before Osiris be thou blessed! From before Osiris take thou water! <sup>4</sup> Be thou a worshipper, my pleasant one (?), and among the favoured . . . .

Above the inscr. an Egyptian funeral scene is carved; cf. 71. The characters belong to a somewhat later type than those of the latter inscr.; some of them, ב, ד, ר, ע, ז, ו, ש, ח, א, illustrate very clearly the transition from the archaic to the square alphabet. See Driver *Samuel* xviii-xxi.

L. 1. בריכה Cf. 71 1. תבא Egypt. pr. n. f., *ta-bai* 'she who is of the spirit.' תחפי Also Egypt., 'she who is of the god Hapi'; the mas. *Pahapi* is a common name. תמנחא i. e. מִנְחָא *Monḥ* in Egypt. = 'pious,' 'perfect'; cf. the mas. מנחה זי אוסרי CIS ii 142. אוסרי אלהא Cf. 71 2.

L. 2. מנדעם i. e. מְנַדְעִים, so in Nab. 94 5, cf. Mand. מינדאם (Nöld. *Mand. Gr.* 186); in Palm. מדען 147 i 5 and מדעמ(א) ib. 8; in Targums מדעם and Talm. מִיֵּדִי (Dalman *Gr.* 90); in Syr. ܡܢܕܥܡܐ. The word is

compounded of מַרְדַּע = מְרַדַּע and מַא, lit. *scibile quid*; the various forms are corruptions of this (Wright *Comp. Gr.* 126). באיש

See 65 9 n. אמרת כרצי איש and אמרת 2 or 3 fem. sing.

Prob. a variation of the idiom מְרַדַּע מְרַדַּע i. e. *he calumniated*, cf. Dan.

3 8. 6 25. With כרצי (so in Mand.) = מרצי lit. *morsels* cf. Syr. مَرَضٍ =

Hebr. מַרְצָה, Mand. כושטא = Hebr. קִשְׁטָה תמה i. e. תְּמוֹה =

may mean *there, yonder*, cf. Ezr. 5 17. 6 1, i. e. on the earth, speaking

from the other world (so Nöld., Lidzb.), a somewhat artificial ex-

planation. Lagarde suggests that תמה = Syr. مَحْمُود (from مَحْمَد),

*ever*. The word cannot mean *perfect*; in Aram. this would be not

תְּמוֹה but תְּמוֹהָ, as is the rule with adjectives from ע'ע' verbs.

L. 3. מין קחי Egypt. monuments and papyri frequently mention

water as a last offering to the dead; illustrate from CIG 6562 εὐψύχει,

κυρία, δού(η) σοι ὁ Ὀσίρις τὸ ψυχρὸν ἕδωρ. 6717. Note the Hebraism

קחי, cf. איש l. 2.

L. 4. נמעתי may be the name of an Egypt. deity, which פלחה

seems to require; or it is an error for נעמתי, cf. 2 Sam. 1 26.

Cant. 7 7. חסיה Perhaps the Egypt. *hosiou* 'favoured (by

Osiris),' cf. חסתמה 71 1 n. It is also explained as = مَحْبُوبٌ *pious*

(plur.); but this would be written חֲסִיָּה. The line prob. ended

הַיְי שְׁלִימָה.

76. Saqqara; Papyri Blacassiani. CIS ii 145. End of v cent. B. C.

Brit. Mus.

A (recto)

... ולא ימלא בטנהם לח[ם]	1
... איש כיבי אלהיהם	2
... קימיהם עד יבנון קר[ית]	3
... וביומן אחרנן יאכל	4
... צדקה לאבוהי ויזב[ן]	5
... ויתקלנהי בלבה ויקטל איש ל[בני]	6
... מראה וישרה בני מראה	7
... לחם ויתכנשן אלהי מצרין	8
... שגן 33 וו וח	9

## B (verso)

- ... לבני על תסהרא זי מלכא ושמע . . . . . 1  
 . . . . . בר פונש הו אחר ענה מלכא . . . . . 2  
 . . . . . בר פונש מליא זי מלכא אמר וע[נה] . . . . . 3  
 . . . . . [ק]מלת המו תהך בחרב חילך וח . . . . . 4  
 . . . . . ף יחלף לך ושביא זי שבית בזא שנתא . . . . . 5  
 . . . . . באלך וגרמיך לא יחתון שאול וטללך . . . . . 6  
 . . . . . [בר פונש] ש על אלפי מלכא . . . . . במנצ . . . . . 7

## C (recto)

- . . . . . מלכא חזק ומשח . . . . . 1  
 . . . . . זנה זי קרא . . . . . 2  
 . . . . . [ת]תלנהי כן כזי עברת לבנוהי . . . . . 3  
 . . . . . לולא באתר ים יקמל . . . . . 4  
 . . . . . שעתרם בתמאי ומנח[ם] . . . . . 5  
 . . . . . ך תהך ותשלה . . . . . 6  
 . . . . . ה עם אלהן ולחש עוזר . . . . . 7  
 . . . . . י . . . . . ב . . . . . 8

## D (verso)

- . . . . . זי ינתן לה אבוהי . . . . . 1  
 . . . . . שו אלהי מצרין זי . . . . . 2  
 . . . . . [מצ]רין ויהוון . . . . . 3  
 . . . . . מה ותאבר צדקתא ואי . . . . . 4  
 . . . . . בו ואתנפק איש . . . . . 5  
 . . . . . עלך בר כבוה זי[ ] . . . . . 6  
 . . . . . [יב]רכון לקברה ול . . . . . 7  
 . . . . . ויאמרון לה צערי . . . . . 8  
 . . . . . נתה בפלג . . . . . תלך ול . . . . . 9

## A

<sup>1</sup> . . . nor may their belly be filled with bread . . . <sup>2</sup> . . . each the pains (?) of their gods . . . <sup>3</sup> . . . their agreements, until they build the ci[ty] . . . <sup>4</sup> . . . and in later days he shall eat . . . <sup>5</sup> . . . righteousness to his father, and he shall sell . . . <sup>6</sup> . . . and let him weigh it in his heart, and let some one slay the s[ons] . . . <sup>7</sup> . . . his lord, and let some one release the sons of his lord . . . <sup>8</sup> . . . bread, and may the gods of Egypt assemble . . . <sup>9</sup> . . . 43 years . . .

## B

<sup>1</sup> . . . for my sons, according to the testimony of the king, and he heard . . . <sup>2</sup> . . . son of Punsh, he delayed (?). The king answered . . . <sup>3</sup> . . . son of Punsh the words which the king said; and he answered . . . <sup>4</sup> . . . thou didst kill them. Thou shalt go with the sword of thy might and . . . <sup>5</sup> . . . shall be changed (?) for thee, and the captives which thou hast taken this year . . . <sup>6</sup> . . . in these; and thy bones shall not go down to Sheol, and thy shadow . . . <sup>7</sup> . . . [son of Pun]sh, upon the thousands (?) of the king . . .

## C

<sup>1</sup> . . . the king, and he cried and anointing-oil . . . <sup>2</sup> . . . this which he called . . . <sup>3</sup> . . . thou shalt hang him even as thou didst to his sons . . . <sup>4</sup> . . . unless in the place where the sea is he kill . . . <sup>5</sup> . . . Sha'atram (?) in Tamai (?) and Menah[em] . . . <sup>6</sup> . . . thou shalt go and be at ease . . . <sup>7</sup> . . . with the gods, and he whispered (?), Help! (?) . . . <sup>8</sup> . . .

## D

<sup>1</sup> . . . which his father will give him . . . <sup>2</sup> . . . gods of Egypt, who . . . <sup>3</sup> . . . [of Eg]ypt, and they will be . . . <sup>4</sup> . . . and righteousness perish, and . . . <sup>5</sup> . . . and the man was brought out . . . <sup>6</sup> . . . 'LK, son of KBWH, who . . . <sup>7</sup> . . . [may they b]less his grave . . . <sup>8</sup> . . . and say to him, my (?) distress . . . <sup>9</sup> . . . in the midst . . .



The above texts, being written upon papyrus, do not properly come under the title of inscriptions, but they are included because they illustrate the language and writing used by Aramaic-speaking settlers in Egypt during the same period as the engraved texts of this group. The writing is of a similar type to that of 75, but of a more cursive form, and a stage nearer to the square character; see Driver *Sam.* xxi (with facsimile). As in 75, the language contains some marked Hebraisms. These stray leaves are too mutilated to enable us to make out their general purport; it has been suggested that they give an account of a plot against the government of the Persian king in Egypt.

A. L. 1. ימלא בטנהם Cf. Job 15 2. 20 23. The 3 plur. m. suff. ends in ה'ם, e. g. אלהיהם l. 2. קימיהם l. 3; so regularly in Nab., e. g. נפשהם 80 2. בניהם 102 4; Targ. Ps.-Jon. ג'יתחום (also ו'ון); Bibl. Aram. ראשיהם Ezr. 5 10 (also ו'ון), cf. אֱלֹהֵיכֶם 7 17. In Palm. the form is ו'ון.

L. 2. איש A Hebraism, cf. 75 2. כ'יבי Perhaps = Targ. כ'יבא, Syr. כ'לא, Hebr. כ'אב; but what 'the pains of their gods' can mean is not clear.

L. 3. קימיהם Apparently plur. of קימא, Syr. مَكَمَل.

L. 4. אחרנן Plur. of אחרן, Syr. اَخرن next, following, plur. اَخرن; cf. Dan. 2 11 אחרן another.

L. 5. ו'יזבן i. e. ו'יזבן, cf. in Nab. 79 6 &c.

L. 6. יתקלנהי i. e. יתקלנהי, cf. תתלנהי C 3. For the suff. with nun energetic cf. the Bibl. Aram. יתקלנהי, Pal. Aram. יעבדיניה (Dalman *Gr.* 308); and for the 3 sing. m. suff. in ה' cf. the Syr. م'وس with the impf., and the Palm. יפתחיה 145 6. The Hebr. forms יצ'רנהי Deut. 32 10. יעב'רנהי Jer. 5 22 are similar (Ges.-Kau. § 58 k). [ל'בנ] So Corp., cf. בני מראה l. 7.

L. 7. מראה See 62 11 n.

L. 8. ו'יתכנשן for ו'יתכנשן, cf. 147 ii c 33. מצרין The dual is written with י, but the plur. without י, e. g. יומן אחרנן l. 4. ש'נן l. 9.

B. L. 1. תסהרא = ס'הר'תא witness.

L. 2. פוניש An Egyptian pr. n. אחר Apparently perf. 3 sing. m. ענה מלכא Cf. Dan. 2 5. 8. 20 &c.

L. 4. תהך Here accus. eos, as in Ezr. 4 10. 23, in Dan. המון. תהך C 6, i. e. ת'הך impf. of הלך; similarly in Targ. and Bibl. Aram., e. g. Ezr. 5 5 י'הך.

L. 5. יחלף לך The last letter of each word is uncertain. זא Cf. 61 18. 69 13.

L. 6. באלך Cf. Dan. 3 12 &c. Ezr. 4 21 &c. (אֵלֶךְ). נחתה Pe. impf. of נחח.

L. 7. אלפי Instead of אֲלָפִי thousands, the word may be pointed אֲלָפִי chiefs, lit. chiliarchs, specially an Edomite term, Gen. 36 15 ff.

C. L. 1. משה may be a verb and he anointed, or a noun anointing-oil as in CIS ii 44, in Palm. 147 ii a 27. משהא 122 3.

L. 2. זנה Cf. 69 22.

L. 3. תתלנהי Prob. impf. 2 sing. m. from תלה, i. e. תִּתְלַנְהִי; for the suff. see A 6 n. כרי = כוי sicut in Nab. 80 7. 86 6, Bibl. Aram.

Dan. 2 43, Targ. כד.

L. 4. לולא Dalman reads לולי[א], like the Pal. Aram. אילוי (= אילו = אילן if), Gr. 189.

L. 5. שעתרם The form may be incomplete; a pr. n. תמאי is said to mean in Egypt. a cat.

L. 6. תשלה Apparently impf. of שלה to rest.

L. 7. אלהן Plur., cf. 69 20, and contrast אלהי 62 23. לחש עזור = עזור? Pael, as in Aram. and Hebr.; cf. Is. 26 16 (noun). imperat. The scriptio plena is remarkable.

D. L. 1. ינתן So in Nab. 79 3, in Bibl. Aram. יתן.

L. 3. ויהיון i. e. ויהיו.

L. 5. ואתנפק Ethp. perf.; in the Targum the Ittafal is used, e. g. אֶתְנַפֵּק Eze. 24 6. מִיִּתְנַפֵּק Onk. Gen. 38 25 (with נ assimilated).

L. 6. כבוא . . עלך Pr. nn.; the first is perhaps incomplete.

L. 8. צערי The י may be the suff. or sign of the plur. constr.; Targ. צַעְרָא, Syr. ܘܨܝܪܐ.

L. 9. בפלג Lit. in the division; but the form may be mutilated.

77. Papyrus Luparensis. CIS ii 146. iv cent. B. C. Louvre.

## A

- |                                |                              |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| נפקתה בירח פאפי                | ... 1 [בירח] פאפי זי מת[כ]תב |
| בו לפאפי לשרתא חמר צירן קלבי ו | ... 2 [חמר] מצרין קלבי ו     |
| מצרין [קלול ו]                 |                              |
| בו לפאפי לשרתא מצרין קלול ו    | ... 3 [מצר]ין קלול ו קלבין ו |
| קלבין ו                        |                              |

היב לצחא בר פמת חמר מצר מאנן ווו וו ו... ..	4
בגף קלולן וו קלבין ווו עליך זע שר... ..	5
ב... ל עליך קדם עחר מ[צר] קלול ו... ..	6
מצרין קלול ו... ..	7
[ב]ל[י]לא מצרין קלבי ו... ..	8
זי בצ. נה מצרין קלול ו... ..	9
[ב... לפאפי] לשרתא חמר ציו קלבי ו מצרין [קלול ו]... ..	10
[ל]... בר פחה מצרין קלול ו... ..	11
ל[שרתא] מ[צרין קלול] ל ו... ..	12

B

ב זוו לשרתא קלול ו קלבי ו... ..	1
ב זוו ו לבגור ו קלבין וו... ..	2
לנקה קדם אפתו אלהא רבא קלבי ו... ..	3
לנקה קדם אסי רבתי קלבי ו... ..	4
לשרתא חמר צידן קלבו ו... ..	5
ב זוו ו לכיחך זי הו יום לנדר לשרתא קלולן וו [קלבי] ו... ..	6
ב זוו וו קדם א[וסרי]... ..	7
עליך אנוומי... ..	8
ב זוו וו וו ל... ..	9
ב זוו וו וו וו ל... ..	10
עחרנפי ה... ..	11
לב... א... ..	12
ל... ..	13

## A

<sup>1</sup> . . . [in the month] of Paophi, which is written out. <sup>2</sup> . . . [wine] of Egypt, qelbi 1. <sup>3</sup> . . . [Egypt]ian, qelul 1, qelbin 2.

. . . . .  
<sup>1</sup> Outgoings in the month of Paophi. <sup>2</sup> On the 1st of Paophi, for the meal, wine of Sidon, qelbi 1, Egyptian, [qelul 1]. <sup>3</sup> On the 2nd of Paophi, for the meal, Egyptian, qelul 1, qelbin 2. <sup>4</sup> Given to Şəḥo, son of Pamut, wine of Egypt, ma'nin 5 and . . . <sup>5</sup> For each person, qelulin 2, qelbin 3; on your account, a small (?) . . . <sup>6</sup> . . . on your account, before 'Aḥor (?), E[gypt]ian, qelul 1. <sup>7</sup> . . . Egyptian, qelul 1. <sup>8</sup> . . . [at] night, Egyptian, qelbi 1. <sup>9</sup> . . . which is in . . . , Egyptian, qelul 1. <sup>10</sup> [On the . . . of Paophi], for the meal, wine of Sidon, qelbi 1, Egyptian, [qelul 1]. <sup>11</sup> [To] . . . , son of Peḥa (?), Egyptian, qelul 1. <sup>12</sup> . . . for [the meal], E[gyptian, qelul] 1.

## B.

<sup>1</sup> On the 23rd, for the meal, qelul 1, qelbi 1. <sup>2</sup> On the 24th, for ? 1, qelbin 2. <sup>3</sup> For the libation before Apuaitu (?), the great god, qelbi 1. <sup>4</sup> For the libation before the lady Isis, qelbi 1. <sup>5</sup> For the meal, wine of Sidon, qelbi 1. <sup>6</sup> On the 25th of Koiḥak, which is a day for vows, for the meal, qelulin 2. <sup>7</sup> On the 26th, before O[siris] . . . <sup>8</sup> On your account ? . . . <sup>9</sup> On the 28th, for . . . <sup>10</sup> On the 29th, for . . . <sup>11</sup> 'Aḥornufi (?) . . . . .

These texts are fragments of daily accounts kept by a steward, to be submitted to the master of the house. They were probably written during the Persian rule, and belong to a rather later date than 76.

A. L. 1. פאפי The 2nd month of the Egyptian year, Sept. 28th–Oct. 27th; Copt. Paōpi (see Brightman *Liturgies* 168), Gk. Παωφί, Arab. بَابِيَّة. נפקתה A noun fem. sing. in the emph. st., or perhaps with suff. 3 sing.; cf. נפקתה Ezr. 6 4 and נפקתה = τὴν δαπάνην Lk. 14 28.

L. 2. קלבי An Egypt. fluid measure; the derivation is unknown, cf. Arab. قَالِبٌ a mould. The Corp. renders *lagena*. לשרתה ll. 3. 10 &c. for the feast; Targ. שירתתא, e. g. Onk. Gen. 43 16, Syr. ܡܫܘܠܢ;

from שרה lit. *to loose*, cf. משתרה 68 6. חמר צירן l. 10. B 5. Wine from Phoenicia (e.g. Beirut, Byblus) and Syria was specially esteemed in antiquity; cf. Athenaeus *Deipnosoph.* i 52 ὡς ἀδιστος ἔφου πάντων Φοινίκιος οἶνος. מצרין Lit. *Egypt*, here *Egyptian wine*; see Gen. 40 9-11, Strabo 687 (ed. Müll.) οἶνόν τε οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐκφέρει (nome of Arsinoë), ib. 679 ὁ Μαρωῶτης οἶνος &c., Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xiv 9.

L. 3. קלול It is suggested that this is the Egypt. *qerer, qelex* 'vessel,' Copt. *kelol* a *small vessel*. But in Aram. are found קלל Talm. *Para* 79 b, a stone vessel for receiving the ashes of the sin-offering, מַסְכָּל, plur. מַסְכָּל; whence the Arab. مَسْجَل an earthen *water-jug* (Fraenkel *Aram. Fremdw. in Arab.* 170 f.). The קלול was clearly a fluid measure; Corp. *amphora*.

L. 4. יהיב=היב Ptcp. of יהב; cf. CIS ii 147 B 2 &c. צחה  
Cf. 74 B 1. פמת Egypt., of the goddess *Mut*. מאן Lit.  
*vessels here measures*; Corp. *dolia*, i. e. large wine-jars.

L. 5. נף Apparently=גפא body, *corpse*. בנף is taken to mean *for each, individually*; what seems to be the full expression occurs in CIS ii 147 1 בנפא נפיא, cf. in Gk. papyri τὸ κατ' ἄνδρα τῶν σωμάτων. עלך זער The meaning perhaps is *for you* (i. e. the master) a *small* (measure of some kind).

L. 6. עחר Prob. the name of an Egypt. deity to whom the libation was offered; cf. B 11. CIS ii 136 לעחר.

L. 9. נה בצ. Restore בעענה i. e. in the city of *Tanis*, צען Ps. 78 12. 43 &c.

L. 11. פחה Probably an Egypt. pr. n. *Paha*.

B. L. 1. After the numeral the name of the month is to be understood; see l. 6.

L. 2. לבנור ? meaning. If it is a pr. n., instead of the numeral we must read 1 as part of the name לבנורו.

L. 3. נקיה Prob.=נקיה, libation. אפתו The name of a deity, perhaps Apuaitu (a form of Anubis), though this would be transliterated אפיותו.

L. 4. אסי רבתי See 3 2 n.

L. 6. כיחך The 4th month of the civil year, Egypt. *Kahika*, Arab. كيهك.

L. 8. אנומי ? pr. n.

L. 11. פינתא If the form is complete, the meaning may be *angle, corner*, Targ. פִּינְתָא, פִּינְתָא, Hebr. פִּינָה.

עחרנפי Perhaps = the Egypt. *Ahor-nufi* (for *-nufir*) 'Ahor is good'; cf. A 6.

# NABATAEAN

## NORTH ARABIA

78. **El-Öla.** CIS ii 332; Eut. 1. B. c. 9. At Strassburg.

דא נפשא די אב . בר 1  
 מקימו בר מקימאל די בנה 2  
 לה אבוהי בירח אלול 3  
 שנת ׀ לחרתת מלך נבטו 4

This is the monument of Ab., son <sup>2</sup> of Moqîmu, son of Moqîm-el, which <sup>3</sup> his father built for him in the month Elul, <sup>4</sup> the 1st year of Harethath, king of the Nabataeans.

This inscr. comes from El-Ölâ (العلی), a little to the S. of El-Hejra (الحجر), where a large number of Nab. inscrs. have been found (79-93). Both places are in N. Arabia, in the Hejaz, S. of Têma (69 3 n.), and not far from the coast of the Red Sea; they are situated in what was the southernmost end of the Nab. kingdom <sup>1</sup>.

L. 1. דא See add. note p. 26.      נפשא In Nab. either fem., as here and in CIS ii 194 f. &c., or mas., 159 דנה נפש. 192 &c., frequently used of a *monument* set up over a grave; so in Aram., CIS ii 115 f.; in Palm. דה נפשא Vog. 31 1. 146 נפשא דנה 1. Perhaps the word conveyed the idea of the personality (נ' lit. *soul*) of the deceased; a *nefesh* was erected for each of the persons buried in a tomb, cf. תרתי נפשתא 96 1. This idea is prob. symbolized by the pyramid standing upon a cube, such as was sometimes carved upon the rock over the inscr.; see the illustration in Vogüé *Syr. Centr.* 90. The *nefesh* is mentioned in the Talm., e. g. *Shegalim* 5 א נפש לו בונין קברו למסן מכה נפם 1 Macc. 13 28 נפם in Syr., e. g. ἔσθηκεν ἐπὶ τὰς πυραμίδας, referring to the monument built by Simon at Modin (Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 190 f.).      אבר Probably אב.

L. 2. מקימו = مقيم CIS ii 215. 233; a common name in Palm., 110 f. &c.; in Gk. Μοκειμος, Μοκιμος. In Nab. pr. nn. frequently end in ׀, the equivalent of the Arab. م.      מקימאל Compounded of מקימו and אל; cf. in Pun. מקמאל(ם) CIS i 261, and for the form, מריב

<sup>1</sup> The texts of 78-93, before they appeared in the Corp., were published in the valuable edition of Euting, enriched with notes by Nöldeke, *Nabatäische Inschriften* (1885).

בעל 1 Chr. 9 40. מְהִיטְבָּאֵל Neh. 6 10 &c. מְהוּה So 99 1, cf. הוּה  
CIS ii 224 4; but בְּנָא 333 2 and in Palm. 122 5.

L. 3. לָלוּל Aug.-Sept., Neh. 6 15; one of the names of the  
Babyl. months borrowed by the Jews after the exile. See Schrader  
COT 380.

L. 4. חֲרַתַּח i. e. Aretas iv, ὁ Περραιὸς βασιλεύς (Jos. Ant. xviii 5 1),  
who reigned from B. C. 9 to A. D. 40; inscriptions (CIS ii 214 f.) and coins  
are dated in his 48th year. After his accession he secured the favour  
of Augustus, and was recognized as king (Jos. ib. xvi 10 9). Herod  
Antipas married his daughter (see 95 3 n.), but subsequently set her  
aside for Herodias, and thus gave Aretas a pretext to punish his  
son-in-law for this and other grievances (Jos. ib. xviii 5 1). At a later  
time, circ. A. D. 38, when St. Paul was persecuted by his ethnarch (2 Cor.  
11 32), Aretas was master of Damascus; it is conjectured that the town  
had been made over to him by Caligula as a peace-offering<sup>1</sup>. He is  
mentioned in 20 inscr. from El-Hejra (CIS ii 197-217), in the second  
inscr. from Petra 95, in the inscr. of Medeba 96, of Sidon CIS ii 160,  
of Puteoli 102, and frequently on coins. In the inscr. he is surnamed  
רַחֵם עֲמָה = Φιλόπατρις, a title which asserts his claim to independence,  
in contrast to such titles as Φιλορώμαιοις, Φιλοκαίσαρ, adopted by subject  
kings. חֲרַתַּח = Gk. Ἀρέτας for Ἀρέθας, perhaps under the influence of  
ἀρετή.

נַבְטוּ The kingdom of the Nabataeans was centred at  
Petra, the former Edomite stronghold of Sela'; hence the name of  
the country, Ἀραβία ἢ πρὸς τῇ Πέτρᾳ i. e. Arabia Petraea. From this  
centre it extended northwards, at times even to Damascus (in B. C. 85  
and A. D. 34-65 circ.), and southwards into N. Arabia, as far as  
the NE. shore of the Red Sea, 'omnis regio ab Euphrate usque  
ad mare Rubrum,' says St. Jerome (infr.). From the language of the  
inscriptions it appears that the Nabataeans were of Arab race and spoke  
Arabic, but used Aramaic for the purposes of writing and commerce;  
Nöldeke in Eut. Nab. Inscr. 78. Before the Hellenistic period little,  
or nothing, is known of them. It is probable that the Na-ba-ai-ti,  
frequently named along with other Arab tribes<sup>2</sup> in the Rassam  
Cylinder of Ašurbanipal (KB ii 216-222), were the Nabataeans.  
Whether the latter are the same as the Arab tribe called נַבְיּוּת  
in the O. T. is not altogether certain; the identification is as old as

<sup>1</sup> The Roman Damascene coins end with Tiberius, A. D. 34, and begin again with  
Nero, A. D. 62-3; in the interval Dam. was under the Nab. kings. So Gutschmidt  
in Eut. Nab. Inscr. 85; Schürer *Gesch. Jüd. Volk.*<sup>3</sup> i 737.

<sup>2</sup> E. g. the *K'id-ra-ai* i. e. קִרְר, KB ii 222; cf. נַבְיּוּת and קִרְר Gen. 25 13 &c.,  
Nabataei and Cedrei in Pliny *Hist. Nat.* v 12.

Josephus (*Ant.* i 12 4 *Ναβαιώθης*—*Ναβατηνήν χώραν*), who is followed by Jerome (*Quaest.* in Gen. 25 13 ed. Vallar. tom. iii 345) and most moderns. *תִּבְיָהּ* looks like a fem. plur. (cf. *תִּבְיָהּ* from *תִּבְיָהּ* Neh. 12 47 &c.), and may possibly come from the Arab. *تَبْوَاءٌ* *lofty place, eminence*; its resemblance to *נבט* is thus not very close, although there are analogies for the interchange of *ת* and *ט*, e. g. *قتل* and *טל*, 62 8 n.<sup>1</sup> In the Hellenistic period the Nabataeans first appear in the time of Antigonus, 312 B.C., who sent two expeditions against them, *Diod.* xix 94–100. Their first known ruler was the Aretas of 2 Macc. 5 8 (*τὸν τῶν Ἀράβων τύραννον*), with whom Jason sought asylum in 169 B.C., for the Nabataeans were friendly to the Maccabaeian family, 1 Macc. 5 25. 9 35. With the decay of the Gk. kingdoms of Syria and Egypt their power increased, and towards the end of the 2nd cent. B.C. they were consolidated under a vigorous king named Erotimus, who was perhaps the founder of the Nab. dynasty (see *Jos. Ant.* xiii 13 3. 5. 15 1. 2. *Wars* i 4 4. 8 &c.)<sup>2</sup>. In B.C. 85 Aretas iii was master of Damascus, and struck coins there with the legend *βασιλέως Ἀρέτου Φιλέλληνος*. Shortly after this the Nabataeans for the first time came into collision with the Romans under Pompey and Scaurus, *Jos. Ant.* xiv 1 4–2 3. 5 1. *Wars* i 8 1; and in the subsequent period were sometimes reduced to tributaries, sometimes allowed a measure of independence, until finally in A.D. 106, when Cornelius Palma was governor of Syria, the Nab. kingdom was absorbed into the Empire and became a Roman province<sup>3</sup>.

The following list of Nab. kings, based upon Schürer *Gesch. Jüd. Volk.*<sup>3</sup> i 726–744, will be convenient for reference:

Aretas i reigning in 169 B.C.	Aretas iv 9 B.C.–40 A.D. 78–91.
Erotimus „ 110–100 B.C.	95. 96.
Aretas ii „ 96 B.C.	Abias.
Obedas i „ 90 B.C.	Malchus ii circ. 48–71 A.D. 92*.
Aretas iii circ. 85–60 B.C.	93. 99.
Malchus i circ. 50–28 B.C. 100*.	Rabel circ. 71–106 (?) A.D. 97*.
102.	101.
Obedas ii circ. 28–9 B.C. 95*.	End of the Nab. kingdom 106 A.D.

Under the numbers marked by an asterisk further particulars will be found.

<sup>1</sup> The Gk. *Ναβαραῖοι* = Aram. *נבאראי*, Lagarde *Bild. Nom.* 52.

<sup>2</sup> Justinus xxxix 5, cited by Schürer *ib.* 731. Bevan *House of Seleucus* ii 257.

<sup>3</sup> Dio. Cass. lxxviii 14, cited by Schürer *ib.* 743.



79. El-Hejra. CIS ii 197; Eut. 2. B. C. I. In situ.

- דנה קברא די עבד עידו בר כהילו בר 1  
 אלכסי לנפשה וילדה ואחרה ולמן די ינפק בידה 2  
 כתב תקף מן יד עידו קים לה ולמן די ינתן ויקבר בה 3  
 עידו בחיוהי בירח ניסן שנת תשע לחרתת מלך 4  
 נבטו רחם עמה ולענו דושרא ומנותו וקישה 5  
 כל מן די יזבן כפרא דנה או יזבן או ירהן או ינתן או 6  
 יוגר או יתאלף עלוהי כתב כלה או יקבר בה אנוש 7  
 להן למן די עלא כתיב וכפרא וכתבה דנה חרם 8  
 כחליקת חרם נבטו ושלמו לעלם עלמין 9

This is the sepulchre which 'Aīdu, son of Kohailu, son <sup>2</sup> of Elqasi, made for himself and his children and his posterity, and for whomsoever shall produce in his hand <sup>3</sup> a warrant from the hand of 'Aīdu: it shall hold good for him and for whomsoever 'Aīdu during his life-time shall give leave to bury in it: <sup>4</sup> in the month Nisan, the ninth year of Hārethath, king <sup>5</sup> of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. And may Dūshara and Manūthu and Qaishah curse <sup>6</sup> every one who shall sell this tomb, or buy it, or mortgage it, or give it away, or <sup>7</sup> let it, or frame for it any (other) writ, or bury any one in it <sup>8</sup> except those who are written above! And the tomb and this its inscription are inviolable things, <sup>9</sup> after the manner of what is held inviolable by the Nabataeans and Shalamians, for ever and ever.

L. 1. עידו 93 I i.e. عَائِدُ, 'Aεδός Wadd. 2034 &c. כהילו i.e. كَهَيْلُ; in Palm. 141 2.

L. 2. אלכסי Prob. = 'Αλέξιος. ילדה ואחרה Both words are always in sing., with collect. sense. For אחר see 65 10 n.

L. 3. כתב תקף 87 3 &c. lit. a document of confirmation, תִּקְפָּה = *be strong*; cf. Esth. 9 29 (תִּקְפָּה). קים Ptep. קים. ינתן ויקבר For the construction cf. the use of the subjunct. with ַ in Arab., Wright *Ar. Gr.* <sup>3</sup> ii 30 f.; the impf. (or juss.) with ַ in Hebr., e.g. 2 S. 16 11

לְיָמֵי הַנְּחִי לֹא וַיִּקְרָא. Is. 43 9 &c., cf. Job 19 23, Driver *Tenses* § 62; in Bibl. Aram. cf. Dan. 5 2 וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה . . . אָמַר, though the pf. with ו is more usual, Dan. 5 29 &c., as in Syr., Nöld. *Syr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> § 334 B.

L. 4. נִיסָן The 1st month, Mar. 22 to April 20, Neh. 2 1. Esth. 3 7; see 78 3 n. לַחֲרַתָּ See 78 4 n.

L. 5. וְלַעֲנֵנוּ 81 4 &c. = Arab. لَعْن. The perf. is used similarly in Arab. for prayers and imprecations, e.g. لَعْنَتَكَ اللَّهُ, Wright l. c. 3. דְּוִשְׂרָא The chief god of the Nabataeans, worshipped throughout N. Arabia, especially at Petra, and in Ḥauran at Adra'a (אֲדַרְעִי) and Bostra. In Arab. the name is written ذُو الشَّرَى i. e. ذُو lit. *owner, possessor* (cf. בעל) and الشَّرَى, prob. the name of a place<sup>1</sup>. Wellhausen enumerates three places called Sharâ, and described by Arab. writers as remarkable either for swampy ground, or for lions, or for water, trees, and jungle. Such localities were esteemed specially suitable for a *himâ* or *temenos* of a god, and Shara, wherever it may have been, was prob. a place of this kind; *Reste Ar. Heidenth.* 48 ff. Thus Dhu-sharâ lit. *owner of Sharâ* is only an appellation of the god: his actual name (p. 239 n. 1) was not used; cf. Dhu ʾl Ḥalaṣa (Arab., 105 n.), Dhu Shamâwi (Sab., 9 1 n.), בעל־חַר (= עֲשַׁתְרַת), בעל־צַר (= מַלְקָרַת), 3 2 n. In Sabaeen both the name and title of a god are sometimes used in full, e.g. 'Athtar Dhu Gaufat (CIS iv 40 4. 41 2 f.), Almaqah Dhu Hirrân (Mordtmann u. Müller *Sab. Denkm.* 6). Dusares was worshipped at Petra under the form of a black rectangular stone<sup>2</sup>, a sort of Petraean Ka'aba; and Epiphanius describes a feast held at Petra on Dec. 25th in honour of 'Χααβον [χααμοῦ ed. Dind. ii 484] i. e. virgin, and her offspring Δουσάρης i. e. the only son of the lord' (*Haer.* 51)<sup>3</sup>. By Gk. and Lat. writers Dusares was identified with Dionysos-Bacchus: Δουσάρην τὸν Διόνυσον Ναβαταῖοι ὡς φησὶν Ἰσίδωρος (Hesych. s. v.); but, as Wellhausen justly remarks, the god of a nomad race of Arabs, living in the desert, could hardly have been worshipped originally under the character of Dionysos, for Dionysos (בעל) is the

<sup>1</sup> Acc. to Steph. Byz. s. v. Δουσάρη, a mountain, σκόπελος καὶ κορυφή ὑψηλοτάτη Ἀραβίας εἶρηται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δουσάρου. Hence, he says, the Nabs. called themselves Δουσαρηνοί.

<sup>2</sup> Suidas *Lex.* s. v. Θεὸς Ἄρης.

<sup>3</sup> If the reading is right 'Χααβον prob. = כַּעֲבֹ lit. *a die, cube*, i. e. the sacred stone, either of Dusares himself, or of a goddess-consort (such as Allât); see on the passage Röscher *ZDMG* xxxviii 643 ff. Rob. Smith holds that the Petraeans worshipped Mother and Son, each under the form of a stone (*Kinship* 292 f.; *Rel. of Sem.* 57 n.); Wellhausen (l. c. 50), that they conceived of Dusares as born from his *baetylion*. In his account of the cult, Epiph. may have been unconsciously influenced by Christian ideas of the Parthenogenesis.

god of agricultural, settled life. No doubt in time, under the influence of Canaanite and Aramaic civilization, Dusares assimilated the attributes of Ba'al-Dionysos<sup>1</sup>; and if, as there is some evidence for believing, Dusares was originally a solar deity (see Baethgen *Beitr.* 95 f.), the assimilation is not difficult to imagine.

מנותרו 80 4. 8. Note the ending ׳, not elsewhere in Nab. with fem. nouns, as in Arabic a pr. n. ending in *ī* does not take tanwīn. מנותרו is the Arab. goddess مَنَاة, mentioned in the Qurān, 53 20. Wellhausen, l. c. 28, explains the form as a plur. *manavdtun* and the name as = Fate, lit. *portion, lot* (as מנחה in Aram.), Τύχη, cf. Gad. The chief centre of the cult of Manāth was in the Hejaz, at the water of Qudaid, a station on the pilgrim-road between Medina and Mekka.

קישא 80 4. קישא 80 9. This is the only instance known of the emph. st. in ה'. As in the case of מנותרו, nothing definite as to the character of this deity has been preserved. Eut. quotes the pr. nn. امرؤ القيس, قيس; possibly *Ka-uš-ma-la-ka*, a king of Edom mentioned by Tiglath-pileser (*KB* ii 20), contains the name of the deity.

L. 6. יזבן . . יזבן Peal . . Pael, 80 4 f. 81 5. כפרא 80 1 &c., according to D. H. Müller a word imported from the Lihyan dialect preserved in inscr. from El-'Ölä, *Epigr. Denkm. aus Arab.* p. 65, nos. 9. 25. 27. 29. In any case the Arab. كَفْرٌ, usually *village*, also means *tomb*, as in Nab. The statement of Strabo (p. 667 ed. Müll.) that the Nabs. ἵσα κοπρίαὺς ἡγοῦνται τὰ νεκρὰ σώματα . . διὸ καὶ παρὰ τοὺς κοπρῶνας κατορύττουσι καὶ τοὺς βασιλείς is cleverly explained by Cl.-Gan. as due to a misunderstanding of the Nab. כפרא, which suggested κοπρία, κοπρών to Gk. ears, *Ét.* i 146 ff. ירהן 80 5 &c. = رهن, *give in pledge*.

L. 7. יונר 81 6 &c., also יאנר CIS ii 220 4, Afel impf. of אנר. יהאלף CIS ii 217 10 &c. = Arab. اَلَفٌ lit. *join*, so *compose* (books), a different sense from that of the Aram. ילף, אלף *teach, learn*. אנוש The form as in Hebr. and BAram. Dan. 4 13 Kt. The word is used in this dialect, as also in BAram. (אנש), with an indeterminate sense, *every man, no man, any one*, τας, e. g. 86 6. 89 5. 90 3. 94 5; similarly in Targ. Onk., e. g. Lev. 13 2. 18. 24; cf. Palm. אנש 147 i 11.

L. 8. להן i. e. לְהֵן לֹא הֵן except 88 3. 94 5. Dan. 2 11. 3 28 &c.; cf. להן די יהוא 90 4. עלא Cf. מְהֵן Dan. 6 3 and עילא in Pal.

<sup>1</sup> Thus coins of Bostra (iii cent. B. C.) bear the figure of a wine-press, and the legend Ἀκτια Δουσαρία or Δουσαρία alone; see further Mordtmann *ZDMG* xxix 104 f.

Aram., for the usual 𐤁𐤁. כתבה has the suff. 3 sing. m. חרם 81 3. 86 2. 94 3-5, Af. ptcp. מחרם 86 3, hence מחרמתא 102 1 f. chapel; in Palm. חרמן 112 4 = ἀναθέματα; in Sabaeen חרמת = sanctuary (*Sab. Denkm.* 70), similarly מחרם CIS iv 74 15. The √חרم conveys the idea of a sacred thing prohibited to human use, hence 𐤁𐤁 sanctuary; see 1 17 n., p. 68, and Lagrange *Rel. Sém.* 181-187.

L. 9. חליקת 81 3. 86 2 &c. = 𐤁𐤁𐤁 nature, character. שלמו 81 4. 86 3 &c., a people nearly related to the Nabataeans; Steph. Byz. s.v. Σαλάμιοι ἔθνος Ἀράβιον· σάλαμα δὲ ἡ εἰρήνη· ὠνομάσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔνσπονδοι γένεσθαι τοῖς Ναβαταίοις. In the Talm. they are mentioned together, e.g. Jer. *Shebi'ith* vi fol. 36 b ערביא שלמייא נבטייא; see Neubauer *Géogr. du Talm.* 427 for other references. In the Targ. שלמאָה = 𐤁𐤁, e.g. Onk. Num. 24 21 f., &c.

80. El-Hejra. CIS ii 198; Eut. 3. B. C. OR A. D. I. In situ.

דנה כפרא די עבדו כמכם ברת ואלת ברת חרמו	1
וכליבת ברתה לנפשהם ואחרהם בירח טבת שנת	2
תשע לחרתת מלך נבמו רחם עמה וילען דושרא	3
ומותבה ואלת מן עמנד ומנותו וקישה מן יובן	4
כפרא דנה או מן יובן או ירהן או ינתן יתה או ינפק	5
מנה גת או שלו או מן יקבר בה עיר כמכם וברתה	6
ואחרהם ומן די לא יעבד כדי עלא כתיב פאיתי עמה	7
לדושרא והבלו ולמנותו שמדין וולאפכלא קנס	8
סלעין אלף חרתי בלעד מן די ינפק בידה כתב מן יד	9
כמכם או כליבת ברתה בכפרא הו פקים כתבא הו	10
והבאלהי בר עבדעבדת	11
עבד	12

This is the tomb which Kamkâm, daughter of Wâilat, daughter of Ḥaramu, <sup>2</sup> and Kulaibat her daughter made for themselves and their posterity: in the month Ṭebeth, the ninth year <sup>3</sup> of Ḥarehath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. And may Dûshara <sup>4</sup> and his throne (?), and Allât

of 'Amnad, and Manûthu, and Qaishah curse him who shall sell <sup>5</sup> this tomb, or who shall buy it, or mortgage it, or give it away, or take out <sup>6</sup> from it body or limb, or who shall bury in it any other than Kamkâm and her daughter <sup>7</sup> and their posterity; and any one who shall not do according to what is written above, he shall be charged <sup>8</sup> from Dûshara and Hubalu and from Manûthu with 5 curses, and to the magician (?) with a fine <sup>9</sup> of a thousand *sela's* Harethite; saving him who shall produce in his hand a writ from the hand <sup>10</sup> of Kamkâm or Kulaibat her daughter concerning the said tomb; and the said writ shall hold good. <sup>11</sup> Wahb-allâhi, son of 'Abd-'obedath, <sup>12</sup> did the work.

L. 1. עברו The mas. form is used in 3 plur. pf. and impf., though the subj. is fem., cf. 85 1. יתקברון 93 2. כמכם Pr. n. fem. = كَمَكَمَ an Arab. gum, Sab. כמכם (Sab. *Denkm.* 83), κάγκαμον. The genealogy is here reckoned through the mother and grandfather (חרמו), and the grave is set apart by a mother and daughter for themselves and their children, the family *sacra*, with the exclusive right of burial, being thus transmitted through women independently of their husbands; cf. 85. From 91 it appears that married women could hold property and bequeath it on their own account. Sometimes it is the father who provides for the burial rights of his daughters and their children, e. g. 81. 90; but as a rule the family grave descends in the male line, e. g. 79, esp. 89. These facts point to the independent position held by women among the Nabataeans, testified further by the Nab. coins, upon which women figure prominently; and to the survival of the old rule of female kinship, along with the later system of transmission through males (Nöld. in Eut. *Nab. Inschr.* 79 f., Rob. Smith *Kinship* 313 ff.). 90 2 i. e. وَالْأُمَّةُ fem., Οὐαελαθη Wadd. 2055; in Sin. the name is mas., Eut. 504 &c. חרמו i. e. حَرَمٌ, cf. حَرَمٌ.

L. 2. כליבת i. e. كَلَيْبَةُ fem. of كَلَيْبٌ. The suff. להם לנפשמהם is mas. and fem. in Nab.; see 76 A 1 n. מבת i. e. מִבֵּת the 10th month, Dec. 17–Jan. 15, Assy. *Tibituv*, 78 3 n.; Esth. 2 15. Thus in the 9th year of Aretas iv the first half of Tebeth fell in B.C. 1, the second in A.D. 1.

L. 3. וילען Impf. 86 8; pf. 79 5.

L. 4. מותבה 94 3 f. (after דושרא) = وَثَنَتْ his throne, מושב = מותב,

70 1 (מִיתוּבָא, see *n.*), cf. Apoc. 12 5. The *throne* of D. has been explained as the platform on which his shrine was built; Cl.-Gan. identifies it with his altar, and thinks that the altar-throne was none other than the black squared stone worshipped at Petra (p. 218), *Rec.* iv 247-250<sup>1</sup>. It seems, however, more likely that the explanation of the term is to be found in the ritual scenes depicted on Bab.-Assyr. tablets, where the god is seated in his shrine facing the altar; e. g. the tablet of Nabû-pal-iddina illustrated in the Brit. Mus. *Guide to Bab. and Assy. Ant.* (1900) Pl. xxii. Thus מִיתוּבָא is practically the same as *his shrine*; see 94 3 *n.* אֱלֹהִים i. e. اللات *Allât*, the chief goddess of the ancient Arabs; cf. CIS ii 185 אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים. She is mentioned with Al-'Uzza and Manât in Qur. 53 20. Arab writers say that her *himâ* (79 5 *n.*) was the rich valley in which the town of Tâif lay, 60 miles SE. of Mekka; while the inscrs. show that her worship extended northwards to Ḥejra, Ḥauran (98. 99), as far as Palmyra (117); it reached also to Carthage and the Pun. settlements, see 60 3 *n.* The name אֱלֹהִים with a final long vowel due to contraction (not the fem. ending), means *goddess*, and is prob. contracted from אֱלֹהִים (fem. of אֱלֹהִים = אֱלֹהִים) — אלֵּת — אלֵּת, the middle stage of the contraction appearing in the 'Αλλιάτ of Herod. iii 8. The expression אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים *A. their goddess* in 99 1 seems to show that the original meaning of the name was in time forgotten. As to the character of the deity, there is some reason to think that she was a sun-goddess (so Wellh. *Reste Ar. Heid.* 33); in Sabaeen *Iláhat of Hamdán* אֱלֹהִים הַמְדָּן had solar attributes, *Sab. Denkm.* 66 f. But in Palm. 117 6 she is distinct from שֶׁמֶשׁ; by Herod. (l. c.) and others she is called Οὐρανίη<sup>2</sup>; and in Ḥauran and at Palmyra her Gk. equivalent was Ἄθηνη<sup>3</sup>. This rather implies that she was an astral or sky deity, possibly the moon-goddess beside Dûshara the sun-god, if such was his original character (79 5 *n.*). In ancient Babylon Allatu was goddess of the nether regions (Jastrow *Rel. of Bab. and Assy.* 104 &c.), but

<sup>1</sup> On some early Gk. vases the god is represented seated on his altar. Cl.-Gan. quotes Gk. inscriptions from Shêh Barakât near Aleppo (*Ét.* ii § 4) to Ζεὺς Μαδβαχὸς = מַדְבַּח (? זַעַל = Ζεὺς βωμὸς on an inscr. lately found in the same district, *Rec.* iv § 28. The evidence is hardly convincing enough to support the far-reaching identification above.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. says, the Arabs *ὀνομάζουσι δὲ τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον Ὀροτάλ, τὴν δὲ Οὐρανίην Ἀλιλάτ.* Origen *contr. Cels.* v 37 οἱ Ἀράβιοι τὴν Οὐρανίαν καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον μόνους ἡγούνηται θεοὺς. Arrian *Exp. Alex.* vii 20 Ἄραβας δύο μόνον τιμᾶν θεοὺς, τὸν Οὐρανόν τε καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον.

<sup>3</sup> Ἄθηνη in Gk. inscrs. from Ḥauran = Ḥas, Wadd. 2203, 2308 &c. The son of Zenobia, Ḥas, was called in Gk. Ἀθηνόδαρος.

there is no evidence that אֱלֹהַ had this character in Phoen. or Arab. religion (see 50 I n.). עמנר or מן עמנר The name of a place; cf. בצלחר די אלת 99 I f.

L. 6. עיר . . שלו . . נת Arab. words: جَسَدٌ *corpse*, شَلْوٌ *member of the body*, غَيْرٌ *another*.

L. 7. פאיתי עמה 81 7 i. e. פִּיאִיתִי עִמָּה, cf. פאיתי עלוהי CIS ii 217 7. The first letter is the Arab. conj. ف, cf. פקים I. 10 and often.

L. 8. הבלו Though the prep. is absent, this is prob. the ancient god הבל, cf. בנהבל 102 5 (?); for the omission of the prep. cf. לנפשהם ואחרהם I. 2. שמידין Perhaps to be connected with חַפְּבָּ which sometimes = *to curse*, the Aram. equivalent of the Arab. لعن; cf. CIS. ii 211 8 לענת iiiii *four curses*. לאפכלא Possibly the name of

some religious or secular institution, Lidzb. 145 n. Nöld. suggests that the form is an error for לאכפלא *in double (amount)*; cf. פאיתי עלוהי כפל CIS ii 217 7. The word has been found recently in a Palm. inscr. בעל . . בר ירחבולא אפכלא די עזיוו אלהא following the name of a person where it is clearly a priestly title, perhaps (after the Assyr. *Abkallu*) = 'magician' (see p. 295 n. 1), and in the Minaean (?) inscr. from Warka אפכל = אַפְכַל in the same position, Hommel *Süd-Arab. Chrest.* 113. Lidzb., *Eph.* i 203, proposes doubtfully the rendering *administrator*. קנסא 89 8 = *fine*, as in Targ., e. g. Ps.-Jon. Ex. 21 30 קנסא דמזונא. The resemblance to κῆνος, *census*, is prob. only accidental; *census* does not = *fine*, and a Lat. word is not likely to have become naturalized in this connexion (Nöld.).

L. 9. סלעין In Targ. סלעא = Heb. שקל, e. g. Onk. Ex. 30 13 סילעא חרתי. Syr. סלעין, Gk. στατήρ; here silver drachmae. An indeclinable adj. formed from חרתת, חרתי, 'authorized, issued by Aretas.' The coins of Aretas iii, Obodas, and Aretas iv (at the beginning of his reign) are heavier in weight than those of the later kings. This double threat of divine curses and a fine in money is a peculiar feature of the El-Hejra inscr.; cf. 89 19 n. Lidzb., p. 143, has pointed out the remarkable parallel afforded by a number of Gk. sepulchral inscr. from W. Asia Minor, especially by those from Lycia<sup>1</sup>. The custom of specifying a fine for violating a tomb spread widely from Lycia over the Roman Empire, and in this way may have reached the Nabataeans.

<sup>1</sup> See Hirschfeld in *Königsberger Studien* i (1887, 83-144). The foll. is a specimen, from Pinara, circ. 3 cent. B.C. (Hirschfeld, p. 107) εἰς δὲ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσῃ, ἀμαρτωλὸς | ἔστω θεῶν πάντων καὶ Αἰητοῦς | καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ προσ-|αποτεισάτων τάλαντων ἀργυρίου | καὶ ἐξέστω τῷ βουλομένῳ | ἐγδικάζεσθαι περὶ τούτων.

L. 10. הכפרא הו Eut. renders (*who are*) in the said grave; but it is better to refer the prep. to כתב a writing . . . in connexion with &c.

L. 11. והבאלהי 93 7 i.e. وَهَبُ اللَّهِ, the name of the sculptor; the ' is the sign of the genit. עברעברת Compounded with the name of king Obodas; cf. עבדמלכו 97 ii. עברחרת 82 5. עבררבאל CIS ii 304. The origin of these names may have been due to the deification of kings after death (see 95 1 n.); in some cases, perhaps, the second name belonged to a venerated ancestor, or to a tribe (cf. Arab. Abd-Ahlihi), Wellhausen *Reste* 4.

81. El-Ḥejra. CIS ii 199; Eut. 4. A. D. 4. In situ.

- 1 דנה כפרא ובססא וכונא די עבר חושבו בר  
 2 כפיו בר אלכוף תימניא לנפשה וילדה וחבו אמה  
 3 ורופו ואפתיו אחותה וילדהם חרם כחליקת חרם  
 4 נבטו ושלמו לעלם ולען דושרא כל מן די יקבר בכפרא דנה  
 5 עיר מן די עלא כתיב או יזבן או יזבן או ימשכן או  
 6 יוגר או יהב או יאנא ומן די יעבד כעיר מה די עלא  
 7 כתיב פאיתי עמה לדושרא אלהא בחרמא די עלא  
 8 לדמי מגמר סלעין אלף חרתי ולמראנא חרתת מלכא כות  
 9 בירח שבט שנת עשר ותלת לחרתת מלך נבטו רחם  
 10 עמה

This is the tomb and the base and the foundation (?) which Ḥūshabu, son <sup>2</sup> of Kafiyu, son of Alkūf, the Tēmanite, made for himself and his children and Ḥabu his mother, <sup>3</sup> and Rūfu and Aftiyu his sisters and their children, an inviolable place, after the manner of what is held inviolable <sup>4</sup> by the Nabataeans and Shalamians, for ever. And may Dūshara curse every one who shall bury in this tomb <sup>5</sup> any other than those written above, or shall sell it, or buy it, or pledge it, or <sup>6</sup> let it, or give it away, or lend it temporarily! And any one who shall do otherwise than what is above <sup>7</sup> written, he shall be charged



to the god Dûshara, in connexion with the above inviolable place, <sup>8</sup> at the full price of a thousand *selâ's* Harethite, and to our lord the king Harethath the same amount. <sup>9</sup> In the month Shebaṭ, the thirteenth year of Harethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of <sup>10</sup> his people.

L. 1. **בססא** = *βάσις*, Syr. **ܕܚܫܘܫܐ**, **ܕܚܫܘܫܐ**, in Targ. **בְּסִים**. **כּוּנָא**  
Some part of the building, but the exact meaning is unknown. If  
taken from  $\sqrt{\text{כּוּנָא}}$  **כּוּנָא** (**כּוּנָא**) would mean something 'straight,' 'fixed';  
but the word may be Gk., hardly, however, *χώνη* *melting-pot, funnel*,  
as proposed in Corp. A good many terms connected with building  
and sculpture were introduced into Aram. from Gk., e. g. **תיטרא** *θέατρον*  
CIS ii 163 2, Palm. **בסלקא** 119 3. **חושבו** i. e. **ܚܘܫܒܐ**.

L. 2. **כפיו** Cf. Arab. **كفي** *equal, sufficient*. **אלכוף** Corp. suggests  
a compound of **אל** and **[כוף]** **כפף**, 'incline, O El.' **תימניא** From  
**69 3 n.**, as **ܒܗܪܢܝ** from **ܒܗܪܐ** (Nöld.); cf. 85 2 n. **חבו** In  
Arab. perhaps **حُب** *love*, cf. 93 3 **חביבו**.

L. 3. **רופו** Nöld. compares **أف**, *to pity*; but ? **דופו**. **93**  
**3** is not otherwise known. The Corp. compares **פתא** *to be wide*,  
*open*. **אחותהם** Plur. with suff. 3 sing. m.; cf. 85 3 and in  
Egypt. Aram. CIS ii 150 8 (as here). **חרם כחליקת** See 79 8. 9 n.

L. 4. **נבמו ושלמו** See 79 9 n.

L. 5. **ימשכן** 86 4 &c.; Syr. **ܕܚܫܘܫܐ** *to pawn or mortgage*; in 79 6  
&c. **ירחן**.

L. 6. **יהב** i. e. **יִהַב**, **יִהַב**; the rarely used impf. of **יהב**; in 79 6 &c.  
**ינתן**. **יאנא** Prob. a verb from **أنا**, *time* (Nöld.).

L. 8. **לדמי מנמר** Lit. 'according to a price of totality.' **דמי** is plur.  
constr., for Aram. uses only the plur., **ܕܚܫܘܫܐ**, **ܕܚܫܘܫܐ**; cf. CIS ii 217 7  
*double the price of this place*. **מנמר** is prob. a noun  
from **ܡܢܡܪ** *to unite, collect, reckon up*, rather than a pass. ptcp.  
**ܡܢܡܪ**, which would not agree with the plur. **דמי**. **סלעין** See  
80 9 n. **מראנא** See 62 11 n. **חרתת מלכא** The regular order  
in Nab., 85 10. 92 4 &c., as in BAram. Dan. 3 1. 5 1 &c., and late  
Hebr. Dan. 1 21. 1 Chr. 29 29.

L. 9. **שבט** i. e. **ܫܒܬܐ** Zech. 1 7, the 11th month, Assy. *šabatu*; 78  
3 n. **עשר ותלת** This is the usual order in Nab. (with a fem.  
noun), cf. **עשר ושבע** 82 4. 93 6. 99 3; similarly in Palm. 147 ii b 20  
**עשר ושח**, in Mandaic (Nöld. *Mand. Gr.* 189), and in Phoen. 5 1 and  
NPun. In Syr. the ten follows the unit.

82. El-Ḥejra. CIS ii 201; Eut. 5. A. D. 8. In situ.

דנה כפרא די עבד מלכיון פתורא	1
על חנינו הפסתיון כלירכא אבוהי	2
ולנפשה וילדה ואחרה אצדק באצדק בירח ניסן	3
שנת עשר ושבע למראנא חרתת מלך	4
נבטו רחם עמה עבדחרתת פסלא	5
בר עבדעברת עבד	6

216/ This is the tomb which Malkiōn Pathōra made <sup>2</sup> over Ḥunainu Hēphaestiōn the chiliarch his father, <sup>3</sup> and for himself and his children and his posterity, each legal kinsman: in the month Nisan, <sup>4</sup> the seventeenth year of our lord Ḥarethath, king <sup>5</sup> of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. 'Abd-ḥarethath the mason, <sup>6</sup> son of 'Abd-'obedath, did the work.

L. 1. מלכיון = Μαλχίων Wadd. 1910 &c. פתורא Cognomen of the father, = *table* in Aram., e. g. Targ. Onk. Ex. 25 23. D. H. Müller suggests that the name = *τραπεζίτης*; but this would be פתוריא (Nöld.).

L. 2. על 91 2, instead of the usual ל, implies that the father was already dead. חנינו 95 1 חנין = 'Ovaivos Wadd. 2048 &c. הפסתיון i. e. 'Ηφαιστίων. כלירכא = χιλίαρχος.

L. 3. אצדק באצדק A legal phrase frequently occurring in these inscr., 86 2. 88 2 &c. In form אצדק is an adj. with the elative א (أَمْدَقُ), though without the significance of the elative in Arab. (compar., superl.); the ב is distributive, as in שנה בשנה Dt. 15 20. חדש בחדש 1 Chr. 27 1. Literally, אצדק may be rendered *authorized*; it conveys the idea of *legal right*, perhaps also of *kinship*; Nöld. is inclined to give the latter as the original sense, and compares the Syr. اُقْبَلَا *relatives, kinsmen* (Payne Smith *Thes.* col. 1085). At any rate in usage the phrase denotes 'haeres quisque in vice suâ,' 'jure haereditatis' (Corp.), 'all who have claims as kindred'; thus אחרה ואצדקה CIS ii 220 1 f. לילדהם ואצדקהם 215 2. די יתקרון בה א' בא' 219 2 f. כל בר עבדעברת עבד 86 3.

L. 5. עבדחרתת See 80 11 n. פסלא 88 9 &c. i. e. פּסְלָא, or פּסְלָא, فِصْلًا.

83. El-Hejra. CIS ii 202; Eut. 6. A. D. 15. In situ.

- 1 דנה כפרא ואונא די  
 2 עבד מנעת בר אביץ לנפשה  
 3 ובנוהי פבנתה וילדהם בשנת  
 4 עשרין וארבע לחרתת מלך  
 5 נבטו רחם עמה

This is the tomb and habitation which <sup>2</sup> Mun'ath, son of Abyas, made for himself <sup>3</sup> and his sons and his daughters and their children: in the <sup>4</sup> twenty-fourth year of Harethath, king <sup>5</sup> of the Nabataeans, lover of his people.

L. 1. אונא = Syr.  $\text{ܐܘܢܐ}$  a lodging, inn, so mansion, abode, e. g. Jn. 14 <sup>2</sup>  $\text{ܐܘܢܐ ܕܥܡܐ}$ ; a somewhat poetical expression to be found in an inscr. By Ephraem it is used of mansions of the dead  $\text{ܐܘܢܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ}$ .

L. 2. מנעת 101 <sup>3</sup> i. e.  $\text{ܡܢܥܬܐ}$ , *Mónáthos* Wadd. 2429. אביץ i. e.  $\text{ܐܒܝܥ}$ .

84. El-Hejra. CIS ii 204; Eut. 7. A. D. 16. In situ.

- 1 דנה כפרא די עבד תימאלהי בר  
 2 חמלת לנפשה ויהב כפרא דנה לאמה  
 3 אנתתה ברת גלהמו מן זמן שטר  
 4 מוהבתא די בידה תעבד כל די תצבא  
 5 מן 33 ו באב שנת 33 לחרתת מלך נבטו  
 6 רחם עמה

This is the tomb which Taim-alláhi, son of <sup>2</sup> Hamilath, made for himself; and he has given this tomb to Amah <sup>3</sup> his wife, daughter of Gulhumu, from the date of the deed <sup>4</sup> of gift which is in her hand, (that) she may do (with it) whatever she pleases: <sup>5</sup> from the 26th of Ab, the 25th year of Harethath, king of the Nabataeans, <sup>6</sup> lover of his people.

L. 1. תימאלוי i. e. تَيْمُّمُ آلِ اللَّهِ *slave of Allah*, Θεμάλλου (gen.) Wadd. 2020; frequent in Sin., e. g. 108.

L. 2. חמלת Mas., 87 2 ff. fem., = حَمَلَةٌ or حِمَالَةٌ (*sword-belt, حمل to carry*); cf. Ἀμέλαθος Wadd. 2393 &c.

L. 3. אנתה From אנתה (= אנשת, Syr. ܐܢܬܗ *ant-thā*) with suff. 3 sing. m.; contrast אנתה CIS ii 194. In Palm. the forms are אנתה, emph. איתא, with suff. אנתה; in Pal. Aram. איתה, איתתא &c., with suff. איתתיה and איתתיה, plur. נשיא, נשיין (cf. נשי 82 8); Dalm. Gr. 159. גלהמו Cf. the name of the Arab tribe جَلْهَمَةُ.

93 5. שטר 94 4, Palm. 147 i 8, the usual Aram. word for a *bill* or *bond*, e. g. שטר חוב *a bill of debt*, hence the NHebr. שטר חוב.

L. 4. תצנא 87 5. 147 ii c 50. For the form תצנא cf. תצנא 90 4.

L. 5. אב The 5th month; see 78 3 n.

85. El-Ḥejra. CIS ii 205; Eut. 8. A. D. 25. In situ.

דנה כפרא די עבדו ושתי ברת בגרת 1  
 וקיננו ונשנכיה בנתה תימניתא להם כלה 2  
 כלה ולשמית ועשפא . . . . . אחותהם בנת 3  
 ושתי ו . . . . . כלה די יתקברון . . . . . דנה 4  
 די עלא . . . . . כלה בכפרא דנה פקים על 5  
 . . . . . ושתי בנתה . . . . . 6  
 . . . . . חאין . . . . . 7  
 . . . . . 8  
 פאיתי עמה לאלהי סלעין מאה חרתי 9  
 ולמראנא חרתת מלכא כות בירת איר שנת 10  
 לחרתת מלך נבשו רחם עמה 9 III 11

This is the tomb which Washti, daughter of Bagarath, <sup>2</sup> and Qainu and Nashankiyah (?) her daughters, the Têmanites, made for themselves, each <sup>3</sup> one of them, and for Shamiyath and . . . their sisters, daughters <sup>4</sup> of Washti . . . that they be buried . . . this <sup>5</sup> who are above . . . in this tomb; and it shall hold good for <sup>6</sup> Washti, her daughters . . . <sup>9</sup> and he

shall be charged to my god a hundred *sela's* Harethite,<sup>10</sup> and our lord Harethath the king the same amount: in the month Iyar, the<sup>11</sup> 34th year of Harethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people.

L. 1. וּשְׁתִּי The name is read distinctly in l. 4. It can hardly be the same as the O.T. וּשְׁתִּי, which is of Persian (Zend) origin. בְּנֹתָ 97 ii i. e. *بَجْرَى*, *بَجْرَى* *corpulent*, *Báγpatos* Wadd. 2562.

L. 2. קִינוּ 87 2 fem., in Sin. mas., e. g. Eut. 4. 557 &c.; in Arab. قَيْن is the name of a tribe, Hebr. קַיִן Num. 24 22. Jud. 4 11.

Similarly in Sin., e. g. Eut. 51. 190 &c. (mas.); cf. שְׁנֵיָה Eut. 162.

בְּנֹתָ Plur.; cf. 80, where the grave is provided by a mother and her daughter. Here the sisters of the foundresses are to have the use of the tomb; see 80 1 n.

חִימִיתָא i. e. חִימִיָּתָא; see 81 2 n. כֻּלָּה כֻּלָּה are distributive.

L. 6. The illegible lines no doubt contained the usual imprecations.

L. 9. אֱלֹהֵי Either plur. or sing., with suff. מֵאָה The smallness of the fine is remarkable; contrast 81 8. Eut. suggests that a metal plate, specifying a heavier penalty, was attached to the inscr. subsequently. In some cases traces of such tablets are still to be seen.

L. 10. אֵיר 86 9 &c., i. e. Apr.-May; Assyr. *airu*, Palm. אֵיר, Syr. ʾʿ, Rabb. אֵייר; see 78 3 n.

86. El-Hejra. CIS ii 206; Eut. 9. A. D. 26. In situ. Plate VII.

דְּנָה קְבֵרָא דִּי עֵבֶד כְּהֵלָן אִסְיָא בֵּר וְאֵלָן לְנַפְשָׁה וְיֹלְדָה וְאַחֲרָה 1

אַצְדָּק בְּאַצְדָּק עַד עֵלָם וְאִיתִי קְבֵרָא דְּנָה חֶרֶם כְּחִלְיָקָת חֶרְמָא 2

מֵחֶרֶם לְדוֹשְׂרָא בְּנַבְטוֹ וְשִׁלְמוֹ עַל כָּל אֲנוּשׁ אַצְדָּק וִירֵת דִּי לֹא 3

יֹוֹבֵן קְבֵרָא דְּנָה וְלֹא יִמְשַׁכֵּן וְלֹא יֹוֹגֵר וְלֹא יִשְׁאַל וְלֹא יִכְתֹּב 4

בְּקְבֵרָא דְּנָה כְּתֹב כֻּלָּה עַד עֵלָם וְכָל אֲנוּשׁ דִּי יִנְפַק בִּידוֹ כְּתֹב מִן כְּה 5

פְּקִים הוּוּ כְּדִי בַּה וְכָל אֲנוּשׁ דִּי יִכְתֹּב בְּקְבֵרָא דְּנָה כְּתֹב מִן כָּל דִּי עַל 6

פְּאִיתִי עֵמָה לְדוֹשְׂרָא כֶּסֶף סְלַעִין אֶלְפִין תְּלַת חֶרְתִּי וְלִמְרָאנָא [א] 7

חֶרְתָּת מִלְכָּא כּוֹת וְיִלְעֵן דּוֹשְׂרָא וּמְנוֹתוֹ כָּל מִן דִּי יַעִיר מִן כָּל 8

דִּי עֵלָא בִּירַח אֵיר שְׁנַת תְּלַתִּין וְחֻמֶּשׁ לְחֶרְתָּת מֶלֶךְ נַבְטוֹ רַחֵם עַבְדְּךָ 9

אֶפְתַּח בֵּר עֲבַדְעֵבְדָּת וְחִלְפָּאֵלְהִי בֵּר חִמְלָגוֹ פְּסִלְיָא עֲבַדוֹ 10

This is the sepulchre which Kahlân the physician, son of Wa'lân, made for himself and his children and his posterity, <sup>2</sup> each legal kinsman, for ever. And this sepulchre is an inviolable place after the manner of the inviolable sanctuary <sup>3</sup> which is inviolably dedicated to Dûshara among the Nabataeans and Shalamians. It is incumbent upon every legal kinsman and heir that he do not <sup>4</sup> sell this sepulchre, nor pledge it, nor let it, nor lend it, nor write <sup>5</sup> in respect of this sepulchre any deed, for ever. But every man who shall produce in his hand a writ from Kahlân, <sup>6</sup> it shall hold good according to what is in it. And every man who shall write on this sepulchre any writing other than what is above, <sup>7</sup> he shall be charged to Dûshara in money three thousand *sela's* Ḥarethite, and to our lord <sup>8</sup> the king Ḥarethath the same amount. And may Dûshara and Manûthu curse every one who shall change aught of <sup>9</sup> what is above! In the month Iyar, the thirty-fifth year of Ḥarethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. <sup>10</sup> Aftah, son of 'Abd-'obedath, and Ḥalaf-allâhi, son of Ḥamlagu, the masons, did the work.

L. 1. . . וְאֵלָן . . . כְּהָלָן i. e. ואלן . . . כהלן . . .

L. 2. אַצְדָּק בְּאַצְדָּק See 82 3 n.

L. 3. מַחְרָם אֶפֶל ptc; cf. 69 16 (a place), and 79 8 n. ירת  
i. e. ירת or ירת = Hebr. יָרַשׁ.

L. 4. יִמְשֹׁכֵן See 81 5 n. 'יכתב נöld. renders 'make any written contract for the use of this grave.'

L. 6. מִן כָּל דֵּי עֵלָא Corp. renders as above, and the similar phrase with עיר elsewhere (e. g. 81 5), supports this. Nöld., however, regards מן here as the Arab. *من* لِبَيَانٍ (*explanatory*), and renders 'a writing of the same kind as all that is above.' This usage is more distinct in 89 2. 5.

L. 8. יַעִיר Pael, = Arab. يُعَيِّرُ *he shall change*; cf. *another*, עיר.

L. 10. אֶפְתַּח i. e. حَلَفَ. חֶלְפָאֵלֵהּ i. e. حَلَفَ آللّهِ *compensation from Allah*; often abbreviated حَلَفَ 89 1; cf. Ἀντίγονος, Palm. חליפי p. 301 n. 1 = Ἀντιόχου. 118 1. חמלנו Nöld. suggests حَمَلَجَ (the vb. = *to make fast a line*) as an equivalent.

87. El-Hejra. CIS ii 207; Eut. 10. A. D. 27. In situ.

1 דנה קברא די עבר ארום בר פרון לנפשה ולפרון אבוהי  
 2 הפרכא ולקיננו אנתתה ולחטבת וחמלת בנתהם וילד חטבת  
 3 וחמלת אלה ולכל מן די ינפק בידה תקף מן ארום דנה או  
 4 חטבת וחמלת אח[ו]תה בנת פרון הפרכא  
 5 די יתקבר בקברא דנה או יקבר מן די יצבא  
 6 בתקפא די בידה כדי בכתבא הו או אצדק באצדק  
 7 בי[ר]ח ניסן שנת תלתין ושת לחרתת מלך נבטו רהם עמה  
 8 אפתח בר עבדעברת ווהבו בר אפצא וחורו בר אחיו פסליא  
 9 עב[ר]דו

This is the sepulchre which Arûs, son of Farwân, made for himself and for Farwân his father <sup>2</sup> the eparch, and for Qainu his wife, and for Ḥaṭibath and Ḥamilath their daughters, and the children of the said Ḥaṭibath <sup>3</sup> and Ḥamilath, and for every one who shall produce in his hand a warrant from the said Arûs, or <sup>4</sup> Ḥaṭibath and Ḥamilath his sisters, daughters of Farwân the eparch, <sup>5</sup> to be buried in this sepulchre, or to bury whom he pleases, <sup>6</sup> in virtue of the warrant which is in his hand, according to what is in that writ, or each legal kinsman. <sup>7</sup> In the month Nisan, the thirty-sixth year of Ḥarethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. <sup>8</sup> Aftaḥ, son of 'Abd-'obedath, and Wahbu, son of Afṣa, and Ḥûru, son of Uḥayyu, the masons, <sup>9</sup> did the work.

L. 1. ארום The termination perhaps indicates a Gk. name. פרון  
 i. e. قَرَانٌ. Arab. words in اُن — do not take tanwîn, hence this name  
 does not end in ʿ.

L. 2. הפרכא 93 1 = ἑπαρχος, cf. Sin. הפרכיה = ἑπαρχία 107, the ה  
 as in Syr. ܦܪܚܐ, ܦܪܚܐ. קינו 85 2 n. אנתתה i. e. the  
 wife of Farwân, and step-mother of Arûs. חטבת, חמלת i. e.  
 ܚܘܬܒܬܐ, ܚܘܡܠܬܐ (84 2 n.).

L. 3. אלה 94 3 prob. אלה, plur. of דנה; see add. note  
 p. 26. תקף 79 3 n.

L. 4. אחתה An error for the plur. אחותה. Other errors in this inscr. are ביה l. 7. עבו l. 9.

L. 8. אפתח 86 10 n.      רֻמְבָּ i.e. והבו.      אפצא 93 8 i.e.  
 אֲפִטְי; the name occurs in the Lihyan dialect, Müller *Ep. Denk. aus*  
*Ar.* nos. 30. 32.      חורו 90 5 i.e. חֻרְ, Hebr. חור Ex. 17 10 &c.,  
 Gk. Οὔρος Wadd. 2270 &c.      אחיו i.e. אֲחִי dimin., little brother.

88. El-Ḥejra. CIS ii 208; Eut. 11. A.D. 27 (?). In situ.

דנה כפרא די עבד שלי בר רצוא 1  
 לנפשה וילדה ואחרה אצדק באצדק 2  
 ודי לא יתקבר בכפרא דנה להן אצדק 3  
 באצדק ודי לא יתובן ולא יתרהן כפרא 4  
 דנה ומן די יעבד כעיר די עלא פאיתי 5  
 עמה לרושרא אלה מראנא [כסף סלעין] אלף 6  
 חרתי בירח ניסן שנת 3 . . . 7  
 לחרתת מלך נבטו רחם עמה אפתח 8  
 פסלא עבד 9

This is the tomb which Shullai, son of Raḏwa, made <sup>2</sup>for himself and his children and his posterity, each legal kinsman; <sup>3</sup>and that no one is to be buried in this tomb except each legal <sup>4</sup>kinsman, and that this tomb is not to be sold or mortgaged. <sup>5</sup>And whoever does otherwise than is above, he shall be <sup>6</sup>charged to Dūshara, the god of our lord, [in money] a thousand [sela's] <sup>7</sup>Ḥarethite. In the month Nisan, the . . . year <sup>8</sup>of Ḥarethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. Aftaḥ <sup>9</sup>the mason did the work.

L. 1. שלי 93 4 probably = Συλλαῖος (ὁ τῶν Ναβυταίων ἐπίτροπος Strabo 663 ed. Müll.). This presupposes a form سُلَى or سُ, from سَل, which, however, is not known. Prop. nn. of the form فَعَلَى are fem., e.g. سَلَى; Nöld. prefers a form سَلَاء.      رَضَوَاءُ = رِضْوَاءُ; in which case, though not known in Arab., it will be one of the few mas.



names of the form  $\text{قَعْلًا}$ , fem. of  $\text{أَقْعَل}$  (Nöld.). Wellhausen takes it as =  $\text{قَعْل}$ , the name of an ancient Arab deity, and compares the Palm. names תים רצו 115 i. גר רצו Vog. 84 3; *Reste Ar. Heid.* 58 f. Cf. perhaps *Risuil* (? = רצואל) CIL v 4920.

L. 3. להן 79 8 n.

L. 4. יתובן Ethpa. This unusual form (for יזרבן) appears to have been current; cf. מתובנא ptc. fem. 147 ii c 33 and 94 4 n.

L. 6. Eut. if it qualified רושרא, would be אלהא; see 61 29 n.

L. 7. Eut. fills the lacuna with  $\text{S}$  i. e. 15, making a total of 36. The Corp. would add two or three strokes, making 38 or 39.

89. El-Hejra. CIS ii 209; Eut. 12. A. D. 31. In situ.

דנה כפרא די עבד חלפו בר קסנתן לנפשה ולשעידו ברה 1  
 ואחוהי מה די יתילד לחלפו דנה מן דכרין ולבניהם ואחרהם 2  
 אצדק באצדק עד עלם ודי יתקברון בכפרא דנה ו... שעידו דנה 3  
 ומנועת וזנושת וריבמת ואמית ושלמת בנת חלפו דנה ולא רשי 4  
 אנוש כלה מן שעידו ואחוהי דכרין ובניהם ואחרהם די יובן כפרא דנ 5  
 או יכתב מוהבה או עירה לאנוש כלה בלעדדהן יכתב חד מנה 6  
 לאנתתה  
 או לבנתה או לנשיב או לחתן כתב למקבר בלחד ומן יעבד כעי 7  
 דנה פאיתי  
 עמה קנס לרושרא אלה מר[אנא כס]ף סלעין חמש מאה חרתי 8  
 ולמראנא כות כנסחת דנה יהיב בבית קישא בירה ניסן שנת ארבע 9  
 לחרתת מלך נבטו רחם עמה רומא ועבדעברת פסליא 10

This is the tomb which Ḥalafu, son of Qos-nathan, made for himself and for Sha'īdu his son <sup>2</sup> and his brothers, as many male children as shall be born to the said Ḥalafu, and for their sons and their posterity, <sup>3</sup> each legal kinsman, for ever; and that there be buried in this tomb . . . the said Sha'īdu, <sup>4</sup> and Manū'ath and Kenūshath(?) and Ribamath(?) and Umayyath

and Shalimath, daughters of the said Ḥalafu. And no man shall be allowed, <sup>5</sup> either Sha'îdu, or his brothers male, or their sons, or their posterity, to sell this tomb, <sup>6</sup> or write a (deed of) gift or anything else to any man, with the sole exception that one of them write for his wife, <sup>7</sup> or for his daughters, or for a kinsman, or for a son-in-law, a deed of burial. And whoever does otherwise than this, he shall be <sup>8</sup> charged with a fine to Dûshara, the god of [our] lord, [in mon]ey five hundred *sela's* Ḥarethite, <sup>9</sup> and to our lord the same amount, according to the copy hereof deposited in the temple of Qaisha. In the month Nisan, the fortieth year <sup>10</sup> of Ḥarethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. Rauma and 'Abd-'obedath, the masons.

L. 1. חלפו i.e. حَلَفَ 86 10 n. קסנתן = *Qos gives*, cf. Κοσνατanos in a Gk. inscr. from Memphis (200-150 B.C.), where Κοσγηπος, Κοσβανος, Κοσμαλαχος &c. also occur; Miller *Rev. Archéol.* (1870) 109 ff. קס was apparently the name of an Edomite deity, cf. קאשמלאקה, קאשגברי, Edomite kings, Schrader *COT* 150; and the Edomite Κοστόβαρος Jos. *Ant.* xv 7 9 f. In Sin. the name קוסעדור is found, Eut. 423, though the reading is not quite certain; and in Hebr. ברקום Ezr. 2 53. It is natural to compare קישא l. 9 (79 5 n.), but Nöld. is against the identification, *ZDMG* xli 714. سعید i.e. سعید *Fortunatus*, cf. سعید (سَعْدٌ) Sin. 106, Palm. 127 3, and שעודח 95 3.

L. 2. מן דכרין An Arabism, cf. l. 5 מן שעודין and 86 6 n. מן . . . מן = ما . . . من; Wright *Ar. Gr.* ii § 48 g.

L. 4. מנועת Cf. مَنِيْعَةٌ pr. n. fem. = *defended*, and מנועה 83 2. The two names which follow are uncertain. אמית Prob. dimin.

שלמו i.e. سَلِمَةٌ, سَلْمٌ, cf. شَلِيمَةٌ from أَمِيَّةُ *handmaid*. (fem.) CIS ii 210 2. רשי i.e. رَشِي 90 3; Targ., Talm. רשאי *one to whom something is allowed*.

L. 5. מן אנש כלה 94 5 i.e. מְלֵאָה = *every one*; cf. מְלֵאָה CIS ii 219 5, and מְלֵאָה מְלֵאָה Nöld. *Syr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> § 218; see 62 17 n.

L. 6. מן עירה או עירמה = או غَيْرُهَا, lit. *or (any deed) other than it*. בלערהו Lit. *except if*; 80 9.

L. 7. מן נשיב i.e. نَسِيبٌ = *kinsman* in the male line; but as these would naturally have the right of burial, the meaning here may be a descendant in the female line, a daughter's child; Rob. Smith

*Kinship* 315 f. בלחד In CIS ii 215 6 בלחד, Targ. בְּלַחֹד *only*, alone, to be taken with בלעדהוּן; cf. 90 6.

L. 8. קנס 80 8.

L. 9. נסחת See p. 189, = نَسَخَةٌ; Assyr. *nishu* 'excerpt' (*ZA* iv 267); cf. the late Rabbin. נוסחא *a variant, another reading*. The word appears to be of N. Semitic origin, rather than native to Arab., the fem. ending in نَسَخَةٌ being equivalent to the Aram. emph. st.; see Fränkel *Aram.*

*Fremdw.* 251. יהיב For יהיבא. קישא See 79 5 n.

L. 10. רומא 91 2 perhaps رُوماء, or abbrev. from رُومَانُ, a common name.

90. El-Hejra. CIS ii 212; Eut. 14. A. D. 35. In situ.

דנה כפרא די עבד עבדעבדת בר אריבם לנפשה 1

ולואלת בריתה ולבני ואלת דא ובנתה וילדהם די יתקברון בקברא 2

ולא רשין ואלת ובניה די יזבנון או ימשכנון או יוגרון כפרא דנה א 3

יכתבון בכפרא הו כתב כלה לכל אלוש לעלם להן די יהוא כפרן 4

הו לואלת ולבניה

ובנתה וילדהם קים לעלם וקם על ואלת ובניה די הן יהוא חור 5

אה עבדעבדת

דנה בחגרא ויהוא בה חלף מות די יקברון יתה בקברא דנה לחודוה 6

ולא ינפק יתה אנוש ומן די יעיר ולא יעבד כרי עלא כתיב 7

פאיתי עמה למראנא כסף סלעין אלפין תרין חרתי בירח 8

טבת שנת ארבעין וארבע לחרתת מלך נבטו רחם עמה 9

אפתח בר עבדעבדת פסלא עבד 10

This is the tomb which 'Abd-'obedath, son of Arības, made for himself, <sup>2</sup> and for Wa'ilath his daughter, and for the sons of this Wa'ilath and her daughters and their children, that they may be buried in the said sepulchre; <sup>3</sup> and neither Wa'ilath nor her sons shall be allowed to sell or pledge or let this tomb, or <sup>4</sup> write in respect of this tomb any deed for any man, for ever; but that the said tomb shall hold good for Wa'ilath and for her sons <sup>5</sup> and her daughters and for their

children for ever. And it is incumbent upon Wa'ilath and her sons, if Hûru, brother of this 'Abd-'obedath, be <sup>6</sup> in Hejra, and the fate of death befall him, to bury him, and none but him, in this sepulchre; <sup>7</sup> and no man shall take him out. And whoever shall change (this provision), and not do according to what is above written, <sup>8</sup> he shall be charged to our lord in money two thousand *sela's* Harethite. In the month <sup>9</sup> Tebeth, the forty-fourth year of Harethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. <sup>10</sup> Aftah, son of 'Abd-'obedath, the mason, did the work.

L. 1. אריבס Hardly an Aram. name; possibly 'Αρῖβας.

L. 2. ואלה See 80 1 n.

L. 3. רשין 89 4 n.

L. 4. אלוש An error for אנוש. להן 79 8 n.

L. 5. קים The ptc. goes with יהוא l. 4. חורי Perhaps a merchant who was often absent from home (Nöld.).

L. 6. חגרא = ܚܓܪܐ, the emph. st. in Aram. representing the Arab. art., lit. 'the guarded, forbidden place.' In the Targg. and Talm. חגרא occurs as a name of various places; the חגרא mentioned in *Jebamoth* 116a as the home of a Jew living at Neharde'a (Babyl.) may be El-Hejra (Nöld.). A good many Jews were settled in the N. of the Hejaz. חלף מות Lit. 'a mortal change.' לחודוהי Lit. *he alone*; cf. בלחד 89 7.

91. El-Hejra. CIS ii 213; Eut. 15. A. D. 36. In situ.

1 דנה כפרא די עברו ענמו בר גזיאת וארסכסה

2 ברת תימו אסרתגא על רומא וכלבא

3 אחיה פלענמו תלת כפרא וצריחא דנה

4 ולארסכסה תלתין תרין מן כפרא וצריחא

5 וחלקה מן גוחיא מדנחא וגוחיא

6 ולענמו חלקה מן גוחיא מד[נ]ח ימינא

7 וגוחיא די בה להם ולילדהם אצדק באצדק

8 בי[ר]ח טבת שנת 333 לחרתת מלך נבטו

9 רחם עמה אפתח בר [עברעברת] פסלא עבר

This is the tomb which 'Ānimu, son of Guzayath, and Arisoxe, <sup>2</sup> daughter of Taimu the *stratēgos*, made over Rauma and Kalba <sup>3</sup> her brothers;—and to 'Ānimu (belongs) the third part of this tomb and vault, <sup>4</sup> and to Arisoxe two-thirds of the tomb and vault; <sup>5</sup> and her portion of the niches is the east side and the niches (there); <sup>6</sup> and 'Ānimu has his portion of the niches on the south-east, <sup>7</sup> and the niches which are in it;—for them and for their children, each legal kinsman. <sup>8</sup> In the month Tebeth, the 45th year of Harethath, king of the Nabataeans, <sup>9</sup> lover of his people. Aftah, son [of 'Abd-'obedath], the mason, did the work.

L. 1. ענמו 140 B 1. Arab. names like غَانِمٌ, غَنَمٌ are suggested as equivalents. \**Avamos*, common in Hauran, prob. stands for أَنْعَمٌ = אנעם (CIS ii 191 1) rather than for ענמו. גויאח The Arab. would be جَزِيمَةٌ or جَزِيمَةٌ; the mas. form occurs, جَزَى. Nöld. ארסכסה suggests that this is an abbreviation, 'Αριστοση for 'Αριστοξένη; for the omission of τ cf. אסרתנא l. 2; the Corp. merely transliterates *Arsaxa*. She was the wife of 'Ānimu; note in this inscr. the predominance of the woman (80 1 n.).

L. 2. חימו = תִּמִּם, CIS ii 203 1 &c. 82 2 n. רומא 89  
10. ארסכסה An Aram. name = ארסכסה, cf. Phoen. ארסכסה CIS i 52  
1; see 92 2 n.

L. 3. אחיה i. e. אחיה; the suff. refers to ארסכסה. 94 1 = צריח lit. *excavation*, so *underground chamber*, in poetry a *grave*; the vb. = 'to dig a grave.' Cf. in Hebr. צריח Jud. 9 46. 49 (see Moore in loc.). 1 S. 13 6, and the use of מערה in Gen. 23 9. 20. For the arrangement of an ancient Arab tomb see Wellhausen *Reste* 179.

L. 4. תלחין תרין Cf. רבע שלשה *three-quarters* 42 11.

L. 5. גוחיא Sing. גוחא CIS ii 211 1 ff., plur. 94 1 = *loculus* or *niche* for a corpse. In Palm. the form is גוחא 145 3. 144 7, which suggests the Assyr. *kimahhu* 'grave,' 'coffin' (Winckler *AF* ii 61, Del. *Assyr. HWB* 587); hence the word is prob. of foreign origin. For the quiescence of the מ cf. ארְיָמָן and the Aram. ארְיָמָן, ארְיָמָן. מרנחא i. e. מְרִיחָא, from רנח *to rise*, of the sun; in Heb. מורח. For the interchange of נ and ר cf. מְרִיחָא and מְרִיחָא, מְרִיחָא and מְרִיחָא &c.; Wright *Comp. Gr.* 67. The Arab. ذَرَّحٌ (Wellh. *Reste* 65), prob. the god of the rising sun, comes from this root.

L. 6. מוח An error for מוח; other errors are בוח for בוח l. 8, בר for בר (?) עבדעברח l. 9.

92. El-Ḥejra. CIS ii 218; Eut. 21. A. D. 39. In situ.

- 1 דנה מסגרא די עבר  
 2 שכוחו בר תורא לאערא  
 3 די בבצרא אלה רבאל בירח  
 4 ניסן שנת חדה למלכו מלכא

This is the cippus which <sup>2</sup> Shakuḥu, son of Thôra, made to A'ra <sup>3</sup> who is at Boṣra, the god of Rabel. In the month <sup>4</sup> Nisan, the first year of Mâliku the king.

L. 1. דנה מסגרא So usually, but CIS ii 176 'דא מ' The  $\sqrt{\text{سجد}} =$  to prostrate oneself; as used in Nab., מסגרא means, not 'the place where one prostrates' (مسجد mosque), but 'an object before which one prostrates'; the verbs used with it are די עבר (frequently), די קרב, 101, די הקים, 97 i, די בנה ועבר, די CIS ii 188 (corr. by Dussaud et Macler *Voy. Arch.* no. 30). The *mesgida* was, in fact, a votive stele or column, in this case carved in relief under a canopy upon the face of the rock, but sometimes standing by itself in the sacred enclosure; thus 97 is a hexagonal column ornamented with busts, fillets, &c., CIS ii 185 is a square pillar with a moulding and plinth, 190 a pillar 6 ft. high. In the case of 188 the *mesgida* is a squared stone now serving as the abacus of a pillar in the narthex of an ancient church, and still the object of local veneration; see Dussaud et Macler l. c. 161 f. The *mesgida* was more than a memorial stone, it was dedicated to a deity, as here to A'ra, 101 to Dûshara and A'ra, CIS ii 190 to Dûshara. Perhaps it was regarded as a kind of votive altar, not, however, intended for sacrifice; 97 is shaped very much like a Gk. altar, 188 may have been originally an altar table or base. At any rate the monument was supposed to represent the person who erected it, and to plead for him before the deity. See Lagrange *Rel. Sémi.* 206 f.

L. 2. שכוחו Prob. Aram., from שכח to find. The form פעולו is rare in Nab. names. תורא Also Aram., תורא = ox (Hebr. שׂוֹר); for the animal name cf. כלבא 91 2. The dedication perhaps implies that the donor came from Bostra. אערא Again in 101, and with the description די בבצרא; the god is not otherwise known. Dussaud and Macler, *Voy. Arch.* 169 f., take אערא as the Aram. form אַעֲרָ, one of the sons of Se'ir, Gen. 36 21 &c. This would corre-

spond to the Arab. *أعر*, which, however, is not the name of a tribe. Lidzb., *Eph.* i 330, suggests that the root is *عفر*, which in Aram. would become *עער*, and, to avoid the double guttural, *אער*, *אערא*; cf. *ضعف* = *חַלַּף* "double, Driver *Tenses* 223. In this case *אערא* will correspond to the Roman *Abundantia*, Ops; *عَفْرَاءُ* *wealth, plenty*. Possibly the name *אערא* gives the clue to the mysterious 'Oporáλ mentioned by Herodotus as the consort of 'Αλιλάτ (see p. 222 n. 2); Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 374. 'Oporáλ may = *אערא אלהא*; but the τ is not easy to account for, and Cl.-Gan. has since offered a better explanation<sup>1</sup>.

L. 3. *די בבצרה* 101 7 f.; cf. *די בצלחד* 99. The idiom 'די ב' indicates the transference of the worship from Bostra, in the N. of the Nab. kingdom, to El-Hejra. For the idiom see 24 2 n. *אלה רבאל* the god of Rabel; contrast *עברת אלהא* the god 'Obedath 95 1. For a god as patron of an individual cf. *אלת חטישו* 95 2. *אלה קציו* 100 2. *אלה שעידי* CIS ii 176 4. *אלה מראנא* 88 6. 101 6 f. (*ε*)*is θεόν* [A]μέρου Duss. et Macl. 205. *רבאל* may be either the king of that name (see 97 iii n.), or a private person, for the name is not uncommon. If Rabel here is king R., then *מלכו מלכא* l. 4 must have come after him, and reigned between A. D. 96—the latest year of Rabel (ii) known from inscr.—and A. D. 106, when the Nab. kingdom was absorbed into the Roman province of Arabia; so Duss. et Macl. 171 f., who regard this *מלכו* as Málíku iii (iv). But there is nothing in this inscr. to prove that Rabel was more than a private individual; and if he were a king, he may have been an earlier R. (see on 97 iii) and not necessarily Rabel (ii), for the expression 'A'ra the god of R.' may imply that a devotion to this deity was by ancestral custom especially connected with the name and family of R. (Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iv 178 f.; Schürer<sup>2</sup> i 742).

L. 4. *מלכו* i. e. Málíku ii, son of Aretas iv Philopatris, 99 3, the last Nab. king but one, A. D. 48–71 circ. He is mentioned by Jos. as contributing troops to the army of Vespasian in A. D. 67 for the Jewish war (*War* iii 4 2). It was during his reign that Damascus passed into the hands of the Romans, prob. under Nero, see p. 215 n. 1. The name *מלכו* = *مالِك* was pronounced Málíku, as appears from the form *Μαλίχας*<sup>2</sup>; in Jos. *Μάλιχος* or *Μάλχος*; cf. *Μάλχος* Jn. 18 10. There is not sufficient reason for supposing that *מלכו* was a successor of Rabel, usually considered the last Nab. king; see note above.

<sup>1</sup> 'Oporáλ (= *Διόνυσος* ap. Herod.) is the actual name of the god otherwise called by the title *Dúshara* (p. 218); see *Rec.* v § 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Periplus maris Erythraei* (written circ. A. D. 70) *Λευκή κόμη, διὰ ἧς ὁδοῦ ἐστὶν εἰς Πέτραν πρὸς Μαλίχαν, βασιλέα Ναβαταίων*, Müll. *Geogr. Gr. Min.* i 272.

93. El-Ḥejra. CIS ii 221; Eut. 24. A. D. 49. In situ.

- 1 דנה כפרא די עבד עירו הפרכא בר עבירו  
 2 לה ולילדה ולאחרה ודי יתקברון בכפרא  
 3 דנה אפתיו אם עירו דנה ברת חביבו  
 4 ונאתת אנתתה ברת שלי ומן די ינפק  
 5 בידה שטר מן יד עירו דנה וכפרא דנה  
 6 עביד בירח אדר שנת עשר וחדה למלכו  
 7 מלכא מלך נבטו עבדעבדת בר והבאלהי  
 8 והנאו בר עבדת ואפצא בר חותו פסליא עבדו

This is the tomb which 'Aīdu the eparch, son of 'Ubaidu, made <sup>2</sup> for himself and for his children and for his posterity; and that there may be buried in this tomb <sup>3</sup> Aftiyu, mother of the said 'Aīdu, daughter of Ḥabību, <sup>4</sup> and Na'ithath his wife, daughter of Shullai, and whoever shall produce <sup>5</sup> in his hand a deed from the hand of the said 'Aīdu. And this tomb <sup>6</sup> was made in the eleventh year of king Māliku, <sup>7</sup> king of the Nabataeans. 'Abd-'obedath, son of Wahb-allāhi, <sup>8</sup> and Hāni'u, son of 'Obaidath, and Afṣa, son of Ḥuthu, the masons, did the work.

L. 1. עירו 79 I n. הפרכא 87 2 n. עבירו 140 B I =  
 عُيَيْدٌ, \*Oβαιδος Wadd. 1977.

L. 3. אפתיו 81 3 n. חביבו = حَبِيبٌ, Syr. سَحَب, Gr. \*Αβειβος,  
 \*Αβειβος Wadd. 2099 &c.

L. 4. נאתת in Arab. probably would be نَاتَتْ from نَات vacillare  
 (Nöld.). שלי 88 I n.

L. 5. שטר 84 3 n.

L. 6. מלכו See 92 4 n.

L. 7. והבאלהי 80 II n.

L. 8. הנאו 97 i = هَانِيٌّ, prob. \*Aveos, \*Avaïos Wadd. 2185. 2021  
 &c. אפצא 87 8 n. חותו Perhaps = حَوَاتٌ, or حَوْتُ = Αἶθος  
 Wadd. 1986 &c.



94. Petra I. CIS ii 350. Circ. 1st cent. A. D. In situ.

- 1 קברא דנה וצריחא רבא די בה וצריחא זעירא די גוא מנה די בו  
 בתי מקברין עבידת גוחין
- 2 וכרכא די קרמיהם וערכותא ובתיא די בה וגניא וגנת סמכא ובארור  
 מיא וצהותא וטוריא
- 3 ושארית כל אצלא די באתריא אלה חרם וחרג דושרא אלה מראנא  
 ומותבה חרישא ואלהיא כלהם
- 4 בשטרי חרמין כרי בהם פפקרון דושרא ומותבה ואלהיא כלהם ד  
 כדי בשטרי חרמייא אנו יתעבד ולא יתשנא
- 5 ולא יתפציץ מן כל די בהם מנדעם ולא יתקבר בקברא דנה אנוי  
 כלה להן מן די כתיב לה תנא מקבר בשטרי חרמייא אנו עד עלנ

This sepulchre, and the large vault within it, and the small vault inside, within which are burying-places fashioned into niches,<sup>2</sup> and the wall in front of them, and the rows (?) and the houses within it, and the gardens and the garden of the ?, and the wells of water, and the ridge (?), and the hills (?),<sup>3</sup> and the rest of all the entire property which is in these places, is the consecrated and inviolable possession of Dûshara, the god of our lord, and his sacred throne (?), and all the gods,<sup>4</sup> (as specified) in deeds relating to consecrated things according to their contents. And it is the order of Dûshara and his throne (?) and all the gods that, according to what is in the said deeds relating to consecrated things, it shall be done and not altered.<sup>5</sup> Nor shall anything of all that is in them be withdrawn; nor shall any man be buried in this sepulchre save him who has in writing a contract to bury, (specified) in the said deeds relating to consecrated things — for ever.

The façade of the tomb, carved with Gk. columns, Egypt. cornice, and Assyr. battlements, like some of the tombs at El-Hejra, exhibits the style of Nab. monuments belonging to the 1st cent. A.D.; see

Vogüé *JA* viii (1896) 486. A ground-plan of the two chambers and the atrium in front of them is given *ib.* xi (1898) 140 f. A good description of Petra and the re-discovery of the inscr. is given by Lagrange, *RB* vi (1897) 208 ff.

L. 1. צריחא 91 3 *n.*; cf. the use of מערתא in Palm., 144 3 and Vog. 67 2 קברא ומערתא די בנוה די גוא מנה. Cf. גוא מנה 147 ii c 47; here גוא has final א as in Dan. 3 6 &c. (Arab. *جاء* *intrare*), elsewhere in Nab., גו. בתי מקברין Cf. בתי מקברתא Palm. Vog. 64 1. מקברין is a noun (מקבר or מק'ר); the sing. מקברתא occurs in 96 1 &c. Note the double plur. of a compound term; cf. שטרי חרמין l. 4. עבידת גוחין Lit. *a work of niches*, describing בתי מקברין; for גוחין *loculi* see 91 5 *n.* Two *loculi* exist in the tomb; prob. it was intended to make more if required.

L. 2. כרכא *the wall* surrounding the atrium in front of the tombs;  $\sqrt{\text{כר}} =$  *surround*, cf.  $\sqrt{\text{כר}} =$  *fenced city*. ערכתא Plur. of ערכתא, prob. *rows* of pillars or arcades; cf. Hebr. מערכה *a row* Ex. 39 37. Vogüé explains by ערכת 3 6, but ערפת is prob. to be read there. גניא *Gardens* near a tomb were common in antiquity, e.g. John 19 41 and the Roman *cepotaphia* i.e. a grave with fields and gardens round it; Marquardt *Das Privatleben der Römer*<sup>2</sup> 369, quoted by Barth *Hebraica* xiii (1897) 275<sup>1</sup>. גנת סמכא Possibly *a garden of reclining* (גנת סמכא), i.e. a garden for funeral feasts. As Nöld. remarks, it is better to give גנת the same meaning as גניא, rather than derive it from גנת *to lie down* (*ZA* xii 3 f.), though it is tempting to compare *convivio accumbe* &c., Payne Smith *Thes. Syr.* coll. 2662 and 744. צהותא The meaning of this and the foll. word is very uncertain. The Arab.  $\sqrt{\text{צה}} =$  (1) *a cave from which water wells forth*, so here perhaps *water-tank* (Barth), cf.  $\sqrt{\text{צה}} =$  *fish-pond*; or (2) *the ridge of a mountain, a tower on a hill-top*; cf. the place-names Şahwet el-Ḥidr, Şahwet el-Belâṭ in Ḥauran (Baed. *Paläst.*<sup>3</sup> 205 f.). Either meaning may be right here; but since in 95 2 צהות is more suitably rendered by (2), the latter rendering may be adopted in both places: it is unlikely that the same word would have different meanings in the two inscrs. Cl.-Gan. renders *roof* in 95 2, and here *terrace*, i.e. the upper part of the tomb. Nöld.'s *dry places*, from  $\sqrt{\text{צה}} =$  *be thirsty*, is not probable. טוריא *Rocks* or *rocky heights*; or possibly *low walls surrounding the wells and tank*, cf.  $\sqrt{\text{צה}} =$  *circle*, or  $\sqrt{\text{צה}} =$  *go round*, דור, תור.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo mentions the gardens and wells for irrigating them at Petra,  $\alpha\eta\gamma\alpha\varsigma \delta\alpha\phi\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma . . . \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \tau\epsilon \acute{\upsilon}\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\upsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \alpha\eta\eta\acute{\iota}\alpha\upsilon$  p. 663 ed. Müll. Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 93. 129.

L. 3. אצלָא Prob. = أصل landed property, lit. root, lineage; أَمِيْلَةٌ a man's whole property. The precise meaning of most of the foregoing terms is not clear, nor is the disposition of the various appendages of the tomb. Vogüé (*JA* xi 143 f.) includes them all within the atrium in front. Some of them may be placed there, 'the portico with its buildings' (ערכותא ובתיא), the wells and tank (?)—a conduit has been discovered in one corner of the atrium; but it may be doubted whether the space (77 by 66 ft.) is sufficient for *the houses, the gardens, the hills &c.*, the most obvious meaning of בתיא, גניא, טוריא. These may have been outside the precincts; די באתריא אלה 'which are in these places' suggests, not the enclosed space, but localities outside of it. Perhaps the general plan resembled that of the Roman garden-tombs (supr.), with their *area* in front of the sepulchre, their *aediculae*, pavilions, wells, *taberna* &c. (Barth l. c.). Winckler suggests the arrangement of a Moslem mosque-tomb, and, disregarding the natural meanings of the words, takes גנת ס', גניא to mean a covered cloister and shrine; *AF* ii 60 ff. אלה 87 3 n. חרם 79 8 n. הרג = Arab. حَرَجٌ that which is forbidden, unlawful. The two nouns are so closely connected that they govern a common genit. (Nöld.). אלה מראנא 88 6 &c., 'our lord,' either Aretas iv (78 4 n.) or one of his immediate predecessors, Obodas ii, Malchus i. מותבה 80 4 n. The form with ה, and the absence of ו from the foll. חרישא, are against taking מותבה as the name of a deity. Nöld. favours the explanation that מותבה (وئب) = *his council*, seated round the god; cf. مَجْلِسَةٌ council. Cl.-Gan.'s rendering *she who is seated*, i. e. his Πάρεδρος (*Rec.* ii 131), and Winckler's, *his spouse* (Ethiop. *wasaba* iv = 'to marry'), are etymologically improbable. חרישא Ptcp. pass. emph. st. agreeing with מותבה, prob. = حرس guard, watch, so protected, holy.

L. 4. שטרי Plur. constr., 84 3 n. These documents were no doubt preserved in the temple archives. דכרן Nom. = فَهْمٌ, as רכרן Palm. Vog. 74 = فَهْمٌ; Hebr. וְכָרֶן, פְּקָדֶן. הא Plur. of הא, apoc. from אָהַן; Baram. הַפּוֹן, הַפּוֹן, הַפּוֹן; Talm. אֵינְהוּ (pl. of אֵיהוּ). Elsewhere in Nab. CIS ii 210 6; in Aram. המו 76 B 4. יתשנא Cf. Ezr. 6 11. Dan. 6 9. 18. In this dialect the ת stands before the sibilant, e. g. יתובן 88 4 n.

L. 5. יתפציץ Ethpa. impf. of פציץ = فَصّ extract, disjoin, in iv to separate a part and give it away. מנדעם 75 2 n. אנוש כלה 89 5 n. להן 79 8 n. תנא CIS ii 69 perhaps = Targ. תְּנָא, Syr. تَنْأ agreement, contract; in Nab. תְּנָא may have been

written for 'תני. Winckler explains by the Assyr. *dannitu* 'a piece of writing.' מכבר Inf. constr. 89 7 (Lidzb.); or a noun l. i.

95. Petra 2. El-Mer. CIS ii 354. A. D. 20. In situ.

דנה צלמא די עברת אלהא די עברו בני חנינו בר חמישו בר  
 פטמון . . . . .  
 תלוך בר ותרא אלה חמישו די בצהות פטמון עמהם על חיי חרתת  
 מלך נבטו רחם ע[מה ושקילת]  
 אחתה מלכת נבטו ומלכו ועברת ורבאל ופצאל ושעורת וחגרו  
 בנוהי וחרתת בר חג[רו בן בנה]  
 . . . . . בשנת 3 3 3 3 3 לחרתת מלך נבטו רחם עמה עלה שלם 4

This is the statue of the divine 'Obedath, which the sons of Ḥunainu, son of Ḥoṭaishu, son of Paṭmon, made . . . . .

<sup>2</sup> Teluk, son of Withra, the god of Ḥoṭaishu, who is on the ridge (?) of Paṭmon, their ancestor (?); for the life of Ḥarethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his pe[ople, and Shuqailath] <sup>3</sup> his sister, queen of the Nabataeans, and Māliku and 'Obedath and Rabel and Peṣael and Sha'ūdath and Ḥigru his children, and Ḥarethath, son of Ḥig[ru his grandson] <sup>4</sup> . . . . . in the 29th year of Ḥarethath, king of the Nabataeans. Peace be upon him!

The inscr. was found at Petra in an artificial grotto, now called El-Mer, once used as a sanctuary. De Vogüé *JA* xi (1898) 129 ff.; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii § 73.

L. i. עברת אלהא The statue was that of 'Obedath, one of the Nab. kings. It was a custom among the Nabs. to deify kings after their death: e. g. Uranius, quoted by Steph. Byz., \*Ὀβόδα, χωρίον Ναβαταίων, Οὐράνιος Ἀραβικῶν τετάρτῳ, ὅπου Ὀβόδης ὁ βασιλεύς, ὃν θεοποιούσι, τέθαιπται *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 525 (cf. Tertullian *Ad nat.* ii 8 . . . Obodan et Dusarem Arabum); and among the Palmyrenes, 121 3 אלהא אלכסנדרום קסר. אלכסנדרום קסר. 122 3 אלהא [הררי(נום)]; cf. 10 7 n., 80 11 n. The king here was a predecessor of Aretas iv (l. 4), i. e. prob. Obedas ii,

28 to 9 B.C. He is mentioned by Strabo (663 f. ed. Müll.) in connexion with the campaign of Aelius Gallus against S. Arabia, 25-4 B.C., and by Josephus in the later period of Herod's reign, when Syllaeus his ἐπίτροπος was a suitor for Salome (*Ant.* xvi 7 6. *War* i 24 6), and at the time of Herod's expedition against Trachonitis (*Ant.* xvi 9 1. 4).

חנינו 82 2. חמישו = \*Οταίσιος, \*Οτασιος Wadd. 1984. 2226; cf. חמיש I Chr. 3 22. Neh. 3 10 &c. פטמון Perhaps from *be fat*, or فطم wean, cf. فاطمة; for the ending cf. זכרון, פקרון. An Egypt. derivation, Pet-ammon (69 9 n.), is not so likely. At the end of the l. either another set of donors was mentioned, or there was a verb, still governed by בני חנינו, describing the association of the new cult of 'Obadath with that of the family god of Ḥoṭaiṣhu (Cl.-Gan.).

L. 2. ותרא Cf. O.T. יתרא (Midianite), יתרא, יתרא, and the Minaean ותראל Glaser 299 3 (*Hommel Süd-ar. Chrest.* 116), Οὐθρος Wadd. 2537 h<sup>1</sup>. Yaquṭ mentions a village in Ḥauran, وتر, N. of Bostra, in Nab. country. אלה חמישו See 92 3 n. In these cases the god is not named as a rule; here it was prob. Dūshara, אלה מראנא

88 6. בצהות The Arab. صهوة means both *fountain* and *crest of a hill, tower upon a hill*. In 94 2 צהותא may have the former sense; the latter would be suitable here. Cl.-Gan., however, explains צ as the *roof* of the house, where the statue or altar of the family god was set; cf. Strabo (p. 667) ἡλιον τιμῶσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος ἰδρυσάμενοι βωμόν (of the Nabataeans), 2 K. 17 12. עמהם The context implies *kinsman, ancestor*. פטמון was great-grandfather to the בני חנינו; hence both here and in 99 2 Cl.-Gan. gives עם the specific sense of *great-grandfather*. But though this was the relationship in both cases, it is hardly expressed by the word עם, which at most implies *kinsman*; cf. Arab. عم paternal uncle, and the O.T. names אליעם &c., *Gray Hebr. Pr. N.* 51 ff. In רחם עמה the meaning is certainly *people*, not *ancestors*; Schürer *Gesch.*<sup>3</sup> i 738. על חיי

<sup>1</sup> The name occurs in the foll. inscr. on an altar (disc. 1895) from Kanatha (Josephus), now el-Qanawāt, NE. of Bostra, in Jebel Ḥauran:

נדר וצד אל בני וחרו רחמי גרא שלם  
קציו בר חנאל אמנא שלם

'Vowed and sacrificed (?) by the family of the Benê Withro, lovers of Gad. Greeting! Qaṣṣu, son of Ḥann-el, the master-workman. Greeting!' צד is explained by Cl.-Gan. as Pael of *صعد* = *to mount*, *صعد* = O.T. עלה in Saadya's version; *Rec.* iii § 10. The vb. *صعد* is not actually used in the sense *to sacrifice*, nor is נדר found in Aram. inscr. with the meaning *to vow*. Hence Lidzb. prefers to read נדר וצדאל as pr. nn. (*Ephem.* i 74), though the names do not occur elsewhere. אל = Arab. آل CIS ii 164 f. גרא = Τύχη, whose cult was popular in Ḥauran. See also *Rép.* no. 53.



## MOAB

96. Medeba. CIS ii 196. A. D. 37. Vatican Museum.

- 1 דא מקברתא ותרתי נפשתא די  
 2 עלא מנה די עבר עברעברת אסרתנא  
 3 לאיתיבל אסרתנא אבוהי ולאיתיבל  
 4 רב משריתא די בלחיתו ועברתא בר עברעברת  
 5 אסרתנא דנה בבית שלטונהם די שלמו  
 6 זמנין תריין שניין תלתין ושת על שני חרתת  
 7 מלך נבטו רחם עמה ועבדתא די  
 8 עלא עבדת בשנת ארבעין ושת לה

This is the sepulchre, and the two monuments <sup>2</sup>above it, which 'Abd-'obedath the *stratēgos* made <sup>3</sup>to Aithi-bel the *stratēgos* his father, and to Aithi-bel <sup>4</sup>chief of the camp at Luḥithu and 'Abarta, son of the said 'Abd-'obedath <sup>5</sup>the *stratēgos*, in the seat of their jurisdiction which they exercised <sup>6</sup>twice, for a period of thirty-six years, in the time of Ḥarethath, <sup>7</sup>king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people; and the above work <sup>8</sup>was executed in the forty and sixth year of his (reign).

It is a peculiarity of this inscr. that the words are separated.

L. 1. מקברתא See 94 i n. תרתי נפשתא 78 i n.

L. 2. עלא מנה i. e. עֲלֵא מְנָה, cf. Dan. 6 3 and Palm. לעל מנה ד לעל מנה אסרתנא Cf. CIS ii 195, where a *nefesh* is erected (עבר) by יעמרו אסרתנא to his brother, the son of עבישו אסרתנא (A. D. 39). The inscr. 195 comes from Umm-er-Resas, 16 miles SE. of Medeba. These two inscr., which are almost contemporary, indicate that the Nab. *stratēgos* was the governor of a small district, and that the office was to some extent hereditary<sup>1</sup>; cf. 97 ii n. It is not impossible that both these *stratēgoi*, 'Abd-'obedath and Ya'amru, may have assisted the wife of Herod Antipas in her

<sup>1</sup> Strabo says of the Nabs. κατὰ πρεσβυγένειαν καὶ βασιλεύουσιν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους καὶ ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἀρχοῦσι p. 666 ed. Müll.

flight to her father Aretas iv at Petra; she was passed on, says Josephus, from one *stratēgos* to another, κομμητῶν τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκ δαδοχαῆς *Ant.* xviii 5 1. The castle of Macherus would prob. have been in the district of Ya'amru; the boundary between the two governors was perhaps the W. Zerqa Ma'in. *Cl.-Gan. Rec.* ii 202.

L. 3. אִיתִיבֵּל i. e. אִיתִיבֵּל *Bel has brought* (i. e. the new-born), Afel of אַתָּא, cf. the Syr. pr. n. ܐܝܬܝܒܠ, Nöld. *ZA* (1891) 149 n.; or, אִיתִיבֵּל *Bel exists*, cf. אִיתִי אֱלֹהֵי Dan. 2 28 and אִיתִיבֵּל Neh. 11 7. אִיתִי 1 Chr. 11 31. *Bel* is the Babylonian deity (p. 269), and not another form of the Canaanite *Baal*. The only other Nab. name in which בֵּל has been found is בְּנֵהבֵּל 102 5, and that is uncertain; in Palm. בֵּל and בּוּל are frequent in pr. nn. The second אִיתִיבֵּל was grandson of the first; it was a custom to repeat family names at this interval in the genealogy.

L. 4. מִשְׂרֵיתָא 140 B 3. 122 5, Syr. ܡܫܪܝܬܐ *camp, army*; in Targ. שְׂרָא = *encamp*. לחיתו must have been within the jurisdiction of the *stratēgos*, and therefore near Medeba. The name suggests מְעִלָּה הַלְחִית *Is.* 15 5. *Jer.* 48 5; but according to the *Onomasticon* (136 23 ed. Lag.) this was between Areopolis (Rabbath-Moab, Rabba) and Zoar = Şarfa, to the N. of Wadi Kerak (Buhl *Geogr.* 272), and therefore too far south<sup>1</sup>. עֲבֵרְתָא Site unknown; evidently a fort commanding a *pass* in the highlands near Medeba or the *ford* of a river. The name recalls the O. T. הַר הָעֵבְרִים = the Nebo range, *Num.* 27 12. In Roman times there were several camps in the neighbourhood; e. g. *cohors tertia* . . in *ripa vadi Apharis fluvii in castris Arnonensibus*, *Notitia dignitatum* xxx.

L. 6. וְזִמְנִין תְּלַתָּה Cf. וְזִמְנִין תְּרִינַן Dan. 6 11. CIS ii 186 3. Palm. זבנן סניאן 121 5.

L. 7. עֲבִירְתָא Noun formed from Pe. ptcp. pass., cf. 94 1. *Ezr.* 4 24 &c. אֱלֵהָא; see Marti *Gr. Bibl. Aram.* 86.

<sup>1</sup> If הלחית = Tal'at Heisa, on W. slope of Mt. Nebo, some 5 or 6 m. NW. of Medeba, this would answer to the conditions; but the grounds on which Conder (*PEF Mem., East. Pal.* i 228. 253), followed by G. A. Smith (*Map of Pal.*), bases the identification, are extremely questionable; see Driver *Exp. Times* (1902) 460.



## DAMASCUS

97. Dumêr. CIS ii 161. A. D. 94. Louvre.

Col. ii

בגרת אם אדרמו אסרתגא  
ונקידו מן על טעמא  
עבדמלכו בני

Col. i

[דנה מ]סגרא די הקים  
[ה]נאו בר חרי גדלו ברת

Col. iii

אסרתגא בירח איר  
שנת X 9 3 במנין ארהומיא  
די הו שנת X 3 לרבאל  
מלכא

C

נקידו ברה

B

אדרמו ברה

A

הנאו

F

לענו אתתה ...

Col. i [This is the c]ippus which Hâni'u set up, the freedman of Gadlu, daughter <sup>ii</sup> of Bagarath, mother of Adramu the *stratēgos* and Neqîdu, by adoption sons of 'Abd-mâliku <sup>iii</sup> the *stratēgos*, in the month Iyar, in the year 405, by the reckoning of the Romans, which is the 24th year of king Rabel.

The place now called Dumêr (ضمير) was the first station on the Roman road from Damascus to Palmyra. The inscr. is written on the sides of a hexagonal column, a little over 3 ft. high, resembling a Greek altar. Round the upper part is a series of busts, each with a name below it (A B C F); two busts (D E) are missing.

Col. i. מסגרא See 92 i n.      הנאו 93 8 n.      בר חרי Lit. *filius libertatis*, so *libertus*; in Hebr. cf. חורים Qoh. 10 17; in Palm. 147 ii b 12 קלקים בר חרי קיסר, and the inscr. found at South

Shields (Lidzb. 482) חבֵּל ברעתא חבֵּל<sup>1</sup>. In Syr. Pa. = *set free*, and similarly the Pi. of חרר in NHebr., whence חר *freeman*.

Col. ii. בנרת See 85 1 n. אֲדָרְמוּ = אֲדָרְמוּ<sup>2</sup> *toothless*. נְקִידוּ Cf. נְקִידָא; Ezr. 2 48 = Neh. 7 50 &c. עַל מִן עַל Lit. *on the ground of, by reason of*; cf. על in 147 i 6 עַל צְבוּחָא אֲלֵן עַל טַעמָא To be explained by the Syr. חֲכֻמָּא *a graft, he grafted*; hence used of adoption (Cl.-Gan. Rec. i 61). בני עבדמלכו It is clear that Hāni'u was both the freedman and husband of Gadlu<sup>2</sup>. Their sons were adopted by 'Abd-māliku, prob. a kinsman of Gadlu, in order to secure a social position which their father could not give them. It would seem that 'Abd-māliku transmitted his own office to the elder of the two sons, cf. 96 2 n. For עבדמלכו see 80 11 n.

Col. iii. אִיר 85 10 n. The sign of the numeral 4 is unusual. The date is given by the Seleucid era, which began in 312 B. C.; see 9 5 n. בְּמִנְיֵן אֲרֵהוּמְיָא i. e. אֲרֵהוּמְיָא, for the orthography cf. Clement's אֲרֵהוּמְיָא<sup>3</sup> *Thes. Syr. s. v.*; מִנְיֵן lit. = *counting*. The reference, as Cl.-Gan. l. c. 71 f. has shown, is to the Seleucid era reckoned, not by the old style or Macedonian calendar, which was on the lunar system, but by the Roman or Julian calendar (solar), which had been introduced recently into Syria. רבאל Rabel, the last Nab. king (92 3 n.), known only from inscr. (e.g. 95 2 n. 101 9) and coins<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The Lat. part of this inscr. runs: D[is] m[anibus]. Regina liberta et conjuge Barates Palmyrenus natione Catuallauna an[nis] xxx. The stone, now in the Free Library, S. Shields, was found in the neighbouring Roman camp.

<sup>2</sup> The relation was not unknown: Cl.-Gan. quotes Orelli 3024 Ti. Claudius Hermes . . . Claudiam M. Titi filiam . . . patronam optimam, item conjugem felicissimam—id. 3029 D. M. Lucretiae Eutychildi, Lucretius Adrastus conjugi et patronae dulcissimae. Cf. preceding note.

<sup>3</sup> The name occurs in an inscr. lately found (1897) at Petra; see Cl.-Gan. Rec. ii § 58, *Album Pl. XLV*; Schürer *Gesch.*<sup>3</sup> i 732. 742 f.

דנה צלמא די רבאל מלך נבשו  
 ה מלך נבשו די הקים לה  
 ב? י? ? רבא וחדחה  
 בירחו כסלו די [הו] שמרא  
 [שטנ] וצא לחרת מלכא [מלך נבשו]

This statue must have belonged to another king Rabel, for his father's name ended in ה, and he was succeeded by a king Ḥarethath, who reigned at least for 16 years; Rabel, the last Nab. king, is therefore out of the question. On the strength of a passage in Steph. Byz. which says that Antigonous the Macedonian was slain by Rabilus the king of the Arabians, Cl.-Gan. dates this inscr. 70-69 B. C., correcting Antigonous to Antiochus (i. e. A. xii). Josephus, however, clearly implies that the Arabian king who defeated and slew Antiochus at Cana was Aretas (*Ant.* xiii 15

This inscr. tells us that his reign began in A. D. 71; the latest inscr. is dated in his 26th year, i. e. A. D. 96 (p. 255 n. 1); the Nab. kingdom came to an end in A. D. 106. Rabel, as this inscr. from the NE. of Damascus shows, must have ruled over an extensive territory.

The series of busts and inscrr. is not complete. It began with Hâni'u in the centre, and followed from the left with Adramu, the eldest son, and then with Neqîdu. Whose wife was represented by F, to the right of A, is not certain; the Corp. restores עברטלבו for E; the remaining name at D was prob. גרלו.

1. 2)—i. e. Aretas iii. There is evidently some confusion in the statement of Steph. Byz. (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 525). It is not at present clear where this king Rabel is to be placed.

## ḤAURAN

98. Ḥebzan. CIS ii 170. A. D. 47. Louvre.

- 1 בִּירַח תְּשֵׁרִי שְׁנַת שִׁבְעָ לְקַלְדִּים  
 2 קִיסָר  
 3 דְּנָה תִרְעָא דִּי עֶבֶד מַלְכוּ בֵּר  
 4 קַצְיִו] כְּמַר אֵלֶת שְׁלָם קִרִּי

In the month of Tishri, the seventh year of Claudius Caesar: this is the gate which Mâliku, son of Qaş[îu], priest of Allath, made. Call a greeting!

L. 1. תְּשֵׁרִי The 7th month, Sept.–Oct.; in 123 5 = Ὑπερβερεταῖος. קַלְדִּים Claudius, Jan. 41–Oct. 54 A. D. The inscr. dates from the interregnum (44–52) between Herod Agrippa i and ii, when Ḥauran and Trachonitis were governed directly by the Roman imperial power. For קַלְדִּים the more correct form would be קַלְדִּים, as אֹרְלִים in Palm.

L. 2. קִיסָר The form with י is derived from the Gk. Καῖσαρ, in Palm. usually קַסַר 121 3 &c.

L. 4. קַצְיִו 99 2 is everywhere the name of a person, not of a god, 100 2 n. כְּמַר See 64 1 n. אֵלֶת 80 4 n. קִרִּי Imperat.; cf. the Arab. formula قرا عليه السلام.

99. Ṣalḥad. CIS ii 182. A. D. 65. In situ.

- 1 דְּנָה בִּיתָא דִּי בְנָה רוּחוּ בֵּר מַלְכוּ בֵּר אַכְלָבוּ בֵּר רוּחוּ  
 לֵאלֶת אֱלֹהֵתָהֶם  
 2 דִּי בְצַלְחַד וְדִי נִצַּב רוּחוּ בֵּר קַצְיִו עִם רוּחוּ דְּנָה דִּי עֵלָא  
 3 בִּירַח אֲב שְׁנַת עֶשֶׂר וּשְׁבַע לְמַלְכוּ מֶלֶךְ נִבְטוּ בֵּר חֲרַתָּת  
 מֶלֶךְ נִבְטוּ רַח] עֵמָה

This is the temple which Rûḥu, son of Mâliku, son of Aklabu, son of Rûḥu, built to Allath their goddess <sup>2</sup> who is in Ṣalḥad, and whom Rûḥu, son of Qaşîu, ancestor (?) of the said above-named Rûḥu, had established. <sup>3</sup> In the month Ab, the seventeenth year of Mâliku, king of the Nabataeans, son of Ḥarethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people.

L. 1. רוחו 140 B 2 = Arab. *رُوحٌ joyous*, 'Ρουαῖος Wadd. 2034. אכלבו = Arab. *أَكْلَبٌ rabidus*. אלה אלהתהם See 80 4 n. and cf. אלהתא CIS ii 336 3; the suff. as in שלטניהם 96 5.

L. 2. רי בצלחר 92 3 n. This idiom implies that the worship of Allath at Ṣalḥad was introduced from some other place (24 2 n.); this appears to have been done by an ancestor of the Rūḥu who now builds a temple for the goddess. צלחר is the present *صلحة*, in Yaquṭ *مرجد*, situated on one of the southernmost heights of Jebel Ḥauran. It has been identified with the O.T. סלכה Deut. 3 10. Josh 12 5 &c., mentioned along with Edre'i as marking the S. frontier of Bashan. נצב The pf. to be rendered by plupf.: the introduction of the worship would take place before the building of the temple (Lidzb. 150 n.). קציו 98 4. 100 2. עם רוחו may be rendered with R., i. e. the introduction of Allath was the joint enterprise of R. son of Qaṣṭu and R. son of Māliku. But in 95 2 עם = *kinsman, ancestor (great-grandfather)*, Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 373 f.), and this seems to be the meaning here. The worship of Allath had been established at Ṣalḥad for three generations, or about 100 years, before the date of the inscr., i. e. at a period which corresponds with the occupation of this region by the Nabataeans after the capture of Damascus by Aretas iii in B. C. 85 (see p. 216). It is possible, as Cl.-Ganneau points out, that the קציו of Bostra (100 2) was the קציו of this inscr., evidently an important person; if this was the case, the father introduced his family god (prob. אערא 92 2 n.) at Bostra, the son did the same for Allath at the neighbouring Ṣalḥad.

L. 3. אב The 5th month, July-Aug. מלכו 92 4 n. Between the death of Aretas iv in A. D. 40 and the reign of Malchus ii we must probably insert the reign of Abias, *ὁ Ἀράβων βασιλεύς* Joseph. *Ant.* xx 4 1. Hence the accession of Malchus ii cannot be placed earlier than about 48 A. D. (Sehürer 739); his 17th year will then be A. D. 65.

100. Bostra. CIS ii 174. Circ. 40 B. C. Louvre.

1 די קרב נטראל בר  
2 נטראל לאלה קציו  
3 בשנת / 1 למלכו מלכא

Offered by Naṭar-el, son of Naṭar-el, to the god of Qaṣṭu; in the 11th year of king Māliku.

Bostra, in Gk. Βοστρά, now بُسْرَى, was the chief city of Ḥauran in the 1st cent. A.D. The Nabataeans made it a great centre for commerce with Palmyra, Babylonia, and the south. Cf. 125 5.

L. 1. נטראל i. e. *El keeps*, Ναταρήλος Wadd. 2351; an Aram. name.

L. 2. אלה קציו See 92 3 n.; the god was perhaps אערא, the patron of the family (99 2 n.).

L. 3. מלכו The inscr. is evidently an early one, judging from the rude and somewhat archaic style of the writing. Hence the king will be the earlier rather than the later Mâliku (92 4), i. e. Malchus i (Schürer 735, not ii), circ. 50-28 B.C., who appears again in 102. His relations with Herod the Great are described by Josephus (*Ant.* xiv 14 1-2. *War* i 14 1-2). He refused Herod assistance at the time of the Parthian invasion B.C. 40, and was subsequently fined by Ventidius for the support which he gave to the invaders (Dio Cass. 48 41). Part of his territory was made over by Antony to Cleopatra; after a time the tribute was withheld, and by Antony's order Herod made an expedition into the territory of the Nabataeans, and in the end succeeded in inflicting a severe defeat upon Malchus, B.C. 32-31 (Joseph. *Ant.* xv 5. *War* i 19). The last that we hear of him is in connexion with a plot against Herod, which led to the death of the aged Hyrcanus (*Ant.* xv 6 2-3).

101. Imtân. A. D. 93. In situ.

- |            |    |
|------------|----|
| דנה מסגרא  | 1  |
| די קרב     | 2  |
| מנעת בר    | 3  |
| גדיו ל     | 4  |
| דושרא ו    | 5  |
| אערא אלה   | 6  |
| מראנא די   | 7  |
| בבצרא בשנת | 8  |
| לרבאל III  | 9  |
| מלכא מלך   | 10 |

נבטו די 11

אחיי וש 12

יוב עמה 13

This is the cippus offered by Mun'ath, son of Gadiyu, to Dûshara and A'ra the god of our lord who is in Boşra, in the 23rd year of king Rabel, king of the Nabataeans, who brought life and deliverance to his people.

Imtân lies SE. of Bostra. The inscr. was discovered by Dussaud and Macler; *Voy. Arch.* (1901) no. 36. See also *Rep.* nos. 83 and 86.

L. 1. מסנרא See 92 1 n.

L. 3. מנעת See 83 2 n.

L. 4. נריו In Sin. Eut. 93. 95 &c.; in Palm. נריא = Arab. جَدَى.

L. 6. אערא See 92 2 n. 3 n. אלה מראנא the god of our lord i. e. of the king, as in 88 6. 89 8.

L. 9. רבאל 97 iii n.

L. 12. For the title cf. CIS ii 183 . . . די אחיי עמה ו (25th year) and the inscr. below<sup>1</sup>. It may point to some historical act of deliverance, or perhaps rather (like the רחם עמה of Aretas iv) to a patriotic policy at a time when the independence of the Nab. kingdom was threatened by Rome; cf. the Hellenist title Σωτήρ. In the earlier inscr. of the reign Rabel has no such title; it is omitted, however, in 97 iii (24th year) possibly for political reasons. Af. of אחיי, cf. the pr. n. חיאל CIS ii 224 7. For שיוב see 69 9 n.

<sup>1</sup> Duss. et Macl. no. 62; *Rep.* no. 86:—

a ונ[ה] ארכא די עבר עורו  
 בר גשם לשיע אלקום [אלה]  
 ב א בשנת עשרי[ן] שח לרבאל מלכא מל  
 ד נבטו די אחיי ושוב עמה

D. et M. explain ארכא as = Lat. *arca*, i. e. sarcophagus. Cl.-Gan. thinks of part of a building, *Rec.* iv 175; but it is prob. that أَرْكَة *couch, bridal seat* = מיתבא 70 1 n., Lidzb. *Eph.* i 332. At the end of the next l. Cl.-Gan. plausibly reads לשיע אלקום [אלה] to the god *Shē'a-alkūm*; the reading is brilliantly confirmed by 140 B 4 n. The 26th year of Rabel was A. D. 96.

## ITALY

102. Puteoli. CIS ii 158. A. D. 5. Naples Museum.

- 1 דא מחרמתא [די ח] דתו . . . . . ת ועלי נחשא . . . . .
- 2 . . . . . ל . . . . . ומרתי די מתקרא זברת . . . . .
- 3 . . . . . צי צידו בר עבת מן דילה על חיי חרתת מלך נ[בטו ודי]
- 4 [ח] לדרו אתתה מלכת נבטו ודי בניהם בירח אב שנת / [III] |
- למלכותה]
- 5 . . . . . אחר זמן אבני מחרמתא קרמיתא די עבד בנהבל בר במ . . . . .
- 6 [בשנת III] | III || למלכו מלך נבטו יהבו נגו מחרמתא דא

This is the sanctuary [which] . . . . . restored, and 'Ali the copper-smith . . . . .<sup>2</sup> . . . . . and Marthi, who is called Zubdath . . . . .<sup>3</sup> . . . . . Şaīdu, son of 'Abath, at his own expense, for the life of Ḥarethath, king of the N[abataeans, and of] <sup>4</sup> Ḥuldu his wife, queen of the Nabataeans, and of their children, in the month Ab, the 14th (?) year [of his reign] <sup>5</sup> . . . after the time when the former sanctuaries were built (?), which Ben-hobal, son of Bm . . . made <sup>6</sup> [in the 8th (?) year] of Māliku, king of the Nabataeans, they placed within this sanctuary.

L. 1. מחרמתא See 79 8 n. חרתו 23 2 n. עלי = Arab.   
 َعَلِيّ Sin. עליו, 'Alēios Wadd. 2520. נחשא a worker in bronze,   
 Syr. نَسَفَا, or possibly, *diviner*.

L. 2. מרתי Cf. Palm. 120 1 = Μάρθειν (fem.). די מתקרא   
 Ethpe. ptcp., cf. 123 2. זברת = Arab. زَبْرَة.

L. 3. צידו = Arab. صَائِد, cf. Palm. 137 2. עבת Perhaps   
 from عِبْتٌ to play. מן דילה i. e. ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, cf. Palm. מן כיסה   
 116 4. 122 6. 'ח על חיי ח' 95 2 n. The usual title עמה is   
 omitted.

L. 4. חלרו 95 2 n., cf. O.T. חֲלָדָה 2 K. 22 14 (fem.) and חֲלָד weasel   
 Lev. 11 29; so in the Mishnah, חולדא, Arab. حَلْدٌ. בניהם Prob.   
 children, not merely sons; 95 3 n. אב 99 3 n. To fill up   
 the space three units are required, and prob. למלכותה, Corp.



L. 5. זמן 84 3 constr. st. before a verbal clause. אבני Prob. pf. 3 plur. fem.; but the form is not clear: it has been explained as contracted from אבני, or as an internal pass. מחרמתא ק' Both plur. fem. Either בנהבל (96 3 n.) or בנהבל, Hobal being an old Arab deity, هبل at Mekka, the chief god of the Ka'aba; see Baethgen *Beitr.* 113. For compounds with בנא cf. O.T. בנהדר (בנהדר?), בניה &c.

L. 6. The Corp. supplies בשנת and two units to fill the lacuna. למלכו i.e. Malchus i, 100 3 n. The inscr. is too mutilated to enable us to make out the general sense with certainty. It appears that Şaïdu in the 14th year of Aretas iv dedicated some object for the life of the king and his family, and deposited it (l. 6) in the recently restored sanctuary, which had been built some 50 years before. This inscr., like CIS ii 157 (also from Puteoli), is a witness to the extent and enterprise of Arabian commerce during the prosperous days of the Nab. kingdom. Nab. merchants had established themselves and the worship of their native deity on the shores of Italy, at the important harbour of Puteoli (cf. Acts 28 11. 13).

בני

## NABATAEAN: SINAITIC

The Sinitic inscriptions are written in the Nabataean dialect and script<sup>1</sup>. Most of them are to be seen on the rocky sides of the Wadi Mukatteb ('covered with writing'), through which one of the ancient trade routes passed; they occur also in other valleys of the Peninsula, e. g. W. 'Aleyyât, W. Leja', W. Ferân, W. Ma'ârah. For the most part they consist of proper names with short formulae of greeting ('שלם פ'), or blessing ('ברוך פ'), or commemoration ('דכיר פ'), varied in different ways. Very few are dated (see 107. 108 n.); but from the character of the writing, a ruder and more cursive form of the normal Nab., we may conclude that they belong to the first four centuries A. D.; not later, for by the 6th cent., when Cosmas Indicopleustes travelled through this region, their origin was already forgotten<sup>2</sup>. It may be explained in the manner suggested by Euting. The caravans which brought merchandise from India to the markets of Egypt and the Levant travelled up from S. Arabia by the Red Sea coast, and then struck inland through the passes of the Sinitic Peninsula. For the stage from S. Arabia to El-'Ölâ or El-Ḥejra they would have an escort of Himyarites; for the next stage, from El-'Ölâ to Petra, a Nab. escort would take them through Nab. territory. Here the caravans would be joined by Nab. clerks, writers, customs officers; and these were the authors of the inscriptions. When their services were not wanted they would spend their leisure with the Bedouin and their camels at the pasture-grounds. This explains how the inscriptions are found both along the trade routes and in out-of-the-way valleys which only lead to pasturage. Euting has published the standard collection of Sin. inscr., numbering 677; *Sinaitische Inschriften*, 1891.

<sup>1</sup> A few are in Greek, Arabic, and Latin.

<sup>2</sup> Ὅθεν ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐρήμῳ τοῦ Σιναίου ὄρους ἐν πάσαις καταπαύσεσι, πάντας τοὺς λίθους τῶν αὐτοῦ, τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ὄρεων ἀποκλωμένους, γεγραμμένους γράμμασι γλυπτοῖς Ἑβραϊκοῖς, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐγὼ περὶ τῶν τόπων μαρτυρῶ. ἃ τινὰ καὶ τινὲς Ἰουδαῖοι ἀναγνόντες διηγοῦντο ἡμῖν λέγοντες γεγράφθαι οὕτως, ἄπαρσι τοῦδε, ἐκ φυλῆς τῆσδε, ἐτεῖ τῶδε, μηνὶ τῶδε, καθὰ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν πολλάκις τινὲς ἐν ταῖς γενναῖαις γράφουσιν Migne PG lxxxviii 217; Lidzb. 91.

103. Eut. 519. W. Mukatteb.

שלם אוישו בר פציו בטב

Greeting! Uwaisu, son of Fašiyyu; good luck!

The inscr. begins with a greeting and ends with a farewell. שלם Lit. *peace* (106); similarly in Egypt. Aram. CIS ii 152, and in Nab. at El-Hejra ib. 253 &c.

אוישו = אוֹשׁוּ dim. of אוֹשׁוּ = אוֹשׁוּ *gift*,

both common names in Sin.; cf. אוֹשׁאֵלֵהי Eut. 566. אוֹשׁלְבַעֲלִי 104, and the frequent Ἀῖσος Wadd. 2034 &c. The pr. nn. in Sin. are generally Arabic, seldom Aramaic.

Found in various forms, פציו

פציו &c.; the Arab. would prob. be فَوْصِي. בטב Lit. *in good*, similarly at El-Hejra CIS ii 243 &c.; cf. הָיָה בְטוֹב Qoh. 7 14.

104. Eut. 559. W. Mukatteb.

שלם עבדרושרא בר תנתלו  
ואושלבעלי בר גרמלהי בר חיטמו

Greeting! 'Abd-dushara, son of Thantalu, and Aus-alba'ali, son of Garm-allāhi, son of Haiṭamu.

Cf. the Arab. نَتَلَة rotten egg, from نَتَل to soil oneself.

אושלבעלי See 103, *gift of the Ba'al*, elsewhere

The ל or אל is the Arab. art., cf. אלבעלו 105. אלאברשו Eut. 548. אלאחרשו 539 &c. The combination of Arab. and Aram. in this name is noteworthy.

גרמלהי = גרמאלהי Eut. 79 &c., Garmallae (dat.)

CIL x 2638; cf. גרמאלבעלי 106 &c. The prefix גרם, which occurs frequently before the name of a deity in Sin., may = جَرَمٌ *body* (cf. Hebr. גֶרֶם *bone*), so *member of Allah* &c.; cf. the Phoen. ברעשתרת 6 2 n. Another suggestion is that the word = *fear*, like the Eth. gērām; in modern Abyss. many names begin with *germa* (Cook *Aram. Gloss.* s. v.).

חיטמו Nöld. quotes the Arab. names حَيْطَمَة,

حَيْطَمَة with a large nose.

105. Eut. 327. W. Ferân.

שלם ואלו בר חלצת קדם אלבעלו

Greeting! Wa'ilu, son of Hāliṣat, before the Ba'al.

ואלו See 38 4 n. (יאל). חלצת Like חלצת, a very common name in these inscr. ; it is found also at El-Ḥejra CIS ii 307 and in Ḥauran, Ἐλασαθός Wadd. 2042. 2047 (but according to Nöld. = עלשח, ZDMG xlii 474). Wellhausen suggests a derivation from حَلَمَّ, حَلَمَّةٌ a creeping plant resembling the vine, which is prob. the meaning of Dhu 'l Ḥalaṣa, the name of a heathen Arab deity. חלצת itself cannot be the name of the god used as the name of a man, because ذو الحَلَمَةِ is merely a title, 'of the creeping plant' (which perhaps had wreathed itself round the sacred stone), the actual name of the deity not being uttered (see on דושרא 79 5); *Reste Ar. Heid.* 47 f. The pronunciation of חלצת was prob. حَلِصَةٌ. קדם אלבעלו before the Ba'al (104 n.); prob. supply in thought 'may there be remembrance,' as in CIS ii 338 מן קדם דושרא. For the ellipse here cf. ib. 320 F מן קדם דושרא and Eut. 437 דושרא ומנתו and Eut. 437 דושרא ומנתו.

106. Eut. 186. W. 'Aleyyât.

דכיר בטב ושלם  
שעדו בר  
גרמאלבעלי  
עד עלם V  
ש

Remembered in welfare and peace be Sa'adu, son of Garm-alba'ali, for ever! . . .

שעדו CIS ii 231 &c., Palm. 127 3 (in Gk. σοαδου), also in the Sin. names שעדאלהי 107 and שעדאלבעלי ; שעדלת 140 B 2. שעדו = Arab. سَعْدٌ happiness, good fortune. גרמאלבעלי 104 n.

107. Eut. 463. A. D. 189. W. Mukatteb.

ברוך ואלו בר שעדאלהי  
דא בשנת 6666 להפרכיה די  
בה אחרבו ע[רב]יא ארעא

Blessed be Wa'ilu, son of Sa'ad-allâhi. This (was written) in the year 85 of the Eparchy, in which the Arabs (??) devastated (?) the land.

שְׁעָרָאֵלֵהי See 106 n. A similar sign for 20 occurs in an early Arab. inscr. from Harran given by Vogüé in *Syr. Centr.* 117; for the usual Nab. form see 97. 101. The date is reckoned from the Eparchy (87 2 n.), i. e. the establishment of the Roman *governorship* over Arabia in A. D. 106 (see p. 216). This reckoning was known as the Era of Bostra (March 22, 106 A. D.)<sup>1</sup>, and was used throughout the province of Arabia.

אָחַרְבּוּ עַרְבֵי־אֵי So read by Eut., Lidzb. (or עַרְיֵי *the strangers*, *Eph.* i 339), supposing an allusion to some Bedouin attack upon the oases of Sinai. Cl.-Gan., however, prefers אֵי עַרְבּוּ—a reading certainly justified by Euting's copy, Taf. 26—and renders the line 'in which the poor of the land were allowed to glean (the fruit)'; אָחַרְבּוּ he explains as = אָחַרְבּוּ (conj. iv),

or pass. אָחַרְבּוּ allow or be allowed to gather fruit, and אֵי עַרְבֵי as constr. st. = עַרְבֵי with א as in Palm. בְּנֵי־הָאֵי (but see below), cf. עַרְבֵי אֵי Am. 8 4 &c. He finds in the words thus interpreted a religious institution, analogous to the Jewish Sabbatical year, which assigned at fixed yearly intervals the fruit-gleanings to the poor; see *Rec.* iv § 33 = *Rép.* no. 129. There is absolutely no evidence, however, that such an institution ever existed; and it may be doubted whether אָחַרְבּוּ, an Ofal, passive, form, would be used in Nab. instead of the usual Ethp.; אָחַרְבּוּ means only 'to gather fruit fallen on the ground.' In the *Rev. Bibl.* xi (1902) 137 it is proposed to read אָחַרְבּוּ עַרְבֵי אֵי *the wells of the land were dried up*, עַרְבֵי for עַרְבֵי; the objection to this is that the plur. constr. in Nab. does not end in א (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 339). The inscr. has recently been examined afresh on the spot by Fathers Jaussen and Savignac of Jerusalem; their investigations confirm Eut.'s reading אָחַרְבּוּ, *RB* xi 467.

108. Eut. 457. A. D. 210-211. W. Mukatteb.

דְּכִיר תִּמְאֵלֵהִי בֶר יַעֲלִי שְׁנַת מֵאָה ע 1  
דְּמִין עַל תְּלַתַּת קִיסְרִין

Remembered be Taim-allâhi, son of Ya'ali! The year one hundred (and) 6, equivalent to (the year of) the three Caesars.

<sup>1</sup> So in Gk. inscr., e. g. ἔτους . . ἡς Βοστροκησῶν [scil. ἐποχῆς], or ἔτους . . ἡς ἐπαρχίου[-as] Wetzstein *Ausgew. Inschr.* (*Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1863) 111. 112.

תימאלהי See 84 I n. יַעֲלִי = יעלי. דַּמִּין i. e. דַּמִּין ptcpl. fem. of דַּמָּא agreeing with שְׁנֵין understood; the usual prep. after-דַּמָּא is ל. The 106th year of the Era of Bostra = 210-211 A. D. During this year the Emperor Septimius Severus died (Feb. 4th, 211), and both his sons Caracalla and Geta became joint emperors; the year, therefore, was remarkable for having witnessed three Caesars on the throne. With תַּלְתַּת קִיסְרִין cf. the form AVGGG (i. e. tres Augusti) on Lat. inscr. (Cagnat *Cours d'épigr. Lat.*<sup>3</sup> 373); it is possible that קִיסְרִין may be the equivalent of the official title Augustus. Cl.-Gan., *Rec. iv* § 32 = *Rép. no. 128*, interprets the date differently; for the numeral, which is irregular in form (see 107), he reads עַל, and רַמִּין for דַּמִּין. Supposing רַמִּין to be an error for מַרְיִן lords, or our lords (= מַרְיָנָא), he renders 'the year 100. For (the salvation of) our lords, the three Caesars.' But it may be doubted whether an inscr. of this fugitive, personal character would be written for the sake of (עַל) such august beneficiaries; analogy leads us to expect merely a date after the pr. nn. Moreover, there are historical objections; the 100th year (Bostra) = 204-205 A. D.; it would thus fall well within the reign of Severus (198-211 A. D.)<sup>1</sup>, and though Caracalla became joint emperor in 201, he and his brother did not share the imperium with their father till 210-211.

109. Eut. 410. W. Mukatteb.

דְּנָה סוּסִיא דִּי  
עֵבֶר שְׁעַדְלָהִי בֵּר אַעֲלָא

This is the horse which Sa'd-allâhi, son of A'lâ, drew.

Rude drawings sometimes accompany the Sin. inscr. ; cf. the pictures on the rocks near Têma and El-Ĥejra, Eut. *Nab. Inscr.* 8 f. In this case Sa'd-allâhi has drawn his horse; cf. Eut. 416. אַעֲלָא = אַעֲלָא. The form is Aram., cf. *سعد*.  
*most illustrious.*

<sup>1</sup> The fact that in several Lat. inscr. from Africa Geta is styled Augustus before 209 (CIL viii p. 974) is not sufficient to support Cl.-Gan.'s contention.

## PALMYRENE

Palmyra, called in Gk. Πάλμυρα, in the O. T. and in the native inscriptions Tadmor<sup>1</sup>, lay 150 m. NE. of Damascus in an oasis of the Syrian desert. Its situation afforded a meeting-place for the trade which crossed from E. to W., or came up from Petra and S. Arabia. The city existed for commerce. The 'chief of the caravan,' the 'chief of the market,' appear in the inscriptions among the principal citizens, 116. 121, holding magistracies and imperial posts; influential trade-guilds witness to the importance of the local industries, 126; the splendour and wealth of the city may be judged from the ruins of temples, streets, and tombs which still exist. The prosperity of Palmyra began to rise probably about the time when the Romans established themselves on the Syrian coast; for political reasons it was desirable to keep the direct route between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean in the hands of a vassal power. Probably in the reign of Augustus Palmyra became a part of the Roman empire, but the exact date is not known; later on it received special favours from Hadrian, who visited the city about 130 A. D. and granted it the privileges of the *jus Italicum*, perhaps also the rank of a colony<sup>2</sup>, and adorned it with new buildings; from his time it took the name of Hadriana Palmyra, הררינא תרמר 147 ii. With the Romans on the one side and the Parthians on the other, the Palmyrenes had a difficult part to play<sup>3</sup>, but they always knew how to use the rivalry of the two empires for the advancement of their trade, and in the later Parthian wars both their policy and their active services were attended with signal success. For 150 years, from 130-270 A. D., Palmyra's fortunes were at their height. Under Odainath and Zenobia, during a brief period, the state held a foremost place in the Eastern empire; after Zenobia's overthrow in 273 it fell into decay and never recovered.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Chr. 8 4 is the earliest reference to the city. The original source had תמר a place in Judah, 1 K. 9 18 Kt.; this was altered by the Chronicler or a later scribe to תרמר (so in 1 K. 9 18 Qeri) evidently with a view to increasing the extent of Solomon's kingdom. Jos. says that the Syrians pronounced the name *Thadamora*, Θαδάμορα, *Ant.* viii 6 1: the Arabs call it تَدْمُر.

<sup>2</sup> By the 3rd cent., at any rate, it had become a colony, 121. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny 5 21 Palmyra urbs . . . privata sorte inter duo imperia summa, Romanorum Parthorumque, et prima in discordia semper utrinque cura.

As a vassal of Rome, Palmyra enjoyed a liberal measure of military and civil independence. It was allowed to use the native language for official purposes, and, like other communities in the Asiatic and Syrian provinces<sup>1</sup>, to farm the customs for the benefit of the community, independently of the sovereign power (147). The organization of the city was that of a Greek municipality under the empire. The government was vested in the Council and People (בולא ודמס), and administered by civil officers with Greek titles, the proedros (פלהדרותא, title of the office), the grammateus (גרמטוס), the archons (ארכוניא), the syndics (סרדיא), the dekaproti (עשרתא); see 147 i and 122. Along with these there was, at least in the 3rd cent., a *Ras* or *head* of the state (רש 125), virtually a prince, chosen from the leading family, of senatorial rank (סנקלטיקא 125) and Roman appointment. The office was handed on by Septimius Hairân (125) to his son Sept. Odainath, who received even higher rank, the consular dignity (הפטיקא 126). After his death, Odainath was actually styled *king of kings* (130), but no inscription contains the title during his life-time. See Mommsen *Provinces of the Rom. Emp.* ii 92-112.

The language spoken at Palmyra was a dialect of Western Aramaic<sup>2</sup>. In some important points, indeed, the dialect was related to Eastern Aram. or Syriac, e. g. the plur. in א—, תגרא 113 3. מלכא 130 1; the dropping of the final *i* and *u* in אבוה, אחוה, בנוה (but אבוהי &c. also occur), נחת 113 4. אקים 113 3. 130 4 (but אקימו 114 2); the adverbial ending *āth*, שכתיח 121 6; the infin. ending *u*, מהחשבו 147 ii c 4; also the words מטל 121 6. תנן 121 3. כלמא 147 i 12. עמרא *life* 121 6. עלתא 135 1. תטלילא 117 5 &c. But the relation to Western (Palestinian) Aram. is closer. Specially characteristic are the following features: the impf. with י, not as in Syr. and the E. dialects with נ or ל; the plur. in אִי—; the rel. די as in Bibl. Aram. and in the Targ. Ps.-Jon. (Dalman *Gr.* 85); the conj. ברילרי; the pers. pron. רנה, רה, אלן, כות 121 6 &c.; the distinction between ש and ס, as in Bibl. Aram., e. g. סניאן and ש, סהר 121 5. 6. 147 i 4. The bulk of the population of Palmyra was of Arab race, hence many of the proper names are Arabic, and several Arabic words occur, e. g. מנר 112 3. חרם 112 4. פחד 136 6. The technical terms of municipal and administrative life are mostly Greek; even under the Roman government the Greek terminology

<sup>1</sup> See Dessau *Hermes* xix 528 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Like the *Egypt. Aram. and Nabataean*. Cf. Epiphanius *Haer.* 66 13 [PG xlii 48] ἄλλοι δὲ δῆθεν τὴν βαθυτάτην τῶν Σύρων διάλεκτον σεμνύονται, τὴν τε [τῆν] κατὰ τὴν Παλμύραν διάλεκτον, αὐτὴν τε καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν στοιχεῖα εἰκοσιδύο δὲ ταῦτα ὑπάρχει.



was retained, e. g. אסטרטניא, אכסניא, בילוטא, גנס, דנמא, היגמנא, דפקא, דמא, דנמא, גמוסא, תנמא, and the titles mentioned above. The Latin words in the inscriptions are קלניא, קסר, קטריא, לניונא, דוקרנא. On the characteristics of the dialect see Nöldeke *ZDMG* xxiv 85-109, cited as Nöld.

The inscriptions are often given in a Gk. version after the Palm.; and as a further result of Roman influence many natives bore Latin in addition to Aram. names. The writing is a modified form of the old Aram. character, and in many respects approximates the Hebr. square character. A noteworthy feature is the diacritic point which is often used, as in Syr., to distinguish 7 from 7. The letters א, ב, 7, ו, ט, נ, 7 often have ligatures binding them to the letter which precedes or follows; נ has a final form. The words are sometimes separated, and occasionally the end of a clause is marked by the full stop 7. The inscriptions belong to the first three centuries A. D.; the earliest is dated B. C. 9 (141), the latest Aug. 272 A. D. (Vog. 116; see p. 293). The standard collection is that of de Vogüé *Syrie Centrale* 1868, cited as Vog.; supplementary collections are those of A. D. Mordtmann *Neue Beiträge z. Kunde Palmyras* 1875, cited as Mordtm.; Clermont-Ganneau *Études* i § 9; Sachau *ZDMG* xxxv 728 ff.; D. H. Müller *Palm. Inschr.* 1898; J. Mordtmann *Palmyrenisches* 1899 &c.

## HONORARY INSCRIPTIONS

110. Vogüé 1. A. D. 139. In situ<sup>1</sup>.

- 1 בולא ודמס עברו צלמיא אלן תרויהון  
 2 לאעילמי בר חירן בר מקימו בר חירן מתא  
 3 ולחירן אבוהי רחימי מדיתהון ודחלי אלהיא  
 4 בדילדי שפרו להון ולאליהון בכל מבו כלה  
 5 ליקרהון בירח ניסן שנת 33

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἀαιλάμειν Αἰράνου τοῦ Μοκίμου  
 τοῦ Αἰράνου τοῦ Μαθθαῖ καὶ Αἰράνην τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ  
 εὐσεβεῖς καὶ φιλοπάτριδας καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ φιλοτείμῳ  
 ἀρέσαντας τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις θεοῖς τιμῆς  
 χάριν ἔτους νυ' μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ. Wadd. 2586.

<sup>1</sup> The Palmyrene inscrr. are all *in situ* except where otherwise stated.

The Council and People have made these two statues <sup>2</sup> to A'ailami, son of Ḥairân, son of Moqîmu, son of Ḥairân, (son of) Mattâ, <sup>3</sup> and to Ḥairân his father, lovers of their city and fearers of the gods, <sup>4</sup> because they were well-pleasing to them and to their gods in everything whatsoever: <sup>5</sup> to their honour. In the month Nisan, the year 450.

The honorary inscr. (110-132) are written upon Corinthian columns which were ranged along the principal streets, or stood in the courts and porticos of the temples. On the column there is generally a bracket for the bust to which the inscription refers.

L. 1. בולא ורמס i. e. בולא ורמס. אלקן Plur. of דנה, regularly in Palm.; see add. note ii p. 26. תריוהון Lit. *the two of them*, תריוהון (= תריוהון), cf. 111 2 and the Palest. forms תרוויהון, תרוויהון Dalman *Gr.* 98.

L. 2. אעילמי 'Ααλάμεις. The name is Arab., and may be explained as a diminutive of the elative form with the ending <sup>سى</sup> ('relative'), i. e. <sup>أَعْيَلَمِي</sup> from <sup>علم</sup> *know*, cf. <sup>أَزْهَر</sup> from <sup>ازهر</sup> &c. As the Gk. form shows, the pronunciation does not strictly represent the Arab.; perhaps this is due to the influence of Aram., which rarely recognizes dimin. forms; cf. also <sup>Χεείλος</sup> = <sup>كَهْمَل</sup>, <sup>Σεμίاس</sup> = <sup>سُحَيْمِيَة</sup> &c. The pr. n. <sup>Αἶλαμος</sup> Wadd. 2086 is similarly explained as = <sup>عَيْلَم</sup> (J. Mordtmann *Palmyrenisches* 15 f.). <sup>חירן</sup> = <sup>خَيْرَان</sup> an ancient name in the tribe of the Beni Hamdân (Blau *ZDMG* xxviii 75), very common in Palm. <sup>מקמו</sup> 78 2 n.<sup>1</sup> מתא The preceding בר is left out, as frequently in Palm.—a strong proof of Gk. influence; see the Gk. version. מתא is abbreviated from some form like מת בול (= מתן-בול).

L. 3. ר' מ' 111 3 f. i. e. ר'חמי מדינתהון (147 ii b 7 &c.) = מדינתא (from דין); in Palm. and Syr. *city*, <sup>πάρις</sup>; in Bibl. Aram. *province*. For the assimilation of נ cf. אחת (= אנשת), and in foreign words סדקיא 147. סקלטיקא Vog. 21 (p. 285 n. 1).

L. 4. ברילרי 113 4 f. &c. *on account of*, frequent in Palest. Aram. but not in Syr., Dalman *Gr.* 187. בריל is Hebraized בשל Jonah 1 7 (= באשר ל v. 8). 12. Qoh. 8 17. מבו An error for צבו lit. *purpose, intention*, as in Syr. with a vague sense, *matter, thing*, Dan. 6 18; plur. צבותא 147 i 6.

<sup>1</sup> Final *i* in Palm. is represented in Gk. by *eis*, *ei*, *eiw*, e. g. 111 2 <sup>Βαρέλχειν</sup>; also medial *i*, e. g. <sup>Μοκείμου</sup> and <sup>Μοκίμου</sup> <sup>Μοκείμου</sup> and <sup>Μοκίμου</sup> <sup>Ζεβεΐδαν</sup> 113 2. Where *i* = diphth. *ai* the Gk. writes *ai*, as here, <sup>Αἶφανος</sup> <sup>Αἶφανος</sup> 113 3 <sup>Βαῖδᾶ</sup> &c.; Nöld. 88 f.

L. 5. שנת Constr. st. before the number. The name of the month in the Gk. version comes from the Macedonian calendar. The date is reckoned by the Seleucid era which began Oct. 312 B. C.; see 9 5 n. 97 iii n.

111. Vog. 2. A. D. 139.

בולא ודמס עברו צלמיא אלן 1  
 תרויהן לבריכי בר אמרשא בר 2  
 ירחבולא ולמקימ[ו] ברה רחימי 3  
 מדיתהון ורחלי א[לה]יא ליקרהון 4  
 בירח ניסן שנת III 33 5

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Βαρείχειν Ἀμρισάμου τοῦ Ἰαριβωλέου καὶ Μόκιμον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεῖς καὶ φιλοπάτριδας τιμῆς χάριω . . . Wadd. 2587.

The Council and People have made these two statues <sup>2</sup> to Bariki, son of Amri-sha, son <sup>3</sup> of Yarhi-bôlē, and to Moqîm[u] his son, lovers <sup>4</sup> of their city and fearers of the g[od]s: to their honour. <sup>5</sup> In the month Nisan, the year 450.

The form is identical with that of the preceding inscription.

L. 2. בריכי i. e. *Benedictus*. אמרשא An abbrev. for שמשא (see the Gk.) *Shamash has promised*, cf. the O.T. אמריהו 1 Chr. 24 23 &c., and the Sab. יתעאמר *KB* ii 54; for שא = שמשא cf. תימשא, אלהשא, Vog. 34. Prob. the Hebr. pr. n. בעשא (= בעלשא) is to be explained in this way; see S. A. Cook *Expos. Times* x (1899) 525 ff.

L. 3. ירחבולא Derived from the name of the Palm. deity ירחבול 121 6 n.; cf. 115 5 n. The nom. of Ἰαριβωλέου would end in -ης, cf. בונא 112 2 Βωννέου; hence the final vowel in both names was pronounced ē, cf. בולא = βουλή; Nöld. 90.

112. Vog. 3. A. D. 140.

צלמא דנה די אצ[מ]לי בר חירן שבא בר 1  
 חירן בונא שבת די עבדת לה בולא די 2  
 מגד לה. ח. . . לעלמא ו. . . מל. תא ואקם 3

4 .חר[מן] ל[מ]לכבל[ל ולג]ר תימי ולעתרתה  
 5 [א]לה[יא] טב[יא] בת .די .ת ליקרה בירה  
 6 [תמוז שנ]ת IIII 33 2 / 6

Ἡ βουλὴ Ἀσταλεῖν Αἰράνου τοῦ Σαβᾶ τοῦ [Αἰρά]νου  
 τοῦ Βωννέου ἐπανγειλόμενον αὐτῇ ἐπίδοσιν αἰωνίαν  
 [εἰς] θυσίαν κατ' ἔτος ἀναθέματα [Μαλα]χβήλω καὶ  
 Τύχῃ Θαιμείου καὶ [Ἄτερ]γάτει πατρώοις θεοῖς τειμηῆς  
 καὶ μνήμης χάριν ἔτους ἀνύ πανήμου. Wadd. 2588.

This statue is that of Aṣṭali, son of Ḥairan, (son of) Sabâ, son <sup>2</sup> of Ḥairân, (son of) Bōnnē, (son of) Shabbath, which has been made to him by the Council to whom <sup>3</sup> he presented . . . for ever . . . . and set up <sup>4</sup> consecrated things to Malak-be[1 and to the Fort]une of Thaimi and to 'Athar-'athec, <sup>5</sup> the good gods . . . . . to his honour. In the month <sup>6</sup> Tammuz, the year 451.

L. 1. אצלי An Ethpe. form from צלא ? *pray*; cf. אתפני 118 1. שבא Sometimes סבא, prob. = Talm. שבא, Nab. שבי CIS ii 215, from شب *befall*, cf. Βαρσαββᾶς Acts 1 23; Dalman *Gr.* 143 n.

L. 2. בונא Perhaps = בול נא [א] *Ból is dear*, or = בולנא Vog. 95 2 from בול ענא or בול לנא; but see 143 6 n. The Gk. form with double ν shows that ב has been assimilated; cf. בעשמם 39 1 and 111 3 n. שבת may be a cognomen.

L. 3. מנר 123 4 = مَجْد to *make a generous gift*; in Aram. the noun is used, מנרה *a costly gift*. After מנר some word corresponding to ἐπίδοσιν is to be supplied; Vog. מתנא.

L. 4. חרמן See 79 8 n. מלכבל A solar deity who stood at the head of the Palm. gods, as the inscr. below shows <sup>1</sup>. The Gk. and Lat. transcriptions Μαλαχβήλος, *Malachibelus*, *Malagbelus* indicate

<sup>1</sup> Rom. 2, in the Capitoline Mus., A. D. 236.

עלמא דה למכבל ולאחי הרמר  
 קרב שברים קלודים פלקסי  
 והרמריא לאלהיהון שלם

Soli sanctissimo sacrum. Ti. Claudius Felix et Claudia Helpis et Ti. Claudius Alypus fil[ius] eorum votum solverunt libens merito Calbienses de coh[orte] iii.

מְלַכְבֵּל = מְלַאךְ בֵּל messenger of Bel (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 256 f.) rather than מְלַכְבֵּל *Bel is king*. The god Bel came from Babylon. The name is not found on public inscr., but only on small tesserae, and often accompanied by the symbol of the sun with rays, e. g. Vog. 132 ff. בל בל א ברך לבני חלא שמש, undoubtedly the chief god of Palmyra; he was further identified with Ζεύς, Wadd. 2606 a, 140 A 2 n. Lidzb. suggests that the native שמש was interpreted as מלאך בל, the messenger, or the revealer of Bel. If this is correct we can understand how שמש, בל, מלכבל are all really the same chief deity, under various aspects. Malak-bel is sometimes associated with 'Agli-bôl, the latter, as the moon, being named before the sun, 139 6 n., cf. 61 2 n. [ונ.] or [ולנ.] ד תימי. Cl.-Gan. reads [נ.] ד, in appos. to מלכבל (*Rec.* iii 244 f.), but the Gk. has καί. The two deities are named together on a Palm. seal, מלכבל גר תימי Mordtm. no. 88. גר תימי = Τύχη Θαιμείος, gen. of Θαιμείος (Nöld. 88), the patron deity of the clan תימי<sup>1</sup>. The name תימי = <sup>300</sup> slave requires, like עבר, the name of a god to complete its meaning, e. g. תימאלהי 84 i. The worship of Gad-Tyche was widely popular in Syria and Ḥauran; cf. the pr. nn. גרעתה Vog. 143, גררצו ib. 84, and 27 3 n. עתרעתה Ἀτεργάτις, the great goddess of the Aramaeans. The chief centres of her cult in Syria were at Hierapolis in Mesopotamia and Damascus<sup>2</sup>; outside Syria her most famous temple was at Ashqelon<sup>3</sup>. Another temple occupied an ancient shrine at 'Ash-taroth-qarnaim, the Ἀτεργάτιον at Karnion 2 Macc. 12 26, τὸ τέμενος ἐν Καρνάιν 1 Macc. 5 43; both here and at Ashqelon Atergatis took the place of an earlier Astarte. The name is compounded of עתר = עתרת = עתה. As עֹתֶר (*mas.*) the deity was worshipped in S. Arabia (see 4 i n.). There are traces of the form עתר among the Aramaeans, e. g. the pr. n. עתרשור Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* i 118 (עתרעוה CIS ii 52 is doubtful); it was known to Strabo, who writes it Ἀθάρα<sup>4</sup>, the θ being a softening of the original doubled letter; cf. Hesych. Ἀτταγάθη

<sup>1</sup> Cf. גר לבני תימי Mordtm. no. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo p. 636 ed. Müll. ἡ Βαμβύκη ἦν καὶ Ἐδεσσαὶ καὶ Ἱερὰν πόλιν καλοῦσιν, ἐν ἧ' τιμῶσι τὴν Συρίαν θεὸν τὴν Ἀταργάτιν. Her name occurs on coins of Hierapolis, Babelon *Pers. Ach.* pp. liii. 45. For Damascus see Justin xxxvi 2 Nomen urbi a Damasco rege inditum, in cuius honorem Syri sepulcrum Athares [MSS. Arathis] uxoris eius, pro templo coluere deamque exinde sanctissimae religionis habent.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. ii 4. Near Askalon is a temple of the goddess ἣν ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ Σύροι Δερκετοῦν κ.τ.λ.; her image was that of a woman with a fish-tail. See Schürer *Gesch. Jüd. Volk.*<sup>3</sup> ii. 23 f.

<sup>4</sup> P. 667 Ἀταργάτιν δὲ [ἐκάλεσαν] τὴν Ἀθάραν Δερκετὸν δ' αὐτὴν Κτησίας καλεῖ.

'Athārah παρὰ τῷ Ξάνθῳ *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 629. A hint as to the nature of the deity is given by an inscr. of Ašurbanipal, *KB* ii 220 f., which mentions a N. Arabian tribe as worshippers of *Atar-samaim* i.e. Atar of the heavens. The second part of the compound, עתה, עתה, or עתי<sup>1</sup>, occurs frequently in pr. nn., e. g. זברעתה, וברעתה, and with a mas. verb, e. g. עתעקב, עתנתן; but whether עתה was a male or female deity is not clear. The Syr. ܐܬܪܐ of Adiabene was a goddess (*Cureton Spic. Syr.* 9); in a Gk. inscr. from Batanaea, *Wadd.* 2209, a god \*Ethaos is named, perhaps = עתה. The usual Gk. transcription is -γαθη<sup>2</sup>. Of the nature of this deity nothing certain is known. As 'Athar-'atfeh was specially connected with Hierapolis, it is possible that 'Atfeh was the Phrygian god Attis = Adonis, whose cult was established there; 'Athar-'atfeh will then represent a union between the Syrian goddess and the youthful god of foreign origin (*Lagrange RB* x 559 f. = *Rel. Sém.* 132, following E. Meyer, Hommel &c.); at any rate עתרתה denotes 'Ashtart who has assumed the attributes of 'Atfeh, cf. מלכבל above. At Ashqelon she was a fish-goddess, but her worship seemed to Herod. to be that of 'Αφροδίτη οὐρανίη (i 105), and such no doubt was her character at Palmyra; cf. an inscr. from Delos quoted by Schürer l. c. 24 'Αγνή 'Αφροδίτη 'Αταργάτι. In the Talm. her name is תרעתה *Ab. Zar.* 11 b; in Gk. and Lat. it is often Δερκετώ, Derceto.

L. 6. Πάνημος = תמוז, the 10th month, July.

113. Vog. 4. A. D. 247.

צלמא דנה די יולים אורלים 1  
 זבידא בר מקימו בר זבידא עשתור 2  
 בידא די אקים לה תגרא בני שירתא 3  
 די נחת עמה לאלגשיא ליקרה בדיל 4  
 די שפר להון בירח ניסן שנת ע 5  
 III γ 33

<sup>1</sup> The differences are merely orthographical; *Lidzb. Ephem.* i 84 (against *Cl.-Gan.*).

<sup>2</sup> *Athenaeus* viii 37 . . . Γάτις ἡ τῶν Σύρων βασίλισσα . . . ἐπ' ἀγνοίας δὲ τοῦ πολλοῦ αὐτὴν μὲν Ἀτεργάτιν ὀνομάζειν . . .

Ἰούλιον Αὐρήλιον Ζεβείδαν Μοκίμου τοῦ Ζεβείδου  
Ἀσθῶρου Βαιδᾶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ κατελθόντες εἰς Ὀλογε-  
σιάδα ἔμποροι ἀνέστησαν ἀρέσαντα αὐτοῖς τειμῆς χάριν  
Ξανδικῷ τοῦ ηνφ' ἔτους. Wadd. 2599.

This statue is that of Julius Aurelius <sup>2</sup> Zebîda, son of Moqîmu, son of Zebîda, (son of) 'Ashtôr, <sup>3</sup> (son of) Baida, which has been set up to him by the merchants of the caravans <sup>4</sup> who went down with him to Ologesias: to his honour, because <sup>5</sup> he was well-pleasing to them. In the month Nisan, the year 558.

L. 2. זבירא i. e. *Donatus*, cf. זכרבוֹל, זכרבוֹל 133 1; O.T. זביר, זביר, זביר, זביר, N.T. Ζεβεδαῖος; Arab. زبد gift, Aram. זכר to present. עשתור Mas. form of עשתרת; the full form would be בר ע', cf. the name of the Jewish proselytes בר עשתור Talm. J. *Bikk.* 64 a. The long *o* has, of course, nothing to do with the Massor. punctuation עשתרת; it is an original long vowel, represented sometimes by —, e. g. Phoen. Οὐλωμος, Assyr. *Hirummu* חירם &c. The name here was prob. borrowed from the Phoenicians; cf. עברעשתר 22 1 n. and עסתורנא 143 2. See Hoffmann *Über ein. Phön. Inschr.* 6. 22 n.

L. 3. זבירא Perhaps abbr. from זבירא. אקים Afel pf. 3 plur., the final vowel being quiescent, as in the Syr. ܐܩܝܡܘܢ; cf. נחת l. 4 and p. 264. חנרא 147 i 7. ii c 16, i. e. חנרא plur. emph., with the ending א— (shortened from א—), as in Syr. ܚܢܪܐ, from חנר Pa. to sell. For the form cf. עברא 126 4. מלכא 130 1; it was prob. common in the spoken language (see p. 264). בני שירחא 114 2 lit. *sons of the caravan*, συννοδία (Lk. 2 44); cf. 116 2 ש' רב ש' συννοδιάρχης, and Syr. ܚܢܪܐ, Arab. سيارَة; the Aram. word is perhaps borrowed from Arab. (Fraenkel *Aram. Fremdw.* 180). For בני ש' cf. בני מדיחא 122 4.

L. 4. נחת Pf. 3 plur.; see l. 3 n. אלגישיא Vologasias, a town on a tributary (Νααρσάρη, Ptolemaeus) of the Euphrates, about 55 m. SE. of Babylon, and 62 Rom. miles S. of Seleukeia and Ktesiphon, founded by Vologasus i, who became king of the Parthians in A. D. 51. This able ruler succeeded in diverting the trade of Palmyra towards his new city, whence it was carried by river to Charax, the great emporium of the Persian Gulf (114. 115).

114. Vog. 5. A. D. 155.

- 1 [צל]ם מרקם אלם תיד[רום די מתקרא  
 2 [שמ]עגד די אקימו לה בני שירתא די  
 3 [סלק]ת מן כרך אספסנא בדילדי עדרה  
 4 [בכל צבו] [כל]ה ליקרה ברבנות שירת[א]  
 5 [די זברע]תא בר זברלא ידי בירח אב שנת 333 1/γ

. . . [ἡ Σπασίνου] Χάρακος συνοδία βο[ηθη]σαντα  
 αὐτῇ παντὶ τρόπῳ διὰ Ζαβδεαθοῦς Ζαβδελα τοῦ Ἰα-  
 [δδαίου] συνοδιάρχου. Ἔτους ξξϛ' μηνὸς λώου. Wadd.  
 2590.

[Stat]ue of Marcus Aelius Theod[ōros who is called  
<sup>2</sup> Shem]a<sup>a</sup>-gad, which has been set up to him by the members  
 of the caravan which <sup>3</sup> [cam]e up from Karak Hispasina,  
 because he helped it <sup>4</sup> [in everyth]ing [whatso]ever: to his  
 honour; the chief of the caravan being <sup>5</sup> [Zabde-<sup>a</sup>]thē, son of  
 Zabd-ila, (son of) Yaddai. In the month Ab, the year 466.

L. 1. The restoration is that of J. Mordtmann *Palmyrenisches* 17 f.,  
 based upon Mordtm.'s copy. תידרום Again in Sachau no. 1,  
 Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii 157.

L. 2. שמעגד Cf. the Phoen. שמעבעל 33 2. בני ש' See 113 3 n.

L. 3. [סלק]ח 115 2. The outward journey to the Euphrates was  
 called *going down* נחת 113 4, the return journey *coming up*. כרך  
 אספסנא = Σπασίνου Χάραξ, the great mercantile town at the mouth  
 of the Tigris, near the modern village Bassra, founded first by  
 Alexander the Gt. and called Alexandria, then after its destruction  
 by a flood called Antioch, prob. after Antiochus the Gt., and finally  
 re-founded by Ὑσπασίνης, an Arab chief who made it the capital  
 of a small kingdom and gave it his name, early in the 2nd c. A. D.  
 כרך, 115 is Aram., from כַּרְכָּה *surround*, כַּרְכָּה *fenced city, citadel*,  
 cf. כרכא 94 2 and *Kerak* the capital of Moab. כ' אספסנא = *the*  
*fortress or city of Hispasina*; in ordinary pronunciation the first  
 syll. was dropped, as appears in the Gk. Spasinou Charax (115 Gk.  
 version). עדרה i. e. עֲדְרָה.

L. 4. כלה צבו בכל So restored by Reckendorf *ZDMG* xlii 397 n.;



110 4; cf. the Gk. ברבנות Lit. *in the chieftainship*, ר' being the title of the office of רב ש' 115 2.

L. 5. זבדלא = זבד אלא, cf. זבדלה 140 A 3. ידי 115 &c. Ἰαδδαῖος. The doubled letter indicates a pet name, which is also abbreviated from some such form as ידיעבל; cf. בני Vog. 34 Βένιος from . . . בנה, זבי 130 Ζαββαῖος from . . . זבד, מקי Vog. 116 Μακκαῖος from מקימו; Lidzb. *Eph.* i 76. אב Αῶος, the 5th month, July–August.

115. Vog. 6. A. D. 193.

- 1 צלמא דנה די תמרצו בר תימא בר מקימו  
 2 גרבא רב שירתא די עברו לה בני שירתא די סלקו  
 3 עמה מן כרכא ברילדי חסכנון זוד דנרין די דהב  
 4 עתיקין תלת מאה ושפר להון ליקרה וליקר ידי  
 5 [ועבר]בול בנוהי [ב]ירח ניסן שנת ע פ III

Tὸν ἀνδρ[ιάντα ἀ]νέστησαν [Θαιμαρ]σῆ Θαιμῆ τοῦ [Μο]κίμου τοῦ [Γ]α[ρβᾶ συν]οδιάρχῃ οἱ συ[ν] αὐτῶ ἀναβάντε[ς ἀπὸ] Σπασίνου Χάρ[ακος ἀφειδήσαν]τι αὐτο[ῖ]ς χρυσᾶ παλαιὰ δηνάρια [α]τριακόσια ἀναλ[ω-μ]ά[τ]ω[ν καὶ ἀρέσ]αντι αὐτοῖς εἰς τειμῆν [αὐτοῦ] καὶ Ἰαδδαίου καὶ Ἀβδιβώλου υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ἔτους δφ' Ξανδικοῦ. Wadd. 2596.

This statue is that of Taim-arsu, son of Taimē, son of Moqîmu, <sup>2</sup>(son of) Garbâ, chief of the caravan, which has been made to him by the members of the caravan who came up <sup>3</sup>with him from Karak, because he saved them (their) expenses, three hundred denarii of gold, <sup>4</sup>ancient currency, and was well-pleasing to them: to his honour, and to the honour of Yaddai <sup>5</sup>[and 'Abdi]-bôl his sons. In the month Nisan, the year 504.

L. 1. תמרצו 140 A 5 Θαιμάρσας, and prob. *Themarsa* (in an African inscr., Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii 165) = *slave of Rudd*, رُدّ, an ancient Arab god; 88 1 n., and p. 295 n. 1 (ארצו).

L. 2. גרנא Vog. גבנא after Wadd. 2591 Γαββᾶ, which, however, is prob. to be emended Γαββᾶ; for גרנא cf. 147 ii b 27 and גרינא Vog. 141, Hebr. גָּרַב 2 S. 23 38 &c., = *scabby*.

L. 3. כרכא 114 3 n. חסכנן 121 5 Pa. pf. with suff. נון from חסך, סכך, Hebr. חָשַׁךְ to *hold back, spare*, here followed by two accusatives, lit. *he held them back from expense*, i. e. he paid their expenses himself; hence the word comes to = ἀφειδῆν to *bestow lavishly*. ודר i. e. וְדָרַי expenses for a journey, e. g. וְדָרַי לְהוֹן לְמִיָּתָא לְאִיְרָתָא Onk. Gen. 42 25. The Gk. equivalent is ἀναλώματα. דנרין = δηνάρια, with Aram. pl. ending.

L. 4. עתיקין *ancient*, i. e. belonging to an earlier currency, heavier in weight; παλαιὰ δηνάρια. In 1 Chr. 24 22 'ע' occurs as an Aramaism.

L. 5. ערבול *servant of Bôl*, the Palm. god; cf. the divine names ירחבול 121 6. ענלכול 139 6, and the pr. nn. ירחבולא 111 3. ורבול 140 A 6 &c. The form is peculiar to Palm. It has been explained as 'the god of the month Bâl,' or as a dialectical form of בל *Bel* in מלכבל 112 4 or of בעל in שמן ב' 122 6; but the Palm. *δ* could not have arisen from 'a (Nöld. *ZDMG* xlii 474), and the first explanation is very doubtful.

116. Vog. 7. A. D. 257-8.

צלמא דנה די יולים אורלים 1  
 שלמלת בר מלא עבדי רב שירתא 2  
 די אקימת לה בולא ודמס ליקרה 3  
 די אסק שירתא מגן מן כיסה 4  
 שנת ע 333 y IIII 5

Ἡ βουλ[ῆ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἰ]ούλιον Αὐρήλιο[ν . . . . .  
 τὸν καὶ Σαλμάλ]λαθον Μαλῆ τοῦ [Ἀβδαίου ἀ]ρχέμπορον  
 ἀνακομίσα[ντα τὴν] συνοδίαν προῖκα ἐξ ἰδίων τειμῆς  
 χάριω ἔτους θξϛ'. Wadd. 2603.

This statue is that of Julius Aurelius <sup>2</sup> Salm-allath, son of Malē, (son of) 'Abdai, chief of the caravan, <sup>3</sup> which the Council and People have set up to him to his honour, <sup>4</sup> because he brought up the caravan gratis, at his own expense. <sup>5</sup> The year 569.

L. 2. שלם אלת = שלמלת. For אלת see 117 6 n.; and for the abbreviation cf. והבלת Vog. 21. עבדלת 94. אמחלת Lidzb. p. 221. מלא In Gk. Μαλής (nom.), -ῆ (gen.), -ῆν (acc.) 122 1, the Aram. מ... representing the Gk. η(s), 111 3 n.; for the name cf. Talm. מלאי, Lk. 3 31 Μελέα, Nab. מלא CIS ii 215, possibly connected with √מלא *be full*, cf. the pr. n. ימלא Vog. 85; Lidzb., however, suggests that מלא is abbr. from מלכי, cf. μελχέα Chron. 458 (Tischendorf on Lk. 3 31).

L. 4. אסק i. e. אפסק Af. of סלק; cf. 114 3 n. מן i. e. מִן Lit. *emptiness*, Arab. مَنَافِئ, used like the Hebr. חָנָם in the sense *for nought*, e. g. Targ. Job 1 9. מן כיסה Lit. *out of his purse* 117 5. 122 6, cf. Nab. דילה מן 102 3.

117. Vog. 8. A. D. 129.

- [צלמא דנה די . . . די אקימו בני . . .] 1  
 כלהון ליקרה בריל [די שפר להון] 2  
 ועבד הו ולשמש אחוהי באכ . . . 3  
 ק ה עמודין שתא ושריתהון 4  
 ותמלילהון מן כיסהון ליקר שמש 5  
 [ון]אלת ורחם אלהיא מביא בירח 6  
 אדר שנת 33 7

[This statue is that of . . . which the sons of . . . have set up] <sup>2</sup> all of them to his honour, because [he was well-pleasing to them], <sup>3</sup> and made, himself and Lishamsh his brother . . . <sup>4</sup> . . . six pillars and their beams <sup>5</sup> and their coverings, at their own expense, to the honour of Shamash <sup>6</sup> [and] Allath and Raḥâm, the good gods. In the month <sup>7</sup> Adar, the year 440.

L. 3. לשמש i. e. *Belonging to Shamash*, cf. Λισάμου (gen.) Wadd. 2458. For the form cf. Phoen. Λέστατρος (Jos. c. Ap. i 18), Arab. الله, Hebr. לאל Num. 3 24 *Belonging to El*, למואל Prov. 31 1. At the end of the line J. Mordtmann suggests [באכ[סדרא] *in this exedra*; Lidzb. ב[א]סלקא 119 3 n.

L. 4. עמודין שתא It is a peculiarity of Palm. that the numeral follows its noun, cf. 115 3 f. 119 3. We gather from this inscr. that the colonnades which lined the streets of Palmyra were built by degrees at the cost of public-spirited citizens. שריחהון 133 1; Targ. שריחא *beam*.

L. 5. טמליהון = Syr. ܛܡܠܝܗܘܢ *covering* from ܛܡܠ, 133 1. שמש  
For the worship of Shamash at Palmyra see 136, and 61 2 n.

L. 6. אלת See 80 4 n. and 116 2 n. רחם The name of a god,  
the attribute *Compassionate* being personified and treated as a distinct  
divinity, cf. רחמא 139, elsewhere רחמנא 138; the pronunciation was  
prob. רחם. רחמא i. e. رَحْمًا, Nöld. 89. The deity occurs in Sabaeen, e. g.  
רחם סנה *Rahām Sujuh* CIS iv 40 5; similarly רחמן = الرحمن ib. 6 3.

L. 7. אדר The 12th month, Δύστρος, Feb.–March.

118. Vog. 9. A. D. 162.

צל[ם] ח[ל]יפי בר אתפני בר חליפי 1  
 [די] עבר לה חליפי [ב]ר חגנו בר מלכו 2  
 [בדי]ל די [שפ]ר לה ליק[ר]ה יאשמה . . . 3  
 . . . בעמודא דנה למקמו ועלוהי 4  
 . . . תנכרי יחא בירח [אד]ר שנת 5  
 /// ~ 333 ~ ///

Stat[ue of Ḥa]līfi, son of Ethpani, son of Ḥalīfi, <sup>2</sup>[which]  
has been made to him by Ḥalīfi, son of Ḥaggāgu, [s]on of  
Māliku, <sup>3</sup>[be]cause he was [well-pleas]ing to him, to his  
honour: . . . <sup>4</sup> . . . on this pillar to set up, and upon it <sup>5</sup> . . .  
while (?) he shall live. In the month [Ad]ar, the year 473.

L. 1. חליפי Cf. חלפו 89 1 n. אתפני For the form cf. אצמלי  
112 1.

L. 2. חגנו 140 A 3 = ܚܓܓܢܐ, cf. חגנא *Rép.* no. 148 and חגי Lidzb.  
270, Phoen. חגי, חגת, Hebr. חגי *festal* (?), LXX Ἀγγῆος.

L. 4. למקמו If the reading is correct, an infin. לְמַקְמוּ, as in Syr.  
ܠܡܩܡܘ, Nöld. 104.

L. 5. כרי יחא Reading uncertain; perhaps impf. יחא, Nöld. ib.

119. Vog. 11. A. D. 179.

צלמא דנה די שריכו בר חירן בר עלינא 1  
 צפרא די אקימת לה בולא ליקרה 2

3 ועבר בסלקא דנה עמודין שבעא

4 ותצביתהון כלה ועבר כנונא די נחשא

5 בירח אדר שנת 3333

Ἡ βουλὴ Σόραιχον Αἰράνου τοῦ Ἀλαινῆ Σεφφερᾶ  
εὔσεβῆ καὶ φιλόπατριν καὶ φιλότιμον τειμῆς καὶ εὐνοίας  
χάριν μηνὶ Δύστρω τοῦ 49<sup>ου</sup> ἔτους. Wadd. 2594.

This statue is that of Soraiku, son of Hairân, son of 'Alainē,  
<sup>2</sup> (son of) Şepperâ, which the Council has set up to him, to  
his honour. <sup>3</sup> And he made this basilica with seven pillars  
<sup>4</sup> and all their decoration; and he made the brazier of bronze.  
In the <sup>5</sup> month Adar, the year 490.

L. 1. שריכו 120 2. 146 2 an Arab. name, شريك friend, com-  
panion; cf. סריכו 129 4. עלינא Cf. Arab. عَلِيَّان tall, Hebr. עליון.

L. 2. צפרא Σεφφερᾶ, cf. Hebr. צפור LXX Σεπφώρ Num. 22 2 &c.

L. 3. בסלקא Lidzb. 238 renders most plausibly *basilica*; the word  
is prob. to be read in 117 3. In both inscr. *pillars* are mentioned in  
the context.

L. 4. הצביתהון = Syr. ܥܙܒܝܬܗܘܢ ornament, e.g. Pesh. Esth. 2 3. 9. 12,  
from ܥܙܒܝܬ 143 10; see also p. 301 n. 1. כנונא None of the mean-  
ings of *κανών* suits the context; nor is the rendering *base* (כנונא = כנונא)  
probable. Most likely the word = Syr. ܥܘܢܐ cooking-pot, bowl, pan,  
PSm. *Thes.* col. 1762; cf. Hoffmann *Auszüge Syr. Akt. Pers. Märk.*  
37 n. 312 f. ܥܘܢܐ ܥܘܢܐ ܥܘܢܐ ܥܘܢܐ ܥܘܢܐ ܥܘܢܐ ܥܘܢܐ.

120. Vog. 13. A. D. 179.

1 צלמתא דנה [די] מרתי ברתי יד[א] בר והבלת[א]

2 בר שמעון[ן] די אקים לה שרין[כו] בר חירן בעלה[א]

3 די מלחת ליקרה בירח אדר שנת 3333

4 3333

Μάρθειν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ καὶ Ἰαδῆ τοῦ Οὐαβαλλάθου  
τοῦ Συμώνου Σόραιχος Αἰράνου ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς μηνῆμας  
ἔνεκεν. Μηνεὶ Δύστρω τοῦ 49<sup>ου</sup> ἔτους. Wadd. 2592.

This statue is that of Marthi, daughter of Yad[ē, son of Wahab-allath], <sup>2</sup> son of Shim'on, which has been set up to her by Sorai[ku, son of Ḥairān, her husband], <sup>3</sup> because she was ? : to her honour. In the month Adar, the y[ear 4]90.

L. 1. צלמחא Fem., because the statue is that of a woman; cf. Phoen. נפשא דה 13 2 n. דנה, however, keeps its mas. form; contrast Vog. 31. מרתה Cf. N.T. Μάρθα and 102 2. ידא 'Iadḥs, cf. ידא 'Iaddaīos 114 5 n.

L. 2. שמעון Like מרתה, a Jewish name. These persons prob. belonged to the Jewish colony in Palmyra, or were related to Jewish families there. שריכו See 119 1 n.

L. 3. מלחח Perhaps = Arab. مَلْحَحَتْ she was pleasant, instead of the usual שפר; cf. the Arab. pr. n. مَلِيحَة (Nöld. 106). But the omission of ליה (the prep. always follows שפר) makes this explanation doubtful.

121. Vog. 15. A. D. 242-3. Plate VIII.

צלם יולים אורלים זבדלא בר מלכו בר מלכו	1
נשום די הוא אסטרטג לקלניא במיתויתא די	2
אלהא אלכסנדרום קסר ושמש כדי הוא תנן	3
ק[ר]ספינום היגמונא וכדי אתי לכא ית לגיניא	4
זבנן סגינאן והוא רב שוק וחסך רואין שגינאן	5
ודבר עמרה שכייתת ממלכות סהד לה ירחבול	6
אלהא ואף יולים ≡ די ספא ורחים מדתא	7
אקים לה בולא ודמוס ליקרה שנת ע 33	8

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἰούλιον Αὐρήλιον Ζηνόβιον τὸν καὶ Ζαβδίλαν δις Μάλχου τοῦ Νασσοῦμου στρατηγῆσαντα ἐν ἐπιδημίᾳ θεοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ὑπηρετήσαντα παρουσίᾳ διηγεκέϊ Ρουτιλλίου Κρισπέινου τοῦ ἡγησαμένου καὶ ταῖς ἐπιδημησάσαις οὐηξιλλατίοσιν ἀγορανομήσαντά τε καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀφειδήσαντα χρημάτων καὶ καλῶς πολειτευσάμενον ὡς διὰ ταῦτα μαρτυρηθῆναι

ὑπὸ θεοῦ Ἰαριβώλου καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰουλίου ≡≡≡ τοῦ  
ἐξοχωτάτου ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ τῆς  
πατρίδος τὸν φιλόπατριν τειμῆς χάριν ἔτους δνφ'. Wadd.  
2598.

Statue of Julius Aurelius Zabd-ilâ, son of Mâliku, son of Malikû, <sup>2</sup>(son of) Nassûm, who was *stratēgos* of the Colony at the coming <sup>3</sup>of the divine Alexander Caesar; and he served when <sup>4</sup>C[r]ispinus the governor was here, and when he brought hither the legions <sup>5</sup>many times; and he was chief of the market, and spent money in a most generous manner; <sup>6</sup>and he led his life peaceably (?); on this account the god Yarḥi-bôl has borne witness to him, <sup>7</sup>and also Julius ———, who fosters and loves the city: <sup>8</sup>the Council and People have set (this) up to him, to his honour. The year 554.

L. 1. זברלא 114 5 n. The *stratēgos* had another name beside this, Zenobios (Gk. text); cf. 123. Here and in 123. 127 all three *stratēgoi* are called Jul. Aurelius in addition to their native names; the emperors [Aurelius] Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius no doubt made these names popular.

L. 2. אסרמטנ One of the chief civil magistrates. Another title for the executive officials of the municipality was ארכוניא 147 i 2 ἀρχοντες; both were equivalent to the Rom. *duumviri* (Cagnat *Cours d'épigr. lat.* 150); contrast the Nab. אסרתנא 96 2 n. קלניא 127 4. At what period Palmyra received the Jus Italicum and the title of Colonia is not known; probably it was under Hadrian, when he visited the city in 130-1 A. D. (see p. 263). במיתותא An infin. noun, of the form מִפְעוּלָה (see Barth *Nominalb.* 257), from אמתא, i. e. מיתותא = Pal. Syr. אמתא *adventus* Mt. 24 3; Pesh. אמתא.

L. 3. אלהא = the title *divus*, given to the emperor after his death; cf. 95 i n. 122 3. אלכסנדרוס i. e. Severus Alexander 222-235 A. D. He stayed at Palmyra prob. in 230-1 A. D., during the indecisive campaign against the Persians under Ardashir or Artaxerxes; see Mommsen *Provinces* ii 90. שמש Pa. 123 3. תנן = Syr. אלהא; cf. תנה 68 5.

L. 4. הינמנא 147 ii b 15. 24 = ἡγεμών i. e. praeses provinciae. אתי i. e. אתי, Targ. O. Gen. 39 14 אתי, Af. of אמתא. לכא = Pal. Syr. אמתא. ית The old accus. particle is not found in Palm. elsewhere.

In this dialect the object is usually not marked by any sign, though ל occasionally appears, e. g. **גַּל יִבְרַךְ לְבִנֵי חֵלָא** Vog. 132.

L. 5. **וּבְנֵי סַנְיָאן** i. e. **וּבְנֵי סַנְיָאן**, cf. **וּבְנֵי שַׁנְיָן** 147 i 6; ' is the plur. of **זְבָתָא** (= **זְבַתָּא**), Syr. **ܐܘܢܝܢܐ**, fem. *time*; Reckendorf *ZDMG* xlii 394 n. Palm., Syr., Mand. (**זְבַתָּא**) use the form with **ב**, other Aram. dialects have **מ**, e. g. **זְמַנִּין** in Nab. 96 6 n. Note the form **שַׁנְיָאן** in this line; see p. 264, and cf. 143 2. 13. **שׁוּק** ἀγορανομήσαντα, i. e. praepositus annonae. **שׁוּק** = *street*, O.T. and Targ.; then *broad place, market*, Talm. **שׁוּק** οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀφειδήσαντα χρημάτων, lit. 'he spared (others from) many expenses'; for **חֶסֶךְ** Pa. see 115 3 n. Vog. gives **דְּוַאִין** = **דְּוַאִין** 123 5, accepted doubtfully by Nöld. 97. Mordtm., however, reads **דְּוַאִין**, which may be derived from **دَوَّ** to make a person poorer in something (two accus.); hence **مَرَّرًا** one who has been reduced, i. e. by his generosity, so *generous*, and **דְּוַאִין** δαπαναί. In the S. Arab. inscr. from Ma'rib **دَوَّ** has the sense of *bestow, expend* (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 239).

L. 6. **דְּבַר ע' וּדְבַר עַמְרָה שְׁכִיתִית** καὶ καλῶς πολιτευόμενον. For **דְּבַר ע'** (Pa.) cf. the Syr. **ܕܒܪܐܝܢܐ** **ܕܡܢܐ** **ܕܡܢܐ** to lead a pure life (Cureton *Spic. Syr.* 21), no doubt a rendering of the Gk. idiom βίον ἄγειν, *vitam agere*. **עַמְרָה** his life = the Syr. **ܕܘܚܘܢܐ** *victus, modus vitae*, from **ܕܘܚܘܢܐ** *habitavit*. Mordtm. reads **עַמְרָה** **וּזְכִיבִית** *his life purely*; but except in the case of **אָבוּהִי**, **אָחוּהִי**, **חֻוּהִי**, **בְנוּהִי**, **עֲלוּהִי**, the 3 sing. mas. suff. in Palm. ends in **הִי**; and as he allows that the letters **יו** look like **שׁ** in his squeeze, we may read **עַמְרָה** **שְׁפִיטִית**, or **ע' שְׁפִיט' (Nöld. 103)**. The Syr. **ܕܘܚܘܢܐ** *quiescit* (cf. Hebr. **שָׁקַט**) would give the rendering *quietly* for **שׁב'**; but the expression is jejune, and the reading **שְׁפִיטִית** *καλῶς* is more likely to be right: Reckendorf l. c. 395 n. 1. Note the Syr. adverbial ending *áith*, p. 264.

**מַטְלָא** i. e. **מַטְלָא** 147 i 6 *on that account*. The combination is not found in other Aram. dialects; but **מַטְלָא** is common in Syr. and Pal. Aram., cf. **מַטְלָא** **מ' בֵּן** *because* Targ. Ps.-Jon. Lev. 8 15; **מַטְלָא** is also used in Pal. Aram. for *according, as* (Dalm. *Gr.* 178), cf. Nab. 81 8 (*accordingly*) and Syr. **ܕܘܚܘܢܐ**, **ܕܘܚܘܢܐ**. Cf. **θεῶ μεγίστῳ Ἰεραβ[ώ]λῳ** in an inscr. from Egypt (Coptos), Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 118. The god's approval was perhaps conveyed by an oracle; cf. **ἐπιμελητῆς αἰρεθεὶς Ἐφκᾶς πηγῆς ὑπὸ Ἰαριβόλου τοῦ θεοῦ** Wadd. 2571 c. The name of the deity is composite, like **עַנְלִבְלוּ**, and the first part of it suggests a moon-god (**יִרַח**); but what evidence there is implies a sun-god, e. g. CIL iii 1108 *Deo soli Hierobolo &c.*, and **ירחי** = *Ἡλιόδωρος* p. 301 n. 1; J. Mordtmann *Palmyren.* 44 f. Further light on the subject may be expected from a Palm. inscr.



discovered at Ḥoms, not as yet published; *RB* xi 410 n. 7. Cf. the pr. n. ירחבולא 111 3 n.

L. 7. Both in the Palm. and Gk. texts a name has been erased after *Julius*; it was prob. *Philippus*, i. e. Jul. Philip, an Arabian from the Trachonitis, who was praefectus praetorio = ἑπαρχος τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου (Gk. text) in A. D. 242-3, the year of this inscription. He instigated the murder of Gordian iii, and succeeded him as emperor (A. D. 244-249). ספא i. e. קפא ptc. lit. *gives to eat, nourishes*; cf.

Targ. Ps.-Jon. Num. 11 18 מִן יִסְפִּינָנָא בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל 'who will give us flesh to eat?'

מדתא So Mordtm., rather than מדתה *his city*; elsewhere the form is מדיתא. Cf. זרקתא 131 1.

L. 8. אקים Prob. plur., 113 3 n.

122. Vog. 16. A. D. 131.

- [בולא ודמס עבדו צלמא דנה למלא הגרפא] 1  
 בר ירחי [לשמש?] רעי די הוא גרמטוס די תרתיא 2  
 וכדי את[א תנן] הדרינוס אלהא יהב משחא 3  
 לבני מד[יתא ול] אסמרטור[יא] ולאכסניא די א[ת]א 4  
 עמה . . . . [מש]ריתה בכל מדען ובנא הכלא 5  
 ופרנאי . . [ותצב]יתה כלה מן כיסה לבעל שמ[ן] 6  
 ולדר . . . . . ה ד . . . . מן בני ידיעבל 7  
 ב[ירח] . . . שנת [////] 33 // 8

[Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ] ὁ δῆμος Μαλλῆν τὸν καὶ Ἀγρίππαν Ἰαραίου καὶ Ρααίου γραμματέα γενόμενον τὸ δεύτερον ἐπιδημία θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἄλιμμα παρασχόντα ξένοις τε καὶ πολίταις ἐν πάσιν ὑπηρετήσαντα τῇ τε τῶν στρατευμάτων ὑπο[δοχ]ῇ καὶ τὸν ναὸν τὸν [τοῦ Ἡ]λίου σὺν τῷ . . . ναιω . . . [καὶ τ]αῖς ἄλλα[ις] . . . το . . . Wadd. 2585.

[The Council and People have made this statue to Malē Agrippa], <sup>2</sup> son of Yarhai, (son of) [Lishamsh?] Ra'ai, who was secretary for a second time; <sup>3</sup> and when the divine

Hadrian ca[me here], he gave oil <sup>4</sup> to the people of the ci[ty and to] the *strator*[es] and to the strangers who ca[m]e <sup>5</sup> with him . . . his [ca]mp with everything. And he built the temple <sup>6</sup> and . . . [and its decor]ation, all of it, at his own expense, to Ba'al-sham[in] <sup>7</sup> and to . . . . . of the Benê Yedî'a-bel. <sup>8</sup> In [the month] . . . the year [4]42.

The above text is based upon the restoration of Cl.-Gan. *Él.* ii § 9; cf. Mordtm. 22 ff., J. Mordtmann *Palmyren.* 19 50.

L. 2. ירחי An abbreviation of ירחבולא 111 3. לשמש The ל is barely visible; cf. 117 3 n. γραμματεὺς 147 i 2 = the Rom. title *scriba*. The Palm. ו = Gk. ε, as in סלוקום 123. בילוטא 124. די תרתיא = Syr. ܕܝܬܪܝܝܐ, emph. form of ܕܝܬܝܐ; the form actually met with in Syr. is ܕܝܬܝܝܐ, Hexapl. Is. 61 7. Jer. 33 1 & ܕܝܬܝܝܐ (Nöld. 102 and *Syr. Gr.* 96).

L. 3. וכדי ונו' See 121 2 f.

L. 4. בני מדיחא Cf. בני שירתא 113 3 n. [אסטרטור[יא] = *stratores*, 'equerries,' Cl.-Gan.; [אסטרטון[מא] = *στράτευμα*, G. Hoffmann; [אסטרטון[יא] = *στρατιῶται*, Vog. אכסניא = *ξένοι*, formed with the adjectival ending *āi* from *ξένος*. א[ת]א Plur., like אקים 113 3.

L. 5. After עמה Cl.-Gan. reads [מש]ריתה and *supplied his camp* (see 132 3 n.); cf. the Gk. ὑπηγετήσαντα τῇ τε τῶν στρατευμάτων ὑποδοχῇ. For משריתה cf. 96 4. מרען = מרען בבל מרען ἐν πᾶσιν. היכלא 147 i 10 מנדעם 75 2 n. מרעם 147 i 8. 11 & c. = מנדעם 75 2 n.

L. 6. ופרנאי So Cl.-Gan., admitting that the ר may be ד, and that the י is indistinct. The Gk. fragment . . . ναῖω he restores [προ]ναίω, and the Palm., פרנאיס or פרנאינה *its pronaos or vestibule*. ותצביתה 119 4. לבעל שמן The Gk. text of Wadd. given above is to be corrected τὸν [τὸῦ] Διὸς σὺν τῷ κ.τ.λ. The reading שמן לבעל, adopted by Cl.-Gan. and J. Mordtm., is conjectural; Lidzb. prefers לברייך שמה *Eph.* i 257 n.

L. 8. The month may be [נים] Vog.

123. Vog. 17. A. D. 254.

- |                               |   |
|-------------------------------|---|
| בולא ודמוס ליולים אורלים      | 1 |
| עגא די מתקרא סלוקום בר        | 2 |
| עזיון עזיון שאילא די שמש ושפר | 3 |

להון באסטרטגותה ומגד לבולא 4  
 5 זווין רבו ליקרה בירח תשרי שנת  
 6 51333 — 2 y 5 6

Ἡ β[ουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἰ]ούλιον Αὐρή[λιον Ὀγγαν  
 τὸν καὶ] Σέλευκον [δὲς τοῦ Ἀζίζου] τοῦ Σεειλά δυα[ν-  
 δρικὸν φιλοτε]μῶς στρατ[ηγῆσαντα κ]αὶ μαρτυρηθέ[τα  
 καὶ φιλ]οτειμησάμεν[ον τῇ αὐτῇ] κρατίστη βουλῇ Ἀτ[τι-  
 κὰς] μυρίας τειμῆς ἔνεκεν ἔτους 566 Ἰπερβερεταίῳ.  
 Wadd. 2601.

The Council and People to Julius Aurelius <sup>2</sup> 'Ogga, who is called Seleukus, son <sup>3</sup> of 'Azizu, (son of) 'Azizu, (son of) She'eilā, who served and was well-pleasing <sup>4</sup> to them in his office of *stratēgos*; and he presented to the Council <sup>5</sup> ten thousand drachmae: to his honour. In the month Tishri, the year 566.

L. 2. ענא Prob. an abbreviation of ענלבלא (Lidzb.), as ירחי from ירחבלא. די מתקרא 102 2. סלוקוס For the additional name see 121 1 n., and cf. 122 2 n.

L. 3. עווין = ܥܘܝܢ *strong*. The name is found in Egypt. Aram. CIS ii 136, in Nab. ib. 311 B, in late Hebr. עווין Ezr. 10 27, and elsewhere in Palm. In the inscr. given on p. 295 עווין is the name of a god=Ares. שאילא Σεειλά, with the consonantal value of א preserved; contrast the Talm. שילא (Dalm. Gr. 124) and the Syr. ܫܐܝܠܐ = Σίλας (i. e. שאילא) Acts 15 22. The meaning is the same as that of the O.T. שׂאיל. שמש 121 3.

L. 4. מנר See 112 3 n.

L. 5. זווין = drachmae, Ἀττικὰς (Gk. text). The drachm was a quarter of a shekel in Jewish money; thus 1 Sam. 9 8 רבע שקל כסף is rendered by the Targ. חרין דכספא. The Attic drachm was the universal silver unit in the East; after the Roman conquest it was adopted as practically equivalent to the Roman denarius, hence in Josephus δραχμῆ Ἀττικῆ or Ἀτθίς always = denarius. The value of the drachm-denarius was about 9½d. תשרי Ἰπερβερεταίος = Sept.-Oct., the 7th month.

124. Vog. 20. A. D. 258-9.


1 לאורלים ורוד הפקא  
 2 ובילוטא תדמריא עבד  
 3 בלעקב בר חרשא ליקרה  
 4 שנת 333

Ἀυρήλιον Ουορωδην ἱππικὸν καὶ βουλευτὴν Παλμυ-  
 ρηνὸν Βηλάκαβος Ἀρσᾶ τὸν φίλον τειμῆς χάρις ἔτους  
 οφ'. Wadd. 2604.

To Aurelius Worod, knight <sup>2</sup> and councillor, of Tadmor,  
 made by <sup>3</sup> Bel-'aqab, son of Ḥarshâ, to his honour. <sup>4</sup> The  
 year 570.

L. 1. ורוד 127 &c., a name of Persian origin, borne by several  
 Arsacid kings. הפקא Here with an Aram. ending, in 129  
 3 הפיקוס ἱππικός. For the ending נ' = os cf. הפטיקא 126. סנקלטיקא  
 125. אפטרפא 127.

L. 2. בילוטא βουλευτής, cf. 122 2 n. תדמריא Adj. sing.; the  
 plur. has the same form, see Rom. 2 on p. 268, l. 3. The vowel in  
 the second syll. was *ō*, e. g. תדמור 125; the Arab. تَدْمُر, however, has  
 preserved what was prob. the original pronunciation.

L. 3. בלעקב 140 B 8 probably *Bel follows* (? ptcp.); this is the  
 meaning of עקב both in Arab. and Syr. The name occurs in a Gk.  
 inscr. from Coptos, Βηλάκαβος (as here), Cl.-Gan. Rec. ii 118; cf.  
 עתעקב Vog. 32 &c. חרשא Ἀρσᾶ =  enchantment.

125. Vog. 22. A. D. 251.

1 צלמא דנה די ספטמיום חירן בר  
 2 אדינת סנקלטיקא נהירא ורש  
 3 תדמור די אקים לה אורלים  
 4 פלינום בר מריא פלינא רעי פלחא  
 5 רבלגיונא די בצרא ליקרה בירח  
 6 תשרי די שנת 333



126. Vog. 23. A. D. 258.

- צלם ספטמיוס אדינת 1  
 נהירא הפטיקא מרן די 2  
 אקים לה תגמא די קיניא 3  
 עבדא דהבא וכספא ליקרה 4  
 בירח ניסן די שנת ע 333 י 5

Σεπ[τίμιον Ὀδαίναθον] τὸν λαμ[πρότατον ὑπατικ]ὸν  
 συντέ[λεια τῶν χρυσοχ]όων καὶ ἀργ[υροκόπων τ]ὸν  
 δεσπότην τιμῆς χάριν [ἔτ]ους θξφ' μηνεὶ Ξανδικῶ.  
 Wadd. 2602.

Statue of Septimius Odainath, <sup>2</sup> the illustrious consul, our lord, which <sup>3</sup> has been set up to him by the guild of smiths <sup>4</sup> who work in gold and silver: to his honour. <sup>5</sup> In the month Nisan of the year 569.

L. I. אדינת 'ס 125 י n. 130. The famous prince under whom Palmyra reached the summit of its fortunes (p. 263). He came to the front by the effective aid which he gave to the Romans in the Persian wars, especially in the defeat of the Persian king Sapor. After this event, during the rivalries for the purple, he took the side of Gallienus, and to the end, whatever his ultimate intentions may have been, maintained his allegiance when the latter became emperor. Gallienus, much engaged in the affairs of the West, practically left the East to the government of Odainath, who became, 'not indeed joint-ruler, but independent lieutenant of the emperor for the East' (Mommsen *Provinces* ii 103); see 130 י n. In the local administration of Palmyra Sept. Worod (127 ff.) acted as his viceroy and imperial procurator; while Odainath himself, by a series of brilliant victories over the Persians, succeeded in re-establishing the frontiers and prestige of the Eastern empire, A. D. 264-5. He was assassinated in A. D. 266-7 at Hemesa <sup>1</sup>. His authority passed to his wife Zenobia

<sup>1</sup> His eldest son Herodes, 'non Zenobia matre, sed priore uxore genitus' (Treb. Pollio *Trig. Tyr.* § 16), was killed at the same time. The same authority states that Odainath left two sons by Zenobia, besides Wahn-allath, Harennianus and Timolaus. The statement is open to question; other authorities know of only one son, who succeeded his father. Mommsen l. c. 106 n.

(131) and their son Wahb-allath, who endeavoured not merely to maintain but to surpass the extensive powers held by Odainath.

L. 2. נהירא הפטיקא λαμπρότατος ὑπατικός = vir clarissimus consularis. At this period, and up to the time of Diocletian, the title denoted not the office of consul but the consular rank. Note the progression of dignities in the family (p. 264). מרן 130 4 δεσπότης. The name does not necessarily imply a *king* or *ruler*, because in 128 it is given to a procurator (Sept. Worod); cf. כרתהון 131 4 τὴν δέσποιναν, of Zenobia.

L. 3. חנטא = τάγμα, Syr. ܡܘܬܐ *ordo*; here the Gk. equivalent is συντέλεια. קיניא i. e. קיניא plur.

L. 4. עברא i. e. עברא ptep. plur. constr. For the ending see תגרא 113 3 n.

127. Vog. 24. A. D. 263.

ספמטמס ורוד קרטטמס אפטרפא 1  
 דוקנרא די אקים ליקרה 2  
 יולים און[ר]לים נבובד בר שעדו חירא 3  
 אסטרגא די קלניא רחמה 4  
 שנת י 333 בירה כסלול 5

Σεπτί[μιον Ου]ρωδην τὸ]ν κράτιστον ἐπίτροπ[ον Σε-  
 βαστοῦ δ]ουκηγάριον Ἰούλιος Αὐρη[λιος Νεβό]βαδος  
 Σοάδου τοῦ Αἰ[ρᾶ] στρατηγὸς τῆς λαμπροτάτης κολω-  
 νείας [τ]ὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον τειμῆς ἔνεκεν ἔτους δοφ' μηνεὶ  
 Ἀπελλαίω. Wadd. 2607.

Septimius Worod, most excellent *procurator* <sup>2</sup> *ducenarius*, which has been set up to his honour <sup>3</sup> by Julius Au[r]elius Nebu-bad, son of So'adu, (son of) Ḥairâ, <sup>4</sup> *stratēgos* of the Colony, his friend. <sup>5</sup> The year 574, in the month Kislul.

L. 1. ספמטמס ורוד 128. 129. The inscr. and statues dedicated to his honour show that he was one of the most distinguished citizens of Palmyra at the time of its greatest prosperity, in position next to the prince himself. He held an imperial office under the emperor Gallienus (128 2 f.), as well as the highest local dignities. A Gk.

inscr. (Wadd. 2606 a) mentions that he was the chief of a caravan and defrayed the cost of the return journey, and *agoranomos* (121 5 n.), and *stratēgos* i. e. chief magistrate, and president of the banquets of Bel (συμποσίαρχον τῶν . . . Διὸς Βήλου ἱερέων). He was viceroy, *argapeles* (129 2 n. 126 1 n.), of Odainath. The inscr. say nothing about his family; the name ספּטמיס may indicate an alliance with the reigning house (125 1 n.), while ורוד (124 1 n.) perhaps points to a Persian or Armenian origin (Vog.). אפטרפא = ἐπίτροπος δουκηνάριος, procurator of the second class (ducenarius), an imperial revenue officer.

L. 3. נבוכר Prob. contracted from נבו עבד; J. Mordtm. would read נבוכר 134 2. In Palm. the god Nebo is met with only in pr. nn., e. g. זבדנבו 133 1. ברנבו 134 2; in Aram. pr. nn. it is frequent, e. g. נרנבו CIS ii 139 B, 2. נבוסרדן = Assy. *Nabū-šar-iddin* ib. 29. שערן See 106 n. חירא An Arab. name, cf. חירן 110 2.

L. 4. רחמה i. e. רחמיה lit. *his lover*, 129 5. 140 B 8.

L. 5. כסלול \*Απελλαῖος = Jewish כסלו, the 9th month, Nov.—Dec.

128. Vog. 25. A. D. 263.

צלמא דנה די ספּטמיס 1

ורוד אפטרפא דוקנרא די 2

קסר מרן די אקים לה 3

בולא ודמוס ליקרה 4

//// 333 5 בירח ניסן די שנת ע

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Σεπτίμιου [O]υρωδην τὸν κράτιστον ἐπί[τρ]οπον [Σεβ]αστο[ύ τοῦ κυρίου] δουκην[α]ρίου . . . . τειμῆς χ[ά]ριω [ἔτους δοφ' μηνὶ Ξ]αν[δικαῶ]. Wadd. 2606.

This statue is that of Septimius <sup>2</sup> Worod, *procurator ducenarius* of <sup>3</sup> Caesar, our lord, which has been set up to him by <sup>4</sup> the Council and People: to his honour. <sup>5</sup> In the month Nisan of the year 574.

See on 127.

L. 3. קסר i. e. Gallienus. The official in Lat. inscr. is called procurator Augusti. מרן See 126 2 n.



129. Vog. 26. A. D. 264.

ספּטמיוס ורוד קרמסמוס אפּטרפּא 1  
 דקנרא וארגבטא אקים יולים 2  
 אורלים ספּטמיוס ידא הפקום 3  
 בר אלכנס[נדר]רום חירן סריכו ליקר 4  
 רחמה וקיומה בירח סיון די 5  
 שנת 333 6

Σεπτίμιος[ν] Οὐροῶδην τὸν κράτιστον ἐπίτροπον Σε-  
 βαστοῦ δουκηνάριον καὶ ἀργαπέτην Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος  
 Σεπτίμιος Ἰάδης ἰππικὸς Σεπτιμίου Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ  
 Ἡρώδου ἀπὸ στρατιῶν τὸν φίλον καὶ προστάτην τειμηῆς  
 ἔνεκεν ἔτους εοφ' μηνὲ Ἰανδικῶ. Wadd. 2610.

Septimius Worod, most excellent *procurator* <sup>2</sup> *ducenarius*  
 and commandant, (this statue) has been set up to him by  
 Julius <sup>3</sup> Aurelius Septimius Yadē, knight, <sup>4</sup> son of Alexander  
 Hairān, (son of) Soraiku, to the honour <sup>5</sup> of his friend and  
 patron. In the month Sivan of <sup>6</sup> the year 575.

L. 2. ארגבטא *ἀργαπέτης*, a Persian word, compounded of *arg* אר  
 'fortress' and *bed* بد 'lord' or 'chief,' hence 'commander of a fortress.'  
 The title is actually found in Persian at this period (Nöld. 107); in  
 the Targ. it appears as ארקבטא 2 Chr. 28 7; in Wadd. 2606 a it  
 seems to be paraphrased by *δικαιοδότης τῆς μητροκολωνίας*. The office  
 was an exceptional one in this case, owing to the unique position of  
 Odainath as practically emperor of the East. A deputy became  
 necessary for the local administration of Palmyra; hence the military  
 command of the city as well as the chief civil authority was committed  
 to Sept. Worod.

L. 3. ידא 120 1 n. הפקום Cf. הפקא 124 1 n.

L. 4. סריכו Cf. שריכו 119 1 n.

L. 5. קיומה A verbal noun of the form קיעיל, Syr. ܩܝܘܡܐ, lit. *one  
 who stands up* (to protect &c.)=the Lat. *patronus*, Gk. *προστάτης*. In  
 the Pesh. it occurs in the sense of *prefect*, e. g. 1 K. 4 5. 7; in 3 Esdr.  
 2 12 ܩܝܘܡܐ ܩܝܘܡܐ = ὁ *προστάτης τῆς Ἰουδαίας*. סיון The 3rd  
 month, May-June. The Gk. text gives *Ἰανδικός* i. e. ניסן, April.

130. Vog. 28. A. D. 271.

1 צלם ספטמיום אדי[נת] מלך מלכא  
 2 ומתקננא די מדיתא כלה ספטמיא  
 3 זברא רב חילא רבא זובי רב חילא  
 4 די תדמור קרטסטא אקים למרהון  
 5 בירה אב די שנת ע 3333 //

Statue of Septimius Odai[nath], king of kings, <sup>2</sup> and restorer of the whole city. The Septimii, <sup>3</sup> Zabdâ, general in chief, and Zabbai, general <sup>4</sup> of Tadmor, the most excellent, have set (it) up to their lord. <sup>5</sup> In the month Ab of the year 582.

L. 1. ארינת ס' See 126 1 n. מלך מלכא 113 3 n. is an oriental title borrowed from the Persian kings, 71 3 n. There is no evidence that it was adopted by Odainath himself; this inscr. was not erected till after his death, at a time when his generals were organizing a revolt against Rome<sup>1</sup>. It is perhaps not without significance that there is no Gk. version of this inscr.; the Romans would scarcely have allowed Od. to be called 'king of kings' had the title been publicly exhibited in a language which they could understand. That Od. assumed the title of king is not unlikely (*Hist. Aug.* xxiv 15 2 *adsumpto nomine regali*); but that he ever usurped the name of *Augustus*, or received it from the emperor as Treb. Pollio asserts<sup>2</sup>, is not borne out by the evidence. As a reward for his distinguished services Od. received from Gallienus the title of *αὐτοκράτωρ* or *imperator* in 264 A. D., a dignity which no doubt implies a position beyond that of a governor or vassal-king; it was probably this which gave rise to Pollio's statement. The absence of *Augustus* from the coins of Od., and the designation *vir consularis*, *ὑπατικός* (126 2), only possible for a subject, are sufficient, in Mommsen's opinion, to prove that the assumption of the imperial title is imaginary. After the death of Od., Zenobia is called *βασίλισσα*, and her son Wahab-allath governed Egypt under Claudius with the title *βασιλεύς*. In 270 A. D. his coins

<sup>1</sup> A Gk. inscr. lately found at Palmyra is dedicated [βασ]ι[λ]εῖ [βα]σιλέων, and may refer to Od.; but the text is too fragmentary to justify definite conclusions. Cl.-Gan.'s reconstructions in *Rec.* iii § 36 can hardly be supported; see 126 1 footnote.

<sup>2</sup> *Vit. Gallieni* 10 Odenatus rex Palmyrenorum optinuit totius Orientis imperium. Ib. 12 Gallienus Odenatum participato imperio Augustum vocavit.

display *v(ir) c(onsularis) R(omanorum) im(perator) d(ux) R(omanorum)*, and his head appears beside Aurelian; in an inscr. from Byblus (CIG 4503 b, Vog. p. 32) Aurelian and Zenobia are mentioned together as *Σεβαστός* and *Σεβαστή*<sup>1</sup>. Then, during the year 270-1, the breach with Rome becomes apparent. In Palmyra Zenobia is still *βασιλισσα* (131 = Wadd. 2611, cf. 2628<sup>2</sup>), but in distant quarters, as in Egypt, both she and her son claim the dignity of *Augustus*; Wahab-allath (5th year) begins to issue coins, struck in Alexandria, without the head of Aurelian and bearing the imperial title, and Zenobia's coins bear the same. The assumption marked a definite rejection of all allegiance to Rome; it was strenuously avenged by Aurelian, the true Augustus, in 273. See Mordtm. 26; Mommsen *Prov.* ii 103 f. n.; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii § 28; Bury's *Gibbon* i Appendix 18. 19.

L. 2. מתקננא A verbal noun formed from Pael ptcp. of תקן *make straight, establish*, with the ending *ān*, i. e. מתקננא. It is the equivalent of *κτίστης*, a title used by the Arsacid kings; in Syr. ܡܬܩܢܢܐ is used in the same sense, and of God as *conditor, stabilitor*. Cl.-Gan. (l. c.) proposes to make the whole title *מ' די מדינת כלה* = the technical *corrector totius provinciae*. 'מ' may well mean *corrector*, but Roman titles are avoided in this inscr., and native ones ostentatiously substituted. ספטמיא Σεπτιμιοι, in 131 ספטמיוא, with the Gk. plur. ending, cf. קרטסטוא 131. Perhaps they were related to the family of Odainath, 125 i n.

L. 3. Cf. 131 2 f. זבדא *Záβδας*, like זבי *Záββαιος* and זברי 133 i, is abbreviated from some name beginning with זבד, cf. זבדלא for זבד אלא; see 114 5 n. זבי occurs in the O. T., Ezr. 10 28. Neh. 3 20; cf. בתזבי 131 i.

L. 4. קרטסטא Plur., referring to the two generals; either for קרטסטוא, or a plur. in א—, like מלכא l. 1. אקים = אקימו 113 3 n.

L. 5. אב i. e. July-August; 131 4.

131. Vog. 29. A. D. 271.

צלמת ספטמיא בתזבי נהירתא וזדקתא 1

מלכתא ספטמיוא זבדא רב חילא 2

רבא זובי רב חילא די תדמור קרטסטוא 3

// 3333 אקים למרתהון בירה אב די שנת ע 4

<sup>1</sup> This may have been allowed to pass, for *Augusta* was an honorary title, while *Augustus* belonged to an office.

<sup>2</sup> Διὲ ἐψίστη καὶ ὑπερέως ἢ πόλις ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Σεπτιμίας Ζηνοβίας τῆς λαμπροτάτης βασιλισσῆς μητρὸς τοῦ λαμπροτάτου βασιλέως Οὐαβαλλάθου Ἀθηνοδώρου.

Σεπτίμϊαν Ζηνοβίαν τὴν λαμπροτάτην εὐσεβῆ βασι-  
λισσαν Σεπτίμιοι Ζάβδας ὁ μέγας στρατηλάτης καὶ  
Ζαββαῖος ὁ ἐνθάδε στρατηλάτης οἱ κράτιστοι τὴν  
δέσποιναν ἔτους βπφ' μηνεὶ Λῶφ. Wadd. 2611.

Statue of Septimia Bath-zabbai, the illustrious and the  
pious, <sup>2</sup> the queen. The Septimii, Zabdá, general <sup>3</sup> in chief,  
and Zabbai, general of Tadmor, the most excellent, <sup>4</sup> have set  
(it) up to their mistress. In the month Ab of the year 582.

L. 1. צלמת 120 1 n. בתובי For the form cf. בתובידה Vog. 84,  
'בתחנא, בתחנא &c.; for זבי see 130 3 n. The queen is better known  
by her Gk. name Ζηνοβία, which perhaps marks relationship with  
Ζηνοβίος; several persons of this name are mentioned in the  
inscriptions. 'והרתא = *clarissima pia*; see 125 2 n. זרקתא =  
צדיקתא; for the omission of ' cf. מרתא 121 7: here perhaps the *i* was  
pronounced short in a shut syllable. The final *κ* can be faintly traced  
on the stone.

L. 2. After the death of Odainath in 266-7 Zenobia succeeded to  
his position, and practically governed the state on behalf of her young  
son Wahab-allath = Athenodōrus (p. 291 n. 2). Not content with  
pursuing her husband's policy, she determined to make Palmyra  
mistress of the Eastern empire; see 130 1 n. Under her general  
Zabdas, the Palmyrenes possessed themselves of Egypt in 270,  
garrisons were pushed even into the W. of Asia Minor, and Zenobia  
still professed to be acting in concert with the Roman government.  
But when Aurelian became emperor (270), he detected at once the  
object of this aggressive policy and took strong measures to arrest it.  
At the end of 270 Egypt was recovered for the Empire by Probus,  
but not without a struggle. The Palmyrenes were now in open  
conflict with Rome. Towards the close of 271 Aurelian marched  
through Asia Minor, overthrowing Zenobia's forces in Chalcedon, and  
capturing Ancyra and Tyana, and passed into Syria. The main army of  
the Palmyrenes in vain endeavoured to check his advance at Antioch;  
they were driven to Hemesa (now Homs), where a great battle was  
fought; again, under Zabbai and Zenobia herself, they were de-  
feated, and compelled to fall back upon their native city. Undeterred  
by the 70 miles of desert, Aurelian led his army up to Palmyra and  
laid siege to it. In the spring of 272 the city surrendered; Zenobia  
and her son were captured on the banks of the Euphrates as they

were flying to Persia for help; the queen was carried a prisoner to Rome to grace the conqueror's triumph. A few months later, in the autumn of 272<sup>1</sup>, the Palmyrenes again revolted; Aurelian instantly returned, surprised the city, and without mercy destroyed it in the spring of 273.

L. 2. קרטטטוא, ספנטטווא For the plur. forms see 130 2 n.

L. 4. מרתהון See 126 2 n.

132. Eut. 102. A. D. 21.

צלם חשש בר נשא בר בולחא חשש די 1  
 עברו לה בני כמרא ובני מתבול מן די קם 2  
 ברשהון ועבר שלמא ביניהון ופרנס 3  
 ברמנהון בכל צבו כלה רבא וזערא 4  
 ליקרה בירח כנון שנת III 3 III 5

Μάλιχον Νεσᾶ τοῦ Βωλλᾶ τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου Ἀσάσου  
 φυλῆς Χομαρηνῶν Παλμυρηνῶν ὁ δῆμος εὐνοίας ἔνεκα.  
 Wadd. 2578.

Statue of Ḥhashash, son of Nesâ, son of Bôl-ḥa Ḥhashash, which <sup>2</sup> the Benê Komâra and the Benê Mattâ-bôl have made to him, because he stood up <sup>3</sup> at their head and made peace between them, and superintended <sup>4</sup> their agreement (?) in everything whatsoever, the great and the small: <sup>5</sup> to his honour. In the month Kanûn, the year 333.

L. 1. חשש Ἀσάσου, חשש בני חשש Mordtm. no. 57; cf. Arab. حَسَّاس bad fortune. The Gk. Μάλιχον = מלכו is difficult to account for; perhaps it is not correctly copied. נשא 147 i 3 prob. abbreviated from נשאλ Νασαήλου Wadd. 2070 c. בול אחא 144 4 prob. = בול אחא B. is brother (Lidzb.), or = בול לחא B. washes away (sin), Syr. ܠܚܫ, cf. ܠܚܫ Wright *Martyrol.* 10 (*Journ. Sacr. Lit.* ser. 4, vol. 8). Cl.-Gan. rightly corrects ΚΩΜΑ in the Gk. text to ΒΩΛΛΑ, *Rec.* ii § 33.

L. 2. בני כמרא i.e. φυλή Χομαρηνῶν, again in Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* i 118 (inscr. G); cf. 140 A 3 and the pr. n. Χόμρου (gen.) Wadd. 2389. The Gk. forms point to ܡܚܪܐ, cf. Targ. ܡܚܪܐ, Syr. ܡܚܪܐ priest.

<sup>1</sup> The latest inscr. is dated Aug. 272, Vog. 116.

In the Palm. text the בני כ' are the joint donors of the statue; in the Gk. they are the tribe to which Bôl-ḥa belongs, and the dedication is made by ὁ δῆμος. Cl.-Gan. l. c. rightly renders the Gk., 'of the tribe of the Palmyrene Chomarenians'; the expression Παλμυρηῶν ὁ δῆμος = 'the People of the Palmyrenes' is unsupported. Possibly, as Cl.-Gan. suggests, the mention of ὁ δῆμος without the usual ἡ βουλὴ καὶ implies that the local senate was not yet in existence; it may not have been constituted till the time of Ḥadrian (circ. 130 A. D.), and the grant of the *jus Italicum*. This inscr. is dated A. D. 21, and after 141 (A. D. 9) is the second oldest known. בני מתבול i. e. Μαθη-βωλίων φυλή Wadd. 2579, not named in the Gk. text; מתבול = מתן בול. 110 4 n. כ' די = מן די

L. 3. פרנס In Syr. كَرَف = *administravit, aluit, curam gessit*; in the Targ. it is used for *nourish, feed*, e. g. Eze. 34 8 = רעה; cf. 122 5 n. The rendering given above is indefinite, owing to the uncertain sense of the following word.

L. 4. ברמנתון Evidently not Aram. It is perhaps a noun (with suff. *ān*) from the Arab. بَرَم *twist*, in conj. iv *to twist two threads, so to make firm, consolidate*; thus أبرم العقد *he established the contract*. Prof. Margoliouth, in a private communication, suggests a connexion with the Persian فرمان *mandate, order &c.*, 'firman,' which gives a fairly good sense: 'he administered their government.' בכל צבו כלה 110 4 &c.

L. 5. כנו The 8th month, Δίος, Jewish מרחשון, Oct.-Nov. This inscr. was published by Euting *Sitzungsb. Berl. Akad.* (1887) 410.

## VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS

133. Eut. 4. A. D. 67.

י עמודיא אלן חמשא ושריתהון ותמלילהון קרב זבדי בר  
 זבדנבו קחון די מן בני מעזין לבעל שמן אלהא טבא  
 2 ושכרא על חייה וחיי בנוהי ואחיה בירח אלול שנת

III y — 333 — III

These five pillars and their beams and their coverings Zabdai, son of Zabd-nebu, (son of) Qaḥzân, who is of the Benê Ma'ziyân, offered to Ba'al-shamin, the good <sup>2</sup> and bountiful god, for his life and the life of his sons and his brothers; in the month Elûl, the year 378.

L. 1. שריתהון וחמ' See 117 4. 5 n. קרב Cf. 70 1. 136 3. Rom. 2 (p. 268 n. 1). זבדי Cf. 130 3 n. זבדנבו 127 3 n. מעזין An Arab. pr. n. from قَحَز or قَحَزَن *push, strike*. קחון The name of a tribe, in Arab. prob. مَعَزِيَان or مَعَزِيَان Nöld. ap. Eut. SBBA (1885) 669 ff., where this inscr. is published. לבעל שמן Elsewhere in Palm. 134, where he is called מרא עלמא, and the inscr. on p. 296 n. 1 = Ζεὺς μέγιστος κεραύνιος, and in 122 6 (rest.). In name and attributes the *Lord of Heaven* transcends all other deities. He was not, however, included among the national gods of Palmyra (see 112 4), or officially recognized in public documents; and though he probably had a temple there, his worshippers seem to have been few. See 9 1 n.

L. 2. שכרא i. e. שְׁכָרָא 140 B 4, lit. *giving reward*, Hebr. שְׁכָר *reward, wages* (שבד Pi. not used). The אלהא שכרא is a god שמשלם שכר טוב לצדיקים Talm. B. *Berakoth* 4 a, quoted by Lidzb. *Eph.* i 202; cf. the Minaean pr. n. ישכראל Hommel *Süd-ar. Chrest.* 113. 136. In the inscr. below the word is written סְכַרְיָא plur.<sup>1</sup>, as סכרים for ש in Ezr. 4 5. על חייה וגו' Cf. 29 11 n. אלול Aug.-Sept.

<sup>1</sup> [ל] ארצו ולעיווי אלהיא טבא וכסריא עבד בעל ...  
 1 בר ירחבולא אשכלא די עויוו אלהא טבא  
 2 ורחמנא על חייה וחיי אחיה בירח השר  
 3 דכיר ירחי גלופא 500 שנת  
 4

'To Arṣu and 'Azīzu, the good and bountiful gods, (this) has been made by Ba'al . . ., son of Yarḥi-bôlê, augur (?) of 'Azīzu, the good and compassionate, for his

134. Vog. 73. A. D. 114.

- 1 לבעל שמן מרא עלמא עברו  
 2 נבוזבר וירחבולא בני ברנבו  
 3 בר נבוזבר בר [מ]לא ארנבי על  
 4 [ת]ייהון וחיי [בנ]יהון ואחיהון  
 5 בירה אב שנת 3 y 3

To Ba'al-shamin, lord of eternity, (this) has been made by <sup>2</sup> Nebu-zebad and Yarḥi-bôlê, sons of Bar-nebu, <sup>3</sup> son of Nebu-zebad, son of [M]alê Arnabi, for <sup>4</sup> their [l]ives and the life of their [so]ns and their brothers; <sup>5</sup> in the month Ab, the year 425.

L. 1. בעל שמן 133 i n. Similarly in the inscr. from et-Ṭayyibe (near Palmyra)<sup>1</sup>; cf. *Deus Aeternus* of Jup. Dolichenus, *Opt. Max. Caelus Aeternus Iuppiter* in Lat. inscr. of this period. But, as Lidzb. has pointed out, the other possible meaning of the title, *lord of the world*, is prob. implied at the same time, and influenced by the Jewish רבון שְׁל עוֹלָם, רבון העוֹלָמִין. The latter formula has made its way into Islam as رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ; cf. the *šar kiššati* 'lord of all things,' assumed by the Assyr. kings (*Eph.* i 258).

L. 2. נבוזבר 127 3 n. ירחבולא 111 3 n.

L. 3. So Vog.'s copy; ? from אַרְנַבָּא = *a hare*. Mordtm. 28, however, reads ארנבי *Acnebiensis*; J. Mordtm. compares the family

life and the life of his brothers: in the month Tishri, the year 500. Remembered be Yarḥai the sculptor.' ארצו Vog. 139, cf. רצו 115 i n. עיוו = Ares, the god of the Edessenes, ארצו Cureton *Spic. Syr.* 24. "Αρης, "Αξιζος λεγόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκούντων τῆν Ἐδεσσαν Σύρων Ἡλίου προπομπεῦει Julian Apost. *Orat.* iv 154. Deo Azizo p(ueo conserva)tori CIL iii 875. Θαῖμος Ἀξείζω ἐποίησα Wadd. 2314. ארכלא 80 8 n. probably borrowed from the Assyr. *abkallu* 'a specially wise man,' *KB* vi 320; Delitzsch *Assyr. HWB* 9. Here the word is a priestly title, such as temple magician; the Arab. أَبْكَالٌ gives no suitable sense. See *Rép.* no. 30; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iv § 37; Lidzb. *Eph.* i 201 ff. 349.

<sup>1</sup> Διὶ μεγίστῳ κεραυνίῳ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Τρα[ιανου] Ἀδριανου Σεβ[αστου] τοῦ κυρίου Ἀγαθάνγγελος Ἀβιληνὸς τῆς Δεκαπόλεως τῆν καμάραν φιλοδόμησεν καὶ τῆν κλίνην ἐξ ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν. "Ετους ἑμ' ἠμ' ἠμ' ἠμ' (= 134 A. D.).

לבעל שמן מרא עלמא קרב  
כחמא וירשא אנהגמס

כחמא = a vaulted niche for a statue; Vog. 70. ערשא See 70 i n. The inscr. is in the Brit. Mus.



τῶν Χεννάβα (*ZDMG* xxxv 747 f.); but if 'א is a gentile name we should expect אכנביא. Lidzb., *Eph.* i 198, reads אכלרי (surname or title), which is supported by Mordtm.'s facsimile; the name thus written has been found recently in an inscr. published by Sobernheim (*Lidzb.* l. c.).

L. 4. This line, omitted from Vog.'s copy, is supplied by Mordtm.

135. Vog. 75. A. D. 125.

1 לברוך ש[מה] ל[ע]למא

2 טבא ור[ח]מנא

3 עבר פרנך בר חרי

4 לשמש בר שמשגרם

5 נרקיס בר חרי מלא

6 ברפא על חייהן וחיי

7 בניהן בירח כסלול

8 שנת /// 3 — 2 — 1 y //

To him whose na[me] is blessed for [e]ver, <sup>2</sup>the good and the com[p]assionate, <sup>3</sup>(this altar) has been made by Parnak, freedman <sup>4</sup>of Lishamsh, son of Shamsi-geram, <sup>5</sup>(and by) Narcissus, freedman of Malē, <sup>6</sup>(son of) Borefā, for their life and the life of <sup>7</sup>their sons: in the month Kislûl, <sup>8</sup>the year 437.

L. 1. לעלמא לברוך שמה A common formula in Palm. dedications; grammatically the phrase ברוך ש' לע' (138) is treated as a single adj., and ל prefixed. It is remarkable that, like other epithets of the Palm. gods (cf. 134 1 n.), this has a distinctly Jewish character; cf. ברוך שם כבודו לעולם Ps. 72 19, also 113 2. Dan. 2 20, and the Hebr. or early Samaritan inscr. שמו לעלם ברוך Lidzb. 440. Out of reverence the actual name of the deity was not used (cf. p. 21), and can only be conjectured: most likely it was שמש = מלכבל = כל (112 4 n.). Though avoiding it in this formula the Palmyrenes did not object to use כל in pr. nn. (זברבל, ידיעבל, &c.), any more than the later Jews, who read ארני for יהוה, objected to such names as ישעיהו &c. In Gk. the title is rendered Ζεὺς ὑψίστος καὶ ἐπιτήκοος Vog. 101. 124 &c.; it implies a monotheism such as appears sporadically in the worship of

Zeûs ὑψιστος, Θεὸς ὑψ. from the 1st cent. onwards<sup>1</sup>. The spread of monotheistic ideas was in part due to the Jewish Diaspora, whose influence no doubt made itself felt in Palmyra (cf. pp. 45. 278. 296).

L. 3. פּרנך Sachau, *ZDMG* xxxv 737, suggests Φαρνάκης as an equivalent; cf. the Pers. פרנו = Saturn, and the O.T. פְּרָקָה Num. 34 25. Vog. reads פּרנר; Mordtm. פּרד. בר חרי See 97 i n. Strictly the phrase = *son of a freeman*, כְּבִיָּן, i. e. *liber* not *libertus* = כְּבִיָּן, but in ordinary speech it was used in the latter sense.

L. 4. שמשגרים 145 i ? *Shamash has appointed*, שֶׁ; in Gk. Σαμισ-γέραμος Wadd. 2564, Σαμισγέραμος a king of Hemesa, *Jos. Ant.* xviii 5 4.

L. 5. נרקיס Νάρκισσος, a common name for a freedman in the time of the Empire. Here 'נ' is the joint donor of the altar; the conjunct. ' must be supplied.

L. 6. ברפא Cf. בורפא Vog. 109 = בול רפא.

136. Oxoniensis 1. A. D. 85. Ashmolean Mus., Oxford.

- [3]333 — // שנת / [ב] ירח אלול שנת 1  
 [ ] / ע / חמנא דנה ועלתא דה 2  
 [ע] בדו וקרבו לשמש וזבד[א] 3  
 בני מלכו בר ידיעבל בר נשא 4  
 די מתקרא בר עבדבל די מ[ן] 5  
 פחד בני מגדת לשמש 6  
 אלה בית אבוהן על 7  
 חייהן והיי אחיה[ן] 8  
 ובניהן 9

[In] the month Elul, the year 396<sup>2</sup>, this sun-pillar and this altar<sup>3</sup> have been [m]ade and offered by Lishamsh and Zebîd[a],<sup>4</sup> sons of Mâliku, son of Yedi'a-bel, son of Nesâ,<sup>5</sup> who was called son of 'Abd-bel, who was o[f]<sup>6</sup> the family of the Benê Migdath, to Shamash,<sup>7</sup> god of their father's house, for<sup>8</sup> their life and the life of their brothers<sup>9</sup> and their sons.

<sup>1</sup> Thus Gk. inscr. from the Bosphorus (Tanais) contain the remarkable expression εἰσποιητοὶ ἀδελφοὶ σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὑψιστον, cf. *Acts* 10 2. 22. 13 43. 50 &c. *Jos. Ant.* xiv 7 2. See Schürer *SBBA* (1897) 200 ff., and *Gesch.*<sup>3</sup> iii 123 f.

L. 1. אלול The 6th month, Aug.—September.

L. 2. חמנא A pillar dedicated to שמש, standing beside the altar; see 37 4 n., and cf. למעלה מעליהם אשר למוכחות הבעלים והחמנים א Chr. 34 4. עלתא altar, common in Syr.

L. 4. ידיעבל 140 A 6, in 122 7 the name of a tribe, Ἰεδειβήλος, cf. O. T. יְדִיעָבֶל 1 Chr. 7 6 &c., and ידעאל (Hommel *Süd-ar. Chrest.* 101); ידע perhaps = יָדָבֶּנֶת notable, illustrious one. נשא 147 i 3 = Νεσᾱ.

L. 6. פחד Vog. 32. 33 = فَخْدٌ lit. thigh, cf. Gen. 46 26 &c., a subdivision of a tribe. The word implies a clan whose descent is reckoned by the male line, just as the Arab. *batn* is a clan of female ancestry; see Rob. Smith *Kinship* 33 f. מנרת The name comes from the √ מנר 112 3 n.; cf. the Sin. pr. n. מנריו, Syr. مَنَر (Lidzb. 305), the Edomite מנריאל Gen. 36 43, Sab. מנרעל. שמש The sun-god, whose worship was predominant at Palmyra, as appears from numerous pr. nn. and dedications, e.g. 117 5 n., Vog. 108 לשמש אלהא, the inscr. on tesserae, e.g. Vog. 135 שמש שרן רבא, see further on מלכבל 112 4 n.; ירחכול 121 6 n. was also worshipped in connexion with the sun. The great temple of the sun-god is still the most imposing building among the ruins of Palmyra.

L. 7. אלה בית אבוהן Cf. 61 29. 95 2.

137. Vog. 76. A. D. 135.

1 לברוך שמה לעלמא עבד שלמן בר נשא

2 צידא ברק על חייה וחיי בנוהי

3 X בירח ניסן שנת III — 33 ע // X

To him whose name is blessed for ever (this) has been made by Shalman, son of Nesâ, <sup>2</sup>(son of) Šarḏa, (son of) Baraq, for his life and the life of his sons. <sup>3</sup>In the month Nisan, the year 447.

L. 1. שלמן Again in Vog. 33 a. 49 &c., Σαλαμάνης Wadd. 2147, in Nab. CIS ii 294. 302 = Arab. سَلْمَان, Assyr. šalamanu Schrader *COT* 441. The name is not distinctively Jewish.

L. 2. צידא From ציד to hunt, 102 3 n. ברק Either nomen or cognomen, in Sab. ברקם, Pun. *Barcas*, surname of Hamilcar, Hebr. ברק Jud. 4 6 ff.; cf. אברוק 140 A 6.

L. 3. The cross at the beginning and end of the line may be the Christian symbol, somewhat disguised. It is questionable, however, whether the cross was used in this way in the first half of the 2nd cent.; nor is it likely that a Christian would write such an inscr. upon a pagan altar, though in itself the formula in l. 1 might not be objectionable, 135 *l. n.* The inscr. may have a Jewish origin; the name ברק has a Jewish sound; but no Jew would 'make' a Palm. altar.

138. Vog. 79. A.D. 256.

בריד שמה לעלמא [טבא] 1  
 ורחמא מודא . . . ה . . . ד . . . ח 2  
 לשמש לרחמנא די ק[ימ]הי 3  
 בימא וביבשא וע[ניה] 4  
 די קרההו ו . . . . . חה 5  
 בירה אלול שנת [ע פ] 333 y //

Blessed be his name for ever, [the good]<sup>2</sup> and the compassionate! offered in thanksgiving by . . . (son of)<sup>3</sup> Lishamsh, to the compassionate one who de[liv]ered (?) him<sup>4</sup> by sea and land, and an[swered him]<sup>5</sup> who invoked him, and . . . . .  
<sup>6</sup> In the month Elûl, the [5]67.

L. 1. בריד ונ' 135 *l. n.*

L. 2. רחמא 139 3 is perhaps a mistake for the usual רחמנא  
 l. 3. מודא Afel ptc. of ידא (אוד') confess, used in votive inscr. with the special sense of *giving thanks* for some benefit, e. g. Vog. 101 ומודא εὐχαρίστως ἀνέθηκεν.

L. 3. ק[ימ]הי i. e. קימיהי Pael of קים, so Vog. Nöld. (99), however, restores ק[רי]הי = קרייהי, which has the support of the Syr. form. As in Syr., the final י was prob. not pronounced, hence it is usually not written, e. g. עניה l. 4. Vog. 92. 103. קריה 103. In l. 5 קרההו is a form contrary to all analogy, and is prob. incorrectly copied.

L. 4. יבשא . . . ימא Cf. Gen. 1 10. [ועניה] The restoration is based on Vog. 92 &c. ועניה לה קריא; in Gk. εὐξάμενος καὶ ἑπακουσθεὶς ἀνέθηκεν κ.τ.λ.

L. 5. אלול 136 *l. n.*

139. Vog. 93. Circ. A. D. 230.

מודן כל יום נדרבול 1  
 ומקימו בני דדא בר 2  
 מקימו דנאל לרחמא 3  
 טבא ותירא על חייהון 4  
 תיא דנה ו... ילהון 5  
 בלה... לעגלבו ולמלבל אלן 6  
 .. 33 — ע שנת ..... 7

Giving thanks every day, Nadar-bôl<sup>2</sup> and Moqîmu, sons of Dada, son<sup>3</sup> of Moqîmu, (son of) Daniel (?), (dedicate this) to the compassionate one,<sup>4</sup> the good and the merciful, for their life.<sup>5</sup> . . . this and their . . . .<sup>6</sup> all of it . . . to the gods (?) 'Agli-bôl and Malak-bel<sup>7</sup> . . . . . the year 54 . .

L. 1. מודן Ptcp. plur.; 138 2 n. נדרבול ? Bôl has vowed.

L. 2. דדא Δάδος Wadd. 2081 &c. = 𐤃𐤁𐤁 paternal uncle; cf. the pr. n. חלא Eut. 103 1 &c. = 𐤇𐤁𐤁 maternal uncle.

L. 3. דנאל ? = Hebr. דְּנִיָּאל, in Nab. CIS ii 258. But such a form in Palm. may be questioned; Nöld. (88) reads חנאל = Ἀνγῆλος Wadd. 2320 &c. רחמא 138 2 n.

L. 4. ותירא . . רחמא = the Assyr. *rēmēnu taidru* (Lidzb. 153 n.); the latter word = *pitiful* (תור) in Assyr., see Delitzsch *HWB* 604 f. 703. In *Eph.* i 79, however, Lidzb. suggests תיכא, as in Mand. with ראהמאנא.

L. 5. Perhaps read הון בלה [י[ח]יא [ב]נהון [וב]י[ת]הון בלה, J. Mordtm. from his father's copy, and Cl.-Gan, *Rec.* ii § 37. The only objection is that the sign after חייהון l. 4 usually marks the end of a clause. If דנה is right, the preceding word ought to be a sing. noun; the suff. הון' must refer to the donors.

L. 6. The suggested reading כר[י] as well as to 'Agli-bôl and M., carrying on לרחמא l. 3, is doubtful because it ignores the full stop at the end of l. 4. עגלבו The Palm. moon-god, associated with Malak-bel, the solar deity (112 4 n.), e. g. 140 A 2. Vog. 140, and the inscr. below<sup>1</sup> from a stele which represents the god as a young Roman

<sup>1</sup> Rom. 1, in the Capitoline Museum: Ἀγλιβώλωφ καὶ Μαλαχβήλωφ πατρώοις θεοῖς καὶ τὸ σίγγρον ἀργυροῦν σὺν παντὶ κόσμῳ ἀνέθηκε Τ. Αὐρ. Ἡλιόδωρος Ἀντιόχου

warrior, with a large crescent attached to his shoulders (cf. *Syr. Centr.* pl. 12. 141). The meaning of the name is uncertain; the  $\sqrt{\text{עגל}} =$  *be round*, in Pa. *to roll*, so perhaps *chariot of Bôl*, in Aram.  $\text{עגלתא}$ ,  $\text{עגלתא}$  *chariot*; cf.  $\text{רבנאל}$  61 2 n.  $\text{אלן}$  Apparently for  $\text{אלהן}$  69 20. 76 C 7; we should expect  $\text{אלהיא}$ .

140 A and B. Littmann 1 and 2. A—A. D. 29; B—A. D. 132.  
Discovered 1900.

## A

- 1 [בירח] שבט שנת 33 עלתא דה [עברו]  
2 [בני] מרוחא אלן לעגלבו ולמלכבל אלה[יהון]  
3 . . בי בר עתנורי עודו וחגנו בר זבדלה כמרא  
4 [ונ]בוזבר בר מלכו מתנא ותימו בר עגילו רבת  
5 [ו]מלכו בר ירחבולא חתי וירחבולא בר תימרצו  
6 אברוק וזבדבול בר ידיעבל אלהו ועגילו בר  
7 נורי זבדבול ומלכו בר מקימו תימעמד

In the month Shebat, the year 340. This altar [has been made] <sup>2</sup> by the following [members of] the *thiasos* to 'Agli-bôl and Malak-bel [their] gods:—<sup>3</sup> . . bai, son of 'Athē-nûri (son of) 'Audu, and Ḥaggâgu, son of Zabd-ilah (son of) Komâra, <sup>4</sup> [and N]ebu-zebad, son of Mâliku (son of) Mathna, and Taimu, son of 'Ogêlu (son of) Rabâbat, <sup>5</sup> [and] Mâliku, son of Yarḥi-bôlê (son of) Ḥattai, and Yarḥi-bôlê, son of Taim-arṣu <sup>6</sup> (son of) Abrôqa, and Zabdi-bôl, son of Yedî'a-bel (son of) Alihu, and 'Ogêlu, son <sup>7</sup> of Nurai (son of) Zabdi-bôl, and Mâliku, son of Moqîmu (son of) Taimo-'amad.

'Αδριανὸς Παλμυρηνὸς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς συμβίου καὶ τῶν τέκνων ἔτους (μὲν) μηνὸς Περιτίου.

- 1 לעגלבו ולמלכבל וסמיתא די כסא וחצב  
2 יתה עבר כן כיסה ירחי בר חליסי בר  
3 ירחי בר לשמש שערו על חויה וחיא  
4 בנחיי בירח שבט שנת 547

$\alpha =$  a standard, σημεῖον, signum. 119 4 n. ירחי Note = 'Ἡλιόδωρος; cf. 122 2 = 'Ισραίου. חליסי 86 10 n.

These inscr., engraved on small altars, were first published by Littmann, *Journal As.* (1901) ii 374-390.

L. 1. שבט The 11th month, Jan.-February; cf. p. 302 footnote.

L. 2. בני מרוחא The idiomatic expression for *members of a guild*, cf. בני שירתא 113 3 n., and the O.T. בני קרח. בני הנביאים, בני קרח. For מרוחא see 42 16 n.; the existence of religious symposia at Palmyra is proved by the inscr. Wadd. 2606 a συμποσίαρχον τῶν . . . Διὸς Βήλου ἱερέων (127 1 n.). לענלכול ולמלכבל 139 6 n.

L. 3. Restore prob. והבי = והבאלהי. עתונרי Already known in Palm.; cf. Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* ii 96 and 112 4 n. עורו = عَوْرٌ, *Aḥḍos*, a name common in Sin.; cf. عوز مناة Wellhausen *Reste* 6. חנגו 118 2 n. זברלה 114 5 n. כמרא 132 2 n.

L. 4. נבוודר 127 3 n. מתנא Prob. abbreviated from מתנכול, cf. 132 2 n.; Lidzb., *Eph.* i 344, compares the Pun. מתנאל[ם] = מתנא, and the Talmudic מתנה = מתניה. חימו Cf. 112 4 n. עגילו Ογγήλου Vog. 70 1; for the √ ענל see 139 6 n. רבבא = رَبَابَةٌ from رَبَابٌ a white cloud; cf. the fem. pr. n. רבבם in Sab. (Lidzb.).

L. 5. ירחבולא 111 3 n. חתי Perhaps abbreviated from the well-known Arab. pr. n. حَاتِمٌ. תימרצו 115 1 n.

L. 6. אברוק Prob. a variation of the name ברק 137 2, cf. the Talm. פרוקא flashing light (cf. פִּיאוֹר); the latter form is found in Palm., Lidzb. *Eph.* i 206 inscr. D. Littmann explains the name as = ابو رَوَاق, and compares the name of the place أم رَوَاق. אלהו 136 4 n. ידיעבל Cf. the Šafaite אלה, Littmann *Zur Entziff. d. Šafâ-Inschr.* 39, where the Gk. Ἄλειος, Ἀλέου, and the Arab. 'Ulaiha are suggested as possible parallels. The fem. form אלהת used as a mas. pr. n. also occurs in Šafaite, e. g. Littmann *ib.* 57.

L. 7. נורי Abbr. from some such name as נורבל Vog. 124; cf. the Talm. נוריה = נורי. תימעמר Vog. 124 Θαιμοαμέδου.

## B

- 1 [ת]רתן עלותא אלן עבד עבדו בר ענמו  
 2 [ב]ר שעדלת נבטיא רוחיא די הוא פרוש  
 3 [ב]חירתא ובמשריתא די ענא  
 4 לשיעאלקום אלהא טבא ושכרא די לא  
 5 שתא חמר על חייה וחיי מעית

6 ועבדו אחוהי ושעדלת ברה בירח  
 7 אלול שנת IIII 33 ודכיר זבירא בר  
 8 שמעון בר בלעקב גירה ורחמה קדם  
 9 שיעאלקום אלהא טבא ודכיר כל  
 10 מעיד עלותא אלן ואמר דכירין  
 11 . . א אלן כלהון בטב

These two altars have been made by 'Ubaidu, son of 'Ānimu, <sup>2</sup>[s]on of Sa'd-allath, the Nabataean, of the Rūḥu tribe, who was a horseman <sup>3</sup>in the fort and camp of 'Ana, <sup>4</sup>to She'a-alqûm, the good and bountiful god, who does not <sup>5</sup>drink (?) wine, for his life and the life of Mu'ithi <sup>6</sup>and 'Abdu his brothers, and Sa'd-allath his son; in the month <sup>7</sup>Elûl, the year 443. And remembered be Zebîda, son <sup>8</sup>of Shim'on, son of Bel-'aqab, his patron and friend, before <sup>9</sup>She'a-alqûm the good god; and remembered be every one <sup>10</sup>. . visits (?) these altars, and says, 'Remembered be <sup>11</sup>all these . . for good!'

The inscr., though written in Palm., is thoroughly Nabataean in character. The donor of the altars, the deity to whom they are dedicated, and most of the pr. nn. are all Nabataean.

L. 1. עלותא = 𐤀𐤋𐤁𐤀. 93 I n. עבדו 91 I. ענמו

L. 2. שעדללת = שעדללת; see 106 n. רוחיא i. e. a member of the family of רוחו 99 I. 2 n. פרש Not a member of the equestrian order, ἵππικός *hipikós*, but simply a soldier in the cavalry.

L. 3. חירתא = 𐤀𐤋𐤁𐤀 camp, cf. Arab. حَيْرٌ *sheep-fold*; but perhaps this is the name of a place *حيرة* al *ḥayra*, on the Euphrates. משריתא 96 4 n. ענא The name of a place; Littm. suggests \**Avatha*, now *عانة*, on the Euphrates.

L. 4. שיעאלקום A Nab. inscr. from Ḥauran contains a dedication to this deity, see p. 255 n. 1; in the Ṣafâ inscr. he is frequently mentioned as שעחקם, e. g. ודער ובעלסמן ודער ושעחקם (= אלת) Littm. *Ṣafâ-Inscr.* p. v. The name = شَيْعُ الْقَوْمِ *protector of the people*, the god who accompanies the people, prob. the special deity of the caravan; for the conception cf. Ex. 23 20. 23. 33 14 f. Is. 63 9. שכרא 133 2 n.



L. 5. שחא, or משחא Af. ptc. *who does not allow wine-drinking*, inserting a letter at the beginning of the line. The worshippers of this deity were prohibited from the use of wine, very likely as a protest against the Dionysiac cult of Dûshara (see 79 5 n.)<sup>1</sup>. Similarly in the O.T., the Nazirite vow and the principles of the Rechabites (Jer. 35) were protests against the degenerating influence of Canaanite civilization. As a custom among the Nabataeans, abstinence from wine is mentioned by Diodorus xix 94 3<sup>2</sup>; it was inculcated in Arabia before the time of Mohammed (Robertson Smith *Prophets* 84. 388). מעיתי A Nab. pr. n., Dussaud et Macler *Voy. Arch.* no. 59, in the Gk. version Μοεῖθου; similarly Wadd. 2483. The form מעיתי is endearing and diminutive, cf. חביבי, עויוי, מלכי, זכרי, &c. (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 218); the Arab. equivalent is غات مُغِيثٌ *to succour*, cf. the Palm. pr. names יעוה, יעוה i.e. يَغُوْه (Rép. no. 85), עוה 143 2.

L. 7. אלול Aug.–September.

L. 8. בלעקב 124 3 n. נירה For נר *guest* in Phoen. and Palm. see 17 2 n. Here, however, the word must denote not the receiver, but the giver of hospitality; cf. the pr. n. Κοσγηγρος from Memphis, not 'Kos is client' but 'K. is patron,' K. being a deity (Nöld. *SBBA* (1882) 1187 n.). Thus נר like چار denotes both sides of the relation; it has the double sense of the German *Gastfreund*. The Gk. equivalent of נירה ורחמה would be τὸν αὐτοῦ ξένον καὶ φίλον *his host and friend* CIG 2502 &c., cf. רחמה וקיומה 129 5; Cl-Gan. *Rec.* v 45 f. Zebîda discharged the obligations of hospitality towards the Nab. soldier at Palmyra. רחמה 127 4 n.

L. 10. מעיר or עיר Ptc. Afel or Peal of עור = عَارَ, conj. v عَوَّرَ *to visit*; Lidzb. l.c. 346. At the beginning of the line די is to be restored. Another proposed reading is לא מעיר or די לא מעיר *who does not change* (86 8 n.); but there is hardly room for לא. ואמר Ptc., i.e. וְאָמַר.

L. 11. At the beginning of the line Cl-Gan. restores שמא *names*, pl. constr. or emph.—a doubtful form; Lidzb. better אנשא or נבריא.

<sup>1</sup> Cl-Gan. ingeniously discovers a parallel in the struggle between Dionysos and the fabled 'anti-bacchic' king of the Arabs, Lycurgos (cf. [θε]ῶ Λυκούργω Wadd. 2286 a); the scene of the legend is placed in Arabia. *Rec.* iv 398 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Νόμος δ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς μήτε σῖτον σπείρειν μήτε φυτεῦν μηδὲν φυτὸν καρποφόρον, μήτε οἶνον χρῆσθαι μήτε οἰκίαν κατασκευάζειν.

## SEPOLCHRAL INSCRIPTIONS

141. Vog. 30 a. B. C. 9.

- קברא דנה די 1  
 עתנתן בר כהילו די 2  
 בנו עלוהי בנוהי 3  
 כהילו וחירן בנוהי 4  
 די מן בני מיתא 5  
 בירה כנון שנת III — III 6

This sepulchre is that of <sup>2</sup>Athē-nathan, son of Kohailu, which <sup>3</sup> has been built over him by his sons <sup>4</sup> Kohailu and Ḥairân, his sons, <sup>5</sup> who are of the Benê Maitha. <sup>6</sup> In the month Kanûn, the year 304.

The characteristic form of the Palm. sepulchre is that of the tomb tower. One of these, called Kasr eth-Thunfyeh, is 111 ft. high, 33½ ft. square at the base, 25 ft. 8 in. square above the basement. It contains six stories, and places for 480 bodies. Opposite the entrance is a hall (cf. 143 8) with recesses for coffins; it has a richly panelled ceiling; underground is an immense vault (cf. 143 1). Illustrations of this and another well-preserved tower are given in Wm. Wright's *Palmyra and Zenobia* (1895) 81. 85. Within the towers are found the busts so characteristic of Palm. art (cf. 142 3). The form of these monuments is of Asiatic origin; but the decoration is in the Roman style. The inscriptions outside the towers are often bilingual, within they are Palm. alone.

L. 2. עתנתן See 112 4 n. כהילו 79 1 n.

L. 3. בנוהי In the corresponding inscr. (Vog. 30 b) on the N. side of the tomb, this is twice written ברהי = ברה *his son*; but the form with the final vowel is so singular that בנוהי is prob. to be preferred as correct (Nöld. 98).

L. 5. בני מיתא Vog. 32 4, the name of a clan; cf. 132 2. 133 1. 136 6.

L. 6. כנון The 8th month, Oct.—November. The facsimile gives רנון, which is to be corrected to כנון. This is the oldest Palm. inscr. known. The writing is rather more archaic and angular than that of the later inscr., especially the form of ה. Palm. writing shows extraordinarily

little variation during the period of 280 years for which we have specimens.

142. Chediac i (Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* ii § 5). A. D. 94. Qaryatên  
(between Damascus and Palmyra).

1 בת עלמא דנה עבך מתני בר נורבל בר מלכו 1  
 2 בר תימצא על נורבל אבוהי ועל נבי אמה ליקרהן 2  
 3 וליקר בנוהי די עלמא צלמיא אלן די מתני בר 3  
 4 נורבל בר מלכו בר תימצא בר מתני בר בונא בר 4  
 5 מתני די מתקרה מהוי ודי נורבל אבוהי ודי 5  
 6 נבי אמה בירח אב שנת IIII י ע 6

This house of eternity has been made by Matnai, son of Nûr-bel, son of Mâliku, <sup>2</sup>son of Taim-ša, over Nûr-bel his father and over Nabbai his mother, to their honour, <sup>3</sup>and to the honour of his sons; for ever. These statues are those of Matnai, son <sup>4</sup>of Nûr-bel, son of Mâliku, son of Taim-ša, son of Matnai, son of Bônne, son <sup>5</sup>of Matnai who is called Mahûi, and of Nûr-bel his father, and of <sup>6</sup>Nabbai his mother. In the month Ab, the year 406.

L. 1. עלמא בת Frequent in Palm. as a term for the grave, e.g. 143 &c., in bilingual inscr. *μημεῖον αἰώνιον, αἰώνιος τάφος* Vog. 36 a, b; cf. in the O. T. עלמו בית Qoh. 12 5, in Pun. CIS i 124 עלם בת חדר, and among the Christians of Edessa *ܥܠܡܐ ܒܝܬܐ*. The idea may go back to the Egyptians, who, according to Diodorus, called the graves of the dead *αἰδίουσ οἶκος* (i 51 2). מתני Prob. an abbreviation from מתן-בול נורבל Vog. 124 *Νουρβήλου*, cf. 140 A 3.

L. 2. תימצא Vog. 33 b, cf. אמתצא Vog. 51. The divine name צא perhaps = צא[ר] = רצו (Lidzb.), 115 1 n. נבי occurs elsewhere, Lidzb. 321; the name is evidently abbreviated, but the derivation is obscure.

L. 3. ער עלמא די An unusual expression for לעלמא 112 3 or עלמא 145 5; but cf. עלמא די בת עלמא Vog. 34.

L. 4. בונא 112 2 n.

L. 5. מתקרה Usually מתקרא; for the variation cf. זכרלא and זכרלא, ברעתא and ברעתא &c. מהוי Again in the inscr. given by Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii 183 = *Eph.* i 85; the derivation is obscure.

143. Müller 46. A. D. 193. Qaryatên.

- 1 מערתא דה די בת עלמא עבר  
 2 פציאל בר עסתורגא בר עות  
 3 בר לשמש בר לשמש לה שקקן  
 4 תרתן חדא על ימינא כדי אנת  
 5 עלל פאחרתא מקבלא  
 6 וזבירא בר מען בר בולנורעתה  
 7 שקקא כדי אנת עלל על שמלא  
 8 אנסדרא דנה מקבלא די  
 9 מערתא די מקבל בבא חפר  
 10 וצבת שוען בר תימא בר  
 11 אבגר לה ולבנוהי ולבני  
 12 בנוהי הדי רחמת לה שגל  
 13 ברת לשמש בר עשתורגא בר  
 14 פציאל בירח אדר שנת חמש  
 15 מאה וארבע

This vault of the eternal house has been made by <sup>2</sup> Faṣai-el, son of 'Astôr-ga, son of 'Auth, <sup>3</sup> son of Lishamsh, son of Lishamsh, for himself, two corridors, <sup>4</sup> the one upon the right as thou <sup>5</sup> art entering, and the other lying opposite. <sup>6</sup> And Zebîda, son of Ma'n, son of Bôl-nûr-'athê, <sup>7</sup> (has made) the corridor as thou art entering on the left.

<sup>8</sup> This *exedra* on the opposite side of <sup>9</sup> the vault, which lies opposite to the door, has been digged <sup>10</sup> and ornamented by Sau'an, son of Taimê, son <sup>11</sup> of Abgar, for himself and his sons and his grandsons ? ? to him Shegal, <sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup> daughter of Lishamsh, son of 'Ashtôr-ga, son of <sup>14</sup> Faṣai-el. In the month Adar, the year five <sup>15</sup> hundred and four.

L. I. מערתא 144 3 the burial cave, excavated in the side of a hill, entered by the door of the tomb tower (p. 306), Vog. 35 &c., τὸ σπηλαῖον Wadd. 2625; in Hebr. מערה Gen. 23 19 f.

L. 2. פציאל Φασαίελη Wadd. 2445; so Lidzb. 479, instead of חזיאל D. M. Müller *Palm. Inscr.* 19, where this inscr. was first published (1898). עסתורנא l. 13. Lidzb. suggests that the form is abbreviated from עשתור גרם (see 135 4 n.). For the form עשתור see 113 2 n.; for the interchange of ס and ש cf. ס and ש in 121 5. עות = عَوْتٌ, Γαῦτος Wadd. 2019 &c.; the full name is עותאלהי Eut. *Sin.* 72 &c.; see 140 B 5 n.

L. 3. שקקן So Lidzb. Cf. Syr. مَقْفَلٌ *via angusta*, pl. مَقْفَلَاتٌ; in Targ. שְׁקָקָא = street.

L. 5. עלל Ptcp. sing. of עלל enter; cf. 147 ii c 16. פ' The conjunction פֿ, here in Palm., as in Nab. and Old Aram., 61 3 n. מקבלא i. e. מְקַבְּלָא Afel ptcp. fem. abs. state, from קבל to meet; so the infin. לקבל = before, in the presence of 67. 147 i 10, in Afel to be opposite (144 6).

L. 6. מען = the Arab. pr. n. مَعْنٌ; in Nab. and Sin. מענו, in Gk. Μάνος, Μάννος Wadd. 2042 &c. 2584. בולנורעתה Cf. עתנורי 140 A 3. נורבל 142 i. Lidzb. (500) suggests that this may be the full form of the abbreviated names בונא, בולנא.

L. 8. אנסדרא 144 6 ἐξέδρα, i. e. a hall with recesses, such, for example, as the fore-court of the great temple at Ba'albek, which has recesses or chambers on each side; see the plan in Baedeker *Paläst.* 343. Here the *exedra* is the hall with recesses for coffins, in the centre of the tomb tower, leading to the vault; see p. 306. In the Targ. and Talm. א' = a porch, or covered passage before a house, e. g. Judg. 3 23 = תֵּיטְרֵי פְרוֹסְטָדָא; *Tamid* 28 b בנין של אנסדראות של בנין ex. of masonry round the temple-court. מקבלא here is mas. emph. state, as in 144 6.

L. 9. בנא Not otherwise found in Palm., common in Targ. and Talm., rare in Syr. The Arab. باب is derived from this word; see Fraenkel *Aram. Fremdw.* 14.

L. 10. צבת Pael, cf. the noun תצביתהון in 119 4 &c. שוען Prob. = Σαβάνου Wadd. 2537 a, cf. سَوَاعٌ, سَوَاعٌ first watch of the night.

L. 11. אבנר Ἀβγαρος Wadd. 1984 d &c., اَبْحَرٌ a common Syr. pr. n. = lame.

L. 12. הדי? meaning. Lidzb. (503) suggests מדי which 147 i 4 &c. = Bibl. Aram. מָה דִּי, and renders רחמת she bore (a denomin. vb. from רחַמַת love). The word may be read רחמת she gave birth to, Arab. دَحَقٌ; this is to be preferred. שגל A common fem. pr. n. in Palm.; cf. perhaps שגל 69 16 n.

L. 14. ארר Feb.-March.

144. Nöld. A. D. 188. Imp. Mus., Constantinople.

- 1 בִּירַח כְּנוֹן שְׁנַת ע פ
- 2 אַחְבַּר לְשִׁמְשׁ בַּר לְשִׁמְשׁ
- 3 בַּר תִּימָא מִן מַעֲרַתָּא
- 4 דַּה לְבוּנָא בַּר בּוּלְחָא
- 5 בַּר בּוּנָא בַּר יַקְרוּר
- 6 אַחְבַּרְתָּה מִן אַכְסַרְרָא מַקְבְּלָא
- 7 גַּמְחִין תַּמְנִיא מִן יַמִּינְךָ
- 8 אַרְבַּעָא וּמִן סַמְלַךְ אַרְבַּעָא

In the month Kanûn, the year 500. <sup>2</sup>Lishamsh, son of Lishamsh, <sup>3</sup>son of Taimē, has given a share of this vault <sup>4</sup>to Bōnnē, son of Bōl-ḥa, <sup>5</sup>son of Bōnnē, son of Yaqrûr. <sup>6</sup>I have given him a share of the *exedra* lying opposite, <sup>7</sup>eight niches, on thy right hand <sup>8</sup>four, and on thy left four.

The inscr. was published by Nöldeke *ZA* (1894) pp. 264-267.

- L. 1. כְּנוֹן 141 6 *n.*
- L. 2. אַחְבַּר Afel of חָבַר *to join, associate*; cf. l. 6.
- L. 3. מַעֲרַתָּא 143 1 *n.*
- L. 4. בּוּלְחָא 132 1 *n.*
- L. 5. יַקְרוּר = יַמְסִיֻן *toad*; cf. the pr. nn. חִלְרָה Vog. 74 *weasel*, עַכְבוּר *mouse*, חֲנֻזִּי *hedge-hog* &c.
- L. 6. אַחְבַּרְתָּה i. e. אַחְבַּרְתָּה Af. pf. 1 sing. with suff., cf. the infin. Vog. 71 אִישׁ בַּה לְאַחְבּוּרָא = *κοινωνὸν αὐτοῦ προσλαβεῖν* in the Gk. version. מַקְבְּלָא Af. ptc. mas. emph.; אַכְסַרְרָא is mas., 143 8; cf. בַּסְלֵקָא 119 3 (*Cl.-Gan. Ét.* i 130).
- L. 7. גַּמְחִין *loculi*; see 91 5 *n.* (Nab. גּוּחִיא).

145. Cl.-Gan. I (*Ét.* i 121). ii-iii cent. A. D. Louvre.

- 1 חַבְל שְׁמִשְׁגָּרִם בַּר נוּרְבַל
- 2 מַרְאֲגָרָא וְהוּ בְנָא קְבֵרָא דְנָה
- 3 וְאַנְשׁ לָא יִפְתַּח עֲלוּהִי גּוּמְחָא

- 4 דנה עד עלמא לא יהוא לה  
 5 זרע וגר עד עלמא ולא יקשמ  
 6 למן די יפתחיהי עד עלמא  
 7 ולחם ומן למא ישבע

Alas! Shamshi-geram, son of Nûr-bel <sup>2</sup> Mar-agra. And he built this sepulchre. <sup>3</sup> And let no man open over him this niche <sup>4</sup> for ever! Let him have no <sup>5</sup> seed or fortune for ever, nor let there be any prosperity <sup>6</sup> for him who shall open it, for ever, <sup>7</sup> and with bread and water may he never be satisfied!

L. 1. חבל An interjection of grief very common in funeral inscr. and on busts (p. 306); in the Talm. חָבַל, חָבִיל, Dalman *Gr.* 192. שמשגרים 135 4 n.

L. 2. מראגרא Cognomen or title; if the latter, perhaps=ܡܪܝܢܐܘܢܐ *dominus mercedis*, i. e. qui militibus stipendia pendet, *paymaster*; *Theo. Syr.* col. 30. Cl.-Gan. suggests the general sense of *treasurer*, *Ét.* i 123.

L. 3. אנש Cf. 69 20; אנוש in Nab. 86 6. 90 7 &c. For similar prohibitions see 4. 5. 61. 64 f. 69. לא יפתח עלוהי See 5 6 n. גומחא 91 5 n.

L. 5. גר *fortune*, as in the pr. nn. גר רצו Vog. 84. גר עתא 143 &c. יקשמ The root=*be firm, right* in Aram.; hence קשומט, קשוטא, Syr. ܩܫܘܡܬܐ=*truth, righteousness* &c. Taking the verb here in a neuter sense, we may render 'let there be no right to him who'; for the construction cf. Hebr. יִיטֵב לְ, יִרַע לְ &c.

L. 6. יפתחיהי For the form cf. the Syr. ܝܦܬܚܝܗܝ.

L. 7. מין=מן 75 3, *bread and water*, i. e. the elementary necessities of life. Winckler renders *bread and manna*, i. e. food for the dead, or divine food, ambrosia, which is his explanation of קון in Ex. 16 15; *Allor. Forsch.* ii 322 f. It is much more likely that מן here=מין, although the form is unusual. למא must have the sense of

a prohibitive negative. It may be explained on the analogy of the Hebr. למה (*Driver Samuel* 123 f.) as meaning *wherefore? = let... not*; in Aram. when connected by די with the preceding clause it comes to mean *lest*, די למה, ܕܝ ܠܡܐ, in Targ. Onk. and Pesh.=Hebr. פן, e. g. Gen. 42 4. Num. 16 34 &c.

146. Constantine: Afr. I. ii-iii cent. A. D.

D[is] m[anibus] s[acrum]. Suricus Rubatis Pal[murenus] sag[ittarius] centuria] Maximi [vixit] ann[is] XLV mi[lit]avit an[nis] xiii. CIL viii 2515.

נפשא דנה די 1  
 שריכו בר רבת 2  
 תדמוריא קשטא 3  
 קטרי מאכסמוס 4  
 בר שנת 33 5  
 חבל 6

This monument is that of Soraiku, son of Rubat, the Palmyrene archer, century of Maximus, 45 years old. Alas!

L. 1. נפשא See 78 I n. Here נ takes a mas. pronoun; in Nab. either mas. or fem.

L. 2. שריכו 119 I n. רבת = رِبَّة, Nöld. 89.

L. 3. קשטא *sagittarius* = Syr. قَمَّاء or قَمَّاء; the ט and ת (Hebr. קשת), the ק and כ, are interchanged in this word, Nöld. 97. Besides this inscr. there is further evidence that a contingent of Palm. archers served in the Roman army in Africa. An inscr. discovered by Prof. Flinders Petrie at Coptos contains a dedication to the Palm. god 'Ιεραβ[ώ]λαφ = ירחבול, made by Αὐρήλιος Βηλάκαβος 'Ιερα[ίος or -ου] οὐξηλλάρτιος Ἀδριανῶν Παλμυρηγῶν Ἀντωνινιανῶν τοξότων. In *Rec.* ii § 42 Cl.-Gan. rightly shows that Ἀδρ. Παλμ. = תרמא הררינא 147 ii. The fame of the Palm. archers was remembered by Jewish tradition; according to the Talm. 80,000 of them assisted at the overthrow of the first temple, 8000 at that of the second! Neubauer *Géogr. du Talm.* 303.

L. 4. קטרי *centuria*. For the assimilation of נ in foreign words according to the law of Semitic speech cf. סקלטיקא = συνκλητικὸς p. 285 n. I, אנתגלם = Ἀγαθάγγελος inscr. of et-Tayyibe p. 296 n. I, אלקאדרוס 147 i 2, סדקיא ib. II, and, in native words, the common מדינת = מדינתא &c. מאכסמוס Nöld. (p. 86) notes this as a unique instance of the vowel letter א representing *ä*; to avoid the anomaly he corrects the reading to קטריא מכסמוס. In the original א is uncertain, perhaps erased.



## TARIFF

147. A. D. 137. In situ.

The following plan shows the arrangement of the inscription :—

i	ii			iii			iv	
Greek	2 ll. Greek 1 l. Palmyren							
Palmyrene	a	Palm. b	c	a	b	c	a	b
1 $\frac{1}{4}$ l. Greek $\frac{3}{4}$ + $\frac{1}{8}$ l. Palm.								

## Greek Text.

i.

- 1 Ἔτους ημῦ μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ ἡ δόγμα βουλῆς.  
 2 Ἐπὶ Βωννέους Βωννέους τοῦ Αἰράνου προέδρου, Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ  
 3 Φιλοπάτορος γραμματέως βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, Μαλίχου Ὀλαιοῦς καὶ Ζεβεΐδου Νεσᾶ ἀρχόν-  
 4 των, βουλῆς νομίμου ἀγομένης, ἐψηφίσθη τὰ ὑπο-  
 τεταγμένα. Ἐπειδὴ ἔ[ν τ]οῖς πάλαι χρόνοις  
 5 ἐν τῷ τελωνικῷ νόμῳ πλείστα τῶν ὑποτελῶν οὐκ  
 ἀνελημφθη, ἐπράσ[σεται] δὲ ἐκ συνηθείας, ἐν-  
 6 γραφομένου τῇ μισθώσει τὸν τελωνοῦντα τὴν πρᾶξιν  
 ποιεῖσθαι ἀκολουθῶς τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῇ  
 7 συνηθείᾳ, συνέβαινε δὲ πλειστάκις περὶ τούτου  
 ζητήσεις γίνεσθ[αι με]ταξὺ τῶν ἐμπόρων  
 8 πρὸς τοὺς τελῶνας· δεδόχθαι, τοὺς ἐνεστῶτας ἄρχοντας  
 καὶ δεκαπρώτους διακρίνοντας



- 9 ὁ αὐτὸς δημοσιώνη[ς]  
 10 πράξει ἐκάστου γόμο[υ καμηλικού]  
 11 εἰσκομισ[θέ]ντος  
 12 ἐκκομισθ[έντ]ος [γόμου καμηλικού]  
 13 ἐκάστου vacat  
 14 γόμου ὀνικ[οῦ ἐκάστο]υ εἰ[σκομισθέντος ἤ]  
 15 ἐκκομισθέν[τος]  
 16 πορφύρας μηλωτῆ[ς] ἐκά[στου δέρμα]-  
 17 τος εἰσκομισθέν[τ]ος [πράξει]  
 18 ἐκκομισθ[έντο]ς  
 19 γόμου κ[αμηλικού] μύρου [τοῦ ἐν ἀλαβάσ]-  
 20 τροις εἰσκομισθέντος πράξει]  
 21 καὶ το  
 22 ἐκ[κομισθέντος]  
 23 γ[όμου καμηλικού] μύρου τοῦ ἐν ἀσκοῖς]  
 24 αἰγείοις [εἰσκομισθέντος πράξει]  
 25 [ἐκκομισθέντος] [γόμου ὀνικῶ] μύρου  
 26 τοῦ ἐν ἀλαβάστρ]οις  
 27 [εἰσκομισ]θέν[τος πράξει]  
 28 [ἐκκομισ]θέν[τος]  
 29 γόμου ὀνικῶ] μ[ύρου τοῦ ἐν ἀσκοῖς]  
 30 αἰγείοις εἰσκομ[ισθέντο]ς πρ[άξει]  
 31 ἐκκομισθέντος π[ρ]άξ[ει]  
 32 γόμου ἐληροῦ το[ῦ ἐν ἀσκο]ῖς [τέσσαρ]-  
 33 σι αἰγείοις ἐπὶ καμήλ[ου εἰσκομισθέν]-  
 34 τος vacat  
 35 ἐκκομισθέντο[ς]  
 36 γόμου ἐλαιροῦ τοῦ εἰ[ν ἀσκο]ῖς δυ[σὶ αἰ]-  
 37 γείοις ἐπὶ καμήλ[ου εἰσκομισθέντος]  
 38 πράξει  
 39 ἐκκομισθέντ[ος]  
 40 γόμου ἐλε[ηροῦ τοῦ ἐπ' ὄνο]υ εἰ[σκομισθέν]-





44 καὶ στιν τοῦ νόμου τω vacat  
 45 λιμένος π [πη]γῶν ὑδάτων Καίσαρος  
 46 τῷ μισθωτῇ εντος παρασχέσ[θαι]

iv a.

(27 = Aram. ii b 43; 34-37 = ii b 45-48; 41-57 = ii c 3-22.)

1 ἄλλῳ μηδενὶ πράσσειν διδό[ν]αι λαμ[βάνειν]  
 2 ἐξέστω μήτε τι ωφσ ανθρ [μή]-  
 3 τε τινι [ὄν]όματι τοσ π  
 4 τοῦτο ποιήσῃ ηε  
 5 δ[ι]πλοῦν  
 [four lines illegible]  
 10 Γαίου  
 11 αντι  
 12 μετα[ξ]ὺ Παλ[μυρηνῶν]  
 13 νους ἐστὶ  
 14 γείνεσθαι κλ οι  
 15 εσ σατο μ  
 16 ὄσα δὲ ἐξ  
 17 ω  
 18 α εισπ  
 19 τω α ωνη  
 20 τῷ τελών[η] θω vacat  
 21 οἱ δ' ἂν ε [ἐ]ξαγ  
 22  
 23 σ as  
 24 καθ' ἣν ανλογ (?)  
 25 τοῦ δὲ ἐξάγω αι  
 26 αδωσε  
 27 ἐρίων  
 28 θαρ  
 29 π ειλ  
 30 γ διαγ

- 31 οροι ματου μὲν ορι
- 32 αγωγισ \* · 5' · τοῦ δὲ θ'
- 33 ἀξιούντος το νου εἰ καὶ μὴ σ
- 34 [ἴτ]αλικῶν ἐξαγ[όντω]ν πράσσειν ὕστ[ερον ὡς συν]-
- 35 εφωνήθη μὴ ι [α]ῦτῶν ἐξαγό[ντων] [δι]-
- 36 δόσθαι vacat
- 37 μύρου τοῦ ἐν ἄσκο[ῖς αἰγεί]οις πρά[ξει ὁ τελώνης]
- 38 κατὰ τὸν νόμο[ν] οὔτε
- 39 τημα γέγονεν τῷ προτε ε εικ
- 40 [ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ] ἐσφραγισμένῳ νόμῳ τέτακται vacat
- 41 τὸ τοῦ σφάκτρον τέλος εἰς δηνάριον ὀφείλει λο[γεύε-  
σθαι]
- 42 καὶ Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος διὰ τῆς πρὸς Στατείλι[ου  
ἐπισ]-
- 43 τολῆς διασαφήσαντος ὅτι δεῖ πρὸς ἄσσάριον ἰτα[λι-  
44 κὸν] τὰ τέλη λογεύεσθαι τὸ δὲ ἐντὸς δηναρίου τέλο[ς]
- 45 συνηθεία ὁ τελώνης πρὸς κέρμα πράξει τῷ[ν δὲ]
- 46 διὰ τὸ νεκριμαῖα εἶναι ρειπτουμένων τὸ τέλο[ς οὐκ  
ὀφείλεται]
- 47 τῶν βρωτῶν τὸ κα[τὰ] τὸν νόμον τοῦ γόμου δην[άριον]
- 48 εἴστημι πράσσεσθαι ὅταν ἔξωθεν τῶν ὄρων εισά[γη-  
49 ται] ἢ ἐξάγεται vacat τοὺς δὲ εἰς χωρία ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν
- 50 [χω]ρίων κατακομίζοντας ἀτελεῖς εἶναι ὡς καὶ συνεφώ-  
51 νησεν αὐτοῖς vacat κώνου καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ἔδ[ο]-
- 52 ξεν ὅσα εἰς ἐμπορείαν φέρεται τὸ τέλος εἰς τὸ ξη-  
53 ρόφορτον ἀνάγεσθαι ὡς καὶ ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς γέινεται  
πόλεσι
- 54 καμήλων ἐάν τε κεναὶ ἐάν τε ἔργομοι εισάγονται  
ἔξωθεν
- 55 τῶν ὄρων ὀφείλεται δηνάριον ἐκάστης κατὰ τὸν
- 56 νόμον ὡς καὶ Κουρβούλων ὁ κράτιστος ἐσημι-
- 57 ὡσατο ἐν τῇ πρὸς Βάρβαρον ἐπιστολῇ.

## iv b.

[About 30 lines almost entirely illegible.]

- 5 [ἐ]ταίρω[ν]  
 30 τὰς συνφῶν  
 31 τελώ[ν]ην γείνεσθαι [τὸ ἐκ τοῦ]  
 32 νόμο[ν] τέλος πρὸς δηνά[ρ]ιον φ[ημί? λογεύεσθαι]  
 33 ἐνόμιον συνεφωνήθη μὴ δεῖν πράσσειν  
 34 ε [τ]ῶν δὲ ἐπὶ νομὴν μεταγομένων  
 35 ν θρεμμάτων ὀφείλεσθαι χα-  
 36 ρίσασθαι τὰ θρέμματα ἐὰν θέλῃ ὁ δη[μοσιώνης]  
 37 ἐξέεστω.

## Palmyrene Text.

## i.

- 14 (1) דגמא די בולא בירח ניסן יום פ י III שנת  
 בלהדרותא די בונא בר III פ 33 פ III  
 15 (2) בונא בר חירן וגרמטיא די אלכסדרם בר אלכסדרם בר  
 פלפטר גרמטוס די בולא ודמס וארכוניא  
 16 (3) מלכו בר עליי בר מקימו וזבידא בר נשא כד הות בולא  
 כנישא מן נמוסא אשרת  
 17 (4) מדי כתיב מן לתחת בדילדי בזבניא קדמיא בנמוסא די  
 מכסא עבדין שגין חיבן

Decree of the Council, in the month Nisan, the 18th day, the year 448, during the presidency of Bōnnē, son <sup>2</sup> of Bōnnē, son of Hāirān, and the secretaryship of Alexander, son of Alexander, son of Philopator, secretary of the Council and People, and the archons (being) <sup>3</sup> Māliku, son of 'Olai, son of Moqîmu, and Zebida, son of Nesâ. When the Council was by law assembled, it established <sup>4</sup> what is written below—



- (5) 18 מכסא לא אסקו והוו מתגבין מן עידא במדען די הוא מתכתב באגוריא די
- (6) 19 מכסא והוא גבא היך בנמוסא ובעידא ומטלכות זבנין שגין על צבותא אלן
- (7) 20 סרבנין הוו ביני תגרא לביני מכסיא אתחזי לבולא די ארכוניא אלן ולעשרתא
- (8) 21 די יבנון מדעם די לא מסק בנמוסא ויכתב בשטר אגריא חדתא ויכתב למדעמא
- (9) 22 מדעמא מכסה די מן עידא ומדי אשר לאגורא וכתב עם נמוסא קרמיא בגללא
- (10) 23 די לקבל היכלא די רב אסירא ויהוא מבטל לארכוניא די הון בזבן זבן ועשרתא
- (11) 24 וסדקיא די לא יהוא גבא אגורא מן אנש מדעם יתיר

Whereas in former times by the law of taxation many goods liable to <sup>5</sup>taxation were not specified, but taxes were levied on them by custom, according to what was written in the contract of <sup>6</sup>the tax-collector, and he was in the habit of making levies by law and custom, and on this account many times about these matters <sup>7</sup>disputes arose between the merchants and the tax-collectors—It seemed good to the Council of these archons and to the Ten <sup>8</sup>that they should make known what was not specified in the law, and (that) it should be written down in the new document of contract, and (that) there should be written down for each <sup>9</sup>article its tax which is by custom, and what they have established with the contractor, and they have written it down together with the former law on the stele <sup>10</sup>which is in front of the temple of Rabaseirē;—and that it be made the concern of the archons who shall be (in office) at any time, and of the Ten, <sup>11</sup>and of the syndics, that the contractor do not demand any further levy from any man.

(Greek text, 14 1.)

די טעון קרם די כלמא גנס כלה לארבעא טעונין די  
גמלין

(13) 27 מכסא גבי

ii.

(Greek text, 2 ll.)

נמוסא די מכסא די למנא די הדרינא תדרמר ועינתא די  
מיא... קיסר

a.

(1-31 = Greek iii a; 41 = iii b 21?; 46-49 = iii b 27-30.)

- 1 מן מעלי עלימיא די מתאעלין לתדרמר  
2 או לתחומיה [יגבא מכס]א לכל רגל ד 3  
3 מן עלם די .. ב [ל]מפק[נא] //  
4 מן עלם וטר[ן] די יזבן...  
5 והן זבונא ומעל.. ין יתן לכל רגל //  
6 הו [מ]כסא [ג]בא [מ]ן טעון גמלא די יבי[שין]

(Greek text.)

<sup>12</sup> A waggon-load of any kind of goods whatsoever, at four camel-loads <sup>13</sup> the tax shall be levied.

ii.

(Greek text.)

The law of the taxes of the custom-house of Hadriana Tadmor, and the wells of water . . . . . Caesar.

a.

From importers of slaves who are imported into Tadmor <sup>2</sup> or its borders the [tax-collector shall levy] for each person 22 denarii. <sup>3</sup> From a slave who . . . . . [for] export, 12. <sup>4</sup> From a slave-veteran who shall be sold . . . . 10; <sup>5</sup> and if the buyer . . . . . he shall give for each person 12. <sup>6</sup> The said t[ax-collector shall l]evy from a camel-load of dry

- 7 למעלנא . . . . . די טעון גמלא ד / [?]
- 8 מן [טעון גמלא] למ[פקנא] ד ///
- 9 מן מן [טעון] חמרא למעלנא [ולמפקנא] . . . .
- 10 מן אן [רג] ונא מלטא לכל מן [שך למעלנא] . . . .
- 11 ולמ[פ]קנא אסרין ע ///
- 12 מן טעון [ג]מלא [א] די משחא בשימא [די]
- 13 מתאעל [ב]ש[טיפת]א ד 3 ע
- 14 ולמא ד . . . . . ל . וסא דנה
- 15 למפקנא [א] . כ . ן . גמל לטעונא — ///
- 16 מן טעון גמלא די [מ]שחא בשימא [די יתאעל]
- 17 בזקין [די] ע [ז]ל [מ]על [נא] ד — /// ולמפק [נא] ד ע //
- 18 מן מן [טעון חמר די] משחא [בשימא די] יתאעל
- 19 בש[טיפ]תא [למעלנא ד] — /// ולמפקנא ד ע //
- 20 מן טעון חמר [די] משחא [בשימא] די
- 21 יתאעל בזקין [ן] . . . . . למ[פקנא] ד ע //
- 22 מן טעון די מש[חא] די בזקין [ין ארב]ע

goods, <sup>7</sup> for import . . . . . of the camel-load, 3 (?) denarii. <sup>8</sup> From [a camel-load] for ex[port], 3 denarii. <sup>9</sup> From a donkey-l[oad], for import [and for export] . . . . <sup>10</sup> From purple fleeces, for each s[kin, for import] . . . . <sup>11</sup> and for export, 8 assarii. <sup>12</sup> From a cam[el-lo]ad of sweet oil [which] <sup>13</sup> is imported [in] the f[lask], 25 denarii. <sup>14</sup> And for what . . . . . this <sup>15</sup> for export . . . . . [c]amel, for the load 13 denarii. <sup>16</sup> From a camel-load of sweet oil [which is imported] <sup>17</sup> in goa[t-s]kins, for im[port] 13 denarii, and for expor[t 7 denarii]. <sup>18</sup> From a [donkey-loa]d [of sweet] oil which is imported <sup>19</sup> in the fl[as]k, [for import] 13 [denarii], and for export 7 denarii. <sup>20</sup> From a donkey-load of [sweet] oil which <sup>21</sup> is imported in skin[s] . . . [for ex]port 7 denarii. <sup>22</sup> From

- 23 די עז למעלן טעון ג[מלא] א ד פ — III  
 24 ולמפקנא ד פ — [III]  
 25 מן טעון די מ[שחא] די [בוז]קין תרתן די עז  
 26 למעלן] ט[עונ]א די גמלא ד [ע //] ולפקנא ד [ע //]  
 27 מן טעון] חמר די משח למ[עלנא] דע // ולמפקנא [דע //]  
 28 מן טעון דהנא די בזקין א[רבע] די עז די  
 29 טעון גמל מעלנא ד פ — III ול[מפק]נא ד פ — III  
 30 מן טעון דהנא די בזקי תרת[ן] די עז  
 31 לטעון גמל למעלנא דע // ולמ[פקנא] דע //  
 32 מן טעון [דה]נא די חמר למעלנא [דע //] ולמפקנא [דע //]  
 33 מן טעון [נוני]א מליחיא לטעונא די [גמלא]  
 34 [למעלנא ד] פ — ומן מפק מנהון . . . .  
 35 א לטעונא די גמלא למ . . . . .  
 36 א די טעון חמרא למעלנא] א . . . . .  
 37 נא יגבא מכסא ד פ — III . . . . .

a load of oi[1 which is in] four goat-[ski]ns, <sup>23</sup> for import, the ca[mel]-load, 13 denarii, <sup>24</sup> and for export 1[3] denarii. <sup>25</sup> From a load of o[il] which is [in] two goat-[sk]ins, <sup>26</sup> for import, the camel-l[oa]d, [7] denarii, and for export [7] denarii. <sup>27</sup> From a donkey-load of oil, for im[port] 7 denarii, and for export [7] denarii]. <sup>28</sup> From a load of fat which is in f[our] goat-skins, which <sup>29</sup> is a camel-load, import 13 denarii, and for [expo]rt 13 denarii. <sup>30</sup> From a load of fat which is in tw[o] goat-skins, <sup>31</sup> for the camel-load, for import 7 denarii, and for ex[port] 7 denarii]. <sup>32</sup> From a donkey-load of [fa]t, for import [7] denarii, and for export] 7 denarii. <sup>33</sup> From a load of salted [fish], for the [camel]-load, <sup>34</sup> [for import] 10 [denarii], and from an exporter of any of them . . . <sup>35</sup> . . . for the camel-load . . . <sup>36</sup> . . . of the donkey-load, for import <sup>37</sup> . . . the tax-

יא ד ק ו	38
מן אמ	39
יא [אם] רין //	40
שאמריא למע[לנא] . . . . . רשא חד אסרא חד	41
מן [טעו]נא גמלא א //	42
מן ארב א [א]סרין .. //	43
מן ד	44
א ממזן די יהוא מזבן משחא	45
בשימא אסרין . . . אף יגבא מבסא מן איתא מן	46
מן די שקלא דינר [או] יתיר דנרא חד מן איתא	47
ומן מן די שקלא אסרין תמניא	48
יגבא אסרין תמניא	49

## ii b.

(1-12=Greek iii b 31-45; 22. 23=iii c 22-24; 43=iv a 27;  
45-48=iv a 34-37.)

1 ומן מן די שקל [א] אסרין [ש]תא

2 יגבא אסרין [ / ע ]

3 אף יגבא . . . . . ודי ח[נ]תא ופטפלא

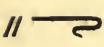
collector shall levy 3 denarii <sup>38</sup> . . . 10 denarii . . . <sup>39</sup> . . . from . .  
<sup>40</sup> . . . 2 assarii <sup>41</sup> . . . lambs, for im[port] . . . one head, one  
assarius. <sup>42</sup> From a camel-[loa]d . . . 2 <sup>43</sup> . . . from ? . . assarii . .  
2. <sup>44</sup> From . . . <sup>45</sup> . . . from one (?) who shall sell sweet oil  
<sup>46</sup> assarii . . Also the tax-collector shall levy from women,  
from <sup>47</sup> one who has taken a denarius [or] more, one denarius  
from the woman. <sup>48</sup> And from one who has taken eight  
assarii <sup>49</sup> he shall levy eight assarii.

## ii b.

<sup>1</sup> And from one who has taken [s]ix assarii <sup>2</sup> he shall levy  
[6] assarii. <sup>3</sup> Also he shall levy . . . and of the shop and

- 4 פ . . . . . היך עדתא
- 5 [לכל] יר[ח] מן חנותא ד /
- 6 [מן כל] משך די [י]תאעל או יזבן למשכא אסרין //
- 7 . . . ימנתיא די הפכין במדיתא יהן מוט מכסא
- 8 [לתש]מיש עינן תרתן די מ[י] די במדיתא ד ע // III
- 9 [י]גבא מכסא למעונא די חטא וחמרא ותבנא
- 10 ו[כ]ל מדי דמא [להון לכ]ל גמל לארה חדא ד /
- 11 לגמלא כרי יתאיעל סריק יגבא ד /
- 12 היך [די] גב[א] קלקים בר חרי קיסר
- 13 מ . . . . . סא די תדמר ועינתא די מיא
- 14 ומל . . . יב . [מ]ריתא ותחומיה היך
- 15 א [מכס]יא [די] אגר קדם מרינס היגמונא
- 16 טעון די גמלא ד III ומפקן ד III
- 17 מ[ן] . . . . . מלמא לכל משך למעלנא ד III ולמפקנא ד III
- 18 [אף] יגב[א] מכסא] מן גנסיא כלהון היך די כתיב מן לעל

general store <sup>4</sup> . . . according to custom, <sup>5</sup> [every] mon[th] from the shop 1 denarius. <sup>6</sup> [From every] skin which shall be imported or sold, for the skin 2 assarii. <sup>7</sup> . . . clothiers (?) who shall barter in the city, their tax shall vary. <sup>8</sup> For the use of two wells of wa[ter] which are in the city, 800 denarii. <sup>9</sup> The tax-collector shall levy for a load of wheat and wine and straw <sup>10</sup> and suchlike, for each camel, for one journey 1 denarius. <sup>11</sup> For the camel when it is brought in empty he shall levy 1 denarius, <sup>12</sup> as Kilix, freedman of Caesar, levied. <sup>13</sup> . . . of Tadmor and the wells of water <sup>14</sup> . . . the town and its borders, as <sup>15</sup> . . . the [taxes] for [which] they (?) contracted before Marinus the governor. <sup>16</sup> . . . the camel-load, 4 denarii, and export, 4 denarii. <sup>17</sup> From . . . a fleece, for each skin, for import 4 denarii, and for export 4 denarii. <sup>18</sup> [Also the tax-collector shall l]evy from goods of all kinds

- 19 ... טב ... עא באסרא חד למדיא די קסטון  
 20 עשר ו[שת] ... מא די . יתבעא יתן [לה] לתשמישא  
 21 . לא ... תשע לכל מדא מן נמ[וס]א דנה ססטרטין ///  
 22 מן יהוא לה מלח בתד[מר] . מאד  
 23 ת[דמרי]א יכילנה ל ... א די מא (?) באסרא חד  
 24 . . . . . אי . . . . . קי . . היגמונא  
 25 .. השבן מכ . . . . . בני תדמריא ל י  
 26 ... קם מכנס[מס] קי[סר]  
 27 חיב לא הוא . . . . . סא . . גרנא  
 28 אלקמס וחת . . . . . נמוסא יפרע מ[כס]א  
 29 משתתף ד . . . . . אדי ... יהוא  
 30 פרע למכסא מן די מעל רגלין לתדמר  
 31 [או] לתחומיה ומפק לכל רגל י . .  
 32 ו . . . . . [מ]פק יפרע למכנ[סא ד]  //  
 33 ... די . . . . . [על]ם וטרן . ד ע ///  
 34 ... לכל . . . . . מיא דנה . . . . .

as it is written above. <sup>19</sup> ... one assarius for the modius of costus-roots. <sup>20</sup> [Six]teen ... what shall be desired, he shall give [to th]em for use. <sup>21</sup> ... nine for every modius by this l[a]w, 4 sestertii. <sup>22</sup> Whoever shall have salt in Tad[mor] ... <sup>23</sup> the T[admoren]es, he shall measure it ... at one assarius <sup>24</sup> ... the governor. <sup>25</sup> ... a reckoning ... the Tadmorenes . . <sup>26</sup> ... cus Maxi[mus] Cae[sar], <sup>27</sup> he is not liable . . . <sup>28</sup> Alkimus . . . the law, he shall pay the t[ax], <sup>29</sup> participating ... he shall <sup>30</sup> pay to the tax-collector. Whoever imports any persons into Tadmor <sup>31</sup> [or] its borders, and exports (any), for each person . . . <sup>32</sup> ... [ex]port, he shall pay to the tax-col[lector] 12 [denarii] <sup>33</sup> ... who . . . [sla]ve-veteran . . 8 denarii <sup>34</sup> . . . for

מעלנ . . . . .	ה וד ק — ומפקנ[א] ע //	35
מן די מפק עלם ומרן . . . . .		36
חשבנ . . . . .	כתיב בנמוסא	37
פרע ד ע ///		38
מ . . . . .	לא כתיב בריל[די]	39
מדעם לא . . . . .	או ל	40
לא דמיא . . . . .		41
ומעלן מכ . . . . .		42
ודי עמרא . . . . .	נא די אפק ד ///	43
תדמ[ר] . . . . .	מכנסא . . . . .	44
דיא . . . . .	מכסא למפקנא בתר	45
כות הוו ספון[ן] . . . . .	לא ע מדא אימליק[א]	46
[י]הוא פרע . . . . .	למפקא	47
משחא ב[שימא די] בזוקין די עז יהוא מכסא . . . . .		48
ברילדי בטעון די . . . . .		49

ii c.

(3-22 = Greek iv a 41-57.)

I כתב די טעא מכנס[א] . . . . . בן

each . . . this . . . <sup>36</sup> . . import . . . and 10 denarii, and export, 7 <sup>36</sup> . . whoever exports a slave-veteran <sup>37</sup> . . a reckoning . . . written in the law <sup>38</sup> . . pay 9 denarii <sup>39</sup> . . is not written, because <sup>40</sup> anything . . . <sup>41</sup> is not like . . . <sup>42</sup> and import . . . <sup>43</sup> and of wool . . . which he exports, 3 denarii. <sup>44</sup> Tadmor . . the tax . . she shall pay. The wool <sup>45</sup> of (?) . . the tax for export afterwards <sup>46</sup> as they have agreed . . Italian modius, <sup>47</sup> shall he pay . . to the exporters. <sup>48</sup> [Sweet] oil [which] is in goat-skins shall the tax-collector <sup>49</sup> . . because by mistakes in the

ii c.

<sup>1</sup> document which the tax-collector committed . . . <sup>2</sup> . . in



- 2 מן . . שו בנמוסא . חיפא ד פ — י
- 3 מכסא די קצבא אפי דנר חיב
- 4 למתחשבו היך די אף גרמנקום קיסר
- 5 באגרתא די כתב לסטטילס פשק די
- 6 הא כשר די . . מכסיא אפי אסר איטלקא
- 7 גבן ומדי גו מן דנר חיב מכסא היך
- 8 ערתא ע[ר]פן יהא גבא
- 9 פגרין די משתדן מכס לא חיבין
- 10 למעמתא הי בנמ[ו]סא למעונא אקימת
- 11 די יהוא מתג[ב]א דנר
- 12 מדי יהוא מ[תאעל] בר מן תחומא או מאפק
- 13 מן די מפק ל[קרי]א [או] מעל מן קריא
- 14 מכס לא חיב היך די אף הוו ספון
- 15 אסטרביליא ומדי דמא להון אתחזי די
- 16 לכל די עלל לחשבן תגרא יהוא מכסא
- 17 היך ליביש היך די הוא אף במדינתא

the ? law, 15 denarii. <sup>3</sup> The tax on slaughtered animals by the denarius must <sup>4</sup> be reckoned, as also Germanicus Caesar, <sup>5</sup> in the letter which he wrote to Statilius, explained that <sup>6</sup> it was indeed right that . . the taxes (should be) levied by the Italian assarius, <sup>7</sup> and what is under a denarius, the tax-collector must according to <sup>8</sup> custom levy in small coin. <sup>9</sup> Dead bodies which are thrown away are not liable to taxation. <sup>10</sup> As to victuals, it (is said) in the law: For a load I have ordained <sup>11</sup> that a denarius shall be levied, <sup>12</sup> whenever it shall be imported from without the borders, or exported; <sup>13</sup> whoever exports to the [villages or] imports from the villages <sup>14</sup> is not liable to taxation, as also they agreed. <sup>15</sup> Pine-cones and such-like, it seemed good that <sup>16</sup> for all that comes into the market the tax shall be <sup>17</sup> as for dry goods, as has been also

- אחרניתא 18  
 גמליא הן טעינין והן סריקין יהן 19  
 מתאעלין בר מן תחומא חיב כל 20  
 גמל דנר היך בנמוסא והיך די אשר 21  
 קרבולן כשירא באגרתא די כתב לברברס 22  
 על גלדיא די גמליא חסא .ן כפרו די מכס 23  
 לא גבן ס עשב[י]א . . . . ותא אתחזי די יהון 24  
 יהבין מכ[סא] בדילדי אית בהון תגרתא 25  
 מכסא די עלימתא היך די נמוסא מוחא פשקת 26  
 הו מכסא יג[בא מכ]סא מן עלימתא די שקלן דנר 27  
 או יתיר לאי[תא דנר]א והן חסיר תהוה שקלא 28  
 מדי הו[ת] שקלא יגבא מן צלמי נחשא אדרטיא 29  
 אתחזי די יתגבא היך [מן נח]שא ויהוא פרע צלם 30  
 בפלגות . . . וצלמין .ן טעון ס על מלחא 31  
 קש . . . [א]תחזי לי די באתר די דמס תהוא 32

(the rule) in <sup>18</sup> other cities. <sup>19</sup> Camels, whether they be brought in laden or empty <sup>20</sup> from without the borders, each camel is liable <sup>21</sup> for a denarius, as is in the law, and as <sup>22</sup> the excellent Corbulo established in the letter which he wrote to Barbarus <sup>23</sup> about the camel-skins ?? that they do not levy <sup>24</sup> a tax. Herbs . . . it seemed good that they should <sup>25</sup> pay the ta[x], because they are an article of merchandise. <sup>26</sup> The tax of female slaves, as I clearly (?) explained the law, <sup>27</sup> the said tax-collector shall le[vy the t]ax from female slaves who take a denarius <sup>28</sup> or more, for (each) wo[man a denari]us, and if she take less, <sup>29</sup> what she has taken [he shall levy. From] images of bronze, statues, <sup>30</sup> it seemed good that (the tax) be levied as [from bron]ze, and the image shall pay <sup>31</sup> half . . . and images . . . a load. For salt <sup>32</sup> . . . it seemed

מתזבנא באתר די מתכנשין ומן מן ת[גרא]	33
יזבן לחש[בנ]ה יהוא יהב למדיא אסר איטלקא	34
היך בנמוסא ואף מכסא [מ]לחא די הויא	35
בתדמר היך בה . . . . . אפי אסר יהוא	36
מתקבל ולמ[די]א יהוא מזבן היך עידא	37
..... [מכ]סא די ארגונא בדילדי	38
ק . . . . . ארבעא ופלג . . . . .	39
מלכין . . . . . ת וחיטא	40
ד די יהוא . . . . .	41
א . . . . . יהוא מתגבא	42
מכסא היך די נמ[וסא] . . . . . על ם למעלן שלחא	43
אסרין // אשב . . . . . [יג]בא ולממפקנא	44
למעזנא . . . . . [כות א]ף הוו ספון	45
ענא ת . ו . . . . . ה . . . . . מן תחומא פהן	46
א מכסא חיב או הן לגו מן . . . . .	47
על . . . . . מדיתא למגו מכס לא חיב	48
מ . . . . . [ח]נותא ומן די היך יהון הון	49

good to me that in the public place it be <sup>33</sup> sold, in the place where they assemble; and whoever of the merchants <sup>34</sup> shall buy (it) at its reckoning, he shall give for the modius an Italian assarius, <sup>35</sup> as is in the law, and also the tax of (?) the salt which is <sup>36</sup> in Tadmor, as . . . by the assarius it shall be <sup>37</sup> admitted, and by the mo[di]us it shall be sold, according to custom <sup>38</sup> . . . the [ta]x on purple, because <sup>39</sup> . . . four and a half . . . <sup>40</sup> . . . kings (?) . . . ? <sup>41</sup> . . . which shall be <sup>42</sup> . . . shall be levied, <sup>43</sup> the tax as the law . . . For import, skins (?) <sup>44</sup> 2 assarii . . . [he shall l]evy, and for export <sup>45</sup> ? . . . [as al]so they have agreed. <sup>46</sup> Sheep (?) . . . from the borders . . . <sup>47</sup> . . . the tax is liable, or if below <sup>48</sup> . . . the city, to shear, a tax is not liable <sup>49</sup> . . . the shop and because, as they shall

..... מנסא . . . . א היך בנמוסא דנר . . א . . . נא 50  
 מנסא לא יהוא מתגבא אלא ל .ן די יהוא מתאעל . . . .  
 [תד]מר אן יצבא מנסא יהוא

be (?)<sup>50</sup> . . . the tax . . . as in the law a denarius . . . the tax shall not be levied except . . shall be brought in . . [Tad]mor, if he wish, the tax shall be.

The most valuable commentaries on this inscription are those of Reckendorf, *ZDMG* xlii (1888) 370-415, and of Dessau, *Hermes* xix (1884) 486-533 (Gk. text). With this Tariff are to be compared the Gk. Tariff of Coptos A. D. 90, Hogarth in Flinders Petrie *Koptos* (1896) 27 ff., and the Lat. Tariff of Zarai, *CIL* viii 4508. The T. of Palmyra is that of a local *octroi*, the T. of Zarai refers to an imperial *douane* at the port, the T. of Coptos is distinct from both.

## i.

L. 1. דנמא די בולא The Senate promulgates this important decree (*δόγμα*) on its own account, without reference to Rome. The earlier tariff, however, of which this is only a readjustment, was in all essentials drawn up by the Roman authorities, see ii b 12. 15; c. 5. 22. בפלה־דרותא The office of *πρόεδρος*; ל is written instead of ר especially after פ, cf. the Talm. פלה־דרין and פרהדרין *προέδριον*, פלטרין *πραιτώριον* &c.

L. 2. גרמטיא The office of *γραμματεὺς*, גרמטוס 122 2 n. אלכסדרם with נ assimilated, cf. 146 4 n., but without the assimilation in 121 3; cf. סקלטיקא Vog. 21, but סנק' 125 2. ארכוניה *ἀρχοντες*, probably the same as *στρατηγοί* in 3rd cent. inscr.; see 121 2 n.

L. 3. 'Ολαιούς (gen.) = عَلَى. כד הות ונו' 132 1 n. נשא *βουλῆς νομίμου ἀγουμένης*. For מן נמוסא cf. מן עידא l. 5 &c. The vowel of the first syllable of נמוסא coming before the δ was prob. ὄ, as in Gk.; but in Syr. نَعْمَسَا, in Arab. كَامُوس. אִשְׁרַת ii c 21, Afel of שרר, Syr. شَرَّرَ lit. firmum fecit.

L. 4. מרי ii c 7. 27, מ א די 14, in Bibl. Aram. מָה דַי Dan. 2 28 &c., Talm. מה ד די 110 4 n. וּבְנֵיָא אֲרָמֵיָא *ἐν τοῖς πάλαι χρόνοις*. χροнос is mas., but ἡ πλειστάκις l. 6 is fem., 121 5 n. Distinguish between מַכְסָא *tax*, cf. מַכְסִים Num. 31 28, and מַכְסָא *tax-collector* l. 6 &c. אַבְדִּין Plur. of עבירתא 96 7, here in the sense of *articles* i.e. of merchandise. אֲשֵׁינִן Cf. 121 5 סניאן and שניאן. The adjct. absol. governing the accus., as often in Syr.; cf. מְלֵאִים פְּלִמּוּב Deut. 6 11.

L. 5. **לֹא אָפְסִי** Afel 3 plur. mas. from **סָלַק** *go up*, rather than Pual **אָפְסִי**. The subj. is indefinite, lit. *they did not bring (them) up* i. e. on to the tariff; Gk. οὐκ ἀνελήμφθη. **וְהָיוּ** or **וְהָיוּ** Perf. 3 plur. mas., although used with a fem. subj. **עֲבִידִין**, a grammatical solecism. **מִתְּיָבֵינָן** Mas., if it is to agree formally with **וְהָיוּ**, but **מִתְּיָבֵינָן** if it is to be of the same gender as **עֲבִידִין**. The pass. construction is used elsewhere with this vb., e. g. ii c 11. 42. 50; **נָבֵא** = *collect, exact tribute*. **מִן עֵינָא** *by custom*, **חֲבִיב**. The expression is varied, thus **בְּעֵידָא** . . היך l. 6. **דִּיא** ii c 37. **הֵיך עֵרְתָא** ii b 4. **דִּי** Lit. *at the rate of anything which*; **מִדְעֵמָא** l. 8 (see note). **תְּיָבֵינָא**  $\mu\sigma\theta\omega\sigma\epsilon\iota$  = **אֲנִיָּא** l. 8. **אֲנִר**, **אֲנִר** = *to hire*, of taxes to collect, **אֲנִרָא** ii b 15, **אֲנִרָא** l. 11 *the contractor*. In Palmyra, as elsewhere in the Rom. empire, the taxes were not collected by state officials, but by persons who entered into a contract to raise them. As a self-governing state within the empire, Palmyra was allowed to levy its own taxes and reap the profits. In the same way subject kings and tetrarchs levied taxes within their territories, e. g. Herod Antipas in Galilee, Mt. 9 9 &c.; see Schürer *Gesch.*<sup>3</sup> i 475 ff. In the Gk. version the collector is called  $\delta$   $\tau\epsilon\lambda\omega\omega\acute{\nu}$  l. 6.  $\delta$   $\mu\sigma\theta\omega\sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  10. 13.  $\tau\epsilon\lambda\omega\acute{\nu}\eta\varsigma$  iv a 20 &c.  $\mu\sigma\theta\omega\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  iii c 46.  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\sigma\iota\omega\acute{\nu}\eta\varsigma$  iii a 9; cf.  $\mu\sigma\theta\omega\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}$  in the T. of Coptos l. 2.

L. 6. **מִכְסָא** This system of farming out the taxes naturally led to abuses. The *publicani* were notorious for their extortions and dishonesty, e. g. Lk. 3 12 f. 19 8 &c. In the Talm. the **מוֹכְסִין** appear in a very unfavourable light, e. g. *Baba Qama* 113 a; for a typical instance of injustice at Askelon in the time of Ptolemy Euergetes see Jos. *Ant.* xii 4. 5. The absence of any fixed scheme of rates was a fruitful source of disputes, as at Coptos, Hogarth l. c. 28. In the promulgation of this tariff at Palmyra we have a rare instance of an attempt to deal with abuses by cancelling the loose system of taxation 'by custom,' and specifying fixed rates in detail; cf. Tacitus *Ann.* xiii 50. 51. **וְהָיוּ נָבֵא** The subj. is the preceding **מִכְסָא**. **מִטְּלֹחַת** 121 6 n. **צְבִיבָתָא** 110 4 n.

L. 7. **פְּרִיבָנִין** or **פְּרִיבָנִין** from **פְּרִיבָנִין** *to scold, dispute*. In the Targ. **פְּרִיבָנִין** is an adj. (Barth *Nominalb.* § 207 d), and the noun is **פְּרִיבָנִיתָא**, **פְּרִיבָנִיתָא**. **תְּיָבֵינָא** ii c 16. 113 3 n. **אֲתַחֲוִי** Elsewhere the construction is **דִּי אֲתַחֲוִי** ii c 24. 30; so here **דִּי** ought to be followed immediately by the verb, **וְעֵשְׂרָא** *and ten*, as in the Gk.  $\delta\epsilon\delta\acute{o}\chi\theta\alpha\iota$  τοὺς ἐνεστῶτας ἀρχοντας καὶ δεκαπρώτους διακρῆνοντας (Reckendorf 397). As it stands **דִּי** can only be rendered as the gen. sign. **עֵשְׂרָא** Emph. st. of **עֵשְׂרָא**; numbers denoting a company or college take this form in Syr., e. g. **ܐܠܝܫܘܘܢܝܢ** *the Twelve* (Nöld. *Syr.*

Gr. § 151). The *δεκάπρωτοι* *decemprimi* were specially concerned with the revenue.

L. 8. *יבנון* Af. impf. of *בין*, i. e. *יְבִינוּן* lit. *cause to understand*. *מַסַּךְ* Af. ptc. pass., rather than a ptc. Hofal, *τὰ μὴ ἀνελλημμένα*; the pass. ptc. (*קָטִיל*) in the Aram. dialects is frequently used of past time, especially in Syr. and in the Talm., e. g. *סִבְחָה גֵּעָרָא* *געגראפטא*: Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* § 278 a, Dalman *Gr.* 231. Other instances of the pass. ptc. in the Tariff are *מְבַטֵּל* (not *מְבַטֵּל*) l. 10. *מֵאֲפֵק* (not *מֵאֲפֵק*) ii c 12. *נְבִי* l. 13. *נְבִי* ii c 7. *וּיְכַתֵּב* The pass. of the tenses is normally expressed by the reflexive stems in the Aram. dialects, hence we should prob. point *יְכַתֵּב* Ethpeel (cf. *מְחַתֵּב* l. 5), and, with the same assimilation of *ח* (*ך*), *יְבִינוּן* Ethpa. ii a 4 &c., (*מְבִינוּן* (or *מְבִינוּן* Pael ptc. pass.) ii c 37 (cf. *מְחֻבְנָא* ii c 33); see Duval *Rev. Ét. Juiv.* viii 57-63. Others, however, such as Sachau *ZDMG* xxxvii 562 ff., Wright *Comp. Gr.* 225, regard *יְכַתֵּב* and the ptcps. in the note preceding as Hofal or Pual forms, *יְכַתֵּב* &c., on the analogy of Hofal forms in Bibl. Aram., e. g. *הִתְחַנְּתָה*, *הִתְחַנְּתָה* Dan. 4 33 &c. But, as Duval points out, these forms are artificially modelled upon the Hebrew, and prob. were never used in actual speech, certainly not in the vulgar dialect of Palmyra. Moreover in Bibl. Aram. these forms were only used for the *Perf.* 3 pers.; for the impf. and for the other persons the reflexive is employed to express the passive. Duval further tries to explain *אֲשֶׁר* and *כְּתַב* l. 9 as passives, but in spite of the difficulty of the construction it is better to treat them as actives. *אֲשֶׁר אֲגִידָא* l. 5 n. 84 3 n. *לְמַדְעֵמָא מו' ἐκάστω εἶδει*; see 75 2 n.

L. 9. *וּמְדֵי אֲשֶׁר לָא וְכַתֵּב* The Gk. has *καὶ ἐπειδὴν κυρωθῆ τῷ μισθομένῳ, ἐνγραφῆναι*. This, however, is not the strict meaning of the Palm. *מְדֵי* may = *when*, e. g. ii c 12, like the Syr. *ܩܘܠܐܘܢܐ* *whenever*, but elsewhere it = *that which*, e. g. l. 4. The two verbs must be taken as active, *אֲשֶׁר* Afel of *שָׂרַר* (not Ofal, see above), and since *כְּתַב* cannot be pronounced as Ethpeel, it must be Peal; the verbs may be either 3 plur. defectively written (113 3 n.), or 3 sing. with 'the Council' understood as the subject. The perf. *וְכַתֵּב* cannot = *and that they should write*; this would require *וּיְכַתֵּב* or *יְכַתֵּב*; the latter is read by Bevan, correcting the text, *Daniel* 215. *בְּנִלְלָא* Lit. *a round*, so generally of drafted stone, e. g. *אֲבָן נְלִלָא* *Ezr.* 5 8. 6 4; the Gk. has *στήλη*.

L. 10. *הִיבְלָא* *ἱεροῦ*. *רַב אֲסִירָא* *Ραβασείρη*, apparently a divine name (p. 198). Both the Palm. and the Gk. texts imply that the new tariff was to be exhibited not merely in the same place but on the same stone as the old. Hence it ought to be possible to compare the new with the old, point by point; but the fragmentary state of

both texts renders this difficult, the more so as we cannot tell for certain where the new ends and the old begins. The new code appears to extend from ii a 1 to ii b 12; it is not unlikely, as Reckendorf argues, that the old code begins at ii b 13, which R. restores תרמר די תרמר [מכ די מוסא די מוסא]; references to it are found in ii b 15. 28. 37. 49. c 1 f. 19 ff. The following table gives such comparisons as can be made out:

<i>Old Tariff</i>	<i>New Tariff</i>
Slaves ii b 30-36.	ii a 1-5.
Sweet-oil b 48-49.	a 12-21. 45.
Victuals c 10-14.	b 9-10.
Camels c 19-22.	b 11.
Women c 26-29.	a 46-b 2.
Purple c 38.	a 10.

מבביל Pael ptcp. pass., ἐπιμελείσθαι τοὺς ἄρχοντας. The ptcp. is used impersonally with ו and pers. pron. in the sense *it concerns*, ו חבב; this construction is frequent in Aram. די די The ptcp. used of the future. כחבב וכחבב Cf. Jn. 5 4 זבב.

L. 11. סודקיא συνδίκους. For the assimilation of נ cf. 146 4 n. זבב Peal ptcp.

L. 12. טעון γόμος, a *qafll* form like לבושא; in Syr. זבב load, freight, Targ. זבב. קרם καρρικός = *carrus*. זבב Here an adj.; in Syr. זבב = *whosoever, as often as*; in Palest. Aram. כלום = כל מה = *something, anything*, in questions and after negatives, Dalman *Gr.* 90. זבב A camel-load = about 6 cwt.

L. 13. זבב Peal ptcp. pass., ii c 7 זבב, cf. in Bibl. Aram. זבב Dan. 2 30. זבב Ezr. 4 18.

## ii.

זבב, λιμένα accus. of λιμὴν *portus*, 'custom-house.' זבב See p. 263 and 146 3 n.

## a.

L. 1. זבב Afel ptcp. plur. constr. from עלל *enter*, in the Tariff with the meaning *to import*, εισάγειν, εισκομίζειν, as opposed to זבב Afel from זבב, *to export*, ἐκκομίζειν. זבב Lit. *youths*, i. e. slaves, παῖδας, cf. זבב 1 S. 20 22; Targ. זבב, fem. זבב; Syr. זבב, זבב. The fem. plur. זבב = *harlots*. זבב Ettafal ptcp.

L. 2. זבב Plur. with suff., ii b 14. זבב, τὰ ὄρια; sing. תחומא. זבב l. 5, plur. ii b 30 זבב = Arab. زجل *a man*; ἐκάστων

σώματος iii a 8. 7 is the initial of דנר δηνάριον (represented in the Gk. by ⋈), originally, as its name implies, the equivalent in silver of ten copper asses. Its value at this period was 4 sestertii (ii b 21) or 16 asses, i. e. about  $9\frac{1}{2}d$ . Government dues and official payments were calculated on the Roman denarius-as system, see ii c 3 ff.; Kennedy *DB* iii 429.

L. 3. מַפְקָאָא Emph. st. of מַפְקֹן b 16 *export*, as opposed to מַעְלָן, מַעְלָאָא *import*.

L. 4. עלם וטרן b 33. 36 = the Roman *mancipia veterana*, a class of slaves, distinguished from *mancipia novicia*, who by Roman law were not only free from taxation, but did not need to be 'declared.' Contrary to the usual practice, at Palmyra these slaves were sold; Dessau l. c. 505. יַזַּן b 6 Ethpa.; see i 8 n.

L. 5. וְבוּנָא Cf. אַגְוָרָא i 11.

L. 6. הוּ ii c 27 ὁ αὐτός = Syr. ܫܘܿܢܘܿܬܐ, which frequently comes to be used merely as a rendering of the Gk. article; Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* 173.

L. 9. מַעֲוֹן חֲמֹרָא γόμος ὄνικός = half a camel-load.

L. 10. מְלֻבָּא אַרְגָּמָנָא πορφύρας μηλωτής, i. e. wool died with purple; the form אַרְגָּמָנָא occurs in Dan. 5 7 &c., Syr. ܟܘܿܠܘܿܬܐ. In the old law, ii c 38, 'purple' alone is mentioned, without details. מְשֻׁבָּא = [δέριμα]τος iii a 16 f.

L. 11. אַסְרִין Plur. of אַסְרָא l. 41 ἀσσάριον Mt. 10 29. Lk. 12 6, Mishnah אַסְרָא, Syr. ܟܘܿܠܘܿܬܐ = *assarius*, a by-form of *as*, but apparently not of the same value. For the *as* was  $\frac{1}{16}$ th of a denarius (supr.); while the *assarion* was  $\frac{1}{24}$ th of a silver denarius, according to the Mishnah, e. g. אַחַד הַאִסְרָא וְאַרְבַּעָה בְּרִינָא כַּסְפָּא Talm. Jer. *Qiddushin* 58 d. In the 2nd cent., therefore, there was a considerable difference in value between the Hellenistic *assarion* and the official Roman *as*, which in this inscr. is called אַסְרָא אִיטְלִיקָא ii c 6. 34; see Schürer *Gesch.*³ ii 54, Kennedy, l. c.

L. 12. מְשֻׁבָּא בְּשֻׁימָא ii b 48 f. μύρον, oil for anointing, distinguished from מְשֻׁחָא l. 22 *oil*; cf. Lk. 7 46 מְשֻׁחָא ἔλαιον and מְשֻׁבָּא מְשֻׁחָא μύρον.

L. 13. בְּשֻׁבָּא אַלְבָּא [τοῦ ἐν ἀλαβάστῳ]τροις; cf. Mt. 26 7 מְשֻׁבָּא אַלְבָּא ἄλαβαστρον μύρου.

L. 17. עֵן בְּיָקִין דִּי עֵן ἐν ἀσκόις αἰγείοις. יָקִין, sing. יָקִיָּא, is fem.; בְּיָקִין l. 25.

L. 19. בְּשֻׁבָּא בְּשֻׁבָּא Perhaps rather בְּשֻׁבָּא mas.

L. 22. מְשֻׁחָא דִּי מְשֻׁחָא עֵן בְּשֻׁבָּא γόμου ἐλεηροῦ iii a 32.

L. 26. אַלְבָּא אַלְבָּא An error for אַלְבָּא.

L. 28. דְּהָנָא Syr. ܟܘܿܠܘܿܬܐ, Targ. דְּהָנָא and דְּהָנָא *fatness*, Arab. دُهْن *fat*.





L. 9. חטא Syr. ܡܫܘܚܐ, Targ. ܚܫ׳׳ן. Possibly here the word is plur. ܚܫ׳׳א.

L. 10. מדי here includes the relat., *that which*, ii c 29. The old law corresponding to ll. 9. 10 appears to be given in ii c 10-14.

L. 11. כרי יתאי על i. e.  $\delta\varsigma$  (= די with the subjunct.)  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\chi\theta\eta\eta$  iii b 44. In the old law the tax was charged on laden and unladen camels (ii c 19-22), in the new only on the latter, because for a laden camel the tax was charged on the freight; cf. ii a 32 n.

L. 12. קלקים Kιλιξ, prob. an imperial chief commissioner of taxes in the province of Syria. The final ξ is divided and the vowel transposed; Reckendorf compares ܦܫܘܪܝܐ =  $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\sigma\rho\iota\alpha$  in the Midrash R. בר חרי 97 i n. 135 5.

L. 15. אגר Prob. 3 plur. m.; cf. i 9 n.

L. 19. Before באסרא perhaps ܥܘܢܝܢ l. 20, Reckendorf. מדיא  
l. 21 מדיא = *modius*. קסטון =  $\kappa\acute{o}\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$  a root used as spice, Syr. ܡܫܘܚܐ, also, as here, ܡܫܘܚܐ.

L. 20. עשר ושת 81 9 n. The thing numbered must have been fem.

L. 21. ססטרטין Plur. of ססטרטא.

L. 22. מלח  $\delta\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ , see the regulations of Corbulo ii c 31-37. For the salt-tax cf. 1 Macc. 10 29  $\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\tau\iota\mu\eta\varsigma$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ . 11 35. There are salt-lakes in the neighbourhood of Palmyra.

L. 23. ܗܘܝܢܝܢ From the Gk. Παλμυρη[ν]ών iii c 23. יבילנה  
Afel impf. 3 sing. m. of בול, with nun energetic, παραμετρησάτω ib.; the Syr. form is ܘܝܢܝܢ. The lacuna following may be supplied ܘܝܢܝܢ  
[ܘܝܢܝܢ] ܘܝܢܝܢ iii c 24.

L. 25. ܗܫܝܒܢ l. 37. ii c 16. 34, cf. ii c 4; Syr. ܘܫܝܒܢ. בני  
The form is uncertain.

L. 29. ܡܫܘܚܐ Ethpeel ptc., lit. *binding himself to, associating*; in Syr. the reflexive takes the form ܘܫܘܚܐ, act. ܘܫܘܚܐ, Duval *Gr.* Syr. 81 f.

L. 30. פרע Peal ptc.; cf. fem. פרעא l. 44. רגלין ii a 2 n.

L. 33. עלם וטרן ii a 4 n.

L. 43. ܘܫܘܚܐ,  $\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\upsilon\upsilon$  iv a 27.

L. 45. ܘܫܘܚܐ =  $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\alpha\gamma[\acute{o}\nu\tau\omega]ν$   $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\upsilon$   $\upsilon\sigma\tau[ε\rho\upsilon\upsilon$   $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon]$   $\epsilon\phi\omega\upsilon\eta\theta\eta$  (ܘܫܘܚܐ ܘܫܘܚܐ) iv a 34 f. ܘܫܘܚܐ, from ܘܫܘܚܐ and ܘܫܘܚܐ place, is a prepos.; the Gk., however, suggests an advb. Lidzb. takes ܘܫܘܚܐ together, *after that*.

L. 46. ספון c 14. 45 =  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\mu\phi\omega\upsilon\iota$ , cf. Dan. 3 10 ספיניה =  $\sigma\upsilon\mu\phi\omega\upsilon\iota\alpha$ .

L. 47. ܘܫܘܚܐ Afel ptc. plur. mas. =  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\alpha\gamma\acute{o}[ν\tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon]$  iv a 35; for the plur. ending cf. תגרא i 7 n.

L. 49. ܘܫܘܚܐ.

## ii c.

L. 2. חִיפֵא or צִיפֵא. The Gk. has [ἐν τῷ] ἐσφραγισμένῳ νόμῳ.

L. 3. קַצֵּבֵא In Syr. ܩܘܒܐ = slaughterer; τὸ τοῦ σφάκτρον τέλος iv a 41. אִפֵּי דִנְרָא אִפֵּי דִנְרָא eis δηνάριον iv a 41, cf. אִפֵּי אִפֵּר l. 6. πρὸς ἀσάριον iv a 43; in Syr. אִפֵּי is preceded by a prepos., e. g. ܐܢܝܢܐ. See ii a 2 n.

L. 4. לְמַחְשְׁבֵי The inf. ending as in Syr.; cf. the infin. ending ܐܬ in Bibl. Aram., e. g. הִתְנַדְּבִיתָ Ezr. 7 16. לְחֹרְעֵיתִי Dan. 4 15 ('binding forms'), and in Targ., Dalm. Gr. 228. Germanicus Caesar, the nephew and adopted heir of Tiberius, was sent on a special mission to the East, A. D. 17-19, with command of all the provinces beyond the Hellespont. During his administration he succeeded in establishing excellent relations, in which no doubt Palmyra was interested, between the Roman and the Parthian powers. Statilius, like Barbarus l. 22, was prob. an imperial procurator of the province of Syria; cf. b 12 n.

L. 5. פֶּשֶׁק l. 26, Pael ܦܫܩ exposuit.

L. 6. הָא, like the enclitic ܐܘܟ in Syr., is here used to give emphasis; cf. the use of הוּ in Vog. 36 b בית עלמא די הוּ יקר בית עלמא this monument which is a tomb of honour; also הִי in l. 10 למעמתא הִי. אסר איטלקא See i 11 n.

L. 7. ܩܒܐ Peal ptc. pass. plur., agreeing with מִכְסֵיָא l. 6 which was prob. preceded by ܐܢܝܢ. ܩܒܐ εντός iv a 44, lit. within. In other dialects ܩܒܐ usually takes a prep., e. g. ܩܒܐ &c.; cf. אִפֵּי l. 3 n., and ܒܪ outside l. 12 = Syr. ܒܪܝܢ. In l. 47, however, we find ܩܒܐ ܩܒܐ.

L. 8. ܩܪܦܢ ܩܪܦܢ kέρμα iv a 45, cf. Jn. 2 15 ܩܪܦܢܐ = τὰ κέρματα. Here ܩܪܦܢ is the small copper coinage struck locally; for higher values the imperial coinage was used. ܩܪܦܢܐ = ܩܪܦܢܐ.

L. 9. פֶּנְרִין The Gk. has τῶ[ν δὲ] διὰ τὸ νεκρимаῖα εἶναι βριπτουμένων iv a 45 f. The reference is to the bodies of old or sick animals which could not be brought to the slaughter-house. מִשְׁתַּרְתֵּן Ethpe. ptc. of שֶׂדֶא.

L. 10. לְמַעְמַתָא τῶν βρωτῶν, Syr. ܩܘܒܐ or ܩܘܒܐ taste, a repast. אִקִּימַת Af. pf. 1 sing.

L. 12. מִדִּי = מִדִּי מִדִּי i 9 n., ܕܩܘܒܐ iv a 48. מִדִּי Afel ptc. pass.; as a rule the ܐ is not retained in this form. מִדִּי Sing., or מִדִּי plur., cf. l. 7 n.

L. 13. מִדִּי = מִדִּי. מִדִּי = מִדִּי plur., eis χωρία iv a 49.

L. 15. אִסְטְרִבִּילֵיָא = στρόβιλοι, here = κώνον iv a 51; the kernel of

the fir-cone is still esteemed in Syria as an article of food. The 'similar' fruits would prob. be nuts and almonds.

L. 16. עֵלֶל For the uncontracted form cf. עֵלְלִין Dan. 4 4 &c. Kt., עֵלְלִין Qeri. חֲשֵׁשִׁין Dan. 4 9; similarly in Talm. עֵלְלִין, חֲשֵׁשִׁין &c., Dalman *Gr.* 274. This form is specially common in the case of עֵלֶל. לְחֵשֶׁן תְּנִירָא Lit. *everything that enters into the reckoning of the merchants*, ὄσα εἰς ἔμπορεῖαν φέρεται iv a 52.

L. 17. יְבִישׁ Syr. بَشَم, ξηρόφορον; cf. ii a 6.

L. 19. סְרִיקִין See ii b 11 n.

L. 22. קַרְבְּלוֹן The famous Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo, consular legate of Cappadocia and afterwards of Syria A. D. 57-66, in the reign of Nero. קְשִׁירָא = κράτιστος as a title.

L. 23. גְּלִיָּיָא Syr. جِلْد, Arab. جِلْد skin, once in Hebr., Job 16 15; perhaps the camel-hides used for packing merchandise. עַל . . . דִּי Prob. אתחוי intervened, as דִּי implies; cf. l. 31 f.

L. 24. Reckendorf proposes [דִּי אֶסְ]תָּא [עֵשֶׁב־גַּי] herbs of the physicians; cf. *Baba Bath.* 74 b הוּא עֵיִשְׁבָּא סְמִתְרִי הוּא that herb serves for plaisters.

L. 26. עֵלְמָתָא εἰταρῶν iv b 5; cf. ii a 46-b 2. נְמוּסָא Perhaps an error for בְּנְמוּסָא. מוּחָא Nöld. conjectures מְחֻנָּא Afel ptc. showing, as a correction.

L. 29. אֲדִרְטָיָא ἀνδρίαντες, Syr. اَدْرِتَايَا, Targ. אֲדִרְטָא idol. The word here is a further description of צְלָמֵי נִחְשָׁא.

L. 31. בְּפִלְגֻנֹת l. 39. The word is perhaps incomplete; ? ו for ב.

L. 34. לְמִדְיָא אִסְרָא The price seems too small; perhaps it is the amount of the tax, not the cost of a bushel of salt.

L. 35. הָוִיָּא Ptcp. fem.

L. 38. אֲרִינֻנָא See a 10.

L. 43. שְׁלַחָא The rendering is uncertain, honey-comb or skin—the Syr. مَحْسَل has both meanings; or weapons, Targ. שְׁלַחָא, Arab. سِلَاح, Hebr. שְׁלַח.

## JEWISH

148 A. Benê Hēzîr. Chwolson 6. Circ. i cent. B. C. In situ.

1	זה קבר והמש[כ]ב לאלעזר חניה יועזר יהודה שמעון [י] יוחנן
2	בני ים . . . . . ב . . . . . ף ואלעזר בני חניה
3	מבני חזיר . . . . .

This is the tomb and resting-place of Eli'azar, Hānniah, Yô'azar, Yehudah, Simeon, Yôḥanan, sons of . . . . . and Eli'azar, sons of Hānniah . . . of the sons of Hēzîr.

This inscr. is written over the entrance of the so-called Tomb of St. James at the foot of the Mt. of Olives, opposite the SE. angle of the Temple-area. The writing exhibits a form of Hebrew which is advancing towards the square character. Thus א, ה, ל, ע, ר are very near to their later forms; ב, ד, פ still resemble the Nab. and Palm. types; ו and ז are indistinguishable; נ has a final form, and when י follows joins on to it with a ligature; in the case of בני all three letters are thus united; cf. the use of the ligature in Palm. The form of י is peculiar, ך; this is different from the Nab. and Palm. forms, and resembles the archaic ʾ, without the two lower strokes. A somewhat similar י appears in Jewish ossuaria. Facsimiles of this and the following inscr. are given by Driver *Samuel* xxiii and xxv.

L. 1. Chwolson, *Corp. Inscr. Hebr.* 66, supplies the art. before קבר, following de Vogüé; the facsimile shows no trace of it. If the art. is written with משכב, as appears to be the case in spite of Lidzb.'s text (p. 485), it is required with קבר. The reading משכב is not quite certain; the last letter looks more like ד or ר than ב; for the word see 4 8 n.

L. 2. Chwolson reads בני יוסף בן . . . ב . . . [וליון]סף. But יוסף is very doubtful; the fifth letter may be ס, it is certainly not ו.

L. 3. בני חזיר In 1 Chr. 24 15 חזיר is the ancestor of a priestly family, in Neh. 10 21 חזיר is one of the ראשי העם. It is not unlikely that the persons mentioned in the inscr. belonged to the priestly family of Hēzîr; de Vogüé conjectures further that Simeon, Yô'azar, and Eli'azar were the high-priests of the same names, belonging to the family of Boethos, who held office in B. C. 24-5, 4, and 4 ff., respectively

(Schürer *Gesch.*<sup>3</sup> ii 217). The tomb is an imposing one, with an architectural façade in the Gk. style. It may be dated in the 1st cent. B.C. or A.D.; most probably it was executed in the reign of Herod the Gt. It cannot be later than A.D. 70, for a tomb on such a scale could not have been designed after the destruction of Jerusalem. The evidence of the writing is not decisive, but Meyer considers that it points to a date earlier than the 1st cent. B.C., *Entsteh. d. Judenth.* 143.

B. Kefr Bir'im. Chwolson 17. ii or iii cent. A.D. In situ.

יהי שלום במקום הזה ובכל מקומות ישראל יוסה הלוי בן  
לוי עשה השקוף הזה תבא ברכה במעיוש.

Peace be upon this place and upon all the places of Israel! Yôseh the Levite, son of Levi, made this lintel. May a blessing come upon his works!

This inscr. is written over the door of a ruined synagogue at Kefr Bir'im, a village near Şafed in Galilee. The writing has a more finished and formed character than that of A; it is obviously later. The architectural style of the ruins perhaps belongs to the 2nd half of the 2nd cent. A.D. (Renan); Lidzb., however, suggests the 4th cent. (*Jewish Ency.* i 444). The  $\aleph$  has a form which is characteristic of later inscr., with the left limb descending perpendicularly. The  $\eta$  and  $\iota$  are mere strokes, and only differ in the slight slope of  $\eta$  to the left. The  $\dagger$  has a short stroke to the right,  $\wedge$ ;  $\text{פ}$  takes a final form  $\uparrow$ . It is to be noticed that the *scriptio plena* is employed throughout.

This form, a diminutive of יוסה, occurs in the recently discovered Hebr. mosaic at Kefr Kenna in Galilee, Lidzb. *Eph.* i 314; it appears also in the Jer. Talm. יוסה and יוסה, otherwise usually יוסי; in the Bab. Talm. יוסה. The form seems to be Palestinian. שקוף = the O.T. משקוף Ex. 12 7. 22 f. מעיוש The stone-cutter left out the  $\text{ש}$  after  $\text{ע}$  and then added it to the end of the word. After  $\text{ש}$  is a perpendicular stroke, the meaning of which is not evident.

שקוף  
look  
שקוף  
ש  
ש  
ש

# ARAMAIC, PHOENICIAN, AND JEWISH COINS

149 A 1-6. **Aramaic Coins: Tarsus.** iv cent. B. C. Brit. Mus.  
Plate IX A 1-6.

The coins nos. 1-6 were struck in Cilicia. The legend בעלתרו connects them with Tarsus, the most important city of the province, and under the Persian empire a great military and naval depot. This money was issued by Persian satraps, not as governors for the use of their provinces, but as military commanders for the payment of their troops when occasion required. Thus, for example, after the occupation of Cyzicus in 410, Pharnabazus gave his soldiers two months' pay and large sums to the chiefs of the allied fleet (Xen. *Hellen.* i. 24-26). Besides the satraps on special occasions, various towns and petty dynasties who acknowledged the suzerainty of Persia, all of them, it is to be noticed, near the shores of the Mediterranean, were allowed to coin money of their own (e. g. B 1-3. 5-7. 9. 10. 13); and this local money was current simultaneously with the imperial coinage. See Babelon *Pers. Ach.* xxii f.

## A 1.

Tarsus.

*Æ. Obv.* בעלתרו *Ba'al of Tarsus.* Type: the god seated on the diphros, wearing the himation over the left shoulder and about the lower limbs, his right hand resting on a sceptre: linear circle.

*Rev.* כלך פרנבז *Cilicia, Pharnabazus.* Type: a bearded male head wearing a crested Athenian helmet, perhaps the head of Ares: linear circle. Persian stater. Hill *Brit. Mus. Catal. of Gk. coins of Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia* (1900), p. 165, no. 21; Babelon *PA* no. 169.

For the term בעלתרו see 5 18 n. Pharnabazus belonged to an Iranian family which was closely connected with Hellespontine Phrygia, and produced the satraps who governed this province; he succeeded his father Pharnacus in 413 B. C. Outside his own province, in Cilicia, he conducted military operations at three periods, B. C. 398-394, 391-389, 379-374, to the last of which his coins are generally assigned. After years of preparation (391-389), the expedition against Egypt took place; Pharnabazus had for his colleague in the

command Datames (nos. 2-4), who afterwards succeeded him, and this association accounts for the close similarity between the coins of the two satraps. Pharnabazus appears to have introduced the remarkable types of the heads of Ares (?) and Arethusa (no. 2). פֶּרְנַבּוּז is a Persian name, cf. תְּרִיבּוּז (Hill l.c. 164, no. 12); the final ץ is explained by Marquart, *Philologus* liv 494 Anm. 35, as the vulgar-Persian ending of the genitive from which the normal ֶס has fallen away, *Farnabāzō* being = *Frana(h)bāzauš*. Instead of חֶלֶךְ some of the coins have חֶלֶךְ (never on the coins of Datames); for the interchange of כ and ח cf. אֶתְנָנוּ and אֶתְנִי, קֶרֶיץ and קֶרֶיץ & c. (König *Lehrg.* ii 458).

The Carpentras stele 75 affords the nearest parallel to the Aram. characters on coins 1-6.

Tarsus.

A 2.

*Æ. Obv.* Type: head of Arethusa with streaming hair and fillet, wearing earrings and necklace: circle of dots.

*Rev.* תַּרְדָּמוּ *Tardamu*. Type: as no. 1, with circle of dots.

Persian stater. Hill l.c. 167, no. 30; *PA* no. 183.

The *obv.* type is found also on coins of Pharnabazus; it was copied from the famous Arethusa coins of Kimon of Syracuse (see Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* 106 f.). The reading of the satrap's name is not certain, owing to the similarity of ד and ר; it may be תַּרְדָּמוּ or תַּרְדָּמוּ. The satrap belonged to a Karian family, and *Tardamū* was probably the original form of his name in Karian, with the ending *amū* as in Παναμύης, Ἐξαμύης; the Gk. form *Δαράμης*, well known from the historians, probably represents the Iranian pronunciation of the name (Marquart l.c. 493)<sup>1</sup>. Datames succeeded (circ. 386) his father Kamissares in the satrapy which comprised 'partem Ciliciae juxta Cappadociam quam incolunt Leucosyri' (Corn. Nep. *Dat.* i, corrected by Meyer to 'partem Cappadociae juxta Ciliciam,' *PA* xxxix). His coins were struck in Cilicia in 378, under the same circumstances and in the same mints as those of Pharnabazus, at the time when the troops of the Great King were being equipped for the expedition against Egypt. Datames succeeded Pharnabazus in the command of this war. In 369 he laid siege to Sinope, and struck coins of Sinopean type with the legend ΔΑΤΑΜΑ (*PA* no. 200; Bevan *House of Seleucus* i 80. 82). After taking part in the great revolt of the satraps in 362, he was assassinated towards the close of the same year.

<sup>1</sup> For other explanations see Hill l. c. lxxix; Babelon *PA* xxxviii.



Tarsus.

A 3.

*R. Obv.* בעלתרוז Type: Ba'al of Tarsus seated on the diphros to right, wearing the himation about the lower limbs; his right hand holds a sceptre surmounted by an eagle with spread wings, his left an ear of corn and a bunch of grapes; beside him is the thymiaterion; below the diphros a lotus flower: the whole enclosed by a circle with projections.

*Rev.* תרדמו Type: the satrap Tardamu wearing the Persian head-dress, an under-garment with sleeves, a cloak, and Persian trousers; on his knees is a quiver; he holds in both hands an arrow, which he examines; before him is a bow, and in the field above the winged disk of Ormuzd: circle of dots. Persian stater. Hill l.c. 167, no. 32; *PA* no. 187.

The *obv.* type is meant to suggest that the god is seated in his temple, the projections round the circle being intended to represent columns. The *rev.* type indicates that the satrap is preparing for the campaign against Egypt.

Tarsus.

A 4.

*R. Obv.* בעלתרוז Type: as in 3, but the face and upper part of the body are turned to the front, and the diphros is seen in three-quarters view: circle as in 3.

*Rev.* תרדמו Type: the satrap Tardamu on the right, with his name in front, wearing a long chiton and himation, his right hand raised before his face in the attitude of adoration. On the left the figure of Ana, his right hand pointed towards Tardamu, the left lowered; the name אנה, not visible in this specimen, is usually written behind; between them the thymiaterion: the whole enclosed by a linear square, bordered with dots on the top and two sides, with antefixa along the top. Persian stater. Hill l.c. 168, no. 35; *PA* no. 193.

The *rev.* type is variously interpreted. The two figures are evidently in a temple; Babelon takes them to be two deities, Ba'al of Tarsus on the right, Ana on the left. But the figure on the right is represented in the act of adoration, like Yehaw-milk in 3, and the name in front seems to signify that this is the satrap (Hill l.c. lxxx). Nothing is known of the god אנה; it is not probable that he is the Assyr. Anu.

Tarsus.

A 5.

Æ. *Obv.* בעלהרו Type: as in 1, but here the god holds in his right hand an ear of corn and a bunch of grapes, his left rests upon a lotus-headed sceptre; under the diphros the ringed cross.

*Rev.* מודי *Mazdai.* Type: lion attacking stag; the whole within a sunken square. Persian stater. Hill l. c. 169, no. 38; PA no. 201.

The *rev.* type is borrowed from Cyprus; it was the regular emblem of Kition (B 2. 3. 5. 6), and was probably adopted by Mazaeus at the time of the expedition which aimed at restoring Eyagoras ii to the throne of Salamis (Diod. xvi 42), and probably used Kition as a convenient basis of operations (Hill l. c. lxxxii). Although Mazaeus is not mentioned in connexion with this war, yet he may have directed it and supplied the funds, for Cyprus belonged to the same satrapy as Phoenicia, where he was engaged in putting down a rebellion. It is to be noticed that the sunken square is also characteristic of the coinage of Cyprus, cf. B 1-7. Mazaeus was the greatest of the western satraps; he governed Cilicia from 361 to 333, and united under his rule Cilicia, Syria and Mesopotamia. The disastrous battle of Arbela, which gave to Alexander the empire of the Persian kings, only brought Mazaeus fresh advancement; he threw himself into Babylon with the wreck of his forces, and upon Alexander's approach surrendered the city (330); he was rewarded with the satrapy of Babylonia, and died in 328; see Bevan l. c. 245. The coins of Mazaeus, classified by Six in the *Numism. Chron.* (1884) *Le satrape Mazaios*, are numerous and varied; for 30 years he issued money in Cilicia, and concurrently in Syria for 15 years under the Persian king, and for 3 years in Babylon under Alexander the Great.

Tarsus.

A 6.

Æ. *Obv.* בעלתרו Type: Ba'al of Tarsus as in 1, holding a lotus-headed sceptre in his right hand; in the field to left an ear of corn and a bunch of grapes, and the letter נ; under the diphros the letter מ: circle of dots.

*Rev.* חלך ועברנהרא מודי זי על עברנהרא *Mazdai who is over the Country beyond the River and Cilicia.* Type: two lines of walls, each with four towers one above the other; above a lion bringing down a bull: circle of dots. Persian stater. Hill l. c. 170, no. 48; PA no. 238.

The letter ט under the diphros has been explained as the initial of מלך; perhaps it merely indicates 'a moneyer or other subordinate of Mazaeus' (Hill lxxxiv). The letter נ may be a mint-mark. The *rev.* type of the lion and bull is an emblem of Tarsus; the walls below probably represent the fortifications of the city, rather than the Cilician Gates (Six, Babelon); they suggest an enclosure rather than a passage. The form of the relat. ן occurs in the Cilician inscr. 68; see also p. 185. The 'Country beyond the River' (i. e. Euphrates) was N. Syria, the term being used from the standpoint not of Cilicia but of Persia, as עבר הנהר in Neh. 2 7. 9. 3 7. Ezr. 8 36, עֵבֶר נְהַרָה Ezr. 4 10. 5 3 &c. Cf. 7 1 n., and for חָלֵךְ see no. 1 n.

149 B 1-15. **Phoenician Coins.** v-ii cent. B. C. Brit. Mus., and Bibl. Nat., Paris. **Plate IX B 1-15.**

Cyprus, Kition.

B 1.

Α. *Rev.* לבעלמלך (Coin) of Ba'al-milk. Type: lion seated, with open jaws; the whole within a sunken square bordered with dots. Persian stater: Brit. Mus. Cf. PA no. 647 (a tetrobol). up the hoing of the  
bulls of Israel.

The reign of Ba'al-milk i is to be placed between the defeat of Xerxes in B. C. 479 and the occupation of Kition by the Athenians in 449. In the disaster of 479 the Persian fleet almost entirely perished, and with it the princes of Cyprus and Phoenicia; hence Xerxes found it necessary to send for the Tyrian Ba'al-milk to become king of Kition and found a new dynasty. The Tyrian origin of Ba'al-milk is shown by the type which he introduced upon his coinage, the figure of the Tyrian Herakles (Melqarth), as on the *obv.* of this coin; cf. B 4-6.

Kition.

B 2.

Α. *Rev.* לעובעל Of 'Az-ba'al. Type: lion devouring a stag; border and square as 1. Persian stater: Brit. Mus. PA no. 670.

After the brief occupation of Kition by Kimon in 449 B. C., the Athenians evacuated the city, and 'Az-ba'al succeeded his father Ba'al-milk i as king from 449 to 425. His coins bear the Tyrian Herakles on the *obv.* (see B 1); but on the *rev.* a new type appears, the lion devouring the stag, an emblem of the Persian triumph over the Athenians. 'Az-ba'al was the first to style himself 'king of Kition and Idalion.'

Kition.

B 3.

*℞. Rev.* לבעלמלך *Of Ba'al-milk.* Type: as B 2. Persian stater: Brit. Mus. *PA* no. 679.

Ba'al-milk ii was the son and successor of 'Az-ba'al; he reigned from B. C. 425 to 400.

Kition.

B 4.

*℞. Rev.* [ל]מלך דמנו *Of king Demonicus.* Type: the bearded Herakles, with lion-skin on shoulders, marching to right; his left hand holds in front of him a bow, his right brandishes a club; sunken square. Persian stater: Bibl. Nat. *PA* no. 695.

Demonicus reigned at Kition from B. C. 388 to 387. He owed his position to the protection of Athens; and the fact that the Athenian domination in Kition did not last longer than the expedition of Chabrias in 388 accounts for the shortness of his reign. Demonicus himself was an Athenian, and the influence of Athens appears on his coins. They are the work of Greek, not oriental, engravers, hence the figure of Herakles differs noticeably from the figure on the coins of the native dynasty (cf. B 5. 6); the *obv.* type is a reproduction of the statue of Athene Promachos, erected on the Acropolis after Marathon to express defiance of the Persians; and on some of his coins Demonicus uses the Gk. language, the only king of Kition to do so. דמנו = Δημόνικος; the omission of נ is due either to accident or to the difficulty of transcribing a foreign name.

Kition.

B 5.

*℞. Obv.* Type: the bearded Herakles, wearing a lion-skin on his head; his left hand, covered with another lion-skin, holds a bow in front, his right brandishes a club above his head; in the field the ringed cross: circle of dots.

*Rev.* [ל]מלך מלכיתן *Of king Milk-yathon.* Type: lion devouring stag; sunken square with border of dots. Hemi-stater: Bibl. Nat. *PA* no. 699.

Milk-yathon, king of Kition and Idalion (12-14. 26. 30), was the son of Ba'al-ram (23-25), and reigned from B. C. 392 to 361. In the series of inscr. which refer to him a break occurs in the 4th year of his reign, i. e. 388, the date of the Athenian investment and the usurpation of Demonicus. When the Athenians abandoned Kition, Milk-yathon was restored by the Persians. He was the first king of Kition to mint gold coins.

Kition.

B 6.

A. *Obv.* Type: as B 5.

*Rev.* [מלך פמי-יתון] *Of king Pumi-[yathon]*. Type: as B 5; in the field to right **Ν Ν** (i. e. year 40). Hemi-stater: Bibl. Nat. *PA* no. 722.

Pumi-yathon, king of Kition, Idalion, and Tamassos (12. 13. 26), was the son and successor of Milk-yathon. He reigned from B. C. 361-312, for at least 47 years; see p. 56.

Lapēthos.

B 7.

A. *Obv.* [צדקמלך] *Of Sidqi-milk*. Type: head of Athene to left, wearing Corinthian helmet and earrings, her hair arranged symmetrically down her neck.

*Rev.* [ל צדקמלך] Type: head of Athene to front, wearing close-fitting helmet ornamented with two bull's ears and two cristae; her hair arranged symmetrically on each side of her head; a necklace round her throat; the whole within a sunken square. Persian stater: Brit. Mus. *PA* no. 783.

Sidqi-milk (cf. O. T. צדקיהו, Sab. ל צדקיהו Hal. 193 1, Hommel *Süd-Ar. Chr.* 106), king of Lapēthos, reigned from about B. C. 449 to 420. He began to reign after the departure of the Athenians in 449 (see on B 1 and 2), when the Persians recovered possession of the island. The helmet of Athene in *rev.* recalls Herodotus' description of the armour of the Chalybians in the host of Xerxes, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆσι κεφαλῆσι κράνεα χάλκεα· πρὸς δὲ τοῖσι κράνεσι, ὡτά τε καὶ κέρεια προσῆν βοὸς χάλκεα· ἐπῆσαν δὲ καὶ λόφοι vii 76.

B 8.

Laodicea of Libanus.

Æ. *Rev.* On the right ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, on the left [ל] אש באנע *Of Laodicea which is in Canaan*. Type: Poseidon facing, half naked, wearing the chlamys, his right hand holding a patera, his left leaning on the trident; in the field to left ΛΑ, on the right a mint-mark. Chalkous (=  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an obol): Bibl. Nat. *Babelon Rois de Syrie* no. 660.

The *obv.* has the bust of Antiochus crowned with a diadem. Λαοδικεία ἢ πρὸς Λιβάνω (Strabo 643 ed. Müll.), so called to distinguish it from Λαοδικεία ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσση, was an important city of Coele-Syria, founded by Seleucus Nicator on the plain SE. of

Hemesa in the region of the upper Orontes. The coin bears the name of Antiochus iv Epiphanes, B. C. 175-164. For the reading אַשׁ instead of אַם (Babelon) see p. 46 n. 3; the title אַם *metropolis*, lit. *mother*, occurs on coins of Sidon, e. g. B 15, and of Tyre אַם צְדֹנִים *RS* p. 86, but probably not on the coins either of Laodicea or of Berytus. It is interesting to find the biblical name כְּנַעַן = Phoenicia on these coins, cf. Is. 23 11. Zeph. 1 11. Josh. 5 1 LXX &c.; it occurs besides only on the coins of Berytus which have the legend לְאַרְכָּה אַשׁ בְּכַנְעַן (p. 46 n. 3).

Byblus.

B 9.

Æ. *Rev.* אֶל־פַּעַל מֶלֶךְ גִּבַּל [אֶל־פַּעַל] *El-pa'al king of Gebal*. Type: lion devouring bull, the body of the bull incused, the head in relief: circle of dots. Graeco-asiatic stater: Bibl. Nat. *PA* no. 1344.

Of the kings of Gebal under the Persian empire two, Yehaw-milk and Uri-milk, are mentioned in 3, but the exact date of their reigns is not known. The two later kings of Gebal, El-pa'al (cf. אֶל־פַּעַל 1 Chr. 8 11 ff.) and 'Az-ba'al (B 10), whose coinage is illustrated here, were reigning probably in B. C. 360 and 340 respectively, at any rate shortly before the Greek conquest, for Alexander would not have allowed them to issue money in their own names. The type of the lion and bull is an acknowledgement of the Persian supremacy (cf. A 6).

Byblus.

B 10.

Æ. *Rev.* אֶז־בַּא'ל מֶלֶךְ גִּבַּל עֹזְבַעַל *'Az-ba'al king of Gebal*. Type: lion devouring bull: circle of dots. Graeco-asiatic stater: Brit. Mus. *PA* no. 1357.

See on B 9 above.

Byblus.

B 11.

Æ. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (right) ANTIOXOY (left). Type: the Phoen. Kronos (see p. 20) with six wings, standing to left, holding a sceptre in the right hand; on his head-dress a four-branched ornament (see Philo Bybl. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 569); in the field above לְגִבַּל *Of Gebal*, below קְדִישָׁה *the holy*: circle of dots. Chalkous: Bibl. Nat. *RS* no. 671.

The *obv.* has the bust of Antiochus crowned with a diadem. This is a specimen of the bronze coinage of Gebal under the Seleucids. The 'king' is Antiochus iv Epiphanes, 175-164 B. C. For the epithet קְדִישָׁה in connexion with Gebal see p. 21.

*the city was sacred to Astarte.*

Tyre.

B 12.

*Æ. Rev.* Type: an owl, holding under its left wing the Egyptian crook and flail; in the field to right the number 35 (i. e. year): circle of dots. Attic didrachm: Brit. Mus. *PA* no. 2022.

The series of Tyrian coins of which this is a specimen reflects the disturbances of the period from B.C. 312 to 275. In 312 Tyre was taken from Antigonus by Ptolemy, the ally of Seleucus; coins were struck at once, and continued for 3 years (*PA* nos. 2007-2013). Then there comes a break for 20 years; in 287 Tyre passed into the hands of Seleucus; the period was too disturbed for the minting of money. Then the coins begin again in the 23rd year and continue till the 37th (*PA* 2014-2022; Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* i 59 f.). This brings us to 275, when Tyre was recaptured by Ptolemy ii Philad., and started a new era as an autonomous city (9 5 n.). Thus the years numbered on the coins are in fact the years of Ptolemy, beginning with his capture of the city in 312, and closing with his recapture of it in 275. The *rev.* type is noticeable: the owl is Greek, the crook and flail are Egyptian; the symbols of Osiris; the combination indicates the range of the mercantile relations of Tyre, and the influence of Athens and of Egypt upon the city. The *obv.* type, Melgarth riding on a sea-horse with a dolphin below, is a native emblem, symbolizing the claim of Tyre to the empire of the sea. A special interest attaches to the Tyrian coins of this size and value; they were used by the Jews, who had no coinage of their own, as 'the sacred shekel' for the payment of religious dues (Ex. 30 13. Lev. 5 15. 27 3. 25. Num. 7 13. 86 &c. P); it is expressly enjoined in the Talm. that these dues are to be paid in Tyrian money, e.g. B. *Bekoroth* 49 b כולם בשקל הקדש במנה צורי. See Kennedy *DB* iii 422; cf. also 8 2 n.

B 13.

Sidon.

*Æ. Obv.* A Phoenician galley at sea, with oarsmen; in the field above III (i. e. year 3): circle of dots.

*Rev.* Type: the Persian king, Artaxerxes iii Ochus, in his chariot, driven by his charioteer, followed on foot by an attendant who holds in his right hand a sceptre terminating in an animal's head, and in his left an oinochoë; in the field above the letters עב: circle of dots. Quadruple Phoen. shekel: Brit. Mus. Cf. *PA* no. 1607 (12th year).

This coin is assigned by Babelon to Straton ii, king of Sidon from B. C. 346 to 332; the letters עב are the initials of his name עברעשתרת (PA clxxxv). The coins of this king closely resemble those of his predecessor, Straton i 374-362 B. C., which also have the initials עב in the field of *rev.*

Byblus.

B 14.

Æ. *Rev.* לגבל קדשת Of Gebal the holy on left; on right a legend of which only the letters ע. ה. י. can be deciphered. Type: 'Ashtar (cf. 3) to left, her hair falling on her neck, robed in a tunic, with a peplos covering the upper part of the body and the arms; the right hand raised and extended, the left holding a long sceptre terminating in a ball: circle of dots. Hemi-chalkous: Bibl. Nat. PA no. 1373.

This is a specimen of the autonomous coins of Gebal, belonging to a later period than B 11, after the reign of Antiochus v.

Sidon.

B 15.

Æ. *Rev.* צר | אפא כת | אמ כמב | לצדנם Of the Sidonians, metropolis of Kambe, Hippo, Kition, Tyre. Type: a steering oar. Hemi-chalkous: Brit. Mus. PA no. 1620.

This is a specimen of the autonomous coins of Sidon, dating from the middle of the ii cent. B. C. לצדנם is a rendering of the Gk. ΣΙΔΩΝΙΩΝ RS nos. 682 ff., cf. לצר = ΤΥΡΙΩΝ ib. nos. 674 ff. For אמ see B 8 n. The towns mentioned are those which Sidon claimed as her colonies; כמב, on some coins written כבב (PA no. 1619), was the primitive name of Carthage, אפא = Hippo on the N. coast of Africa; see RS cx, PA clxxxvi. Here Sidon calls herself the mother-city of Tyre, but on the Tyrian coins of the time of Antiochus iv we find the relations reversed, לצר אמ צדנם RS p. 86. In earlier days צדנם included both cities; see p. 54. ←

#### 149 C. Jewish Coins. ii cent. B. C. to ii cent. A. D. Brit. Mus.

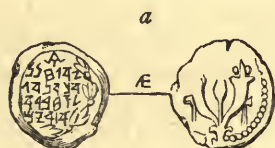
The native Jewish coins, with Hebr. inscr., appear at three periods: (1) the period of the Hasmonaeen princes, from John Hyrcanus to Mattathias (Antigonus), i.e. from 135 to 37 B. C.; (2) the First Revolt against the Romans, 66-70 A. D.; (3) the Second Revolt, 132-135 A. D. Their appearance thus marks the efforts that were made to maintain or assert the independence of the nation; and in agreement with the spirit of these movements the coins are stamped with legends



in the archaic character which had long ago fallen out of use, and given way to the square character developed in Aramaic. The writing varies so little during the 270 years that it affords no indication of date. The following forms of letters are characteristic of the coins:

ⲛⲑⲑⲛ, הַעֲדָה, חַב, וְפָז, וְזָבָה, זָבָה, קֶפֶן.

In antiquity the right of coinage was the exclusive privilege of the sovereign power; it was a sure sign of rebellion if any subject state took upon itself to issue money. Under the Seleucid kings certain semi-independent towns were allowed to issue bronze pieces bearing the head of the king on one side and the name of the city on the other, e.g. B 8 and 11; and a privilege of the same kind was bestowed upon the Jewish state by Demetrius ii (145-138 B. C.), and afterwards confirmed to Simon the Maccabee by Antiochus vii Sidetes (138-129 B. C.): 'I give thee leave to coin money for thy country with thine own stamp' (*ποιῆσαι κόμμα ἴδιον νόμισμα τῆς χώρας σου*) 1 Macc. 15 6. The concession implied that Judaea was recognized as a free state under the suzerainty of Syria. To what extent Simon availed himself of the privilege is not known, and it was soon withdrawn (1 Macc. 15 27). If he issued money at all it would have been in bronze, not in silver; but, according to the view adopted here, no coins, whether bronze or silver, can be assigned to him. His son and successor, John Hyrcanus (135-104 B. C.), was the first Jewish prince to issue money in his own name. The following is a specimen of his small bronze coins:



*Obv.* יהוחנן הכהן הגדול וחבר ה[י]הודים.

*Rev.* A double cornucopiae with a poppy head in the centre.

The A at the beginning of the legend is taken to be the initial of Alexander ii Zebina (128-122? B. C.), the nominal over-lord of Hyrcanus; it may indicate the alliance between the two in 128, Ἀλέξανδρος . . . φιλίαν ποιῆται πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα Jos. Ant. xiii 9 3; possibly, however, it denotes the 'year 1' (Madden *Coins of the Jews* 81). The letter is not found on the later coins of Hyrcanus.

The two cornua-copiae he prob. adopted from Zebina, on whose coins they first appear. The official title of Hyrcanus is 'the high priest,' though in character he was more of a secular prince than a religious pontiff; the Jewish commonwealth regarded itself not as a kingdom but as a church, and the priest at the head of it was not an autocrat, but the chief of a community. The earlier coins of Hyrcanus are issued jointly by him and the community; his later coins, however, are issued in his name alone ה' הכהן הגדל ראש חבר היהודים. Nestle (*ZATW* 1895, 288-290) has suggested that ראש חבר = *ἐθνάρχης*, used of Simon 1 Macc. 14 47. 15 1. 2, but without sufficient grounds. The precise meaning of חבר היהודים is disputed. In Hebr. חֶבֶר = *company, association*, Hos. 6 9 חבר כהנים. It is natural, therefore, to regard 'ה' ה' as a corporation or college within the Jewish nation, the *γερονσία* or senate mentioned in 1 Macc. 12 6. Judith 4 8 &c.; so Madden 77, Wellhausen *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.*<sup>3</sup> 282 n. But it seems that the *γερονσία* (= the later Sanhedrin) was not of sufficient importance at this period to be named upon the coins. The Pun. חברים, referred to by Renan in this connexion, were not the senate but the *colleagues* of the suffetes, 42 2. 19. 55 4. The general opinion is that 'ה' ה' = *the community of the Jews*, as similar or equivalent terms were in use, e.g. חבר עיר a city community Mishnah *Berakoth* 30 a, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων 1 Macc. 8 20, τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἰ. ib. 12 3; Reinach *Monnaies Juives* 23, Kennedy, art. Money *DB* iii, Schürer *Gesch.*<sup>3</sup> i 269. Kennedy makes the attractive suggestion that חבר = τὸ κοινόν; the LXX renders בית חבר Pr. 21 9 ἐν οἴκῳ κοινῷ, cf. 25 24, and elsewhere uses *κοινωνέω, κοινωνός* to render derivatives of חבר. The expression τὸ κοινόν has various meanings; thus in Jos. *Vita* 12. 49 &c. τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν is apparently the executive authority of the *δῆμος*, = τῶν Ἱερ. οἱ πρῶτοι ib. 7; in classical Gk. τὸ κοινόν = *respublica*, and is often used of Gk. states or cities, e.g. τὸ κ. τῶν Κρηταίων Michel 439, τὸ κ. τὸ Ταρμανῶν ib. 1188-1190. We do not know enough of the constitution of the Jewish state at this time to determine exactly the relation between τὸ κοινόν and חבר.

The following are specimens of the coins of Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 B.C.), whose long reign was marked by much violence and bloodshed, and by an increasing cleavage between the adherents of the Maccabees and the party, including the Pharisees, which cherished the traditional ideals of Judaism. The high-priesthood in the person of Alexander became thoroughly secularized. His Jewish name Jannaeus, Talm. יַנְיָא i. e. יני, is contracted from יְהוֹנָתָן, יְהוֹנָתָן.

cf. דמ, יני, יני  
יני (p. 34)

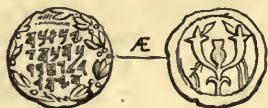
b



*Obv.* יהונתן המלך Type: a half-opened flower.

*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ round a circle. Type: an anchor with two cross-timbers.

c



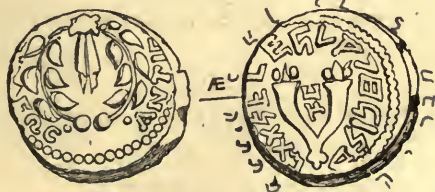
*Obv.* [יהוד] היהודי ינתן הכהן הגדל וחבר היהודים within a wreath.

*Rev.* Double cornucopiae with a poppy head in the centre.

Jannaeus issued a double series of coins, regal and pontifical. The interest of the regal series (*b*) lies in the appearance of יהמלך for the first time on Jewish coins, and in the use of the Gk. legend on the reverse. The adoption of these novelties was probably one of the causes which led to a breach with the Pharisees. The anchor on *b*, and the double cornucopiae on the pontifical coins *c*, are borrowed from the Seleucid kings, and illustrate the continued influence of their coinage.

The following is a specimen of the coins of Antigonus-Mattathias, B. C. 40-37, the last prince of the Hasmonaean dynasty :

d



*Obv.* [ΒΑΣΙΛ]ΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΓ[ΟΝΟΥ] round a wreath.

*Rev.* מתחיה כהן גדל חבר יה Type: a double cornucopiae, with ש א i. e. year 1 in the centre.

After having been a prisoner in Rome, Antigonus attempted to obtain the kingdom in B. C. 42, but was defeated by Herod. With the help of the Parthians, however, he succeeded in taking Jerusalem in B. C. 40, and was made king. Not long afterwards Herod, who had received the nominal title of king of Judaea through Roman influence, laid siege to Jerusalem and, aided by the Roman general Sosius, captured it in 37; Antigonus was ignominiously executed with the axe. These coins show that he had adopted the name of Mattathias, the founder of his dynasty; they are the first Jewish coins which bear a date.

Coins of the First Revolt, A. D. 66-70. Plate X 1-5.

SILVER

e (1)

Æ. *Obv.* שקל ישראל Type: a broad-lipped chalice, on either side a pellet, above the cup the letter נ = 1.

*Rev.* ירושלם קדשה Type: a flowering lily.

f (2)

Æ. *Obv.* חצי השקל Type: a chalice with jewelled rim, above the cup the letters שב = year 2.

*Rev.* ירושלים הקדושה Type: a flowering lily.

g (3)

Æ. *Obv.* שקל ישראל Type: as f, above the cup the letters שד = year 4.

*Rev.* ירושלים הקדושה Type: as f.

h (4)

Æ. *Obv.* לנאלת ציון Type: as f.

*Rev.* שנת ארבע Type: a *lûlab* with an *'ethrog* on either side.

i (5)

Æ. *Obv.* שקל ישראל Type: as f, above the cup the letters שה = year 5.

*Rev.* ירושלים הקדושה Type: as f.

These coins have been usually attributed to Simon Maccabaeus (142-135 B. C.), e. g. by Madden 65 ff., and others; but there is now a general agreement among experts that they belong rather to the

period immediately preceding the fall of Jerusalem in A. D. 70. It will be observed that the shekels are dated from the first year to the fifth; if they belong to Simon's reign, which lasted 7 years (1 Macc. 13 14 f. and 16 14), the two years at the close must be left without coins; no reason can be found for the increasing rarity and entire cessation of the shekels in the fifth year. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that, if Simon had issued silver coins, his successors would not have done the same; but the Hasmonaean princes, in accordance with their constitutional position under the suzerainty of Syria, only minted bronze money; and their money bears the names of the princes, while the shekels, in striking contrast, have no name to show who issued them. On technical grounds of style and fabric they are related to the tetradrachms of Nero and Vespasian minted at Antioch, and not to the Seleucid silver coins of the Maccabean period. The issue of such coins with the legend Jerusalem the holy is in itself an assertion of independence; it proves that the Jews were in revolt against the sovereign power; and since there was only one other occasion when the independence of Jerusalem was not constitutional but usurped, viz. in 132-135 A. D., and the coins of the latter age are well known in detail, there remains the period of the First Révolt against the Romans in 66-70 A. D. The shekels and half-shekels must have been coined by the executive authority of Jerusalem which undertook the defence of the city and the conduct of the war. The fact that they appear in considerable numbers during the first three years, and then become rarer, until they cease altogether with the exceedingly rare shekel of the fifth year (Apr. to Aug. A. D. 70), agrees exactly with the history of the revolt from its successful start to its gradual collapse. See Kennedy, art. Money in *BD* iii, whose arguments are incorporated above, and Schürer *Gesch.*<sup>3</sup> i 762 ff. Reinach, *Mon. Juives* 47 f., suggests that the coins were especially designed for the payment of the temple tax, the shekel for two persons (cf. Mt. 17 24-27), the half-shekel for one, and to take the place of the Tyrian tetradrachms (or staters) and didrachms which had formerly been used for this purpose (cf. on B 12).

*e* (1) The chalice probably represents the temple vessels. The broad rim is characteristic of shekels of the first year, so also the pellets, probably intended for jewels, and the letter  $\aleph$  alone without  $\psi$  =  $\aleph\psi$ . The dating of the coins is perhaps imitated from the Tyrian staters, but cf. *d.*  $\aleph\psi$  ירושלם קדשה Note the *script. defect.*, and the absence of the article. The legend is perhaps copied from that on the Tyrian staters,  $\tau\upsilon\rho\nu$   $\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\upsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$ ; the minting of these staters at Tyre

ceased in A. D. 56, so that probably it would have been necessary in A. D. 66 to provide fresh coins of the same value for use in Jerusalem (Reinach).

*h* (4) This is a specimen of the *bronze* money of the fourth year; varieties of the legend on the reverse are שנת ארבע חצי and שנת ארבע רביע; it is supposed that these coins represent  $\frac{1}{6}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$  shekels respectively, and that they were siege tokens to be redeemed by silver money when the relief came. This explanation, however, is uncertain, for there are silver shekels (*g* 3) and half-shekels of the fourth year, beside these supposed tokens. The chalice shows that they belong to this period. לנאלת ציון *Belonging to the redemption of Zion*, cf. לנבל B 11. 14 &c., and לחרות י' *k*; less prob. ל = *at the time of*. The *lālab* לילב lit. *palm branch* was a bundle of myrtle and willow with a palm leaf, the *'ethrog*, אֶתְרוֹג, a citron, carried in each hand at the feast of Booths; Lev. 23 40.

Coins of the Second Revolt, A. D. 132-135. Plate X 6-9.

*j* (6)

- Æ. *Obv.* שמעון נשיא ישראל in three lines within a laurel wreath.  
*Rev.* שנת א[חת לנאל]ת ישראל Type: a vase with two handles.

*k* (7)

- Æ. *Obv.* שמעון within a wreath.  
*Rev.* לחרות ישראל Type: a palm branch. Restruck on a denarius-drachm of Trajan.

*l* (8)

- Æ. *Obv.* שמעון Type: a palm tree.  
*Rev.* [ש]ב לחר[ות]ת ישראל Type: a vine leaf.

*m* (9)

- Æ. *Obv.* שמעון Type: a conventional figure of the Beautiful Gate of the Temple (?); above, a star.  
*Rev.* לחרות ירושלם Type: a *lālab* with *'ethrog*. Restruck tetradrachm of Antioch.

The evidence for the course of events which led to the Second Revolt in the 16th year of Hadrian is conflicting; it seems probable, however, that the rebuilding of Jerusalem as a heathen city, with the

name Aelia Capitolina, was begun during Hadrian's visit to Syria in 130 A. D. He was again in Syria in 131, and his visit was commemorated by coins which bear the inscr. *adventui Aug(usti) Judaeae*. The foundation of a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus on the site of the Jewish temple is probably to be connected with this occasion (Schürer *Gesch.*<sup>3</sup> 680 ff.); but whether the temple was founded before or after the revolt, the policy of Hadrian had been sufficiently coercive to incite the Jews to revolt. The fuel was ready to be ignited when Bar-Kokba applied the spark. The Jewish leader at once signaled his rebellion by issuing coins in his own name, 'Simon, the prince of Israel' (*j*), and in the name of 'Eliazar the priest,' who appears on the coins of the first year, and seems to have been joint-leader. Simon is called by Christian writers Bar-Kokba (*Βαρκοχέβας*) = *בַּר כּוֹכְבָא* *son of the star*, alluding to Num. 24 17, but by Rabb. writers *בַּר כּוֹזִיבָא* or *בִּן כ'*, *Kōzêba* being the name either of his father or his native town, probably the latter; *Choziba* was a well-known place on the road to Jericho. He claimed to be the Messiah, and he received the support even of the great Rabbi Aqîba, who applied to him the prophecy of Num. 24 17, e. g. Jer. *Ta'anith* 68 d *דָּרַךְ כּוֹזְבָא מֵעֵקֶב*. The revolt spread widely throughout Palestine; it was finally suppressed by the Roman general Jul. Severus; Jerusalem was recaptured, and Simon's cause collapsed with the fall of Beth-ther, now Bittir, 3 hours SW. of Jerusalem, where he and his followers made their last stand, in the 18th year of Hadrian, 134-5 A. D.

*j* (6) The types on these coins represent either objects connected with the Temple and its worship, vase or sacrificial flagon, lyre, trumpets, or the characteristic products of the country, vine-leaf (*l*) palm (*k*, *l*), grapes. This coin and *l* are dated the 1st and 2nd year of the revolt. Beside these bronze coins there is a silver issue, dated in the same way.

*k* (7) The silver coins of this period are all, probably without a single exception (Kennedy), imperial denarii, drachms, and tetrachms, restruck with Jewish types and legends. Sometimes, as in *m*, no trace of the original appears, but very often, as in this case, the legend of the imperial coin can still be read in part. *לְחֵרֹת* *Of the emancipation of Israel*; cf. *h* n. *חֵרֹת* is a noun from *חָרַר*, in Syr. *ܚܪܐܢܐ*; for the root see 97 i n.

*m* (9) The signification of the type is not certain. The star above the Temple probably alludes to Simon's pretensions.

## SEALS AND GEMS

150.

Plate XI gives some specimens of Aram., Phoen., and Hebr. seals, dating from the 8th cent. B. C. onwards. The seals afford interesting illustrations of the archaic character; they are all chosen from the British Museum collection, Semitic Room cabinet.

I

למלכרם *Belonging to Milk-ram*, on an ivory brooch found underneath a colossal bull in the palace of Nimroud. The inscr. is Phoen. rather than Aram. (Levy *Siegel u. Gemmen* 5 no. 2); pr. nn. compounded with מלך are exceedingly common in Phoen., e. g. מלכיתן 12 2 &c. יהומלך, יארמלך, 3 1 &c.; for the second part of the compound cf. the pr. n. רמבעל CIS i 99 1. The Egypt. style of the cartouche and the ornament above it is in favour of Phoen. (cf. p. 27) rather than Aram. workmanship. The writing is very early, prob. 8th cent., the date of the building of the palace at Nimroud.

2

CIS ii 75. A seal in the form of a cylinder. The treatment and costume of the figures are Assyrian. In the centre is the eunuch worshipping the god Hadad, who wears a crown with rays, and holds in his right hand what may have been intended for a flower. Behind the eunuch is a priest, assisting or initiating him. The inscr., which is in Aram., and belongs prob. to the 7th cent., runs as follows: להדר גברד לאכרבן בר גברד סרסא זי הקרב להדר *Belonging to Akdhan, son of GBRD, the eunuch, who made offering to Hadad.* אכרבן is explained by Levy as derived from כרב = Hebr. כזב with א prosth., and meaning lit. *the false one, callidus*. Sachau reads אכברו *the strong one* (ZA 1891, 432); but comparing the fifth letter with the ר in הקרב it will be seen that the former reading is prob. right. גברד According to Sachau l. c. *Gabbarud* = Assyr. *garparuda* or *galparuda*. Another suggestion is made in JA (1892) xix 565 that the name = בר קרב *client of Barud* (a deity). For זי see 61 1 n. הקרב Afel, as in Dan. and Ezr. = *bring an offering*; for the ה retained in Afel, contrary to ordinary Aram. usage, cf. 61 29. 62 4. 18. 64 11. 65 3. 97 i, and Bibl. Aram. הרר See 61 1 n. Macrobius describes the image of Hadad as surrounded with rays and holding a flower in his hand, Saturn. 1 23.



## 3

CIS ii 77. A cylinder seal from Assyria. The worshipper, attended by winged deities or genii, is offering his devotions to the god *Ilu* in the form of a disc with wings and a human head (?). Two rays descend from under the wings of the disc, one of them touches the worshipper. In the centre is a figure which is taken to represent the flowing water of a mystic fountain. The inscr. is in Aram., and dates from the 8th-7th cent.:—**בר הרעדד ירפאל** *Yirp-el son of Hor-'adad*. The pr. n. **ירפאל** may = **יִרְפָּאֵל** Josh. 18 27 i. e. **יִרְפָּא אֵל** *El will heal*, cf. **רְפָאֵל** 1 Chr. 26 7. But since **רפא** does not occur in Aram., Levy (p. 7) takes **ירפ** to be the Afel of **רפי**, and explains *El will set free*. The engraver has turned **א** the wrong way both times. **הרעדד** The last two letters look alike; the **ר** is closed at the top, but in the word **בר** it is open, hence **הרעדד** *Horus helps* may be right; **עדר** = **עזר**, as **כרב** in **אכרבן** no. 2 may = **כזב**, though **ד** = **ז** is remarkable in Aram. of the 8th cent. The reading **הרעדד**, however, is uncertain; the right-hand stroke of **ר** in **בר** is slanting, but in the last letter of the pr. n. it is perpendicular. How **הרעדד** is to be explained, if that is the correct reading, is not clear.

## 4

CIS ii 94. An Aram. seal of the 5th cent., Persian period. **לחמכאל**  
**בר מלכמ** *Belonging to Tamak-el, son of Milkom*. **חמכאל** = *El holds, sustains*, again in Phoen., Cl.-Gan. *Sceaux et cachets* no. 23; the verb **חמך** *hold fast* is well known in Hebr. and is used in the Targ. The explanation suggested in the Corp. **חמ כאל** *perfect as El*, is most improbable. Notice the beginning of a ligature at the foot of **ר** following **ב**.

## 5

Levy no. 18, p. 31. A Phoen. seal with the inscr. **לבעליתן אש**  
**אלם** *Belonging to Ba'al-yathon, a man of the gods (?)*,  
*who belongs to Melqarth-resef*. **אלם אש** Possibly **אלם** may have a sing. meaning, as in the pr. n. **מתנאלם** (?) 33 6 n., but the expression *man of the gods* i. e. *divine servant* is unusual, and it may be more correct to render *the nobleman*; for **אלם** as a title cf. 10 2 n., and for the idiom cf. the Hebr. **איש רעים** Prov. 18 24 lit. *a man of friends*, i. e. *a friendly man*, **איש דברים** Ex. 4 10. **מ' רצף** A complex divinity; see 10 3 n. **רצף** = **רשף** 12 3 n. Date, 5th-4th cent.

## 6

Levy no. 7, p. 39. A seal with Hebr. inscr. לעבר אלֵאב בן שבֵעָת *Belonging to the servant of Eli'ab, son of Shīb'ath. The servant of Mattath, son of Sedoqa.* Here apparently two persons have combined to adopt a common seal. It is probable that עבֵר־אלֵאב are two words, *servant of Eli'ab*; and similarly עבֵר־מתח *servant of Mattath.* For אלֵאב cf. the O.T. אֱלִיאָב 1 S. 16 6. Other seals of slaves are Levy no. 8 לשבניו עבֵר עוֹיו and no. 9 לאביו עבֵר עוֹיו. A slave does not give his genealogy; see p. 134. שבעת Cf. the O.T. שֶׁבַע 2 S. 20 1. מתח Prob. abbreviated from מתתיהו, cf. 149 C d. צדקא Cf. the O.T. צָדִיק, צְדוּק 1 K. 1 26 &c. Date, 7th-6th cent.

## 7

Levy no. 11, p. 42. A scarab of green jasper in Egyptian style, with Hebr. inscr. לזכר הושע *For a memorial of Hōshéa.* The form of the ז is to be noticed; it occurs on the coins of Eliazar the priest (pp. 359 and 353). The curve in the shaft of כ is an indication of later date. The Hebr. name הושע has been found recently at Tell ej-Judeideh on a Jewish seal, Lidzb. *Eph.* i 183. Above the inscr. is engraved the figure of a winged sphinx, with the *pschent* head-dress. Date, 8th-4th cent.

## 8

Levy p. 54. A Hebr. seal on both sides of a crystal. On one side is engraved in Egypt. style the figure of the god Harpocrates sitting on a lotus flower; on the other is the inscr.:—לעשיו בן יוקם *Belonging to 'Asiyu, son of Yōqim.* The words are separated by small strokes. For עשיו cf. the O.T. עֲשִׂיה 2 K. 22 12. עֲשִׂיאל 1 Chr. 4 35. עֲשִׂהאל 2 S. 2 18; the final י is a fragment of יהוה, cf. עוֹיו above, and the form עשיהו on a Jewish seal, Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii § 32. יוקם Abbrev. from יהוֹקִים 2 K. 23 34. Date, 5th-4th cent.

# INDEX I

## NORTH-SEMITIC

[The following special abbreviations are used where necessary: d. = deity, n. = noun, pr. = pronoun, pre. = preposition. The words and forms are those mentioned in the notes.]

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# APPENDIX

## I

### The Phoenician Inscriptions of Bostan esh-Shêh, Sidon.

THESE inscriptions, which repeat the same text six or seven times with slight variations, were found in 1900 and 1901 at a short distance to the N. of Şaida, near the Nahr el-Auwali. They are written upon the inner faces of blocks of stone which formed part of the inclosure or foundation of the temple of Eshmun; being built into the masonry, like the inscribed bricks in Assyrian buildings, they were not intended to be exposed to view. The most complete text, repeated with slight changes on the same block, is that published by Macridy-Bey and Père Lagrange in *RB* (1902) 498-526, with a facsimile. A text practically identical and almost as complete has been published, with two plates, by Berger, *Mém. sur les inscr. de fondation du temple d'Esmoun à Sidon*, 1901, from one of the stones now in the Louvre, which also possesses the fragment of another of the series (*Rép.* nos. 287. 288). The inscriptions are discussed at length by Clermont-Ganneau in *Rec.* v § 41, who has done much to clear up the difficulties which they present. The following text is based upon that of Berger:—

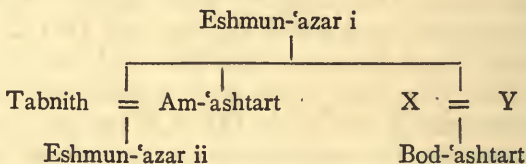
- |                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| מלך בדעשתרת מלך צדנם בן בן   | 1 |
| מלך אשמנעזר מלך צדנם בצ      | 2 |
| דן ים שמם רמם ארץ רשפם צד    | 3 |
| ן משל אשבן וצדן שד אית [כל?] | 4 |
| הבת ז בן לאלי לאשמן שד קד    | 5 |
| ש                            | 6 |

King Bod-'ashtart, king of the Sidonians, grandson <sup>2</sup> of king Eshmun-'azar, king of the Sidonians, (reigning) in Sidon <sup>3</sup> by the sea, Shamim Ramim, the land of Reshafim, Sidon <sup>4</sup> of Mashal, 'šBN, and Sidon on the plain—the whole (?) <sup>5</sup> of this temple built to his god, Eshmun, prince of Qadesh. <sup>6</sup>

This text must be carefully compared with 4 and 5; the writing is of the same general character and period.

L. 1. מלך ברעשתרת See 6; Bod-'ashtart was the successor of Eshmun-'azar ii (5). בן בן The father is not mentioned because he never was king; contrast 5 13 f.

L. 2. אשמנעור i. e. Eshmun-'azar i. Both Bod-'ashtart and Eshmun-'azar ii were grandsons of this king, the former being the son of a younger brother or sister of Tabnith (4). The genealogy will thus be as follows:—



בצדן The prep. denotes that Bod-'ashtart claimed sovereignty *in* or *over* (cf. 5 משל ב 9) Sidon; so Torrey *Journ. Amer. Oriental Soc.* xxiii 156-173 (with facsimile). The interpretation of the following words is difficult; but Torrey and Cl.-Gan. are prob. right in regarding them as the names of various places round about Sidon. The places are enumerated ἀστυδέτως (cf. 149 B 15), with ו before the last in the list, as sometimes (though not usually) in Hebrew, e. g. Gen. 5 32. 13 2. 14 1 &c.; Gesenius, p. 509 n.

L. 3. צדן ים *Sidon of the sea*, the maritime Sidon, as distinguished from צדן שר L. 4. שמם רמם Lit. *high heavens*. The words suggest the Σαμσηροῦμος or Ὑψουράνιος of the cosmogony of Sanchuniathon (Philo Bybl. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 566); so Lagrange. The expression recalls the שמם אדרם in 5 16 f.; and although 'High-heavens,' 'Glorious-heavens,' do not seem very obvious names for terrestrial localities, yet such they probably were (Cl.-Gan.). In both cases this explanation suits the context. Cl.-Gan. suggests that שמם אדרם was the name of the place where the tomb of Eshmun-'azar ii was found, S. of the Nahr el-Ḳamle, at a distance from the ancestral burying-place; this may have been the special domain of Am-'ashtart, the queen-mother and priestess of 'Ashtart (5 14 f.). ארין רשפם For the god Reshef see 12 3 n.; like בעל he was the tutelary of several cities, and thus the plural of his name would come into use. In Phoen. the plur. of בעל is found in בעל ימם 20 B 4 n., but not in the manner common in the O.T. The only other divine names found in the plur. in Phoen. are אלנם (p. 24, cf. אלהי 61 12 &c.) and אלם (p. 99).

L. 4. מַשַּׁל צֶדֶן *Sidon-Mashal* or *S. of Mashal*. One of the texts (Lagrange A) reads בַּמַּשַּׁל. Cf. the O.T. place-names מַשַּׁל 1 Chr. 6 59. מִשְׁאֵל Josh. 19 26. 21 30, and the modern Arab. names derived from مِشَل. אֲשֶׁבֶן might be divided and translated *who built*; but the context requires another place here. In the genealogies Gen. 36 26. 1 Chr. 1 41 אֲשֶׁבֶן is the name of an Edomite chief. וְצֶדֶן שֶׁר The waw is read by Lagrange; Berger gives מ, but Cl.-Gan., after an examination of the original, decides in favour of ו. The word שֶׁר (Lagrange, Berger with ? שֶׁר) is prob. to be taken as = שָׂדֵה *field* (5 19. 29 9), here in the sense of *country* or *plain*, the *inland* as distinguished from the *maritime* Sidon, l. 2 f.; the term is used by Ezekiel in connexion with Tyre, בְּנוֹתֶיהָ אֲשֶׁר בְּשָׂדֵה, l. 2 f.; 26 6. At the end of the line Cl.-Gan. proposes כָּל instead of שָׁל (Berger); this improves the sentence.

L. 5. הַבַּת ז בֶּן Cf. 5 15 ff.; but this temple is not to be identified with the one founded by Eshmun-'azar ii, which perhaps was at שָׁמֹם; at any rate, the temple built by Bod-'ashtart stood outside the present Sidon, near the Nahr el-Auwali. לְאֵלֵי Cf. לְאֵלֵי שֶׁר קִדְשׁ 24 1 f. שֶׁר קִדְשׁ 6 5 in the inscr. of Bod-'ashtart; also 24 1 f. שֶׁר קִדְשׁ Either *holy prince* or *prince of Qadesh* (Cl.-Gan.); hence we must certainly restore שֶׁר קִדְשׁ in 5 17 (see p. 37). In the latter case, קִדְשׁ is further defined by עַן יִדְלָל בְּהָרַי i. e. 'Qadesh of the well of Yidlal in the mountain,' prob. Lebanon. Cl.-Gan. suggests with much probability that both Eshmun-'azar ii and Bod-'ashtart brought the worship of Eshmun from an ancient, venerated shrine, Qadesh, into their new temples at Sidon.

The date of this Sidonian dynasty has been much disputed. Lagrange would assign it to the Persian period and the time of Xerxes; but against this is the title מֶלֶכֶם 5 18, which belongs to the Ptolemaic, not the Persian, kings; see p. 38. Cl.-Gan. suggests ingeniously that Eshmun-'azar i is none other than the Abdalonymus of the classical historians, who was placed on the throne of his ancestors, under romantic circumstances, by Alexander the Great after the occupation of Sidon in 332 B.C. The story is told by Diod. Sic. xvii 47, but wrongly referred to Tyre. With the change of his fortunes the king may have changed his name, as was frequently done. It is probable, in any case, that the date proposed on p. 27 is substantially correct; and the epigraphical evidence agrees with this. On the other hand, this inscr. shows that Bod-'ashtart is not to be identified with Straton i 374-362 B.C., as is suggested, with hesitation, on p. 41.

## II-

**Aramaic Papyrus from Elephantina.** MS. Aram. c. 1 (P)  
in the Bodleian Library.

By the courtesy of the Secretary of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, I am allowed to reprint the text of this papyrus which has been published with a translation, notes, and facsimile by Mr. A. E. Cowley, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, in the May number of the Society's *Proceedings* (vol. xxv Parts 4 and 5, pp. 202 ff., 1903). The papyrus was purchased by Prof. Sayce at Elephantina, and brought by him to the Bodleian Library in 1901. It arrived in three small rolls; these have been ingeniously pieced together, and now form a leaf  $13\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$  inches, which contains the longest and most continuous text of the kind hitherto published. The following is Mr. Cowley's text and translation:—

ר בר יתמא ל... נתנת לי כסף	1
פ... בני פתח כסף שזו לו וירבה עלי כסף חלרן וו	2
לכסף שזו לירחא עד יום זי אשלמנהי ל[ך] ותהוה מרבית	3
כסף חלרן ווו... לירח א וירחא זי לא אנתן לך בה	4
מרבית יהוה ראש וירבה ואשלמ[נה] לך ירח בירח	5
מן פרסי זי יתנון לי מן אוצרא ותכתב לי נבו על כל	6
כסף ומרבי זי אהוה משלם לך והן לא שלמת לך כל	7
כסף ומרביתה עד ירח תחות שנת... ווו וו יעקף כסף	8
ומרביתה זי ישתאר עלי ויהוה רבה עלי ירח לירח	9
עד יום זי אשלמנהי לך	10
שהדיא	11
עקבן בר שמשנורי	12
קצרי בר יההדרי	13
מחסיה בר ידניה	14
מלכיה בר זכריה	15
כתב ספרא גמריה בר אחיו על פם שהדיא זי על ספרא זנה	16

[This is the agreement between X and Y] bar Yathma. You have given me the sum of <sup>2</sup>.....PTH the sum of ŠZ for himself (?), for which interest shall be due from me at the rate of 2 HLR <sup>3</sup> per ŠZ per month, till the day on which I repay it to you. The interest of your loan (to me) shall be . . . HLR per month. Any month in which I fail to give you <sup>5</sup> interest, it is to be (added to the) principal, and to bear interest. I agree to pay it to you month by month <sup>6</sup> out of my pay which they give me from the treasury, and you shall give me a written receipt (?) for all <sup>7</sup> money and interest which I pay to you. If I fail to repay to you the whole of <sup>8</sup> the principal, with the interest thereon, by the month of Thoth in the year [P I]6, I am to be held liable for double(?) the principal <sup>9</sup> and interest outstanding, and to continue to pay interest (on it) month by month <sup>10</sup> till the day when I repay it to you. <sup>11</sup> Witnesses:—<sup>12</sup> 'Uqban b. Shemesh-nuri. <sup>13</sup> Qoşri b. Yah-hadari. <sup>14</sup> Maḥaseiah b. Yadoniah. <sup>15</sup> Malkiah b. Zekariah. <sup>16</sup> The document was written by Gemariah b. Aḥio in the presence of the witnesses who(se names) are appended hereunto.

The language and writing exhibit the usual characteristics of Egyptian Aramaic (pp. 185. 200). The interest of the text lies in the fact that it is a Jewish document of early date; the witnesses and the writer bear Jewish names. These Jews were evidently engaged in business as bankers or money-lenders. They write in Aramaic, probably because it was the official language of the Persian empire. The date of the document may be placed in the Persian period, certainly not later than 300 B. C., and probably 150 years earlier (cf. 72. 76), as Mr. Cowley is inclined to believe. The legal form resembles that of the agreements written in cuneiform with Aram. seals attached, CIS ii 64-66, belonging to the 6th-5th cents. B. C.; no. 66 is dated 450 B. C. We have, then, a very early piece of evidence for a settlement of Jews in Upper Egypt; indeed, after the allusion of Jeremiah to the Jews 'dwelling in the land of Pathros,' i. e. Upper Egypt (44 I. 15; Schürer *Gesch.*<sup>3</sup> iii 19 ff.), this is the earliest contemporary reference. And this document does not stand alone. Mr. Cowley is publishing in the next number of the *PSBA* 6 ostraka,

5 of which come from Elephantina and belong to the same period, and refer to the same names, probably also to the same persons, as the papyrus.

L. 1. . . . ל Mr. Cowley conjectures לאמר as on Ostrakon 1.

L. 2. פ . . . בני Perhaps פני . . . שז l. 3, reading certain; probably the name for a sum of money. Mr. Cowley compares the Babyl. *soas*=60 shekels=1 maneh; Prof. Sayce thinks it is a Persian word. חלרן or חלרן Perhaps=Babyl. *halluru*, a coin used in reckoning the amount of interest in cuneiform contracts (see Sayce ap. Cowley).

L. 3. מרביח *interest*; cf. Lev. 25 37; תרביח Lev. 25 36. Eze. 18 8. For ancient ideas and legislation on the subject of interest see Driver, *Deut.* 266 f.

L. 4. The numeral may have been 6 or 8. After לירח the stroke somewhat like a † is prob. a mark of punctuation.

L. 5. ראש *principal*; cf. the usage in Lev. 5 24 ושלם אתו בראשו, and Talm. B. *Sanhedr.* 3 בראש 'money which is not paid as capital.' ירח בירח Cf. the idiom יום ביום in B Aram. *Ezr.* 9 and late Hebr. *Ezr.* 3 4. 1 Chr. 12 23 &c.

L. 6. פרסי In the Mishnah פרס is frequent in the sense of *salary, income.* מן אוצרא The debtor was apparently in a government office. תכתב נבו after חכתב must mean a document, Mr. Cowley suggests 'receipt' and a Persian derivation.

L. 7. מרבי here without the final ת (ll. 3. 5), from a ל' verb, is strictly the fem. of מרבה Barth *Nominalb.* § 248.

L. 8. תחות The first Egyptian month, Aug. 29–Sept. 27; Copt. Thōouth, Gk. Θωθ. In the space after שנת must have stood the symbol for 10 or 20; analogy suggests that the reference is to the years of a king's reign. יעקף The root עקף=*bend, curve*, so with עלי l. 9 shall return upon me, i.e. shall be required of me. Mr. Cowley suggests shall be doubled against me; 'if the debt was not paid, or if any interest was outstanding, the debtor was to pay interest on double the accumulated sum at the rate previously settled' (l. 2).

L. 12. עקב Cf. the O. T. יעקב. שמשנורי Not a Jewish name; cf. the Palm. שמשנורם (p. 298), עתנורי (p. 303), נורבל (p. 307).

L. 13. יהודרי i. e. *Yah is my glory*; if the reading is right the form is unusual; cf. אלעתי *El is my strength* 1 Chr. 12 5 and יוקבר in PC (Gray *Hebr. Pr. N.* 156).

- L. 14. מחסיה Cf. מַחֲסִיָּה Jer. 32 12. 51 59. ידניה Cf. O. T.  
דנאל.
- L. 15. זכריה . . מלכיה Both common in O. T.
- L. 16. For נמריה cf. 2 Sam. 6 3. 4, Gray l. c. 36, Driver *Sam.* 204.

## ADDENDA

Page 36, line 14 below, *add* see Appendix I.

Page 123, line 3 above, *add* Plate III.

Page 147, line 1 above, *add* Plate IV.

Page 186, line 1 above, *add* Plate V.

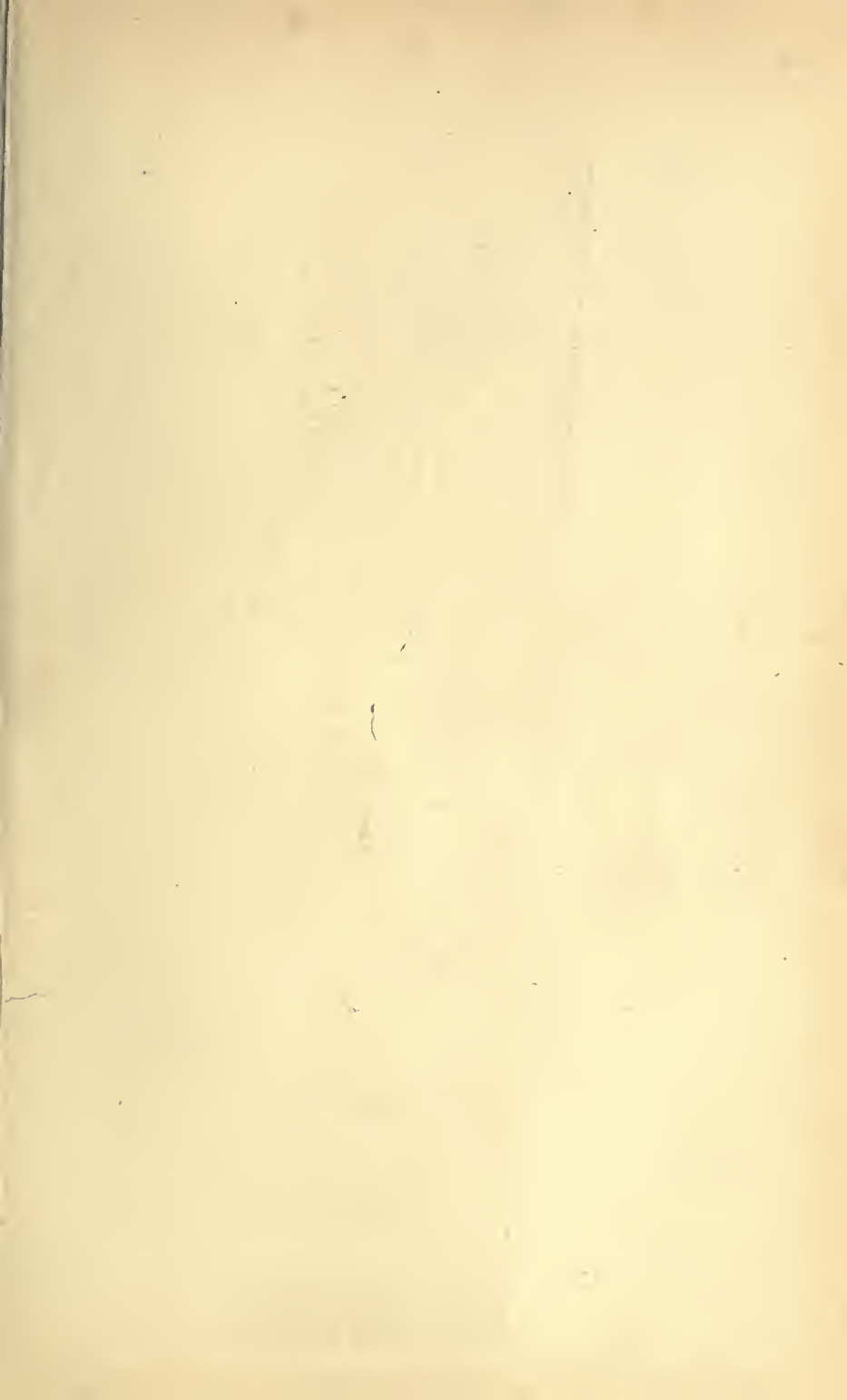
Page 189, line 6 below, *add* Plate VI.

Page 344, line 9 above, חֵיךְ Cf. the Assyr. *ḫilakku* = Cilicia.

In Eze. 27 11 Halévy proposes to read חֵיךְ *Cilicia*  
for חֵיךְ.

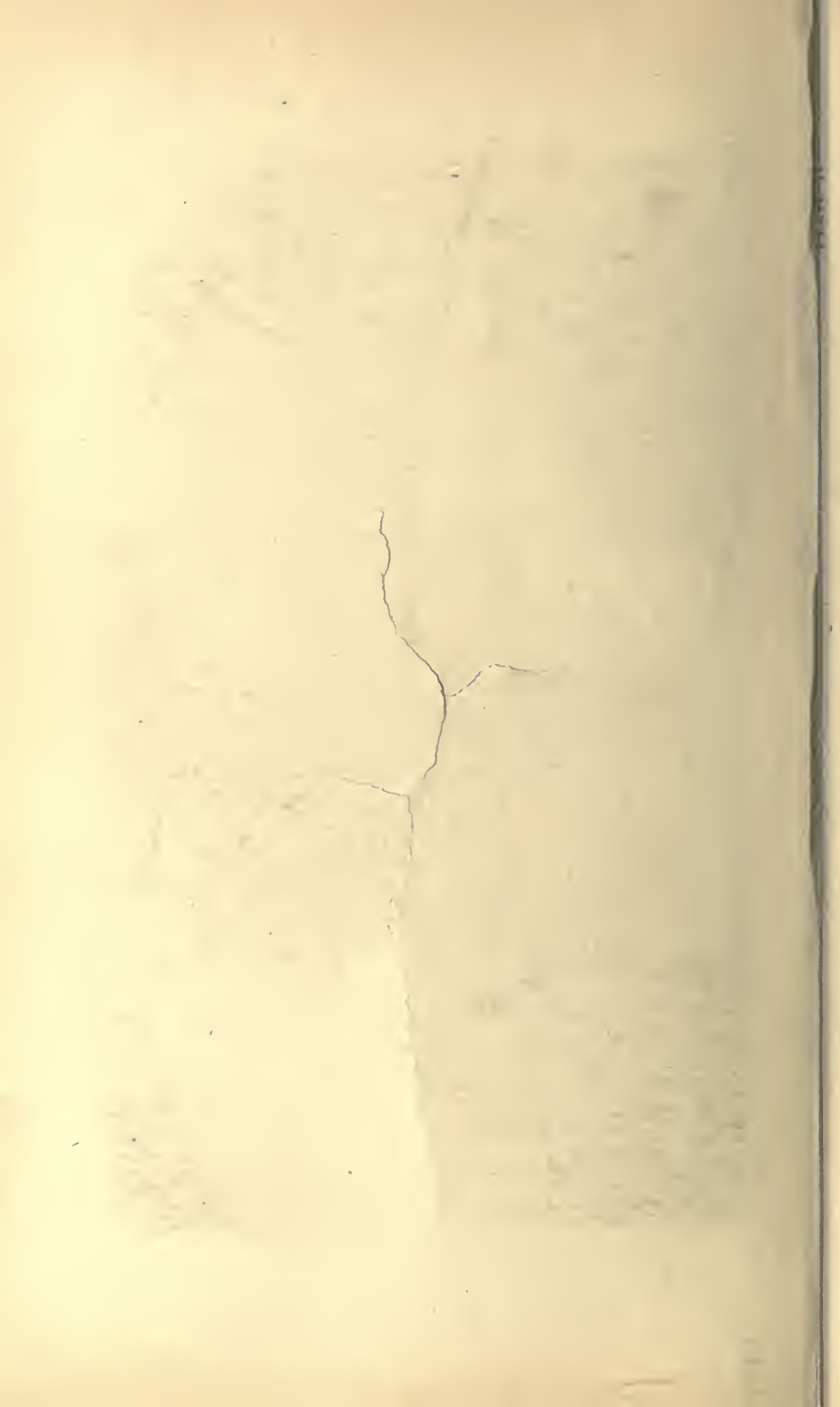
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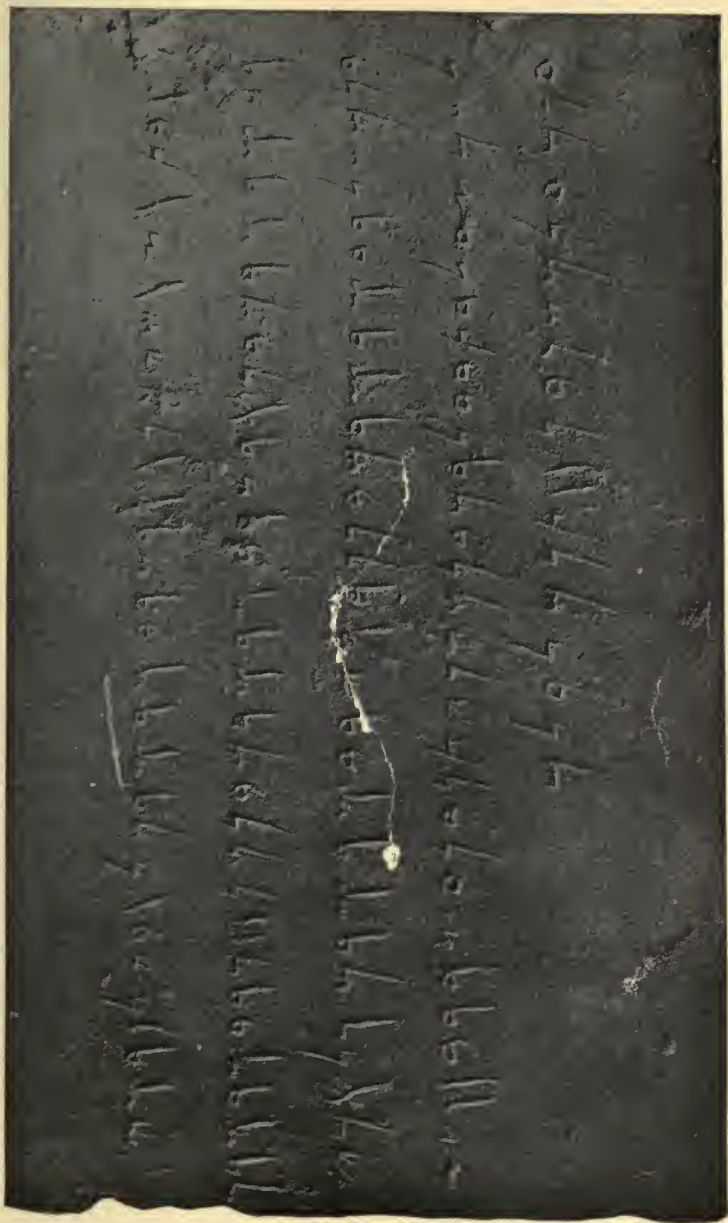




Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a historical document or manuscript. The text is densely packed and covers most of the page. The script is dark and somewhat faded, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect than the surrounding text. The text is arranged in approximately 20 horizontal lines, with some lines being more prominent than others. The overall appearance is that of an old, weathered document.

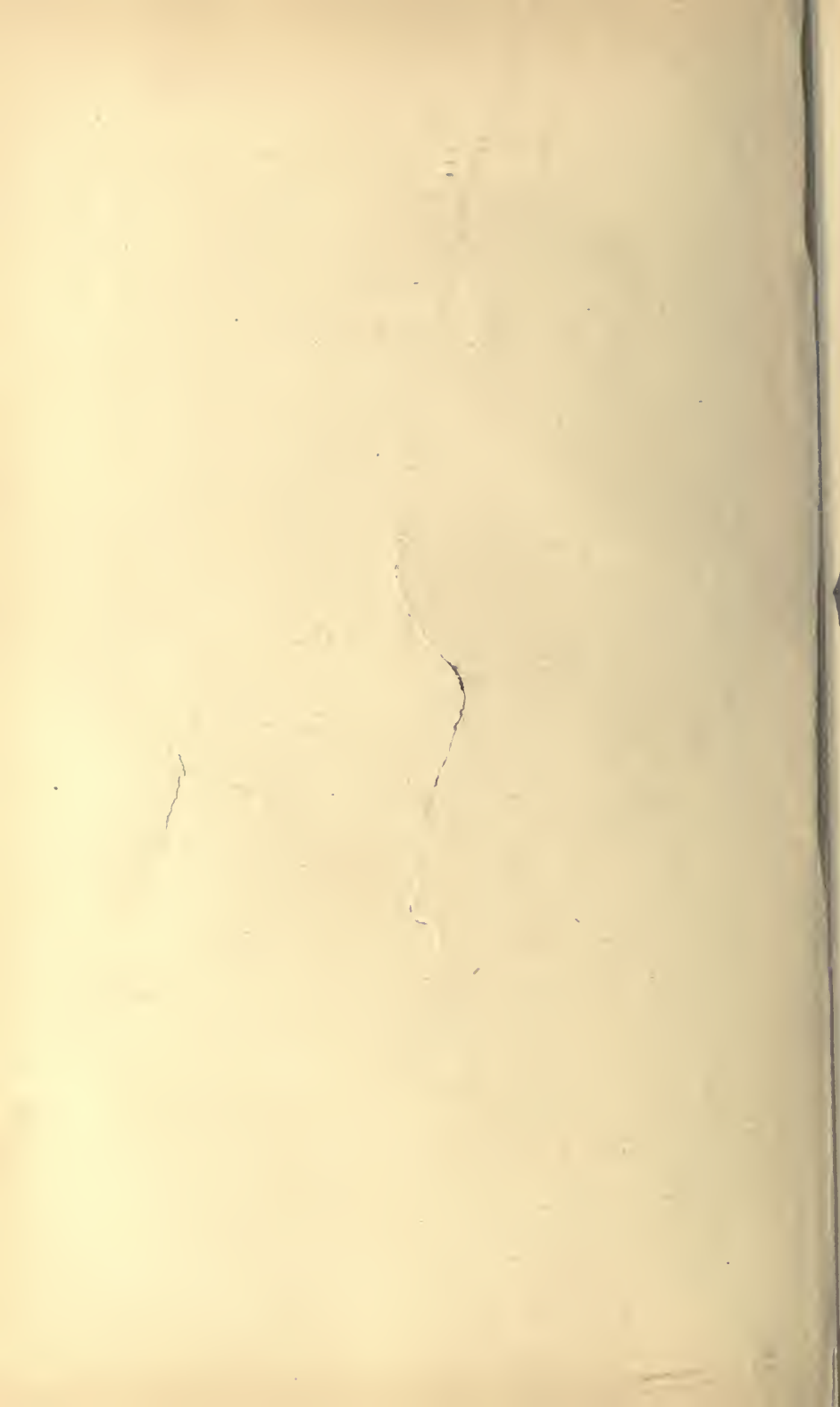






PHOENICIAN

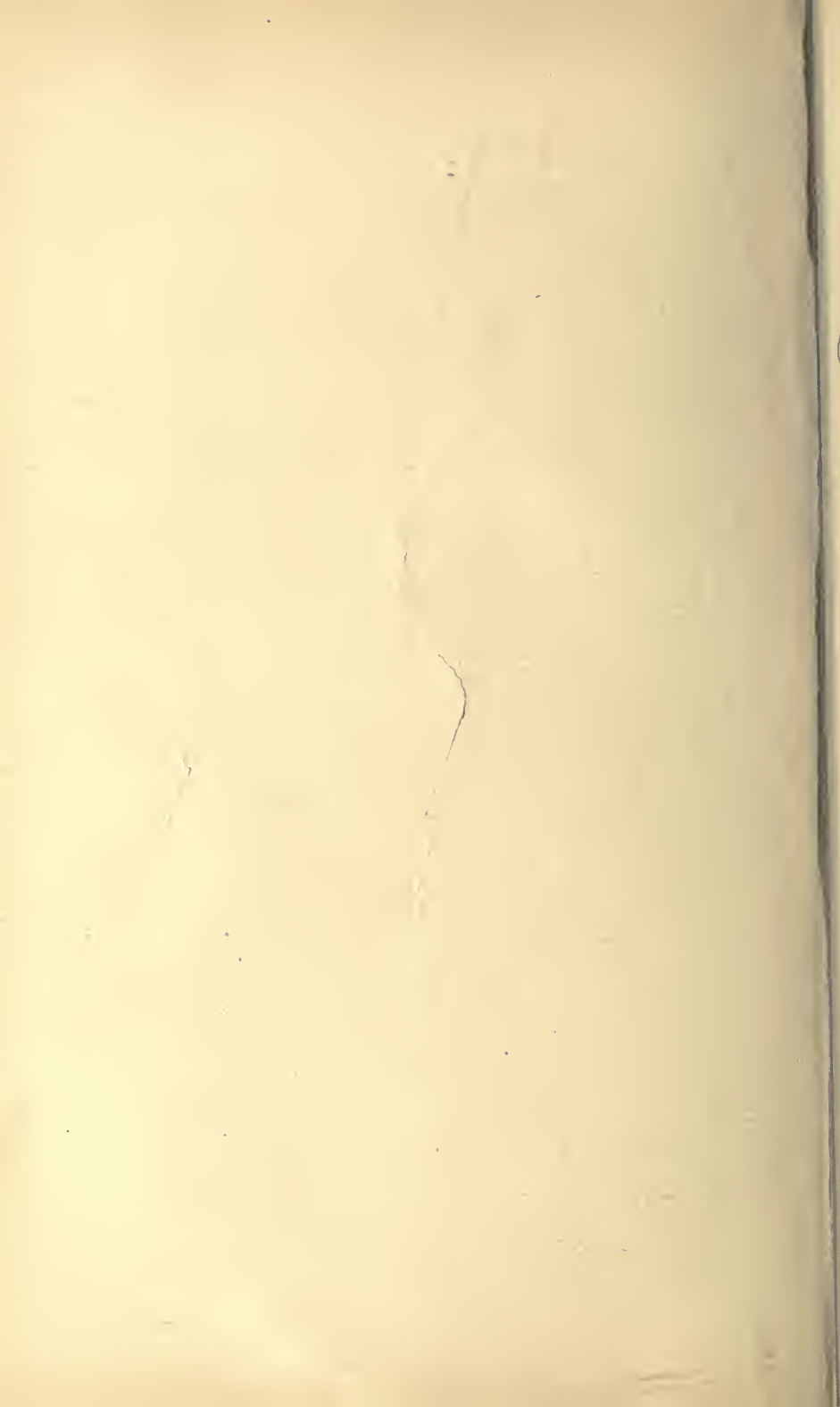
Cyprus. No. 21





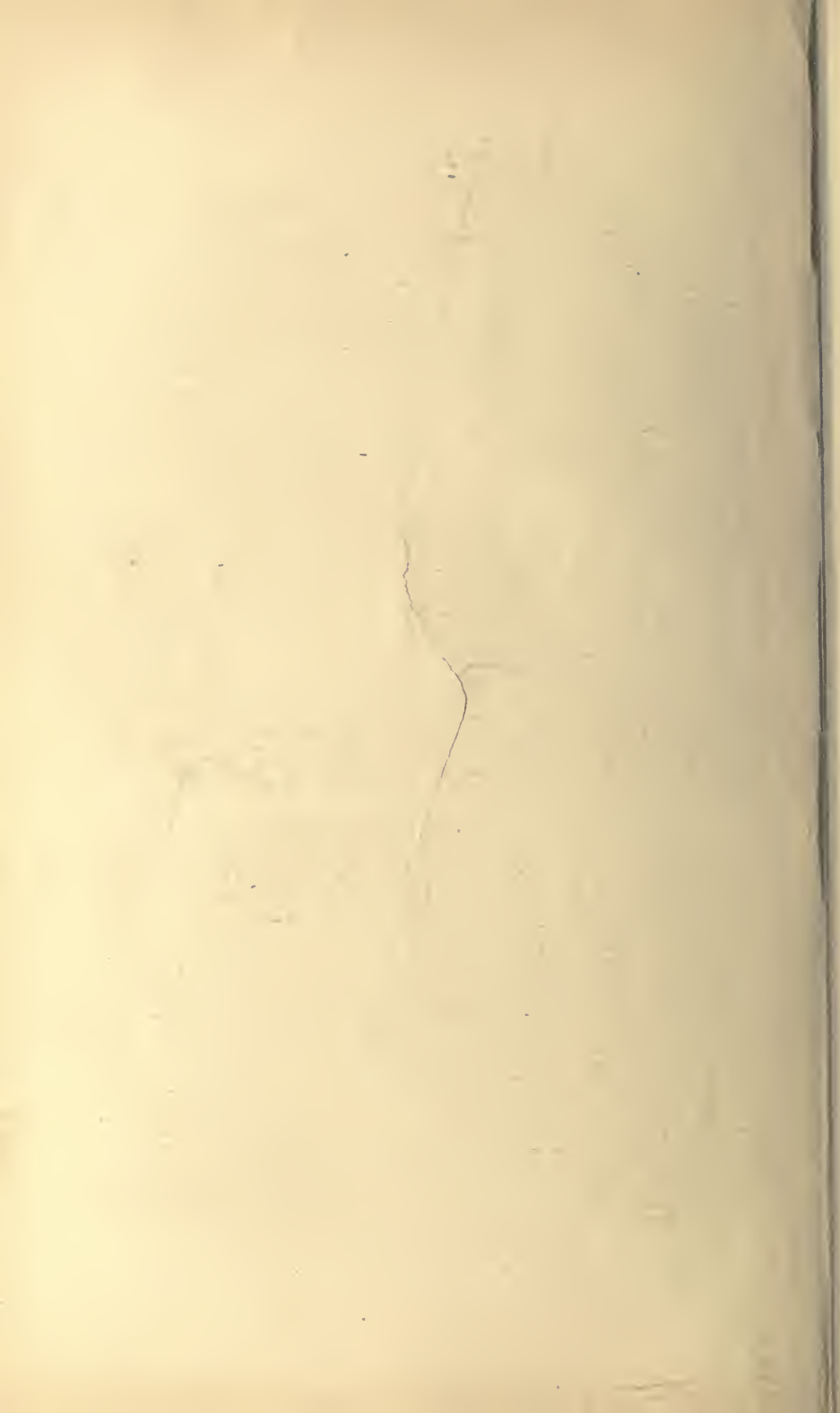
PUNIC

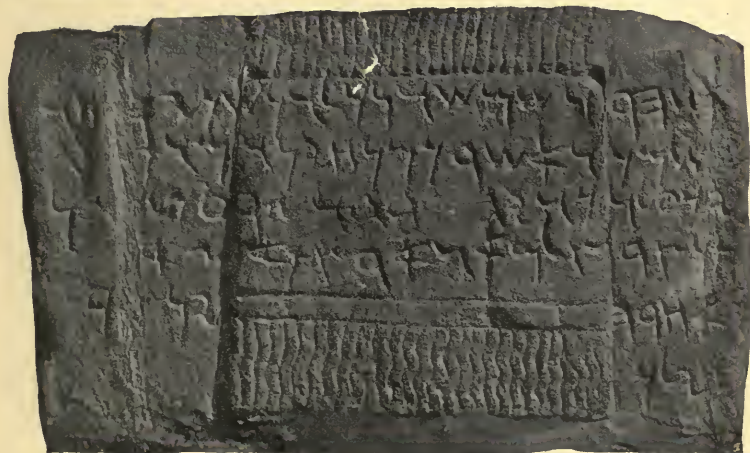
Carthage. No. 43





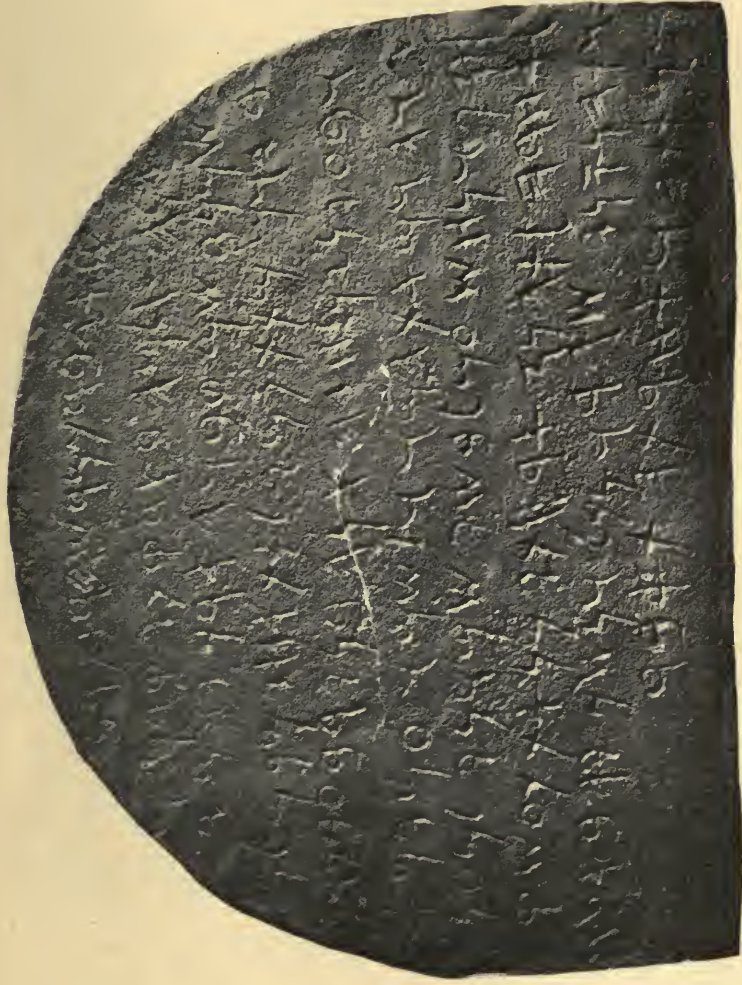
1. *Handwritten text in a cursive script, possibly a form of Punic or Phoenician, written on a fragment of parchment or leather. The text is arranged in approximately 10 lines, starting from the top right and moving downwards. The script is highly stylized and difficult to decipher.*





ARAMAIC

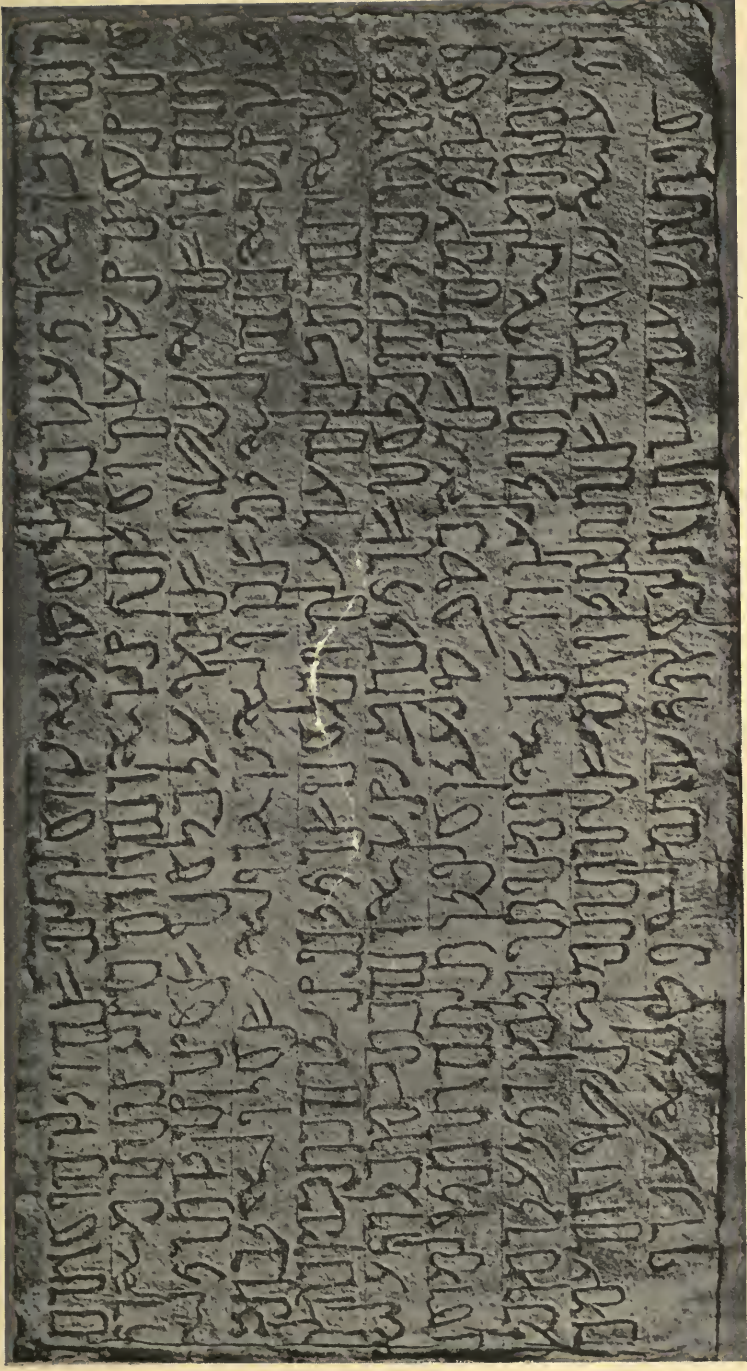




Nérab. No. 65

ARAMAIC



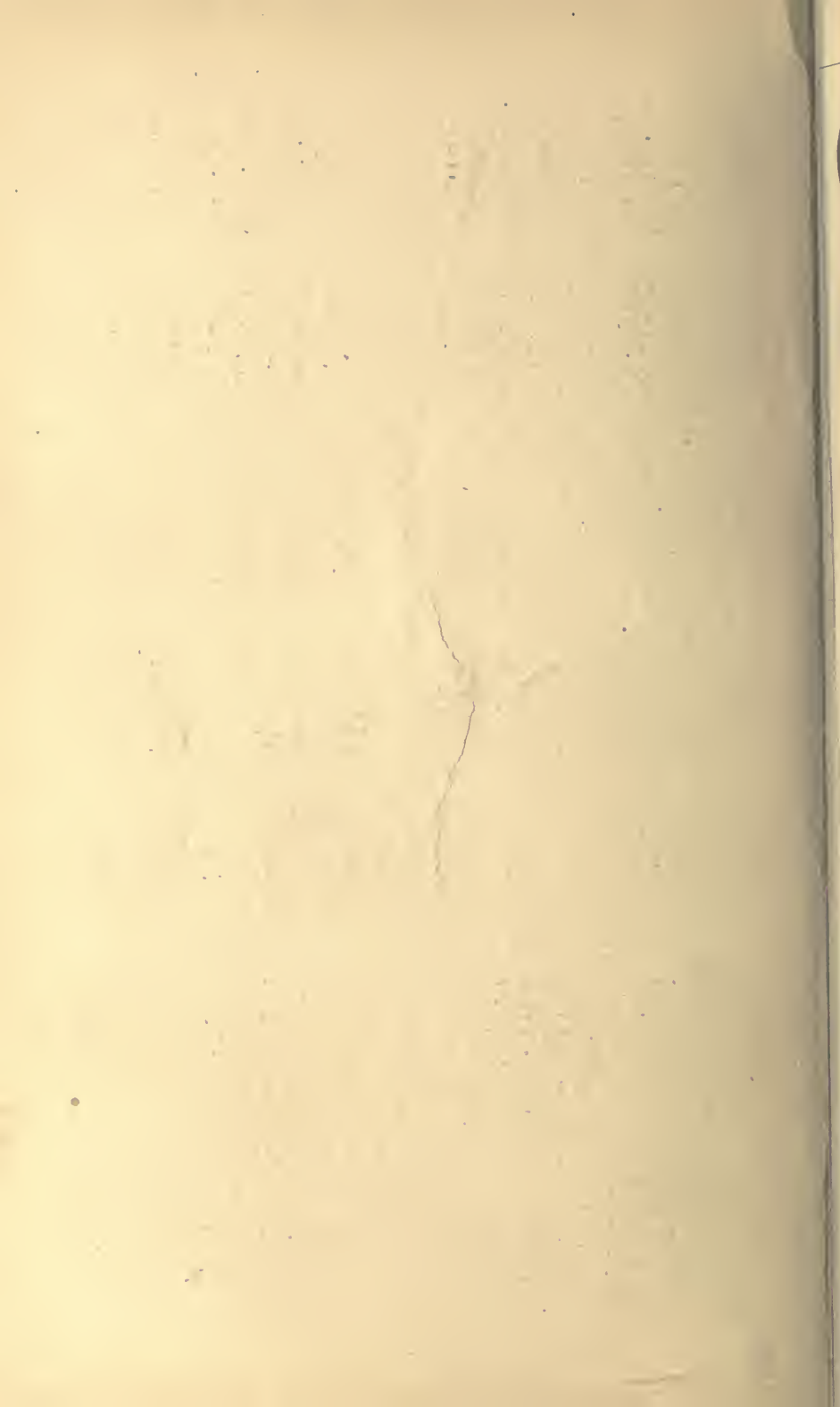


NABATAEAN







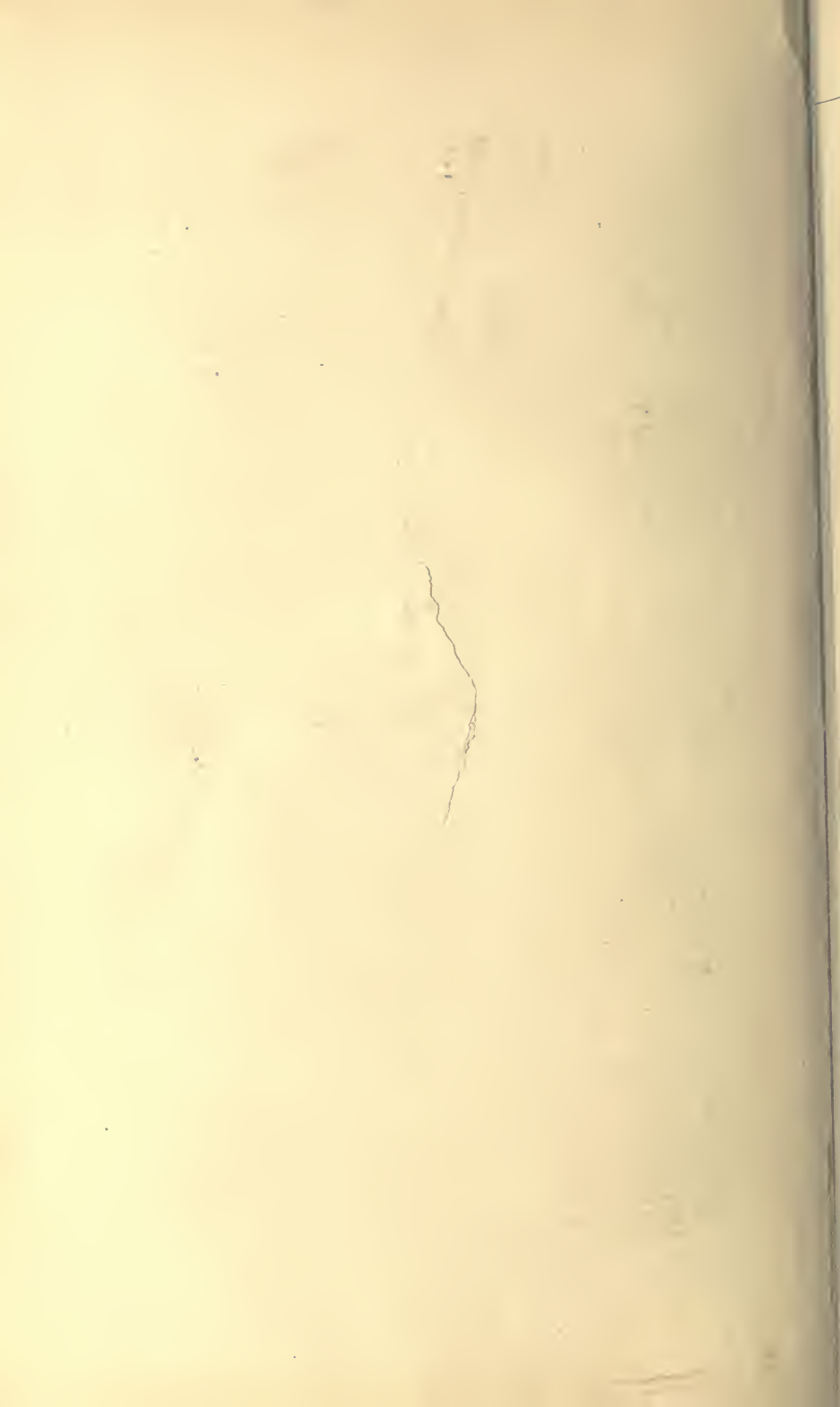


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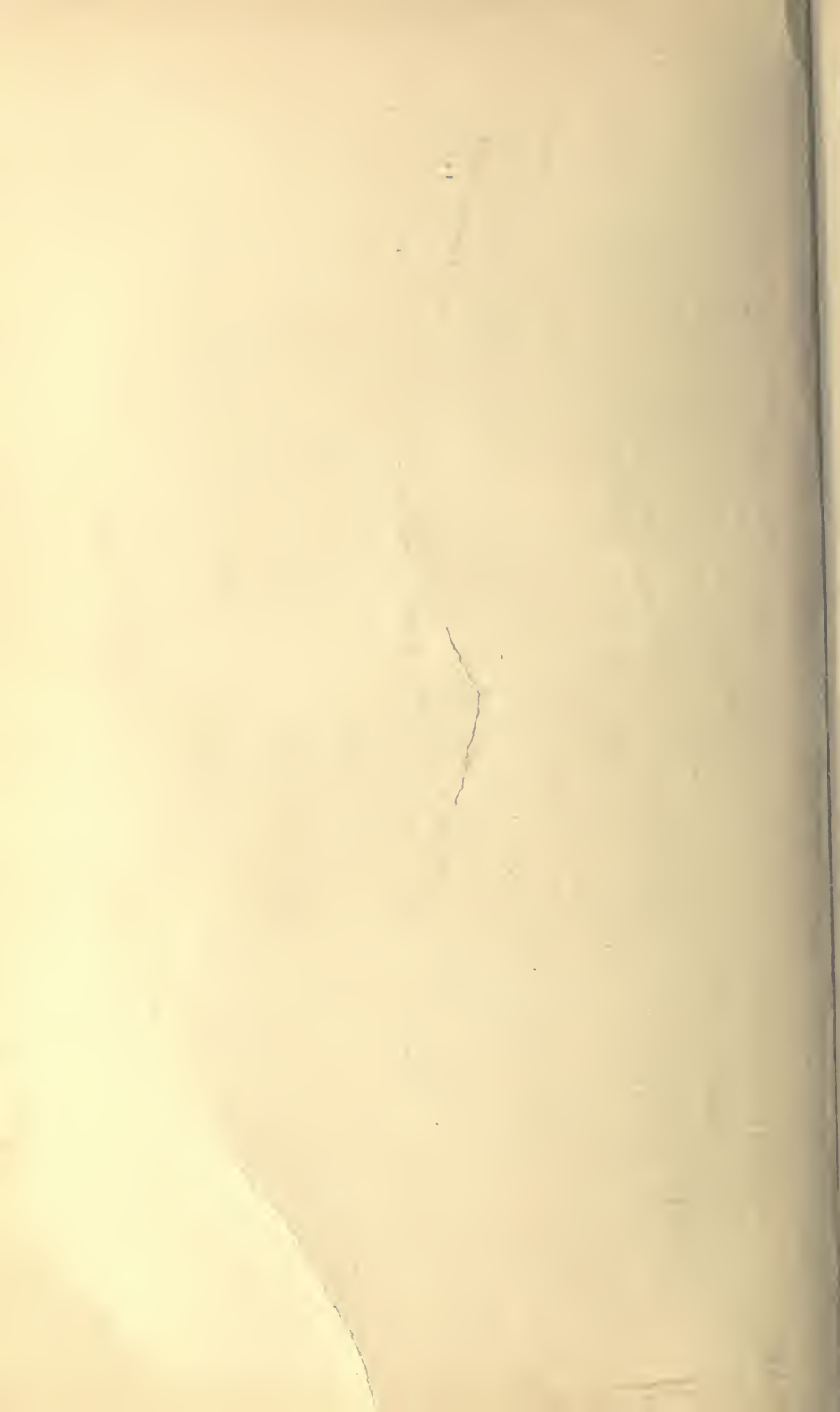


B



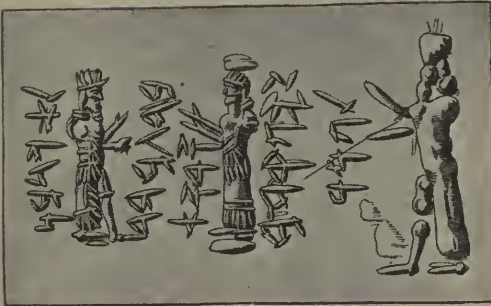








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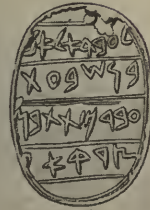
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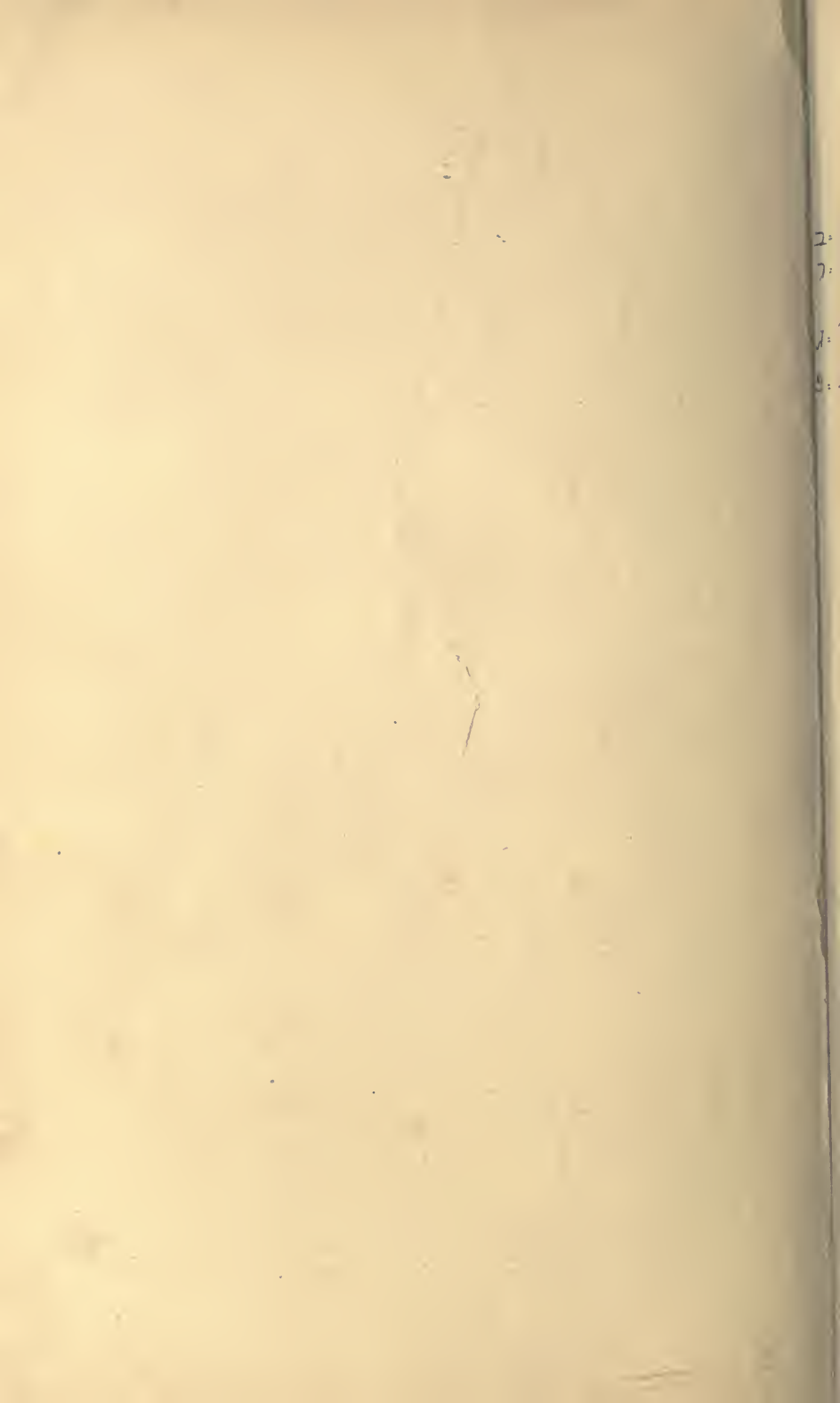
Handwritten notes in Hebrew script next to seal 6.



7



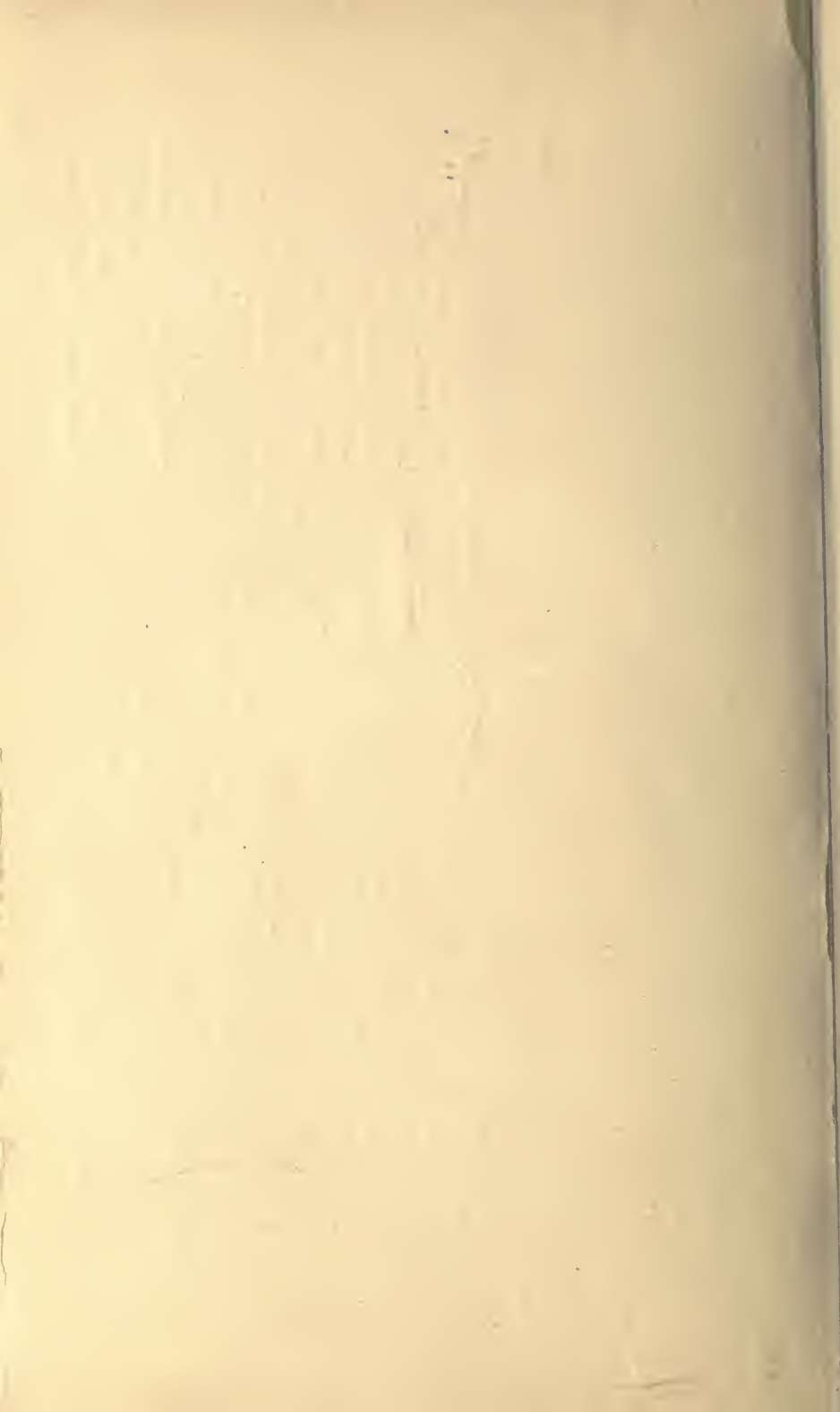
8



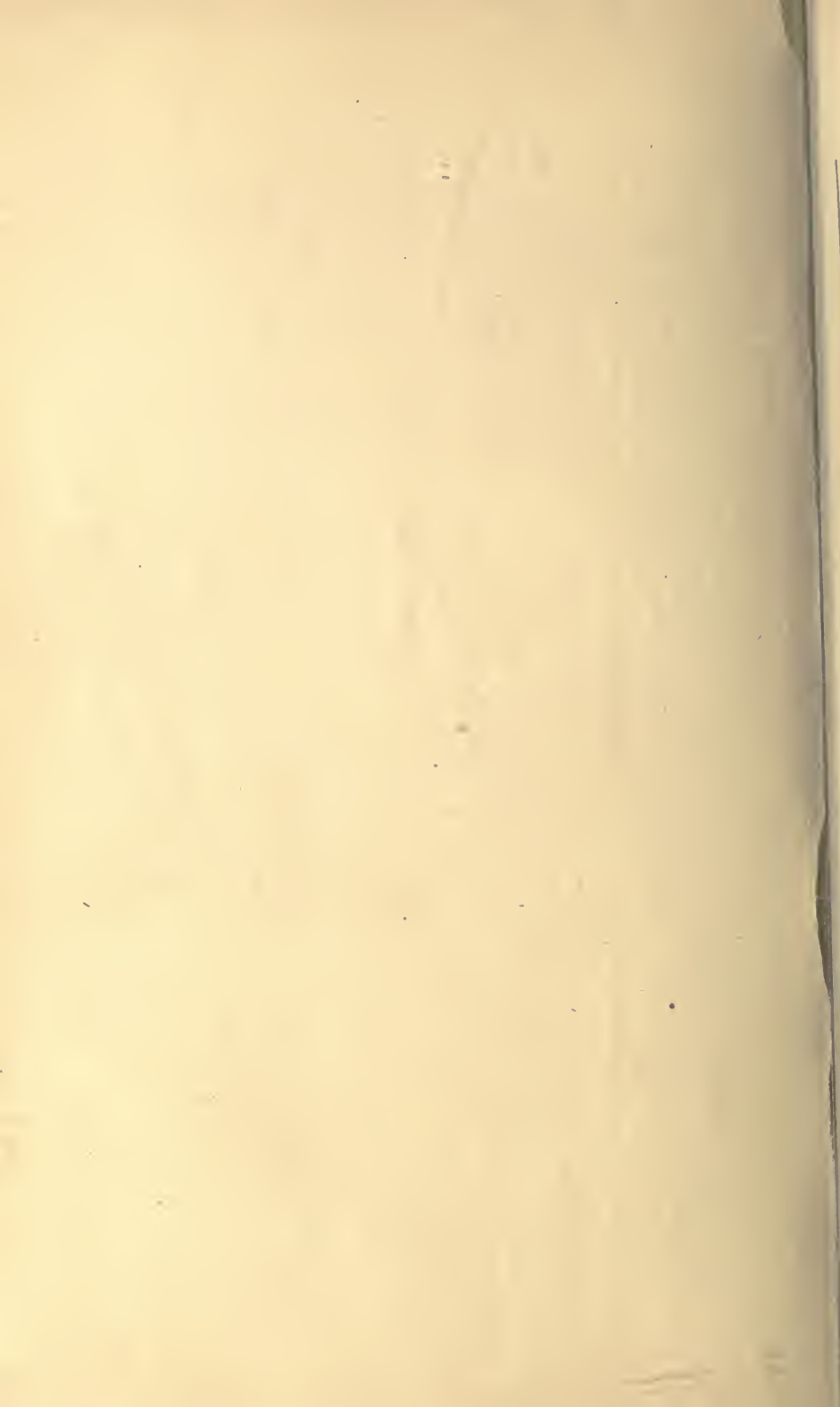


2 = 9  
 7 = 4  
 2 = 7  
 0 = JJ  
 { X FF  
 7 3  
 7 2  
 7 4  
 7 7  
 7 7  
 { 0 = ⊙  
 7 = X X X

	Moad St 1	Siloam 2	Baal-Lab 11	Sidon 4.5	Umm-el- Tawamid 9	Cyprus 12-30	Greece 32-35
	X	FF	FF	X	X	FF	FF
	2	9	99	9	99	99	9
	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
	T	Δ	Δ	Δ	ΔΔ	Δ Δ	Δ
	π	3	33	33	3	3	3
	γ	γ	γ	γ	γ	γ	γ
	ι	≡≡	≡	ι	~ ~	~ ~ ~ ~	~ ~ ~ ~
	π	π	ππ	π	ππ	ππ <sup>29</sup>	πππ
	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙ ⊙	⊙ ⊙
	ι	ι	ιι	ι	ι	ι ι <sup>29</sup>	ι ι ι
	γ	γγ	γ	γ	γ	γγ	γγγ
	ς	ςς	ςς	ς	ς	ςς	ςς
	ϑ	ϑ	ϑ	ϑ	ϑ	ϑϑ	ϑϑϑ
	ι	ι	ιι	ι	ι	ι	ι
	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
	γ	γ	γ	γ	γ	γγ	γγ
	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙ ⊙	⊙
	γ	γ	γ	γ	γ	γγ	γγ
	ϑ	ϑ	ϑ	ϑ	ϑ	ϑ	ϑ
	π	π	π	π	π	ππ	ππ
	γ	γ	γ	γ	γ	γγ	γγ
	ω	ω	ω	ω	ω	ω ω	ω ω
	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ χ	χ







NABATAEAN

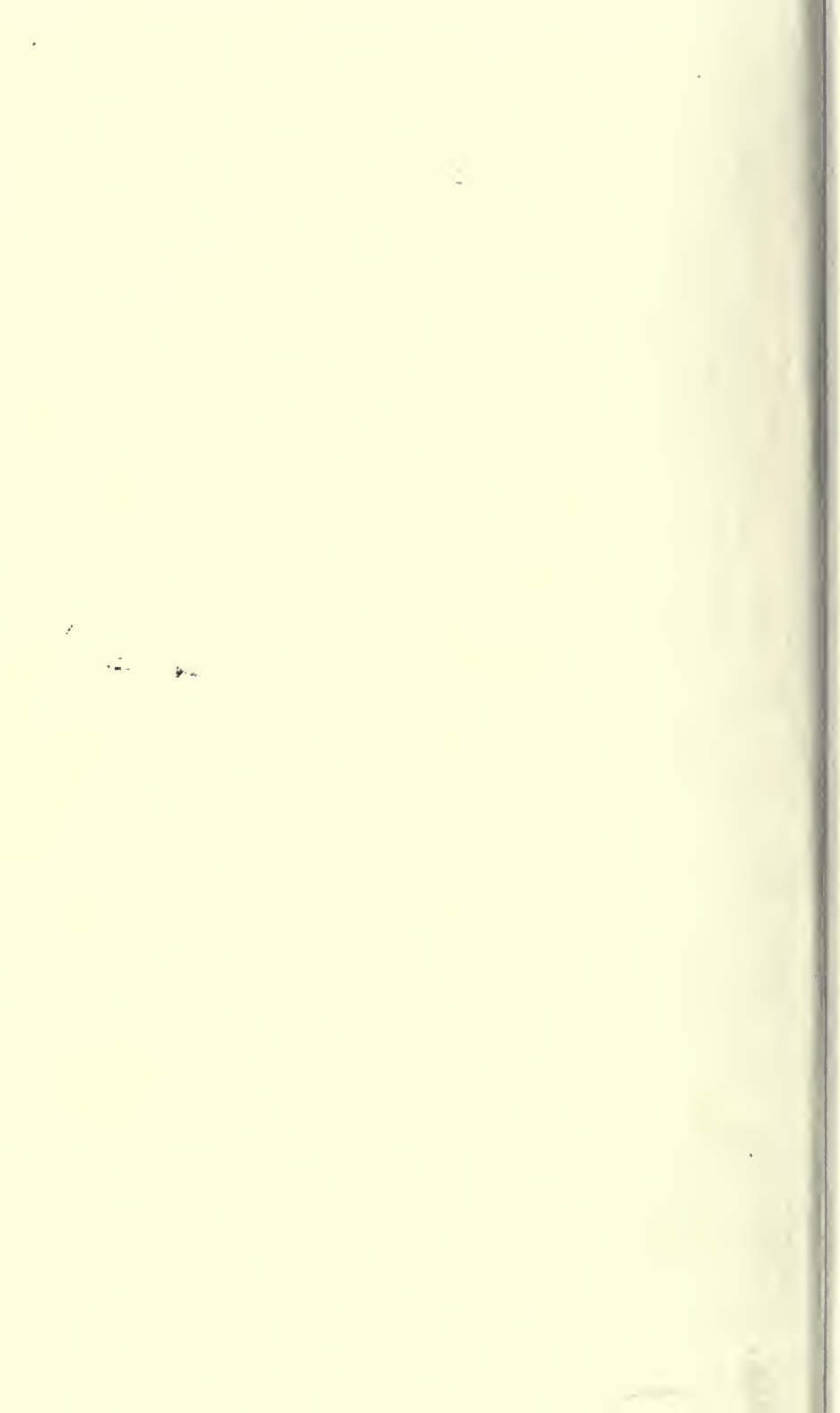
PALMYRENE

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ב	Ⲃ Ⲃ Ⲃ ⲃⲄⲅⲆ	Ⲃ Ⲃ	Ⲃ	Ⲃ ⲃ	Ⲃ ⲃ Ⲅ	Ⲃ	Ⲃ	Ⲃ	Ⲃ
ג	Ⲅ Ⲅ	Ⲅ Ⲅ	Ⲅ		Ⲅ ⲅ Ⲇ	Ⲅ	Ⲅ		Ⲅ
ד	ⲅ ⲅ	ⲅ ⲅⲆ	ⲅⲆ	ⲅⲆ	ⲅⲆⲇⲈ	ⲅ	ⲅ	ⲅ	ⲅ
ה	Ⲇ Ⲇ Ⲇ ⲇⲈⲉⲁⲂⲃ	Ⲇ ⲇⲈ	ⲆⲇⲈ	ⲆⲇⲈ	Ⲇ ⲇ Ⲉ ⲉ ⲁ Ⲃ ⲃ Ⲅ	Ⲇⲇ	Ⲇ	Ⲇ	Ⲇ
ו	ⲇ ⲇ	ⲇ	ⲇⲈ	ⲇⲈ	ⲇⲈⲉ	ⲇⲈ	ⲇ	ⲇ	ⲇⲈ
ז	Ⲉ	Ⲉ			Ⲉ		Ⲉ	Ⲉ	
ח	ⲉ ⲉ ⲉ ⲁⲂⲃ	ⲉ	ⲉⲁⲂ	ⲉⲁⲂ	ⲉ ⲁ Ⲃ	ⲉ	ⲉ	ⲉ	ⲉ
ט	ⲁ	ⲁⲂ	ⲁ	ⲁⲂⲃ	ⲁ Ⲃ ⲃ Ⲅ		ⲁ	ⲁ	
י	Ⲃ Ⲃ Ⲃ ⲃⲄⲅⲆⲇⲈ	Ⲃ ⲃⲄ	Ⲃ ⲃⲄ	Ⲃ ⲃⲄ	Ⲃ ⲃ Ⲅ ⲅ Ⲇ ⲇ Ⲉ	Ⲃ	Ⲃ	Ⲃ	Ⲃⲃ
כ	ⲃ ⲃ ⲃ ⲄⲅⲆⲇ	ⲃ Ⲅⲅ	ⲃ Ⲅⲅ	ⲃ ⲄⲅⲆ	ⲃ Ⲅ ⲅ Ⲇ ⲇ Ⲉ	ⲃ	ⲃ	ⲃ	ⲃ
ל	Ⲅ Ⲅ ⲅ ⲆⲇⲈ	Ⲅ ⲅⲆ	Ⲅ ⲅⲆ	Ⲅ ⲅⲆ	Ⲅ ⲅ	Ⲅ	Ⲅ	Ⲅ	Ⲅ
ם	ⲅ ⲅ ⲅ ⲆⲇⲈⲉ	ⲅ ⲆⲇⲈ	ⲅ ⲆⲇⲈ	ⲅ ⲆⲇⲈ	ⲅ Ⲇ ⲇ Ⲉ	ⲅ	ⲅ	ⲅ	ⲅ
נ	Ⲇ Ⲇ ⲇ ⲁⲂⲃ	Ⲇ ⲇⲈ	Ⲇ ⲇⲈ	Ⲇ ⲇⲈ	Ⲇ ⲇ	Ⲇⲇ	Ⲇⲇ	Ⲇⲇ	ⲆⲇⲈ
ס	ⲇ ⲇ	ⲇ			ⲇⲈ		ⲇ	ⲇ	ⲇ
ע	Ⲉ Ⲉ	Ⲉ	Ⲉⲉ	Ⲉⲉ	Ⲉ ⲉ	Ⲉ	Ⲉ		Ⲉ
פ	ⲉ ⲉ ⲁⲂⲃ	ⲉ ⲁⲂ	ⲉ ⲁⲂ		ⲉ ⲁ		ⲉ	ⲉ	
צ	ⲁ	ⲁⲂⲃ	ⲁ Ⲃⲃ	ⲁ Ⲃⲃ	ⲁ Ⲃ		ⲁ	ⲁ	
ק	Ⲃ	Ⲃ	Ⲃⲃ	Ⲃⲃ	Ⲃ ⲃ	Ⲃ	Ⲃ	Ⲃ	Ⲃ
ר	ⲃ ⲃ	ⲃ	ⲃⲄ	ⲃⲄ	ⲃ Ⲅ	ⲃ	ⲃ	ⲃ	ⲃ
ש	Ⲅ Ⲅ	Ⲅ ⲅⲆ	Ⲅ ⲅⲆ	Ⲅ ⲅⲆ	Ⲅ ⲅ	Ⲅ	Ⲅ	Ⲅ	Ⲅⲅ
ת	ⲅ ⲅ	ⲅ	ⲅⲆⲇ	ⲅⲆⲇ	ⲅ Ⲇ	ⲅ	ⲅ	ⲅ	ⲅⲆ

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