

the Gate Tadi, the north gate of the Sanctuary, appears to have been closed and replaced by an underground passage passing under the cloisters, and represented at the present time by Cistern No. 1. The Northern Cloister, like the Western, ended at the Tower of Antonia, the probable approximate position of which I have marked in dotted lines. There is a statement in Josephus which appears to confirm this proposed restoration of the Temple, as he mentions that the addition of the Outer Cloisters doubled the area of the Temple Enclosure.¹ Now the area, as enclosed by the four Outer Cloisters as shown on Plan No. 2, is rather more than 480,000 square cubits, and the area of the Sanctuary was 250,000 square cubits; so that the one, speaking roughly, is just double of the other.

In the sections, I have shown the manner in which the Temple buildings, with the levels given in Josephus and the Mishna, compare with the rock levels, as determined by exploration. These sections will explain, better than any verbal description, how well the one corresponds to the other, if the site of the Temple on Mount Moriah, which I have suggested, is accepted. I would add that in this paper I have treated the subject in a general manner only, as to enter into all the details which had to be considered in preparing the plans would make it a great deal too long. As I have stated before, my effort has been to prepare plans, which would be in accord with the historical documents, and also with what exploration has shown to be the actual facts.

THE SYRIAN LANGUAGE.

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IN Hezekiah's time the Syrian or Aramean language differed from Hebrew (2 Kings xviii, 26); and the discoveries due to the German explorations of 1888-91, which have just been published, cast a remarkable light on this subject. The site excavated, now Sinjirli, is the ancient Samâla, situated east of Issus, on the highway from Carchemish to the Gulf of Alexandretta, and north-west of Aleppo, in the extreme north of Syria. The old name itself appears to mean "the north," and often occurs in Assyrian texts. Here, in addition to a magnificent stela of Esarhaddon holding captive the King of Egypt and another prisoner, were discovered statues of basalt covered with inscriptions in the Phœnician alphabet, the letters cut in relief. Of these the earliest appears to date about 800 B.C., and another about 730 B.C.; and the forms of the older letters are very closely those of the Moabite stone. The contents are of historic value; and the language—which approaches the Moabite, Phœnician, and early Aramaic rather than the Hebrew—is of great interest. The later text

¹ Josephus "Wars," Book I, Chap. xxi, 1.

has been translated (with omissions) by E. Sachau; but the older text is less fully treated. Excellent fac-similes of both render the study of the original comparatively easy. The following appears to me to be the transliteration, the words being clearly divided by dots:—

I.—*From a Statue to Hadad by Panammu I. Circa 800 B.C.*

- 1 אַנְך פִּנְמוּ בַר קַרְל מֶלֶךְ יֵאֲדִי זֵי הַקַּמַּת נֶצַב זֶן לְהַדַּד
בַּעֲלָמִי
- 2 קָמוּ עָמִי (?) אַתְהוּ הַדַּד וְאֵל וְרִשְׁפָּ וְרַכְבָּאֵל וְשִׁמְשׁ וְנַתַּן
בִּידֵי הַדַּד וְאֵל
- 3 וְרַכְבָּאֵל וְשִׁמְשׁ וְרִשְׁפָּ חַטְר חֲלַבְבָּה וְקַם עָמִי רִשְׁפָּ
פָּמוּ אַחֲזוּ
- 4 בִּד (מִתְּ) פְּלֹחַ וְ מִז אִשְׁב (מִ) אֱלֹהֵ . . . יַתְנֹלִי
וְשִׁנַּם (?) עֲלוּיִי
- 5 לֹ אַרְק שַׁעְרֵי הָאֵל
- 6 אַרְק חַטְי וְאַרְק שִׁמִּי
- 7 וְאַרְק אִז בַּקַּרַּת עָמִי . . . ד . . . ר יַעֲבֵדוּ אַרְק וְכַרַּם
- 8 שִׁם יֵש ם פִּנְמוּ גַם יִשְׁבַּת עַל מִשְׁב אַבִּי וְנַתַּן
הַדַּד בִּידֵי
- 9 חַטְר חֲלַבְבָּא ת חַרְב וְלִשְׁן מִן בֵּית אַבִּי וְ בִימִי
גַם אַכְל וְ שַׁתָּא (?) אַרְוִי
- 10 בִימִי יַתְמַר רַפ קִי לִנְצַב . . יַמַּת וְ לִנְצַב זַכְרֵי וְלִבְנֵי
כַפִּירֵי חֲלַבְבָּא (ם) ש . . . ם יַקַּח
- 11 אֲשֶׁרֻוּ קַח נ ב אֵל וְ רַכְבָּאֵל וְ שִׁמְשׁ וְאַרְק רִשְׁפָּ
וְ כַבְדוּ נַתְנַה לִּי וְ אַמִּי (?) רַמְרַת
- 12 . . . בִימִי חֲלַבְבָּא (?) בַּה ת הַבְּלֵאֱלֹהִי וּמַת יַקְחוּ מִן יַדִּי
וּמַה אֲשַׁאֵל מִן אֱלֹהֵי מַתִּית
- 13 לִי וְ אַרְקוּ וּמ קַרְל אֱלֹהֵי מַת פְּלוּ נַתַּן לֹ כַתַּן הַדַּד
מַת לִי (?) מַת יַקְרִנִי לְבִנָּא וּבַה לְבַבְתִּי
- 14 נַתַּן מַת (?) הַעֲמִי (לְ) בִנָּא (?) מַת בְּנִית מַת . . . וְ . . . קַמַּת
נֶצַב הַדַּד זֶן וְ מַקַּם פִּנְמוּ בַר קַרְל מֶלֶךְ

- 15 יאדי .. מן (?) אן) ח.. פנמו בן יאחו (חטר) ו ישב על
משבי ויועד אברו ו יזבח
- 16 הדר זן (?) ויאב .. סב) משי ו יזבח נדבא יזבח הדר
ו יזכר אשם הדר או
- 17 הא פא יאמ נבש פנמו עמך ותש ... נבש פנמו
עמך עה יזכר נבש פנמו עם
- 18 (האר?) האר בא (?) רק) זא יתן רקו יה שאל
הדר ולאל ו רכבאל ו שמש
- 19 תן ב (?) ארק) זא י ה ו הושבת בה
יריה ו רתבבת ב חנאת
- 20 נתנו לי זרע חבא ובני יאחו חטר ו ישב
על משבה מלך
- 21 עש (?) ומחא) ו יסעד אברו ו י ה ... ר אשם פנמו
ו אמרתן ל כבשו (?) עם)
- 22 עם הדר ו תשתי נבש פנמו עם (ך הא) חקן
זבחה ו אל ירקו בה ומו
- 23 ישאל אל יתן לה הדר ו הדר חרא ליתן ה
אל יתן להלאך לבור ז
- 24 ושמה למנע מן הבלילא ורבה מתן לה ב יח
.....
- 25 יאחו חטר ביאדי ו ישב על משבי ז ימלך .. יח יח
ידהבחרבב י או
- 26 יח סאל יהרג או ברגו או על ... או ... יומו
מתאו על קשתה או על אמרתה
- 27 חה ירשי שחת ראשי חרוי חיה או באשר
חזמו בחיה או באשר
- 28 חרה אויח(ה) יבשי שחת יגמר (?) סא .. ריה)ז
... רי ויקמותה במאה מתושה
- 29 יאמר אחכם השחת הנ מא יריה לאלה אבה משה
יאמר הו אם שמת אמרת אל בפן

30 זד אמר קם עיני או עלה או ני בפן אנש ז... צרי
נתנו זכר הא לתפן בר איהה

31 זכרו פלכתשה באבני ו הנור (מ?) בר אחיו פלכת-
שנה באבני והנר לושחת

32 באשרה ו תלעי עינך בא .. ר(ד) על קשתה או
על גברתה או על אמרתה

33 או על נדבה את פא ישר הא(ה)ד(ד) (רש?)
או תהרגה בחמ חפא או

34 תחק עליה או תאלב אש יהרגה

This is written on a pillar with a man's (or God's) head wearing a soft round cap, bearded but without moustache, in the Phœnician fashion. The three great breaks in the stone leave long gaps in the text, but many parts are very clear, and the meaning certain.

The translation appears to me to be as follows:—

- (1) I am Panammu son of Karal King of Yadi. I have set up this statue to Hadad my master.
- (2) My people are his—Hadad both God, and light, and Cherub, and Sun; and there is given to my hand by Hadad the God,
- (3) and Cherub, and Sun, and light, the Sceptre of Aleppo; and he has been to the people a light: wherefore he has received
- (4) at my hands much worship; and therefore I sit (the supremest prosperity?) is given me by my God.
- (5) is it not a land of barley
- (6) a land of wheat, and a land of (oil?)
- (7) and a land the care of my people they till the land, and the vineyard.
- (8) A name he Panammu. Moreover I sit on the seat of my father; and Hadad has given to my hand
- (9) the sceptre of Aleppo. The he has destroyed; and may it cease from my father's house. And in my day also I enjoy food and drink
- (10) And in my day a restoration is established invoking the statue and for a statue (as) my memorial; and for the children of the villages of Aleppo has been received
- (11) They have prospered the God and Cherub and Sun. And a land of glory and honor is given to me, and royal authority
- (12) In my day Aleppo the godless, and much they have received from my hands. And do not I ask from my God gifts for myself, and the land

- (13) and to (the son of) Karal God has given much hope. Truly Hadad has given much (wherefore ?) he is dear to me. May he bless the utterance of my wishes
- (14) He has given (much to the people ?) may he bless the building much, and the erection of this statue of Hadad, and the shrine of Panammu the son of Karal, King
- (15) of Yadi (and when ?) Panammu (is no more ?) his son shall receive the sceptre, and sit on my seat, and shall increase greatly, and shall sacrifice to
- (16) this Hadad, and and he shall sacrifice the freewill offering, and shall sacrifice to Hadad, and shall remember the sin-offering of Hadad : if
- (17) behold he (shall rule ?) here Panammu has said "(Comfort thou ?) thy people" Panammu has said "Thy people is mindful of sin" Panammu has said "The people"
- (18) (Enlighten thou ?) ". . . . in this land Strengthen thou my land thereby" He has asked of Hadad, and to the God and Cherub and Sun
- (19) this land and thereby is set at rest my fear, and I have increased in devotion.
- (20) to give me offspring of love and my son shall receive the sceptre, and shall sit on the King's throne
- (21) a long time, and his wealth shall prosper mightily, and he shall the sin offering of Panammu, having authority to subdue the (people ?)
- (22) the people of Hadad, and the rebellious. Panammu has said "Thy people (behold ?) (shall sacrifice ?) the sacrifice, and invoke God thereby. Whereby it
- (23) shall ask of God. Strengthen it O Hadad : for Hadad is pure. May he strengthen it (may) the strong God send a message, may he so choose
- (24) And may he keep his name from destruction, and much that is given may he make
- (25) Shall receive the sceptre of Yadi, and shall sit on my seat, and shall rule skillful in war if
- (26) far shall he slay : if in wrath if in if they have waxed very hot : if by his strength ; if by his authority
- (27) possessing subjection of careful chiefs for life. If through this there is unity in his lifetime ; if through this
- (28) the people is pure (or free) putting to shame, he shall perfect the submission and whatever is received by counsel
- (29) he shall speak wisely, causing submission fearing the God of his father (in all things ?) He shall command for him thus the raising up of authority, than the former
- (30) before my sight greater. If in the sight of men this my sculpture is here to give a memorial in sight of the son of his people

- (31) a memorial well carved on my stone, and shewing forth
for the son of my race: a goodly carving on my stone and it
has shewn truly (there is) submission
- (32) in prosperity, and a turning of thine eyes if by his strength,
if by his might, if by his authority,
- (33) if by offerings here he shall rule, lo! Hadad if there is
slaughter in the refuge. If thou ordainest me it, if thou
willest, it is (so): there shall be destruction

Most of the words are common, and well known in Hebrew and in Aramaic; but the following require some comment:—

Line 1. בעלמי Probably the מ is a *mimma*tion, representing the old demonstrative *ma* found in Assyrian and in Sabeian "This my Lord."

Line 2. רכבאל "that on which God rides." The gods are frequently represented (and especially on Esarhaddon's stela at Samâla itself) standing on various animals. The word thus answers to "Cherub."

Line 3. חלבבה perhaps "people of Aleppo," חלב being the principal city not far off. פמז. Compare the Phœnician מן "from this." In the next line מז "thereby."

Line 4. ושנם עלויו The first word appears to have the *mimma*tion. Compare the Arabic وثن *Copia*. It appears to be a nominative in ך which follows.

Line 6. שמני perhaps for שמני "oils" (or in the genitive "of oil").

Line 9. לשן from שאן or שון "to be quiet." He refers to the enemy leaving his house at peace. ארו. Compare the word רית "pleasure" on the Moabite stone.

Line 12. הבלאלהי "the godless," "those who are without God." The word אלהי appears to be Elohim used as a singular. מת found on the Marseilles tablet, and on the coffin of Eshmunazar, cannot in any of these cases mean "dead." It seems to stand for מאד "much" (Assyrian, *mad*), which suits in each occurrence.

Line 13. למנת is uncertain ("for which things"?). ובה Arabic, و, "to indicate"—"the indication" or "utterance." לבבתי "hearts," used for "wishes," as on the Tell Amarna tablets.

Line 15. מן אן ח(ית) "from without (אין) life," *i.e.*, "when he ceases to be." אברו perhaps an adverb, from אבר "to mount up." Assyrian *abiru*, great.

Line 17. נבש Arabic, نبس and نبس "to speak." ותש(ה) Hebrew, אשה "to sustain," "solace." In the Aramaic languages ך takes the place of the Hebrew נ in several roots. In this case it is an *Iphtaal* voice.

- Line 18. האר is doubtful. Root אור.
- Line 19. הושבת from שבת. חנאת (as in the next text) from the root חנא, Arabic حنا "to incline," "to lean towards." Hence to be devoted.
- Line 21. עת, Arabic عاٹ "to be late," Hebrew עת.
- Line 22. תשתי from שת "contention," ירקו. Compare the Arabic رقى "to make an incantation," "to cry aloud."
- Line 23. לבור. Hebrew בור "to search," and ברר "to choose."
- Line 26. סאל. Compare the Arabic سيل "to spread out."
- Line 27. חרוי. Arabic خرز "he took care." חזמו, Arabic حزم "to be firmly bound together." A nominative in ך.
- Line 28. איהה. This word often occurs, and seems in each case to mean "a people." Perhaps connected with אח "brother."
- Line 28. יקמותה בכמה מתושה. From קמו "to gather," מא "what," and ישה "to advise."
- Line 29. משה (from מ and ש "in the things?")
- Line 30. אמר from נמר "to see," "the sight of my eye," קם meaning "before." צרי from צרה "to carve," or a cognate root. נתנו from תנא "to give," or perhaps "this (is) my carving, to give (נתן) a memorial."
- Line 31. זכרו a noun in the nominative singular in ך. פלכתשה. From פל "admirable" and כתש.
- Line 32. תלעי from תלע, Arabic تلع "to stretch out," "to draw up." Perhaps the meaning is "turning away thine eye from rebellion" (אמרדה).
- Line 34. תאלב, Arabic الب "he loved" or "he moved": "if you will" or "if you urge." The concluding sentences attribute all that happens to Hadad. The text is as long as that of the Moabite stone, and was written not more than a century later, as will be shown below.

II.—From a Headless Statue of Panammu II. Circa 730 B.C.

- 1 נצב זן שם בררכב לאבה לפנמו בר ברצר
 שנת פלמ בי
- 2 אבה פלטה אלה יאדי מן שחתה אלה חות בבית אבה
 ו קם אלה ה ש .. על שחת
- 3 בבית אבה והרג אבה ברצר והרג שבעי :::: אחוי
 אבה ... ס ... אל רכב והג בך עלם ... בעל
 שחלא מת ...

- 4 ו יתרה מת מלא מסגרת והכבר קירת חרבת מן קירת
ישבת ו ק ש תשם ...
- 5 חרב בבית ו תהרגו חד בנו ו אגם חוית חרב בארק
יאדי ו ח... ת לפנמו בר קרל את פן אבי ו בן בנו
אבד
- 6 שאה ו שורה ו חטה ו שערה ו קם פרס בשקל ו
(שטרב) בשקל ו אסן משת בשקל ו יבל אבי
.....
- 7 עד סלך אשור ו מלך ה על בית אבה ו הרף אבן
שחת מן בית אבה ... מן אצר א אבי מן
ב.....
- 8 ו מישש מסגרת ו הרפי שבי יאדי ו בי ו הרפי נשי
בס בא בית קתילת ו קנוא
- 9 בית אבה ו היטבה מן קדמתה ו כברת חטה ו שערה
ו שאה ו חורת ביומי ו אז אכלת... ות
10 זלת מוכרו ו ביומי אבי פנמו שמ מת בעלי כפירי ו
בעלי רבב ה ... אבי פנמו במצעת מלכי כבר
- 11 בי לו בעל כסף הא ולו בעל זהב בחכמתה ובצדקה פי
אחו בכנן מראה מלך אשור ר
12 אשור פחי ו אחי יאדי ו הנאה מראה מלך אשור על
מלכי כבר בר
- 13 ב גלגל מראה תגלת פלסר מלך אשור מחנת ... מן
מוקה שמש ו עד מערב
- 14 רבעת ארק ו בנת מוקא שמש יבל מערב ו בנת מערב
יבל מוקא (ש)מש ו אבי
- 15 גבלה מראה תגלת פלסר מלך אשור קירת מן גבל
גרגם ואבי פנמו ברב
- 16 שמר(?) ו גס מת אבי פנמו בלגד מרא ה תגל ת פלסר
מלך אשור במחנת יכ
- 17 ובניה איח ה מלכו ובכיתה מחנת מראה מלך אשור
כלה ולקה מראה מלך אשור
- 18 נבש ה והקם לה מבני בארה והעבר אבי מן דמשק
לאשר ביומי שר

- 19 יה ביתה כלה ו אנכי ברכב בר פנמו ... ק אב
 ובצדקו הושבני מראי מלך (אשור) ...
 20 אבי פנמו בר ברצר ושמת נעב קן ... לפנמו בר בר
 צר ובנית בש
- 21 ו אמר במשורת ו על יבל אמן יסמת מלך (אשור) ו
 יבל יו .. א קדם קבר אבי פנמו)
 22 ו זכר זנה הא פא הדר ו אל ו כרב אל בעל בית ו
 שמש וכל אלהי יאדי
- 23 ו קדם אלהי ו קדם אנש .

A good translation by Sachau has been published, but he leaves out certain sentences and words which it is here proposed to consider :—

- (1) This statue has been set up by Bar Racab to his father, to Panammu son of Bar Tsur the year of deliverance by the hand
- (2) his father His god having delivered Yadi from subjection—the god dwelling in his father's house; and his god has been because of subjection
- (3) to (or in) his father's house But he slew his father Bar Tsur, and slew seventy of his father's kindred the cherub, and he . . . because he had turned away the Lord a lion
- (4) and very long imprisonment remained for him, and he made ruined towns more than inhabited towns
- (5) the sword in the house, and slaughter of one son, and loathing of life; the sword in the land of Yadi, and (during the lifetime?) of Panammu the son of Karal before my father, and his son's son (there was) destruction
- (6) Flocks and herds and wheat and barley, and there was division by measure, and by measure, and hoarding of debt by measure; and truly my father
- (7) until the time of (or, to) the King of Assyria, and he made him King over his father's house, and broke the stone of subjection from his father's house from restraint my father from
- (8) and diminished the imprisonment, and restored the captivity of Yadi, and my father, and restored (the debt the house of slaughter?) and set up
- (9) his father's house, and made it better than beforetime. And I have increased the wheat and the barley and the flocks and the grain in my day, and have eaten thereof
- (10) (there is) cheapness of price in my day. My father Panammu established many owners of villages, and increased the owners my father Panammu was great among Kings

- (11) (My father ?) was indeed owner of silver behold, and owner of gold, through his wisdom and justice He took word from the protection of his lord the King of Assyria
- (12) Assyria, chiefs and brethren of Yadi, and his lord the King of Assyria favoured him; beyond (other) Kings he was great
- (13) in the eye of his lord Tiglath Pileser King of Assyria (who is obeyed?) from the rising of the sun to the going down
- (14) in the four quarters of the earth; and who has done good from the rising of the sun even to the sunset, and has done good from the sunset even to the rising of the sun, and my father
- (15) the borders of his lord, Tiglath Pileser King of Assyria towns from the border of Gurgum and my father Panammu with great
- (16) moreover my father Panammu was very careful in adherence to his Lord Tiglath Pileser King of Assyria, in obedience he
- (17) and his people have mourned him as King, and all who obey his Lord the King of Assyria have mourned him. And he took (as) his Lord the King of Assyria
- (18) He spoke to him, and caused for him the building of a palace, and he brought my father from Damascus, to prosper in the days of rule
- (19) all his house And I (am) Bar (ra)cab (for the justice of ?) my father, and for my justice, my lord the King of Assyria has placed me
- (20) my father Panammu the son of Bar Tsur, and the erection of this statue to Panammu the son of Bar Tsur, and I have built
- (21) and a command of offerings, and because indeed he was faithful in seeking the King of Assyria; And truly it (rises ?) before the tomb of my father Panammu
- (22) And this his memorial behold thou here O Hadad, God, and Cherub, Lord of the House and Sun, and every God of Yadi
- (23) My before God and before men.

A few of the words require special notice :—

Line 3. אוחי, Arabic اذح “to be related.”

Line 6. יבל Hebrew אבל “truly.” In Phœnician texts אבל occurs (at Gebal) with this sense. The sense suits in the other occurrences of the word.

Line 7. הרף (not הרג) from רוף “to pound,” “shake.”

Line 8. קתילת may be taken as an abstract, from the root قتل

“to kill,” the feminine being so used as a collective in both Arabic and Hebrew. Perhaps, however, the sense is “Restored the women . . . of the slain.”

Line 9. **הורר**, in Aramaic “white grain.”

Line 10. **זלת**. Aramaic **זלל** “to be of little worth.”

Line 13. **גלגל**. Aramaic **גלגל** “the orb” of the eye, or “pupil.”

Line 13. **מחנת** “one bowed to,” from **חנה** “to bow.” Hence “obeyed.”

Line 14. **בנת** from **בנה** “to build,” **בא** “to benefit.”

Line 16. **לגד**. Arabic **لقد** “he adhered.”

Line 21. **משורת**. Compare **משאת** used on the Marseilles tablet of offerings.

It may be remarked generally that the repetitions on these monuments, like those in the Tell Amarna tablets, and in Oriental texts generally, are characteristic of Oriental style. In literature such repetitions have been thought sometimes to mark the clumsy work of a compiler—which is impossible in monumental writings, and which is very commonly to be noted in modern Oriental epistles—the intention being to render the work clearer or more emphatic. Such repetition is frequent also in European literature from unskilled hands.

The subjects of interest, in connection with these texts, include the Art, Religion, Language, and History connected with these monuments, and the bearing on the Biblical records. Considering how few texts occur, written in Phœnician, at this early period, the addition to our information is very considerable.

Art.

The alphabet employed must be compared with those of other monuments. That of the earlier text is very near to the Moabite character—about 890 B.C., but that of Bar Racab's text differs considerably from the Hebrew letters of the Siloam text written a generation later. With these also we may compare the alphabet of the Baal Lebanon text which, as it mentions Carthage, should not be placed earlier than about 800 B.C., and that of Jehumelek's text from Gebal, which is thought to belong to the sixth century B.C. The tomb of Eshmunazar (third century B.C.) shows us the changes which subsequently took place in the letters used in Palestine before the general use of the square or Aramaic letters by the Jews. Some allowance must be made for individual handwriting, but the differences between the Siloam text and that of Bar Racab show how long the alphabet must have been in use.

The peculiarities of the Jerusalem alphabet, as compared with the nearly contemporary alphabet of Bar Racab, will be seen on the plate. The latter already shows, in the open loop of the *Koph*, a tendency which distinguished the Aramaic or East Semitic alphabet later, and which gave rise to the square Hebrew in time. In the Jerusalem alphabet the

Aleph is peculiar, and the *Vau*; the *Zain* is nearer to the Moabite stone, while the Samâla *Zain* is like that used in later Phœnician. The Jerusalem *Caph* has the Moabite, and the Samâla *Caph* has the Phœnician, form; but on the other hand, the Jerusalem *Mim*, and *Nun*, show later forms than those at Samâla. The Jerusalem *Pe* is nearest to the Moabite, and the Samâla *Pe* to the Phœnician. The Jerusalem *Koph* and *Tsade* are peculiar, but the *Tau* is nearer to the Moabite than is the Samâla letter, which takes the Phœnician early form.

Comparing Bar Racab's alphabet with that of Panammu I, we see the changes that occurred on the same spot, within seventy years, in the case of *Zain*, *Tsade*, and *Koph*. The Moabite is the more archaic script, from which the Syrian and Phœnician branch off on the north, and the Hebrew on the south; but a yet older alphabet must have existed, to account for the Jerusalem letters *Aleph*, *Vau*, *Koph*, and especially *Tsade*. This is not found, as some have supposed, in Arabia, where the oldest known texts are probably not earlier than 400 B.C.; for the apparent mother of the Semitic alphabet was the syllabary known to us as Cypriote.

Some forty basalt slabs carved in relief were unearthed, in the great south gateway of the fort at Samâla. These (before the discovery of the inscriptions) were wrongly ascribed to the Hittites. The figures show none of the peculiarities of Hittite art or costume, with perhaps one exception, where a captive in a short jerkin, such as they wore, is represented without a beard, and held apparently by a pigtail in the hand of his captor. The other figures are bearded without moustache (like the statue of Hadad) and long robed. The style of art is a rude imitation of the Assyrian, as shown on the Stela of Esarhaddon on the same site. The weapons include bow, quiver, spear, shield, sword, and a kind of hammer. The headdress is a soft round cap. The animals include the deer and doe, a bull, and a lion. A man is represented riding a horse, which is uncommon before the seventh century B.C. In addition there are mythological monsters, including a winged lion standing erect, a human figure lion-headed, and holding a doe, or hare, and a sphynx walking, with a lion's body, wings, and the head and breast of a woman. Such monsters are very well known on Assyrian bas-reliefs. The palace appears to have been mainly built about 730 B.C., and the statue of Hadad is perhaps the earliest specimen of native style, much resembling the early Phœnician work. The sphynx, however, was a Hittite, as well as an Egyptian monster.

Religion.

The words אֱלֹהִים and אֱלֹהֵי may be rendered "God" and "Elohim." The chief deity was Hadad, who was worshipped also by the Syrians at Damascus, and from whom Ben-hadad took his name. Macrobius (Saturnal 1, 23) identified him with the sun, and in these texts he is called "Sun" and "Flame" or "Light," like the Phœnician Resheph. The term כְּרֻבָּאִים, "Cherub," is explained by the Assyrian and Hittite

sculptures, in which the gods stand erect on various animals (the lion, horse, winged bull, wild bull, and horned gryphon); but though Hadad was the chief god, and the distributor of good and evil, we have allusion to "all the gods of Yadi." Hadad was adored by sacrifices, freewill offerings, sin offerings, and gifts. As regards other customs, we see that these Syrians buried the dead, and erected monuments at the tombs.

Language.

The language of the texts is not Hebrew, but nearly akin to the Moabite and to the Phœnician, which differed as dialects from the pure Hebrew of the Siloam inscription. The difference was not much more than that of dialects; whereas the Assyrian and the old Canaanite language of the Tell Amarna tablets differed, from the group of West Semitic tongues, as much as German differs from English. The Samâla language presents many archaic features, found also in the Sabean language of Yemen; and even approaches the Canaanite and the Assyrian in its forms, more than the Hebrew. Probably the Syrian and Hebrew languages stood to one another in the same relation now borne by the archaic dialect of the Fellahin, as compared with the purer Arabic of the tribes beyond Jordan, and of the townsmen in Palestine. But the recovery of this language is important for Biblical study, because it carries back the dialect of the Talmud and Targums (found also in Daniel and Ezra) to an early period. Thus the word *Bar*, for "son," stands side by side with *Ben*, as used in Hebrew and Phœnician. Passages of the Bible (Psalms ii, 12, Proverbs xxxi, 2), in which this word occurs have been confidently supposed to be later than the Captivity, because of the occurrence of the word—a conclusion no longer of necessity correct. So also the word ארק for "land," or "earth" (instead of ארץ), was regarded as late. It occurs in Jeremiah (x, 11), but is here found as early as 800 B.C. in Syrian.

The definite article is very rarely, if ever, used in these texts. It does not occur in Assyrian, or in the earliest Phœnician; and is usually very rare in the latter language. Nor is there any definite article in Sabean. The suffixed demonstrative (*ma* in Assyrian, מ in Syrian and in Sabean) takes its place, and is not unknown (as a *mimnation*) in Hebrew. As regards the nouns it seems possible that cases are indicated, ך nominative, ך oblique, ך accusative, as in Assyrian and Arabic, and that the masculine plural was ך (even when not construct), and not ים as in Hebrew, and Phœnician, or ין as in Moabite and later Aramaic. In Assyrian this plural was also *i*. As regards the pronouns אנכי and אנך "I," הו "he,"¹ and the suffixed ך "my," ךי "me," ךך "thy," ךה "his," they

¹ In the Pentateuch generally, the pronoun (third person, masculine, singular) is used for the feminine also (the feminine occurs only 11 times). The later Rabbis preserved this peculiarity, but put points to show the gender. On the monuments of Syria, Phœnicia, and Moab the feminine of

resemble the earlier languages, not giving the later Aramaic אֲנִי "I." The demonstratives זֶה, הַ, הַ, הַ, הַ, are the same as in Phœnician and Moabite, as is also אֲנִי—Hebrew אֲנִי Assyrian *anaa*. Respecting the verbs they appear not to possess all the tenses of the Assyrian, but the Iphtaal voice may probably be recognised, which occurs in Assyrian, and on the Moabite Stone, as well as in Arabic. The Sabean had only two tenses like Hebrew, but it possessed, like the Syrian and Moabite, more voices than Hebrew.

In vocalisation, especially the use of ך as in Hebrew (later Aramaic ך), the language agrees with the older dialects. The word זָהָב for "gold" is used, as in Hebrew and Arabic, instead of the Phœnician and Assyrian חָרָב, which is rare in Hebrew. The dropping of the ך and other vowels also connects the Syrian with Moabite and Phœnician, rather than with Hebrew. All these and other points are valuable for the history of Biblical Hebrew, and for the comparative study of Semitic languages. Generally speaking Hebrew appears to be a more advanced and less archaic language than that of the surrounding nations. It differed entirely from the Aramaic language of the early Canaanites, but it was closely connected with that of the kindred Moabites and Edomites, with the Phœnician, and with the Syrian of Damascus, as we now see. An educated Hebrew, in the time of Hezekiah, would thus, as we now see, have found no difficulty in understanding the "Syrian speech"; and the Aramaisms of the early books of the Bible are not of necessity marks of late authorship, as they can be traced to 900 B.C. monumentally. It was long ago pointed out that the Aramaic forms are philologically older, in some cases, than the Hebrew; and the study of Sabean and Assyrian leads to the same result. It is possible that הוּד בְּנוּ "one son," is used for the "first son" in Bar Racab's text, just as יוֹם אֶחָד, "one day," is used for "the first day" in Genesis (i, 5). The dropping of ך in such words as זָכָר in Genesis (i, 27) we also see to be ancient, as is also the root בָּשָׂ, "to subdue" (Genesis i, 28). It has been said that, on account of this word, being Aramaic, the passage is to be regarded as late (Wellhausen, *Hist. Israel*, p. 389), and we now see that the Syrians at least used this root as early as 800 B.C.¹ Comparative study generally

this pronoun is unknown. Clearly the Jewish Scribes have preserved a grammatical form which is not used in later Hebrew, but which is used on earlier monuments. Dr. Driver does not afford us any reason for this peculiarity, which many scholars regard as archaic. There are many nouns in Assyrian and in Hebrew which have both genders, showing that gender was not an original feature of Semitic, any more than of other languages. This and other such cases show that the Bible text has been carefully re-copied from an early period.

¹ The word *cabasu* "subdue" occurs in Assyrian. Wellhausen also remarks on the omission of the article in verse 28 which as here shown is an archaism (*cf.* v. I 21, II 3). Other important words in these texts are אֲשֶׁר "which," מֶלֶךְ "king," יוֹם "day," פְּחִי "rulers," גַּלְגַּל "eye," בְּאֵרָה "palace," אַת (accusative). There are some 200 different words in the two texts together.

tends to show that the peculiarities of language in Genesis mark an early rather than a late date of authorship, pointing to a time before the Syrian and Hebrew had separated from one another, as much as we now know, from the Samâla and Siloam texts, they had separated in Hezekiah's time.¹

History.

The history of Samâla is not only interesting in connection with that of Assyria, but also serves to throw light on that of the Book of Kings. Before the time of Tiglath Pileser (745-727 B.C.) the Assyrians, though constantly at war with Syria, never succeeded in breaking down the resistance of the leagues over which the Syrian Kings of Damascus appear to have presided. The Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites were subdued by David; but Hadadezer united the various Syrian kings under his rule, and Rezin wrested Damascus from Solomon. Ben Hadad I fought Israel at Aphek, on the east side of the Sea of Galilee, and killed Ahab at Ramoth Gilead near Gerasa. He was no doubt allied to the victorious Mesha of Moab, who defeated Israel. Hazael I and Ben Hadad II fought against Israel and Judah, but Jeroboam II took Damascus and Hamath. Rezin advanced against Ahaz, even to Elath on the Gulf of Akabah; and it was against him that Ahaz invoked the aid of Tiglath Pileser. The power of the Syrians of Damascus is thus very fully described in the Book of Kings.

The Assyrian monuments independently explain the history of the northern Syrians, in Samâla, Aleppo, Arpad, and Hamath. Thus in

¹ According to the modern critical school which follows Wellhausen, certain passages in Genesis, including the first chapter, are to be ascribed to an editor, who put together certain ancient documents which had already been combined in part by another editor. The later editor is supposed to have lived very late—about the time of the Captivity. The consideration of the language of these passages is therefore of special importance. It will be found that they are written in a vocabulary which only includes some 250 words, of which some of the most distinctive have been mentioned. The vocabulary does not show any traces of the later forms which belong to the Phœnician and to the Hebrew of late times. Almost every word is found in other parts of the Pentateuch, the antiquity of which is unquestioned; and so simple is this vocabulary that the words are, as a rule, common to every Semitic dialect, but more especially to those of the Western group. It is a remarkable circumstance that no less than 80, out of the 250, are now known to occur on the monuments here noticed, viz., the Moabite Stone, the Panammu text, the Bar Racab text, the Siloam inscription, and the Stone of Jehumelek of Gebal. Hence it is certain that in these cases (including many of the most important words) the vocabulary of the first chapter of Genesis, and of others said to be late, was a vocabulary in use west of the Euphrates between 900 and 600 B.C. There is indeed no distinction of vocabulary between different parts of Genesis, whatever may be said of style. But there is a very marked difference between its language and that of the books written after the Captivity.

859 B.C., Hani of Samâla joined the chiefs of the Patinai, who inhabited the mountains west of the Upper Euphrates; but Shalmaneser II defeated them, and in 854 he reached Aleppo, but was unable to advance further south, though he claims to have defeated a great league of Syrians under the King of Hamath, and Ben Hadad II of Damascus. In 847 he attacked the land of *Paru*, but this has been thought to be an Arab locality, and not the *Yadi* of the present texts. In 842 B.C., however, Shalmaneser overran all Galilee, Phœnicia, and Bashan, and attacked Damascus. After this inroad the Syrians were left in peace for a quarter of a century on the north, but it was then that Jeroboam II conquered Damascus and Syria to Hamath, as well as Jerusalem on the south. In 806 and 797 B.C. there were incursions of Assyrians as far as Arpad, and in 773 B.C. Damascus was attacked, but after this the Assyrians were disturbed by revolts at home, and it was not till 754 B.C. that Assur Nirari II again attacked Arpad, between Aleppo and Samâla.

Tiglath Pileser III was far more successful than his predecessors. In 743 B.C. he was at Arpad, where he received tribute from Rezin of Damascus, and kings of Tyre, Gebal, Hamath, Carchemish, and Gurgum; and he mentions with these, Panammu of Samâla. In 742-1 B.C. he was still before this city, and took it by siege. In 738 B.C. he took Hamath, and carried the Hamathites captive to Assyria, replacing them by colonists from the Tigris. He again received tribute from Rezin and from Panammu. In 734 B.C. he attacked Rezin at Damascus, and carried away from Samâla 700 people with their sheep and oxen. He then conquered Ammon, Moab, and Philistia as far as Gaza, with Edom and the Nabathean Arabs.

The power of Assyria was now confirmed in Syria; and in 732 Damascus fell, and Ahaz of Judah, and Panammu of Samâla, gave tribute to the conqueror, with the chiefs of Ammon, Moab, Edom, Ascalon, and Gaza. Tiglath Pileser III died about 727 B.C.; but his successor Shalmaneser attacked Samaria, which Sargon took in 721 B.C. In 702 came Sennacherib's attack on Jerusalem, which failed. In Esarhaddon's reign there were three attacks on Memphis; and on his stela at Samâla, the third of these, in 670 B.C., appears to be recorded: "I besieged Memphis his royal city," says this text, "for half a day . . . I took it, wasted, and burned it with fire. His queen, his princesses, his dear son Usanahuru, and his other sons, his daughter, his possessions and goods, his horses, his herds, his flocks, every one of them I carried off to Assyria. I tore the root of Cush from Egypt. I left none behind. I set rulers, residents, chiefs, and officers anew over all Egypt. I ordained the offerings of the temple for Ashur, and the great gods my masters. I laid on (the Egyptians) yearly gifts, and tribute to my Majesty."

In this long text from Samâla, translated by Dr. Schrader, there is no mention of the Kings of Samâla; but in 681 B.C. the place is noticed as having an Assyrian ruler. It would seem, therefore, that the native dynasty did not endure long after the reign of Bar Racab, and was

extinct half a century later. It is useful, perhaps, here to place side by side the various dynasties, from the middle of the ninth century B.C., down to the death of Tiglath Pileser, 120 years later :—

JUDAH.	ISRAEL.	DAMASCUS.	SAMÁLA.	ASSYRIA.
Circa 850 B.C., Joash	Jehoram	Ben Hadad II	Hani	Shalmaneser
„ 820 B.C., „	Jehu	Hazael II	Bar Karal	Shamash Rimmon.
„ 800 B.C., Amaziah	Jeroboam II.	Ben Hadad III	Panammu I	Rimmon Nirari.
„ 780 B.C., Azariah	Shallum		Bar Tsur	Shalmaneser
„ 745 B.C., Jotham	Menahem	Rezin	Panammu II	Tiglath Pileser.
„ 730 B.C., Ahaz	Hoshea		Bar Racab	Tiglath Pileser.

We thus possess the dynasty of North Syria, from Hani down to Bar Racab, during a period of 120 years, when very important changes occurred in the history of Palestine. The account, given in the texts above translated, appears to fit into place with the rest of our information. Panammu I was an independent ruler, who expected that his descendants would sit on the throne after him, and would be successful in war. His country was prosperous, and he appears to have prevailed against enemies, who may have been the Hittites of Carchemish,¹ who were at times tributaries of such Kings as Shalmaneser II. This time coincides with the greatest period of Syrian power, when Ben Hadad II withstood Assyria, and defeated Israel—probably in the reign of Bar Karal, or of his father Hani; but under Panammu I the troubles of the Northern Syrians again began. His great grandson records that destructions then occurred, representing the incursions of Rimmon Nirari to Arpad (806–797 B.C.), which followed the quarter century of peace, during which probably Bar Karal reigned.

Bar Tsur, son of Panammu I, was slain, and the land of Yadi was ruined, which may be placed about 773 B.C., when Assurdan attacked Damascus, or in 775 under Shalmaneser III. There were further troubles in the reign of Panammu II, which would represent the attack on Arpad by Assur Nirari in 754 B.C. It is not clear when he fled to Damascus, but would probably be either in 737, before which we know him to have been tributary, or in 734 when Damascus was attacked, and when Samála was wasted. After the conquest of Damascus he was again tributary, having probably rebelled in the time between 738 and 734 B.C. In a yet unpublished text it appears that his son, Bar Racab, was also tributary to Tiglath Pileser, and must consequently have reigned before 727 B.C.

Putting these various indications together we obtain an outline of the history of Samála as follows :—

- (1) Before 859 B.C., Hani, a Syrian prince, perhaps connected with Ben Hadad II of Damascus, was established at the foot of the

¹ The Syrians and Hittites were enemies, as appears from the Biblical account (2 Kings vii, 6).

- Taurus, north-west of Aleppo, and in that year was defeated by Shalmaneser II, and his land invaded by the Assyrians down to 839 or 835 B.C.
- (2) His successor, Bar Karal, lived during the more peaceful time, 835-812 B.C., when Shamash Rimmon was fighting in Armenia, and on the Tigris, and in Babylonia. Bar Racab does not appear to allude to any troubles in this reign, and the conquests of Jeroboam II of Israel extended only to Hamath, south of the Samâla kingdom.
 - (3) Panammu I was also at first prosperous, but afterwards unfortunate. In 806 Rimmon Nirari reached Arpad. In 803 he reached the Mediterranean, probably passing through Samâla.
 - (4) Bar Tsur was murdered, and the land was wasted, either in 775 B.C. by Shalmaneser III, or in 773 by Assur Dan on his way to Damascus.
 - (5) Panammu II was also unfortunate at first. He was attacked by Assur Nirari in 754 B.C. He was tributary to Tiglath Pileser in 747 B.C. and 738 B.C., but very probably revolted with Rezin after that time, and fled to Damascus when Samâla was again attacked in 734 B.C. After the conquest of Damascus in 732 B.C., he threw in his lot with the Assyrians, and became a tributary, being re-established in Samâla by Tiglath Pileser, and the captives of Yadi restored.
 - (6) Bar Racab, acceding before 727 B.C., was also tributary to Tiglath Pileser, and in favour with that King. He built and adorned the palace of Samâla. Within half a century, however, the native dynasty was superseded by an Assyrian governor. Arameans from the Tigris had been introduced into Samâla 60 years before.
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