

ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND EPIGRAPHIC NOTES ON
PALESTINE.

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10. *Dannaba and Job's Country*.—I have often had occasion to point out by signal examples, how much valuable information connected with the study of Biblical geography might be obtained from Arab sources, provided that they were consulted more systematically and with greater care than is generally bestowed upon them. Thus, a short time ago,¹ thanks to this method, I was able to offer, if not a definite solution of a geographical problem hitherto regarded as hopeless, at any rate an unexpected piece of evidence concerning it, which brings us measurably nearer to its solution, and now enables us to hope that some day it may be cleared up as completely as possible. I allude to the hitherto undiscoverable site of Mephaath,² a Levitical city in the country beyond Jordan (tribe of Reuben), which was still in existence in Eusebius's time under the name of *Μηφαάθ*, *Mephaat*, and seems to have disappeared since then without leaving the slightest trace in Arab toponymy. I have proved that it did nothing of the kind; that the *Marâsid el-ittilâ'* still knew this place at the beginning of the fourteenth century, under the name, faithfully preserved, of ميفعة, *Meifa'a*, a village of el-Belkâ, that is to say, exactly in the required position, and that consequently any one who took the trouble to make inquiries, with tact, of the natives, would have a very good chance of discovering the place under the title of *Khurbet Meifa'a*, exactly as in the case of the famous Hippos of the Decapolis, vainly sought before, which, as I had declared many years previously would be found, and was indeed found at last just where it should have been, under the foretold name of *Khurbet Sûsieh*.

I should like at the present time to apply the same method to a question of the same sort. The "Onomasticon," referring to *Dinhabah*,³ the city of Bela the son of Beor, king of Edom,

¹ "Recueil d'Arch. Orient.," vol. iv, p. 57 *et seq.*

² מִיפְעָת and מִיפְעָת, Josh. xiii, 18, xxi, 37; 1 Chron. vi, 79; Jerem. xlviii, 21.

³ Gen. xxxvi, 32; 1 Chron. i, 43.

asserts its identity with a village named *Δαυρά*, seven or eight miles from Esbous (Heshbon); or rather, as is his frequent custom, Eusebius mentions this village merely because of the resemblance of its name, without stating on that ground that the places are indeed the same.¹ This seems to be the meaning of the formula which he generally makes use of in such cases, and indeed employs in the present instance:—"There is even at the present day a village named," &c. St. Jerome, either because he had in his hands a better or more complete text of the "Onomasticon" than we have, or because he added to it of himself some information obtained from trustworthy sources, expresses himself in slightly different language in his Latin version of it:—"There is at this day," he says, "a *villa Dannaba* eight miles from Arcopolis, as one goes toward the Arnon; and there is also another *Dannaba* on Mount Phogor seven miles from Esbus."

Even if we consider this passage, as we ought, entirely apart from the Biblical Dinhabah of the land of Edom, there results from it this much at least, that there must have been, in the northern parts of Moab, either in the neighbourhood of Heshbon or between the Arnon and Arcopolis, one, or perhaps two, places named *Dannaba*. However, up to the present time no explorer has found in those regions any place in the least degree answering to this name. Does this imply that the suggestion of the "Onomasticon" is a wrong one, or that since the fourth century the name has been lost? The answer to this question—a very decided answer, to my mind—is given us by *Yâkût's Mo'jem el-Buldân*, and by the *Marâsid*,² who catalogue in its alphabetical place the name of a certain *Dhanaba*, دَنَابَة, "a place in the province of el-Belkâ." No one can doubt the identity of this *Dhanaba* with the *Dannaba* of the "Onomasticon," both of them being situated in the same region. We can thus prove that the name was preserved without alteration by local tradition for some ten centuries: there is no reason to suppose that it has utterly disappeared since. I am convinced that a diligent search conducted on the spot would enable us to rediscover it, as in the

¹ I avail myself of this opportunity to point out that modern critics often do not take into account these limitations of the "Onomasticon," and are too ready to charge Eusebius with geographical blunders of which he is not always guilty, through their habit of taking his more or less happy comparisons of place-names for actual geographical identifications.

² Compare Le Strange, "Palestine under the Moslems," p. 438.

case of Meifa'a, either in its primitive form *Dhanaba*, or in one of those diminutive forms of which the Bedouin Arabs are so fond: *Dhuncibeh*, *Dh'neibeh*. Let future travellers see to it.

There is all the more chance of finding it because the name and its cognate derivations are pretty general in Syrian toponymy. I may mention, among others,¹ a place in the Haurân whose name is absolutely the same, *Dhuncibeh*,² *Dh'neibeh*, between Sheikh Miskin and Zor'a. This comparison is particularly instructive because an inscription in that country tells us, as I have already pointed out,³ the ancient form of the place in the Haurân: $\Delta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\beta\alpha$, gen. $\Delta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\beta\omega\nu$. This form, as we see, is remarkably like that given in the "Onomasticon," for its Moabite *Dannaba*.

I should state that the existence of the *Danaba* in the Haurân offers, perhaps, an interest of another kind. It may, indeed, have contributed in a certain measure to the localisation of Job's country by popular legend in that region. Purely imaginary though it may be, this legend, which is still alive and even very popular at the present day, was at an early period adopted by the Arabs, and connected by them with various spots near Dh'neibeh: *Nawâ*, which was called Job's home by the ancient Arab geographers; *Deir Eyyûb*, "Job's convent," with its famous sanctuary. I will add to this group the place called Sheikh Miskin or Meskin, whose name has not hitherto been explained. In my opinion it means simply "the leper sheikh,"⁴ that it is to say, Job.

This legend, adopted implicitly by the Arabs, and after them by the Crusaders, who believed in it as firmly as they did in the Gospel, seems to have really taken shape during the Byzantine

¹ Compare also the $\Delta\alpha\nu\alpha\beta\acute{\alpha}$ of the Palmyra region, mentioned by Ptolemy.

² Compare another place of the same name, on the west of and near Tell esh-Shihâb, *Ed-Dneibé*, also called Dneibet el-'Amrâwa (Schumacher, "Das Südliche Basan," p. 131), from the name of a neighbouring village, 'Amrâwa, evidently to distinguish it from other places of the same name.

³ Compare Clermont-Ganneau, "Études d'Arch. Orient.," vol. ii, p. 147 *et seq.* (On a Greek Inscription at Shaqrâ).

⁴ The word *Meskin*, *Masdkin* in the plural, means in Arabic properly "unhappy," but in Syria it is used in common speech to mean the lepers: for example, *Beit el-Masdkin*, "leper's dwelling." Probably this use of the word is ancient, and it is this which led the Crusaders to attribute to the old French words *mesel*, *mesiau* (*misellus*, diminutive of *miser*) the specific meaning of "leprous." From the Arabic word (with which compare the Hebrew and Aramaic מִסְכִּין, מִסְכִּינָא) is derived the Spanish *mezquino*, and, through it, the French *mesquin*, Italian *meschino*, &c.

period.¹ Without mentioning the Greek² inscriptions which tell us how at Bostra, a city where also the patriarch once dwelt, religious houses were established during Justinian's reign, and dedicated to St. Job, we see that at the epoch of the "Onomasticon," the legend, though still vague, was beginning to fix itself in the Haurân. In fact, both Eusebius and St. Jerome state that there was a tradition which declared Ashtaroth Carnaim or Carnea, a large village in Batanea,³ to be Job's house.⁴

We should compare this passage with a very instructive gloss⁵ on the same work, in which the uncertainty about the localities of the legend are clearly shown:—"According to the opinion of some, Ausitis (Uz) is Job's country; according to some, Job's country is Arabia; others say that Job's country is the land of Seôn (Sihon, king of the Amorites)." A little later the legend was definitely fixed. This we learn from an extremely interesting passage in the

¹ This tradition has possibly a more ancient origin. Josephus ("Antiquities," i, 6, 4) regards Ousos (= Uz), son of Aram, as the mythical founder of the Trachonitis and of Damascus. It is to be noted, on the other hand, that the name **العديس**, given by the Arabs to Esau or Edom, seems to be derived from **יָעַד**.

² Waddington, *op. cit.* No. 1916A; another, copied by Ewing, *Pal. Exp. Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1895, p. 350, No. 175. In this latter I propose to read at the end, **ἱεροῦ ἰωβ(ῆ) (ὁ) να(ὸς) τοῦ ἁγίου δικαίου ἰωβ**, "the shrine of St. Job the Just was finished." **δικαίου** is here spelt **δικτου**; Job is officially designated *vir justus* in the Latin translation of the monthly calendar of saints of the Emperor Basil Porphyrogenitus. Compare **δικαίος** in the LXX, Job i, 1.

³ St. Jerome says, "in angulo Batanææ," *cf.* "Onomasticon," *s.v.* *Nineve* (= Nawâ); "in angulo Arabiæ," *περὶ τὴν γωνίαν τῆς Ἀραβίας*. This geographical term singularly reminds us of *Ez-zâwiyeh esh-sharḥiyeh* (the eastern corner), which is the name given by the Arabs to the very region where the places of which we are treating are to be found. Compare the *κόμη Γωνίας* of the province of Arabia, in the lists of George of Cyprus (ed. Gelzer, No. 1,079).

⁴ This is literally the tradition located at Nawâ by the Arab geographers (*cf.* Le Strange, *op. cit.* p. 516): "Nawâ . . . was the dwelling-place of Job," *cf.* in the Acts of the Council of 451 A.D. (Mansi, vii, 168): **ἰωβίου πόλιως Νέβης**, "of Nebe (= Neve = Nawâ), the city of Job."

⁵ "Onomasticon," ed. Larsow et Parthey, p. 224, note. The text has **Ἀσίτις**, which evidently ought to be corrected into **Αὐσίτις**, "the land of Uz," Job's country; *cf.* *op. cit.* *s.v.* **Αὐς**. The true reading is already in Reland; it has been properly reproduced by Lagarde (in his edition of the "Onomast. Sacrum," p. 266), who rightly connects the gloss in question with the *lemma* concerning Idum (after the words **Γεβαληνὴ καλουμένη**).

description of a pilgrimage attributed to St. Sylvia,¹ in which we see our Dannaba appear on the scene in an altogether unexpected manner. The pious pilgrim decides to go into what she calls, in so many words, the country of Ausitis, that she may there say her prayers at the tomb of Job, which had recently been discovered, and was attracting to it large congregations of the faithful. This new sanctuary was at Carneas, eight stages from Jerusalem. Job's town, says she, is at this day called Carneas; it was formerly called Dennaba, in the country of Ausitis, on the borders of Idumaea and Arabia. Subsequently she adds details, unfortunately incomplete owing to a lacuna in the MS., as to the discovery of the alleged tomb of Job by means of a revelation said to have been vouchsafed to a hermit; as to the great cavern in which they found a stone on which the actual image of Job was carved; as to the church built on this spot by a certain tribune and still unfinished, &c. One is much tempted to believe that this archæological monument, which was thus interpreted by popular belief, was no other than the famous Egyptian stele, bearing the name of Rameses II,² which is worshipped even to this day under the name of Şakhrat Eyyûb, at Sheikh Sa'ad, not far from Nawâ, on the south side.

The topographical details contained in St. Sylvia's description of her pilgrimage, and the very terms she makes use of, remind one singularly of the information which I have gleaned from the "Onomasticon." Alone among them the appearance of Dennaba, which brings us back unexpectedly to the special subject of this essay, is surprising enough at first sight. It will seem less so if the reader will be good enough to refer to the article in the "Onomasticon" on Dannaba, "a town of Balak, the son of Beor, king of Edom, after whom Job reigned." St. Jerome conscientiously translates this "post quem regnavit Job"; but he immediately afterwards shows his surprise by adding, "licet mihi videatur longe

¹ Ed. Geyer, "Itinera Hierosol.," pp. 55 and 59.

² The unknown divinity before whom Rameses II stands in prayer on the stele must have been taken by the Arabs for Job's wife, who plays a considerable part in their legends, and whose name (*Ruhma*) they declare that they know. This would be an additional piece of evidence in favour of the female sex of this divinity, which it is very hard to make out at the present day owing to the dilapidated condition of the monument. See, on this point, my remarks (§ 12, No. 2) about the goddess Artemis, mentioned in an inscription at Tell el-'Ash'ari.

aliter" ("although I think very differently about it"). Evidently the person whom Eusebius took for Job was none other than Jobab (יֹבָב), king of Edom, who did indeed succeed king Bela' (Balak). The mistake is an ancient one, for it reaches back if not to the time of the LXX version, at any rate to that of the long gloss which is there inserted at the end of the Book of Job,¹ on the authority of an old Syrian version: "He was originally named Jobab. . . . The first (king of Edom) was Balak, the son of Beor; his city was called Dannaba . . . after Balak reigned Jobab, who was called Job."

One sees at once how the name of Dennaba, from the city of Balak, the predecessor of the pretended Job, became introduced into the popular legend preserved in St. Sylvia's account of her pilgrimage, where it has actually finished by becoming confused with Ashteroth Carnaim, a place which, on the other hand, is closely connected by the "Onomasticon" with the memory of Job.² It is certain that the actual existence in this very district of an ancient *Danaba* (now Dh'neibeh) must have greatly assisted this localisation of the legend. I should not be surprised if they were to discover one day some Greek inscription proving the existence there also of a Christian worship of St. Job.

11. *Zeus-Helios and Baal-Bosor*.—At Stéf, about 6 kilomètres north-west of Jerash, Burckhardt³ many years ago copied a Greek inscription which seemed as though it ought to be of some interest, but up to the present day no one has been able to make anything satisfactorily out of it⁴ because of the imperfection of the copy.

Since then it has been revisited, newly copied, and has had a squeeze taken of it by Prof. Brünnow,⁵ who gives the following

¹ Chap. xlii, 18: προῦπηρχε δὲ αὐτῷ ὄνομα Ἰωβὰβ. Πρῶτος Βαλάκ ὁ τοῦ Βεὶρ, καὶ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει αὐτοῦ Δενναβὰ . . . μετὰ δὲ Βαλάκ Ἰωβὰβ ὁ καλούμενος Ἰώβ. As I shall show subsequently (§ 11, *Zeus-Helios and Baal-Bosor*) in this same passage, Job is already closely connected with the town of Bostra, whose name would be that of his own mother.

² It is well to note at the same time that Eusebius, too, expresses himself in a somewhat uncertain fashion upon this point: ἐνθα, ὡς ἐκ παραδοσίας, τοῦ Ἰώβ τὸν οἶκον ἐπιδεικνύουσιν, "where, as though from tradition, they show Job's house."

³ "Travels," p. 251.

⁴ "C.I.G.," No. 4665.

⁵ "Mith. und Nachr. des Deutsch-Palästina-Ver.," 1898 p. 86, No. 10.

transcript of it in its rude state, without adding either explanation or commentary :—

ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ
 ΛΑΞΡΔΗΑΓΙΩΙΒΕΕΛΚΩΩΡΩΙ
 ΚΑΙΗΛΙΩΙΑΜΕΓΑΒΘΟΩΔΗ
 ΜΗΤΡΙΟΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΔΑΜΜΩ
 ΛΟΩΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥΜΓΕΛΕΥ
 ΒΕΡΟΩΤΟΝ·ΒΩΜΟΝΑΝΕ
 ΕΗΚΕΝΚΑΤΕΥΧΗΝ

Prof. Brünnow confines himself to the remarks that in line 2 M. Domaszewski inclines to read ΒΕΕΛΚΩΩΡΩΙ, and that in lines 5, 6, ΜΓΕΛΕΥΒΕΡΟΩ is an obvious mistake of the stone-cutter for ἀπελεύθερος.

This is how I propose to read and understand the whole inscription, by resorting to certain emendations, which I shall endeavour to justify. One of these is of importance.

Ἄγαθῇ τύχῃ.—(Ἔτους) αξρ', Διὶ ἀγίῳ Βεε(λβ)ωσώρω καὶ Ἥλιω, Ἄμε(λ)αθος Δημητρίου, τοῦ καὶ Δάμμου(ν)ος, Δημητρίου (ἀ)πελεύθερος, τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέθηκεν, κατ' εὐχὴν.

Good luck (lit. to the good fortune).—In the year 161, Amelathos the son of Demetrius, who is also called Dammon, the freed man of Demetrius, has dedicated this altar, in consequence of a vow, to Holy Zeus, Beelbôsdros and Helios.

The date, I imagine, is given according to the era of Pompey (63 B.C.), and corresponds to the year 98 A.D. This comparatively early date is confirmed by the palæography of the letters and also by the archaism of the orthography (the use of the iota ascript).

The reading Ἄμέγαθος may be allowed to stand, though this name has not hitherto been met with in the Græco-Syrian onomasticon; but, considering the admitted ignorance or carelessness of the stone-cutter, I am tempted to read Ἄμέ(λ)αθος, a recognised name among this Græco-Semitic population (see Waddington, Nos. 2393, 2416¹); one might also read Ἄμέ(ρ)αθος on the strength of

¹ I may add to these a new example, taken from one of the inscriptions copied by Mr. Ewing, No. 14 (Pal. Exp. Fund *Quarterly Statement*, 1895, p. 47, at Umm el-'Osij), where I distinctly read, in the first line, Ἄμέλαθος, instead of the very improbable name Ἄβδέλαθος, proposed by Messrs. Wright and Souter. The original Nabatean form of Ἄμέλαθος is ܐܡܠܐܬܘܫ.

Ἀμυράθου (Waddington, No. 2029), but this emendation is less satisfactory from various points of view.¹

The reading ΔΑΜΜΙΛΑΘC cannot stand: the construction calls for a noun with the genitive case-ending, and this we can obtain by simply altering an Λ into an Ν, which is quite according to the rules of palæography. We have, therefore, a well-known proper name, Δάμων, with a slight variant, the reduplication of the μ, which is quite admissible in this Græco-Syrian dialect.

I now come to the most interesting point: the name of the deity to whom the altar is dedicated. It is a Zeus who appears at the same time to be connected with Helios. This mythological combination, which, by the way, is not unexampled,² answers exactly to that revealed to us by a very small fragment of an inscription discovered at Jerash itself,³ on which we read . . . Διὸς Ἡλίου . . . We have to do here, then, with a Zeus-Helios, according to all probability a great solar deity of Semitic origin, whose character has caused him to receive this double equivalent in the Hellenic Pantheon. Our inscription at Sûf describes him with even greater precision, by inserting between his two specific names two words which will enable us to decide more certainly as to his nature and his origin.

The first of these is the epithet ἅγιος, "Holy," which, as I have already pointed out elsewhere,⁴ is the characteristic title of Semitic deities when naturalised among the Greeks. Next comes the enigmatic group ΒΕΕΔΚΛCΛΡΛC, which evidently contains the knot of the whole matter. As M. Domaszewski very truly observed, the Δ should be turned into an Λ. We thus restore the first syllable ΒεεΛ, which gives a good transcript of the divine name *Baal*. This vowel-scheme *Beel*, בַּעַל, points, in my opinion, to a

¹ The vowel ε instead of ε; the nominative, which might as well be Ἀμυράθης as Ἀμυράθος. Nevertheless one might quote in favour of this second reading Burekhardt's copy, which has ΑΜΕΡΑΒΘC.

² In the Haurân itself, see Waddington, Nos. 2392-2395, C.I.G., Nos. 4590, 4604.

³ Schumacher, "Mitth. und Nachr. Deutschen Palæstinavereins," 1900, p. 55, who reasonably infers from it that the great temple at Gerasa must have been dedicated to Helios—it would be more accurate to say to *Zeus-Helios*; perhaps even, after what I am about to prove, to *Zeus-Helios Beelbôsôros*.

⁴ Clermont-Ganneau, "Études d'Archéologie Orientale," vol. i, p. 100, *et seq.*, and "Recueil d'Arch. Orient.," vol. iii, p. 330.

distinctly Aramaic form of the Phoenician **בעל**. This ought not to cause us any surprise, considering the place and epoch of our inscription. This fact is confirmed by the form of the proper names derived from the god which we meet with in inscriptions from the more or less immediate neighbourhood: *Βεελβάραχος* = **בעלבארך**, *Βεελιάβος* = **בעליהב**, &c.¹ This Aramaic form of the Phoenician *Beel* must not be confounded with the god *Bel*, **בל**, *Βηλ*, *Βηλος*, who appears in the avowedly Aramaic inscriptions at Palmyra.

This may be regarded as the first point gained.

But then what are we to make of the second element of the group: **ΚΛΕΩΡΩ**, which, brought into the nomination case, implies an entire word of the form *Βεελκώσωρος*? The most natural idea is to seek for something which would differentiate our *Beel* or *Baal*, either an epithet, a substantive, or preferably the name of some place; at any rate, without any doubt we should look for some Semitic word transcribed into Greek and formed upon the root *κωσιωρ*. According to the customary spelling of that epoch, the *κ* would imply a **ק** in the original form; on the other hand the *σ* may correspond to a sibilant letter of some sort, such as **ס**, **צ**, or **ש**. Even if we admit that, contrary to the general rule, the *κ* may here represent a **כ**, none of the combinations which one can imagine, formed out of these various letters, can supply us with a plausible word. One should especially guard against a specious combination which one might wish to make of them: a place-name such as **קצר**, **קצור**, justified by the Arabic **قصر**, *Qasr*, plur. *Qasûr*; it is sufficient, *à priori*, to reject this to remember that we are here dealing with the Latin word *castra*, which only found its way in late times into the Semitic languages.²

The solution of the difficulty which I propose is as follows:—The actual reading **ΚΛΕΩΡΩ** is anything but certain. M. Brunnow's copy gives the **K** in a dotted form, which means that the outline of the letter is difficult to make out, both in the original and in the squeezes. This being so, when we remember, on the

¹ It is unnecessary to point out that it is by this same Aramaic influence that we must explain the cognate forms of the names of gods *Βεελσάμας* = *Baal Shamaim*, *Βεελφεγώς*, *Βεελφεγώρ* = *Baalphegor*, *Βεελζεβούλ* = *Baalzeboul*, &c.

² Compare the Talmudic word **קצרה**.

one hand, that the alphabet is an angular one (⊞, ⊠), where the curved lines are replaced by straight ones; and, on the other hand, that what we should most naturally expect here would be a geographical name, I think that we ought simply to see a **B** in the doubtful **K** of the copy. Thus we obtain an excellent form from every point of view: Βεελβωσώρη, nominative Βεελβώσωρος = בעל-בשור, that is to say, "the Baal of the country or of the town of Bosor," which is quite analogous to the Semitic geographical vocables *Baal-Harran*, *Baal-Tarz* (Tarsus in Cilicia), *Baal-Lebanon* (Lebanon), *Baal-Sidon*, *Baal-Sor* (Tyre), *Baalat-Gebal* (the goddess of Byblus), and so on, of the Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions, not to mention the Greek words in use in Syria, such as *Zeus Saphatenos* (the god of the Safâ); *Zeus Baitokaikeus* (the god of Baetocæce), &c.

The spelling Βωσώρ of the well-known Biblical place-name בשור, without regarding the various places to which it might apply, agrees well with the transcriptions in the LXX, in the first book of Maccabees, in Josephus, and in the "Onomasticon," all of which show us the vowel *o* as predominant: Βωσώρ, Βωσώρα, Βωσώρα, Βωσώρα and Βωσώρα,¹ Βωσώρ.

As for its geographical identification, we must apparently put aside the בשור and בצורה of Idumæa and of Moab, which are situated beyond the historical horizon of Gerasa. It would, on the other hand, be natural enough to think of the famous city of *Bostra* (בצרה). The absence of the *τ* in the transcription need not be any objection; this letter is no part of the original root, and it was not till after this epoch that it slipped in between the *s* and the *r*, to suit a phonetic law peculiar to Greek and Latin. Moreover, we have besides the current form of the ethnic Βοστρηνός, the pure and original form Βοσρηνός (Waddington, No. 2229²: Βοσρηνή). We must likewise bear in mind, from this point of view, the

¹ Two places which figure in the description of the campaign of Judas Maccabeus (1 Maccabees, v, 26, 28, 36; cf. Josephus "Ant. Jud.," xiii, 8, 3). Observe that this campaign had for its theatre this very country of Gillead to which the modern Sâf belongs. This is not the place to discuss the identifications which have been proposed for it either with Busr el-Hariri or with Bostra.

² We should add No. 2053B, in which Waddington has wrongly Βοσρηνών, following Wetzstein's copy, from which he infers the existence of an imaginary town of Βόσσα, which would be represented to-day by the village of Awwâs. M. Dussaud ("Voyage au Safâ," p. 183) has decided that the stone really bears the reading Βοσρηνών.

singular gloss¹ in the LXX version, which makes Job's mother a certain Βοσώρρα, a fabulous personage, in whom popular tradition saw a true eponym of the city of Bostra, as is proved by a curious passage in the Acts of the Synod held at Bostra itself: Βόστρα, ἐπάνυμος οὕσα Βοσώρας τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ Θεσπεσίου Ἰάβ.² Be it said, by the way, that there probably is underlying this some mythological reminiscence of a goddess, the consort of the ancient deity worshipped at Bostra. We know from the Nabataean inscriptions³ that this city was the centre of the *cultus* of a mysterious deity, Arâ or A'dâ, who was regarded with special veneration by certain kings of the Nabataean dynasty. This god, whoever he may have been, would certainly have had some right to bear the title of Beel-Bôsôr, "the Baal of Bostra," who figures in our Sûf inscription. However, it is as well to suspend our decision on this last point until we receive further information. There are other possible solutions of which we ought not to lose sight. For instance, our בעל-בצר may conceivably be some ancient local divinity of Edomite origin, whose worship may have been transplanted to more northern regions at some unknown epoch and in consequence of unknown circumstances.⁴ Or again, by adopting the identification proposed by some writers of the Βοσώρ of the Book of Maccabees with Busr el-Harîri, on the borders of the Lejâ, we may contend that it is the name of this town which underlies our topographic word,⁵ in which case we should have to admit that the true form of our word should be בעל-בשר or בעל-בסר, the name of *Busr* being spelt بيسر, and not بصر, by the ancient Arab

¹ Chap. xlii, 17, ἡν δὲ ἀνὰ τὸν . . . μητρὸς δὲ Βοσώρρας.

² Marsi, "Conciles," i, p. 787; compare Waddington's notes on No. 1916A.

³ "Corpus Inscr. Semit.," ii, No. 182, and "Répert. d'épigr. Sém.," No. 83 (compare "Recueil d'Arch. Orient.," iv, pp. 170 and 179).

⁴ Moreover, it is not impossible that the city of Bostra, in the Haurân, may itself be of ancient Edomite foundation. These transfers of names by means of conquest or of colonisation are not uncommon in all periods of history.

⁵ In support of this conjecture it might be urged that this *Busr* possesses a sanctuary (Meshhed) much venerated at this day by the Arabs, and dedicated to the prophet El-Yousa' (Joshua?), see Le Strange, "Palestine under the Moslems," p. 425. May not this Yusa' be rather the more or less direct descendant of the enigmatical deity ישעאלקים, who has recently made his appearance in the Nabataean pantheon? (See "Recueil d'Arch. Orient.," iv, p. 176).

geographers. But these are hypotheses which seem very adventurous when we have ready to hand the important city of Bostra, which agrees so well with most of the main conditions of the problem.

12. *On Some Greek Inscriptions in the Haurân.*—Professor George Adam Smith, at the same time that he made his magnificent discovery of a fragment of a stele of Pharaoh Seti I at Tell esh-Shihâb, made also in the same region of the Haurân some other discoveries of much interest to students of Greek epigraphy.¹

The texts of this latter category published by him have appeared to me capable of emendations and restorations at certain points. These new readings, which originally occurred to me when studying the facsimiles engraved in his description, have been confirmed since then by the examination of the original transcripts and of the photographs which the author has been good enough to send to me, for which courtesy I gladly take this opportunity of thanking him.

(1) *A Fragment Built into a Wall at Tell el' Ash'ari* (pp. 353–358).—The inscription is unquestionably in the name of the Roman Emperor Titus; there cannot be any doubt on this point, seeing that one can still very clearly make out at the end of the first line the remains of the letters $\Sigma\Pi/\Sigma$, belonging to the gentilec [Οὐε]σπ(α)[σιανός], which Titus bore as well as his father. The god to whom the dedication is addressed is not Apollo, but Ζεὺς μέγιστος, *Jupiter Maximus*, whose worship was very common throughout Syria. This is how I propose to restore and to read the entire inscription, which is of real historical value :—

1. [ὕπερ τῆς αυτοκράτορ]ος Τίτου Φλαυνί[ου Οὐε](σ)π(α)-
2. -[σιανού σεβαστοῦ σω](τ)ηρίας, Ἀπολλ(οφά)ν[ης Δι-]
3. -[σγένους, πατήρ πόλε]ως, Διὶ μεγίστῳ, [ε]ῦ[σεβε-]
4. -[ίας χάριω, ἐκ τῶν ἰδί]ων (τὸν βωμ)[ὸν ἀνέστησεν]²

For the health of the Emperor Titus Flavius Vespasianus Augustus, Apollophanes, the son of Diogenes, the father of the city, has set up this altar at his own expense, out of piety to Jupiter Most High.

My restorations may at first sight appear daring, not to say arbitrary; they seem to me, however, to be absolutely corroborated³

¹ Pal. Exp. Fund *Quarterly Statement*, 1901, October, pp. 340 *et seq.*

² Or, of course, ἀνέθηκεν, ἐποίησεν, ἀνήγειρεν, &c.

³ While I think that I have accurately settled the extent and the tenor of

by an inscription, closely connected with this one, which was discovered some 12 years ago by Professor G. Adam Smith himself¹ at a place close by, Tafas (a little more than three miles to the east of Tell el-'Ash'ari), and recopied some years later, under more favourable conditions, by M. Fossey.² I read it somewhat differently to the way in which Messrs. A. Smith, Ramsay, and Fossey, respectively, have done :—

1. (Ἔτους) βλρ', ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀντοκρά[τορος σεβα]-
2. στοῦ Μάρκου Ὀθωνος σωτη[ρίας, Ἀπολ]
3. -λοφ[άν]ης Διογένους, πατῆρ π[όλεως, τῆν]
4. στοῖν σὺν [τ]αῖς ἐνσὶ ψαλίσι οἰκ[οδόμησεν]
5. ἐκ [τῶν ἰδίων, εὐσε]β(ε)ίας χάριτι, τ

In the year 132, for the health of the Emperor Augustus Marcus Otho ; Apollophanes, the son of Diogenes, father of the city, built at his own expense this portico with its two arcades, out of piety, dedicated to . . . (name of the deity ?).

The year 132 of the era of Pompey corresponds to the year 69 A.D., the very year in which the ephemeral reign of the Emperor Otho took place. It is, we see, the same personage that must have made these two dedications, at an interval of a dozen years at the most (Titus reigned from 79 to 81 A.D.). The two places, Tell el-'Ash'ari and Tafas, may be regarded as practically forming part of the same territory, and it is quite natural that our Apollophanes, after having built an edifice in the one, should have set up an altar in the other.³ The termination *ως*, preserved by the new inscription, brilliantly confirms the happy restoration *πατῆρ πόλεως*, which we owe to Professor Ramsay in the first one. I may add that this title, although rare in Syria, seems to have remained in use up to the Byzantine epoch, as is proved by an inscription at Caesarea⁴ Maritima.

the missing parts of the inscription, I do not absolutely guarantee the arrangement of the lines. One might have expected that at the beginning there would be a double date, as in the inscription with which I compare this one, but the obvious length of the lines precludes this supposition.

¹ "Critical Review" (Edinburgh), 1892, p. 59.

² "Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique," 1897, p. 47, No. 29.

³ We may also admit the possibility, considering the short distance between the two places, of one of the two stones having been subsequently displaced by the Arabs, and of their both having originally been on the same spot.

⁴ "Rev. Bibl.," 1895, pp. 73, 240, 378 ; "Byzantin. Zeitschrift," 1895, p. 160 ; Pal. Exp. Fund *Quarterly Statement*, 1896, p. 87.

(2) *Altar at Tell el-'Ash'ari* (pp. 354–356).—My reading differs from that of Professor Adam Smith in several points, the most important of which is the name of the deity :—

1. Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ λιαμονῆς
 2. Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ
 3. Ἀντωνείνου, σεβαστοῦ, εὐσε-
 4. βοῦς, καὶ τοῦ σύνπαντος αὐ-
 5. τοῦ οἴκου,
 6. Πάμφιλος Ἐρ[εν]νίου,
 7. βουλ(ε)υτήs, Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ
 8. κυρία¹ τὸν βωμὸν, ἐκ πάν
 9. ιδίων, κατ' εὐ[χ]ήν, ἀνήγει-
- ρευ

For the health and continuance of Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antonius Augustus Pius, and of all his family; Pamphilus, the son of Herennius, Senator, has set up this altar at his own expense, and to fulfil a vow, to Artemis our Lady.

Line 7 changes its complexion altogether in consequence of the new reading which I propose, and which, being verified by reference to the photograph, may be regarded as certain. The existence of the Syrian worship of Artemis has already been proved² by the inscriptions at Jerash³; this same goddess, moreover, appears as Tyché, protectress of the city, on the coins of the Gerasenians. I think it unnecessary to enlarge upon the peculiar importance attaching to the appearance of this goddess, the equivalent, perhaps, of some ancient Semitic or lunar deity, at Tell el-'Ash'ari—that is to say, at a place which, even if it does not represent the famous 'Ashteroth Karnaim, cannot in any case be far from it. Everyone knows how keenly this topographical question is still being discussed; Professor Adam Smith has reopened the debate without being able to decide it. We must for the future, in working out the problem, take into account this new factor which I have introduced into it. Its full importance will be understood if the reader will call to mind that mysterious non-Egyptian divinity, seen full-faced and crowned with an enormous lunar crescent, to which Rameses II is paying his devotions, on the stele of the

¹ As for the order of the words of this formula, compare 'Αθηνᾶ τῇ κυρία. Waddington, Nos. 5, 2203A, and 2453.

² Not to mention an inscription at Daphne, Waddington, No. 2713A.

³ "Revue Bibl.," iv, p. 324, No. 25, and viii, p. 9, No. 5, p. 11, No. 9.

Ṣakhrat Eyyûb, which was discovered at a distance of only seven and a half miles to the north of Tell el-'Ash'ari. Have we not here the Canaanitish prototype of the lunar divinity who, dominating as she did the entire district, and having perhaps given her so suggestive name as the "Two-Horned Astarte" to 'Ashteroth Ḳarnaim, was transformed into Artemis during the Hellenistic and Roman epoch, and has now revealed herself by name at Tell el-'Ash'ari? It might be worth while also to inquire whether the sacred *temenos* of Ḳarnaim,¹ which the Second Book of Maccabees calls the 'Ατερργάτιον,² was not perhaps really an 'Ασταρτεῖον, or indeed an 'Αρτεμῖσιον.

(3) *Inscription at Sheikh Miskîn* (p. 361).—This is an epitaph which affects a metrical style. Both its transcription and its reading require correction³ thus :—

Ὁὐ μέχρη στρατιᾶ[ς ἀφέ]σεως⁴ ἀπέ-
 -ν(ε)μεν Ὀὐλπιανῶ τὸ γέρας ὁ βασ(ε)νι-
 -λε(ῖ)ς· ἀλλὰ τὸ θαυμαστὸν ὅτι οὐδὲ λ-
 -όγος ἢ θε(ε)ία χάρις, ἀλλὰ γράμμα Τω(?)

The sovereign has given Ulpianus his reward (the *honesta missio*); before (?) he had completed his term of military service; only, the surprising thing is that the divine grace is not a *logos*, but . . . (?).

The meaning is obscure, especially the conclusion, which is hidden under the antithesis of λόγος and γράμμα or γράμματα. Its obscurity is all the greater because one really does not know what to make of the two last letters τω of the inscription. It is complete and in perfect preservation, and there is nothing to justify us in reading γραμμᾶτω(ν), which, moreover, would not construe properly according to the rules of syntax. I do not venture to suggest γράμματ'ω.⁵ It may be that the whole thing has a double meaning, the *basileus* may mean the King of heaven as well as the Emperor; human life was often likened to a military service, which God brings to an end whenever he pleases, and the

¹ Josephus, "Ant. Jud.," xii, 8, 4; 1 Maccabees, v, 44.

² 2 Maccabees, xii, 26.

³ My emendations, made at first sight, without the help of the photograph, are confirmed by the copy of this text taken by M. Fossey, *op. cit.*, p. 51, No. 45.

⁴ M. Fossey has conjectured ἀπολύσεως, which has the same meaning; but the word is far too long for the size of the *lacuna*.

⁵ Still less γράμμα τῶ (= ταῦ = τ[ελευτή]).

epithet *θεῖος* ("divine") was at the Byzantine epoch the adjective officially applied to imperial ordinances.¹

The study of these Greek inscriptions has led me to examine some others previously collected by Professor G. Adam Smith in the course of his first excursion to the Haurân and the country of Gilead, and published by him in the "Edinburgh Critical Review" (1892, pp. 55 *et seq.*). I shall add a few brief observations about them.

- Sanamein*, Fig. 1.—See new copies by Ewing, *l.c.*, p. 59, No. 47B; and by Brünnow, "Mitth. und Nachr. des D. Pal. Ver.," 1896, p. 21.
- Ib.*, Fig. 2.—It had already been copied by Constantine Macrides, and published by Mordtmann, "Mitth. und Nachr. des D. Pal. Ver.," 1884, p. 121 (with an excellent commentary on the double date of the reign of Agrippa II).
- Inkhil*, Fig. 3 = Macrides-Mordtmann, *l.c.*, p. 124.
- Sheikh Miskîn*, Fig. 5 and Fig. 6.—The two fragments are parts of one single inscription which has already been copied by Macrides, *l.c.*, p. 123, No. 2. Mordtmann's reading of it leaves much to be desired; the second part, especially, has been altogether too much for him. Professor A. Smith has confined himself to translating the first lines. I propose, taking the two copies together, to read the entire inscription as follows:—

Ἀσίαμος²(?) [Ἰ]Ἀυ[θου], [ἐκ] τῶν ἰδίων καμάτων καὶ
 τῶν αὐτοῦ τέκνων, τὸ μνημ(ε)ῖον ἐποίησ[εν], καὶ
 λέγ(ε)ι· Χαίρε, π(α)ρ(ο)[δὲ]τα! ὥσπερ εἶ ἤμην, (κ)α[ὶ]
 ὥσπερ εἰμ(ὶ) (ἐ)σῆ³· ὁ βίος γὰρ καὶ τὰ χρήματα
 οἶκος οὗτός ἐστιν.

Asiamos (Aslamos ?), the son of Authos, made this sepulchre by his own labour and that of his children, and he says: "Hail, passer by! As thou art, I was; and as I am, thou shalt be! for life and riches (all end in) this house of the tomb."

¹ Compare Waddington's comment on No. 1906A, line 3.

² A very doubtful name, of an improbable form: perhaps we ought to emend it into Ἀσλαμος, a well-known Græco-Hauranian proper name.

³ This word and the preceding one are represented by the group of letters **EIMEICI** in Macrides's copy, and by the group **EIMECI** in Adam Smith's copy.

It is the equivalent of the well-known sentence *quod es fuit, quod sum eris*. The final thought is expressed in a yet more energetic fashion in the brief and melancholy epitaph on a tomb at Irbid, which I published long ago,¹ *μετὰ πάντα τάφος!* "at the end of all comes the tomb"!

—*Tafas*, Fig. 7 and Fig. 9.—See new copies by M. Fossey, *l.c.*, p. 46, Nos. 26 and 27.

—*Fik*, Fig. 12 (compare Schumacher, "The Jaulân," p. 141, Fig. 45).—The first words of the Hebrew inscription seem as if they might read יהודה יהודה, "I Jehoudah."

I shall end this little epigraphic review by an emendation of some importance concerning a great metrical epitaph copied at 'Akraba, near Şanamein (Haurân), by Mr. Ewing, and explained by Messrs. A. G. Wright and A. Souter (*Pal. Exp. Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1895, p. 53, No. 31).

I shall not stop to discuss certain points of detail, for instance, the very suspicious place name which appears as Βα[Χ]εσεθής.² I only wish to deal with the two last lines, which these gentlemen have transcribed and translated as follows³:—

Παυλίνη δ'οὐνομα Κληγαμίδαο γενέθλης
Κύλπτου δὲ Νάμωνος ἀειζώοισ(ι)μετείη.

Paulina was her name, and she was of the race of Cleigamidas.

May Cylptus, son of Naamôn, be among those who live for ever.

The first phrase is not constructed on grammatical principles; the proper names Cleigamidas and Cylptus are such as one is not likely to find in either the Hellenic or the Semitic onomasticons. If we examine the copy with care, we shall see that the words ought to be read and interpreted in an entirely different manner:—

Παυλίνη(ς) δ'οὐνομα, κα(ὶ) Ἡρα(κλ)ίδεο γενεθλής,
Κυ(δίδ)του τὲ Νάμωνος ἀεὶ ζωοῖσ(ι) μετείη.⁴

May the names of Paulina, of Heraclidas her son, and of the illustrious Namôn, be always among the living.

¹ "Recueil d'Arch. Orient.," vol. i, p. 17, No. 26.

² In the genitive case; one might at a pinch read *Νασεγεθης*, and find it in the ancient name of Kefr Nâsij, which is situated quite close to 'Akraba, to the north-east.

³ The deceased Namôn or Naamôn has just stated in the preceding verse that he built his sepulchre with the assistance of his wife and his son.

⁴ A reminiscence of Homer, *ὄφρα ζωοῖσι μετέω*. Compare Waddington, No. 2434, *ἀεὶ ζωοῖσιν ἐνείη*, from another metrical epitaph.

This emendation seems to me to be established beyond all question by another inscription copied some time ago by Wetzstein (Waddington, No. 2413D) at 'Akraba itself, which runs thus :—

Ναάμων ἤρξατο, Ἡρακλίδας ἐτελίωσε

Naamon began (this building), Heraclidas finished (it).

There can be no doubt that we have here the same personages, father and son, and that the inscription alludes to one of the buildings, not a funerary one, which our Naamôn was pleased to set up during his lifetime, as he boasts that he did in the inscription copied by Ewing :—

δειμάμενος δὲ ζωῶσι τὰ οἱ φίλος ἔθελε θυρῶς

We gather from another inscription at 'Akrabâ (Waddington, No. 2413C) that Hercules was the object of a special *cultus* in that town, which is a rare thing in Syria. This fact may perhaps explain the choice of the name of Heraclidas given to Naamôn's son.

I may observe in this connection that a good many of the inscriptions copied by Mr. Ewing and published in the *Quarterly Statement* stand in need of a careful revision. I shall, I hope, have an opportunity of returning to this subject.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE INSCRIPTIONS FOUND AT TELL EL-'ASH'ARI.

By Professor GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D., LL.D.

M. CLERMONT-GANNEAU'S reading **APTEMIDITH** for the latter half of the seventh line of the altar inscription, which I found last summer at Tell el-'Ash'ari, is undoubtedly correct, as a re-examination of the original photograph proves. I had conjectured (*Quarterly Statement*, 1901, p. 356) that the letters in question contained the name of the town or of its goddess. That M. Clermont-Ganneau has discovered the name to be Artemis is a fact of great importance on the controversy as to the site of 'Ashteroth Karnaim.

In my paper of last October (pp. 358 *f*) I argued that there was not sufficient evidence for identifying Tell el-'Ash'ari with either of the Ashtaroths of Eusebius, one of which was in all