





Page 37, line 5, of hieroglyphic writing. For  read , and after  insert .

Page 38, line 25. For  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches thick read  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 1 inch thick.

Page 39, line 10. For amulets read annulets.

Page 42, line 1 under the figure. For embossed upon read attached to.

Page 43, line 3. For the branches read other branches.

Also in Plate VIII, October, 1902, read  $\frac{1}{2}$  foot for  $\frac{2}{2}$  inches at the left-hand end of the upper scale.

## ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND EPIGRAPHIC NOTES ON PALESTINE.

By Professor CLERMONT-GANNEAU, M.I.

22. *The "Gate of Nicanor" in the Temple of Jerusalem.*—The Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has been kind enough to submit to me the squeeze of a bilingual Greek and Hebrew inscription, which was noticed by Miss Gladys Dickson<sup>1</sup> on an ossuary from a sepulchral cave in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> The text is lengthier than the inscriptions usually found upon the small funerary vessels which belong to Jewish archæology, and is easily read. Its historical interest, if I am not mistaken, is of the first rank.

<sup>1</sup> [According to Miss Dickson's letter, "this ossuary is 2 feet 8½ inches long by 11 inches by 1 foot, and is ornamented on both sides, on one end, and on the lid. On the remaining end is the inscription lightly engraved. The ornamentation on the one side, the end, and the lid consists of roughly painted red lines, forming zigzags and frets. The other side is ornamented by four small circles containing sexfoils, and set in square panels, divided by borders (all painted)."]

<sup>2</sup> For reasons which will readily be understood, I refrain from indicating more precisely the place where it was found. I merely limit myself to the remark that the ossuary, which was found along with many others, is adorned with sculpture.

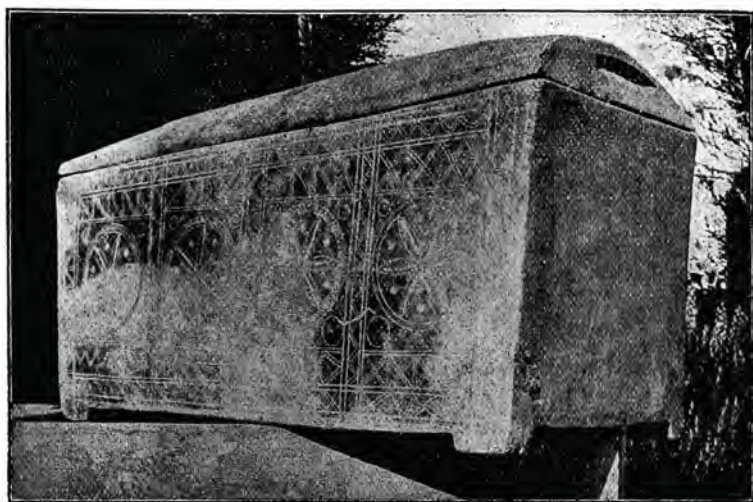


FIG. 1.—Inscribed Ossuary.



FIG. 2.—Inscription on Ossuary.

Ὅστα τῶν τοῦ Νεικάνορος Ἀλεξανδρέως ποιησαντος τὰς θύρας.

נקבר אלכסא

“The bones of the (sons or descendants?) of Nicanor, the Alexandrian, who made the doors.—NICANOR ALEKSA.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The inscription is accompanied with a big mark in the shape of a X

The Greek letters, though of the cursive type, are carefully written, and may easily go back to the commencement of the Christian era.<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew letters belong to the "square character" of similar ossuaries.<sup>2</sup> The style of the inscription—the article in the plural followed by a proper name in the genitive—is frequent enough in the Greek epigraphy of the Haurân,<sup>3</sup> where it serves to designate the family or the tribe to which an individual belongs. In this inscription it can scarcely refer to any other than the family or descendants of Nicanor, and in view of the nature of the vessel, the collective use is at first sight somewhat surprising, since these little stone chests generally have a purely individual character. Intended, as they are, to receive the bones of the skeletons removed from the *loculi* in the sepulchre as fresh bodies were inhumed, each usually received the remains of a single person, as is shown by the short inscriptions which have been found graven upon them. I should add, however, that I have sometimes found *in situ*, in certain ancient sepulchres of the Jewish cemeteries of Jerusalem, ossuaries containing the bones of two persons, the evidence being the presence of two skulls and the tenour of the inscriptions. Sometimes, even, I have remarked the existence of an accumulation of bones that could only belong to several skeletons. Such may be the case here, although one is a little embarrassed by the fact that the Hebrew inscription simply preserves the name Nicanor, which leads to the belief that the ossuary contained the bones of this individual only, and not those of other persons belonging to his family. A difficulty still remains,

boldly traced. I have already had occasion to call attention to analogous signs, whether on ossuary inscriptions of the same kind or not (*cf.*, for example, my *Archæological Researches in Palestine*, vol. i, pp. 395, 403, 409).

<sup>1</sup> [Canon Hicks observes that the Greek lettering is in the beautiful regular cursive hand which was common in Egypt in *papyrus-writing* throughout the last two centuries B.C. Such cursive forms did not come into common use in public *inscriptions* until the Christian era. But in *ex voto* and similar private or semi-private inscriptions the cursive character was not uncommon (or at least not forbidden). It is hardly safe, therefore, to build an argument as to date upon the Greek writing in this case. It is so good and scholarly that Canon Hicks concludes that he is inclined to put it at as early a date as is consistent with the evidence of the Hebrew.—ED.]

<sup>2</sup> Numerous specimens will be found in my *Archæological Researches in Palestine*, vol. i, pp. 381–454. One will not fail to notice the peculiar form of the *kaph*—not curved at the lower extremity and resembling the final *kaph*.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf.* Waddington, *Inscr. gr. et lat. de Syrie*, Nos. 2251, 2258, 2339, 2348.

which, however, I do not venture to remove by the assumption that the Greek expression is equivalent to ὀστιά τῶν (ὀστίων) τοῦ Νεικάνωρος, "the bones belonging to those of Nicanor." This would allow us to reconcile the Greek and Hebrew inscriptions, but is against all analogy and Greek usage.

It will be noticed that the Hebrew has faithfully reproduced the name Νεικάνωρ: נִקְנֹר,<sup>1</sup> but without any *matres lectionis*, a sign of comparative antiquity. In the Rabbinical writings, where it appears as a well-known Hellenic name, to which I shall presently return, it is always written fully נִיקְנֹר. The word אֶלְכָסָא, which follows in our inscription, often recurs in Talmudic literature as a masculine proper name;<sup>2</sup> we even hear of a Rabbi Alaksâ or Aleksâ: undoubtedly the transcription of a Greek name which, like so many others, has passed into the Jewish onomasticon.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, it seems to me rather difficult to treat אֶלְכָסָא here as the name of a person: Nicanor's second name, for example, or the name of his father—in the latter case it would surely have been preceded by בֶּן (or בֵּר), "son." I would prefer to see in the name an ethnic, equivalent to Ἀλεξανδρέως, "Alexandrian" in the Greek. It is true that the ordinary form in post-biblical Hebrew is אֶלְכָסְנֵרִי, but one may suppose that אֶלְכָסָא was a popular abbreviation. I am not indisposed to think, even, that this abbreviation took birth upon Greek soil, and that the name Ἀλεξᾶς is properly a contraction of Ἀλεξανδρέως, and originally meant "the Alexandrian." It is well known that in certain familiar Greek names the ending *ās* is often the sign of a strong contraction—Ἐπαφρῶς = Ἐπαφρόδειτος, Κλεόπας = Κλεόπατρος, &c. It had already been conjectured that Ἀλεξᾶς might be contracted from Ἀλέξανδρος<sup>4</sup>—it could very well also be from Ἀλεξανδρέως. Numerous proper

<sup>1</sup> The third character is perfect, and identical with the first. It is therefore impossible to read נִקְרָר " (Aleksa) has been buried."

<sup>2</sup> Borne by Jews as well as by heathen, see Levy, *Neuhebr. Wörterb.*, s.v.; cf. Chajes, *Beitr. z. nordsem. Onomatol.*, p. 9, who wrongly connects the Nab. inscription, *C.I.S.*, ii, No. 197, where the name is really אֶלְכָסִי and not אֶלְכָסָא, and appears to correspond to the form Ἀλέξιος or Ἀλεξίς.

<sup>3</sup> Not of Ἀλεξίς, as Frankel conjectures (*apud* Chajes, *l.c.*), nor of Ἀλεξῶ (a female name), as Krauss supposes (*ib.*), but rather of Ἀλεξᾶς. For Jewish bearers of this name, cf., among others, the brother-in-law of Herod the Great, Alexas Helkias, son of Alexas (*Jos. Ant.* xvii, 1, 1; xviii, 8, 4), and one of the heroes of the siege of Titus (*id. B.J.*, vi, 1, 8; 2, 6).

<sup>4</sup> Pape-Benseler, *op. cit.*, i, p. xviii.

names were originally real ethnics, evidence of which I have often had occasion to bring forward. Especially favourable to the above view is the fact that the regular ethnic אלכסנדרי actually appears in Talmudic literature as a proper name.<sup>1</sup>

I now reach the most curious part of our text: what could these "doors" have been which Nicanor is said to have made? We need not stop to consider seriously whether it refers to the doors of the sepulchre itself, so trivial a performance would scarcely have been noticed. The reference is evidently to some memorable deed which one loved to recall in honour of the family. I believe that by "the doors" we are to understand the famous door of the Temple of Herod, known as the "Gate of Nicanor," after the rich individual who had presented it to the sanctuary. Everything goes to prove it: the details preserved in the Talmud, as well as those furnished by Josephus.<sup>2</sup> They may be summed up as follows:—The Gate of Herod led from the Women's Court to the Court of the Israelites, hard by the Priests' Court to the east of the *naos*. It was approached by a flight of 15 steps. In dimensions and magnificence it surpassed all the other gates of the sanctuary. Fifty cubits high and 40 wide, the gates were of Corinthian bronze, covered with thick plates of gold and silver, beautifully worked. At least 20 men were required to turn these massive gates upon their hinges. They had been brought from *Alexandria* by a certain *Nicanor* who probably belonged to the wealthy Jewish colony of this city, and had executed this magnificent work at his own expense.<sup>3</sup> According to the Talmud, miracles (ניסים) were performed on account of these gates. It relates at length that Nicanor had made at his own expense at Alexandria two leaves of the gate for the Temple. As they were being brought by sea a storm arose and the sailors cast one of them overboard. In spite of this the ship continued to be in

<sup>1</sup> Thus we know of a Rabbi Alexandri, Levy, *op. cit.*, s.v.; cf. the curious Talmudic passage there cited, whence it seems to follow that the name Benjamin could correspond to Alexandri as does Yehudah to Rufus, &c. For variants of this passage, cf. my *Archæol. Researches*, i, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> For details and references, see Munk, *Palestine*, p. 552; Mishna, *Yoma*, iii, 10; and the commentary of Maimonides; Talm. Bab. *Yoma*, fol. 38a; cf. Jos. *B.J.*, v, 5, 3; vi, 5, 3, who describes the same gate, but without naming it.

<sup>3</sup> Gifts of this kind were not rare. Similarly, Tiberius, father of Alexander, probably an Alexandrian, had also furnished the gold and silver for the ornamentation of the nine gates of the temple (Jos. *B.J.*, v, 5, 3).

danger, and the sailors prepared to throw away the other. Nicanor, in despair at the loss of his precious work, besought them to cast him over also. The storm having abated, Nicanor disembarked at Acre, and a huge fish vomited out the leaf (which it had swallowed), with the result that Nicanor had the happiness of being able to bring his offering to the Temple complete.

The Talmud, as we have seen, speaks of "miracles" in the plural. Perhaps there is an allusion to another wonder, which is related by Josephus apropos of this gate (*B.J.* vi. 5, 3), along with other prodigies which, according to popular belief, gave warning of the imminence of the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Temple by Titus.<sup>1</sup> This gate, which was usually so difficult to move, and was closed nightly by the united efforts of 20 men, impelled by some supernatural force, opened of its own accord towards midnight to the general stupefaction of everyone.

These legends, the first of which presents details apparently inspired by the story of Jonah, bears witness at least to the popularity which the Gate of Nicanor possessed. I do not think I am mistaken in concluding that the Nicanor of our inscription is no other than this historical personage; the correspondence is complete in all essentials; he is called *Nicanor*, he is of *Alexandria*, and he is said to have *made the gates* (*τὰς θύρας* = *רללתות*)<sup>2</sup> — no Jew of the period, in the presence of a text so worded, could misunderstand the meaning and fail to recognise the donor whose name was upon every lip.

There is no need for me to insist upon the results that follow this identification. This can only be done fully when more is known of the sepulchre where our ossuary and the other ossuaries associated with it were found. But we may feel satisfied, in the meantime, that we now possess an invaluable datum for the chronological classification, not only of such ossuaries, but also of the Greek and Hebrew inscriptions which they so often bear.

[Mr. Macalister, who has had an opportunity of examining the ossuary itself, observes that the engraver of the inscription "evidently became weary of his work at an early stage. The

<sup>1</sup> The appearance of a comet; a sudden illumination by night of the altar and the Temple; a cow giving birth to a lamb in the middle of the Temple as it was going to be sacrificed.

<sup>2</sup> These are properly the folding-doors or leaves; for a gate in the architectural sense, that is to say, the gate or doorway, the word *πύλη* = *שַׁעַר* or *תַּחַת* would have been employed.

opening letters are cut with a boldness and distinctness rare in ossuary inscriptions (which are generally feeble and almost illegible scrawls). But as the inscription advances, signs of carelessness and haste make their appearance, till at the end of the Hebrew words the letters are faintly scratched—indeed, nearly invisible.” The difficulty constituted by the opening words, *ὄσατ᾽ τῶν τοῦ Ν.*, would be removed if we accept Mr. Macalister’s ingenious suggestion that *ὄστατων* is one word—a *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*—with the obvious and suitable meaning “receptacle for bones.” As analogies for this form such words as *ἀμπελών*, “place for vines, vineyard,” *παρθενών*, “chamber for young women,” *περιστερεών*, “columbarium,” are cited by Mr. Macalister and others. But the explanation of the *τ* would seem to form a serious objection (note *ὄστοθήκη*), though, to be sure, Mr. Macalister himself inclines to the view that it is euphonic, and that the whole word was provincial or local. M. Clermont-Ganneau also points out how closely *ὄστατων* would resemble the word *סְתוּדָנָה*[*נ*], *ostódanah*, “sepulchre,” an Aramaic word of Iranian origin on an inscription of the fifth or fourth century B.C. Has the word been Grecised?—Ed.]

23. *An Inscribed Altar at Kadesh-Naphtali*.—In 1865 Sir Charles Wilson discovered at *Kades*, the ancient *Kedesh* of *Naphtali* in Galilee, to the north-east of Lake *Hüleh*, a stone altar with a Greek inscription. In a letter, reproduced in the *Memoirs* of the Palestine Exploration Fund (vol. i, p. 229), he confines himself to briefly mentioning this monument, which appears to have been unnoticed by explorers of the remarkable ruins of *Kadesh*, whether before or after, and to have been unfortunately regarded as lost for ever.<sup>1</sup> This is the more regrettable since in all probability the altar belonged to the temple near which it was found, and the inscription might have afforded valuable information regarding the deity in whose honour this magnificent sanctuary was consecrated.

Sir Charles Wilson, in his letter, dated January, 1866, remarks that he was not able to decipher the inscription, but had taken a squeeze and copy of it. My attention having been attracted recently by this note, I requested permission to examine the documents referred to. But in spite of search in the archives of

<sup>1</sup> The only remaining hope is that the altar has been removed by some Syrian dealer, and thence sold, without any indication of its origin as usual. In this case the information here published may possibly lead to its identification.

the Palestine Exploration Fund, it was impossible to discover the squeeze, which seems to have disappeared in the course of some removal at the Fund's offices.

An outline sketch is all that is preserved. It was executed at the spot with that conscientious care that characterises Sir Charles Wilson's surveying, and allows one not only to form an accurate idea of the monument as a whole, but also, as I shall presently point out, to read an important part of the inscription.

One of the two faces of the altar shows, sculptured in bas-relief, the head of a man, full-face, bearded, covered with a sort of veil

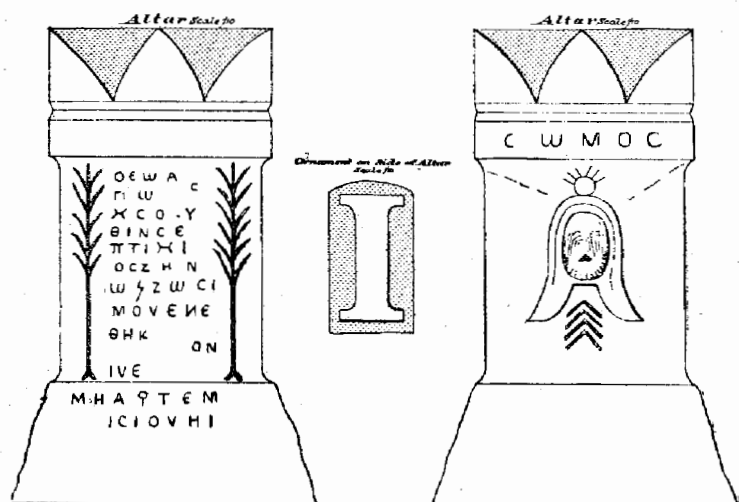


FIG. 3.—An Inscribed Altar at Kedesh-Naphtali.

falling over in two points on the right and left, and surmounted by a small disc upon which is an aigrette with six rays. Below this head, which is hammered in parts, at the height of the chest are figured four chevrons. It is probable that we have here a representation of the god to whom the altar was dedicated. But what god? A Zeus, Serapis, Chronos, Helios, Asclepios, &c., corresponding of course to some Semitic god or other? The image is not sufficient for us to decide the question. The answer should be found in the dedication which is engraved upon the other face, to a study of which I now proceed. Upon the border which runs above the head of the god are carved five Greek characters of a rather low period—CWMOC—which do not afford any satisfactory sense.



I am rather inclined to correct to **(B)ΩMOC**=βωμός, "altar." If this is indeed the true reading, one may suppose that the word was accompanied by the name of some god in the genitive, and that this name was engraved below the head, upon the base of the altar. Some accident, if it has not led to its disappearance, at least has rendered it invisible.

The other face<sup>1</sup> bears an inscription of 12 lines engraved between two lofty palms—or, perhaps, two trees or shrubs with boughs pointing upwards. The last two lines are on the base, an arrangement which tends to justify the conjecture that a word to complete (β)ωμός possibly stood in a corresponding position upon the other face of the stone. After a few palæographical corrections—some obvious, others perhaps doubtful—have been made, the following is the reading which I believe may be obtained from this copy, which, though certainly faithful, has unfortunately been made from an original which has suffered somewhat:—

(Θ)εῷ ἁγίῳ . . . . . Σεπτίμιος Ζήνων(ν) Ζωσίμου (ἀ)νέθηκε(ε)ν, **IVE** ?  
μη(νός) Ἀ(ρ)τρευσιόου ηῖ'.

"To the holy god . . . . Septimius Zenon, son of Zōsimos, dedicated, in the year . . . . the 8th of the month Artemisios."

In the first place, some palæographical peculiarities may be noticed (due allowance being made of course for the exactness of the reproduction); the form of the final ν in Ζήνων, which has a singular resemblance to the Phœnician *nūn*; that of the ρ in Ἀρτρευσιόου; the first ν of ἀνέθηκεν, which is reversed. The names Zōsimos, and more especially Zenon, are very common in the Syro-Greek inscriptions, and there are good grounds for believing that the latter corresponds to theophorous Phœnician names compounded with Baal<sup>2</sup>—this may very well be the case here.

The date is very doubtful. The year is evidently expressed in the group **IVE**. But how is it to be interpreted? Is it even complete? One is tempted to read **(L)YE** = λ.υε', with **L** to indicate the year, in accordance with Egyptian usage, examples of which are also to be found in Syrian inscriptions. This, then, will be "the year 405." But since, lower down, 18 is written ηῖ',

<sup>1</sup> I may note, in passing, the symbolical object of uncertain character (a cippus?) which is carved upon one of the sides.

<sup>2</sup> See, on this question, my memoir, *Stèles peintes de Sidon* (in the *Gazette Archéol.*, 1877, p. 102 et seq.), cf. the *Rec. d'Arch. Orient.* I, pp. 5, 187.

and not  $\epsilon\eta'$ , one would rather have expected the two letters,  $\nu\epsilon'$ , to have been transposed—viz.,  $\epsilon\nu'$ . Perhaps, consequently, we must read  $\text{LY}' = 410$ , and regard the  $\text{€}$  as belonging to the word  $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ , "years," written either in full or more or less abbreviated? Finally, whether the year be 405, 410, or any other number, to what era does it belong? As regards this last question, it seems to me to be difficult at all events to treat it as any other than the era of Tyre (126–125 B.C.).<sup>1</sup> Kadesh in Galilee, owing to its geographical position, actually belonged to the district of Tyre, and in this respect history is in agreement with geography. It is sufficient to recall what Josephus says of the city:—*Κέδασαν τὴν Τυρίων*, and elsewhere *Κυδουσοῖς . . . μεσόγειος δὲ ἐστὶ Τυρίων κώμη καρτερά*.<sup>2</sup> The year 405 or 410 of the Tyrian era would correspond to the year 284–285, or 279–280 of the Christian era, a period that would agree very well with the palæographical evidence of the inscription. The month and the day of the month being specified, we can date it with greater precision. We are accurately acquainted with the Tyrian calendar which would naturally be employed here along with the Tyrian era, and since Artemisios, the eighth month of this calendar, corresponds to May 19–June 18, we have in consequence the following equations:—

$$18 \text{ Artemisios } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 405 \\ 410 \end{array} \right\} \text{ of Tyre} = 5 \text{ June } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 280 \\ 285 \end{array} \right\} \text{ A.D.}^3$$

It remains now to raise the most interesting question of all, that of the name of the god to which this altar was dedicated. This name is perhaps concealed in the group of letters following  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega\acute{\iota}$ , an epithet which, as I have had frequent occasion to show, is usual where Semitic divinities are referred to,<sup>4</sup> or, at least, it is necessary to find in this group a second epithet complementary to the divine name, such as  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omega\varsigma$ , or the like. In this contingency, however, one would have expected the conjunction  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  between the first and

<sup>1</sup> Not the same as the more ancient Tyrian era (275 B.C.), which it replaced. I have recently brought forward some weighty arguments tending to establish the fact that, in certain cases at least, the era must be calculated from 125, and not from 126, B.C. (*Rec. d'Arch. Or.*, tome V, § 45).

<sup>2</sup> *B.J.*, ii, 18, § 1; iv, 2, § 3. Note the variation in the transcription. The second form (*Κυδουσοῖς*), in accordance with general usage, is treated as a neuter plural. Cf. *Onom.*, *Κεδεσσα*, and *Cydissus*, 20 miles from Tyre.

<sup>3</sup> For the reasons indicated above, I have worked upon the base  $\mp 125$ , and not  $\mp 126$ , which is wrongly given in the handbooks.

<sup>4</sup> We shall find a new and remarkable example of this in No. 24, below.

second epithets. But there are no traces of these letters in the group, which appears to read **MCO Y ΘIN**.<sup>1</sup> The difficulty is singularly increased by the fact that the division and space between the letters are generally irregular in this inscription, and it is impossible to decide whether the spaces which precede or separate the characters in the group are genuine or whether they may not have contained other characters which have accidentally disappeared. Moreover, it is possible that one, two, or even three of the last letters ought to be removed from this group, on the theory that they contain the premen of Septimius Zenon, who dedicates the inscription, not to speak of the various possible restorations which might be made of them. It is here, especially, that a lively regret for the loss of the squeeze is felt. In the absence of such help any attempt at a reading would be too rash. No doubt several conjectures might be hazarded, but they would be too questionable for me to risk proposing them. All that I can say is that I am inclined to believe that in this group of letters is to be found not so much a second epithet of the god, as either his specific name, or at least his local surname.

24. *Mount Hermon and its God in an inedited Greek Inscription.*—

I. In 1884, whilst studying the collection of antiquities of the Palestine Exploration Fund then deposited in the South Kensington Museum, a descriptive catalogue of which I was making for my own use, I noticed a large, rectangular slab of limestone, coarsely cut, broken in half, and bearing a Greek inscription of eight lines in cursive and irregular characters, somewhat difficult to decipher. I took a copy and a photograph,<sup>2</sup> which have since remained hidden away in my boxes. I had always promised myself to return to it, but had been prevented hitherto by certain doubts of the reading, and, above all, by my entire ignorance of the exact provenience of the stone.

The label bore only the words, "From the Lebanon"—a vague enough description, since the Lebanon comprises a not insignificant part of Syria. In spite of investigations which were made at the time, at my request, in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, it could not be ascertained where the stone had been found,

<sup>1</sup> I do not know whether account should be taken of the small isolated "c" which is to be seen on the extreme right, between lines 1 and 2.

<sup>2</sup> From the same photograph has been prepared the block.

by whom it had been transported from Syria to England, nor even when and how it had been added to the collection of the Fund. It is only quite recently, and by pure chance, that I have been able to make out with certainty that the mysterious stone came really from the summit of Hermon, or rather, from the very sanctuary that formerly crowned the sacred mount whose snow-clad head marks the northern boundary of the land of Israel, and at whose foot the Jordan takes its rise. This fact, which gives our inscription an exceptional value and interest, depends upon the following proof:—

I had quite lost sight of this stone until lately, having occasion to search through the old numbers of the *Quarterly Statement* for a totally different object, my eye fell upon a series of copies of inscriptions by Sir Charles Warren, published in *fac-simile* in *Quarterly Statement*, 1870, pp. 324–327. I noticed, on p. 328, a copy of a Greek inscription of eight lines, a mere outline, and indecipherable in itself—on which account it has hitherto escaped attention—a comparison of which with my photograph at once proved that this copy was no other than that of our inscription. Now, the cut was accompanied by the brief but explicit legend, “Stone on summit of Hermon. Scale  $\frac{1}{12}$ .” Turning to Sir Charles Warren’s account, published previously (pp. 210–215)<sup>1</sup> under the heading “Summit of Hermon,” I found our inscription duly mentioned. In fact, after describing very minutely the remarkable sanctuary,<sup>2</sup> whose ruins are still to be seen upon the summit of Hermon, and the great oval *enceinte* that surrounds the cone, Sir Charles Warren remarks (*i.e.*, p. 213):—

“To the north-west of the oval we found a stone, 4' × 18" × 12", with a Greek inscription on the face, very roughly cut; a squeeze<sup>3</sup> was taken of this, and a *fac-simile* from it has been attempted; it is enclosed. This inscription does not appear to have been noticed by travellers before.”

Doubtless the inscription in question is that which is reproduced later on, p. 328; consequently it is the same as the one the original of which is possessed by the Fund, and has awaited

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced later with the same engraving in *Our Work in Palestine*, pp. 245–250 (1873).

<sup>2</sup> Kasr esh-Shebīb, often called, but wrongly, by the name Kasr 'Antar, which belongs properly to another site (*cf. Quarterly Statement*, 1874, p. 52).

<sup>3</sup> [There appears to be no trace of the squeeze in the offices of the Fund.—Ed.]



FIG. 4.—Greek Inscription from Mount Hermon.

an interpreter for over two and thirty years. Apart from the general resemblance of the text, the identity of the inscription is ensured by the agreement of the measurements. The slab at the Fund measures 42 inches in length, 19–20 in breadth, and nearly  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in thickness.

The length and breadth agree essentially with Sir Charles Warren's measurements, but the actual thickness is much less,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches instead of 12 inches. This may be attributed to the fact that it was necessary to reduce the thickness in order to reduce the weight of the stone, and to facilitate transport.

We are now able to trace the stone from the summit of Mount Hermon to the last stage that has brought it to the banks of the Thames. In a later report<sup>1</sup> Sir Charles Warren states that he obtained the necessary authority from Rashîd Pasha, Governor-General of Damascus, to remove the stone discovered by him. It was no easy task to convey a block weighing 18 cwt. from a height of 2,800 metres along trackless slopes. It was placed upon a sledge, and all went well up to a certain point. An insurmountable crest prevented further progress. It was necessary to slice the stone in order to lighten it as much as possible, and in the course of this operation the stone was broken in half.<sup>2</sup>

The two fragments, carefully covered over with stones, were abandoned, and it was not till later that it was possible to carry them to Beirût on the back of mules. Thence they were brought to London, and, through some oversight, information respecting their origin having been overlooked, the stone remained a secret for many years. Its history, if I do not err, is now at length reconstructed with certainty.

II. We may now take it for a fact that the inscription which I propose to explain really came from the ancient sanctuary which stands on the summit of Hermon. This fact, it will presently be seen, is of essential importance for the correct interpretation of the text, which accordingly appears in a new light. I read the inscription thus:—

*κατὰ κέλευσιν θεοῦ μεγίστου καὶ ἁγίου, ὁ(?) ὀμνύοντες, ἐντεῦθεν.*

By the order of the god most great and holy, those who take the oath—hence!

<sup>1</sup> *Our Summer in the Lebanon, Quarterly Statement*, pp. 239, 241 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> This ensures the identity of the two fragments in the collection of the Fund, and, at the same time, explains the difference in thickness.

The inscription, brief and elliptical though it is, is to be regarded as complete. The eight lines run on uninterruptedly; there is no lacuna, and, besides, nothing is wanted at the head or at the foot. The extent of the space following the last three letters (l. 8) is sufficient proof that the text comes to an end there. The only difficulty is the  $\Upsilon$  with which the sixth line appears to commence. This letter is a little behind the vertical of the remaining lines, and one is consequently led to ask whether it was not preceded by a letter now destroyed. For a moment it seems possible to make out here the broken traces of such a letter. But whatever that might be [ $\sigma$ ] $\dot{\upsilon}$ , [ $\sigma$ ] $\dot{\delta}$ , or even [ $\epsilon$ ] $\dot{\delta}$ ,<sup>1</sup> one arrives at no one word that suits the context. What one expects, and what should precede the present participle  $\delta\mu\upsilon\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ , is the article  $\alpha\iota$ ; and I incline, on these grounds, to the belief that the  $\dot{\upsilon}$  actually represents the article  $\alpha\iota$ , a vulgar orthography,<sup>2</sup> examples of which are supplied in the Greek epigraphy of Syria. As for the relative position of this letter, it may have been caused by the presence of some fault in the stone which caused the engraver to carve the letter a little to the right of the commencement of line 6. At my request Colonel Watson and Mr. S. A. Cook have been good enough to examine the stone closely, the result of which has been negative as regards the possible existence of a letter before the  $\Upsilon$ . The latter writes: "We can find only weather marks; there is no sign of a letter, and I doubt whether there is actually room for it."

III. Who can this unnamed god be who is thus designated "very great" and "holy"? Without hesitation, one is in a position to reply, I think, that it is the god of Hermon himself, whose sanctuary raises itself upon the highest point (El-Mutabkhiyât) of the sacred mountain with which, according to ancient Semitic belief, the personality of the god would be identified. If we lift the veil from the Hellenic terms, the second of which ( $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ), as I have shown elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> is used of deities of Semitic origin, we see standing before us the grand figure of Baal Hermon, who is mentioned in the Bible on two occasions,<sup>4</sup> the mythological brother of Mount Lebanon and of Mount Carmel, which, too,

<sup>1</sup> It would be extremely rash to conjecture the existence of a compound  $\epsilon\delta\delta\mu\upsilon\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ , formed on the same principle as  $\epsilon\delta\sigma\tau\epsilon\kappa\omega$ .

<sup>2</sup>  $\alpha\iota$  and  $\dot{\upsilon}$  are each pronounced  $i$  in consequence of the iotacism.

<sup>3</sup> *Études d'Arch. Orient.*, I, p. 100 *et seq.*; cf. *Rec. d'Arch. Orient.*, III, p. 330.

<sup>4</sup> Judges iii, 3; 1 Chron. v, 23.

were veritable gods.<sup>1</sup> The veneration of Hermon persisted down to a very late date—even in the time of Eusebius<sup>2</sup> it had not lost its hold upon the inhabitants of the district—and it is possible that one of the modern names of the mountain, Jebel esh-Sheikh, has preserved a last trace of the ancient Canaanite or Amorite Baal incarnated therein.

(*To be continued.*)

### GOLGOTHA AND THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

By Major-General Sir C. W. WILSON, K.C.B., F.R.S., R.E., &c.

(*Continued from p. 65.*)

*The Identification of the Traditional Sites, with Golgotha and the Tomb in the Reign of Constantine.*

THE only contemporary account of the discovery of Golgotha and the Tomb, and of the erection of churches in their honour, is that given by Eusebius in his *Life of Constantine* (iii, 25–40). The “Life” has, somewhat unjustly, been called a travesty of history. Its literary style, so different from the simple prose of the *Ecclesiastical History*, its exaggerated praise of the Emperor, and its frequent attribution of Divine inspiration to his actions, create a not unnatural prejudice in the mind of the reader. But its author was no deliberate falsifier. His object seems to have been to write a panegyric rather than a sober history. After years of suffering he had seen his religion triumphant, and he wrote with poetic

<sup>1</sup> For Lebanon, cf. Baal Lebanon on the ancient Phœnician inscription (*C.I.S.*, I, No. 5), the existence of which I was the first to recognise. For Carmel, cf. the famous passage in Tacitus (II, 78): “Ita vocant montem deumque.” Cf. also the passage in Sanchoniathon (ed. Orelli, p. 16), where the Anti-libanus figures among the mountain gods of the race of giants, by the side of Casius, Lebanon, and the mysterious Brathu. Perhaps our Baal-Hermon himself is to be recognised in the Ζεὺς μέγιστος of a dedication copied by M. Fossey (*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, t. XXI, p. 63, No. 72) at Kal’at Jendel on the eastern declivity of Hermon. Zeus is the usual equivalent of Baal. On line 3 I propose to restore Μάγνου for the corrupt patronymic YAYNOY. The restoration of Ἱαμοῦ, which M. Fossey suggests, is quite inadmissible.

<sup>2</sup> *Onomast.*, s.v., Ἀερμών . . . ὡς ἱερὸν τιμᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδνῶν. Jerome: “In vertice ejus insigne templum quod ab ethnicis cultui habetur e regione Paneadis et Libani.”