

phrase, *fi sabīl Allāh*, became applied to other pious achievements than the sacred war—to pious foundations, alms-giving, and to every activity that is good in the eyes of God.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, to resume, the authors of our graffiti are Mohammedans, but poor people whose religious knowledge seems to be limited to fundamental notions on the relations between God and man: the *wilāya* for this life, and the *shahāda* for the other world.<sup>2</sup> Apparently they are fugitives seeking an asylum and the protection of Allah; but perhaps they may be simple wayfarers who have inscribed their names upon the moist plaster of the cistern. At what period did they live? Neither the palaeography of the characters nor the tenor of the texts furnishes any precise information on the subject.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES.

By JOSEPH OFFORD.

### I. *A New Inscription from Marissa.*

IN the April number of the *Quarterly Statement*, a summary was given of a new Painted Tomb in Palestine which had been discovered and described by Mr. Warren J. Moulton. The same traveller has, in the March number of the *American Journal of Archaeology*, given an account of another tomb found by him at the same site, which is that of the ancient Marissa, where were situated the sepulchres so fully reported upon by Dr. John P. Peters and Dr. H. Thiersch in *The Painted Tombs at Marissa*. The only matters of interest in the last one uncovered are the inscriptions, which are as follows:—

1. In the year 117. (The grave) of Sabo daughter of Apollodorus.
2. In the year 115. The grave of Antiphilus the son of Dionysius.

<sup>1</sup> On the evolution and the different meanings of the words *shahid*, *shahāda*, and *fi sabīl Allāh*, see Goldziher, *op. cit.*, pp. 387 *seq.*, and the sources there cited.

<sup>2</sup> Hence one can see more clearly why, in Palestine and in Syria in general, every isolated and deserted building, tomb, ruin, or subterranean remains tends to become a *weli* or a *mashhad*, that is to say, a place inhabited by a *waliyy*, or by a *shahid*.

3. (Grave) of Dositheus.
4. Of Antiochus.
5. (The grave) of Diodotus.
9. In the year 201. (The grave) of Heliodora the daughter of Aeneas.
10. (The grave) of the Sidonian woman.
11. (The grave) of Apollodorus.

These texts are interesting in some cases because of the names they record, and also because of the connection, apparently, of some of the personages with the names of those in the painted tombs described by Drs. Peters and Thiersch.

Supposing, as is almost certain, that the Seleucidan era is the one used, Mr. Moulton points out that the dates correspond to from 198 to 112 B.C., whereas those previously found at Marissa date from 196 to 119 B.C., so that the several series are practically contemporary. The persons, whose epitaphs were found in the first published tomb, were many of them members of a Sidonian colony, and a Sidonian woman is mentioned in the new series. The female name of Sabo is that also of two other ladies in the first tomb. It is an Edomite or Sabeian, not a Punic name.

Mr. Moulton notes that an Antiphilas was one of the plotters who with Antipater connived against Herod; that Dositheus was the title of a captain of Judas Maccabeus; and that the real name of the assassin of Jonathan Maccabeus was Diodotus. The inscriptions edited by Mr. Moulton make important additions to the Sidonian, Idumean, and other race-name Onomastica of the Marissa necropolis, and may render a study of their origin and meanings profitable.

## II. *A Byzantine Inscription in the Brussels Museum.*

In the catalogue compiled by M. Franz Cumont, of the Greek and Roman Sculptures and Inscriptions in the Brussels Museum in 1913, is published an inscription in Greek, up to that time inedited, which concerns the erection of a wall in Palestine in the Byzantine period, as follows<sup>1</sup>:—

✠ Χρ(όνοισ) Φλ(αβίου) Ἰωάννου ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) βεστίτο(ρος) δεσποτικ(οῦ), ἀπὸ δουκ(ῶν), καὶ ὑπατικ(οῦ) τὸ β' καὶ τοῦτο ἔργον τοῦτικους ἐγένετο ἐν ἰνδικ(τιῶνι).

<sup>1</sup> *Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire Catalogue des Sculptures et Inscriptions Antiques.* Brussels, 1913, pp. 170-171.

"In the time of Flavius Johannes, the most illustrious Imperial Chamberlain; aforesaid general; and consul for the second year, they remade this work of the (construction of a) wall. The year . . . . of the Indiction."

It here states that Flavius Johannes had been Dux, or General, and was Consul of Palestine Prima. The place where the inscription was alleged to have been found was Nazareth, but this was not in that province, and consequently M. Cumont suggests that the stone really came from some other site; and that this may have been Nablus, near which, on Mount Gerizim, Justinian erected fortifications, and which was in Palestine Prima.

The record must have been made previous to A.D. 536, because from that date Palestine Prima was administered by proconsuls.

M. Grégoire conjectures that Flavius Johannes of the text is the Johannes who, in 529, suppressed the revolt of the Samaritans. If so, the Dux of Palestine was Theodore. Of these events Cyril of Scythopolis says:—

Ἐκελεύθησαν Θεόδωρος καὶ Ἰωάννης οἱ ἐνδοξότατοι στρατὸν συναγεῖρος καὶ τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν καταστρατεῦσαι.

### III. *A New Record of a Procurator of Judea.*

The following inscription, which has recently been discovered at Ventimiglia, in Liguria, adds another document to those I have been able to publish from time to time concerning the Roman campaigns and administration in Palestine in the first centuries of our era. As in the case of the memorable military diploma or grant of privilege, to a veteran who took part in the siege of Jerusalem, which may be found in a previous volume of the *Quarterly Statement*,<sup>1</sup> the career of the official whose libella is given below was also connected with Egypt, but the era of service in the army and administration of the new personage restored to history by this freshly found text is later, being in the early part of the second century:—

M(arci)<sup>2</sup> filius Fal(erna) Bassus praefectus cohortis primae

<sup>1</sup> "Recently found Inscriptions relating to Roman Campaigns in Palestine," Palestine Exploration Fund *Quarterly Statement*, 1911, p. 91. See also, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. XXIV, 1902, pp. 325-28, and Vol. XXV, 1903, pp. 30-32, "Inscriptions relating to the Jewish War of Vespasian and Titus"; and Vol. XX, 1898, pp. 59-63, "Inscriptions relating to Hadrian's Jewish War."

<sup>2</sup> *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1914.

Antiochensium: praefectus cohortis primae Brittonum<sup>1</sup>: praefectus alae Moesicae.

Procurator Imperatoris Caesaris Traiani Hadriani Augusti, ad quadragesimum Galliarum; item ad censum Agendum Ponto Bithyniae. epistratego Pelusio, item Thebaidis.

Procurator provinciae Judaeae: testamento poni iussit.

The gentilicium of Bassus is effaced, and so, for the present, is a matter of conjecture. Now that we know of him as a long-time resident Egyptian official, his full titles will probably be found among the Egyptian papyri, but, some years ago, a seal was found, also at Ventimiglia, inscribed Aemili Bassi.

This cursus honorum proves that, either under the military or civil administration, this Bassus had served during almost the whole of Hadrian's reign, A.D. 117 to 138. But, apparently, not until quite the end of it, because, about A.D. 136, the province of Judea became part of Syria Palestina.

Bassus' term of office as Procurator Provinciae Judaeae is a new historical fact, and, therefore, the reason for presenting this inscription to our readers. In addition to the procurators known through the New Testament, there are others, such as Laberius Maximus, Coponius, Annius Rufus, Valerius Gratus, mentioned by Josephus; and Cl. Paternus Clementianus, recorded in *Corpus Inscr. Lat.*, III, 5776; P. Sempronius Aelius Lycinus, *ibid.*, III, 6054; and C. Furius Timesitheus (see Henzen, 5530), and from Tiberius to the end of Nero's reign there were—Marcellus, Marullus, Cuspius Fadus, Tiberius Alexander, Ventidius Cumanus, Antonius Felix, Porcius Festus, Albinus, and Gessius Florus.

#### IV. *The Jewish Community at Delos.*

For more than a decade two Greek inscriptions emanating from Delos, have been considered to have been texts concerning Jews there, because of the intimate connexion of wording in some of the phrases used in the Septuagint, and also because of the occurrence of the term Θεόν των Ἰσραήλ. The arguments for the Hebrew origin of these inscriptions were most carefully elaborated by Deissmann in 1910.<sup>2</sup> His view of the case is now completely corroborated by the

<sup>1</sup> This corps may not have been connected with Britain, but possibly was recruited among the Brittones in the Low Countries.

<sup>2</sup> *Light from the East*, pp. 428-435.

discovery of a fourth Jewish lapidary text at Delos, alluding to the synagogue there.

This, and other inscriptions of Jewish origin at Delos, have been published in the *Mélanges Holleaux*, together with a description of the remains of the synagogue itself; and the inscriptions have been edited again in the *Revue Biblique*, 1914, p. 530.

They are, therefore, merely alluded to here as a record, and because the *Quarterly Statement* in many cases is distributed to parts of the British Empire where probably the *Revue Biblique*, and certainly the *Mélanges Holleaux*, are not likely to be perused.

The text mentioning the Delos synagogue is as follows:—

Ἀγαθακλῆς καὶ Λυσίμαχος ἐπὶ προσευχῆι.

The name of Lysimachos occurs in a second inscription found in the synagogue:—

Λυσίμαχος ὑπὲρ ἐαυτοῦ Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ χαριστήριον.

The other inscriptions are:—

Λαωδίκη Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ σωθεῖσα ταῖς ὑφ' αὐτοῦ θαραπήαις εὐχῆν,  
Ζωσῶς Πάριος Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ εὐχῆν:

and:—

Ὑψίστῳ εὐχῆν Μαρκία.

It will be noted that one of these texts testifies to Jews being at Paros, and Josephus, *Antiquities*, X, 8, mentions a letter concerning Jews there. The book of Maccabees<sup>1</sup> had indicated their presence at Delos and Myndos. The Delos texts above confirm this, and a Greek inscription, found in 1900 at Myndos, substantiates the other.<sup>2</sup>

The essays published upon these Delian inscriptions quote numerous similar texts concerning Θεοῦ Ὑψίστος, the majority undoubtedly of Hebrew origin. One of these from Thyatira Μοσχωνὸς Βυσιλλη(ου) Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ εὐχῆν may be given here, because before the German occupation it was in the Brussels Museum, and its subsequent fate is not known. It is graven upon a marble eagle, the symbol of Zeus. But this emblem was also that of the Semitic Baalim; the hill top, or summit, Semitic deities; and the Most High God—Baal, or Yahweh Shamaim—is an Asiatic concept, and not an Hellenic one introduced quite late into the Old Testament.

It occurs as early as the very ancient Aramaic inscription of Zakir of Hadrach, of the time of Hazael of Damascus, published by

<sup>1</sup> 1 Macc. xv, 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Comptes Rendus* of the *Académie des Inscriptions*, 1901, p. 108.

M. Pognon; a text which has not, in this country, received the attention of Biblical scholars it deserves.<sup>1</sup> Esarhaddon, in his Annals, speaks of Ba-al-sa-me, as a deity of Tyre. Baal was Lord of Eternity, as Jehovah was the Eternal and Everlasting.<sup>2</sup> So in a Palmyrene inscription Baal is **בַּרְא עֶלְמָא**, and in the Greek duplicate of the text, which is a bilingual one, he is Zeus Magistos Keraunios.<sup>3</sup>

V. *A Memorial of a Citizen of Askalon found in Thessaly.*

Among the hundreds of Hellenic personal names found upon the painted stela at Pagasai (Demetrias) are some few Syrian, or Semitic ones, being those of foreigners or descendants of Asiatic immigrants, who were prosperous, or enough respected, to have funerary inscriptions. Their strange titles were, as far as possible, given their equivalent in Greek. One of these recently published reads thus:—<sup>4</sup>

'Αβδέλης Ἀσκαλωνίτης; referring doubtless to an Aramean, or Phoenician, from Syria, who died in Thessaly.

This name, borne by a man of Askalon, is of interest to Hebrew scholars because of its connection with such Hebrew Old Testament names as Abdiel, **עַבְדִּיֵאל**, 'Αβδηλ, 1 Chron. v, 15. Also Abdeel **עַבְדִּיֵאל**, Jer. xxxvi, 26, and Abdi.<sup>5</sup>

It may be noted, in passing, that M. Clermont-Ganneau has published from a Greek epigraphical dedication to the Heliopolitan Zeus, a very similar transliteration into Greek of a kindred name. It reads: *Αβιδβελος*, which M. Ganneau connects with the Aramaic Abdbel, and therefore would render "Servant of Bel." It would consequently not be a rendering of the Phoenician Abdibaal. The

<sup>1</sup> *Inscriptions Sémitiques de la Syrie et de la Mésopotamie*, M. H. Pognon (Paris). [See the late Prof. Driver in *The Expositor*, June, 1908.]

<sup>2</sup> See Genesis xxi, 33; and the Greek expression *Χρόνος ἀγήρατος*, "never ageing time."

<sup>3</sup> In the Armenian version of the Story of Ahikar he is said to have worshipped Belšim which should probably have read Belšamim. In the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* for 1907, Prof. Montgomery published a Cilician inscription of the Persian period mentioning Baalshamem.

<sup>4</sup> See *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1914, p. 453.

<sup>5</sup> Abdiiah does not occur in the Old Testament, unless the familiar name Obadiah (**עַבְדִּיהוּ**), also found upon Hebrew seals) should be so read; it is noteworthy that the Septuagint usually gives the form Abdias, etc., except in the case of the well-known prophet.

Demetrius text may be the sculptor's, or his employer's rendering of Abd-el, or Abd-elim, if the name is polytheistic.

Mr. S. A. Cook, in his *Aramaic Glossary*, gives a name from Euting's collection of Sinaitic inscriptions reading עבדאלבעלי. For light upon the significance of Biblical and other Jewish names, and those of their Semitic neighbours in the era between the Captivity and the period of the Roman Empire, it is always wise to search back in the Babylonian and Assyrian onomasticons. There, for instance, we find such names as Abdili identical with Abdeel.<sup>1</sup>

Further, Sennacherib's records give a title very close to that of the Askalonite, whose name provides the basis for these notes. For that king refers to a ruler of Arvad as Abdili't(i).<sup>2</sup>

Naturally there are numerous Phoenician or Punic names in Carthaginian and North African inscriptions which are connections of those cited. These may be found in the *Corpus of Semitic Inscriptions*. Also, Tyre, another city upon the Syrian littoral, gives us as name of a Suffete thereof, the title of Abdelini (or Abdelein). A long Carthage text also mentions a person Abdelai.<sup>3</sup>

Comments upon the names of ancient Semites based upon documents sometimes carelessly written may appear meticulous, but important deductions are often derivable therefrom.<sup>4</sup> Thus, there is a very old Babylonian name, Abdu Ištara, giving a primitive title of Ishtar-Astarte, or Ashteroth—without the feminine termination.

In the tablets from Palestine found at Tel el-Amarna, as Dr. Pinches has so well shown,<sup>5</sup> the variant spellings of the name of a single personage—Abdi Aštarte—show that the accursed

<sup>1</sup> Theophilus H. Pinches, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (1st ed.), p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> See "Epigraphical Records of Abdalim and Abdelim," *Comptes Rendus, Académie des Inscriptions*, 1901, p. 601; 1904, p. 508.

<sup>3</sup> עבדלאי, *Rep. d'Epig. Sem.*, XVII, 7. (Discussed by Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, I, 24.)

<sup>4</sup> Assyrio-Babylonian records are always of interest in connection with such subjects. In this instance, it is noteworthy that Dr. Johns, in *Deeds and Documents*, p. 425, Obverse 15, gives a name Abdiḥummu, and Dr. Zimmern refers to another cuneiform name in the Persian period, Abdiḥumu. This may be the one referred to in 1867 by Oppert, on a contract tablet of Cambyses' reign. They are cited because parallel to עבד התז.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Pinches (*ibid.*, p. 314) notes that the scribe once writes Ab-di-aš-ta-ti, probably intending to have written Ab-di-aš-ta-ar-ti, and, in another instance, Ab-di-Aš-*ra*-tum, perhaps for Aštartatum.

Ashera of the Prophets, were indeed the symbols, or sites, of Ishtar-Astarte worship, for in his dispatches his scribes call him sometimes Abdi-Aštar, at others Abdi-Asirti.<sup>1</sup>

(To be continued.)

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#### REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

*The Materials for the History of Dor*, by George Dahl, Ph.D., Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., 1915.

In recent years, several valuable monographs on Palestinian and Syrian antiquities have been written by American scholars. Apart from the admirable volumes of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria, 1904-1905, and 1909, on which see the *January Q.S.*, pp. 45 *sqq.*, two useful works have been issued by the Columbia University on Sidon and Gaza, the one by Prof. F. C. Eiselen, the other by Dr. Martin A. Meyer. The volume mentioned above forms part of the transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, and is by the Assistant Professor of Old Testament Literature, School of Religion, Yale University. In a compass of about 130 pages it provides a careful and critical examination of the sources for the history of the little-known city of Dor. All the extant material has been carefully examined and sifted, and there is a useful map to accompany the geographical and historical arguments. He deals with the topography, the name, and the history of the site from the most ancient times unto the present day. There are many difficulties in the evidence, and these are very skilfully handled, and the probabilities judiciously weighed. As many know, Dor is often mentioned in ancient records; there are interesting references to it in the quaint old Egyptian story of the visit of Wenamon to Byblos to procure cedar, in Assyrian literature, and in the inscription of the Phoenician king Eshmunazar. During the Greek, Maccabean, and Roman times, the history can be traced fairly well; but, strange to say, it seems to have been nearly or quite deserted from the seventh century A.D. until after the third crusade at least. It is not mentioned at all by the classical Arab geographers during the ninth-twelfth centuries. Dr. Dahl's

<sup>1</sup> For Ashtoreth and Ashera, see J. Offord: "The Deity of the Crescent Venus in Ancient Western Asia," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1915, pp. 197-203. Abdashtar is a man's name in a Cypriote inscription, and Strato, king of Sidon, was Abdastart (*Corpus. Inscript. Graecarum*, I, 126, No. 87).