

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES.

By JOSEPH OFFORD.

VI. *A New-found Inscription concerning Hadrian's Jewish War.*

THE inscription given below is a copy of that published last year by Mr. C. L. Cheesman, and is re-edited here because it is another memorial intimately connected with a Roman campaign against the Jews in Palestine.<sup>1</sup> It was discovered at Gerash, or Gerasa, whereat several texts relating to personages serving in the War of Vespasian have previously been found.

The inscription is amplified so as to be more easily followed:—

PRO SALVTE  
 IMPERATORIS · CAESARIS · NOSTRI · TRAIANI  
 HADRIANI · AVGVSTI · PATRIVS · PATRIAE  
 DEANIAE · AVGVSTAE  
 EQVITES · SINGVLARES · EIVS · QVI  
 HIBERNATI · SVNT · ANTIOCHIAE  
 AD · CHRYSORHOAN · QVAE  
 ET GERASA HIERA ET ASVLOS ET  
 AVTONOMOS QVORVM CVRAM AGIT  
 M CAL(purnius) VENETVS VIATOR LEGVM  
 V · MACEDONICAE · TVRMAE · V(iii)  
 FLAVI TITI (or IIII) STATILI ROMANI  
 VALERI · BASSI · CANI · AVGVSTINI  
 ✠ PATERNI · VLPI · FESTI  
 VLPI VICTORIS VLPI AGRIPPINI  
 VOTVM SOLVIT LIBENS MERITO  
 HONORIS ET PIETATIS CAVSA.

The interest of this text to our readers lies in the fact of its proving that eight troops, or squadrons, of the Equites Singulares Imperatores, or Royal Body Guard, were at Gerasa in the reign of

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1914, p. 13. Since the above was written we regret to see that the name of Mr. C. L. Cheesman has appeared in the list of officers killed in the Dardanelles.

Hadrian, and that the emperor was at that city at a period of hostilities. This conflict must have been the Jewish War of A.D. 132-133, because, although we know that Hadrian was in Syria in 117-118 and 129-130, Mr. Cheesman produces excellent reasons for rejecting either of the earlier dates as being that of the engraving of this inscription.

The title of *Pater Patriae* was not accepted by Hadrian until A.D. 127, so the first visit to Asia is ruled out of the case by the wording of our text. In A.D. 129 Hadrian went to Antioch, but there was no military necessity at that time why a *corps d'élite* should accompany him, and so be placed at Gerasa; but on the occasion of the second Jewish revolt, he would have special reasons for visiting that city with them, or sending troops there, because at the time of their previous insurrection the Jews sacked Gerasa and massacred the Syrian inhabitants, and Vespasian sent L. Annius to reconquer the city.

The view that this newly-found inscription indicates the presence of Hadrian in Syria at the Jewish revolt, confirms the opinion I have previously expressed as to his taking personal part in the campaign.<sup>1</sup> This was based mainly upon two other inscriptions, one of which states that a centurion, Caius Annius Clemens had received military insignia from Hadrian for martial deeds performed in warfare under that emperor in which he commanded 500 men of a Pretorian cohort. There was no other war in which this veteran could have taken part as officer of the personal imperial body-guard but that of Judea.

Further, a *Legatus Imperatoris*, or staff officer of that rank, only accompanied an emperor in a campaign, and we possess a record of one such who says he took part in the Jewish War under Hadrian. His name was Lollius Urbicus, and his epitaph says of him:—

“*Legato Imperatoris Hadriani in Expeditione Judaica.*”<sup>2</sup>

There is another very valid reason for assigning this inscription to the date of Hadrian's Jewish War, which is set forth by Mr. Cheesman. This is derived from the names of the eight *Decurions* commanding *turmae*, or squadrons, of the Guard, who are enumerated in the inscription as wintering at Gerasa. Some

<sup>1</sup> “Inscriptions relating to Hadrian's Jewish War,” *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. XX, 1898, pp. 59-69.

<sup>2</sup> Leon Rénier, *Inscriptions de l'Algérie*, No. 2319.

identical names occur in the list of discharges of veterans, or among names of soldiers inscribed at the barracks of the *Equites Singulares* in Rome. One of the officers at Gerasa is a Valerius Bassus, and a *Centurio Exercitator* of that name is mentioned in the Rome texts of the year 139. Valerius was very rarely used as a nomen at this era and so there is little doubt of the identity of this person. Further, Ulpus Agrippa appears in a text upon an altar, *in situ*, at the *Equites Singulares* post, of about this date. Ulpus Victor and Titus were common appellations at the period of Hadrian's emperors, and this is the reason why the four upright strokes in the twelfth line of our text have been emended to TITI.

The time is approaching when a Corpus of Greek or Latin Inscriptions relating to the Jews and to Palestine will be ripe for publication, and the above text will then be duly incorporated therein.

#### VII. *An Aramaic Inscription from Taxila.*

In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1915, pp. 340 to 347, Dr. L. D. Barnett published a photograph of the first Aramaic inscription discovered in India; and gives his rendering of the text in Hebrew characters, with a tentative translation. Dr. A. Cowley also presents his transcription and version, with a running commentary.

From paleographic evidence the date of the record must be that of about the fourth century B.C. That is the era of the now famous Elephantine papyri, also in Aramaic script, and therefore it is not surprising that, short as is the new text—only twelve lines—it contains at least two words (מֵרֵאן, "our lord," the title of an official, and אֵרֵז, "cedar") which are identical, in the manuscripts from Egypt and the inscription from the site of the ancient city of Taxila.

The word *arz* (*erez*) for cedar, occurs in the Palestine cuneiform tablets found by Dr. Sellin at Taanach; documents certainly contemporary with the Tel el-Amarna correspondence between Syrian princes and Egypt. In the Taanach text it is read as Arzi, which, therefore, was the Canaanite form.

The Assyrian for cedar, and also probably for fir, was *érnu*, or *érinu*. Ishtar's title of Irnini is considered to mean "goddess of cedars." If *érinu* is "fir," it may be connected with the *Oren* of Isaiah xlv, 14.

We give Dr. Cowley's rendering of the inscription. The last word in line 4, he, together with Dr. Barnett, translates "ivory," cf. Hebrew שנהבים in 1 Kings x, 22 :—

צדוק  
 לדמירקו על  
 נגרותא על  
 ארו ושנהבותא  
 ולאבדו הו  
 הו פקידתי זנה  
 זד בהוורדה  
 מורשה וכני הות  
 מרא! פדירו  
 מלכותה  
 ואת בנודי  
 למראו פוירדש

#### VIII. *Isis Worship.*

A very remarkable fact concerning the history of ancient Palestine is the entire absence therein, after the development of the Jewish Kingdom, of any recognized worship of a female divinity. This is the more noticeable because among all the nations around, the cult of deities of both sexes—which wherever it once became popular introduced immorality into ritual—was rampant. Although carried temporarily to Mesopotamia by the Captivity, conquered by Alexander, Antiochus and the Romans, the Hebrew element in Judea steadfastly kept out any public introduction, for more than a short-lived period, of any deification of the gentler sex.

This statement is made here because an important corroboration of this is indirectly provided by a pagan writer in a recently-published papyrus, which will be a famous manuscript, of the Panegyric of Isis.<sup>1</sup> In this work its author's laudation of the goddess is mostly achieved by enumerating all her shrines and temples, firstly, those in Egypt, and then in other parts of the then known world; and further in identifying Isis with various Graeco-Roman and Asiatic divinities.

<sup>1</sup> *Egypt Exploration Fund*, "The Oxyrhynchus Papyri." Part XI. Edited by Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur H. Hunt, D.Litt.

In the list of Isis temples either specifically bearing her name or that of deities identified with her, the author evidently endeavours to augment their numbers as much as possible, and being a person of erudition, he makes out a very comprehensive catalogue.

For those situated in Western Asia he cites Paphos and Salamis in Cyprus, Petra in Syria, Rhinocolura (El-Arish), Dor, Ascalon, Raphia, Gaza, Berytus, Ptolemais (Akka), Bambyce (Antioch) and Persian Susa.<sup>1</sup> He cannot, however, venture to name any edifice dedicated to Isis, or to any deity he can equate with her, in Palestine itself, though those quoted are so contiguous. The date of the manuscript is about the end of the first century.

#### IX. *Jewish Notes.*

Several publications have appeared in the Archaeological journals concerning matters relating to the Jews, which may be noticed in the *Quarterly Statement*.

(a) Prof. Ed. Naville, in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, under the title of "Did Menepthah Invade Syria?" makes quite a fresh suggestion concerning the famous inscription of that monarch, discovered by Prof. Flinders Petrie, which related the laying waste of the people of Israel. To appreciate Prof. Naville's view his new translation of what may be called the Syrian part of the Menepthah Stele text must be given. He reads it thus:— "Nobody dares to raise his head among the Nine Bows, or the barbarians. The land of Tehennu is wasted. The land of Canaan is prisoner of all bad things. Askelon is brought (as a prisoner) held fast by Gezer. Inuamma is annihilated. The Israelites are swept off, his seed is no more. The Horites have become like a widow of Egypt." Prof. Naville makes Inuamma the *Ιεμνα* of the LXX.

The thesis of Prof. Naville is that the full inscription of Menepthah really records his victory in an African or Libyan war, whilst this last paragraph does not concern a campaign in Palestine, but merely states that on the eastern, or Syrian side, Egypt was at peace with the Kheta, their only formidable Asiatic enemies; whilst the minor peoples of Palestine and the Syrian shore were helpless because of internecine strife. The king is not

<sup>1</sup> Byblos, although so important in the myth of Isis and Osiris, is not mentioned.

said to have gained victories over any of the tribes or peoples mentioned. He is not personally said to have destroyed Askelon or Inuamma, and the hitherto imagined successful war of Menepthah must be struck out of his annals.

Canaan was not to be feared because owing to internal strife it was held helpless by bad events. Askelon had been defeated by Gezer and probably was occupied by a garrison from the latter city. The Inuamma and Israel and the Horites had also all suffered some military disaster. Prof. Naville appears to consider the inscription to be subsequent to the Exodus, for he writes: "The Israelites had left Egypt under peculiar circumstances, none of them remaining in the land, and therefore for the people of Egypt that meant their annihilation."

(b) In the November number of the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* Prof. Naville renews his essays called "Hebraeo-Aegyptiaca." He there treats of the origin of the name Succoth, the first halt of the Israelites leaving Egypt. In Hebrew it would mean huts, or tents, but he traces it to an Egyptian word (as has been done before) pronounced Theku, Theko, Thekut, Thekot. This he now derives from an African word meaning pasture. It appears in the name of the city of Dougga, or Thugga, and is the Berber word thukka. It was known to the Egyptians as the land or district of Theku, and was a cattle-feeding ground. The Pharaohs possessed a sort of model farm there close to the Osiris shrine of Pi-Kerehet (Pi-Hahiroth). The Egypto-Jewish translators fully understood all this because instead of, in the LXX, writing Πιχαιροθ they substituted ἀπέναντι τῆς ἐπαύλεως, "before the farm." Prof. Naville thinks that African words could easily become common to Egyptians and Semites in South Syria, because in early times the Anu Mentiu, an African people, inhabited the Sinai Peninsula. Prof. Naville does not allude to M. Daressy's important articles on the Exodus names in the geographical papyrus No. 31169 in the Cairo Museum, where Hiroth or Kheroth is considered to be Egyptian Khata, and Pihahiroth is taken to mean Mouth of the Kharta, or Kheriet lake.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A text upon a stele published in Kamal Bey's "Stèles funéraires et Romaines" speaks of "Osiris, Master of the East in Pikeheret," and M. Clédat has edited a text from Tel el-Maskhuta, "Nut, regent of Het-ke-het," a variant he says of Pikeheret and Sekeheret. See *Recueil de Travaux*, XXXVI, 1914, p. 112. See also *Q.S.*, 1912, p. 202.

There is also the papyrus about the attempt to recapture runaway slaves which has already been translated as saying "The pursuers arrived at the fortress of Thukut," which has to be considered. Prof. Naville further proceeds to say that Etham is the Hebrew reading of the Egyptian Adima, which in the Anastasi Papyrus, No. 6, is spoken of as being inhabited by the Shasu. This word has often been rendered Aduma and connected with Edomites. Etham has previously been supposed to stand for Khetem, or Khetam, the frequent title for an Egyptian fort, of which there were several on the frontier.

The question of the geography of the Egyptian portion of the Exodus march is now ripe for solution, but the Cairo papyrus must be utilized when treating fully of the subject.

(c) In the same part of the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* is an article by Dr. Cowley upon "Another Aramaic Papyrus of the Ptolemaic Period." This is really a manuscript previously published, but which is now a little better understood. It appears to concern some small litigation concerning property, one of the disputants being Delaiah son of Haggai. According to Dr. Cowley's reading, part of the property consists of a Torah. The date of the papyrus is thought to be the third century B.C. Two Ostraca are also republished; one is Prof. Sayce's specimen, which mentions the Passover.

(d) The *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* gives two excellent photogravures of Hebrew Papyrus fragments from Oxyrhynchus, edited by Dr. Cowley. They are thought to be of the fourth century. Unfortunately, though of palaeographical interest, the connected texts are too short to have any literary value.

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#### REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

THE Committee have gratefully received a further instalment of the "Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904, 1905 and 1909." That now received is Section A, Part 5, Southern Syria: "Haurân Plain and Djebel Haurân," including the *Ancient Architecture* and the *Greek and Latin Inscriptions*.

*The Architecture*, as in previous issues, has been described and illustrated by Mr. Howard Crosby Butler, and *The Inscriptions*