

according to their seasons, nor had we hence above .7. or .8. hours to Alep<sup>o</sup>.

Oct. 16.—Getting up pretty early in ye Morning, we resolved to hunt ye greatest part of our way home, as we did, & dining at ye famous round Hill, whereon has bin spent by ye English more money then would purchase ye fee simple of it & a noble Estate round about it. In ye afternoon we arrived safe and sound at Alep<sup>o</sup>. God be praised for His gratioues Protection and Providence over us.

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### NOTES ON THE VOYAGE TO TADMOR.

THE discovery of Palmyra by the English from Aleppo in 1678 is the first hasty visit mentioned in this account. Already, in 1714, Reland (p. 526) published two Palmyrene texts, but it was not until 1751 that Dawkins and Wood made good copies (published in their standard work on Palmyra—Paris, 1812). In Reland's time, however, the Palmyrene alphabet was already recognised to be a Semitic alphabet of 22 letters. It is, however, unknown to our travellers.

With four exceptions, all the texts given in this early account occur in Waddington's collection; but the early copies are interesting, and made by a careful student who understood well both the language and the history connected with them. The differences from Waddington's text are few, and of no great importance. The unknown characters are Palmyrene, and these texts are given by De Vogüé. Being unknown to the earlier writer they are, as he admits, imperfectly copied, but he was quite correct in supposing these texts to be the bilingual translations (in native letters and language) of the Greek. The dates, however, do not, as he supposes, reckon from the death of Alexander (324 b.c.), but from the era of the Seleucidæ (26th September, 312 b.c.), which era was used at Palmyra and in Syria with the Macedonian calendar, the same found in the works of Josephus. The native calendar was at Palmyra the same as among the Jews, except that Marchesvan was called Kanun as among the Syrians.

The first text dates about 230 A.D. (Waddington, No. 2621), being the monument of Septimius Odenathus, who was the father-in-law of Zenobia. The Palmyrene version has been given by De Vogüé (No. 21). There is no date. The Greek agrees letter by letter with that of Waddington, including the word **MNHMION** for *μνημεῖον*. It was copied by Waddington, and found in the same position over the door. The original is in two long lines.

The second text, also bilingual, is No. 2586 of Waddington, and the Palmyrene is No. 1 of De Vogüé. Waddington gives the date as **NY** or April, 139 A.D. The third numeral can hardly be the day of the month, as in that case it would stand after the month name, and the date seems, therefore, to be really 169 A.D. The proper name is **ΑΙΑΛΜΕΙΣ**

and there are two other inscriptions of this personage, one (Wadd. 2617) in which he is also called Zenobius, and another (Wadd. 2571 *c*) in which as Zenobius he raises an altar in 162 A.D. This seems to show that the date in the present text (169 A.D.) is more correct than that of Waddington. Zenobius was a priest of the moon god, as we shall see later.

This text appears to have several errors; for **A ΠΑΝΟΥ** we should no doubt read *Αἰράνου*, and for **[ΕΥ]ΣΕΙΜΩΣ** Waddington has *Φιλοτείμως*, the *tous* appears to have been omitted before *πατρίοις* according to Waddington's copy. The original is written in seven lines of Greek, and is complete, the last line ending with a leaf.

The third text is Waddington 2587, and the Palmyrene version is De Vogüé's No. 2. The Greek has no date, but the Palmyrene gives Nisan 450, or a generation earlier than the preceding, viz., 139 A.D. The pillar was raised in honour of Bareiches by the Council and people. The text is in four lines, and apparently complete.

The fourth text is 2599 of Waddington, and is also bilingual, the Palmyrene being No. 4 of De Vogüé. The letters of the present copy are correct, but the spacing is incorrect. The Greek in the original occupies seven lines, and is complete. The date is April, 247 A.D. The column was raised by his caravan companions to Julius Aurelius Zebedias. He appears to have been the leader of one of the regular caravans to Vologesias near the Tigris (Ptol. v, 20, 6). This shows the extent of Palmyrene trade in the time of Zenobia. For **ΑΣ ΘΩΡΟ** Waddington reads *Ασθώρον*. The speculations on this text would have been controlled had the traveller found Waddington's 2589, which shows that trade and not "an Embassy" is intended, and mentions Vologesias with another place in the same region, and with the title *ευροδιάρχης* or "chief of caravan," as early as 142 A.D.

The fifth text is Waddington, No. 2598, and the Palmyrene version is De Vogüé's No. 15. It dates 242-3 A.D. The original is in 19 lines. The name which has been hammered out after Julius and is so described by our author, was Philip according to Waddington—the prefect of the Pretorium. The inscription is raised by the Council and people in honour of Julius Aurelius Zenobius, serving under Rutilius Crispinus (with others) in the army of Severus Alexander, who, in 229 A.D., marched through Palmyra against the Persians. This Zenobius is thought to have been the father of Zenobia. He merited well, it appears, of his country, and of the god Yaribol, who, as his name shows, was the moon god—Lunus. For **MAPTY PHΘΕΝΤΑ** Waddington reads *Μαρτυρηθῆναι*. There are, as before, several errors of spacing in the early copy, but the rest of the lettering is correct.

The sixth text is Waddington's No. 2609, and the Palmyrene is De Vogüé's No. 27. The date is April, 267 A.D. The Greek of the original is in nine lines, the last with the month name having two small leaves, showing that the text is complete. This with the next is one of several in honour of a Palmyrene named Worod, and with the Roman

name Septimius. The word **ΑΡΟΑΠΕΤΗΝ** should be Ἀρυαπέτην, and, according to De Vogüé, means commandant of the fortress.

The seventh text is Waddington's No. 2608, erected two years earlier to the same Worod. The Palmyrene version is illegible, and the upper lines of the Greek (ten in all) are injured. In both this and the preceding for **ΕΑΛΜΗΣ** we must read Σάλμης, and for **Ε (ΑΛΜΗΣ)** Σεπτίμιος. The first is evidently more probable, the latter (in 2608) is a more careful copy. In the former case (2609) also we are controlled by the Palmyrene. In the present text (2608) Waddington asserts that the engraver has written Σεπνιμιος in error.

The next text, No. 8, is Waddington's 2600, and the Palmyrene version is De Vogüé's No. 22; it is the most important of all, being in honour of the brother of Odenathus II, husband of Zenobia, called in the Greek, Epiarch of the Palmyrenes, and in the Palmyrene, "Head of Tadmor." It dates from October, 251 A.D. The Palmyrene supplies several lacunæ in the Greek, and allows of a much better copy than that given by our traveller. The Greek in the original occupies nine lines, but is much damaged towards the centre. Odenathus is here called "Stratiotēs, of the Cyrenaic Legion," but in the Palmyrene, "of the Legion of Bostra"—Bostra being the head-quarters of the third Cyrenaic Legion, as we learn from a Latin text (Waddington, 1942), and another, also Latin (1956), which have been copied at Bostra itself. It appears that Odenathus I died in 251, and was succeeded by this Heiran or Herennius, the elder brother of Odenathus II, who succeeded him as early, at least, as 258 A.D. (Waddington, No. 2602).

The next text, No. 9, is Waddington's No. 2606a, consisting of 17 lines of Greek, and is in honour of Worod, according to Waddington. The month is April, but the year is erased. The copy by Waddington contains minor improvements. There are four other inscriptions in honour of Worod, dating 262, 263, 265, and 267 A.D. He was one of the principal inhabitants, a caravan leader, and subsequently procurator for the Emperor and Judge of the City.

The next text, No. 10, appears not to be in Waddington's collection. It carries on the history of the same Worod to the year 268 A.D., as a Palmyrene Senator.

Text No. 11 is Waddington's No. 2592, and is nearly a century earlier, i.e., March, 179 A.D. Instead of **ΚΑΠΑΔΗ** Waddington reads καὶ Ἰαδῆ. The Greek in the original occupies six lines and is complete.

Text No. 12 is Waddington's No. 2571c, and written on an altar of *Yarhibul*, the moon god; it has already been noticed under No. 2, being by Aailmeis Zenobius, dating from 20th October, 162 A.D. The altar was a gift from Zenobius to the deity at his own expense. The spring of Ephka, mentioned in the text, might perhaps be the famous Afka fountain in Lebanon, or (as the name in Syriac means "spring") some other nearer Palmyra.

Text No. 13 is Waddington's No. 2581. It has a Palmyrene text on

the other side of the base, now illegible. The Greek occupied eight lines, which would not be guessed from the copy of our traveller. It is in honour of Lucius Aurelius Heliodorus, but the date of the year is lost. The month is December.

Text No. 14 is Waddington's No. 2585, and has a Palmyrene version (De Vogüé's No. 16) which gives the date 130-1 A.D. This text fixes Hadrian's visit to Palmyra as having already occurred, a statue of the Agrippa here mentioned being raised in memory of his services to the Emperor. The *naos*, according to Waddington, was consecrated to Helios—the sun. The original Greek occupies twelve lines. The first part of the text, 'H Βούλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος, is not given by our traveller.

Three short texts, 15, 16, 17, which follow, are not given by Waddington, and are too imperfect to be of any great value.

No. 18 is Waddington's No. 2615. He reads Μᾶλιχος for **ΜΑΛΧΟΣ** and *dvtois* for **ΑΥΤΩ**. This is the tomb of the family of Elabel, and dates from 103 A.D. The Greek occupies four lines.

No. 19 is the tomb of Iamlichos, one of the finest at Palmyra, dating 83 A.D. It is Waddington's No. 2614, and the Palmyrene is No. 36 *a b*, of De Vogüé. Both Greek and Palmyrene are twice repeated. The Greek occupies five lines.

The text (No. 20) from the village of Taiyibeh is Waddington's No. 2631; it dates from 134 A.D., and is in honour of Hadrian, by a certain Agathangelus, of Abila, in the Decapolis. This text is now in the British Museum. The Palmyrene text, which accompanied it, appears to have been lost. Waddington has *Kamépav* for **KAMAPAN**. The Greek is in nine lines.

The last text (No. 21), from Risaffa, is much later. It is Waddington's No. 2631 *a*, and is Byzantine and Christian.

The Palmyrene Greek texts being dated show us how early the uncial forms of the Greek letters were used in the East, sometimes side by side with more classic forms.

In spite of his diligence, our traveller did not exhaust the riches of Palmyra. Some 100 Palmyrene texts are said to remain in the ruins, and of Greek ones more than 60 have been copied, out of which he gives only 18, including, however, some of the most important.

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#### INSCRIPTION FROM THE CHURCH OF ST. STEPHEN.

THE inscriptions on page 158 of the July number just received, from the Church of St. Stephen at Jerusalem, are clearly the opening words of Psalms lxxi and xci (lxx and xc in the Septuagint), only very roughly and incompletely written.