

THE OLD SYRIAC INSCRIPTIONS
OF EDESSA AND OSRHOENE

HANDBUCH DER ORIENTALISTIK
HANDBOOK OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

ERSTE ABTEILUNG
DER NAHE UND MITTLERE OSTEN
THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
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ZWEIUNDVIERZIGSTER BAND
THE OLD SYRIAC INSCRIPTIONS OF EDESSA AND OSRHOENE
Texts, Translations and Commentary





The Abgar Mosaic

THE OLD SYRIAC INSCRIPTIONS OF EDESSA AND OSRHOENE

Texts, Translations and Commentary

BY

HAN J.W. DRIJVERS & JOHN F. HEALEY



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PREFACE

This book is a by-product of a larger C.N.R.S.-sponsored project under the direction of M. Alain Desreumaux and Mme Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet aimed at producing a complete and systematic corpus of all Syriac inscriptions. We were given the particular task of dealing with the pre-Christian Syriac inscriptions and the present volume is the first step.

A word is necessary on the limits which have been set to the scope of the present corpus.

In principle the plan for this book was to include all the Old Syriac material written on stone and in mosaic found in Drijvers' *Old-Syriac (Edessean) Inscriptions*, 1972, along with new finds discovered more recently. The present work may be regarded as superseding that book and reference to it is kept to a minimum.

Included (as in Drijvers 1972) on grounds of academic relevance are the inscriptions on a stele, silver vase and potsherd from Dura-Europos and the Edessan coins with Syriac legends, which date from the latter half of the 2nd century A.D. and come from pre-Christian Edessa.

We have also incorporated the so-called Amašamaš inscriptions from the Monastery of Mar Yaʿqub south of Urfa. Although not all scholars have treated this material as Syriac (included by Pognon 1907, 103-05, pl. xxvi; Sachau 1882, 145-53; excluded by Segal 1954, 31 n.1; Maricq 1965, 33-34; Drijvers 1972, x), we have decided that because of its place of origin and its possible historical context it should be included. It is true that the script is somewhat mixed, but this is not unusual for this area in the first Christian centuries.

Included in an appendix (*Appendix 1*), for convenience and because of their relevance from the point of view of the study of language and script, though not fully re-edited here, are the three Syriac legal texts on parchment. These date to A.D. 240-43. There is, it may be added, a need for a thorough new edition of these materials with full commentary, especially on legal matters, but it was adjudged that such an enterprise would be beyond the compass of the present work.

Unpublished inscriptions found in the region and now in the hands of other scholars are not included: they will be added to the corpus when they are in due course published. We have, however, thought it useful to make a note of materials of this kind which have been brought to our attention in *Appendix 2*.

Excluded on grounds of date are the Sassanian period seals with Syriac legends (Segal 1967b). These date to A.D. 400 onwards and neither in script nor language contribute anything to the study of the inscriptions of the main corpus. Some appear to be Christian.¹

Also excluded are the various Syriac incantation bowls and other amulets (Montgomery 1913; Hamilton 1971; Isbell 1975; Harviainen 1978; Gignoux 1987; Naveh and Shaked 1987; Naveh 1997). The bowls are mostly in a peculiar form of Syriac arising in a mixed cultural environment (van Rompay 1990) and many are in a special form of the script which probably never had any other currency (Hamilton 1971, 38-50; van Rompay 1990, 370-71). The bowls and the amulets are in any case of late date (late Sassanian onwards: Hamilton 1971, 19; Gignoux 1987, 1).

Finally, it was decided on balance to exclude the reliefs with inscriptions from Hilar near Diyarbakir (Çambel and Braidwood 1981; Huntington 1903). While these certainly belong within the period of our inscriptions, they are located outside the borders of Osroene and are in a form of script which is closer to the Hatran and related "North-Mesopotamian" scripts (Naveh 1972).

Special chapters have been devoted to script, language and history and culture, but the main section is the edition and detailed discussion of the texts. We have included plates and drawings as far as possible. The sources of these are indicated in the headings: many of the inscriptions have now disappeared.

We have added a word-index and a list of personal names. It is unfortunate that the Old Syriac inscriptions are not included in Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995. The list here will compensate for this omission.

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Manchester

¹ The seal edited in Segal 1967b (British Museum WA119393) has been re-examined by J. F. Healey, who reads it as follows: *'bdh drb'n / 'bwqš*, which is closer to the reading in Bivar 1969. There is a good parallel in a seal in The Hague (*mšmšn' / 'bdh d'lh'*) (see Bivar 1969, 16), while Segal's *'bdsryk' bw qš* appears to be impossible. Professor W. G. Lambert provides the information that there are a number of other seals bearing Syriac legends in private collections.

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Dr Alex Klugkist (University of Groningen Library)
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Professor J. B. Segal (London)

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ABBREVIATIONS

Brockelmann	Brockelmann, C., <i>Lexicon Syriacum</i> , Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1927 ² .
CAD	<i>Chicago Assyrian Dictionary</i> .
CIS	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i> .
HALAT	Koehler, L., Baumgartner, W. and J. J. Stamm <i>Hebräisches u. Aramäisches Lexicon zum Alten Testament I-V</i> , Leiden: Brill, 1967-95 ² .
Hoftijzer and Jongeling	Hoftijzer, J., and K. Jongeling, <i>Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions</i> , Leiden: Brill, 1995.
Jastrow	Jastrow, M., <i>A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature</i> , London/New York: Luzac/G. P. Puttnam's Sons, 1903.
Lane	Lane, E. W., <i>An Arabic-English Lexicon</i> , London: Williams and Norgate, 1863-93.
LSJ	Liddell, H. G. and R. Scott (new ed. H. S. Jones), <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940 ⁹ .
Payne Smith	Payne Smith, J. (ed.), <i>A Compendious Syriac Dictionary</i> , Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903.
RES	<i>Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique I-VIII</i> . Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1900-68.
TS	Payne Smith, R., <i>Thesaurus Syriacus I-II</i> , Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879-1901.
Wehr	Wehr, H., <i>A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic</i> (trans. J. M. Cowan), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1971.

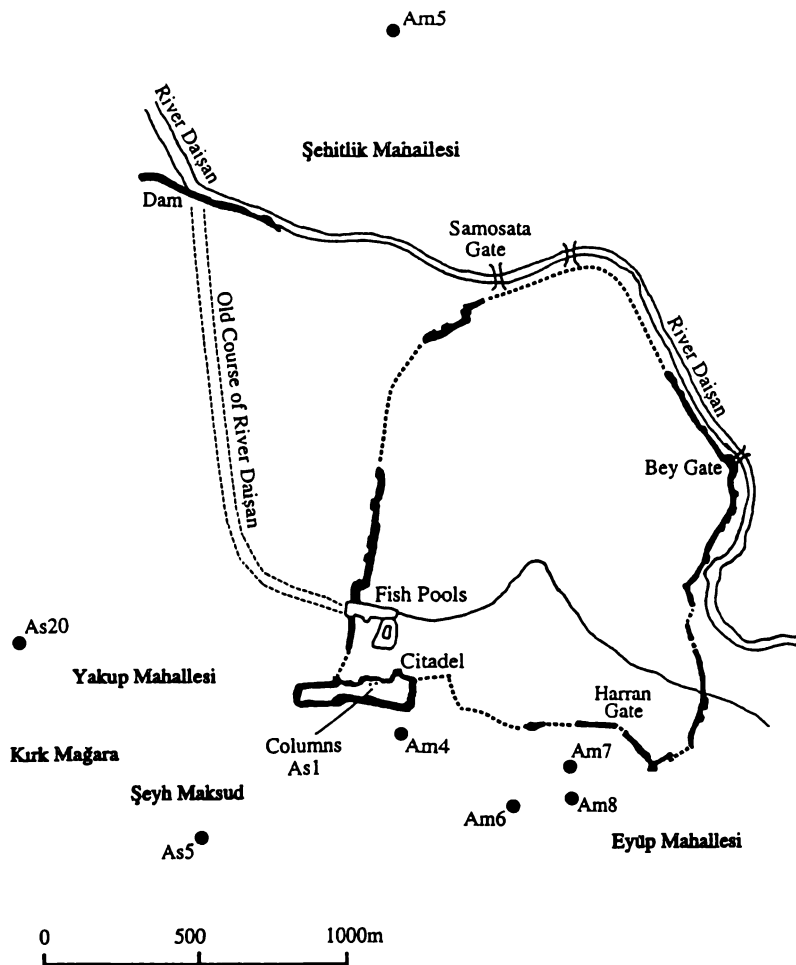
THE NUMBERING OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

The inscriptions in the corpus are numbered according to geography and materials on the basis of the following:

- (a) Location
 - A: Known places of origin in Turkey
 - B: Known places of origin in Syria
 - C: Unknown places of origin: mostly materials in museums and private collections.

- (b) Material
 - s: Inscriptions on stone
 - m: Inscriptions set in mosaic
 - o: Other inscriptions (on metalwork, pot, coins)

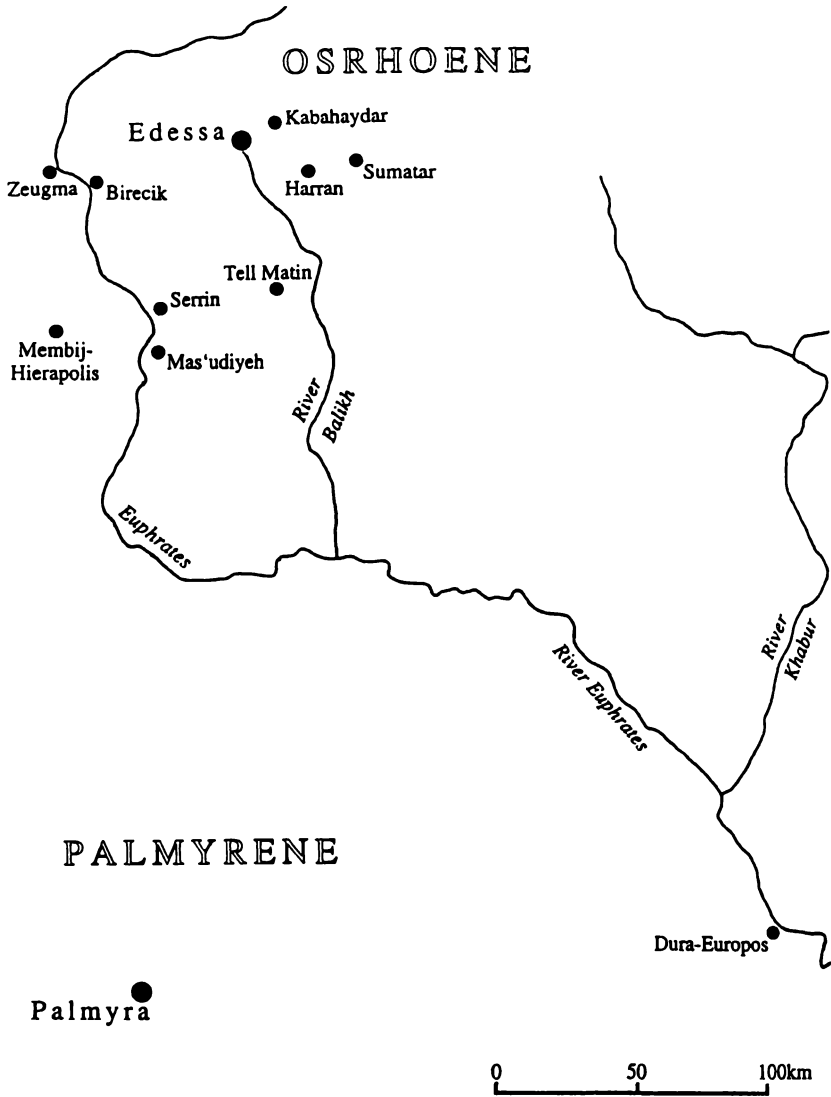
Where an inscription appears already in Drijvers 1972 a D(=Drijvers) number is added in brackets in the heading.



Map of Edessa and Environs
(after Segal 1970, 264)

Sites of Syriac inscriptions marked

- | | |
|------|--|
| As1 | Citadel column inscription of Aptuḥa |
| As5 | Inscription of Šalman son of Kawkab on entrance to cave-tomb |
| As20 | Cave-tomb inscription of Gayyu daughter of Baršuma |
| Am4 | Family Portrait Mosaic (family of Muqimu) |
| Am5 | Tripod Mosaic (family of Adona) |
| Am6 | Phoenix Mosaic (tomb of Baršamaš) |
| Am7 | Orpheus Mosaic (tomb of Aptuha son of Barnay) |
| Am8 | Funerary Couch Mosaic (family of Zaydallat) |



*Map of the Middle Euphrates, Khabur, Balikh Region
(after Millar 1993, 574-76)*

CHAPTER ONE

THE SCRIPT OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

Background

Arguably the main feature which justifies the classification of the texts in our corpus as Syriac is the script in which they are written. In many cases the texts are fragmentary and almost illegible inscriptions, so that the linguistic information they provide is slight and the only reason for ascribing the inscription to the category of “Syriac” or “Old Syriac” is the script and the provenance. In some cases, of course, recognition of the script is combined with close physical association with other inscriptions which can be more definitely ascribed to Syriac.

There can, therefore, be no narrow and clear-cut definition of the early Syriac script. There were various scripts in use, some of which approximate to later Syriac, though others have characteristics better attested in Palmyrene. The Amašamaš inscriptions (As62) are a case in point. Earlier works (Sachau 1882, 145; Pognon 1907, 19-20, 105-07 etc.) classified the Aramaic part of these inscriptions as Syriac, but this has been rejected in some later studies on grounds both of script and orthography (Segal 1954, 31 n.1; Pirenne 1963; Maricq 1965, 33-34).

The corpus studied in the present work is particularly important for the study of the origins and development of the Syriac scripts. So far as origins are concerned little will be said here (see in general Naveh 1982, 143-51; Healey 1990a, 49-52). Extensive detailed studies of the issue have been made in doctoral theses (Klugkist 1982, 35-84; Al-Jadir 1983, 38-68; see also Pirenne 1963; Sana 1979-80). It is agreed that the Syriac script emerged from the late Achaemenid script and it is closely related to the so-called “North Mesopotamian” script identified by Naveh 1972 (so the “Upper Tigris” group of scripts in Al-Jadir 1983; Pirenne 1963, 121). Most commentators emphasise the link with the Palmyrene script, especially the cursive Palmyrene (Drijvers 1972, xi-xii; on Palmyrene cursive see Klugkist 1983), though Pirenne doubted the reality of the Palmyrene cursive (Pirenne 1963, 117, 121). Naveh suggests that there was a Seleucid period script which was the common ancestor of the Palmyrene and Syriac (Naveh 1982, 149).

In later times the Syriac script is known to us in three principal forms: *estrangela*, *serṯa* and “Nestorian”. The last of these three, which emerged from c. A.D. 600 onwards (Hatch 1946, 28), is, by common

agreement, a regional variant of the *estrangela* script.¹ As for the *serṭa* script, a full survey of dated manuscripts in the different scripts was provided by W. H. P. Hatch in his important work, *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts*, published in 1946. A close reading of Hatch shows that he was aware of background complexities in the history of the three scripts, in particular the apparently late appearance of the *serṭa* script, first used for literary manuscripts in the eighth century A.D. (Hatch 1946, 26-27, though note that the Harvard manuscript of Hatch's plate xcv has now been redated to c. A.D. 1000 [Goshen-Gottstein 1979, 111], so that BL Add. 14548, dated A.D. 790, would be the earliest). He notes, for example, the earlier use of a *serṭa*-type script in informal documents, though survival of these from the earlier period is meagre.

However, the general impression gained from Hatch is that the *serṭa* script is much later in date than the *estrangela* script. He refers to the *estrangela* as the oldest of the scripts (25-26) and implies that the earliest evidence of the *serṭa* is from the sixth century (27).

This impression has been reinforced by consideration of the early Syriac inscriptions, which began to come to light in the middle of the 19th century and in the present corpus number approximately 100. These have been characterised as basically of *estrangela* form (so, e.g., Naveh 1982, 147). Then the Dura-Europos Bill of Sale, discovered in 1933, was described as being written in "a flowing Estrangelā, showing a number of standing peculiarities, mostly incidental to a rapid cursive" (Torrey 1935, 34). This description of P1 was specifically challenged by Moller 1988, though the author concentrates mostly on reasons to exclude it from the category "*estrangela*" rather than giving suggestions on how to understand the history of the Syriac script.

Thus there emerged a general view according to which the original script used for Syriac, derived ultimately from the Achaemenid Aramaic script, emerged at the beginning of our era as the *estrangela* (at first with a certain amount of variation) and that this later spawned the *serṭa* and Nestorian scripts. Thus the recent grammar of Syriac by Muraoka 1997, 2, baldly states the conventional view that the *estrangela* script is the earliest. This we believe to be a gross oversimplification and this becomes clear from a close study of the script forms of our corpus.

¹ The term "Nestorian" is retained for convenience, since it has been in almost universal use for the script in question and it is hard to find an alternative. There are no theological implications in its use here.

Script Charts

The following is a list of the dated inscriptions and inscriptions which can be approximately dated by association or context. These are the inscriptions included in the script charts which follow. P1-3 are included because they are dated and form part of our argument.

Within the charts note the following:

- x = final letter
- w = in signature of witness (with number of witness)
- sub = in subscription
- ? = uncertain

Dated and Approximately Dated Inscriptions²

<i>Inscriptions in the charts</i>	<i>Dates A.D.</i>	<i>Inscriptions included</i>
As55 (D1)	6	
Bs2 (D2)	73	
As29 (D16)	165	
As36 (D23)	165	
As37 (D24)	165	
The main inscriptions adjacent to and apparently associated with As29, As36 and As37	c.165	As27, As30, As31, As38
The main inscriptions in Pognon's cave, probably associated with As29, As36 and As37	c.160-70	As47, As49, As50, As51, As52
As41 (D66)	before 188	
As16 (D31)	201/02	
Inscriptions from the same cave-tomb as As16	c.200-05	As17, As18, As19
As9 (D54)	209	
Am8 (D51)	218-38	
Am9	224	
Bm1	227/28	
Am7 (D50)	228	
Am6 (D49)	235/36	
The other major mosaics belonging to the group discussed by Colledge 1994	c.214-48 (Colledge 1994, 196)	Am2, Am4, Am5, Am10, Am11
P2	240	
P3	242	
P1	243	

² Am1 is excluded because only a rough drawing survives. The short and difficult inscriptions Bs1, Bo1 and Bo2, all from Dura-Europos, are also excluded, though we know they must date from before the capture of the city by the Sassanians (c. A.D. 257).

No. A.D.	As55 6	Bs2 73	As29 165	As36 165
𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠 𐎠
𐎡	𐎡 𐎡	𐎡 𐎡	𐎡	𐎡 𐎡
𐎢	𐎢			
𐎣	𐎣 𐎣	𐎣 𐎣	𐎣	𐎣 𐎣
𐎤	𐎤	𐎤	𐎤	𐎤
𐎥	𐎥 𐎥	𐎥 𐎥	𐎥	𐎥 𐎥
𐎦	𐎦			
𐎧	𐎧 𐎧	𐎧 𐎧		𐎧 𐎧
𐎨	𐎨 𐎨	𐎨		𐎨
𐎩	𐎩 𐎩	𐎩	𐎩	𐎩 𐎩 𐎩
𐎪	𐎪	𐎪		𐎪
𐎫	𐎫 𐎫	𐎫 𐎫	𐎫 𐎫	𐎫 𐎫
𐎬	𐎬 𐎬	𐎬	𐎬	𐎬
𐎭	𐎭 𐎭 𐎭	𐎭 𐎭	𐎭	𐎭 𐎭
𐎮	𐎮 𐎮 𐎮	𐎮 𐎮	𐎮	𐎮 𐎮
𐎯	𐎯			
𐎰	𐎰			
𐎱	𐎱 𐎱	𐎱	𐎱	𐎱
𐎲	𐎲	𐎲 𐎲		
𐎳	𐎳		𐎳	𐎳
𐎴	𐎴	𐎴 𐎴		
𐎵	𐎵 𐎵	𐎵	𐎵	𐎵 𐎵
𐎶	𐎶 𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
𐎷	𐎷 𐎷	𐎷	𐎷	𐎷 𐎷
𐎸	𐎸 𐎸	𐎸 𐎸	𐎸	𐎸
𐎹	𐎹 𐎹	𐎹 𐎹	𐎹	𐎹 𐎹

No. A.D.	As37 165	As27, As30-31, As38 c.165	As47, As49, As50-52 c.160-70
2	ك ك	ك ك ك ك	ك ك ك
3	ك ك	ك ك	ك ك
4			ك ك
5	ك ك ك	ك ك	ك ك
6	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
7			ك
8	ك ك	ك	ك
9	ك ك		ك ك
10	ك ك ك	ك ك	ك ك ك
11	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
12	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
13	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
14	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
15	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
16	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
17	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
18	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
19	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
20	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
21	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
22	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
23	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
24	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
25	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
26	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
27	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
28	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
29	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
30	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
31	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
32	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
33	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
34	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
35	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
36	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
37	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
38	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
39	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
40	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
41	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
42	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
43	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
44	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
45	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
46	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
47	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
48	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
49	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
50	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
51	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
52	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
53	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
54	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
55	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
56	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
57	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
58	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
59	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
60	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
61	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
62	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
63	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
64	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
65	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
66	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
67	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
68	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
69	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك
70	ك ك	ك ك ك	ك ك

No. A.D.	As41 before 188	As16 201/02	As17-19 c.200-05
7	𐎠	𐎠 𐎠	𐎠 𐎠
𐎡	𐎡	𐎡 𐎡	𐎡 𐎡 𐎡
𐎢			𐎢
𐎣	𐎣	𐎣	
𐎤		𐎤 𐎤	
𐎥		𐎥 𐎥	𐎥 𐎥
𐎦			
𐎧	𐎧	𐎧	𐎧
𐎨			
𐎩	𐎩	𐎩	𐎩
𐎪		𐎪	𐎪 𐎪 𐎪
𐎫	𐎫	𐎫 𐎫	𐎫
𐎬	𐎬	𐎬	𐎬
𐎭		𐎭	𐎭 𐎭 𐎭
𐎮	𐎮	𐎮 𐎮	𐎮
𐎯			
𐎰			
𐎱		𐎱	𐎱
𐎲	𐎲	𐎲	𐎲 𐎲
𐎳	𐎳	𐎳	𐎳 𐎳
𐎴	𐎴	𐎴	
𐎵	𐎵	𐎵	𐎵 𐎵

No. A.D.	As9 209	Am8 218-38	Am9 224	Bm1 227/8
7	κ κ κ	κ κ κ <!	κ κ	κ
8	υ υ	υ υ	υ	
9				
10	ι ι	ι ι	ι	
11		ε		
12	ο	ο ο ο	ο	
13		-		
14	ζ	ζ	ζ	
15				
16	ι	ι ι	ι	
17				υ
18	υ	υ υ	υ	υ
19	κ	κ ο κ		κ
20	ι ι ι	ι ι ι	ι ι ι	
21			β	
22	υ υ	υ υ		
23				υ
24		ο	ο	
25	ι ι	ι ι	ι ι	ι
26	κ	κ κ	κ	
27	ε	ε ε	ε ε	ε

*Commentary on Charts of Dated and
Approximately Dated Inscriptions*

It is not easy to pick out diagnostic features in the inscriptions which would define developments over the first centuries A.D. A brief account based on a limited range of data was provided in Segal 1954, 30-35. Our comments are directed mainly to the forms in the inscriptions in the tables, though other inscriptions are mentioned where appropriate.

A general point worth making is that the writing is often vertical, notably in the Sumatar inscriptions such as As26 and As27 and in the mosaics, such as the so-called Funerary Couch mosaic (Am8). See recent discussion by Voigt 1997, 61-69.

ƚ


Minor variation from the *estrangela* form in the inscriptions. Forms in As16 (A.D. 201/02) are more elegant. Some forms straighten the otherwise sharp angle of the upper and left-side lines (between 90° and 100°) (as perhaps in Am5:6 [end], 9 [in *hnʿ*]), though Segal's drawing has sharper angles than is implied by the secondary drawing of Mrs Seton Lloyd). The squarish standard form of the letter appears only in the script of one of the signatories of P2. In P3 a similar angular form appears in the *subscriptio*. The standard {ʿ} in P1-3 is a straight or curved line, more or less vertical, often with a loop at the top (see also {t} and {l}). In a few cases it approximates to the *serʿa* form (J) and the Nestorian (1), though Nestorian manuscripts also use the ƚ (Hatch 1946, 31).

5

In earlier examples (Bs2: A.D. 73; As29: A.D. 165) the letter is more rounded, later becoming more angular as in *estrangela*. There are some examples with a more curved upper line (Am6: A.D. 235/36 and associated mosaics). There is considerable variation in P1-3, but the curving of the lines is clear, as in *serʿa*.

7

Note that the number of actual examples is restricted. Basically as in *estrangela*, though with a straight, horizontal lower line rather than a curved one as in *estrangela*. No doubt this feature is conditioned by the difficulty of carving curves on stone. In the early 3rd century mosaics

there is a tendency for the lower line to point upwards as in *estrangela*. So also in P1-3. There are no forms resembling the *ser̄ta* 

ⲃ

There is much variation, from the squared *estrangela* form (without the diacritic) as in As55: A.D. 6, to a form with a 135° angle formed either by raising the horizontal or pushing the bottom of the vertical to the right. The squared form as in *estrangela* is common in the latest dated inscriptions of the series, but P1-3 always have a comma-shaped {d} (ϣ). The connection of this form of {d} with the typical *ser̄ta* form (ϣ), which is found also in early *estrangela* manuscripts (e.g. Hatch 1946, pl. III: A.D. 462) is especially clear when the {d} is joined to a preceding letter: a small loop is created at the top of the letter and in cursive writing this creates a “solid” top, as in *ser̄ta*. It may be noted that the comma-shaped {d} is also found in the later Nestorian script: (ϣ) (14th century onwards: Hatch 1946, 32).

The above also applies to {r}.

Ⲅ

The form in the inscriptions is clearly similar to, though not identical with the *estrangela*. In the inscriptions the early forms have the central downstroke attached to the top of the right leg. The point of juncture later moves towards the middle so that the letter then has three more or less vertical legs. In some examples the left leg curves towards the middle leg, though it is only in the undated As5:14, As58:1 and P1-3 that we find a closed loop on the left. The closed-loop form approximates to the typical *ser̄ta* (ϣ), which is in fact found sporadically in early *estrangela* manuscripts (Hatch 1946, pl. XXVI: A.D. 564) and grew in favour. Note also the closure on the right in Bs1:8.

ⲅ

In the inscriptions {w} is penannular as in the earliest *estrangela* (Hatch 1946, 33 and pl. XXVI: A.D. 564), with a more or less large gap at the bottom (though in a few cases the letter is somewhat flattened, with splaying “legs”). In the earlier examples (As55: A.D. 6; Bs2: A.D. 73) the right-hand end of the incomplete circle descends below the line of writing. In As16: A.D. 201/02 and Am8: A.D. 218/48, there is a tendency towards closing the circle. Complete closing, more common in later *estrangela* and also in *ser̄ta* (ϣ), is, however, only found in Am2:3, 7 and Am4:4, in final position. In P1-3 there is again usually

an opening except in final forms, which are closed, with a descending stroke below the line. This ends up being very similar to the Nabataean {w}.

۱

Rarely attested, but always as in *estrangela* and *serṭa*.

ن

In most cases in the inscriptions the form of {ḥ} is unlike that of *estrangela* and *serṭa* (ن), being formed basically as an upper case N, somewhat elongated. In the first century the horizontal stroke joins the middle of the right upright (As55: A.D. 6; Bs2: A.D. 73). The left stroke is often curved and tends to point in the direction of writing. The left apex often loses its sharpness. In the mosaics of the first half of the 3rd century it is in some cases reduced to a twin-peaked form like the *estrangela* and *serṭa*. This is reflected also especially in P3. As10:2, an undated inscription, probably of the 3rd century, also displays this form of the letter.

כ

Note the limited attestation of this letter. With minor variation (more rounded), forms are similar to the *estrangela*. In P3 a loop appears at the top of the letter, but this is a repeated feature of the handwriting of P3 (see also {ʔ} and {l}).

כ


Earlier inscriptions have a כ shape, which gradually give way to a form like the initial/medial forms used in *estrangela* and *serṭa*. Elongated forms appear sometimes in final position.

כ




Note gaps in attestation. The angular character of the letter, often with the upright sloping to the left (כ), generally sets it apart from {b}, though curved forms do appear, e.g., in the mosaics. The angular form may be conditioned by the difficulties of inscribing hard material. In P1-3 it is always curved and very difficult to distinguish from {b}. The final {k} similar to the final {k} of *estrangela*: כ, quite different from the final {k} in later *serṭa*: כ (12th century onwards: Hatch 1946, 38),

is used wherever the consonant appears in final position, both in inscriptions which are dated and those which are undated (e.g., As5, As20). There is a possible case of a non-final {k} used in final position in As56:3, but there are difficulties with the text at this point: see Commentary.





Very similar to *estrangela* and *serta*, but with some variation of the angle of the upper stroke. Sometimes there is an upper loop in P3 (see also {ʔ} and {t}). There is in some texts a lengthened final form, but no special final form of the letter as there is in *serta* ().




The basic shape of {m} in the inscriptions is constant and very similar to the *estrangela* {m} with a flattish upper line. Its loop is not usually closed as in *serta* () (though note As16). It is, however, closed in P1-3, where there is also a tendency to rotate the letter clockwise through c. 45° so that it becomes like a reversed ε. This seems to be a distinctive cursive feature. There are special final forms of the letter with final stroke descending below the line in P1-3, as in *estrangela* () and *serta* (). A different final form is found in As31:2.



As in *estrangela* and *serta*, with special final forms always used (gaps in the tables arise only where no final {n} occurs in the inscription). A possible exception to the use of the final form may be found in Am10:13, though the reading is not completely clear. The final forms are similar to the *estrangela* () and *serta* (). Segal 1954, 33, noted a tendency in earlier inscriptions to join the middle of the final {n}, rather than its top, to the preceding letter.



Note gaps in the attestation. The form in the inscriptions is slightly different from the *estrangela*, with variations such as an open left loop (A.D. 165 and earlier), a closed shape with two humps and then with increasing frequency the typical double oval. The latter form, found in a more rounded form also in *serta* (), is universal in P1-3.


↘

Basically as in *estrangela* and *serṭa*, sometimes written at an angle making it look like {g}. No special final form occurs.


ḡ

Note gaps in attestation. This has a curved non-closed form more rounded than {b} or {k}. In the later inscriptions, notably the 3rd century mosaics, the top is more curled and it is always closed in P1-3, though still with much variation. The curled {p} is found also in As1:1, 7, which is an undated inscription: the form of the {p} suggests a 3rd century date.

ṣ

Note gaps in attestation. The reversed Z or sharpened S shape, as in *estrangela*, prevails, though in earlier inscriptions the top left corner of the letter is elevated well above the starting point on the right (as often in the Nestorian script: ).

ḡ

In the dated inscriptions this letter is normally oval in shape, with a short vertical to the left. This is unlike the *estrangela*, which has a rectangular form, as does *serṭa* until the 11th century (Hatch 1946, 35). Forms of the letter more like *estrangela* and early *serṭa*, sometimes with flattish sides and corners (compare Nestorian ), do, however, appear in the undated inscriptions (Am3:7, Am5:15 [Seton Lloyd copy], As10:1, 3, 7) and in P3 (where there is also a distinctive final {q} with its tail beneath the line).

ḡ

Basically the same situation as for {d}, though the comma-shaped form occurs in some mosaics.

ṣ

The inscriptions and parchments allow us to see the basis of the later *estrangela* form of this letter (the curved *serṭa* form being a later development c. A.D. 1200: Hatch 1946, 36-37). The basic form in the in-

scriptions is a right angle bisected by a straight line. The angles vary a little, the upper stroke sometimes moving over to the left (anti-clockwise), creating a V with line attached at the bottom (As9) and extending to the right. In some cases a kind of water-fountain shape developed: Υ , as in As16. The main feature of the letter then became this Y-shape, which is sometimes “filled in” by bridging the apexes ∇ or ∇ (Am6 and associated mosaics). This leads to ∇ and directly to the triangular shape found in P1-3 and *estrangela*. Some of the undated inscriptions have the Y-shaped {§} (As5:5, 17; As35:2; Cs2:1), while others have the triangular {§} (As10:5; Am2:13, 14; Am10:2, 11).

ⲁ

Early forms are usually like the *estrangela* with a lower left loop, but alongside this (from As36: A.D. 165) we find the loop increasingly eliminated (as in cursive Palmyrene), e.g. in the mosaics of the 3rd century A.D., and it is rare in P1-3, where the form of the letter approximates to *ser̄ta* λ , though with a pronounced hump in the horizontal stroke. Note that the lower loop is omitted also in the 1st century \S DN inscription (Segal 1954, 31).

Discussion

Within the corpus there is a fundamental difficulty created by the fact that two different main materials are used for writing: carving on stone and setting in mosaic. To these we can add writing with ink on parchment as in P1-3. When we note differences of letter-forms (above and in what follows) we have to be constantly aware that some of the differences may be conditioned simply by the material the writing is on. Thus some apparent differences have no significance and must be discounted. This certainly applies, in our view, to different forms of {h} (with regard especially to the curving of the left “leg”) and {k} (the angular form on stone). On the other hand we must assume that the mosaicists and stone-carvers were copying from an original, probably written on papyrus and there may have been considerable variety in the script-form of these originals.

Having said this, it seems to us that there are real differences of letter forms which happen to coincide with differences of material of writing.

(i) The inscriptions on stone, mostly homogeneous throughout the first three centuries A.D., are, allowing for the awkwardness of carving on stone, very similar to the formal *estrangela* bookhand first known to us in a manuscript of A.D. 411 (British Library Add. MS

12150). There may have been a tendency to formalize the script when it was being used for display purposes.

(ii) The texts in mosaic, which can all be dated to the first decades of the third century A.D., show features which diverge from the stone inscriptions. In particular there is a tendency to a more cursive style, over and beyond what might be expected in a more flexible medium.

(iii) The parchments are different again, P1 and P2 may be described as being written in a distinctive cursive form of the *eṣṭrangela* script, though with some features which are closer to *serṭa*. P3 is much more informal and its script is very similar to *serṭa* or its precursors.

This evidence suggests that there were basically two Syriac scripts in existence in the first centuries A.D. (and probably earlier, though there is no actual evidence before A.D. 6). One was a formal script rather similar to what is later known as *eṣṭrangela*. It was used for inscriptions on stone, though much has been destroyed. Greek too was in current use in Edessa, a Seleucid foundation, but again little has survived.

The other script was a cursive of which there may have been more than one variety (Klugkist 1982, 35-84). The more formal cursive of P1 and P2 may be described as rather similar to *eṣṭrangela*, but there are also similarities to the *serṭa* script which came into use as a book-hand much later than *eṣṭrangela*, in the 8th century. Even more cursive is the script of P3: this may be a distinct informal cursive. There are certain forms in it which are unique to it, e.g. the simple vertical {²}, (though partly shared with later script forms such as *serṭa* and Nestorian).

If this analysis is correct, the Syriac or Old Syriac situation would be analogous to that which obtained in Nabataean (Healey 1990-91 and 1990b). There too there were several types of script, a monumental formal script used especially in tomb inscriptions and a cursive script in at least two different forms (formal and less formal) used, for example, in legal documents. There is evidence of the cursive in the informal Nabataean graffiti, but its existence is confirmed by the survival of Nabataean papyri from one of the Naḥal Ḥever caves (Starcky 1954; Lewis 1989, nos. 15 and 22; Yadin papyri in Tov 1995², 116-17, 62-63 and microfiches).

How does this analysis fit with established positions on the history of the Syriac script?

Hatch regards the *eṣṭrangela* script as the earliest Syriac script and refers to the emergence of *serṭa* in the early eighth century A.D., with distinctively Nestorian forms appearing a little earlier. In taking this position, which represents the consensus, he notes that there are earlier traces of the *serṭa* script in informal documentary contexts. Very little

has survived, but J. P. N. Land, as early as 1862 (Land 1862, 70-72), noted what he called the minuscule Syriac script (v. *estrangela* majuscule) found in annotations and colophons on certain manuscripts. Particularly worthy of note is British Library Add. MS 14542, a fine *estrangela* manuscript containing a work of St Basil and dated A.D. 509. Land (1862, pl. V 11) reproduced part of a 16-line note at the end of this manuscript (f94r), containing *inter alia* the information that the scribe was one Jacob of Amida. The note, referred to in the second volume of Wright's catalogue (1871 II, 417, MS DXLVII), is in a very small cursive script which has several features similar to features of (a) *ser̄ta* and (b) P1-3, especially P3. Thus the {ʔ} of the note at the end of BM Add 14542 (especially lines 1 and 28-29) is virtually identical with some examples in P3 and it even has the feature noted above of a thin loop at the top of the letter. The {m} frequently has the reversed ε shape we have noted in P1-3. The {t} also is like that of P3 and a *ser̄ta*-type {h} and {m} (with non-horizontal upper stroke) also occur.

It seems, therefore, that what we have concluded above about the script of our inscriptions can be fitted easily into the overall assessment of the Syriac script on the basis of the following reconstruction:

(i) From the earliest times (effectively the beginning of the Aryu dynasty of Edessa c. 132 B.C.) it is probable that a single Syriac script was in use. A form similar to *estrangela* was used for formal monumental purposes, while a cursive version was used for everyday purposes. There was some variability in both.

(ii) The first actual evidence, our earlier inscriptions, presents us with a formal version of the script which is close to *estrangela*, while as soon as we have mosaic inscriptions we find there is evidence of the impact on the script of a cursive which must have been in the background, specifically in the form of the parchment or papyrus document the mosaicist was copying from. The parchments (P1-3) confirm all of this, in that they show that a distinctive cursive, with formal and informal varieties, was used for legal and similar documents.

(iii) The first fine manuscripts (A.D. 411 +) use a bookhand version of the Syriac script which we know as *estrangela*, but two facts point again to the existence of a cursive in everyday use. First, the fact that certain cursive forms, though others might call them *ser̄ta*-like, intrude from time to time and increasingly into this script. Secondly, the fact that informal writings, of which we get rare glimpses, continued to be written in a cursive similar to that of P1-3 on the one hand and *ser̄ta* on the other.

(iv) When the *estrangela* bookhand went into decline, it was replaced

by a new bookhand, known to us as a *serta*, which was essentially a formalized version of the old cursive. This of course then took on a life of its own as a fine calligraphic script, but the important point is that it was not essentially new. It had existed and developed over centuries as the normal Syriac cursive.³

³ These facts are not unimportant in the wider history of script-development in the area, since the various features of the emergent Arabic script which it shares with *serta* Syriac (such as the single-stroke vertical *alif*) might be explained by the influence of early *cursive* Syriac: *estrangela* and Arabic *alif* cannot be closely linked. This consideration does not invalidate the much more plausible theory of the origins of the Arabic script in a cursive form of Nabataean, but it does give more plausibility to the theory of a Syriac origin. See recently F. Briquel-Chattonet 1997, who is right to insist that this question is not yet resolved finally.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LANGUAGE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

A number of minor discussions of the language of the early Syriac texts are incorporated in major surveys (Brockelmann 1964, 152-55; Rosenthal 1939, 195-99; Beyer 1984, 46-47; Beyer 1986, 31-32), and one earlier work by Nöldeke (1908) also deserves mention, as well as brief comments by Greenfield (1974, 289) and Fitzmyer (1979, 71). However, in recent times only two specialist studies have been devoted to the subject: Jenni 1965 and Beyer 1966 (the latter focussed on the impact of *Reichsaramäisch* on early Syriac). We acknowledge particularly our debt to Jenni and Beyer, since they have already identified most of the relevant data.

Our procedure here is (i) to list divergences from the later “classical” Syriac in orthography, phonology, morphology and lexica (syntax having hardly anything to contribute), (ii) to note some of the many points of agreement (isoglosses) between the language of our texts and “classical” Syriac which locate the texts firmly within the horizon of Syriac, (iii) to give an evaluation of the non-lexical linguistic features, (iv) to give an evaluation of the lexica and, finally, (v) to evaluate the nature of Early Syriac in the context of the contemporary Aramaic dialects.

Preliminary

There are certain methodological issues which need to be alluded to.

Already we have made “classical” Syriac the standard by which we are to assess the inscriptions. It would be an error to think of the classical language as completely unified. Van Rompay 1994 has pointed out that “classical” Syriac is not totally standardised from its earliest phases, nor, we may add, did it remain entirely standardised when the Syriac-speaking Christians ended up in quite different cultural milieus and contending religious communities. However, this later more standardized language is different, as will be seen, in a small number of quite major respects from the earliest Syriac known to us from the Osrhoenian inscriptions.

There is also a methodological difficulty in the impossibility of drawing strict lines between forms of the language, especially lines to separate earlier from later phases. The features which separate

Classical Syriac from Old Syriac — this is by far the simplest term and one which was canonised by its adoption in the title of the *corpus* of these inscriptions compiled by Drijvers (1972) — are features which Old Syriac shares with Achaemenid and immediately post-Achaemenid Aramaic. What makes us call Old Syriac by this title rather than “late Achaemenid” or late “Reichsaramäisch” are in fact the non-linguistic facts of the script which is used and the undoubted historical relationship between these inscriptions, the pagan kingdom of Edessa and the emergence of Edessa at the heart of Syriac Christianity, as a result of which the Edessan dialect of Aramaic became a major literary language.

Thirdly there is enormous difficulty in understanding the history of Aramaic. Boyarin (1981) has challenged very effectively the “family tree” model of growing diversity leading to eastern and western branches, while the recent work of Folmer (1995) has explored very fully the already established fact (see Ginsberg 1942, 232-35; Greenfield 1974, 283-84) that the written Aramaic of the Achaemenid period was highly diverse: it must have been even more diverse in spoken form. We must be wary, therefore, of being mesmerised by the assumption that peculiarities of early Syriac have to be explained simply in terms of development and divergence from *Reichsaramäisch* as known to us from Elephantine, Biblical Aramaic and other sources. In this context we may note the comments of Harviainen (1978, 1981) on the Eastern Aramaic “*koiné*” of the various producers of incantation bowls.

What then are the distinctive features of the Old Syriac inscriptions, apart from the purely script-related absence at this stage of Syriac of the *linea occultans* and diacritics to mark {d}, {r}, plural, etc.?

Divergences from classical Syriac

(a) *Orthographic*

1. Continued and systematic distinction between *s* and *š* by use of the graph {š} for the latter:

𐤒 𐤕 𐤕	As9:1; P1:10; P2:ii, 7
𐤒 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕	P3:12, 17, 18
𐤒 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕	P1:21
𐤒 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕	As16:1
𐤕 𐤕 𐤕	As36:3
𐤒 𐤕	As37:4
(𐤒) 𐤕 𐤕 𐤕	P1:24, 25, etc., v1, etc.; P2:v1, v5.

Another example might be ܘܡܘܠܐ (As56:4) (perhaps representing a form of ܘܡܘܠܐ though ܘܡܘܠܐ also appears in later Syriac).

Another putative example is eliminated by corrected reading of the text in question, As28:7 (where Segal 1954, 19, read *šymtʳ*), while a supposed exception cited by Jenni (*mskʳ* in P1:8) has also been eliminated by the new edition of P1 by Goldstein.

2. Systematic defective spelling by omission of {w} to represent short /o/u/ in closed syllables. Examples:

ܪܬܐ	for	ܪܬܐܐ	Cs2:1
ܥܦܘ	for	ܥܦܘܘ	As5:16; P1:13; P2:iv, 10
ܡܬܐܪ	for	ܡܬܐܪܐ	P1:14
ܪܘܬܐ	for	ܪ(ܘ)ܘܬܐ	As37:5, 7, 8
ܪܘܬܐ	for	ܪܘܬܐܐ	As5:11
ܪܬܐ	for	ܪܬܐܐ	Bs2:5
ܡܬܐܐ	for	ܡܬܐܐܐ	P1:17
ܡܬܐܐ	for	ܡܬܐܐܐ	As37:7
ܪܘܐ	for	ܪܘܐܐ	As5:12
ܪܘܐ	for	ܪܘܐܐ	As5:12
ܪܘܐ	for	ܪܘܐܐ	P1:22, 26

We have removed ܘܡܘܠܐ (As56:4) from Beyer's listing, since this appears to have a long, not a short vowel in the last syllable (Brockelmann, 263), though it is in fact a defective spelling for ܘܡܘܠܐ.

It may be noted that the restriction on the use of {w} did not apply to the *-us/-os* ending of Greek and Latin names (so *mrqws*, *ʳsbtʳws*: P1:1, 2, etc.). For evidence in Palmyrene see Stark 1971, 131-41. Also there may be an exception to the defective convention in *gwdʳ* (As10:5), though, as Jenni notes, this inscription is probably relatively late in date.

Finally, *kl*, "all", is spelled without {w}, as in classical Syriac (As10:9; As55:5, 7; Bs2:5; P1:12; P2:5; P3:iii, 8, 14, 15).

3. Other oddities of spelling, contrasting with classical orthography, include various defective spellings of words which would normally be written plene in classical Syriac orthography:

ܐܘ	for	ܐܘܘ	As24:1; As56:1 (v. As16:4, etc.)
ܪܐܠܐ	for	ܪܐܠܐܐ	As13:1; As55:8 (v. As14:1)
ܘܡܠܐ	for	ܘܡܠܐܐ	Bs3:3
ܘܡܠܐ	for	ܘܡܠܐܐ	As56:4
ܪܘܠܐܐ	for	ܪܘܠܐܐܐ	Bs1:4

כָּסַח	for	כָּסַחַח	Am9:6 (v. As16:4, etc.)
כָּסַחַח	for	כָּסַחַחַח	Am8:2, 20; P1:8 (v. Am8:11; P2:30: כָּסַחַחַח)

כָּסַח in P3:ii, 8, 17, 19, is interpreted by Teixidor and Brock as a plural. It might, however, be a defectively written singular for כָּסַחַח.

כָּסַחַח/כָּסַח (As37:6; Bs2:3) is probably a loan and cannot be taken into account.

Both Jenni, 380, and Beyer, 243, note the spelling of כָּסַחַח in As20:3 as being aberrant. It is so only in the sense that the common practice of running together the two words *bā'yā + (ʔ)nā* is employed. See כָּסַחַח cited by Nöldeke 1898², 45. More noteworthy is כָּסַחַח in P1:7 (against כָּסַחַח in P1:20; P2:ii, 20, 25; P3:6, 22).

(b) Phonological

1. Weakening of guttural /ʕ/. /ʕ/ > /ʔ/ or ∅:

/abdnahay/ < /ʕabdnahay/	Am4:5 (reading not certain)
/abdʕata/ < /ʕabdʕata/	As38:1
/abs(s)aka/ < /ʕbdsaka/	Cs1:2 (interpretation not certain)

A lexicalised weakening of this type is found in ʕṯm > ʔṯm > ṯm (As24:1).

2. Assimilation of /d/, /t/ and /l/ to, or elision before, sibilants:

/ʕabš(š)alma/ < /ʕabdšalma/	As7:1
/ʕabs(s)imya/ < /ʕabdsimya/	As31:1, 4
/abs(s)aka/ < /ʕbdsaka/	Cs1:2 (interpretation not certain)
/amaš(š)amaš/ < /amatšamaš/	As62
/hšqbl/ < /hdšqbl/	As56:4
/barbaʕš(š)amin/ < /barbaʕlšamin/	Am8:2, 11, 20; P1:i, 8; P2:30

These forms stand alongside. e.g., ʕbdšwk (Am3:10) and ʕbdšmš (Am4:8). It is impossible to tell whether doubling resulted from the assimilation/elision.

3. Reduction of /bēt/ to /bē/ or /bā/ in the phrase *bqbwrʔ* in As59:3.

4. Apparent elision of intervocalic /ʔ/ in suffixed forms of III/ʔ verbs:

קָרַחַח	/q(a)rūkā/	for	קָרַחַח	/qraʔūk/	As5:8
נָאָחַח	/ʕ(a)nūkā/	for	נָאָחַח	/ʕnaʔūk/	As5:8

5. Loss of syllable-initial /ʔ/, even when there is no prefix, in personal names:

ܡܬܫܝܢ (P1:ii) as an alternative spelling for ܡܬܫܝܢܐ (P1:9).

This appears to prove that the /ʔ/ and the vowel that theoretically accompanied it were not pronounced: ܡܬܫܝܢܐ = /matsin/. In other cases, such as

ܡܬܫܝܢܐ	for	ܡܬܫܝܢܐ	As13:2
ܠܬܫܝܢܐ	for	ܠܬܫܝܢܐ	Cs2:1,

the same is probably the case (though spellings with {ʔ} do not appear in the corpus). The deletion of initial /ʔ/ (but *not* the vowel) after a prefix is less remarkable (see below) and it too is reflected in personal names like:

ܡܬܫܝܢܐ for ܡܬܫܝܢܐ Am8:2, etc.

We have already noted the word *tm* (< ʔtm < ʕtm).

6. Assimilation of pre-consonantal /n/ in Greek loan ʔdryʔ in As1:5 (< ἀνδριάς) is, perhaps, unexpected, but both assimilated and non-assimilated forms survive in classical Syriac (ʔdryntʔ and ʔndry(ʔ)ntʔ: *TS*, 43, 258).

Otherwise the texts usually retain original /n/ in writing in the following common words:

(ܡ)ܕܘܪܐ	“you”	P1:11; As5:5
-ܕܕܘܪܐ	“wife”	As1:8; As19:2; Am1:12; Am4:1; Am8:5; Cs2:1; P1:22; P2:vi, 11
ܠܕܘܪܐ	“city”	P2:5

However, once we find ʔtt for ʔntt (Am3:7), which suggests that written forms like ʔntt and ʔnt, as in classical Syriac, had already assimilated the /n/ (this being marked with the *linea occultans* later). *gwdʔ* in As10:5 (< √GND) may be a loan-word borrowed in an already assimilated form. *md(ʔ)tʔ* (P3:v, 15), similarly, is a loan from Akkadian (classically *mdʔtʔ*). *mkʔ* in P1:18 (< *mn kʔ*) is as in classical Syriac.

The assimilating /n/ of I/n verbs is, as in Achaemenid and classical orthography, left unwritten. Secondary dissimilation is a separate issue.

7. Retention of final unstressed long vowels (see below) may be reflected in:

ʔnth for /attā/, “you”, As5:5 (though there is now an alternative interpretation of the final {h} by Beyer).

(c) *Morphological*

1. The only morphological peculiarity of this phase of Syriac is the appearance of *y-* as the masculine prefix of the 3rd person imperfect, rather than *n-*. While there are difficulties in some cases of being sure of readings, since {*y*} and {*n*} are often hard to distinguish, the following clear cases of the *y-* prefix may be noted:

<i>ybrkwnh</i>	Bs2:5; As55:7 (restored, but <i>y-</i> is clear)
<i>yhw^ʔ</i>	As37:6, 8; As60:4; As61:4 (uncertain); Bs2:6, 7
<i>yḥbl</i>	As60:3; Bs2:6
<i>yḥz^ʔ</i>	As55:7
<i>ykl^ʔ</i>	As37:8
<i>yrmwn</i>	Bs2:8
<i>yšbh</i>	As55:7; Bs2:5
<i>yštkḥwn</i>	Bs2:9
<i>yr^ʔ</i>	Bs2:6
<i>y^ʔr^ʔ</i>	As55:6
<i>ytrsyhy</i>	As37:5
<i>ydyn</i>	As37:9
<i>ytł</i>	As37:7

On the other hand *n-* prefix forms are not unknown and occur as follows:

<i>ngl</i>	Am5:13
<i>nzy^c</i>	As20:5
<i>nrqd</i>	Am5:15
<i>ntlyt</i>	As20:6

repeatedly in P1, P2, P3 (about 25 instances: e.g. *ndwn* in P1:12)

With regard to *ntl* in P2:13, 15, 17, and *ntb^cywhy* in P2:24, Brock 1991, 262 n.24, is misguided in assuming that it is better to read *y-* prefix forms. His argument is that *y-* prefix forms are used elsewhere in “Proto-Syriac”. Though this is largely true of the inscriptions, it is decidedly not true of the parchments (unless he is to read all the forms in P1, P2 and P3 as *y-*, and that he does not intend that is clear from his reading of *nrbwn* in P2:18). It is better, therefore, to read *n-* with Teixidor, at least until further evidence is forthcoming.

(Moritz 1913, 163, implies that the 3rd masculine plural suffix is found in Bs2 as *-hm*, but no such ending occurs there or elsewhere.)

(d) *Lexical*

1. Minor lexical peculiarities of the material have been noted, e.g. the

expression *ʿl mn*, “above”, in As1:5, though the phrase does occur in an isolated case in later Syriac (Nöldeke 1882, 666).

2. Remarkable is the fairly high incidence in the inscriptions and parchments of Greek and Iranian loans. This is not to imply that this is uncharacteristic of classical Syriac, but the level of incidence is noteworthy in these very early texts (see Healey 1995).

Points of agreement with classical Syriac

These will not be listed so systematically: for details see Beyer 1966, 245-46, with special attention to comparison with *Reichsaramäisch* (247-48). Salient features include, in the later inscriptions, the *n*- prefix imperfect, the masculine plural ending *-ē* and the relative *d*-.

We may note the general agreement with classical orthography on matters such as the fairly consistent inclusion of {ʔ} in forms in which the consonant did not retain any role in pronunciation. The silent {ʔ} is marked in classical orthography with the *linea occultans*. Examples:

ʔhry(-)	As20:3; Am5:14; P2:viii, 14
ʔhrnʔ	P1:20
ʔnš	As55:6; P1:12; P3:vii, 19

When an initial /ʔ/ becomes silent after a prefix it may be omitted (*lhy* for *ʔhy* in Am10:4: a clear reflection of the spoken language — Drijvers 1982, 172) and as in later Syriac the initial {ʔ} of the attached 1st singular pronoun is omitted:

b ^c ynʔ	As20:3
hznʔ	As28:5, 9
mwd(y)nʔ	P1:7, 20; P2:ii, 20, 25; P3:6, 22.

hrtʔ, “sister”, has already lost its initial /ʔ/ (As4:2; As41:3; Cs1:4), as had *hrtʔ* (As20:5; Am5:16).

There is evidence also of the use of *l*- as an accusative marker, a feature which is characteristic of Syriac (As37:7), though by no means limited to it (Beyer 1984, 613).

Evaluation of Non-lexical Features

The long lists of features provided by Jenni and Beyer tend to give a false impression of divergence. Most of these divergences (numbered below according to the above list) are minor and purely orthographic or of extremely limited application:

It is not always easy to draw the line between orthographic and phonological features, but (a)2 and (a)3 are purely orthographic and on these points there is no linguistic difference from the later classical language. Van Rompay 1994, 75-76, notes the appearance of defective spellings like those of (a)2 in the earliest Syriac literary manuscripts.

(a)1 requires more circumspection. Could it be that Old Syriac preserved some distinction of sound between /s/ and /š/? /š/ is still maintained in the Uruk magical text of c. 150 B.C. (an Aramaic text in cuneiform script: see Beyer 1986, 31). But at this time the loss of /š/ was already in train in the West and soon after this date the process was complete (Beyer 1984, 102-03; Moscati, 1969, 36). Our inscriptions are mostly dated 300 years later and our conclusion must be that the practice of using {š} to represent Proto-Semitic /š/ is purely a matter of historical orthography. Similar uncertainties of spelling resulting from the change /š/ > /s/ are found in Palmyrene, Nabataean and Jewish Aramaic.

(b)1 applies in personal names and is not universal even there: there are many cases where the /ʕ/ survives. The history of this feature is noted by Segal 1954, 30, who cites earlier Aramaic (*RES* §962) and Palmyrene (Ingholt and Starcky in Schlumberger 1951, 145, 163-64: *brʔp* for *brʕp*, etc.). The case of *tm* almost certainly involves a long period of evolution and does not prove any tendency to lose /ʕ/ in the first centuries A.D. The form is known in the contemporary dialects of Aramaic.

(b)2 again applies in personal names and otherwise in one etymologically rather obscure adverb, *hšqbl*. In Palmyrene similar phenomena are found (Cantineau 1935, 39: assimilation). For other evidence of *ʕbd* shortened to *ʕb* before /š/ see Lidzbarski 1912, 15, referring to the Arabic name *عبيشمس*.

(b)5 also applies only to personal names.

It is possible that the sound changes implied in (b)1, (b)2 and (b)5 were limited to some particular dialect or to a colloquial register which is not generally reflected in the formal language of the inscriptions and parchments. The loss of /ʕ/ may be part of a wider phenomenon reflected also in Mandaic, but against this remains the fact of the systematic retention of /ʕ/ in later Syriac. The conclusion must be that these divergences from classical Syriac do not represent any general phenomenon in the Syriac of this period.

(b)3 is a particular case limited to the word *byt* and not of general significance. It is a well-known phenomenon in relation to this particular word and may reflect a colloquial pronunciation.

(b)4 is difficult to evaluate. It seems to imply that the classical form is a later development, almost an etymologisation of the form towards

pronunciation of the /ʔ/ which had in fact been earlier lost. Al-Jadir 1983, 246, suggested that /q(a)rūkā/ and /ʿ(a)nūkā/ might be colloquial.

(b)6 shows unexpected assimilation in a Greek loan and otherwise the texts conform orthographically to classical Syriac except in so far as the *linea occultans* was not yet in use to mark deletion of sounds.

(b)7 is potentially more significant. Beyer 1984, 122-25, argues that final unstressed long vowels were lost c. 100 B.C. In this case the orthography of forms like *ʿbdw* (As8:1) is historical, but this in itself suggests that these vowels were still being pronounced when the Syriac orthography was “created” in the second century B.C. (with the Aryu dynasty). The particular case of *ʔnth* is, however, more complex. The pronunciation might have been /attā/, but if the {h} is a *mater lectionis*, it is one which later fell out of the orthography; as an orthographical feature it may come from Achaemenid orthography or a variant thereof, since it survives sporadically in Biblical Aramaic tradition (Dan 2:29, etc.: *ketīb*).

(c)1 is the only morphological feature of Old Syriac which clearly distinguishes it from classical Syriac and links it firmly with earlier and Western Aramaic. The change to the *n-/l-* prefix for the 3rd person masculine imperfect is characteristic of Eastern Aramaic, though it should be noted that both *y-* and *n-* forms are found in the mixed dialect of the magic bowls (Harviainen 1981, 24). We may be dealing here with a situation in which the written language was gradually adapting itself to the spoken forms in this area, especially when the influence of the post-Achaemenid orthographic tradition was weakening.

While both forms of imperfect prefix are found in the corpus, after some confusions in readings are eliminated we end up with a fairly clear situation: the imperfect prefix is *y-* except in As20, Am5 and the parchments. The latter are precisely dated to A.D. 240, 242 and 243. As20 is not dated, nor is it associated with any dated inscription, though an inscription in a nearby cave, As16, dates to A.D. 201-02. (As20 is a little unusual in content, containing reference to disturbance of the burial and a curse.) Mosaic inscription Am5 is also undated, but Colledge 1994 would clearly place the Edessan mosaics in the first quarter of the 3rd century.

On the other hand, three of the inscriptions in which *y-* appears are securely dated: As55 to A.D. 6, Bs2 to A.D. 73 and As37 to A.D. 165. It seems, therefore, that the dividing line is to be drawn c. A.D. 200. This is so clear that it could almost be used as a criterion for dating inscriptions. Thus As60 and As61, both containing *y-* forms, are most unlikely to be dated after c.200.

We are left, therefore, with only one major difference between Old Syriac and classical Syriac apart from differences of orthography:

3rd masculine imperfect preformative *y-* in inscriptions predating c. A.D. 200.

Evaluation of Lexica

Old Syriac, as we have seen, has little in lexica which sets it apart from classical Syriac, but it is especially interesting with regard to loan-words: Greek, Iranian and Arabian (see Healey 1995: data here marginally amended in accordance with improved readings).

Greek loans in Syriac were exhaustively treated by Schall 1960, 25-48 (though he could not take account of the many texts published subsequently, especially P2 and P3; see also Schall 1997). It is clear in the list which follows that a large proportion of the loans are found only in the legal/administrative parchment texts, mostly in a formulaic context:

ʿdryʿ	ἀνδριάς, “statue”	As1:5
ʿdšʿ	εἶδος, “form, kind”	P3:iv, etc.
ʿplwtrʿ	ἀπελεύθερος, “freedman”	As4:5
ʿrkwnwtʿ	ἄρχων, “governor(ship), magistracy”	P3:5
ʿrkywn	ἀρχεῖον, “archive”	P1:19
ʿstrʿgʿ and ʿstrʿgwtʿ	στρατηγός, “governor”	P1:5; P1:v3
ʿwsbws	εὐσεβής, “pious”	P1:1; P3:1
ʿwtʿqrʿtwr	αὐτοκράτωρ, “emperor”	P1:1; P2:2; P3:1
ʿwtʿwks	εὐτυχής, “fortunate”	P1:1
ʿyg(mwnʿ)	ἡγεμών, “governor”	As10:2
dynrʿ	δηνάριον, “denarius”	P1:ii, 9; P2: ix, 16, 17, 18, 22
hyrws	ἱερεὺς, “priest”	P3:5
hptyʿ	ὑπατεία, “consulate”	P1:2; P2:4; P3:2
hpws	ἵππεύς, “eques”	P1:5, 6
mʿtrpwls	μητρόπολις, “metropolis”	P1:4; P3:4
nmwsʿ	νόμος, “law”	P1:16
pylys	φυλή, “tribe”	P1:21
qlwnyʿ	κολωνία, “colonia”	P1:4; P3:4
qsr	καῖσαρ, “Caesar”	As49:7; P1:1; P2:2; P3:1
sbstʿws	σεβαστός, “Augustus”	P1:2; P3:1
trʿ	θήρα, “hunt”	P3:4

The Greek origin of *glp* from γλύφω, “carve” (As13:1; As48:1; As55:8) is dubious, but maintained by Vattioni 1981, 23.

Iranian loans may be noted too:

^ʿ wzn ^ʿ	“sarcophagus”	As20:4
nwhdr ^ʿ	“military commander”	As1:2; As31:2; As47:5
psgryb ^ʿ	“crown-prince”	As1:7; P2:4

Many commentators have also treated ^ʿstwn^ʿ, “column, pillar” (As1:4), and *b(w)dr*, the title of a type of priest (As37:6; Bs2:3), as Iranian loans. The former could, however, be of Greek origin (στῦλος).

Arabian (Lihyanite, perhaps *via* Nabataean) is

kpr ^ʿ	“tomb”	Bs2:7,
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while

hykl ^ʿ (Akk. <i>ekallu</i>)	“palace, temple”	P2:6
md ^(ʿ) t ^ʿ (Akk. <i>maddattu</i>)	“tribute”	P3:v, 15

are Akkadian.

By far the greater part of the loans are found in the legal and administrative context of the parchments and are of little linguistic significance since they appear in the legal and dating formulae which were inevitable in a legal system dominated by Rome. But the number of Greek loans is impressive for this early stage in the history of Syriac. It shows the deep-rootedness of the Greek influence in this region and points towards a culture which, at least at the higher levels of society, was practically bilingual.

Of note is the fact that a number of the loans have been integrated morphologically and phonetically by having been adapted into a Syriac “shape”, with the typical Syriac emphatic *-ā* ending added, sometimes in place of the original Greek ending. In ^(ʿ)strtg^ʿ an original *-os* ending has been replaced. Perhaps less remarkable is the easy adaptation of Greek feminines to the Syriac *-ā* (*qlwny^ʿ*). In other cases, here and in later Syriac, a Syriac ending is sometimes added to a Greek ending (e.g. *nms^ʿ*).

Some words have clearly become so much at home in Syriac that Syriac-type derivatives can be formed: ^ʿstrtgwt^ʿ, the abstract noun formed from ^ʿstrtg^ʿ < στρατηγός. In some cases this may be because of long or widespread use, even if attestation is not very wide.

Early Syriac lexica also show some influence from Iranian languages. As in Palmyrene and Hatran, loans tend to be found in the sphere of civic administration and military affairs. This reflects the history of the region. Akkadian has some influence at Hatra, particularly in the sphere of religious architecture and in other religious contexts,

but the Akkadian influence in the epigraphic dialects is otherwise less than might have been expected. Words like *hykl*, “sanctuary, palace” (in early and classical Syriac), though of Sumero-Akkadian origin, had long been integrated into the western Semitic languages. The spheres of life where Akkadian might have made itself felt more strongly had by the first centuries A.D. been heavily Iranised or Graecised.

When one looks at literary “classical” Syriac (and the same seems to be true of other literary dialects such as Jewish Babylonian and Mandaic), Akkadian cognates can commonly be found. It is difficult to tie these to particular spheres of life, but technical terms, e.g. plant-names, do seem to show continuity with the older Akkadian tradition (as would, of course, be expected). P. Jensen, who contributed the information on cuneiform cognates to Brockelmann’s *Lexicon Syriacum*, is, however, regarded generally as having somewhat exaggerated the Akkadian influences. Iranian terms also persist into the literary languages long after the demise of the Parthians. It must be remembered that much of pre-Islamic Syriac literature was written within the Sassanian empire.

Perhaps the most substantial outside influence on Syriac was from Greek. Even in early Aramaic (e.g. Biblical Aramaic) there are elements of Greek influence, but from the time of Alexander Greek comes more and more to the fore. The most obvious spheres of this early Greek influence are in administration and law, military affairs and religion (especially architecture). Greek influence also came to be felt through the influence of philosophical writings and especially the Neoplatonic and Christian traditions. This is already reflected to some extent in Bardaisan (Healey 1995; Drijvers 1966). Bardaisan’s Edessa, the birthplace of classical Syriac, was culturally a Greek city. There was, perhaps, at first a Christianity in northern Mesopotamia which showed much less Greek influence (cf. Aphrahat, early 4th century A.D.). In the Edessa region Greek linguistic influence at least was strong from the beginning, though of course Syriac-speaking Christianity came in due course to be dominated intellectually and spiritually by the Greeks and classical Syriac is full of Greek words, especially Greek words connected with philosophy, theology, spirituality and liturgy.

The Position of Old Syriac within Aramaic

The language of our corpus is particularly interesting because it reveals evidence of the coming into existence of what eventually became “classical Syriac”, the standardised Syriac of the extensive Christian literature of the Syriac-speaking churches. It stands “between Official

Aramaic — the language of the chancelleries of the Achaemenid Empire...and later Syriac” (Drijvers 1980, 20-21), though we must bear in mind that its history may be very complex and we know little about the language of the Edessa region in earlier periods.

Beyer’s view (1986, 31-32) is that the Old Syriac we have reflects a literary revival after the intrusion of Greek had temporarily interrupted the continuity of *Reichsaramäisch* as a written language in the Edessa area. The script and orthography owe much to the continued Arsacid use of literary Aramaic. The revival was based on and close to the spoken Aramaic of Edessa. Although argued from silence (the absence of Old Syriac from before A.D.6 — and note also the paucity of evidence of Achaemenid-period use of Aramaic in the region), this seems to be plausible enough. Greenfield (1974, 289) argues for the importance of “native linguistic elements”, suggesting closer attention should be given to the texts of our corpus.

There is an interesting parallel with Palmyrene, though here a variety of views have been expressed. Ginsberg (1942, 233-37, resuming and refining his earlier publications on the topic) set Palmyrene in the context of his view that Official Aramaic (*Reichsaramäisch*), which was itself one of several dialects (Samalian being another), was from the Greek period onwards increasingly coloured by vernaculars. Palmyrene was for him an “attempt by a population which spoke all along a Syriac-like form of Aramaic” to write standard Achaemenid Aramaic. This would have a parallel in the clearer case of Nabataean Aramaic, where Arabic vernacular colouring has affected the attempt of the scribes to produce standard Achaemenid Aramaic (Healey 1994, 55-63).

Rosenthal (1939, 100-03, resuming his earlier work), on the other hand, thought that written Palmyrene was a close reflection of the spoken language of the Palmyrene region, with eastern Aramaic features increasingly borrowed from adjacent areas. Ginsberg (1942, 237) regarded this as a not indefensible view.

It seems that the general pattern for the various Aramaic dialects in this period and area can provide the model for an understanding of the emergence of Syriac. Whether Beyer’s view that there was a complete hiatus in the tradition of writing Aramaic in the Edessa area is correct cannot be determined, but it is likely that with the founding of the Aryu dynasty in the mid-2nd century B.C., the dynamic of national consciousness eventually led to the use of Aramaic for public purposes. The particular form of Aramaic adopted for this purpose, as reflected in our corpus, was a mixture of (a) *Reichsaramäisch*, perhaps in a surviving local form or a borrowed form, with Arsacid colouring, and (b) the local spoken colloquial. Under (a) *Reichsaramäisch*/Arsacid, we

can note such features as the 3rd masculine imperfect preformative *y-* (until the *n-* prefix began to impose itself from the colloquial c. A.D.200), some weakening of gutturals, Iranian loans and some features of orthography (𐤎 for 𐤍). (The survival of *Reichsaramäisch* orthographies locally would imply there was no complete hiatus: the same could be said of Nabataean.) Under (b) local colloquial, we can note some of the features listed above: assimilations (/d/, /t/, /l/), loss of initial /ʔ/ and possibly pronunciations like /q(a)rūkā/, as well as a whole host of features later regarded as distinctively “Syriac” or at least distinctively Eastern, such as the *n-* imperfect, the form *hānā* for the masculine singular demonstrative, *-ē* for the masculine plural noun ending, apparent loss of significance of the *status emphaticus*.

The language of the corpus is, therefore, to be regarded as the first stage in the formation of classical Syriac, reflecting a revival in the fortunes of Aramaic as a prestige language in the Edessa region (with parallels to this revival at Palmyra and Hatra). The language presents transitional features: it clearly has its roots in *Reichsaramäisch*, whether of a local variety or a variety borrowed from an area where Arsacid Aramaic was in written use, but the local features which in the end made Syriac into a distinctive branch of the Aramaic tree are already in evidence.

CHAPTER THREE

THE HISTORY, CULTURE AND RELIGION OF EDESSA

The surviving inscriptions from Edessa and Osrhoene are all chance-finds, since systematic excavations at Edessa and its surroundings have not been executed. They represent, therefore, only a very small part of the once existing inscriptional material, of which a great deal was destroyed on purpose during Edessa's turbulent history. Most of the preserved inscriptions are funeral texts from tombs which easily escaped destruction. They contain proper names that give an insight into the city's mixed population during the first three centuries A.D., but do not provide information on its history. As at Palmyra and Hatra Edessa's temples and public buildings were undoubtedly full of sculptures and inscriptions referring to its ruling dynasty and distinguished families, but this material is almost completely lost. An isolated survival is the inscription on a column on Edessa's citadel mentioning queen Šalmat daughter of Maʿnu the crown-prince (As1). Maʿnu was a kind of king-in-waiting from A.D. 213 to 239 and the inscription was written and the accompanying statue erected during this period (Gawlikowski 1998, 426; Millar 1993, 476f.). The inscribed column with statue has many parallels in Palmyra some of them from the same period.

However, the few inscriptions containing historical information fit in very well with the known literary and historical sources of Edessa's past and provide us with valuable complementary information. The same holds true for the coins with Syriac legends and in particular for the recently discovered and partly published Greek and Syriac parchments and papyri. These originate from the area of the Middle Euphrates near the river Khabur and refer to a range of places in Osrhoene and northern Mesopotamia, where Syriac was spoken and written alongside Greek. The Greek papyri from this archive are partly subscribed with names in Syriac, as the well-known Syriac bill of sale from Dura-Europos (P1) also bears a subscription in Greek.

Greek became known at Edessa from 303 or 302 B.C., when Seleucus I Nicator transformed an older settlement mentioned in cuneiform texts as Adme into a Greek *polis* and gave it the name of the ancient Macedonian capital (Harrak 1992, 212-214). The proper name Seleucus in its Syriac form is still frequent in Edessan onomastics. When through internal conflicts and Roman intrigues the Seleucid empire collapsed, Edessa acquired a certain independence under a dyn-

asty of Arab stock which reigned over the city and the surrounding region from 132 B.C. onwards. Most of the kings are called Abgar or Maʿnu and they were actually Arab sheikhs who settled in an urban centre. This was a common phenomenon in Syria and Mesopotamia at the end of Seleucid rule. The main political aim of the local rulers of Edessa was the maintaining of a certain independence from the Romans as well as from the Parthians. They were often successful. King Abgar II (68-53 B.C.) managed during negotiations with Pompey in 64 B.C. to keep his kingdom because he helped Afranius, *legatus* of Pompey, when he lost his way and suffered from hunger and cold. Abgar II also allegedly played a part in Crassus' defeat in 53 B.C. near Edessa at Harran/Carrhae, but he was virtually on the side of the Romans. The Parthians put an end to his reign in the same year and Parthia's influence on Edessa became stronger. The city was even called "Daughter of the Parthians" and the Parthians dominated northern Mesopotamia after this disastrous battle. One of the best-known kings of Edessa is Abgar V Ukkama (4 B.C.-7 B.C. and A.D. 13-50), who is the main actor in the *Doctrina Addai* and allegedly had a correspondence with Jesus himself. Abgar is not attested in the preserved inscriptions, although a member of the royal family is perhaps mentioned in the inscription of Birecik of A.D. 6 (As55). A certain Zarbian son of Abgar is in this inscription the local governor of Birtha, now called Birecik, at the Euphrates, which was part of Abgar's kingdom of Osrhoene and had an important strategic function. It is perfectly understandable that the king appointed a loyal relative to such a position at the *limes* of his kingdom.

King Abgar VII (A.D. 109-116) also had the main aim of remaining independent from the Romans as well as from the Parthians. First the Edessene king supported the emperor Trajan during his campaign in A.D. 114-16 against the Parthian king Chosroes and received the emperor as a guest into his city and palace, but in 116 he took part in the Parthian revolt against Trajan. Thereupon the Roman general Lucius Quietus took Edessa, destroyed it and deposed king Abgar. After an interregnum of two years the local dynasty was reinstated by the emperor Hadrian in A.D. 118.

Directly after the accession of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus in A.D. 161, the Parthians went out on a campaign against the Romans. They conquered Edessa and put a puppet king, Waʿel bar Sahru, on the throne who reigned for two years from 162/3 to 164/5. The Edessene king Maʿnu VIII bar Maʿnu took refuge with the Romans. Only numismatic evidence exists for Waʿel's reign: bronze coins with his bust and name in Syriac script, and on the reverse, the Parthian king Vologeses IV (148-93) (Co1 and Co2). Before he became king this

Wa'el had the function of "governor of 'Arab" i.e. he was in charge of the desert area east of Edessa in order to control the semi-nomad desert population. An inscription at Sumatar Harabesi (As47) mentions Wa'el and his function. After him Tiridates was governor of 'Arab; several inscriptions record him (As27; As30; As36; As37; As54). Tiridates was apparently pro-Parthian, since he built an altar and set up a pillar "for the life of the king" in A.D. 165, when Wa'el still ruled Edessa. After Tiridates a certain Abgar held the function, very probably the later king Abgar VIII bar Ma'nu, from 165 to 176/7. He replaced Tiridates, who was deposed by the Romans, when Avidius Cassius reconquered Edessa and restored king Ma'nu. From that time Edessa and surrounding Osrhoene was a client-state of the Romans as appears from the coins struck at the city (Co3 and Co4; Millar 1993, 473, 561). After Abgar's governorship a certain Barnahar son of Dini was "governor of 'Arab". He had an image made of Aurelius Hapsay son of Barkalba, a freedman of Antoninus Caesar, i.e. the emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (A.D. 161-180) (As49; As52) (Drijvers, 1980, 122-134; Dijkstra 1995, 251-58).

The former "governor of 'Arab" ruled as king Abgar VIII bar Ma'nu from 176 to 211. He is also known as Abgar the Great. The Aramaic philosopher Bardaisan lived at his court and during his reign in 201 the river Daişan overflowed and caused a terrible flood. The detailed record of this flood is the first entry in the sixth-century Chronicle of Edessa and must be the work of an eye-witness. The account of the flood also mentions a church of the Christians which was destroyed too. It must have been a kind of house-church like the one at Dura-Europos. The boundaries of Abgar's reign were defined in 195, as can be seen from two boundary-stones found at Kizilburç 40 kms. west of Edessa and dated to 195 and 205 (Wagner 1983; *Année Épigraphique* 919-920; Gawlikowski 1998, 423-24). The king himself assisted Septimius Severus with troops during the emperor's second campaign in 197 against Gaius Pescennius Niger, another candidate for the imperial purple, and was received with great honours in Rome when he visited the emperor. Abgar VIII took the name Septimius and there are coins with the portraits of king Abgar and Septimius Severus (Drijvers 1977, 876-78; Drijvers 1980, 13f.; Millar 1993, 473-76). King Abgar VIII, lord and benefactor, is represented at the centre of a recently discovered tomb mosaic (Am10). Despite some objections raised against the identification of this Abgar with the famous king (Segal 1983, 107; Gawlikowski, 1998, 427f.), the proposal to identify him with the last king of Edessa, Abgar bar Ma'nu *paşgribā* (239-241/2) is not convincing. All known and dated tomb mosaics at Edessa were executed within a short period, probably within the years 218-238 (Colledge

1995, 193-97), not long after the city had become a Roman *colonia* in 212/13. The genre of funerary mosaic is undoubtedly Roman and the production of these tomb mosaics might reveal a need among the Edessan aristocracy to copy their Roman masters. The process of Romanization certainly did not start suddenly, but probably began already earlier during the reign of Abgar VIII, who had good relations with Septimius Severus (193-211). The Edessan mosaics have borders of a type which was particularly common at Antioch during the Severan period (193-235). Other mosaics in Osrhoene outside Edessa were executed during the same period, e.g. the mosaic of Mas'udiyeh of 228/29 (Bm1). Another anepigraphic mosaic discovered in 1985 at Serrin and usually dated in the 6th century (Balty 1990) can also be dated to this period on stylistic grounds. The same holds true for the Creation mosaic (Cm11) with its Greek mythological figures and Syriac names written with letters that on epigraphic grounds should be dated to the first half of the third century (Drijvers 1998, 95ff.). The fragments of mosaics that are part of the collections of the Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem and are described as coming from Syria and dated to "Mid to late third century CE" undoubtedly belong to the same genre of mosaics from Osrhoene and ought to be dated to the same period.

These "Roman" mosaics with Greek mythological representations and Syriac texts, and even in the case of the Mas'udiyeh mosaic with Greek and Syriac texts, throw a new light on Edessa's culture during the second and third centuries A.D. Concentrating only on Syriac as a cultural vehicle *sui generis* provides a distorted picture of the local cultural climate, where Greek as well as Syriac was spoken and written and Hellenistic culture was common. The surviving early Christian literature from this region, usually known in a Syriac as well as in a Greek version, corroborates this characterization, since it is imbued with Greek philosophical ideas. Edessa was not without reason called the "Athens of the East". The recently discovered archive with legal documents in Greek and Syriac and with subscriptions in both languages can only confirm this picture of a thoroughly bilingual culture, where language did not function as a cultural barrier (Drijvers 1998, 95-113). This also offers an explanation for the substantial number of Greek words in early Christian Syriac texts and for the occurrence of Greek inscriptions at Edessa

These documentary parchments also help to solve the riddle of the final phase of Edessa's royal dynasty, on which the historical records are a bit confusing. A king Abgar Severus bar Abgar, who is recorded in a fragment of the chronicle of Jacob of Edessa preserved in the history of Michael the Syrian, reigned for one year and seven months af-

ter Abgar VIII, so from 211-12. After him Caracalla in c. January 213 annexed the kingdom, although Maʿnu the crown-prince kept a semi-official position for twenty-six years from 213 to 239. In 239 the Romans reinstated the dynasty and made Aelius Septimius Abgar bar Maʿnu *pašgribā* king. He reigned from 239 to 241/2. He is pictured on coins with the emperor Gordian III (238-244). Then the dynasty was abolished, although members of the family continued to hold important offices. The period 239-241/2 was a critical phase for the Roman empire in the East. The Sassanian king Ardashir besieged Hatra and conquered it in 240 (Dodgeon and Lieu 1991, 32-33; Drijvers 1977, 827) and there was a continuous pressure from the Sassanians on the eastern frontier (Millar 1993, 150-59). In 239 the Persians attacked Dura-Europos and it is fully understandable that the Romans made Abgar king at Edessa to assure his loyalty to the Roman empire. It is hardly imaginable that an Edessan noble during this turbulent period had a mosaic executed depicting Abgar, his lord and benefactor. Harran/Carrhae and Nisibis were at that time already captured by Ardashir. It is therefore not without solid reasons that the last known dated mosaic was executed in 238 and that inscriptions from the second half of the third century are not preserved. There were probably none made or they were only made in small numbers. This was a period of continuous warfare between Romans and Persians.

Shapur I besieged Edessa in 259/60, defeated the Roman emperor Valerian in the same year in the “great battle beyond Harran and Edessa”, and captured him. Then Palmyra was mistress of north Mesopotamia and Edessa for a period of twelve years, but after 272 the Persians were again masters of Edessa. It was not until 298 that the emperor Diocletian won back Mesopotamia and made peace with the Persians (Dodgeon and Lieu 1991, 57-139). The fourth century witnesses the rise of Christianity to an official status in the Roman Empire and means an end to the period of Edessan paganism, which the inscriptions also reflect.

Religion in the Inscriptions

The inscriptional evidence of Edessa's cults is scanty. Its main temples, dedicated to Bel, Nebo and Atargatis, were destroyed and their remains are hidden underneath the densely populated modern city or below the surface of the citadel. The onomastics of the inscriptions contain a number of theophoric proper names, e.g. with the elements Bel, ʿAte, Baalshamin, Allat, Shamash, Hadad, and Naḥay, but proper names are so traditional that they usually do not refer to cults and deities venerated by their bearers.

The tomb inscriptions, sometimes in combination with the representations on the mosaics, can give some information on current concepts of afterlife, but again funerary texts and iconography in all societies are usually very traditional and therefore vague. The Edessenes, however, believed that the dead would live on, but in which form is not clear. The frequent term for a tomb, “house of eternity” is an indication of such a belief, and also the curses which will hit the person who removes the bones (As20; Bs2). The curse essentially is a form of retaliation. Whoever will remove the bones of a dead person, may he have no tomb and no children to mourn him and throw dust upon his eyes. The representations of Orpheus and the Phoenix on the tomb mosaics point to the same concepts. Afterlife, however, is not a situation of continuous eating and drinking in a heavenly paradise. The Funerary Couch mosaic (Am8) does not represent a dinner party of the deceased, but a happy family during its earthly existence, as on the Palmyrene funerary reliefs. Some funerary texts must have had a more personal character and provide information on the activities of the deceased. Šalman son of Kawkab (i.e. the Venus star) was an astrologer according to his tomb inscription (As5).

Only the inscriptions from Sumatar Harabesi in the Tektek mountains, the seat of the governors of ‘Arab, provide information on the cult of Sin, Lord of the Gods, the main deity of nearby Harran. The function of governor of this desert area and its semi-nomad tent-dwellers was in some way related to the cult of Sin. The moon god of Harran had close relations with the Babylonian king. In the Babylonian creation epic *Enuma Elish* Sin is called “Lord of the Crown” (*bēl aḡi*) and king Hammurapi himself is called “seed of the royalty, which the god Sin has created”. In the Harran inscriptions of Nabonidus, the last Babylonian king, it is often stated that Sin called Nabonidus to the kingship. Sin bears the title of *bēl ilāni*, “Lord of the gods”, which in the Sumatar inscriptions appears as Maralaha. The governors of ‘Arab at Sumatar got their authority from Sin. Theirs was a religio-political position, since they were also *budar* of Sin. In the Serrin inscription we meet a *budar* of the deity Naḥay (Bs2). Since the governors of ‘Arab at Sumatar were members of the Edessene royal family or closely related to it, they were appointed by Sin. They looked after the “blessed mountain”, Sin’s sanctuary at Sumatar and had altars and baetyls erected in the god’s honour. Their seat was at the same time a religious as well as an official see (As37), which was handed over from one functionary to the other, probably in a large cave at Sumatar (Pognon’s cave) decorated with a horned pillar, Sin’s symbol.

Sin’s cult at Sumatar is a continuation of genuine Mesopotamian concepts, which became relevant again in a time of political crisis.

Sin's function as *bēl dīni* in an inscription accompanying an image of a high functionary at Sumatar points into the same direction (As60). It is totally unknown whether Sin was venerated at Sumatar before or after the sixties of the second century A.D. The cult probably had existed there for a long time, but certainty cannot be reached. There are no traces of a cult of the Harranian moon god at Edessa itself. The title Maralahe which also occurs in Edessene inscriptions, therefore, denotes Bel-Zeus and not Sin (As20; Cm13) (see Drijvers 1980, 135-45). It is, however, very interesting that the Arab dynasty of Edessa, once settled in the city, adhered to the traditional Mesopotamian cults of Bel and Nebo and not to the gods of the desert. Even at Sumatar the governors of 'Arab venerated Sin and not the deities of their beduin subjects, whom they had to control. Even in the divine world there is a hierarchy of status and power.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE INSCRIPTIONS

Information on the following, wherever available, appears at the head of each entry:

- Date:** where this can be determined
Plate: in this volume, with source indicated
Provenance: place of origin if known
Location: present location if known
Bibliography: selected bibliography of primary sources and, where appropriate, modern re-editions. Here and elsewhere all references are to the Bibliography included in this volume. Note may be made of the bibliographical check-list of Brock 1978.

Where an inscription appears already in Drijvers 1972 a D(=Drijvers) number is added in brackets in the heading.

The text of each inscription is provided in *estrangela* script. A supralinear bar indicates a doubtful letter. Dashes within square brackets indicate the possible number of missing letters in a damaged passage of text: [---].

It is often impossible to be sure whether to read 𐤒 or 𐤓, since the two are identical in the script.

Where the different lines of an inscription come from different fields on a mosaic, etc., the fields or fragments are given Roman numeral designations in parentheses: (i), (ii), (iii), but the line-numbering is continuous. For the coins (Co1, Co2, Co3 and Co4) obverse and reverse are indicated.

A **Translation** (with line numbering in parentheses) is provided except in the case of inscriptions from which nothing can be deciphered. In the translations reconstructed or restored text is enclosed by square brackets [], though their precise location is in some cases arbitrary: reference should be made to the Syriac text for the details. Personal names are transliterated without indication of vowel length and consonants are transcribed according to convention in Semitic studies. This does not always indicate proximity to actual phonetic realisation. For example the name 𐤐𐤌𐤗𐤇𐤍 is rendered “Aptuḥa” in the translation, but it was probably pronounced /aftūḥā/.

The **Epigraphic** notes are provided where appropriate, with comments on alternative readings. Where letters are being discussed as written forms (graphs) they are enclosed by curling parentheses: {}.

The **Comment** section is devoted to matters of content and includes notes on language, personal names, religion and other aspects of culture. Where the phonetic realisation of a letter or word is being discussed it is placed between slashes: //.

As1 (D27)

Date: Undated. Probably first half of 3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 1 (Segal)

Provenance: Urfa citadel, inscribed on the eastern free-standing pillar, facing the city

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: Badger 1852, 322-23; Sachau 1882, 153-57; Moritz 1898, 141-43; Chabot 1906b, 287-89; Burkitt 1906, 149-55; Harris 1906, 105-12; Pognon 1907, 204-08; Euting 1909, 234-35; Leclercq 1921, cols. 2102-03; Maricq 1965, 6 and 6 n.1; Starcky 1970, 24; Drijvers 1972, 19-21

Text:

ܠܘܢܘܬܐ ܠܐܢ 1
 ܐܢ [ܠܐܢܘܢ]ܐ 2
 ܕܐܢ[ܠ-----]ܐܢ 3
 ܠܡܢ ܠܐܢܐܘܪ 4
 ܡܢ ܠܐܢܐܘܪ ܠܐܢܐܘܪ 5
 ܕܐܢܐܘܪ ܠܐܢܐܘܪ 6
 ܠܐܢܐܘܪ ܠܐܢܐܘܪ 7
 ܠ[-----ܐ]ܐܢܐܘܪ 8
 ,ܐܢܐܘܪ ܠܐܢܐܘܪ]ܐܢܐܘܪ 9

Translation:

(1) I, Aptuḥa, (2) com[mandant], son of (3) ...[... m]ade (4) this column (5) and the statue above it (6) for Šalmat, the queen, daughter of (7) Maʿnu, the crown prince, (8) wife [of], (8) my lady [and my benefactor.

Epigraphic: The inscription is located on one of the two pillars standing on the Urfa citadel (the one to the east). Despite being almost certainly the most accessible and most photographed of all the early Syriac inscriptions, there are some difficulties of readings which are very hard to resolve. For discussion of some early readings of the text see Harris 1906, 105-12; Euting 1909, 235, reading ʿptwnyʿ here in line 1 and in Am2:2, 9.

Restoration of *nwhdr* in line 2 is plausible, but cannot be regarded as certain.

The first three letters of line 3 are clear; the {š} was already noted by Chabot 1906b, 288.

Much more crucially, the restoration of *pšgrybʿ* in line 7 is quite difficult, despite the fact that it would fit and has been widely adopted (e.g. in Drijvers 1972). The second letter of the word is badly damaged and it is not easy to imagine how the third could be a {g} when there is no trace of its lower stroke on the undamaged stone above the damaged area. However, Pognon noted that in other inscriptions of this period the descending stroke of {g} is not always lengthened, but reached his reading {n} on the basis of the verticality of the letter in question (𐤎). His conclusion that *pšgrybʿ* elsewhere should consequently be corrected to *pšnrybʿ* is implausible now that the word in question has been identified in Hatran inscriptions; see Healey 1995, 81. On balance *pšg(!)rybʿ* may be accepted, on the assumption that the {g} is a rather vertical one and did not descend below the line.

In line 8 Degen 1974a, 294, believed he could see traces of the second {t}, which should in any case be restored.

It was Pognon 1907, 206, who suggested the restoration of the end of line 9 (in accordance with formulae found elsewhere).

The script is compatible with a 2nd/3rd century date. It is certainly a rather elaborate form of the script, with the notable feature of the overlapping of {d}, {r} and {y} in *ʿdryʿ* in line 5 and of {r} and {y} in line 7. Note may also be made of the form of {k} in *mlktʿ* in line 6: it is very angular.

Comment: The inscribed pillar is one of a pair still standing on the Urfa citadel. Texier and Pullan 1864, 184 (with figure) thought they had been erected as part of the (re-)building of the citadel by Justinian (to carry statues of Justinian and Theodora). The Syriac inscription must, however, be of earlier date and it may be that older pillars were being reused. Given the dilapidation of the citadel, it is also possible that the pillars have at some later stage been re-erected.

1: The name Aptuḥa belongs to that category of personal names of the *ʿaʿal* pattern indicating bodily defects (cf. *ʿabgar*). Chabot 1906b, 283, sees a connection with the root PTH, “open”, but this is implausible, as rightly noted by Al-Jadir 1983, 346. Rather, the root is probably the same as Arabic FTH referring to a looseness or weakness of a limb or finger (Lane, 2329-30).

The name is found elsewhere in our corpus: As8:1; Am2:2, 9; Am7:3, but with no evidence of a family connection. See Leroy 1957, 320.

The same name in the form *ʿaptaḥ* is widely attested in Nabataean (Euting 1885, 43; Al-Khaysheh 1986, 42).

2: The title *nūhadrā* is an Iranian loan, a technical term referring to a military official. The evidence is discussed by Pognon 1907, 28-30 (with discussion of the later ecclesiastical province of Bēt Nūhadrē); Giron 1922, 92-93; Segal 1953, 106; Segal 1954, 21-22; Widengren 1960, 33 n.112; Maricq 1965, 6 n.1, 33 n.112; Segal 1970, 19. The name *Nohadares* appears in Ammianus Marcellinus' account of a Sassanian plot in A.D. 354 (XIV, 3, 1-2; see also XVIII 6, 16; 8, 3; also XXV 3, 13). For detail on the Parthian background see Harnack 1970, especially 537-40. Note also Healey 1995, 81.

3: The name could be reconstructed in a variety of ways. Our corpus includes reference to *bršwm*² (As20:1, 7), *bršlm*² (Am8:12) and *bršmš* (As4:2; As5:4).

4: *ʔstwn*², “column, pillar”, is either an Iranian loan after Persian *sutūn* or from Greek στῦλος. In later Syriac we have ܠܘܠܘܬܐ, “column” (Brockelmann, 33, referring to de Lagarde).

5: *ʔdry*² is to be compared with classical Syriac ܠܘܠܘܬܐ, “statue” (Brockelmann, 28). It is a Greek loan (Healey 1995, 81, referring to Greek ἀνδριάς).

d-: relative particle which appears earlier as *dy*.

ʿl mnh, “above it”, is more normally represented in classical Syriac as ܐܠܡܢܗ, though Nöldeke 1898², 99, cites it as a rare occurrence (see also Beyer 1966, 243, referring to Nöldeke 1882, 666). Harris 1906, 112-12, read *ʿlmnh* as from *ʿlym*², “young man”, making an improbable connection with the Dioscuri.

6: Šalmat is probably the daughter of Maʿnu IX (213-39) who was crown prince, though Maricq 1965 takes her to be the wife of Maʿnu IX. (For revised dates note Gawlikowski 1998 and see Chapter 3.) The name occurs several times in our corpus: Am3:2, 13; Am4:3; Cs3:1; Am2:13 (see Segal 1954, 30; Leroy 1957, 323), and also early Syriac literature (*Doctrina Addai*) and Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 52; in Nabataean as a male name: Al-Khraysheh 1986, 177).

It is possible that the term *malkʿtā* means “princess” rather than “queen”.

7: The name Maʿnu is frequent in the inscriptions and an Edessan royal name (As30:3; As51:2; As55:3 [twice]; Am4: 4, 10; Bs2:2, 3; P1:6; P2:4). The name is well known also from early Syriac literary sources (*Doctrina Addai*) and in Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 34), Nabataean (Al-Khraysheh 1986, 111-12) and Hatran (Abbadi 1983, 26). There are Greek forms of it too (*Μαννος*, etc.: Wuthnow 1930, 72).

*pšgryb*² (*s.v.l.*) is another Iranian term for a particular official, something like “crown prince, heir-apparent”. In Hatran inscriptions the term — there are a variety of spellings — often refers to the eldest son of the king (*pšgryb*² in Vattioni 1973: 28:2; 287:6 [also in 195:3,

corrected by Drijvers on the basis of a photograph — Beyer 1998, 66, restores the {b}], *pzgyb*² in 36:4). Starcky 1970, 24, neatly translates it as “le Dauphin”. For the Parthian background of this *terminus technicus* see Harnack 1970, 516-19, and for full discussion in the context of the *Hymn of the Pearl* 48a, see Poirier 1981, 212-23: “vice-roi”.

8: Line 8 appears to have contained an explicit statement of whose wife Šalmat was. Although the speculation favours an Abgar or a Ma‘nu, it is to be noted that the end of the line has a clear {’}, which would appear to rule both of these out unless an adjective or descriptive followed the name.

9: The last line, including restoration, is paralleled with “my lord and benefactor” in As47:5-6. Here the restored *‘bdt* is to be taken as a feminine singular construct.

The inscription refers to the pillar and a statue on the pillar now long disappeared. The fact that Aputuḥa “made” the pillar makes it clear that it was free-standing rather than part of a larger structure. The text appears to be a dedication to the Šalmat set up by a high-ranking official of the kingdom.

As2 (D28)

Date: Undated. Probably 2nd/3rd century A.D.

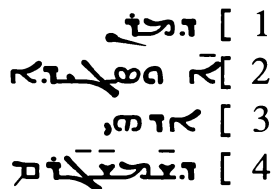
Plate: Pl. 1 (Bossert)

Provenance: Found in the serail at Urfa, but earlier from Halil Rahman Camii

Location: Istanbul Archaeological Museum

Bibliography: Sachau 1882, 158; Renan 1883, 246-50 including plate; Bossert 1951, 262, fig. 902; Leroy 1957, 337-38; Segal 1970, pl. 14a and 40-41 n.4; Vattioni 1973, 302

Text:



Translation:

(1)..... of our lord (2)..... and venerable (3)..... (4) of Šamašgeram

Epigraphic: The beginning of each line is lost. Although the photographs show that the last line is badly damaged, those who worked on the inscription earlier had no difficulty in reading the name. The best published pictures of the inscription are in Renan 1883, plate between pages 246 and 247, and Bossert 1951, fig. 902, in which there are clear traces of {ʾ} before *wsgyd*^p in line 2.

Comment: It is impossible to reconstruct the character of this inscription and Renan 1883, 246-50, went too far in reconstructing the missing sections to produce a Christian significance related to Christ's legendary blessing of Edessa. He thought it came from one of the gates of the city.

1: *Mrn*, “our lord”, is frequently used (especially at Hatra) as a divine name or epithet, but it is here probably refers to a human being.

2: *sgyd*^p, a *pe*^al passive participle/adjective well known in classical Syriac and elsewhere (Vattioni 1973, 302), may mean “venerable” or “divine” (Payne Smith, 360).

3: *ʾdrhy* makes no obvious sense. Al-Jadir 1973, 138, read *ʾrhy*, a defective spelling of the name of the city of Urfa (normally ,ⲉⲧⲁⲪⲉⲗ).

4: The personal name Šamašgeram is widely attested in Aramaic

(*Doctrina Addai*, Bardaisan's *Book of the Laws of Countries* [beginning], Palmyra [Stark 1971, 53]) and in Greek and Latin transcriptions (Σαμισγέραμος, etc.: Wuthnow 1930, 105). See Leroy 1957, 321.

As3 (D29)

Date: Undated. Probably 2nd or 3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 2 (Pognon)

Provenance: On a rock-face above a cave-tomb in Urfa (near Mâll Moğarasse)

Location: Presumed *in situ*, but perhaps destroyed

Bibliography: Sachau 1882, 160-62; Pognon 1907, 82-83, n.3; Torrey 1932, 70

Text:

1 זחא אב
 2 אדום
 3 חסם
 4 זחא

Translation:

(1) Remembered be (2) and Adum(3) and friends. (4) May he be remembered.

Epigraphic: Pognon's sketch is clear and there is little room for dispute on what has survived of this inscription. The broken word at the end (?) of the first line is probably a personal name (against Pognon's $\text{?}n^?$, followed by Segal 1954, 20), possibly Abgar or similar.

Comment:

1-2: The formulaic character of commemorative inscriptions introduced by *dkyr* is such that the basic idea of this inscription can be understood despite its fragmentary survival: see Healey 1996.

The personal name Adum has a near parallel in Nabataean ($\text{?}dwmw$: Negev 1991, 10).

3: *rḥmyn* is most likely the absolute plural of the participle/noun *rāḥem*, meaning "friend, beloved, lover". An analogy is provided by the inclusion of *kl drḥm lh*, "whoever loves him", in an inscription published by Lightfoot and Naveh 1991, 322. Vattioni 1973, 302, translates it as "misericordioso", "merciful" (singular). However, the form of the word virtually precludes this, in that in all the various derivatives of the root RḤM, "merciful" is never represented in this way. Rather we would expect *m^erahḥmānā* or *reḥm^etānā* in Syriac, or, following other Semitic analogies, *raḥīm* or *raḥūm* or *raḥmān* (see Healey 1998).

As4 (D30)

Date: Undated. Probably 2nd/3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 2 (Sachau)

Provenance: Cave-tomb north-west of the Urfa citadel

Location: Possibly *in situ*, but probably now destroyed

Bibliography: Sachau 1882, 162-63; Drijvers 1972, 23

Text:

 ܕܝܬ ܪܫܐ[----- 1
 ܘܘܝܬܐ ܡܕܘܪܐ ܪܫܐ[-- 2
 --]ܪܫܐ[--- 3

Translation:

(1)..... daughter of (2)...., sister of Baršamaš, (3).....

Epigraphic: Sachau 1882, 162f. restored the personal names as (1) ʾwpymyʾ (Euphemia), (2) hlʾnʾ (?) Helena (Sachau: or “I”) and (3) ʾwdqyʾ (Eudokia). The restorations and their Christian implications are implausible.

Comment:

2: *hth d-*: note the genitive with anticipatory pronoun. The noun *hṯ*, “sister”, appears elsewhere in our corpus (As56:3; Cs1:4; plural ʾhwtʾ in As10:11).

For the name Baršamaš see Am6:4; As33:2(?); Bs3:6, and Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 12). The name is attested in early Syriac literature (Leroy 1957, 322; *Doctrina Addai*).

As5 (D39)

Date: Undated. Probably 3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 3 (Pognon)

Provenance: Inscribed vertically above the entrance to a (cave-?) tomb in the Şeyh Maksud area in the southern cemetery of Urfa

Location: Presumed *in situ*.

Bibliography: Pognon 1907, 86-88 and pl. XXIII; Nöldeke 1908, 155-56; Segal 1967a, 302; Segal 1970, 34-35 and pl. 30a; Drijvers 1972, 28-29; Beyer 1996, 43-44

Text:

1 כסא
 2 ביה
 3 דלמן [י]
 4 כבב
 5 על לך
 6 דן
 7 אלה
 8 ואלה
 9 ואלה
 10 ואלה
 11 ואלה
 12 ואלה
 13 ואלה
 14 ואלה
 15 ואלה
 16 ואלה
 17 ואלה
 18 ואלה

Translation:

(1) This is (2) the dwelling (3) of Šalman so[n of] (4) Kawkab. (5) Greetings to you. You (6-7) are from..... (8) And they addressed you

and they called you (9) and you answered them, (10) those (with?) whom you (11) And you saw the height and the depth (12) and the distant and the near (13) and the hidden and the manifest. (14) And as for them, they super(15)vise the necessities (16) of your reckonings (17) giving rest and (18)

Epigraphic: The readings of this very damaged inscription given above agree substantially with Drijvers 1972, 28-29, though certain letters have now been marked as unclear.

1: *hn*² is probably dittographic for *hn*², though Pognon (followed by Segal 1970, 34) sought to relate it to the root *HN*², “to be agreeable” (Payne Smith, 104) and this too could make good sense: on this hypothesis see Nöldeke 1898², 110. A completely different solution is adopted by Beyer 1996, 43-44, who takes the final {*ʔ*} here and the final {*h*} at the end of line 5 to be numerals: 1 and 5, marking line-numbers, which he assumes to be taken over from a manuscript original with every fifth line marked. There seem to be two difficulties with this: (i) lines 10 and 15 appear not to have such numbers (and the final {*h*} in line 5 is not difficult to explain); (ii) letters of the alphabet are never used for numbers in our inscriptions (or in Palmyrene, etc.). Though they are so used in the parchment texts (P2 and P3), we are not convinced by this suggestion.

5: *ʔnth* is orthographically surprising from a Syriac point of view (against *𐤒𐤎𐤕*), but reflects Achaemenid Aramaic traditional spelling. Whether there was a pronounced final vowel is difficult to determine (Beyer 1966, 244-45, though Beyer takes the {*h*} here to be a numeral — above).

10: The last word is read as *gšt* by Pognon, Drijvers, etc., though it is also possible to read *ʕšt*. The letter read as {*g*} is not accurately copied by Pognon: the upper stroke does not curl to the right.

16: The broken last word is read as *rbr*² by Beyer 1996, 43.

Comment: This inscription is remarkable in what is clear, but frustratingly enigmatic in what remains obscure. Assuming that *hn*² is the correct intent of line 1, the text begins as a normal tomb-text (1-6), but then turns into a eulogy of Šalman bar Kawkab, evidently an astrologer. Astrology is, of course, well known in this area in the first Christian centuries. As noted by Segal 1967a, 302, n. 50, Ephrem the Syrian says of Bardaišan that “he counted six essences; four essences he placed in the four directions, one he placed in the depth, another in the height” (see Drijvers 1966, 130-31).

2: *byt mšry*² has a classical Syriac meaning “habitation, lodging, resting-place” (Brockelmann, 70; Payne Smith, 44) and it appears to be

used here (only) as a euphemistic term for the tomb. Such (mild) euphemisms are common in this connection in this period (Nabataean, Palmyrene, Jewish: see Healey 1993).

3-4: The name Šalman has good parallels in Arabic, Palmyrene, Nabataean and Hatran and is found also in Greek form (Σαλμανης, etc.: Wuthnow 1930, 103), while Kawkab, “star”, in “bar Kawkab” is also paralleled elsewhere. It may have had a more descriptive meaning in this case if Šalman was an astrologer. (On the names see Beyer 1996, 44). The title Kawkab frequently refers in early Syriac literature specifically to Venus (Drijvers 1980, 152).

6: *mn d-* might introduce a clause (“whoever ...”), but Beyer’s understanding (1996, 43-44) of the whole of lines 5-7 as *ʾnt[h] mn rbʾ ʾytyk*, “you are from among the great ones”, is attractive.

7: *ʾytyk* might be the particle *ʾyt* with 2nd singular suffix, and thus most interpret it, including Beyer, though Segal 1970, 34, n.6, is right to mention another possibility, that we have here a suffixed form of the Syriac noun *ʾytyʾ*, “essence” (Brockelmann, 16, and see Drijvers 1966, 130-31, where this word plays a central role in Bardaišan’s cosmology). There might, therefore, be reference to “your essences”.


8-13: Here the inscription begins again to make some continuous sense:

8: *ʿnwk*: verbal root *ʿnʾ*, “answer, address”, 3rd plural perfect, with 2nd singular object suffix; *qrwk* similarly from *qrʾ*, “call aloud, proclaim, summon”.

9: *ʿnyt*: 2nd singular perfect, again of *ʿnʾ*. Beyer 1996, 44, takes it here to mean “speak” rather than “reply”.

10: *hnwn d-* appears here to introduce an appositional clause explaining who is being referred to. The following *b-* may indicate that Šalman carried out his activity “with” these persons, possibly the dedicants. It is more usually taken with the verb to introduce effectively its object (*gš b-*). *hnwn d-* is, however, taken by Beyer 1996, 44, to start a new sentence: “Jene (Dinge) die du erforscht und betrachtest hast, sind Höhe....”

gšt and the alternative *ʿšt* are both quite difficult to explain. *gšt* has been taken to be derived from the Syriac root GŠŠ, “touch, fathom, explore” (Payne Smith, 79). While “fathoming” might fit with astrology (which seems to be alluded to again later), it is not easy to see what activity on the part of Šalman is being alluded to: perhaps study of the heavenly bodies. The reading *ʿšt* is even less easy to make sense of, though note may be made of the rare verbal root ʿŠŠ, “be strong” in Jewish Aramaic (Jastrow, 1127).

11-13: The verb *hzyt*, “you saw” (from *hzyʾ*), is followed by six terms of astrological vocabulary. Each is found in classical Syriac:  *at*,

“height”, ܠܘܚܐ, “depth”, ܠܘܚܐܬ, “distance”, ܠܘܚܐ/ܠܘܚܐ, “proximity”, ܠܘܚܐܐ, “secret, hidden” (derivatives refer to astrological occultation), ܠܘܚܐܐ, “manifestation” (also used for “horoscope”, the dominant constellation at the time of birth).

14: *qymyn*: active participle plural from the verb *qwm*. *qwm* ܥܠ means “superintend, take responsibility for” (Payne Smith, 494-95). Beyer translates: “Und sie sind verlässlich in Bezug auf die Notwendigkeit, dass deine Gedanken grosse (Fragen) lösen...”

15: *ḥšhtʿ* means “use, necessity, need, usage” and here seems to refer to the fact that the persons (or powers: height, depth, etc.) referred to took care of what was needed in relation to his “reckonings”.

16: Syriac ܠܘܚܐܐܐ means “calculation, arithmetic”, here perhaps referring to astronomical calculations.

17: *mšryn* appears to be a plural *apʿel* participle from the root ŠRʿ, meaning in the *apʿel*, “give rest”. This is more likely than Beyer’s “lösen” (also restored in line 18) in the light of *byt mšryʿ* in line 2 and in the light of the fact that the root ŠRʿ/Y has the meaning “solve (of difficulties)”, not in the *apʿel* or *paʿel*, but in the *peʿal* (Payne Smith, 595-96; Brockelmann, 803-05).

The elusive element in this inscription centres on who is the subject of the verbs *ʿnwk*, etc. and who are “those” in line 10. A possible consistent answer would be the heavenly beings (the height, depths, etc., the essences?), so that they gave Šalman his vocation to commune with them, he responded and co-operated with them (*bhwn*), while they supervised the accuracy of his astronomical calculations.

As6 (D42)

Date: Undated. Probably 2nd/3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 4 (Giron)

Provenance: From a cave-tomb in the Urfa area, but apparently already cut from the rock when first noticed (Littmann 1912, 379)

Location: Unknown (Giron 1911, 77: “déposé au konak d’Orfa”)

Bibliography: Giron 1911, 77-78 and pl. IV; Littmann 1912; Cadbury 1933; Drijvers 1972, 30; Vattioni 1973, 308

Text:

1 ܠܩܝܡܝ [ܡ] 1
 ܠܕܘܠܬܐ ܕܩܝܡܝ [ܟ] 2
 ܕܐܪܩܘ ܕܒܕܠܬܐ [ܦ] 3
 ܕܐܪܩܘ ܕܒܕܠܬܐ [ܦ] 4
 ܕܐܪܩܘ [ܦ] 5

Translation:

(1) [Th]is is (2) [the im]age of Qaymi (3-4) [dau]ghter of Arku, which [ʿA]bdallat son of Kuza, our, made. (5) Ala[s!]

Epigraphic: The right edge of the inscription is missing. The restorations in lines 1-4 are almost certain. There is a little more doubt in line 5, where Giron 1911 restored *lh* and Littmann 1912 restored *mn*, “from”, while Drijvers 1972, accepting *mn*, tentatively interpreted it as “who”. In fact, *hbl* in the usual formula should be the last word in the inscription and so far as one can see from the available plates it is so.

Giron 1911, 78, surmised that there was originally another inscription to the left of the relief which referred to the male figure on the left. This seems highly probable. He dates the inscription to 150-250 A.D. on grounds of script and style of dress.

Comment:

1: Note discussion of the syntax by Beyer 1996, 40: see also on As47:1.

2: *šlmtʿ*, “image”, is less common than the masculine form *šlmʿ* (which is preceded by *hnʿ*), but the feminine noun appears in As13:1 and may be to be restored in Am1:9. For *šlmʿ* see Payne Smith, 480; Brockelmann, 630. For *šlmʿ* in the Syriac inscriptions see As14:2; As23:1; As27:2; As40:1; As43:1; As47:1; As51:1; As52:1; Cs1:1;

Cs3:1. In Palmyrene *šalmtā* is used for images of females (Hillers and Cussini 1996, 402-03) and this seems to be the case here also (see As13:1).

Al-Jadir 1983, 400, cites Arabic parallels to the name which would suggest a vocalisation as Qaymi. A similar female name is found in Hatran (35:2), while various forms are found as male names (As33:1; Palmyrene, Nabataean).

3: Qaymi's father's name could be Arku or Adku. Al-Jadir 1983, 347, suggests Arabic parallels, while Littmann 1912, 380, thought it might be a shortened form of a name beginning with Greek Ἄρχι-.

4: The name ʿAbdallat is especially worthy of note. It is a full theophoric and clearly implies cult of Allat (on which see Drijvers 1980). A number ʿAbd- names appear in the corpus: ʿAbdnahay (Am1:7), ʿAbdšuk (Am3:10), ʿAbdšamaš (Am4:8) and (with the /d/ of /ʿabd/ elided) ʿAbsmaya (As31:1, 4) and ʿAbšalma (As7:1). For ʿAbdallat see As8:2; As21:1.

The name Kuza is also found in As26:1 and in Nabataean (Al-Khraysheh 1986, 99) and in the New Testament: Χουζῆς (Lk 8:3; Cadbury 1933, 53-54).

As noted by Giron 1911, 78, there is a distinctively Nabataean flavour to the names in this inscription.

5: The word *hbl* is formulaic in funerary inscriptions of various traditions and means “Alas!”: Cs1:4; As22:2; As21:2; As14:4 (see also commonly in Palmyrene and Jewish Aramaic: Hoftijzer and Jongeling, 345).

The final {n} might be the remnant of *mrn*, “our lord” (cf. As2:1).

As7 (D52)

Date: Unknown. Probably 2nd/3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 4 (Segal)

Provenance: Wall of a cave south of the Urfa citadel

Location: Presumably *in situ*.

Bibliography: Segal 1959a, 30-31; Segal 1970, 20 n.1; Drijvers 1972, 43-44

Text:

רבבאי תב, ר' רבבאי 1
 ד.רבבאי ר'ר' 2
 ר'ר' רבבאי ד' 3
 ,ד' רבבאי ד' 4
 , ר'ר' ר' 5

Translation:

(1) I, Rabbay son of 'Abšalma, (2) courier, made (3) for myself this house of eternity, (4) for myself and for my children and for my heirs (5) and for Gannaya, my son.

Epigraphic: The inscription is inked in red (as is the case with As56). It is completely clear apart from the names in lines 1 and 5.

Comment:

1: Segal 1959a, 30, notes parallels to the name Rabbay in Safaitic, Palmyrene and Nabataean, though an initial {d} cannot be ruled out.

'Abšalma is one of two 'Abd- names in the corpus in which the /d/ has been elided or assimilated. Here /dš/ > /š/, in the other case ('*bsmy*' in As31:1, 4) /ds/ > /s/. It is impossible to determine whether the sibilant was doubled, but that the assimilation was facultative is clear from the cases of '*bdšmš*' (Am4:8) and '*bdšwk*' (Am3:10), where the full pronunciation appears to have been retained. For Palmyrene, where similar phenomena are found, Cantineau 1935, 39, writes of assimilation.

2: *rh?* corresponds to classical *rahātā* (Payne Smith, 532; Brockelmann, 717) and refers to a "runner" who carries letters or a "herald" (used thus of John the Baptist). Segal 1970, 20 n.1, equates it with Latin *tabellarius*. Presumably Rabbay had a role at court (cf. the office of Ḥanan in the *Doctrina Addai*: the Syriac has *ܪܒܒܐܝ*, the Greek of Eusebius *ταχυδρόμος*).

3: *byt 'lm* occurs a number of times in the corpus, especially in the mosaics, and is, indeed, a fairly widespread euphemistic term for “tomb”: see Healey 1993, 38-39, in the Nabataean context.

4: *bny* can be interpreted to mean “children” rather than “sons” and this eases slightly the awkwardness in line 5 where one particular son is mentioned separately.

yrt derives from the verbal root ([?])*jiret*, “inherit, take possession”, and *yārtā* regularly means “heir” (Payne Smith, 198).

5: The addition of the name of one particular son seems awkward. One possibility is that the death of Gannaya had occasioned the building of the tomb. Perhaps the *w-* at the beginning of line 5 has a more pregnant meaning: “and especially” (a meaning which is just about allowed for by Brockelmann, 184) or “indeed”.

Palmyrene parallels to the name Gannaya are noted by Segal 1959a, 31.

As8 (D53)

Date: Undated. Probably 2nd/3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 5 (Segal)

Provenance: As As7

Location: As As7

Bibliography: Segal 1959a, 31; Drijvers 1972, 44

Text:

כַּוְּחַא אֲבַדְלַת וְבַכְרִי 1
]בָּ [בְּ]בַכְרִי 2
 ,בַּכְרִי 3

Translation:

(1-3)(Monument) which Aputuḥa and ‘Abdall[at] and and Bakri made.

Epigraphic: The only comment here is that the {w} at the end of line 2 seems to be separated from the preceding name: it is ignored by Segal and attached by Drijvers. Degen 1974a, 295, regarded it as a dittograph. It thus becomes almost certain that a series of three personal names was involved.

Comment:

1: The formula of beginning with relative *d-* without an explicit antecedent is quite common: As13:1; As14:1; As49:1; As50:1; Bs3:1.

Note the elliptical introductory formula using *d-* (see also As13:1; As14:1; As49:1; As50:1; Bs3:1)

The verb form shows plene spelling of the plural. It is difficult to assess whether a vowel was pronounced at the end of the word (/‘ab^edū/). On the analysis of Beyer 1984, 122-25, final unstressed vowels were lost in Aramaic c. 100 B.C. If this is correct, we have here a historical spelling (which continued to survive throughout the history of classical Syriac).

The name Aputuḥa occurs elsewhere in the corpus: see As1:1.

2: For ‘Abdallat see As6:4; As21:1.

3: The name Bakri has close parallels in contemporary Aramaic, notably Nabataean (*bkrw*: Al-Khraysheh 1986, 48). Bakru is a royal name of Edessa and an Edessene leader bore the name (Segal 1957, 31, referring to Cureton 1855, 13, and Clermont-Ganneau 1900, 206, and Segal 1970, 15 n.3).

paralleled in later Syriac, may in fact be another ʿAbd- name with elided /d/ (see on As7:1), in this case a hypocoristic, i.e. standing for “Servant of DN”, probably a hypocoristic form of ʿAbdšamaš.

The name Barʿata is well known in Syriac (see Am1:8, 14; As19:1; As23:2; Cm14:2) and in Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 12). It occurs also in Greek form (Βαραθης: Wuthnow 1930, 33).

On “house of eternity” see on As7:3.

Epigraphic: The inscription is on two stone fragments found together, the similarity of script confirming that they belong together. The script is similar to that on the Urfa citadel pillar (As1), as noted by Segal 1959a, 32. The order of the fragments is imposed by the introductory formula.

The readings here mostly follow Segal 1959a, 33-34, but unclear letters are marked. In line 3 the final visible letters look more like {w} and {d} than ʔšt (which is taken over from Segal by Drijvers and has to be explained as an abbreviation).

Against the assumption of abbreviations in lines 2 and 3 (Segal), it may be noted that both lines are clearly broken: it is beyond the bounds of probability that the breaks just happen to occur after abbreviations!

Since there are not regular gaps between words it is gratuitous to read *ryš gwdʔ* in line 5 as a unity (against Segal 1959a, 33).

Comment:

There is a possibility that this inscription is Christian: the names suggest it, though do not prove it. On the other hand there is a complete lack of Christian formulae. To ensure comprehensiveness the inscription is included here.

1: ʔywhy: the particle ʔyt, “there is”, with 3rd masculine singular suffix, as in classical Syriac and already in Biblical Aramaic (Dan 2:11).

qbrʔ, “grave”, appears also in As58:2: *qbwrʔ*, “burial”, is more common, in the phrase *byt qbwrʔ* (As20:2, etc.).

2: The name John (Yuḥannān) could, of course, be Christian, but the absence of other indications of Christianity leaves the matter in doubt. It is, it may be noted, clear that some gnostic groups had a devotion to John the Baptist.

ʔygmwnʔ is to be restored from the broken stone, not read as a full version of an abbreviation. The noun is normally spelled *hegmōnā* in classical Syriac, but *hygmwnʔ* is also recorded (Payne Smith, 99; Brockelmann, 171). Greek (and Parthian) loans were common in administrative vocabulary (see Schall 1960; Healey 1995). The initial ʔ is unexpected as a reflex Greek *hē-* (ἡγεμών).

3: Theophylactos: a Greek name, though not necessarily Christian.

The end of the line probably named John’s wife.

4: *šawtāpā* is classical Syriac for “partner, spouse”; feminine *šawtāptā*. Here the form has a 3rd masculine singular possessive suffix.

5: *ryš gwdʔ*, “head of the troop/band”, is evidently a military title. The title seems to be a calque on Greek. Segal 1959a, 33, choosing to read the Syriac as one word, notes φρούραρχος and χιλίαρχος. Closer analo-

gies might be στρατάρχος, -ης (LSJ, 1652; Mason 1974, 87), στρατάρχης (LSJ, 1651; Mason 1974, 86).

6: “The Greeks” might refer to the Roman, or later Byzantine, authorities, but the sense is far from clear.

Then continues the list of those for whom the tomb was intended.

9: “And of all of them” seems to be a strange way of resuming the list. A similar redundant *ω-* is found in other cases: see on As7:5 and it may have an emphasising role.

As11 (D55:III)**Date:** Undated**Plate:** Pl. 8 (Segal)**Provenance:** As As10**Location:** As As10**Bibliography:** Segal 1959a, 34-35 and pl. V; Drijvers 1972, 45-46**Text:**

,]ṁṁṁṁṁ 1

ṁ[---]ḏ[---] 2

---]ṁ ṁṁṁ 3

ṁṁṁṁ [---] 4

---]ḏ[---] 5

Translation:

(1) This is....(2).....(3) daughters of ...(4).....Tuma (5).....

Epigraphic: In line 4 Segal 1959a, 34, implicitly reads *[b]rt*, but none of the letters is at all certain. In line 5 he reads *‘lymt’* (“the virgin”), but there is not really enough space between the {l} and the {m} for this.**Comment:**

Both because this text is of a later date than As10 and because of the (damaged) + to the right of lines 1-2, it is more likely that this inscription is Christian, but nothing in the content proves it. It is included here for completeness.

4: Tuma may be a version of the name *twm’/t’wm’*, “Thomas”.

As12 (D58)

Date: Undated. Probably 3rd century A.D.

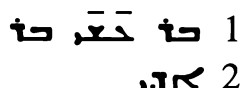
Plate: Pl. 9 (Pognon drawing; Drijvers photograph)

Provenance: A tomb-cave at Kara Köprü north of Urfa: inscribed vertically between two figures

Location: Presumed *in situ*

Bibliography: Pognon 1907, 179-80 and pls XXXVI and XI (lower); Segal 1970, 28, n.3 and 55; Drijvers 1972, 47

Text:



 1
 2

Translation:

(1)...son of ʿAšay son of (2) Addai

Epigraphic: The personal name in the first line is extremely uncertain. It could be gšy.

Comment:

2: The name Addai is, of course, common and it occurs also in Greek form (Ἀδδαῖος: Wuthnow 1930, 12). It occurs three times in the Kara Köprü cave: As14:2; As15:1. If the same Addai is involved, as seems likely in a family tomb, he is the son of ʿAzzalazu (?).

As13 (D59)

Date: Undated. Probably 3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 10 (Pognon drawing; Drijvers photograph)

Provenance: A tomb-cave at Kara Köprü north of Urfa: inscribed vertically to the right of the right-hand figure

Location: Presumed *in situ*

Bibliography: Pognon 1907, 180-83 and pls XXXVI and XI (lower); Drijvers 1972, 47-48

Text:

Translation:

(1)(Monument) which Dardu (?) the sculptor made, an image, (2) for Mati'uzzat (?) his aunt.

Epigraphic: Both personal names are uncertain.

Comment:

1: On the introductory formula see As8:1.

glp[?] is the normal term for “sculptor, mason”, though here with defective spelling: see As55:8; *glwp*[?] in As14:2; the verb *glp* in As47:8 (Payne Smith, 70; Brockelmann, 119). There has long been discussion of whether the word is a Greek loan from γλύφω, but it is unlikely: see Schall 1960, 45-48; compare *psl*[?] in Nabataean: Healey 1993, 93; Healey 1995, 81.

On *šlmt*[?] for the image of a female see As6:2.

2: The name of the aunt may be a formation from *ʔmt*, “maidservant” and the well known divine name (al-)ʕUzza. The loss of the /ʔ/ after the preposition *l-* is to be expected and is paralleled in *lmtšr*[?] in Cs2:1. In Am4:12 *ʔmtnhy*, with no prefix and without elision of /ʔ/, suggests this is a conditioned change reflected accurately in the script. Note, however, both *ʔmtnsyn* and *mtsyn* as detached forms in Pl:ii and 9.

hāltā, “maternal aunt”, may be an Arabism (see Healey 1993, 145, in the Nabataean context), but it does occur in classical Syriac (Payne Smith, 145) and the corresponding masculine form rarely in Palmyrene (Hillers and Cussini 1996, 365).

Pognon’s argument for translating *hlt*[?] as “concubine” because of the supposed oddity of including an aunt in the tomb is completely otiose in the light of the fact that an aunt is mentioned in a Nabataean tomb (Healey 1993, 145).

As14 (D60)

Date: Undated. Probably 3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 10-11 (Pognon drawing; Drijvers photograph)

Provenance: A tomb-cave at Kara Köprü north of Urfa: inscribed horizontally above the arm of a recumbent figure

Location: Presumed *in situ*

Bibliography: Pognon 1907, 183, and pls XXXVI and XI (upper); Drijvers 1972, 48

Text:

1 דגב דודה אלפא
 2 שלמא לדאי,
 3 בן אצאלזו קל
 4 א[-]כא סב

Translation:

(1) (Monument) which Dardu (?) the sculptor made, (2) an image for Addai (3) son of ‘Azzalazu (?), indeed (4) and Alas!”

Epigraphic: Note may be made of the rather odd layout of the text. Line 4 stands to the left of line 2.

In line 3 ‘zyzw is an alternative reading (Al-Jadir 1983, 199). Drijvers 1982, 176, preferred ‘zzlw, but this does not correspond to the drawing of Pognon.

Pognon 1907, 183, read *kl* for *bl*, but this is rightly set aside by Drijvers 1972, 48, in favour of the interjection *bl*.

The second letter of line 4 is not clear and no meaning suggests itself. It might be *gb*, “elect, chosen” (passive participle of the root GB) or *sb*, “old man”.

Comment:

1: *glwp*: see on As13:1.

2: *šlm* is the normal masculine form of the word for “image, statue”.

3: The personal name ‘Azzalazu may be a compound involving (Al-) ‘Uzza, though note may be made also of the female name ‘zl in Am10:13, which may mean “El is strong” (see Al-Jadir 1983, 397). Al-Jadir’s ‘Azizu is easier to parallel (see Al-Jadir 1983, 397).

bl is translated above as an interjection. Similar forms are also found in Nabataean and Palmyrene (see Hillers and Cussini 1996, 347; Cantineau 1930-32, 71; Pognon 1907, 183, 84). An alternative

might be to see *blʔ* as a passive participle of BLʔ, “grow old, wear out”, and this might fit with reading *sbʔ*, “old man”, in line 4: “worn out and old, alas!”

4: On *hbl*, see As6:5.

As15 (D61)

Date: Undated. Probably 3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 11 (Pognon drawing; Drijvers photograph)

Provenance: A tomb-cave at Kara Köprü north of Urfa: inscribed vertically to the left of the left-hand figure

Location: Presumed *in situ*

Bibliography: Pognon 1907, 183-84, and pls XXXVI and XI (upper); Drijvers 1972, 48

Text:

ܐܕܝܐ ܕܕܝܐ ܕܕܝܐ ܕܕܝܐ ܕܕܝܐ 1

Epigraphic: Reading of the first two words is completely uncertain.

Comment: Note may be made of the recurrence of the name Addai (cf. on As12:2).

As16 (D31)

Date: A.D. 201/2

Plate: Pl. 12 (Pognon drawing; Segal photograph)

Provenance: A cave-tomb in Kırk Mağara in the south-west of Urfa, horizontally above the relief of a recumbent figure at a funerary banquet.

Location: Presumed *in situ*

Bibliography: Pognon 1907, 77, pl. XXII; Moritz 1913, 165-68; Segal 1970, 27-28, 28 n.4, pl. 25b; Drijvers 1972, 23-24

Text:

𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 1
 𐤀 𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤁𐤁 2
 𐤀.𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤁𐤁 3
 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀 4
 𐤀.𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤁𐤁 5

Translation:

(1) In [the year] five hundred and thirteen (2) I, Seluk son of (3) Muqimu, made (4) for myself this tomb, (5) for myself and for my children and for my heirs.

Epigraphic: The readings are completely clear, though Moritz 1913, 165-68, departs on a few points (*snwk* for *slwk* in line 2 and *wlhrty* for *wlyrty* in line 5).

Comment:

1: In the dating formula the word for “year” is omitted, but that *š^cnat* is understood is clear from the fact that the numeral agrees with a feminine noun. The Seleucid year 513 corresponds to A.D. 201-02.

On the spelling of 𐤀𐤓𐤕- see on As9:1.

2: *slwk* is a Syriac form of the Greek name Σελευκος, found also in Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 41: various forms with *q*) and in Hatran (Vattioni 1981, index: with *k*). Within the present corpus it occurs several more times in the same cave-tomb where the same Seluk’s wife, son and daughter are named (As17:2; As18:2; As19:2) and also in the Birecik inscription, where one of the masons is called by this name (As55:8).

3: The name Muqimu is also found in As17:2 from the same cave: the name in accordance with common practice jumps a generation, with

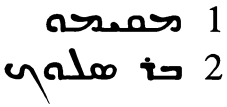
the son being named after his grandfather. It also occurs several times in the Family Portrait mosaic (Am4) and in the Dura parchment (P1:30).

The name is very common also in Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 35-37) and Nabataean (Al-Khraysheh 1986, 113-14) and occurs in Greek form (Μοκειμος, Μοκιμος: Wuthnow 1930, 78). See Segal 1954, 30.

4: *byt qbwr*², literally “house of burial”, is used several times: As20:2; As55:4, 6 (restored); As56:1 (with defective spelling of *bt*); Am8:3; Am9:6 (defective *qbr*²).

5: For the formula referring to children and heirs see on As7:4.

As17 (D32)**Date:** Probably the same as As16: A.D. 201/2**Plate:** Pl. 12 (Pognon drawing; Segal photograph)**Provenance:** A cave-tomb in Kirk Mağara in Urfa, vertically beside a figure standing behind the recumbent figure.**Location:** Presumed *in situ***Bibliography:** Pognon 1907, 77, pl. XXII; Moritz 1913, 165-68; Segal 1970, pl. 25b**Text:**



Translation:

(1) Muqimu (2) son of Seluk

Comment: The inscription clearly identifies the standing figure.

As18 (D33)

Date: Probably the same as As16: A.D. 201/2

Plate: Pl. 13 (Pognon drawing; Segal photograph)

Provenance: A cave-tomb in Kırk Mağara in Urfa, vertically to the left of the head of the standing female figure to the right of the recumbent figure

Location: Presumed *in situ*

Bibliography: Pognon 1907, 77, pl. XXII; Moritz 1913, 165-68; Segal 1970, pl. 25b

Text:

דַּחְבּוּ בַּת שֶׁלֹּךְ 1
 רַחְבּוּ 2

Translation:

(1) Raḥbu (2) daughter of Seluk

Comment: The inscription clearly identifies the standing female figure.

1: The name Raḥbu, not found elsewhere in our corpus, can be paralleled in Arabian sources (Al-Jadir 1983, 403: the female name *riḥāb*) and in Hebrew רַחֲבָה (Josh 2:1, etc.). It is associated with the root RḤB, “be wide, etc.”

As19 (D34)

Date: Probably the same as As16: A.D.201/2

Plate: Pl. 13 (Pognon drawing; Segal photograph)

Provenance: A cave-tomb in Kirk Mağara in Urfa, vertically to the right of the female figure to the left of the recumbent figure

Location: Presumed *in situ*

Bibliography: Pognon 1907, 78, pl. XXII; Moritz 1913, 165-68; Segal 1970, pl. 25b

Text:

ܪܘܥܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ 1
ܓܘܥܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ 2

Translation:

(1) Gu'al daughter of Bar'ata, (2) wife of Seluk

Epigraphic: There is uncertainty about the first name. A horizontal stroke at the bottom of the vertical in Pognon's drawing makes the letter look like {c}, {n} or {y}.

Comment: The inscription clearly identifies the female figure to the left of the relief.

1: Of the possible personal names, Gu'al is the most promising from the point of view of explanation. The Syriac verb root G'L, "entrust, etc.", could provide an explanation, though better is Al-Jadir 1983, 367, making a connection with the Arabic personal name *ju'al*.

For Bar'ata see on As9:1.

2: ʔntt is construct. The orthography is conservative, as it remained in classical Syriac where the {n} is retained though marked with the *linea occultans*: ܪܘܕܘܪ. The pronunciation was /attat/. See also Am1:12; Am4:1; Am8:5; Cs2:1; Am3:7 (with ʔtt).

As20 (D35)

Date: Undated

Plate: Pl. 14 (Pognon drawing; Segal photograph)

Provenance: A cave-tomb in Kirk Mağara: in a burial-niche

Location: Presumed *in situ*.

Bibliography: Sachau 1882, 164-65; Lidzbarski 1898, 484 and pl. xliii; Pognon 1907, 80-83, pl. XXIII; Segal 1953, 115-16; Segal 1954, 22; Segal 1970, 59, pl. 29b

Text:

(i)

1 𐤀𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤓 𐤁𐤓 𐤁𐤓 𐤀𐤁𐤓
 2 𐤀𐤁𐤓 𐤀𐤁𐤓 𐤀𐤁𐤓 𐤀𐤁𐤓
 3 𐤀𐤁𐤓 𐤀𐤁𐤓 𐤀𐤁𐤓 𐤀𐤁𐤓
 4 𐤀𐤁𐤓 𐤀𐤁𐤓 𐤀𐤁𐤓 𐤀𐤁𐤓
 5 𐤀𐤁𐤓 𐤀𐤁𐤓 𐤀𐤁𐤓 𐤀𐤁𐤓
 6 𐤀𐤁𐤓 𐤀𐤁𐤓 𐤀𐤁𐤓 𐤀𐤁𐤓

(ii)

7 𐤀𐤁𐤓 𐤀𐤁𐤓
 8 𐤀𐤁𐤓

Translation:

(i)(1) I, Gayyu daughter of Baršuma, (2) made for myself this tomb. (3) I ask you coming later who enters (4) here: do not remove my bones from the sarcophagus. (5) And whoever removes my bones, may he have no (6) afterlife and may he be cursed by Maralahe. (ii)(7) Remembered be Baršuma (8) son of Waʿel.

Epigraphic: (ii) is inscribed vertically to the right of (i).

The only doubtful point so far as readings are concerned is the name in line 1. ʿyw is possible (so Sachau 1882, 164-65; Lidzbarski 1898, 484; Pognon 1907, 80). The name Gayyu, however, seems to be found also in As43:3 (though the reading there is not entirely certain). Segal 1953, 115-16 and 1954, 22, had gʿw.

Line 5 is clear, but *hrt*[?] was read as *hdt*[?], for *hdwt*[?], “joy”, by Pognon 1907, 81. *hrt*[?], “end”, (suggested by Jenni 1965, 384) is more likely, since it occurs in a similar context in the Tripod Mosaic (Am5:16).

Comment: A woman had this tomb made.

1: The name Gayyu (and the alternative ‘Ayyu) has no known parallels apart from As43:3, and the same is true of her father’s name, Baršuma, except for Peshitta Acts 13:6, 8 (for Βαριησοῦς).

2: For *byt qbwr* see on As16:4.

3: Here we meet a formula which is unusual in the Syriac inscriptions, though there are parallels elsewhere, in which the author of the inscription expresses a wish that the body be not disturbed, followed by a curse on anyone contravening this injunction. See the section on the History, Culture and Religion of Edessa. For the tradition of tomb-curses see in general Parrot 1939, with Palmyrene examples discussed 43-47.

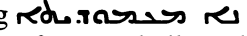
b^cyn² is the active feminine pe^cal participle of the verb *b^cā*, “seek”, with attached 1st singular pronoun: “I am seeking, I ask” (*bā^cyānā*) (see Nöldeke 1898², 45). The use of *men* with this verb is common (so, e.g., Peshitta Matt 18:29).

ḥry² is here a noun (Pognon 1907, 81), presumably pronounced /ḥrāyā/ as in classical Syriac (with *linea occultans* under or over the *ālap*), though note that some derivatives of this root lose the *ālap* in spelling (*hrt²*: see here line 5 and on Am5:16). Difficult to put succinctly in English the word means “he who is later, last”, here apostrophised referring to all who might come along in the future.

ʿl: active pe^cal participle of the root ʿLL, “enter”.

4: *lk²* means “to here, hither” (Payne Smith, 242).

A “jussive” expression follows, with the verb at the end of the line, *tzy^c*, the 2nd singular ap^cel imperfect/jussive of the verbal root ZW^c. This form has the transitive sense “move, disturb” (Payne Smith, 113-14). The object is *grmy*, “my bones” (Payne Smith, 78). It is also attested in other forms of Aramaic (Hoftijzer and Jongeling, 235).

ʿwzn² is an Iranian loan from *ābezan* (see Widengren 1960, 31-32 and n.112, following de Lagarde 1896, 10 §12; Brockelmann, 8, 184; Jenni 1965, 382-83; Healey 1995, 81). *TS*, 59, records classical occurrences of the word, including  “crater baptisterii”; cf. also 1061, *wzn²*. It refers to a hollowed out stone sarcophagus.

5: *mn d-*: indefinite relative “whoever”.

nzy^c is the 3rd masculine singular form corresponding to *tzy^c* in the previous line. The inscriptions display both *n-* and *y-* prefix forms, the *n-* prefix suggesting a date after the end of the 2nd century A.D. (see Language).

The threatened consequence is that of not having a “latter end” or “future”, specifically no future afterlife and possibly also no posterity (Payne Smith, 160). Classical Syriac sometimes qualifies the noun

with the adjective “bad” (Payne Smith, 60), while in another occurrence in the inscriptions we find *hrt² tbt²* (Am5:16). Presumably a happy, peaceful afterlife is what is threatened here.

Here and in Am5:16 the accompanying verb is *hw² lh*, “he has”. In Am5 the verbal form is full imperfect *thw²*. Here we find the apocopated form, *th²*, which is also found in classical Syriac (see Nöldeke 1898², 128).

6: *ntlyt²*: “may he be cursed”, being the ethpe²el of the verbal root LWT (Payne Smith, 237), though usually the {t} is written twice.

l- marks the agent after a passive expression.

mrlh², here left untranslated, has been widely discussed (see systematically Tubach 1986, 386-406). Its origin lies in an old Akkadian title of Sin, the moon god of Harran, *bēl ilāni*, “lord of the gods”, and is formed from an Aramaic version of that title: *mārē ʿalāhē* (a construct phrase; on vocalisation note Nöldeke 1898², 91; Vattioni 1971, 442-44). The medieval Harranians are also reported as worshipping “the Lord of the gods” (al-Nadīm’s *Kitāb al-Fihrist* [ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig: Vogel 1871] I, 322: رَبِّ الْإِلَهَةِ; see Dodge 1970, II, 765). For discussion see Segal 1970, 59-60 (translating as “lord god” [Segal 1954, 22] and taking the view that Baʿalšāmin is meant); Starcky 1970, 6; Milik 1972, 347-49; Drijvers 1980, 122-45; Beyer 1996, 42; for a recently discovered inscription see Lightfoot and Healey 1991. For *mrlh²* in the Saʿadiya inscription (from near Hatra) see Caquot 1963, 12-14. Explicit connection between Sin and Maralahe is made by Hatran coins inscribed *syn mrlh²* (see Vattioni 1981, 107; Walker 1958, 170-72).

The name also appears in As31:3; As36:3; Cm1 1:1. At Sumatar the reference appears to be to Sin, but otherwise in the Edessa region Zeus is meant.

Note may be made of the unexpected quirk of the Peshitta text of Acts 14:12-13, where the title *mārē ʿalāhē* has been substituted for the references to Zeus (see Segal 1954, 22; Caquot 1963, 12; Vattioni 1971, 442-44). This appears to be a local adaptation to the Edessan milieu. The equation of Zeus and Maralahe is also found in early Syriac (*Hypomnemata* of Ambrose, Cureton 1855, 13, 21).

7-8: The last two lines are inscribed vertically to the right of the rest.

For the formula “Remembered be...” see Healey 1996, especially 182-83 and n.32. It appears to be a secondary addition in honour of the father of the main occupant of the tomb. It seems unlikely that he is buried there. There appear to be other cases of secondary additions to inscriptions (see on As26:1; As27:1).

8: The name Waʿel appears repeatedly in Pognon’s Cave at Sumatar. Several different individuals are involved (As45:1, 1; As46:1; As47:1,

2, 4, 5). The name is also well known in the form of *wʿlw* in Nabataean (see Al-Khraysheh 1986, 64-65) and it is clearly of Arabian origin (root WʿL, “take refuge”). It is found also in Greek form (Ὠαελος: Wuthnow 1930, 91). Waʿel was also a name used by Edessa’s rulers (Segal 1970, 15, n.3), though it seems unlikely that this Baršuma is a royal prince: one presumes this would have been mentioned in the inscription.

As21 (D36)

Date: Undated

Plate: Pl. 15 (Pognon)

Provenance: Inscribed vertically on a relief stele above the entrance to a cave-tomb in Kirk Mağara. The stele has a rounded figure at its head and there is another inscribed stele to the right (As22)

Location: Presumed *in situ*

Bibliography: Sachau, 1882, 163-64; Pognon 1907, 83 and pl. XXI-II; Segal 1970, 28 n.4; Drijvers 1972, 26

Text:

ܡܘܕܠܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ ܕܥܒܕܠܠܐ 1
ܟܬܐ ܗܒܠ 2

Translation:

(1) Magdal daughter of ‘Abdallat, (2) (Turned to) clay (?), alas!”

Epigraphic: No problems (though Pognon corrected mistakes in Sachau).

Comment:

1: The name Magdal is unparalleled. It might be a hypocoristic for Magdallat (“glory of Allat”: see Al-Jadir 1983, 380, referring to Arabic MJD), but ‘Abdallat is found elsewhere in this corpus and is of transparent meaning (As6:4; As8:2).

2: *ktʔ* is of uncertain meaning. Classical Syriac *ketā* means “lump of clay, mud” (Payne Smith, 230; Brockelmann, 351). It is either being used as a general interjection (Pognon), or may have a more specific meaning in relation to burial (analogous to “Dust to dust, ashes to ashes”). It is found also in Cs1:4, in a similar context but with the preposition *l-*: *lktʔ ḥbl*. This seems to support the more specific funereal meaning.

On *ḥbl* see As6:5.

As22 (D37)**Date:** Undated**Plate:** Pl. 15 (Pognon)**Provenance:** Vertically on a relief stele above the entrance to a cave-tomb in Kirk Mağara; to the right of As21**Location:** Presumed *in situ***Bibliography:** Pognon 1907, 84-85 and pl. XXIII; Drijvers 1972, 27**Text:**

1 ܒܠ ܐܝܢܐ ܐܝܢܐ
 2 ܒܠ ܐܝܢܐ

Translation:

(1)Indeed woe, woe; (2) indeed, alas!

Epigraphic: Pognon surmised that this inscription was a continuation of As21, but he himself admits that the script is smaller. The readings are very uncertain.**Comment:** This is highly enigmatic and full of uncertainty.**1-2:** Pognon thought *byl* was the name of the god Bel, used as an interjection, but it is more probably a form of the interjection *bl* known in Palmyrene and Hatran: Hoftijzer and Jongeling, 165, which appears to function, like Nabataean *bly/blʔ*, to strengthen an assertion or wish (Hoftijzer and Jongeling, 166-67). It may be noted that Aggoula 1975-76, 474-79, specifically 477, appears to support the Bel interpretation because of the spelling with {y}, while linking the Hatran *bl* with *bly/blʔ*.

The exclamation may appear in a form closer to that found in Nabataean in line 2, though note the alternative interpretation offered for this in relation to As14:3.

In classical Syriac *wāy* (plural *wāyē*) is an interjection of anger or lament (Payne Smith, 107-08; Brockelmann, 185).For *hbl* see on As6:5.

As23 (D38)

Date: Undated

Plate: Pl. 15 (Pognon)

Provenance: On a stele above a cave-tomb entrance in Kırk Mağara. There are nine steles; this, the third from the left, is the only one with inscription preserved. All have rounded tops.

Location: Presumed *in situ*

Bibliography: Pognon 1907, 85 and pl. XXIII; Drijvers 1972, 27

Text:

Translation:

(1) This is the image (2) of Barʿata (3) so[n of]

Epigraphic: The first part of the text is fairly certain. In line 3 the {b} of *br* is restored as highly probable.

On the basis of the form of the letters {h} and {š}, Pognon would date the text to the 2nd or even 1st century A.D. The 2nd or 3rd centuries A.D. are more likely.

Comment:

1: For *šlmʿ*, “image”, see on As6:2.

2: For Barʿata see on As9:1.

3: Line 3 probably begins with “son of”, followed by a personal name.

As24 (D40)**Date:** Undated**Plate:** Pl. 16 (Pognon)**Provenance:** A cave-tomb in the Şeyh Maksud district of Urfa, to the right of a burial niche. As25 is located in the same cave.**Location:** *In situ***Bibliography:** Pognon 1907, 88-89, pl. XXIV; Drijvers 1972, 29**Text:****Translation:**(1) This is the burial-place (20) of R^cY son of Šiba.

Epigraphic: The problems lie in line 2. The first letter must, as Pognon noted, be {d}, though it looks quite like {z}. The name at the end of the line is very uncertain and was read *šbr* by Pognon. Drijvers collated the inscriptions in this tomb and is followed here (1972, 29-30).

Comment:**1:** *bt* is a defective writing of *byt* (see also *bt qbwr* in As56:2).

The noun *ṯm*?, “bones”, does not occur in classical Syriac, though it is found in Palmyrene, Hatran and Jewish Aramaic: Hoftijzer and Jongeling, 424; *CIS* II, 3907:1; Vattioni 1981, 293:4; Beyer 1984, 590; Sokoloff 1990, 226. It appears also in the Serrin inscription (Bs2:7). The word is derived from the root *ṯM*: Beyer 1984, 590; Kaufman 1974, 50; Degen 1978, 98.

2: Reading the first name as R^cY (? Ra^ci) would make it explicable in terms of parallels in Arabic, Palmyrene, etc. (see Al-Jadir 1983, 404).

Šiba also has good parallels in Palmyrene, Nabataean and Arabic (Al-Jadir 1983, 406).

As25 (D41)**Date:** Undated**Plate:** Pl. 16 (Pognon)**Provenance:** A cave-tomb (same cave as that of As24) in the Şeyh Maksud district of Urfa, above a burial niche**Location:** *In situ***Bibliography:** Pognon 1907, 89-90, pl. XXIV; Drijvers 1972, 29-30**Text:**

Translation:

(1)Of Barmatta.

Epigraphic: The reading here follows collation. It is difficult to decide whether to read the name as a single word or two words, *br mt*[?] (see As32:1).**Comment:**

1: The name *brmt*[?] appears also in As32:1. Matta occurs in Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 38, 98, interpreted as a hypocoristicon for *mtbwl*.) Note discussion by Lipiński 1975, 126-29 and 129 n.1, arguing for a meaning “Relative of Bol” (Arabic *matta*) against Caquot 1962, 244; Milik 1972, 53; Stark 1971, 98: “Gift of Bol”.

Pognon, who read *rb rmt*[?], thought it was the title of the office of the person named in As24.

As26 (D13)

Date: Undated. Probably mid-2nd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 17 (Segal drawing; Drijvers photograph)

Provenance: Inscribed vertically to the right of a relief bust on the northern side of the central hill at Sumatar Harabesi

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: Segal 1953, 102; Segal 1954, 16-17 and pl. III; Segal 1970, pl. 41; Starcky 1970, 6; Drijvers 1972, 9-10; Beyer 1996, 41

Text:

זכאי	1
זכאי וזבניו	2
זכאי	3

Translation:

(1-2) Remembered be Zakkai son of Kuza and his children, (3) before the god.

Epigraphic: Discovered and published by Segal, the inscription was collated by Drijvers, who prefers to read in line 2 *zky* rather than Segal's *zby*. Otherwise clear, though note that line 1 (written in rather small letters) appears to be an addition to line 2, written above it. It gives the name of the father of ZKY/ZBY (see Starcky 1970, 6).

Comment:

1: On the name Kuza see As6:4.

2: For the formula beginning *dkyr*, see on As3, especially Healey 1996.

dkyr is singular while having a plural subject. This recurrent feature is noted by Segal 1954, 17, here, in other Sumatar inscriptions and in Nabataean (As30:1; As31:1; As33:2; As35:1; As38:1 and *RES* §§ 1106, 1116).

The name Zakkay is paralleled in Palmyrene ZKY[?] (Stark 1971, 19), Hebrew and Peshitta Syriac Zakkay (Ezra 2:9; Luke 19:2ff.), though the reading of the name as Zabbay (Segal) is also plausible from a comparative point of view (Segal 1954, 17).

bnwhy: this is standard orthography for the 3rd masculine suffix on a plural noun (cf. Syriac ܙܒܢܝܗܘܢ and Biblical Aramaic ܙܒܢܝܗܘܢ). The question of pronunciation is more difficult: classical Syriac pronunciation is /b^hnaw/.

3: “Before DN” is a classic feature of the “Remembered be...” formula and is always implied: Healey 1996. The gods mentioned in the various traditions vary. Here the anonymous reference to the deity has to be read in the context of Sumatar and there can be no doubt that Maralaha/Sin is being referred to. Indeed the inscription on the other side of the relief bust refers specifically to *syn ʿlhʿ* (As27:3).

As27 (D14)

Date: Undated: probably mid-2nd century A.D. (between 161 and 165?)

Plate: Pl. 18 (Segal)

Provenance: Inscribed vertically to the immediate left of the relief bust of As26

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: Segal 1953, 101; Segal 1954, 17-18 and pl. III; Segal 1970, 57; Starcky 1970, 6; Drijvers 1972, 10; Drijvers 1982, 183-84; Beyer 1996, 41

Text:

𐤀𐤋𐤁𐤁𐤁 [𐤁]𐤁 1
 𐤁𐤏𐤍𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏 2
 𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏 3
 𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏 4
 ,𐤏𐤏𐤏 5

Translation:

(1-2) Šila [son of Šil]a (2) made the image (3) in honour of the god Sin, for the life of (4) Tiridates son of Adona and for the life of (5) his brothers.

Epigraphic: The first line is largely conjectured, but other readings were confirmed by Drijvers' collation in 1971. Line 1 appears to be a secondary addition, with *br šyl^p* intended to be read after *šyl^p* in line 2 (see Starcky 1970, 6).

Beyer 1996, 41, thinks that *hn^o* has been accidentally omitted at the end of line 2, though the text makes perfectly good sense as it stands.

Comment:

1: On the name Šila see Segal 1954, 18, and Drijvers 1973, 6-7, and within the present corpus As43:2; As47:7, 8; As52:3. Note Cadbury 1933, 50-51 for New Testament Greek Σίλας and see Wuthnow 1930, 109.

2: On *šlm^o* see As6:2.

3: Sin is only mentioned explicitly in the inscriptions of our corpus here and in As60:4 (possibly As28:11), but it is clear that he is the central figure of the cult at Sumatar, as he was also at nearby Harran:

Segal 1953; Drijvers 1980, 122-45; Green 1992. Harran had been an ancient centre of his cult reflected in cuneiform inscriptions from this region (Gadd 1958).

The formula *ʿl hyy PN*, “for the life of ...”, is a distinctive one ultimately derived from an earlier cuneiform tradition (cf. Deller 1983). See on Am10:5 and Drijvers 1982, 183-87; and especially Dijkstra 1995.

4: The Syriac form *tyrđt* represents the Iranian name known to us from classical sources as Tiridates (e.g. Τηριδάτης of Armenia: Josephus, *Ant* xx, 74; *War* vii, 249). The name is known in early Syriac literature (*Acts of Šarbil*, Cureton ܫܪܒܝܠ:18) and Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 56).

The name recurs in the Sumatar inscriptions: As30:2; As31:4; As36:2; As50:3; As54:1. In As36:2 we have Tiridates son of Adona, as here, and in As50:3 Adona son of Tiridates. It is almost certain that the Tiridates in question is the same person in all three cases. In As36:2 he is called *šlyt ʿrb*, “governor of ʿArab”, and his prominence in the Sumatar texts fits with a high rank.

The name Adona is also repeated several times at Sumatar: As30:1, 5; As31:1; As36:2, 4; As37:2; As38:2; As50:2; 54:2; and also the Tripod Mosaic (Am5:6, 8, 10). In As31, the Adona is father of a *nwhdr* ʿAbsamya; in As36 (dated A.D.165) the father of a governor, Tiridates; in As37 (dated A.D.165), the father of the author of a major religious inscription, Maniš. It is highly probable that we are dealing here with a rather prominent family of the sons of Adona: ʿAbsamya (As31:1), Tiridates (here and As36:2), Maniš (As37:2), Belbena (As38:2).

Beyer 1996, 41, reads the name as ʿArwānā (“calf”), referring to Stark 1971, 73 (and see Nöldeke 1904, 82-83).

5: For the spelling of *ʿhwhy* see on *bnwhy*, As26:2. *ʿhwhy* could be singular.

As28 (D15)

Date: Undated: probably mid-2nd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 18-19 (Segal)

Provenance: To the left of inscription As27, which is itself to the left of the relief bust at Sumatar

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: Segal 1953, 102; Segal 1954, 18-19; Drijvers 1972, 10-11; Beyer 1996, 41

Text:

] 1
] 2
פֹּדֵן or	פֹּדֵן 3
	רמל ר 4
	מ ר 5
	----]ר[-] ר [--] 6
]ר[----]דֹּן 7
] ר[-]ד 8
] ר ש ר 9
] רמ מ 10
מ]ר רֹד or רמ]ר פֹּדֵן ר 11	
	פֹּדֵן]ר 12

Translation:

(4) I, the god, (5) see him(9) I see (10) him and behold, (11) I Sin (?), the g[od...]

Epigraphic: This text is mostly illegible and much is speculation. Note may be made of the following:

(3) The reading *wtqn* originated with Segal, but the supposed {t} is eccentric and unlike the clear {t} in line 7. The putative {q} would also be strange (with an opening at its top). Beyer 1996, 41, read *mqn*, a personal name. In the reading given above the supposed {t} is reinterpreted as two letters, {r} and {d}, while the circular shape taken by Segal as {q} is better seen as an {s}: a similar {s} may occur in line 11.

(6-12) The ends of the lines are damaged, a factor which is not taken into account by Segal, though marked in most cases by Drijvers.

(4) At the end of line 4, Beyer 1996, 41, sees traces of a cross, which he takes to indicate that the text is Christian (see also Beyer 1994, 22). This cross was not, however, visible to the present authors and in any case crosses could have been added later: there is no Christian content.

(7) The line is read by Segal as *wstršymt*[?], though he marks every letter as doubtful. Only {t}, {r/d} and {ʔ} seem at all certain. The name Tiridates might occur here, but there may be an extra letter at the beginning of the line (Beyer 1996, 41).

(8) Segal: *bʔškrʔhy*, but with every letter doubtful!

(11) The reading given for this line follows Segal substantially, though the surviving {ʔ} after *syn* is not the end of the line as Segal implies. Something followed. Drijvers 1972, 11, regarded the reading of the name of the deity as very uncertain and *dʔn* remains a possibility also espoused by Beyer 1996:41: *ʔnʔ dʔn*, “ich richte”.

(12) The reading given is a revision of Segal (*lhʔ*): the {ʔ} at the beginning of the line is, it must be admitted, rather speculative, since there is barely enough room for an extra letter.

Comment:

Given the fragmentary nature of the text, all comment is very tentative.

3: *wrdsn* might be a personal name or “and” followed by a personal name. There is a personal name *wrdw* in As42:3. This latter *might* be a hypocoristic of Warad-Sin (“Servant of Sin”). This name was borne by a king of Larsa in the 19th century B.C.

Segal’s *tqn* is interpreted as a pa^cel verb form: “he set up”.

4: “The god” in the present context would be expected to refer to Sin (see on As26:3).

5: *hznʔ* combines the active pe^cal participle of HZ[?], “see”, with a 1st singular pronoun: *hāzenā*.

7-8: Segal finds reference here to “treasure hidden in a field” (*šymtʔ*, *str*, *ʔškrʔ*).

10: For *hʔ*, “behold”, see Payne Smith, 98-99; Brockelmann, 169.

11-12: If *syn* is correctly read, it may be followed by *ʔlhʔ* (compare *syn ʔlhʔ* in As27:3). In trying to make sense of line 12, one possibility might be that it is the completion of the phrase *ʔlh ʔlhyn*, “god of gods” (אלהי אלה in Dan 2:47; אלהי אלה in Peshitta Dan 2:47; Deut 10:17). Beyer 1996, 41, reading *ʔnʔ dʔn*, has “ich richte ihn”, which is attractive from the point of view of the judgement theme (see on As37:9; Cs6:4), but we are unconvinced by his view that the text is Christian.

As29 (D16)

Date: A.D. 165

Plate: Pl. 20 (Segal drawing; Drijvers photograph)

Provenance: Inscribed vertically to the right of a full-length figure on the central hill at Sumatar

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: Segal 1953, 101; Segal 1954, 19-20; Drijvers 1972, 11-12

Text:

1 . 109 𐤌𐤍𐤁 𐤍𐤏𐤍 1
 13 𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤌𐤍𐤁 𐤍𐤏𐤍 2
 476 𐤁𐤏𐤁 𐤏𐤏𐤁 3

Translation:

(1-2) The god ordered this image to/for Ma'na on the 13th day (3) of Adar of the year 476.

Epigraphic: No difficulties.

Comment:

1: On *šlm*³ see As6:2. The image in question appears to be the full-length figure to the left of the inscription, possibly an image of Sin, though analogy with the “*dédicaces faites par des dieux*” studied by Milik 1972 would suggest it might be Ma'na himself (see Drijvers 1980, 124).

The use of *pqd l-* is unusual and difficult to interpret. One possible meaning would be that the deity “commanded” (pe'al) Ma'na to set up the image in question (Payne Smith, 454-55; Brockelmann, 588), in which case the image would probably be that of the god. The alternative is that the image is *in honour of* Ma'na (“for Ma'na”) on the analogy of the Milik dedications.

2: The god may be presumed in this context to be Maralahe/Sin (see on As20:6; As26:3).

The name Ma'na appears also in As34:4 and As37:2, and in Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 34), Nabataean (Al-Khraysheh 1986, 111) and Hatran (Abbadī 1983, 124). More common is Ma'nu (and various other related forms).

The giving of a precise date within a month is unique within the inscriptions corpus, though it *is* found in the documents P1:7 and P2:7.

The number "13" is given as a cipher: 10 + 1 + 1 + 1, using the usual signs. Numerical units are represented by vertical strokes; 5 sometimes has a special sign somewhat like the letter 'ē (ع); 10 has a special sign, a long horizontal stroke with a short vertical at the right-hand end; 20 is represented by a flattened hump-shaped sign; 100 is similar to 10 except that it has a further horizontal attached to the bottom of the vertical, thus ending up as a stretched z-shape. See ; Duval 1881, 14-15 and pl.III; Segal 1954, 35; Hadad 1976; Al-Jadir 1983, 95 n.1.

3: Adar is the seventh month in the year beginning in the autumn (otherwise the last month) and corresponds approximately to March.

The numeral is expressed as $(4 \times 100) + 20 + 20 + 20 + 10 + 5 + 1$. Adar 476 in the Seleucid era corresponds to March A.D.165.

As30 (D17)

Date: Undated; probably mid-2nd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 21 (Segal drawing; Drijvers photograph)

Provenance: On the top of the central hill at Sumatar (on the eastern side)

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: Segal 1954, 20-21; Drijvers 1972 12-13

Text:

1 𐤀𐤏𐤓𐤀 𐤁𐤓𐤀 1
 2 𐤀𐤏𐤓𐤀 𐤁𐤓𐤀𐤓𐤀 2
 3 𐤀𐤏𐤓𐤀 𐤁𐤓𐤀 3
 4 𐤁𐤓𐤀 𐤀𐤏𐤓𐤀 4
 5 𐤀𐤏𐤓𐤀 𐤀𐤏𐤓𐤀 5

Translation:

(1) Remembered be Adona (2) and Tiridates and Ana (3) and Ma'nu and Ma'ata (4) and Alkur (?) son of (5) Adona, his father.

Epigraphic: There is doubt about the correct reading of the name in line 4. Segal had *ʿnbwd*, though with several doubtful letters. The present reading is preferred: note the probable *ʿlkwd/r* in As38:1 (for which see Caquot 1963, 4, referring to *ʿlkwr/d* in Hatra text 79:5ff.) and As37:2, 3.

Comment:

1: On the *dkyr* formula see As3 and Healey 1996.

2-5: For the personal names note the following:

Adona: see on As27:4.

Tiridates: As27:4.

Ana: As39:1 (also Palmyrene: Stark 1971, 5; possibly Nabataean: *RES* §1471; Egyptian Aramaic: Driver 1965, 85 [text xiii, 2]; the name of a Christian martyr under Šapur: Leroy 1957, 320). The name is discussed by Drijvers 1973, 10.

Ma'nu: see on As1:7.

Ma'ata: no exact analogies (Al-Jadir 1983, 385), but a theophoric related to ʿAta (ʿAte)/Atargatis (like *brʿtʿ*).

Alkur: probably also in As38:1 (Caquot 1963, 4) and As37:2, 3. The name (again ambiguously *ʿlkwd/r*) is common in Hatra (Abbadi

1983, 4-5, 78-79), and is found in South Arabian (Ryckmans 1934-35, 234), though it is not easily explained.

5: *'bwhy*: see on As26:2 (*bnwhy*).

As31 (D18)

Date: Undated: probably mid-2nd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 22 (Segal)

Provenance: On the top of the central hill at Sumatar

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: Segal 1953, 102; Segal 1954, 21-22; 1970, 57; Drijvers 1972, 13-14; Drijvers 1981, 124; Drijvers 1982, 174; Beyer 1996, 41-42

Text:

רב־אִדוֹנָא בֶּבְאִסְמִיָּא 1
 דְּפַדְרָדְרָא 2
 מַרְלָאֵה 3
 רַב־בָּבָא וְתִרִידָטֵס 4

Translation:

(1) Remembered be 'Absimya son of Adona, (2) commandant of PRR, before (3) Maralaha. Remembered be Babas (4) and Tiridates, sons of 'Absimya.

Epigraphic: The inscription is surrounded by a border.

In line 2 Beyer 1996, 41-42, read *dpd/rd/r* rather than *dkyr* (the reading given in earlier publications). This has the advantage of avoiding the repetition of *dkyr* (though such a repetition is not impossible).

Otherwise only the last word in line 4 causes any difficulty and the restoration given above cannot be doubted. Segal read *bsm[-]* but appears to have accepted that the text should read 'Absimya. Drijvers' collation confirms the {y} (1972, 13-14) and he reads 'bsmy', though it should be made clear that the {'} is invisible on the stone.

Comment:

1: On the *dkyr* formula see As3 and Healey 1996,

The name 'Absimya is of interest in several ways. It is clearly an 'Abd- theophoric, but the /d/ has been elided. Segal 1954, 21, notes this, comparing similar phenomena in Palmyrene (Cantineau 1935, 39: 'bšmy') and in other inscriptions ('mšmš for 'mtšmš in the Amašamaš inscription: As62). These are cases where a dental elides before, or possibly assimilates (with doubling: Beyer 1996, 41) to a following sibilant.

The divine element in the theophoric name is probably the *Σημεῖον*, “standard”, which had a prominent part in Hatran religion and in the cult described by Lucian in *De dea syra* (see Segal 1954, 21 [though in the end he prefers a connection with *samyā*, “blind”, an epithet of Mars]; Drijvers 1982, 174-75. Note also Mesnil du Buisson 1962, 425-30). The Greek is a homophone of a derivative of the Semitic *ŠYM*, “place, set up”. The name ‘Abdsmy’ also occurs many times at Hatra (Abbadi 1983, 36-37, 40), while the form *brsmy*’ is found in the Abgar Mosaic (Am10:1, 11, 14) and as the name of an early martyr (*Martyrdom of Barsamya*: Cureton 1864, ~~ⲛⲟ~~ - ⲛⲁ).

On Adona, probably this Adona, see As27:4.

2: On the military-administrative title *nwhdr*’ see As1:2. This is followed by a place-name, *pr* or *pdr* or *prd* or *pdd* (Beyer). In As47:2-3 (?) and 5 we find the title Nuhadra again specified in relation to place-names, including, perhaps, PR(R). PR(R) has not, however, been identified.

For *qdm* in the *dkyr* formula see Healey 1996 and here As26:3.

3: For Maralahe see on As20:6.

The name Babas is unusual: perhaps found also in As38:3 and 5 and possibly Cs1:3. Al-Jadir 1983, 348, links it with classical Syriac *bābō/āsā*, “little boy” (Payne Smith, 34; Brockelmann, 62), while Segal 1954, 22, thinks the *-s* is a Greek ending, noting the names Baba and Babay in Harranian/Syriac tradition. Beyer 1996, 42, reads *bks* = Bakkos.

4: Tiridates: see on As27:4.

bny: construct plural of *br*’.

As32 (D19)

Date: Undated: probably mid-2nd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 22-23 (Segal drawing; Healey photograph)

Provenance: On the top of the central hill at Sumatar (on the eastern side)

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: Segal 1954, 22-23; Drijvers 1972, 14; Vattioni 1973, 296

Text:

ܒܪܡܬܬܐ 1
ܕܒܒܐܝܐ ܕܒܒܐܝܐ 2
ܕܒܒܐܝܐ ܕܒܒܐܝܐ 3

Translation:

(1) Barmatta. (2) Remembered be Ababay. (3) Remembered be Barnay.

Epigraphic: Drijvers corrected Segal's reading of *byny* in line 3 to *kyny*, but a more likely reading, suggested by Al-Jadir 1983, 122, is *brny*.

Comment:

1: On the name Barmatta see Segal 1954, 23 and on As25:1.

2: On the name here see again Segal and Milik 1972, 327: based on "father". The form appears to be a variant of the name Babay which is well known in Christian Syriac. Babay is normally written ܒܒܐܝܐ. A Dura inscription mentions an *'bbwhy* (Du Mesnil du Buisson 1939, 14) and Milik cites other parallels.

3: The name in the last line is highly uncertain, but *brny* is probably found also in the Orpheus Mosaic (Am7:4) and occurs also at Palmyra (Stark 1971, 12, 79). These may be hypocoristics based either on "Son of Nabu" (note *brnbw* in Palmyrene [Stark 1971, 12]) — in the Syriac inscriptions *brnbs* (in Am3:11) is the Graecized form of the same name (Peshitta NT ܪܒܐܝܐ, Acts 4:36, etc. and Cadbury 1933, 47-48; see also Beyer 1996, 42) — or, better, on the divine name Nanaia (see Drijvers 1993, 149-50). The name is found in similar forms in Hatran (Abbadı 1983, 10, 90-91).

As33 (D20)

Date: Undated: probably mid-2nd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 24 (Segal)

Provenance: On the top of the central hill at Sumatar (on the eastern side)

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: Segal 1954, 23; Maricq 1965, 3 n.1; Drijvers 1972, 14-15

Text:

1 אֲשׁוּ בֶן-קַיְמִי
 2 זָכָרָהּ בְּבָרְשָׁמֶשׁ
 3 וְהַפְּסַי
 4 בְּנֵהּ

Translation:

(1) Asu son of Qay[mi]. (2) Remembered be Baršam[aš] (3) and Ḥapsay (4) his son.

Epigraphic: Drijvers corrected Segal's reading of 'n' as the first word in line 1. Segal suggested completing line 1 as above (see also Maricq 1965, 3 n.1). Drijvers suggested the completion of line 2.

Comment:

1-3: One the personal names note:

Asu: see Am2:11 (on which see Chabot 1906b, 286). It may be a hypocoristic based of the root 'S'/Y, "heal", since there are Amorite, Ugaritic and Neo-Assyrian personal names using this root (Maraqten 1988, 133).

Qaymi: see on As6:2.

Baršamaš: see on As4:3.

Ḥapsay: in Pognon's Cave at Sumatar, As48:1; As49:4; As50:4 (these three certainly identical: in As49 he is given his full name of Aurelius Ḥapsay bar Barkalba and described as the freedman of Antoninus Caesar [on whom see Pognon 1907, 37-38]; Segal 1970, 23 n.1); As53:1 (possibly the same person); and in the Tripod Mosaic (Ḥapsay bar Adona: Am5:5) and the Dura Parchment (P1:6, with a different person in 20 and verso 2: Aurelius Ḥapsay bar Šamašyahb). The name Ḥapsay is known from early Syriac literary sources (e.g.

Cureton 1864, *Acts of Šarbil*, ܡܫ:16 ; *Martyrdom of Barsamya*, ܚܘ:5 (the name of a noble) and in the name of Roman Edessa's first governor in c. 248-49 A.D. (Aurelianus Ḥapsay: see Segal, 1970, 119).

4: *brh*, "his son", see As40:4; As47:4; Bs2:3.

As34 (D21)

Date: Undated: probably mid-2nd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 24: lines 4-5 missing (Segal)

Provenance: On the top of the central hill at Sumatar

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: Segal 1954, 24; Drijvers 1972, 15

Text:

1 ܕܟܝܕ ܕܟܝܪ
 2 ܕܟܝܕ ܕܟܝܪ
 3 ܕܟܝܕ ܕܟܝܪ
 4 ܕܟܝܕ ܕܟܝܪ
 5 ܕܟܝܕ ܕܟܝܪ

Translation:

(1) Remembered be (2) ʿKYD (?) (3) son of ḤWNR (?). (4) Bar Maʿna (5) the builder.

Epigraphic: Segal originally recorded only line 1-3 (as *dkyr ʿkyr br - dwn-*). The readings above are based on Drijvers' re-study of the inscription. In line 5 *bny*ʿ is probably better than *byn*ʿ (Drijvers 1972) since it makes good sense.

Comment:

1-3: The basic formula involved here is clear and well attested, but the main names are doubtful:

ʿKYD or ʿKYR: Al-Jadir 1983, 342, cites some inexact parallels to the latter.

ḤWND or ḤWNR: completely obscure.

4: The name Maʿna is quite well known: see on As29:2.

5: *bny*ʿ would be “builder” (as in As39:1); compare classical Syriac *banāyā* (Payne Smith, 48; Brockelmann, 79).

As35 (D22)**Date:** Undated: probably mid-2nd century A.D.**Plate:** Pl. 25 (Segal)**Provenance:** On top of the central hill at Sumatar**Location:** *In situ***Bibliography:** Segal 1954, 24; Drijvers 1972, 15-16**Text:**

𐤁𐤓𐤏𐤁 𐤗𐤏 1
 𐤁𐤓𐤏𐤁 2

Translation:

(1) Remembered be Berona (2) and Šutana.

Epigraphic: No difficulties**Comment:****1-2** The personal names are unusual ones:

Berona may be a diminutive of *br*?, “son” (so Segal 1954, 24 and see Nöldeke 1898², 78). There is an identical Jewish personal name (Segal).

Šutana is without parallel, but see, perhaps, Akkadian *šūtānu*: *CAD* Š/III, 296-97.

As36 (D23)

Date: A.D.165

Plate: Pl. 25 (Segal)

Provenance: On the top of the central hill at Sumatar (on the middle of the western edge)

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: Segal 1953, 102; Segal 1954, 24-25; Segal 1970, 57-58; Drijvers 1972, 16; Drijvers 1980, 125; Dijkstra 1995, 253

Text:

476 שנת שבט 1
 2 ארם וטירידטס בן אדונה מלך ארם
 3 בנה את המזבח הזה וקם עמוד
 4 לאלהי ה' ואלהי המלך ואלהי
 אדונה
 5 אביו ואלהי ה' ואלהי ה' ואלהי ה'

Translation:

(1) In the month of Šebaṭ of the year 476, (2) I, Tiridates son of Adona, governor of 'Arab, (3) built this altar and set up a pillar for Maralahe, (4) for the life of my lord the king and his children and for the life of Adona, (5) my father, and for my own life and that of my brothers and of our children.

Epigraphic: Generally the text is well preserved and clear. The gap between the last two words of line 2 is strange, but there appears to be nothing missing. In line 3 the {h} of *mrh*³ lacks the middle vertical stroke where the stone is damaged, but there can be no real doubt about the correct reading. In line 5, close inspection suggests that there might be only one {y} in *hy*, but the formula is well known (though Segal read a personal name after *l hyy*).

Comment:

1: The dating formula *byrh MN*, “in the month of MN”, appears a number of times in the corpus: Am1:1; Am7:2; Bs2:1 (and in the parchment documents). (See also As37:1, which is uncertain). Segal 1954, 25, (also Tubach 1986, 390 and n.643) carries over his interpre-

tation of *byrh* in As37:1 to give it the meaning “at the new moon”, but the argument from the similarity of the two texts lacks force in view of the fact that the “in the month of” formula is so well known. Also the interpretation of As37:1 is not completely certain and in Segal 1970, 27, this interpretation appears to have been abandoned.

The month Šebaṭ corresponds to February/March. The number is expressed as (4x100) +20 +20 + 20 +10 +1+1+1+1+1 (see on As29:2). Šebaṭ of the Seleucid year 476 fell in A.D.165.

Drijvers takes the “lord/king” referred to in line 4 to be Waʿel (163-65): Drijvers 1982, 178.

2: For Tiridates son of Adona see on As27:4.

The title *šlyṯ* *ḏrb* is clearly an important one and it recurs several times among the inscriptions from Pognon’s Cave: As47:3; As49:2-3; As51:4-5; As52:4-5. *šlyṯ* is transparently “ruler, commander, governor” (see classical Syriac *šallitā*, Payne Smith, 580; Brockelmann, 781).

‘*rb* requires a little more comment.

It would be wrong to connect the word directly with “the Arabs”. Rather ‘Arab is the name of a region, and probably also its inhabitants, the semi-nomads of the steppe (Dijkstra 1995, 253), to the east of Urfa/Edessa (see classical Syriac usage: *TS*, 2982; Cureton 1864, 20; Pognon 1907, 34-35; Segal 1954, 25). The title of a local governor at Dura-Europos, Ἀραβάρχης, is analogous to the title in our inscriptions (Welles, Fink and Gilliam 1959, 115: no.20:5). At Hatra the king is called “king of the Arabs (‘*rb*’)” (e.g. 287:4-5) and “king of ‘Arab” (e.g. 193:2), there being a clear distinction between Arabs and Hatrans (336:3-4).

Clearly the situation is quite complex. There were several different regions referred to as ‘Arab and the ‘Arab of the Hatra inscriptions is not the same as the ‘Arab here (Dijkstra 1990, 94-97). The region and population referred to here appear to have been under indirect Edessan control in A.D.165, with the *šallitā* based in or closely associated with Sumatar acting as proxy. The subordination to the Edessan king is suggested by line 4 in the present text. The Pognon’s Cave inscriptions appear to be especially important for these local rulers.

On the basis of Drijvers 1980, 122-34, and Gawlikowski 1998 we arrive at the following sequence of *šallitē daʿrab*:

before 162	Waʿel	under Maʿnu VIII
162-65	Tiridates	pro-Parthian under Waʿel son of Sahrū
165-76	Abgar	pro-Roman under Maʿnu VIII
from 176	Barnahar	under Abgar VIII

from 197

cessation of post on loss of ‘Arab territories
to Province of Osrhoene

The office of *nūhadrā* also appears several times, but this seems to have been of a lower order and attached to particular localities. There were probably several *nūhadrē* at any one time. In As47 two may appear side by side.

3: *bnyt*: 1st singular perfect pe‘al of BN³, “build”.

*lt*³ appears to be the same as classical Syriac *‘lātā*, “altar, high-place of worship” (Payne Smith, 416; Brockelmann, 526-27). It is found also in Palmyrene dedications of altars (Hoftijzer and Jongeling, 851).

šmt: 1st singular perfect pe‘al the hollow root ŠWM, “place, set up”. Noteworthy is the spelling here, in that etymological Proto-Semitic /š/, which in earlier Aramaic was represented by the graph ܫ , and in later Syriac was represented by ܫ (following the loss of pronunciation in any way distinct from *semkāt*), continues to be written with ܫ . This is a feature of conservative orthography carried over from the Achaemenid Aramaic tradition (see Beyer 1966, 243). It has no implications for actual pronunciation, which was probably /s/. (For the same phenomenon in Nabataean see Healey 1993, 56-57). For other instances in this corpus see As9:1.

*nšbr*³ is to be linked with the root NŠB, which occurs widely in Semitic in connection with the erection of steles and standing stones (so Hebrew *hiššīb* and *maššēbā* [HALAT, 674-75, 587]). The precise form here does not, however, correspond to any known form in classical Syriac, but it is found in exactly the same context in a Palmyrene inscription dated A.D. 209: *nšbr dh w‘lt’ ‘bd PN*, “PN made this stele and altar” (Hillers and Cussini 1996, no. 1546 = *Inv.* 12, 31) and also in Nabataean (Hoftijzer and Jongeling, 751).

For Maralahe see on As20:6. The present inscription puts some flesh on the bones of the cult of this little known deity.

4: On the formula “for the life of ...” see As27:3 and especially Dijkstra 1995.

That this dedication is “for the life of my lord the king and his children” is especially significant. It is probable that Tiridates was a supporter of and refers here to Wa‘el bar Sahru (A.D. 162-64), a pro-Parthian puppet who replaced Ma‘nu VIII on the throne of Edessa until the Romans reinstated the latter in 164. The inscription asserts Tiridates’ loyalty to Wa‘el and may have had a propagandistic function (Drijvers 1980, 132-34; Dijkstra 1995, 252-54).

5: Tiridates then includes his father and other members of his family in the dedication, tying them too to his political declaration.

dyly: *dyl*, “belonging to”, with 1st singular personal pronoun, followed by *d-* extending the genitive phrase.

ʿhy is probably plural, *ʿahay*, “my brothers”, since Tiridates probably had several brothers (see on As27:4)(?).

bnyn: “our sons/children” (classical *b^enayn*).

As37 (D24)

Date: A.D.165

Plate: Pl. 26-27 (Segal)

Provenance: On the top of the central hill at Sumatar (on the middle of the eastern edge)

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: Segal 1953, 102; Segal 1954, 26-28; Caquot 1963, 4; Bivar and Shaked 1964; Segal 1970, 57; Drijvers 1972, 17-18; Drijvers 1980, 126; Dijkstra 1995, 254; Drijvers 1993, 151; Beyer 1996, 42-43

Text:

1 כבד עז 476 בת
 2 אר חבב כי אדנא אר חבב אר חבב
 3 אר חבב אר חבב אר חבב
 4 אר חבב אר חבב אר חבב
 5 אר חבב אר חבב אר חבב
 6 אר חבב אר חבב אר חבב
 אר חבב
 7 אר חבב אר חבב אר חבב
 8 אר חבב אר חבב אר חבב
 9 אר חבב אר חבב אר חבב

Translation:

(1) In Šebaṭ of the year 476, in that month, (2) I, Maniš son of Adona and Ma'na, and Alkur (3) and Belbena and Alkur, his brother, (4) we set up this pillar on this blessed (5) mountain and erected a seat for the one who maintains it. (6) The governor will be *budar* after Tiridates, the governor, (7) and he will give the seat to the one who is going to maintain it. His recompense (8) will be from Maralahe. But if he withholds the seat (9) or the pillar is ruined, he, the god, will be the judge.

Epigraphic: There are some major problems in the reading of this very important inscription.


There are a number of imperfect verb forms: *-trsyhy* (5), *-hwʷ* (6), *-tl* (7), *-hwʷ* (8) *-klʷ* (8), *tthbl* (9) and possibly *-dyn* (9). Of these there is no doubt that the masculine singular imperfect prefix is *y-* in the cases

of *yhw*² (6), *ytl* (7), *yhw*² (8) and *ydyn* (9). This is particularly clear in the case of *ytl*, in which the {y} is hooked to such an extent that it cannot be {n}. *n-* is, of course, the normal classical Syriac imperfect prefix and in *ntrsyhy* (5) the first letter clearly looks more like an {n} than a {y}, while the first letter of *nkl*² (8) is harder judge. Economy of explanation and good linguistic sense point to the *y-* forms as the correct readings. It would certainly be strange to have both forms in the same inscription, though on the other hand it is clearly the case that there *was* a transition from *y-* to *n-* and we cannot rule out the mixing of forms.

Bearing this problem in mind the inscription has been very carefully scrutinised *in situ* and our conclusion is that the *y-* forms were probably intended in all the cases.

But this is not the only problem.

At the end of line 1 Segal read *byrh*. This reading, though accepted in Drijvers 1972, 18, without comment, is very uncertain: *byr/d* is read plausibly enough, but three vertical strokes follow. The last two are linked and could constitute {h}, but there is still another stroke before the {h} and after the supposed {r}. Now in fact the reading *byrh* creates a major difficulty, in that for a normal dating formula such a phrase should come before the month name (as in As36:1 and universally). *byrh* then has to be explained away by some other means (Drijvers and Healey: correction of an error or unusual word-order; Beyer: an afterthought; Segal: it means “at the new moon”). We therefore accept *byrh* while hoping for light on the problem from future discoveries. The letters following the {b} might possibly be a numeral: “1+1” earlier in the line is an almost identical shape to that interpreted as {h}.

For the reading of *ʾlkwd/r* in lines 2 and 3 see on As30:4. Segal 1954, 26, read *ʾlbt* and Beyer 1996, 42, reads *ʾnbt* in line 2 while retaining *ʾlkwr/d* in line 3. This would be attractive because it solves the problem of the two Alkurs, but examination of the letter-forms suggests it is not easy to defend: the supposed {t} at the end of line 2 is completely unlike any other {t} in the inscription, where we find a fairly classical *estrangela*  shape.

There is a small gap towards the end of line 3: we might wish to restore {w}, but this creates difficulties; see the discussion below.

In line 5 (and lines 7 and 8) Beyer 1966, 242 n.4; 1996, 42, suggested reading *prs*², “measured allowance”, instead of *krs*² as in all earlier treatments of the text. This is an attractive suggestion and on close inspection of the inscription it is clear that the initial letter could in all three places be {p}, but the new reading creates difficulties of interpretation (see below).

At the end of line 5 Segal initially read *mtrsꝑhy*. Close examination of the stone reveals that *dn* or *dy* should be read for the {m}. There is a small gap between the two letters. This makes much better sense.

In line 6 Beyer 1996, 42-43, reads the first word as *šlntr* for the usual *šlyty*. We here suggest reading *šlytʔ*, assuming a rather defective writing of the {ʔ}. This eases the translation, but *šlyty* is certainly possible.

In line 8 Segal originally read *nplʔ*, and Beyer retains this, though with a different meaning. *yklʔ* (or possibly *nklʔ*) is preferred here.

The last word of line 9 has caused considerable difficulty. Segal read *ydʔn*, “he knows us”. In fact Segal’s drawing is completely accurate and it is impossible to read the letters in this way. Drijvers 1972, 17, tried to improve the reading with *hy*, though this corresponds only slightly better to the marks on the stone and takes no account of what must be a final {n}. Now this seems to be a case in which a newly discovered inscription can help resolve the difficulty. Cs6:4 has reference to Sin as a *bʕl dynʔ*, “master of contention/judgement, adversary” (Payne Smith, 51; Brockelmann, 84). It therefore seems possible that the correct reading in the Sumatar inscription should be *ydyn*, which represents extremely well what is found on the stone (though the verb form requires a little special explanation: Drijvers 1993, 151).

Comment:

1: For the date compare As36:1. The numeral is written identically except that the 2nd and 3rd units and the 5th and 6th units are linked together by ligatures.

The problem of *byrh* has been discussed above with the epigraphy. The phrase may be a second thought, the correction of the mistake of omitting *yrh* at the beginning of the sentence. It might be simply unusual syntax. However, we suspect there is some other explanation: perhaps involving a numeral.

2: The name Maniš is only found here, but he is clearly one of the sons of Adona, whose family was so prominent at Sumatar (see on As27:4). The name is also found in Hatra (Hatra 139:3, 4). (See Beyer 1996, 43, on the names here).

Maʕna: see on As29:2; Alkur: see on As30:4.

3: The name Belbena appears also in As38:2, where he is described as the son of Adona. It is possible that the same person is involved here and that Maniš, Maʕna, Alkur and Belbena are *all* sons of Adona (see Drijvers 1980, 132). The name Belbena is not found elsewhere but transparently means “Bel has built/created”. Nabubana is found at Hatra (Abbadi 1983, 127). See discussion of Vattioni 1971, 446, and Milik 1972, 333.

However, the second Alkur presents a problem. He cannot be simply another person in the list of the sons of Adona, since one Alkur has already been mentioned. And if Ma'na etc. were sons of Adona it is almost certain that the inscription would have identified them as such, rather than simply as brothers of Maniš. The matter is fully discussed by Dijkstra 1995, 254-55, with the conclusion that only Maniš is a son of Adona, while the others named are associates of Adona, no doubt members of a wider family group (and hence described as “brothers” or, avoiding this specific term, “brethren” [Drijvers 1980, 126]). While Dijkstra’s view coheres generally, it leaves some loose ends, especially the fact that a Belbena is clearly son of Adona in As38:2 and Dijkstra’s argument forces us to assume two different persons in adjacent inscriptions. (The word “and” might be inserted before “his brothers” [see epigraphic notes above]: the “his” would then refer only to the second Alkur).

Another difficulty, the fact that one would have expected the two Alkurs to be distinguished, may be resolved by interpreting ʔhwhy as a singular.

4: What looks superficially like a change of person (“I” in line 1, “we” in line 4) is not really a problem, since the statement of the inscription is primarily in the first person plural and the main initiator identifies himself first and then the other equal partners who constitute the “we”.

šmn: 1st plural pe'al perfect of ŠYM, “put, set in place”. The spelling with {š} is a further example of historical spelling following the earlier distinction between /s/ and /š/ (see on As9:1 and As36:3).

nšbrʔ: see on As36:3.

ṭwrʔ: “mountain” (classical *tūrā*).

5: brykʔ: “blessed” (masculine emphatic).

ʔqymn is the 1st plural ap'el perfect of QWM, meaning in this form “set up, cause to stand” (Payne Smith, 495), frequently used in connection with the erection of steles, offerings, etc. (see dedications in Palmyrene, Nabataean: Hoftijzer and Jongeling, 1001-02).

Beyer’s reading of *prsʔ*, “measured allowance” (*TS*, cols.3278-79: *prsʔ*, “portio, cibus, demensum, σιτομέτρον”; Payne Smith, 462-63; Brockelmann, 600; Jastrow, 1233; Beyer 1994, 399; Hoftijzer and Jongeling, 940-41; note also *prns*: *TS*, cols.3269-71; Payne Smith, 462; Hoftijzer and Jongeling, 940), would remove all reference to a chair and the concern of the inscription would mostly be with the provision of financial or other support for the person who looks after the cult-site.

The older reading, *kršʔ*, “throne, seat”, retained here, would clearly be the equivalent of Biblical Aramaic 𐤏𐤓𐤕𐤔 (HALAT, 1727;

Hoftijzer and Jongeling, 536-37), though the word does not occur in this form in classical Syriac, where we have *kūrsyā* (Payne Smith, 211; Brockelmann, 348). It would refer here to a ritual throne specially dedicated. The notion of a ceremonial or ritual chair of office is not without parallel (see Shaked in Bivar and Shaked 1964, 289-90, with special reference to parallels in the Tang-i Sarvak inscriptions; Cook 1930, 21-26).

lmn d-, “for the one who ...”

ytrsyyh (or *ntrsyyh*) is the 3rd masculine singular imperfect of *tarsī*, “support, help, nourish, rear” (Payne Smith, 621: *tap’el* from RSY; Brockelmann, 836), with 3rd singular object suffix. This suffix on this weak quadriliteral verb is clearly masculine (against feminine *-h*: see Nöldeke 1898², 139-41). It must refer to the “sacred mountain”. The meaning of the verb has always been difficult to fit into the present context. It was thought by earlier scholars that the object of the verb meaning “nourish” could not be the chair or the sacred mountain. Interpreters were forced to assume that the object suffix referred to the person nurtured by “my governor”, i.e. a protégé.

However, new light is now shed on *tarsī* by its appearance in the second of the legal parchments published by Teixidor (P3:18). There it is used in the context of the upkeep of property and matched with the verb *šwʿ*, “daub (with mud)” in the context of building maintenance. Teixidor 1991-92, 205, translates *trsy* there as “restore”. With this sort of meaning there is no difficulty in having the sacred mountain as the object.

6: For *šlyṯ*? or *šlyty*, “the/my ruler, governor” (see on As36:2).

As noted above, Beyer 1996, 42-43, read an otherwise unknown personal name *šlnṯr* for *šlyty*.

yhwʿ: “he will be”.

The term *bwdr*, which may appear also in Bs2:3 in the defective spelling *bdr*, and possibly in the inscription dated A.D. 125 from al-Saʿdiyāh near Hatra (see Segal 1967b, 9 n. 28; Hoftijzer and Jongeling, 145). The etymology and meaning of the term are discussed by Segal 1954, 27-28; Maricq 1965, 141-44; Drijvers 1980, 128-30, but no completely satisfactory explanation has been found:

(i) The only explanation from within Syriac that is at all plausible is to relate it to the root BDR, “sprinkle”, which can be used of anointing wounds (Payne Smith, 36; Brockelmann, 60). An extension of the meaning might produce the name of a cultic functionary: “sprinkler” (?) (see Drijvers 1980, 129 n.20);

(ii) Widely accepted, though not very probable, is the suggestion of Segal 1954, 27 (see also Segal 1963, 217; Segal 1967b, 8-9) of a connection with the *buḡdāriyyūn* (var. *bwhḏr*, *bḥḏr*), a class of initiates

into the Sabian cult of Harran according to al-Nadīm (*Kitāb al-Fihrist* [ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig: Vogel 1871] I, 326-7: بنو البوعداريين , في بيت البوعداريين , etc. [sometimes without و]; see Dodge 1970, II, 769-72; see Chwolsohn 1856, II, 352-54, for an Iranian etymology of the word [also texts, 45-51 and 31 n.378]: he interprets the word as meaning θεοφόρος; Green 1992, 191-204. See especially Drijvers 1980, 128-30.

mn btr: “after” or possibly “second in authority to” (Beyer 1996, 42: “direkt unterstellt”) (Payne Smith, 57; Brockelmann, 56).

Tiridates is now named as the “ruler”. He is in As36 entitled “ruler of ‘Arab”.

7: *ytl*: “he (Tiridates) will give” (classical *netel*, pe^{al} imperfect form used for the defective verb *y^hhab*).

mtrs: active participle of the verb *tarsī* used in line 5. For the English equivalent “going to do” see Muraoka 1997, 66. The *lh* corresponds to the object suffix there.

prⁿ, defectively spelled version of classical *pūrⁿānā*, “recompense, reward, punishment” (Payne Smith, 439; Brockelmann, 603).

8: Maralahe: see on As20:6.

ykl appears to derive from the verbal root KL², in Syriac “withhold” (Payne Smith, 215; Brockelmann, 327). The question here would be of refusing to hand over the “seat”. Segal 1954, 26, read *npl*, “falls”, but later abandoned this (Drijvers 1972, 17). If the “chair” is the object another possibility might be to seek another meaning for KL², parallel to the destruction of the pillar, reference to which follows. Jewish Aramaic may provide the solution, since there the verb ככל can mean “destroy, use up” (pa^{cel}) (Jastrow, 641). Beyer, retaining *npl*, finds a more appropriate meaning in the root PL²/Y in the pa^{cel} form, “remove” (for Beyer it means cease to pay the promised subvention), though this is unknown in Syriac (see Beyer 1984, 668; Beyer 1994, 398).

9: *tthbl*: 3rd feminine imperfect pa^{cel} corresponding to classical Syriac *tethabbal*, “it will be corrupted/destroyed/ruined” (Payne Smith, 123-24; Brockelmann, 211).

With the new reading *ydyn*, “he will judge”, we would have a reference to the judgement of the god, which is well paralleled in Cs6:4 (see epigraphic notes above) and understood by Beyer 1996, 41, in As28:11. The spelling is a little unexpected for the pe^{al}: classical Syriac would have *ndwn* for *n^edūn* and we find *ḏwn* in P1:14 and P3:20. *ydyn* looks more like an ap^{el} or pa^{cel}. Drijvers 1993, 151, suggests the spelling may be due to Akkadian influence, but even without that supposition the pe^{al} imperfect form ܝܕܝܢ is found in Qumran Targum Job 36:31 (Beyer 1984, 293) and, less clearly,

4Q246 col. 2:5 (Beyer 1994, 112). Another possibility might be that the verb is in fact *pa^cel*, meaning “act as judge” (for the *pa^cel* see Jewish Aramaic, Jastrow, 301). It could indeed be a denominative (from *dayyānā*, “judge”). For the god Sin as judge see Tallqvist 1938, 447-48.

This is one of the most important of the inscriptions of the series, with complex implications for religion at Sumatar. Evidently the office of Budar was of considerable religious significance and it was passed on from one holder to another. The relationship between the governorship and the budar-ship remains unclear.

As38 (D25)

Date: Undated: probably mid-2nd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 28 (Segal)

Provenance: On the top of the central hill at Sumatar (on the middle of the eastern edge)

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: Segal 1954, 28-29; Caquot 1963, 4; Drijvers 1972, 18-19

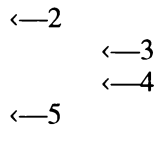
Text:

1 רִבְנָה בֶּן אֲבָטָא
 2 רִבְנָה בֶּן אֲבָטָא
 3 תִּי --- יְהוֹשֻׁעַ
 4 ---יְהוֹשֻׁעַ--- אֲבָטָא
 5 אֲבָטָא בֶּן אֲבָטָא
 6 רִבְנָה בֶּן אֲבָטָא

Translation:

(1) Remembered be Alkur son of Abd'ata (2) and Belbena son of Adona (3) and

Epigraphic: Note may be made of the way the inscription is laid out, with the lines staggered thus: <—1



The readings given here are based on a fresh examination of the inscription, but there is much that is in doubt.

Comment:

1: On the *dkyr* formula see Healey 1996.

For the name Alkur see on As30:4 and Caquot 1963, 4.

The name Abd'ata ("Servant of 'Ata") is remarkable for the fact that it is clearly a version of 'Abd'ata with weakened initial guttural. 'Abd'ata with 'ayin is found in Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 42). The history of this feature is noted by Segal 1954, 30, who cites earlier Aramaic (*RES* §962) and Palmyrene (Ingholt and Starcky in

Schlumberger 1951, 145, 163-64: *brʔ* for *brʕ* etc.). See the section on phonology in the Language chapter.

2: Belbena bar Adona see on As37:3.

3 and 5: The name partly preserved in both lines may be BR-BBS. On Babas see As31:3.

6: No exact parallel to the name BRYʔ has been located (see Al-Jadir 1983, 354).

As39 (D64)

Date: Undated: probably mid-2nd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 28 (Drijvers)

Provenance: On the top of the central hill at Sumatar (on the middle of the western edge)

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: Drijvers 1972, 51; Drijvers 1973, 10-11; Segal 1973, 622

Text:

𐌰𐌶𐌰 𐌰𐌶 1

Translation:

(1) Ana, the builder.

Epigraphic: No difficulties.

Comment:

1: For the name Ana see on As30:2.

For *bny*², “builder”, see on As34:5.

As40 (D65)

Date: Undated: probably mid-2nd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 29 (Drijvers)

Provenance: On a funerary stele with a male figure found just outside Sumatar

Location: Now destroyed

Bibliography: Drijvers 1972, 51-52; Drijvers 1973, 2-6 and pl. II; Segal 1973, 621

Text:

Translation:

(1) This is the image (2-3) which ʿAlbel son of Ḥamaṭuta made (4) for Batta his son.

Epigraphic: The text is clear apart from a slight doubt over the name in line 2. Originally read as *zlbl* by Drijvers, Segal 1973, 621, pointed out that there is a ligature between the first and second letters which virtually precludes {z}. It is doubted also by Degen 1974a, 295.

Comment:

1: On the syntax see Beyer 1996, 40, and our discussion in connection with As47:1.

2: Reading *zlbl* Drijvers 1973, 3, originally interpreted the name as based on Neo-Assyrian Šil-Bêl (giving full argumentation). If *ʿlbl* is correct we would look to another Bel name, perhaps a form like Palmyrene *ʿlybwl* (Stark 1971, 44).

3: For the name Ḥamaṭuta see Drijvers 1973, 4. The name is known from an Assyrian tablet from the Harran region in the form Ḥa-ma-tu-tu. The Aramaic summary has *ḥmṭṭ* (CIS II, 38). Drijvers suggested a connection with the Akkadian *ḥamātu*, “hasten” and “be inflamed” (CAD Ḥ, 62-65), but another possibility might be a connection with Syriac *ḥemṭā*, “pustule, head of a sore” (Payne Smith, 146; Brockelmann, 239), with a use connected with the use of bad names to ward off evil. Al-Jadir 1983, 346, comments on this practice and gives examples and Brockelmann 1908, I, 366-67, gives examples of this ad-

jectival pattern for “Deminutiva und Deteriorativa” (also Moscatti 1969, §12.12, 79).

4: The name Batta, discussed by Drijvers 1973, 3, is found also in Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 12) and it is the name of a later bishop of Tella (Brooks 1904, Syriac 152:10 ܒܬܬܐ). Segal 1973, 621, casts doubt on a connection with the word *brt*ʹ, “daughter”, since Syriac, unlike Palmyrene, never has *bt* for “daughter”. Al-Jadir 1983, 365, suggested it was a hypocoristic for *byʹl*, “house of god”, but this seems unlikely outside the Biblical/Palestinian context.

186), commonly assumed to be of Iranian origin: Hoftijzer and Jongeling, 298; Hinz 1975, 270; Telegdi 1935, 241 (though this is disputed by Al-Jadir 1983, 371). Drijvers 1973, 9-10, also notes the possibility of a name based on the divine name Wadd, who was worshipped in Arabia.

As43 (D68)

Date: Undated: probably mid-2nd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 31 (Drijvers)

Provenance: A funerary stele with a relief of three women (?) found on a hill at Sumatar near the entrance to a cave-tomb

Location: Urfa Museum

Bibliography: Drijvers 1972, 53-54; Drijvers 1973, 6-7 and pls IV-V; Segal 1973, 621-22

Text:

1 ܣܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ 1
 2 ܠܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ 2
 3 ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ 3
 4 ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ 4
 5 ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ 5
 6 ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ 6

Translation:

(1-2) This is the image that son of Šila,, made (3) daughter of GYW (4)

Epigraphic: Although this inscription is badly preserved, the beginning can be made out with certainty. Drijvers 1973, 7, regarded the last word of line 2 as a personal name (introduced by the preposition *l-*), whereas Segal 1973, 621-22, suggested reading *lgytyw*, a single word which would describe the person just named. However, the third letter of the group looks more like {d/r} than {y} and this is retained.

Drijvers 1973, 7, notes that the script is very similar to that of As40.

Comment:

1: The opening formula is a standard one (see As40:1-2; As51:1-2; As52:1-2).

2: The name Šila is found elsewhere at Sumatar: As27:1 (details cited there) and, in Pognon's Cave, As47:7-8 and As52:3.

At the end of the line Drijvers read a woman's name prefixed with the preposition *l-*, "for G-ŦYW". Segal 1973, 621-22, reading *lgytyw* at the end of the line, would interpret it as "embassy" or a variant on Syriac *lgtwn*, "legacy" (meaning here "as a legacy"). On the classical

Syriac *legatūn* see Payne Smith, 235; Brockelmann, 358. Various spellings are recorded but none with /y/ after the /g/, and the meaning would be forced.

3: The main part of this line was the name and patronymic of a woman (QMT, continuing the previous line: Drijvers 1973, 7?). The name GYW (or possibly ʿYW) is paralleled in As20:1, but is otherwise unparalleled.

As44

Date: Unknown: probably mid-2nd century A.D.

Plate: None available.

Provenance: Noted by Pognon 1907, though without details, in Pognon's Cave, Sumatar Harabesi, on the front edge of the wall of the left-hand section of the cave

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: Pognon 1907, 27

Text:

----]∞[---]↯ 1

----]┘[-- 2

Epigraphic: The inscription, inscribed vertically, is barely legible.

As45 (D3)

Date: Undated: probably mid-2nd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 32-33 (Pognon drawing; Healey photograph)

Provenance: Pognon's Cave, Sumatar, on the left-hand, north-facing wall, above the head of a full-length figure

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: Pognon 1907, 27 and pls III r and XIV; Segal 1953, 103; Drijvers 1972, 4

Text:

𐤆𐤓𐤀 𐤅 𐤆𐤓𐤀 1

Translation:

(1) Waʿel son of Waʿel.

Epigraphic: No problems

Comment:

1: For the name Waʿel, see on As20:8. The name is prominent in this cave and in As5:3, 5 the name is held by a governor (*šlyrʿ*) and a commandant (*nwhdrʿ*).

As46 (D4)

Date: Undated: probably mid-2nd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 33 (Pognon drawing)

Provenance: Pognon's Cave, Sumatar, above the head of a full-length figure immediately to the right of the figure referred to in relation to As45

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: Pognon 1907, 27 and pls III r and XIV; Segal 1953, 103; Drijvers 1972, 4

Text:

𐤆𐤓𐤀 𐤅 𐤆𐤓𐤀 1

Translation:

(1) Waʿel son of Waʿel.

Epigraphic: No problems

Comment:

See on As45.

As47 (D5)

Date: Undated: probably mid-2nd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 34-35 (Pognon drawing; Healey photograph)

Provenance: Pognon's Cave, Sumatar, between the two figures referred to in As45 and As46

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: Pognon 1907, 28-30 and pls III r and XIV; Segal 1953, 103-04; Drijvers 1972, 4-5; Drijvers 1982, 178; Beyer 1996, 40

Text:

1 ܡܘܬܪܘ ܕܘܥܠܘܢ ܕܡܘܬܪܘ
 2 ܕܘܥܠܘܢ ܕܡܘܬܪܘ ܕܘܥܠܘܢ
 3 ܕܘܥܠܘܢ ܕܡܘܬܪܘ ܕܘܥܠܘܢ
 4 ܕܘܥܠܘܢ ܕܡܘܬܪܘ ܕܘܥܠܘܢ
 5 ܕܘܥܠܘܢ ܕܡܘܬܪܘ ܕܘܥܠܘܢ
 6 ܕܘܥܠܘܢ ܕܡܘܬܪܘ ܕܘܥܠܘܢ
 7 ܕܘܥܠܘܢ ܕܡܘܬܪܘ ܕܘܥܠܘܢ
 8 ܕܘܥܠܘܢ ܕܡܘܬܪܘ ܕܘܥܠܘܢ

Translation:

(1-3) These are the images which Wa'el son of Mutru, the of PR, made for Wa'el, governor of 'Arab, (4) son of Wa'el, and for Wa'el his son, (5) commandant of Šur, his lords (6) and his benefactors. (7) [Šila] son of (8) Šila carved [them].

Epigraphic: Most of the text is clear. In line 2 *mwtrw* was revised to read *mytrw* by Drijvers 1982, 178.

Also in lines 2-3 Beyer 1996, 40, read [*ʾrd*]^ʾ *dpr*/^ʾ*r*. The first word of line 3 was read *dpr* by Pognon and inspection of the inscription has confirmed that this is possible, though Segal 1953, 103 n.12 preferred to read *ʿbd* and this was adopted by Drijvers 1972, 5. In fact *ʿbd* does not fit very well, being a redundant repetition of the main verb. There is, however, a vertical stroke between the {p} and the {r}. If it is not a flourish on the {p} it may be another {r}, giving *prr*.

The other part of Beyer's reconstruction is highly speculative, since the word he restores, *ʾrd*^ʾ, which would be an Iranian loan, does not occur elsewhere in Syriac or any of the other Aramaic dialects of the period. A better reconstruction would be the well-known word *nwhdr*^ʾ (see line 5).

The last two lines are slightly separated from the rest and are far from clear.

Comment:

1: In relation to this inscription (though the issue is one which affects many of our inscriptions) Beyer 1996, 40, argues for a translation “These images are that which Waʿel ... made”. While this is certainly possible, the placing of the demonstrative in front of the noun is unusual in the inscriptions, and in some cases cited by Beyer it seems more likely that “This is the image” is meant. Thus in As6:1-3 we have *hdʷ šlmʷ d-PN dʿbd PN*. Here it is clear that the main clause is “This is the image of PN which PN made”, not “This image of PN is one which PN made”, since this would be likely to imply that there were several images of the person set up by different individuals. Cases like As9:1 (“This image PN made”) and Am5:9-10 (“This tomb PN made”) are completely different precisely because there is no intervening *d-*. In both cases the noun-phrase is fronted to give it emphasis.

šlmʷ is plural, referring to the two figures on the wall of the cave. These are the figures of Waʿel and his son.

2: For the name Waʿel see on As20:8 (and Beyer 1996, 40).

Mutru could be vocalised in a variety of ways: see Beyer 1996, 40. The suggestion of Beyer to read the name of an office at the end of the line is attractive, but if any restoration were to be attempted, surely *nwhdrʷ* would be the best, being well known in these inscriptions and occurring also in line 5. Here we would have the Nuhadra of PR(R), there the Nuhadra of Šur. The term he suggests, *ʷrdrʷ*, does not occur elsewhere in Early Syriac or in Aramaic (and even its meaning in the Iranian context is rather unclear: Hinz 1975, 36).

3: PR(R) appears to be a place-name and it may be related to the PRR(?) in the charge of a Nuhadra in As31:2, though the readings are not certain.

3-4: The Waʿel to whom the dedication was made may well be the son of the Waʿel bar Sahru who (later) became king of Edessa under Parthian protection in 163-65. This is one of the oldest inscriptions of the Sumatar series (Drijvers 1980, 133).

3: For *šlyʷ dʿrb* see on As36:2.

5: For the office of Nuhadra see on As1:2.

Šūr(ā) is identified by Beyer 1996, 40, with a known northern Mesopotamian town (Kessler 1980, 57-66).

5-6: The title “lord and benefactor” is found a number of times in the inscriptions: As49:7-7; Am10:6. It is also found at Hatra: see Drijvers 1982, 178-81.

mrwhy, “his lords” (plural of classical Syriac *mārā* with 3rd masculine singular pronoun suffix; see Nöldeke 1898², 91).

6: *‘bdy ṭbth*, a construct phrase, is literally “the doers of his good things”, meaning “benefactors” (classical Syriac *‘āḇ^eday ṭāḇāṭeh*: Payne Smith, 395, “his benefactors”). The phrase is also found in As49:7-8 and Am10:6.

7: On the name Šila see As27:1.

For *glp* see on As13:1.

As48 (D6)**Date:** Undated: probably mid-2nd century A.D.**Plate:** Pl. 35 (Pognon)**Provenance:** Pognon's Cave, Sumatar, above the head of a relief figure on the principal (east-facing) wall opposite the entrance**Location:** *In situ***Bibliography:** Pognon 1907, 30 and pl. III 1.; Segal 1953, 103; Drijvers 1972, 5-6**Text:**
Translation:

(1) Ḥapsay son of Barkalba.

Epigraphic: There is some ambiguity in the second personal name (*k/b*, *l/n*), but it is fairly certain in the light of As50:5 (and As49:5).**Comment:**

1: For the name Ḥapsay see on As33:3. It is clearly the same Ḥapsay bar Barkalba who is named in As49 and As50. In As49:4-5 he is called Aurelius Ḥapsay and described as “freedman of Antoninus Caesar”. Drijvers 1980, 131-32, presents in full the argument over the identification of the emperor, concluding that it is most likely Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (A.D. 161-80), though the possibility is not totally ruled out that it might be Caracalla (also Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, A.D. 211-217). This would give indirect information on the date of the present inscription.

The name Barkalba (“Son of the Dog [probably = Nergal]”), also found in As49:5 and As50:5 (see also P1:24), is attested in early Syriac literature (Cureton 1864, *Doctrina Addai* ↘: 23) and in Hatra (Abbadi 1983, 9, 89-90). Related name forms (*klb*, *klbʿ*, *klbw*) are found in Arabic, Nabataean, Palmyrene, etc. (Al-Jadir 1983, 355).

As49 (D7)

Date: Undated: probably mid-2nd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 36 (Pognon drawing; Healey photograph)

Provenance: Pognon's Cave, Sumatar, to the left of the figure referred to in As48

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: Pognon 1907, 30 and pl.III l. (part published in Pognon 1903, II, xx n.1); Segal 1953, 103; Segal 1970, 23 and n.1; Drijvers 1972, 6

Text:

1 ܘܡܢ ܒܪ ܕܢܝܢܐ 1
 ܕܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ 2
 ܘܕܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ 3
 ܘܕܘܪܝܢܐ 4
 ܕܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܘܪܝܢܐ 5
 ܘܕܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ 6
 ܘܕܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܘܪܝܢܐ 7
 ܘܕܘܪܝܢܐ 8

Translation:

(1-3) (Image) which Barnahar son of Dini, governor of 'Arab, made for Aurelius (4) Hapsay son of (5) Barkalba, freedman (6) of Antoninus (7-8) Caesar, his lord and his benefactor.

Epigraphic: The restorations given above derive from Pognon 1907, 30-31, and were agreed by Segal 1953, 103, and Drijvers 1972, 6. Pognon 1907, 31, suggested that ^ʿwrylws in line 3 was a simple error for ^ʿwrlyws. In fact this supposition seems to be supported by ^ʿwrlyws in the Dura Parchment (P1: 5, 6, 29) and P3:5, 7, though in other places in the Dura text there appears ^ʿwrls (described as the vulgar form “-(i)s” by Goldstein 1966, 7) (P1:8, 20, 24, 25, verso 2, 3).

Comment:

1: Note the elliptical introductory formula using *d-* (see on As8:1).

Barnahar bar Dini is also found with the same title in As52:3-5. The name Barnahar does not occur otherwise in the corpus, though related forms, *nhr*^ʿ and *nyhr*^ʿ occur in Palmyrene and Hatran (Stark

1971, 39; Abbadī 1983, 27, 129). The root NHR relates to “shining, light, etc.” and is presumably a divine name.

2: The name rendered Dini (which could, of course, be read as Rini) occurs also in Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 14, 83, where it is interpreted as “Judged by DN”, following a discussion by Caquot in Ingholt, Seyrig, Starcky and Caquot 1955, 171). Personal names of similar form are known in Palmyrene and Nabataean (Al-Jadir 1983, 369).

2-3: For the title *šlyrʾ dʿrb* see on As36:2.

3-4: The name Aurelius Ḥapsay, in its full form only here, is discussed in relation to Ḥapsay in As48:1. See especially Drijvers 1980, 131-32. It is to be noted that Pognon’s proposal (1907, 37-38) to identify this person with Aurelianus son of Ḥapsay (a relative of whom may be mentioned in the Dura Parchment, P1:v2, dated A.D. 243), the first Roman governor of Edessa from A.D. 248 (according to Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* V, 5: Chabot 1899-1910, I, 120 [French]; IV, 78:4 [Syriac]), is not tenable because of the probable discrepancy of date (Segal 1970, 23 n.1), but there could be a family relationship and he might be the future governor’s father (Drijvers 1982, 179).

5: On the name Barkalba see As48:1.

ʾplwtrʾ is a loan from Greek ἀπελεύθερος, “freedman” (LSJ, 185; Schall 1960, 36; Healey 1995, 81).

6-7: As noted in relation to As48:1, Antoninus Caesar is most likely Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (A.D. 161-80), though the possibility is not totally ruled out that it might be Caracalla (also Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, A.D. 211-217: see also Pognon 1903, II, xx n.1).

7-8: For the title “lord and benefactor” see on As47:6.

As50 (D8)

Date: Undated: probably mid-2nd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 37 (Pognon drawing; Healey photograph)

Provenance: Pognon's Cave, Sumatar, to the left of the head of a full-length figure on the east-facing wall in the right-hand corner of the cave

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: Pognon 1907, 31 and pl. IV r.; Segal 1953, 103; Drijvers 1972, 6-7

Text:

1. דבבא
 2. אדנא
 3. תירידט [ב] 3
 4. חפסא [ב] 4
 5. ברבאלבא [ב] 5

Translation:

(1-2) (Image) which Adona (3) son of Tiridates made (4) for Ḥapsay (5) son of Barkalba.

Epigraphic: The restorations of Pognon are largely certain and followed by Segal and Drijvers. There may have been a further line after line 5, but it is lost (Pognon 1907, 31).

Comment:

1: For the introductory formula see on As8:1.

2-3: On the names Adona and Tiridates see As27:4.

4-5: On Ḥapsay bar Barkalba see As48:1 and As49:3-4.

As51 (D9)

Date: c. A.D. 170 (based on reference to Abgar the Great before he became king)

Plate: Pl. 38 (Pognon)

Provenance: Pognon's Cave, Sumatar, between two figures on the south-facing wall. The inscription may refer to the third figure from the left as Abgar

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: Pognon 1907, 31-32 and pl. XV; Segal 1953, 104; Drijvers 1972, 7-8

Text:

1 מ נ ו 1
 2 ה ח נ 2
 3 כ ת ח מ 3
 4 א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ 4
 5 א ב ג ד 5
 6 [---] א ב ג ד [---] 6

Translation:

(1) This is the image (2-3) which Ma'nu son of Muqimi made (4) for Abgar, governor (5) of 'Arab. (6) ..Ma'nu.....

Epigraphic: In line 3, Segal 1953, 104, read *mqmw*: the final {y} is clear, though the form is a defective writing for *mwqymy*. In line 6 some letters can be made out, but no continuous sense. Drijvers suggests *m'nw gxr* or *m'nw glp* "Ma'nu cut/carved". If the name Ma'nu is correctly read it might have been preceded by *br*, "son of".

Comment:

2-3: On the name Ma'nu see As1:7; Muqimi is a unique variant on the common Muqimu (see As16:3).

4-5: The name Abgar is well known at Edessa as a royal name. It occurs most notably in the Abgar Mosaic (Am10:5, 9), but also in As55:2 (restored), the Dura Parchment (P1:6, 8, verso 3, 4) and the longer of the two unprovenanced parchments (P2:ii, 3, 4, 6, 7, 26). The name is common in various forms in Palmyrene and Nabataean (Stark 1971, 1; Al-Khraysheh 1983, 24: *'bgrw*). Like another *'p'l*

name, *Aptuḥa* (on which see *As1:1*), it belongs to the class of adjectival forms indicating a bodily defect, in this case “big-bellied”.

The *Abgar* referred to here as “governor of ‘Arab” (on which title see *As36:2*) later became king of Edessa as *Abgar VIII the Great* (A.D. 176-211) (*Drijvers 1982, 177*). This would date the inscription to before 176.

6: *Abgar the Great* is known to have been the son of *Ma‘nu*. It is possible that “son of *Ma‘nu*” is to be read at the beginning of the last line. Otherwise we may have reference to the stone-carver (perhaps a form of the verb *gzr*: *Payne Smith, 67; Brockelmann, 112*).

As52 (D10)

Date: Undated: probably mid-2nd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 38 (Pognon)

Provenance: Pognon’s Cave, Sumatar, between the heads of two figures (third and fourth from left) on the south-facing wall. The fourth figure may be Barnahar.

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: Pognon 1907, 32-33; Segal 1953, 104; Drijvers 1972, 8

Text:

1 𐤌𐤓𐤌𐤓 𐤓𐤌𐤓𐤌
 2 𐤓𐤌𐤓𐤌 [- 𐤓𐤌𐤓𐤌]
 3 𐤓𐤌𐤓𐤌 𐤓𐤌𐤓𐤌 𐤓𐤌𐤓𐤌
 4 𐤓𐤌𐤓𐤌 [𐤓𐤌𐤓𐤌] 𐤓𐤌𐤓𐤌
 5 [𐤓𐤌𐤓𐤌]

Translation:

(1) This is the image (2-3) which Male son of Šila made for Barnahar (4) son of Dini, governor (5) of ‘Arab.

Epigraphic: The restorations by Pognon were agreed by Segal and Drijvers. Pognon 1907, 32, clearly implies there may have been another letter before *ml*^p in line 2 and the amount of space in the lacuna makes this quite probable.

Comment:

2-4: For the personal names in these lines note:

Male (if it is not a longer name with another letter at the beginning), rendered *Mālē* by Segal 1953, 104 (presumably following a Greek transcription, *Μαλης*, found at Palmyra: Stark 1971, 95), is paralleled in Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 31).

Šila: see on As27:1.

Barnahar bar Dini: As49:1-2.

5: This same individual is again described as “governor of ‘Arab” in As49.

As53 (D11)

Date: Undated: probably mid-2nd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 39 (Pognon)

Provenance: Pognon's Cave, Sumatar, above the figure of a child on the south-facing wall

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: Pognon 1907, 33; Drijvers 1972, 8-9

Text:

] 1
] 2

Translation:

(1) Ḥapsay

Epigraphic: The inscription has defied attempts to improve the reading.

Comment:

1: On the name Ḥapsay see As33:3.

The name is clearly that of the child whose figure appears immediately below the inscription.

As54 (D12)

Date: Undated: probably mid-2nd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 39 (Pognon)

Provenance: Pognon's Cave, Sumatar, on the moulding above the heads of two figures (the first and second on the left) on the south-facing wall

Location:

Bibliography: Pognon 1907, 33; Segal 1953, 104; Drijvers 1972, 9

Text:

ⲕⲟⲩⲁⲕ ⲓ ⲃⲓⲧⲁⲃⲉ [] ⲕⲟ[ⲓ]ⲕ ⲓ [1

Translation:

(1)son of Adona.....Tiridates son of Adona

Epigraphic: This is a single line of text, but it is not clear that it forms a unity. To the right of the legible letters there are illegible ones.

Comment:

1: For the personal names see As27:4. The missing first name is clearly that of another son of Adona.

As55 (D1)

Date: A.D. 6.

Plate: Pl. 40 (Maricq)

Provenance: Birecik (ancient Birta)

Location: Birecik Kalesi (built into tower wall)

Bibliography: Kugener 1907; Cumont 1917, 144-50; Maricq 1965, 127-39; Segal 1970, 23 n.3; Starcky 1970, 4; Degen 1974b

Text:

317 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 1
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 [𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁] 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 2
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 [𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁] 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 3
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 4
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 [-----] 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 5
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 [𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁] 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 6
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 [𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁] 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 7
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 [𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁] 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 8
]𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 9

Translation:

(1) In the month of Adar of the year 317 (2) I, Zarbiyan son of Abgar, governor of Birta, (3) tutor of 'Awidallat son of Ma'nu son of Ma'nu, (4) made this tomb for myself and for Ḥalwiya, (5) lady of my household, and for my children..... every(6)one who comes to this tomb (7) and sees and gives praise, may all the gods bless him. (8) Ḥaššay the sculptor and Seluk (9) made (it)

Epigraphic: Working from a drawing provided by the discoverer of this inscription, Cumont (1917, 144-50), Kugener 1907 was able substantially to decipher the text. A new definitive edition was provided by Maricq 1965 (= 1962). Lacunae in lines 6 and 7 are filled by comparison with other inscriptions, notably the Serrin Inscription (Bs2:5). Starcky 1970, 4, departed slightly from the Maricq text, reading *wlḥwy*² instead of Maricq's *wlḥlwy*² in line 4. This is the *status* reflected in Drijvers 1972.

Since then Degen 1974b has made a detailed study of the few disputed points and two of his conclusions have been adopted above:

In line 2 it is better to read *‘wydlt* rather than *‘wydnt*. Materially they are equally possible, but the personal name *‘Awidallat* is much more easily explicable, being a theophoric name based on the divine name (?)*Allat*.

In line 4 *włhlwy* is preferred. Close examination of the copy (failing access to the inscription itself) shows a vertical line between the {h} and the {w} which cannot be the tail of the {h} and therefore must be a further letter, probably {l}, conceivably {n}. The female personal name *Ḥalwiya* is attested in Arabic, whereas female *Ḥawiya* is not otherwise paralleled (Degen 1974b, 106).

Degen (see also Degen 1974a, 294) makes another suggestion which is more speculative though it is attractive. He notes that there are traces of a further letter after the {t} at the end of line 8, and suggests it was an {ʔ}. Comparison with the letter {ʔ} at the end of lines 2 and 4 shows the plausibility of this. He then suggests a restoration of the whole word at the end of the line as *ʔrywʔ* (on which, see below). He also suggests that a further personal name stood after the name *Seluk* in line 8, or a personal name followed by the name of a profession.

Apart from these epigraphic points, note may also be made of the slight difficulties with the numeral in line 1. The stone is damaged in the middle of all the lines and the damage is at its slightest in line 1, but this still leaves a slight doubt about the number of strokes which preceded the sign for 100. See below.

Comment:

1: The consensus is that three vertical strokes, of which two are actually in part visible, preceded the sign for 100, giving $(3 \times 100) + 10 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 = 317$. The discussions about this issue have in the past been muddled by the assumption that the *Maʿnu* referred to in line 3 is an Edessan king. In fact this is not certain and it would be surprising for the reigning king to be named without giving him his title (Segal 1970, 23). Aware of this, Kugener 1907, 591-92, thought a royal title (“toparch”) was to be found earlier in line 3, but it is now clear that no such title was included.

There remains the fact that *Zarbiyan*, himself a man of some importance, describes himself as having what appears to be a special guardianship role with regard to *Maʿnu bar Maʿnu*’s son. This would be easiest to explain if the *Maʿnu* involved were an even more important man.

So far as the dating issue is concerned, as Maricq 1963, 131-34,

noted, the palaeography is in any case fairly decisive, the letter forms appearing to be similar to but probably more archaic than those of the Serrin Inscription (Bs2), which is explicitly dated to A.D. 73. It therefore follows that the number of hundreds in the date is unlikely to be more than three and a Seleucid date of 317, A.D. 6, is likely. The full year began in October A.D. 5, but the month is specified as Adar (March).

2: The name *zrbyn*, possibly Zarbiyan, appears to be Iranian, the Greek version being Ζαββηνός (Kugener 1907, 589 and n.1).

For the name Abgar see on As51:4.

On *šlyrʿ*, “governor”, see the phrase “governor of ‘Arab” in As36:2. Here we have the governor of Birta, which is the early Syriac name of Birecik (Kugener 1907, 589-90; Cumont 1917, 144-50; Maricq 1965, 127 n.1). The Aramaic/Syriac word *birtā* means “fortress”, common in Elephantine Aramaic, though also used in Palmyrene and classical Syriac (Hoftijzer and Jongeling, 155-56; Payne Smith, 43; Brockelmann, 69). Birta was probably the centre of an administrative region of Osrhoene on the *limes* of the Euphrates, on which it stands (see Segal 1970, 23-24). According to Tacitus, *Annals* XII, 12, an Edessan king meets the east-bound Parthian Meherdates at Zeugma near Birecik in A.D.49.

3: The title *mrbynʿ* appears to mean “tutor”, literally “the one who rears (a child)” (*mʿrabbʿyānā*: Payne Smith, 298; Brockelmann, 707-08: *mʿrabbʿyānīṭā*, “nurse”, related to the paʿel *rabbī*, “increase”). The Syriac word appears in the meaning “tutor” at the beginning of the *Epistle of Mara bar Serapion* (Cureton 1855, ۱۰۳: 3). Maricq 1965, 137, made the illuminating comparison with a bilingual Greek-Nabataean inscription where a form of this root is reflected by the Greek τροφεύς, “tutor, foster-father” (LSJ, 1827; for the Nabataean see *RES* §1097 on *CIS* II, 192). If it were not for the fact that Zarbiyan had sons of his own (as line 5 implies) it might be simply a term for an adopted son, but there seems to be more involved, perhaps a special function in relation to a royal prince. The fact that the word had a special technical meaning is clear from its occurrence in a Hatra inscription (203:2) referring to an individual as the king’s *mrbynʿ*.

The name ʿAwidallat is paralleled in Palmyrene and Hatran and in Greek and Latin transcriptions (Degen 1974b, 107-80). The initial /ʿ/ of ʿlt is elided here, but retained in the Hatran instance (Abbadi 1983, 43). It means “refugee of Allat” (see on As6:4).

On Maʿnu see As1:7. In so far as a royal personage is suspected here we may note Maʿnu IV bar Maʿnu (A.D. 7-13) and Maʿnu VIII bar Maʿnu (138-62 and 164-76). The only plausible Maʿnu would, on

palaeographical grounds, be Ma'nu IV, but, as Kugener noted, this creates a problem of chronology, since Ma'nu IV did not become king until A.D. 7. It is possible that he had not yet become king, but it is better to assume that the Ma'nu of our inscription is nothing to do with the royal family (Segal 1970, 23).

4: For *byt qbwr* see on As16:4.

lnpšy is less usual than simple *ly*, occurring otherwise only in the Serrin Inscription (Bs2:4), which forms the basis of the present restoration. It commonly appears as part of the analogous formula in Nabataean inscriptions (see Healey 1994, 73) and Palmyrene (Hoftijzer and Jongeling, 744-49), where it can also mean "funerary monument". This sense too is found in the Serrin Inscription.

The name Halwiya (for reading see above) has a parallel in Arabic and is related to the root HLW/Y meaning "sweet" (Maricq 1965, 138; Al-Jadir 1983, 375). Note the Arabic *حلو* and *حلويات*, "charming, etc." and "sweets".

5: *mrt byty*, "mistress of my house", is probably a simple equivalent for "wife", possibly "principal wife". *māre baytā* and *mārat baytā* are used in classical Syriac for "head of the family, master/mistress of a household" (Payne Smith, 298, 303; Brockelmann, 401; see in Peshitta I Kgs 17:17). Note Arabic *sitt al-bayt*.

5-6: The formula *kl ʔnš d-*, "everyone who..." (after the lacuna and the isolated unexplained letters {y} and {d}) is only used here in the inscriptions. More usual in such circumstances is *mn d-*, "whoever...", as in the Serrin Inscription introducing a very similar phrase (Bs2:5). *ʔnš* is the equivalent of classical (ʔ)*nāš* in which the {ʔ} is often still written but never pronounced. It was probably still pronounced /ʔanāš/ in early Syriac. (The loss of unstressed vowels in open syllables leading to the loss in this case of the first syllable, is a relatively late development [see Beyer 1984, 128-36]).

6: *yʔtʔ* is the 3rd masculine imperfect pa'el of the verb root ʔT, "come" (classical *nīte*).

7: *yhzʔ* similarly from HZ, "see".

yšbh: classical *nʿšabbah*, used in the pa'el form for "praise". Starcky 1970, 4, neatly translates: "qui voit et exprime son admiration".

The major restoration in this line follows the Serrin inscription (Bs2:5). The main verb, *ybrkwnh* (restored), is the 3rd masculine plural imperfect (possibly with jussive meaning) of the root BRK, used in the pa'el for "bless". A 3rd masculine singular object suffix is attached. The classical Syriac form would be *nʿḥarrʿkūneh*.

ʔlhʔ klhwn, "all the gods", has normal Aramaic syntax: Healey 1993, 90, and, on Nabataean *ʔlhyʔ klhm* see 131).

8: For the name Ḥaššay, which occurs only here in the corpus, there is a Palmyrene parallel (Stark 1971, 23). No satisfactory explanation of the name is available (see Al-Jadir 1983, 377).

The occupation of this person is that of *glp*², classical *gālōpā*, “sculptor”. See on As13:1.

On the name Seluk/Seleucus see As16:2.

We have noted above the suggestion of Degen to read *trywṭ*² at the end of line 8. His suggestion is that the word is a reflex of Greek *τορευτής*, “worker in relief” (LSJ, 1806). This would fit well, but the word is only found once otherwise in Syriac, in an uncertain reading in Cureton 1855, ㉔:24 (as corrected by Fraenkel according to Schall 1960, 84).

9: Only the last word is tolerably certain here: *bdw*, “they made”, with “it” understood. On the final vowel-letter see As8:1.

As56 (D26)

Date: Unknown

Plate: Pl. 41 (Segal)

Provenance: Inserted into the ancient western wall of Harran

Location: Probably *in situ*

Bibliography: Segal 1957, 514-18, pl. I; Drijvers 1972, 19; Healey 1987; Beyer 1996, 43

Text:

𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤌 𐤁𐤓 1
 𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁 2
 𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁 3
 𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁 4

Translation:

(1) This is the tomb (2-3) which ‘Abdbay son of Mali and Rabbatyarmuk, [his] brother, made, (4) both of them together.

Epigraphic: It may be noted that the letters were coloured red.

This inscription presents a number of problems.

In line 1 Degen 1974a, 294, would prefer to read *byt*.

The verb *‘bd* in line 2 would be expected to be followed by a personal name and ‘Abdbay appears to fulfil that role, but the following words, read by Segal as *byrm ly* and interpreted as “in YRM for myself”, are hard to reconcile with the context in two ways. Firstly, it would be extraordinary to mention the location of the tomb. Secondly “for myself” implies a rather abrupt change of person from 3rd to 1st (and this would be followed by a subsequent return in the unambiguous fourth line to the 3rd person). Degen 1974a, 294, noted the difficulty and Drijvers 1972, 67, treated *byrm* as part of the personal name.

Our suggestion on reconsideration of this problem is to read the name after *‘bd* as “Abday bar”, with an attempt to eliminate the 1st person form *ly* (see the reading in Healey 1987, which moves in this direction). The same idea has subsequently been explored by Beyer 1996, 43. He reads in line 2: *d‘bd ‘bdby br mly*, “which ‘Abdbay son of Mali made”. This accounts reasonably well for all the letters, and the readings can then be explained quite well in terms of name-formations (see Beyer 1996, 43).

This re-reading of the end of line 2 entails a change at the beginning of line 3, but in fact the previously accepted readings of line 3

were by no means satisfactory. Segal 1957, 514, read *wlbrtyrmk²ht*, “and for BRT YRMK² my sister”. However, the first {r} is clearly missing, as Degen 1974a, 294, noted, leaving *bt*, an unusual Syriac form if “daughter” is in question, and the supposed {l} is far from clear. Secondly, the inclination to read a noun with 1st person suffix at the end of the line (*hty*, “my sister”) is wholly determined by the reading of *ly* at the end of line 2. And this we have now eliminated.

It is better to read line 3 as {w} followed by a personal name, *rbtyrmk*, and the most likely restoration of the last word of the line is ²*h*(*why*), “his brother”, though we cannot exclude *hth*, “his sister”, preceded by a female name, *rbtyrmk²*. The {k} appears to be a non-final one. In neither case can the personal name be regarded as clear.

Finally we may note the discrepancy between Segal’s copy and the photograph he published in that the photograph shows only the first three letters of *hšqbl* at the end of line 4. We assume that the stone was complete when Segal first saw it, since he states that the reading here is certain and it is complete on his drawing.

Comment:

The rather radical reassessment of this inscription following Beyer’s insights renders much of the lengthy comment found in Segal 1957 irrelevant. We concentrate on the new readings:

1: For *byt qbwr²* (here with defective spelling of *byt*) see on As16:4.

2: Beyer 1996, 43, gives an account of the personal names. ‘Abdbay appears to be a hypocoristic from ‘Abdbēl, which is itself attested in Palmyra (Stark 1971, 11, 41, 102), or from ‘Abdba‘šamīn, which is attested at Hatra (Abbadi 1983, 34, 138). Mali is directly comparable with Palmyrene Mali (Stark 1971, 32) and Nabataean (Healey 1993, 215; Al-Khaysheh 1986, 107).

3: The name Rabbatyarmuk is assumed by Beyer to be the otherwise unattested name of a goddess, perhaps the goddess of the river Yarmuk, used here as the name of a woman, followed in his restoration by the plural ²*ahē*, usually “brothers”, here used as a collective to refer to siblings of both sexes (Beyer 1996, 43).

In the readings suggested above Rabbatyarmuk (whatever the vocalisation) would be a male name. It may be noted that the name RBT occurs in Palmyrene clearly applied to males (Stark 1971, 49, 111).

4: *tryhwn* corresponds exactly to the classical form of the number “two” to which a pronoun suffix can be added: *t²rayhūn* (Nöldeke 1898², 94).

hšqbl is discussed at length by Segal 1957, 516-17. See also Köbert 1986 and Healey 1987. The plene spelling is *hšqbwl* and appears in

Syriac a number of times, in the Peshitta as the equivalent of Hebrew וְחֵדָּו (Is 65:7). It means “equally, in equal parts” (Brockelmann, 263), though its origin is unclear (< *hd šqbwl?*: see Language).

As57

Date: Unknown

Plate: Pl. 42 (Segal)

Provenance: On a column capital from Harran, reused as a seat!

Location: Urfa Museum?

Bibliography: Segal 1957, 518-21, pl. II

Text:

כרמא בן 1

Translation:

(1) ... Barkamara

Epigraphic: The inscription is on the top edge of a decorative capital. It is possible that a letter preceded the initial {b}, though not certain, and Segal took the *bn* to be an abbreviation.

Comment:

1: Segal's suggestion is that *bn* is an abbreviation for "I built" or "he built" (*bnyt* or *bn*?).

So far as the personal name is concerned, a possibly related personal and tribal name, *kmr*², is found in Palmyrene, where it may be related to *kūmrā*, "priest" (Stark 1971, 29, 57, 92). See also Nabataean (Negev 1991, 36).

As58 (D62)

Date: Unknown

Plate: Pl. 43 (Segal)

Provenance: A stone found in Şuaip-şehri in the Tektek mountains near Sumatar

Location: Urfa Museum

Bibliography: Segal 1967, 300-02; Drijvers 1972, 49; Degen 1974a, 295

Text:

Translation:

(1) Th[is] is (2) the tomb (3) of Makil. (4) By the hand of ...(5).. and ...

Epigraphic: This is a very difficult inscription, the uncertainties of which are reflected in Segal's tentative readings and Drijvers' (1972, 49) and Degen's comments (Degen 1974a, 295). The lower left side of the inscription appears to be complete, since the squaring of the stone is visible.

Re-examination of the stone has not led to certain readings, but it shows that the Segal drawing is not very accurate. In line 5, Segal's *thz*. (not put forward with any confidence) is certainly wrong. The marks interpreted by him as {t} do not in fact appear to be a single letter and look more like *wl*, almost touching each other. The letter interpreted as {ḥ} is again more like two or even three letters, possibly {n} (though the vertical slopes to the right slightly) followed by another vertical letter (not in Segal's drawing), possibly another {n}, and then a rounded letter (not angular as in Segal's drawing) which could be {p} or {k}. Separated from these letters is the sign taken probably correctly by Segal to be {z}. Hence the reading given above. Both Segal and Degen thought the last letter-group might be a numeral of some kind.

In line 4 there are other problems. The {b} and the {r} at the beginning of the line, might suggest *br*, "son of", but between the {b} and

the {r} there is an unusual elongation of the connecting stroke, which may have a small vertical mark in it. Degen thought this might be {y}, though he also re-read the first letter of the line as {q}. We prefer to retain the {b} and read *byd* (since the {d/r} is ambiguous as usual). This is followed by a vertical stroke before *br/dhm* (spread over two lines). Obviously Segal 1967, 301, was tempted to read ^ʔ*brhm*, “Abraham”, though he rightly notes that the vertical stroke cannot be {ʔ}. If the vertical stroke is a letter (and not a word-divider, as Segal suggested) it must be {z}.

Finally, Degen rightly points out that the traces on the stone at the end of line 2 are hard to reconcile with the letter {ʔ} which has been restored. It is difficult to find any alternative, however.

Comment:

2: For *qbr*(ʔ) see on As10:1.

3: The name *mkyl* is not the equivalent of Michael, despite superficial similarity, since Michael is normally spelled *mykʔyl* in Syriac (rarely *mykyl*) (see Segal 1967, 301). No parallels to the name are known, though there are Palmyrene names derived from the root KYL, “measure” (Stark 1971, 92). There are also Hatran and Palmyrene names constructed with the element *mk-*, taken by Al-Jadir 1983, 381, to be from the root MKK, “be low, prostrate” (before the named god) (see Palmyrene *mkbl*, Hatran *mkmrtn*).

4: In our reading line 4 would begin a new “statement”, of the name of the maker of the tomb or the inscription. *byd*, “by the hand of”, does not, however, occur elsewhere in our corpus (though note As55:5).

5-4: The names are again unparalleled: indeed the readings are very tentative.

As59

Date: Unknown

Plate: Pl. 43 (Gerber and Talay)

Provenance: In a cave-tomb near Kabahaydar c. 20km north-east of Edessa

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: Gerber and Talay 1996

Text:

𐤀𐤂𐤕𐤁 𐤍𐤕𐤁𐤀 𐤕𐤕 1
 𐤁𐤕𐤁𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤁 2
 𐤕[𐤕] 𐤕𐤕𐤁𐤕 3
 𐤕𐤕𐤁𐤕 [𐤕] 𐤕𐤕𐤁𐤕 4
 𐤕𐤕𐤁𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤁 5
 𐤁𐤕𐤁𐤕 𐤕𐤕𐤁𐤕 6

Translation:

(1) I Satraq son of (2) made (3) this tomb (4) for myself and for my children and for my heirs (5) for ever. (6) I Šim'un made (it).

Epigraphic: The inscription is rather poorly inscribed despite being in a *tabula ansata*. The readings above follow basically those of the first editor (Talay), though with somewhat less confidence about the personal name in line 2 (which he reads as *nyzr*, not indicating any doubt in the transliteration). In fact the letters taken to be {z} and {r} in his transliteration could equally well be any combination of {d}, {r} and {z}, while the first letter is notably similar to the first letters of lines 4 and 5 and could be {l} (though {n} is also possible: see *ʔn*² in line 1).

Talay's reading of the ap'el *ʔbdt* in line 2 would be unique within this genre of tomb-inscriptions (of which we have a number of examples: As1:1; As7:1; As20:1, etc.). The decision to connect the initial {ʔ} with the verb appears to arise from the clear sense of line 6, which says that it was Šim'un who did the making of the tomb. It is, however, clear that he was responsible only for the carving work and if that were so, it would surely be better to read the verb in line 2 according to the normal formula as *ʕbdt*, attaching the {ʔ} to the personal name. That there is no problem in the double use of *ʕbd* (for "dedicate" and "carve") is clear from Bs3.

The name in line 1 is also less than certain.

In line 5 we may note the unusual orthography with {w} apparently omitted from *ymy*.

Comment:

1: The name Satraq is completely without parallel in Semitic: it may be a foreign name, perhaps Parthian, though the name Sanatruq, which sounds similar, is in Hatran spelled with {t}.

2: So far as the name in line 2 is concerned, no combination of possible readings appears to produce a name which can be paralleled.

As noted above, the reading of the verb as an ap^{el} is possible, but it would be unique in terms of the usual formulary. Indeed this verb is never used in the ap^{el} in the whole of Aramaic epigraphy (Hoftijzer and Jongeling, 806-16). This inclines us to prefer to read *‘bdt*.

3: *b* appears to be an elided form of *byt*, perhaps pronounced /bī/ or /bē/. While there is no other case of this in our inscriptions, another instance is to be noted in *bshd*(?), “martyrion”, in a Christian Syriac inscription of 525-26 (Littmann 1934, 42-46) and כיעלמא appears in a Jewish inscription from Edessa (Pognon 1907, 79-80). Forms without {t} do occur earlier (see most conveniently Beyer 1994, 318-19). We may note especially Hatran *byld*² (< *byt yld*²: inscription no. 79:3). Later evidence is also provided by Mandaic *bimanda* (< *bit manda*: Drower and Macuch 1963, 61), as well as in Levantine Arabic place-names derived from Aramaic (Pognon 1907, 58-59; Littmann 1934, 45).

4: For *yrt* see on As7:4.

5: The phrase “for the days of eternity” recurs several times in these inscriptions, though always with plene spelling of *ywm* and always with the more common feminine-type plural of *ywm*: thus Am2:7-8; Am6:6-7; Am7:5 (possibly Am1:5-6) — *lywmt ‘lm*². A similar phrase appears, also with defective spelling, in one of the Asshur Aramaic texts, *lymt ‘lmyn* (Aggoula 1985, 42).

6: The personal name here is very common in Palmyra (Stark 1971, 52, 115: though he describes the name as Jewish, it is to be emphasised that it is very common and must have been used by non-Jews; relations of various bearers of the name have names containing pagan theophoric elements like Nabu) and also occurs in Nabataean (Negev 1991, 65).

As60

Date: Undated: probably mid-2nd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 44 (Güler)

Provenance: On a relief with a military figure found at Sumatar

Location: Urfa Museum

Bibliography: Drijvers 1993, 148-52

Text:

1 ܠܝܫܡܐܫ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܫܡܐܫܝܗܒ
 2 ܡܠ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܫܡܐܫܝܗܒ
 3 ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܫܡܐܫܝܗܒ
 4 ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܫܡܐܫܝܗܒ

Translation:

(1) Image of Lišamaš son of (2-3) Šamašyahb, which Barnay, his brother, made for him. Whoever destroys it, (4) Sin will be his judge.

Epigraphic: The inscription is in excellent condition, with slight hesitations only over *b^l* in line 4. But there is no real doubt.

Comment:

1: The name Lišamaš is not found elsewhere in Syriac, but it is common in Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 29-39, 93, where it is explained as meaning “Belonging to the god Šamaš”). It also appears in Greek form (Λισαμσού: Wuthnow 1930, 67).

2: Šamašyahb occurs in Hatra (Abbadī 1983, 52, 170) and in early Syriac in P1:21, v2.

3: Barnay, a hypocoristic based on the divine name Nanaia (rather than Nabu) (see on As32:3 and also Am7:4).

On *ḥwhy* see As27:5.

For *mn d-* see on As20:5, etc.

For similar use of the verb HBL, “destroy, ruin”, see on As37:9 and Bs2:6.

4: For the god Sin see on As27:3.

b^l dynh does not occur elsewhere in the corpus, but its meaning, “legal adversary”, is clear since the phrase, which is a loan from Akkadian (Kaufman 1974, 43), is found in various forms of Aramaic (Qumran, Peshitta Syriac, Mandaic, Jewish Aramaic: see Drijvers 1993, 150, for full references). It has been translated in a fairly general way here (rather than as a legal *terminus technicus*), since the refer-

ence is simply to Sin's role as judge of men (on which see on As37:9). We cannot, however, exclude specific ideas of a heavenly court.

yhw, translated here simply as indicative, could be jussive in meaning: "Let Sin be his judge!"

As61

Date: Undated: probably mid-2nd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 45 (Güler)

Provenance: On a relief found at Sumatar

Location: Urfa Museum?

Bibliography: Drijvers 1993, 152-54

Text:

Translation:

(1) This is the image (2) which Dinun set up (3) for ‘Ubayd’al his son.
 (4) The base will be an act of homage (5) of Abba, my kinsman.

Epigraphic: The readings above follow Drijvers 1993, 152-54, but with the addition of marks to indicate less certain letters. Notably the name in line 3 must be regarded as very uncertain, though no better reading can be offered at the moment. Lines 4-5 are rather unusual and it is possible that we are missing some vital clue!

The script of this inscription is slightly unusual, having a number of features which are best paralleled in Nabataean. There is especially the supralinear {y}, unambiguous in ^ʿ*qym*, and the {w} descending below the line in *d/rynwn*.

Comment:

2: The verb ^ʿ*qym* is clearly the 3rd masculine ap^ʿel perfect of the root QWM. Though not otherwise occurring in this corpus, the word is used commonly for the erection of steles and statues in Palmyrene, Nabataean and Hatran (see Hoftijzer and Jongeling, 1001-02).

The name Dinun (*s.v.l.*) is not exactly paralleled elsewhere, but there are various forms related to the root DWN, “judge”, both within this corpus and outside it: probable Dini in As49:2; As52:4, Dayun, Dina, Dini in Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 14, 83), Dinu, Dini in Nabataean (Negev 1991, 20-21).

3: The reading of the personal name is very uncertain. The form *ʿbydʿl* is explained by Drijvers 1993, 153, as composed of the diminutive of

‘*bd* and ‘*l*, “exalted”. In Nabataean we find the name ‘*bd*’ly (Negev 1991, 47).

4-5: These lines are very difficult. Drijvers 1993, 153, takes *kn*’ to mean “support, base” (part of the erected stone stele) (Payne Smith, 217; Brockelmann, 333). The predicate *hwg*’ is more difficult; he derives it from *HWG*, “describe a circle”, used with *men* to mean “stand in awe of” (Payne Smith, 129-30; Brockelmann, 218-19). From this is derived the meaning “act of reverence, homage”.

The personal name *Abba*, a hypocoristic based on the word for “father”, is paralleled in Palmyrene, Hatran and Nabataean (Stark 1971, 1, 63; Abbadi 1983, 1, 72; Negev 1991, 9). It is not easy to understand who this person is and why *Dinun* sets up a stele on his behalf. The provision of the “base” was an act of homage by *Abba* to *Dinun* and his son.

Finally *htny* describes *Abba* as “my kinsman by marriage” or possibly more precisely “my son-in-law”, classical *hatnā* meaning “relation by marriage” (Payne Smith, 164; Brockelmann, 264).

As62

Date: Unknown. Perhaps late 2nd/early 3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 46 (Pognon)

Provenance: Inscribed above and below the original entrance to a tomb-tower of Palmyrene type near the ruins of the monastery of Mar Yaʿqub (called Mar Yaʿqub deNapšata, possibly “St James of the Tombs”: Pognon 1907, 103-05) c. 7.5 km south-south-east of Edessa

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: Sachau 1882, 145-53; Pognon 1907, 103-05 and pls v and xxvi; Segal 1954, 31 n.1; Février 1959², 255; Pirenne 1963, 109-15; Maricq 1965, 33-34; Segal 1970, pl. 30b; Starcky 1970, 5; Drijvers 1980, 23; Klugkist 1982, 78-79; Al-Jadir 1983, 71-74. For the Greek (after von Moltke 1841, 342 [1893⁶, 361]) see *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* III, 1853, no. 4670.

Text:

(i)

1 AMACCAMCHC CAPEΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΝΝΟΥ ΓΥΝΗ

אמאסאמאש בת ארתא שרדו אבא מאנו 2

(ii)

{Greek} אמאסאמאש בת ארתא שרדו אבא מאנו 3

Translation:

Amašamaš, wife of Šaredu son of Maʿnu

Epigraphic:

The tomb-tower was first reported on, with garbled versions of the inscriptions, by H. von Moltke, who visited the site in 1839 (see von Moltke 1841, 342 [1893⁶, 361]). (i) is inscribed in two lines below the door, which was located above ground level. (ii) is inscribed above the door on a single line.

A fine watercolour painting of the tomb-tower, marking clearly the position of the inscriptions, survives in one of Julius Euting's notebooks (Tübingen University Library Md 676 notebook 9, 232-33). There are no difficulties in the readings, but an enigmatic feature of Euting's picture is that the Greek appears both above and below the door. Euting visited the site in April 1890. Von Moltke was there in 1839, Sachau in 1879 and Pognon (apparently) in 1906. Pognon noticed the text above the door which von Moltke and Sachau had over-

looked, but it seems that Pognon himself overlooked the Greek alongside the Aramaic on the upper register: it may have become eroded by the later date and the tomb-tower does seem to have undergone rapid deterioration (compare Euting with Pognon's plate v). It may be noted that Pognon 1907, pl.xxvi recorded the width of the upper inscriptions as 1.5 m, whereas the lower inscription he recorded as 3.6 m. These figures suggest that Pognon was recording the Aramaic as running only half-way across the width of the frieze on which the upper inscription is found and this fits with Euting's painting.

We have ignored the missing Greek since no detail can be made out from Euting's drawing of it, though it clearly stood on the same line as the Aramaic, to its left.

There are no problems with readings, but the script-style deviates somewhat from the general run of our inscriptions and this is one of the reasons why some scholars have excluded this material from the Syriac corpus (Segal 1954, 31 n.1; Pirenne 1963; Maricq 1965, 33-34, etc.).

The letters {h}, {w}, {c} and {š} are similar to Palmyrene and the {h} and {c} are not related at all closely to the forms of those letters elsewhere in our corpus. On the other hand some letters are typically Syriac in form: {ʔ}, {m} and {t}. The script appears to be a local cursive with some letters similar to Palmyrene (Drijvers 1980, 23). It is important to note, however, that mixed script-forms were in use in this area and there need be no special link with Palmyra (Drijvers 1993, 154 and n.35) and inclusion here is justified in any case on grounds of provenance.

The two Semitic inscriptions may have been written at different times. Pirenne 1963, 109-15, noting *inter alia* the ligaturing of *br* in line 2 and the archaic {c} in line 3, believed that line 3 was written before lines 1-2. The former would, according to her, stem from the late first century A.D. and the latter from a renovation of the tomb in the 2nd century A.D. It is impossible, however, to establish dates on the basis of the script (Klugkist 1982, 79).

Comment:

With regard to the personal names, Amašamaš (< Amatšamaš) belongs to the category of "Maid-servant of DN" names of which there are several examples (Amatnaḥay in Am4:12; Amatsin in P1:9). See also Palmyrene Amatbel and Amatba'al, etc. (Stark 1971, 70) and Nabataean Amatalāhi (Al-Khraysheh 1986, 40).

The name Šaredu does not occur elsewhere, but there is a partial parallel in the name Šardunaḥa in Bs2:3. Ma'nu is well-known, used by members of the Edessan royal family among others.

In orthography the spelling of ʾ*tth* in line 2 is unusual. Syriac normally retains the {n}, while Palmyrene loses it. However, we find ʾ*tt* for ʾ*ntt* in Am3:7 (early 3rd century) and in any case this peculiarity is found only in (i). In (ii) the {n} is present.

The genitive construction using *d-* and an anticipatory pronoun (*-h*) in line 2 is typically Syriac (Starcky 1970, 5).

Sachau 1882, 148-53, assigned the inscription (lines 1-2: he was unaware of line 3) and tomb-tower to a princess of the royal house of the Abgar dynasty and dated it to before A.D. 165 (in the light of ligatured script on coins and other considerations). He noted that the *Chronicle of Edessa* (Guidi 1903, 3:19-21) refers to the building of a royal tomb in A.D. 89 by Abgar VI bar Maʿnu. Pognon 1907, 105, placed it earlier than the Christian era, denying any connection with the royal family. He argues that if the Maʿnu in the inscriptions were a king, the writer(s) would hardly have omitted to mention it.

Am1 (D44)**Date:** A.D. 259**Plate:** Pl. 47 (Clermont-Ganneau)**Provenance:** Copied in 1881 in Edessa**Location:** Unknown, probably destroyed**Bibliography:** Renan 1883, 250-51; Clermont-Ganneau 1885, 238-39 and pl.ix; Leroy 1957, 307-309; Segal 1959a, 32 n.1; Segal 1967a, 297-300 and pl.I; Drijvers 1972, 31-32; Degen 1974a, 294-95; Colledge 1994, 192**Text:**

- (i)
- 1 כַּבְּדָא עַבְדָּא
 2 עַבְדָּא דְּבַרְכַּתָּא
 3 כַּבְּדָא דְּבַרְכַּתָּא
 4 [כַּבְּדָא דְּבַרְכַּתָּא]
 5 [לְבַרְכַּתָּא]
 6 [---] דְּבַרְכַּתָּא
 7 כַּבְּדָא
 8 כַּבְּדָא דְּבַרְכַּתָּא
 9 כַּבְּדָא דְּבַרְכַּתָּא
- (ii)
- 10 [---] דְּבַרְכַּתָּא
 11 כַּבְּדָא
 12 דְּבַרְכַּתָּא
 13 כַּבְּדָא

Translation:

(i)(1) In the month of Šebaṭ (2) of the year seventy, (3) I made this (4) house of eternity (5) for myself and for my children (6), (7) I (8) ‘Abdnaḥay (9) son of Bar‘ata.

(ii)(10) daughter of (11) Za‘rura, (12) wife of (13) Bar‘ata.

Epigraphic: (i) is to the right of a mosaic portrait of a woman, (ii) to the left. Two children are depicted in front of her.

Almost insuperable difficulties arise from the fact that the inscription is only known from an amateur sketch of 1881! Segal 1967a, 297-300, reviewed the evidence in detail and suggested two alternative readings of lines 4-5. (This supersedes his earlier comments in Segal 1959a, 32 n.1, where he read the date as 592.) Colledge 1994, 192, suggested reading $\text{'rb}^{\text{c}}\text{yn}$ at the end of line 2. Though epigraphically unlikely, this produces a date which is better from the art-history point of view.

We follow basically Segal's second set of readings, which corresponds more exactly to the surviving sketch, though it involves the assumption that the sketcher has omitted a line (line 4 above). Less convincing epigraphically is the suggested restoration of $\text{lywmt}^{\text{c}}\text{lm}^{\text{c}}$ in lines 5-6. Segal himself prefers his first set of readings: (5) $(\text{lby})\text{t}^{\text{c}}\text{lm}^{\text{c}}$ (6) $(\text{ly w})\text{lbny}^{\text{c}}$. We should in any case dispense with the *l*-before *byt*. The remaining difficulty here is line 6, of which no sense can be made, though one could imagine wlyrty , "and for my heirs", would fit. However only the {r} is clear.

While the general structure (ii) is clear, the names in lines 10-11 are difficult. In line 10, despite Degen 1974a, 294-95, slmt^{c} is barely possible epigraphically (if we trust the drawing!) and would be hard to fit in, since, as Degen acknowledges, it would demand a {d} at the beginning of the next line. The first letter of the next line is definitely {z} and unlike the other instances of {d/r} in the mosaic. It may also be noted that in the various mosaics where individuals are labelled, the label simply gives the name, not "Image of PN" (see, for example, Am3). A name is much better, though too little survives to allow even a guess at its form.

In line 11 the name was originally read as Zenodora and gave rise to the title Zenodora Mosaic (though it is now fairly clear that the name should be read differently and in any case it is not the name of the woman depicted in the mosaic but of her father!). The possible readings are many. Segal has $\text{zyd}^{\text{c}}\text{t}^{\text{c}}$ or zywd^{c} or $\text{z}^{\text{c}}\text{wd}^{\text{c}}$ or zywr^{c} or $\text{z}^{\text{c}}\text{wr}^{\text{c}}$. In fact there are clearly six letters: {z}, {c} or {y}, {r} or {d}, {w}, {r} or {d} and finally {c}. The best reading from the alternatives is $\text{z}^{\text{c}}\text{rwr}^{\text{c}}$.

Comment:

1-2: The month of Šebāt corresponds to February/March. There remains slight doubt as to whether the year number is complete. In an earlier attempt to decipher the text Segal 1959a, 32 n.1, had the number continuing on the next line. "Seventy" would indicate the year 570 (see As9:1 for omission of the 500). This Seleucid date corresponds to A.D 258-59, so that the inscription is dated in the spring of 259. (Note

that the reading of Colledge 1994, 192, of $\text{'}rb\text{'yn}$ at the end of line 2 give a date of 540 = A.D. 229, which fits well with the timescale of the other mosaics).

4: This is the line restored, having been omitted in the sketch. For *byt* 'lm see on As7:3. It is particularly common in tomb-mosaic inscriptions (see Am2:4-5, etc.).

8: The name 'Abdnaḥay appears as 'Abdnaḥay in Am4:5. On the weakening of the guttural see As38:1. The divine name Naḥay is found in other personal names (e.g. 'mtnḥy in Am4:12) and independently (*bdr* of Naḥay in Bs2:3). It also appears in Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 39, 99). The deity is discussed by Drijvers 1980, 155-57 (and see also Leroy 1957, 324-27; Vattioni 1971, 442).

9: On Bar 'ata see As9:1.

10: The name here is beyond reconstruction. See epigraphic notes.

11: The name Za 'rura (a *qatlūl* adjective form from the root Z 'R , “be(come) small”: Brockelmann 1908, 366-67; Moscati 1969, 79) is unparalleled.

12: For 'ntt see on As19:2.

It is clear that the mosaic portrayed a family. The wife of Bar 'ata , whose portrait has survived in this drawing, was not the main person involved in making the inscription: that was Bar 'ata 's son, 'Abdnaḥay . We may suppose that he too was depicted originally, perhaps with his wife and children. It is not clear whether the children in front of Bar 'ata 's wife are hers or her son's.

Am2 (D45)

Date: Undated, but probably early 3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 48 (Segal)

Provenance: Discovered near the Samsat Gate in Urfa in 1901

Location: Istanbul Archaeological Museum (Inv. 1605) where it arrived in 1901 (see Drijvers 1972, 32; Parlasca 1984, 233 n.3)

Bibliography: *Early publications:* de Ninive 1901; Chabot 1906a, 122-23; Chabot 1906b, 281-90 with plate; Harris 1906, 109; Burkitt 1906, 154; Pognon 1907, 81-82 n.1; Euting 1909, 235; Moritz 1913, 171-74; Mendel 1912-14, III, 515-16 (catalogue no. 1307, with reproduction); Leclercq 1921, cols. 2104-05; Bossert 1951, 131 fig.415. *Modern works:* Segal 1953, 117, n.80; Leroy 1957, 309-11; Maricq 1965, 6, n.1; Segal 1970, pl. 17a; Drijvers 1972, 32-34; Degen 1974a; Colledge 1994, 194

Text:

- (i)
- כר 1
- כרנכר 2
- כרנכר 3
- כרנכר 4
- כרנכר 5
- כרנכר 6
- כרנכר 7
- כרנכר 8
- (ii)
- כרנכר 9
- כרנכר 10
- (iii)
- כרנכר 11
- (iv)
- כרנכר 12

	(v)
ⲁⲩⲏⲁ	13
	(vi)
ⲃⲁⲗⲁ	14
	(vii)
ⲛⲙⲓⲃⲓⲧⲁ	15

Translation:

(i)(1) I (2) Aptaḥa (3) son of Garmu (4-5) made for myself this house of eternity, (6) for myself and for my children (7) and for my heirs for (8) ever.

(ii)(9) Aptaḥa (10) son of Garmu. (iii)(11) Garmu. (iv)(12) Asu. (v)(13) Šumu. (vi)(14) Šalmat. (vii)(15) Bartalaha.

Epigraphic: (ii)-(vii) are to the right of each of the six figures depicted in the mosaic, (i) being placed in a central panel at the bottom of the mosaic. All the writing is vertical. The order of line numbering of Drijvers 1972, 33-34, is retained here (though lines 9-10 were given as one line there), but it may be noted that (ii), (iii) and (vii) refer to the three figures on the right of the mosaic (top to bottom), (v), (iv) and (vi) to the figures on the left. The figures labelled by (v), (vi) and (vii) are females.

Drijvers 1972, 32-33, gives a cumulative account of how readings of this mosaic have been improved. After the early attempts to decipher what is actually a very clear text, the main steps forward were taken by Burkitt 1906, 154, and Pognon 1907, 81-81, n.1, whose readings are exactly those given above (and in Drijvers 1972, 33-34) except for his reading of the name in line 15 as *byllh*[?] or *blllh*[?], instead of Chabot 1906b, 285, *ṽmtlh*[?], which is in fact better. This is an unusual lapse by Pognon, whose epigraphy was excellent: he was working from poor photographs.

Segal 1953, 117 n.80, improved this to *b(r)tlh*[?], which is clearly right, as the photograph in Segal 1970, pl. 17a, shows, though the suggestion was resisted by Leroy 1957, 311, n.5. Harris 1906 had already read *bt lh*[?]. The only remaining doubt about it is as to whether to read *brṽlh*[?] or *brṽlh*[?]. If the {r} exists it is very indistinct on all the available photographs. Drijvers 1972, 34, prefers the former.

The Euting 1909, 235, proposal to read the name in lines 2 and 9 as *ṽptwny*[?] (= Αφθόυνος), since he regarded the name Aptaḥa as implausible, has to be set aside in view of As1:1 and comparative evidence

(some of which Euting had published originally!). See also Maricq 1965, 6 n.1.

It may be noted that so far as lines 1-8 are concerned Burkitt 1906, 154, already had everything correct, including the name of Aptuḥa (which he preferred to Harris 1906, 109: ʔptwsʔ).

Comment:

2: On the name Aptuḥa see As1:1.

3: The name Garmu is found also in Cm1:2 and Cm7:1, but there are close parallels also in hypocoristics and theophoric names from Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 82, 14: *grmy*, 53: *šmšgrm*), Nabataean (Al-Khraysheh 1986, 56-57: *grmw*, *grmʔlhy*, etc.) and Hatran (Abbadi 1983, 13, 96-97: *grmʔlt*). Note also in Greek, Γαρμαίος, etc. (Wuthnow 1930, 39). Within this corpus we find the name Šamašgeram, “Šamaš has decided” (As2:4: see comment there). See Caquot 1962, 246-47, for GRM in personal names; Leroy 1957, 321.

4-5: For *byt ʿlmʔ* see on As7:3.

7: On *yrtv* see As7:4.

7-8: *lywmt ʿlmʔ*, see on As59:5.

12: The name Asu, found also in As33:1, is probably a hypocoristic derived from the root ʔSʔ/Y, “heal” (see Chabot 1906b, 286). Leroy 1957, 320, notes Moritz 1913, 172, who relates it to Nabataean ʔwsw.

13: The name Šumu has no parallels, though note Baršuma to which it may be related, on which see As20:1. See Leroy 1957, 323.

14: On the name Šalmat see As1:6.

15: Bartalaha (*s.v.l.*) evidently means “daughter of the god”, though there are no known parallels to the particular name.

Am3 (D46)

Date: Undated, but probably early 3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 48 (Euting)

Provenance: Urfa, in a cave outside the Samsat Gate: all knowledge of the mosaic is based on a sketch by Euting made in 1890

Location: Destroyed in 1890

Bibliography: Euting 1909, 230-34; Leroy 1957, 312-15; Vattioni 1966, 39-41; Segal 1970, pl. 16b

Text:

(i)
 ܠܟܘܢ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ 1
 ,ܕܥܠܡܝܢ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ

(ii)
 ܕܥܠܡܝܢ 2
 ,ܕܥܠܡܝܢ 3

(iii)
 ,ܕܥܠܡܝܢ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ 4

(iv)
 ,ܕܥܠܡܝܢ 5

(v)
 ,ܕܥܠܡܝܢ 6

(vi)
 ܕܥܠܡܝܢ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ 7
 ,ܕܥܠܡܝܢ 8

(vii)
 ܕܥܠܡܝܢ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ 9

ܕܥܠܡܝܢ 10

,ܕܥܠܡܝܢ 11

(viii)

,ܕܥܠܡܝܢ 12

	(ix)
𐤀[---]𐤁𐤃	13
	(x)
𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤃	14
	(xi)
𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃 𐤁𐤃	15
	(xii)
𐤁𐤃	16
	(xiii)
[𐤁]𐤁𐤃	17
[𐤁]𐤁𐤃	18
𐤁𐤃	19
	(xiv)
𐤁𐤃	20
𐤁𐤃	21

Translation:

(1) I Balay son of Gawsi made for myself this house of eternity, for myself and for my children and for my heirs.
 (2-3) Šalmat daughter of Gawsi. (4) Balay son of Gawsi. (5) Damay.
 (6) Sarkin. (7-8) Qiṣat wife of ʿAbšay. (9-11) Arḥemta mother of ʿAbšay. (12) ʿAbšay. (13) Mag... (14) ʿAbdšuk. (15) Barnabas son of Balay. (16) Samay. (17-19) Šalmat mother of Ani. (20-21) Ani son of Balay.

Epigraphic: Our knowledge of this inscription is entirely based on the drawings supplied by J. Euting, who having been informed of the mosaic's existence in 1890, managed to see it later in the same year (not several years later: v. Leroy 1957, 312; Drijvers 1972, 34). The mosaic is the subject of one of Euting's many magnificent coloured sketches in his notebooks of his time in Syria (Tübingen University Library: Md 676, volume 10, pp. 321v and 322r). The reproduction which has subsequently been used after Euting's 1909 publication differs only very slightly from the notebook. (It is clear that Euting's first information, i.e. the first drawing he was shown, was garbled. It is

ignored for the present purpose, though it may be noted that there may have been a fifth portrait in the upper register.)

The mosaic contains a large number of portraits, of which ten survived when Euting saw it, with traces of three more. Dividing the mosaic below the top nine figures is a longer line of text (i). The order of items is retained as in Drijvers, but some of the names have been spread over two or three lines as in the original and note that (ii)-(v) refer to figures in the upper part of the mosaic (from right to left); (vi)-(x) refer to the second line of portraits (right to left). (i) is directly below these. (xi)-(xiv) are with figures in the lower register (*left to right*). On the evidence of the drawing alone, (ii), (iv), (vi), (vii), (ix), (xii) and (xiii) refer to females. All the writing is vertical except for (i) and (v), which are horizontal.

Euting had little difficulty with reading the words he copied. In line 7 he inserted a {y} between the first two letters. While to judge by the published drawings this is possible, it is not possible according to the original drawing in Euting's notebook and it has not subsequently been incorporated into readings given by Leroy 1957, 314, and Drijvers 1972, 35.

Line 13 cannot be resolved. Leroy 1957, 315, thought {t} might be read instead of {g}, though it is hard to see how the drawing could justify this.

Degen 1974a, 295, casts doubt on the reading of *brnbs*, though acknowledging that this is what the drawing clearly contains. He suspects *br^cbs*, with *cbs = cbsmy*?. Examination of Euting's original drawing shows that the vertical of the {n} is there marginally more oblique than in the published drawing, but it is not clearly {^c}, which Euting copies at a very sharp angle. There does not seem to be any compelling reason to exclude Barnabas, though it is odd that this name appears in the Peshitta as *brnb*⁷ not *brnbs*.

Comment:

1: The name Balay is attested at Palmyra and was used in later Syriac tradition (Stark 1971, 10, 76, not explained) and also in Nabataean (Negev 1991, 16). It could be a hypocoristic based on the name of the god Bel (cf. Palmyrene Belnuri, "Bel is my light", Stark 1971, 77). See Leroy 1957, 321.

Gawsay is only found here: see Vattioni 1966, who makes a (dubious) connection with an Akkadian divine name Gusaya or Agusaya. Leroy 1957, 321, suggested, probably correctly, a connection with the classical Syriac word *gawsānā*, "refugee" (root GWS: see Payne Smith, 65; Brockelmann, 109).

byt c^m: see on As7:3.

yrt^y: see on As7:4.

2: On the name Šalmat see As1:6. She is apparently the sister of the main dedicant.

5: The names Damay and Ramay are otherwise unknown in Syriac, but *rmy* occurs in Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 49, 112).

6: The name Sarkin is otherwise unknown in Syriac, but Al-Jadir 1983, 390, suggests it is related to Akkadian Šarrukinu (Sargon: 𐤠𐤫𐤴𐤍 in Is 20:1).

7: The name Qeṣat is otherwise unknown. Leroy 1957, 323, mentions Safaitic *qsy*, which is probably also connected with Nabataean *qsyw* (Al-Khraysheh 1986, 161-62).

^ʿ*tt* is the construct of ^ʿ*ntt*², “wife”, though the more common orthography retains the silent {n}: see on As19:2. As62:2 also omits the {n}.

8: The name ʿAbšay is a hypocoristic based on “Servant of DN”, probably for ʿAbdšamaš. For the elision of the /š/ see on ʿAbsimya in As31:1. The name occurs at Hatra (Abadi 1983, 41, 146) and at Palmyra (Stark 1971, 42). Leroy 1957, 322, notes the occurrence of the name in later Syriac (no doubt reinterpreted, perhaps as in Stark 1971, 103, where he relates it to Arabic ʿābis, “frowning, severe”, as does Al-Jadir 1983, 394).

9: The name Arḥemta is without parallel, though it must be related to the root RḤM, “love”.

14: ʿAbdšuk is evidently a theophoric and Šuk must be either the name or epithet of a deity. Unfortunately it is not otherwise attested.

15: Barnabas is a Graecized version of the name Barnaba, itself a theophoric, “Son of Nebu” (see Palmyrene and Hatran *brnbw*: Stark 1971, 12, 79; Abadi 1983, 10, 90 Vattioni 1971, 445-46). It is to be noted that the form (*brnb*²) appears for Greek Βαρνάβας in the Peshitta New Testament. See Leroy 1957, 320-21.

16: The female name Samay is paralleled at Hatra (Abadi 1983, 31, 133) and is probably related to names like ʿAb(d)simya (on which see As31:1). In Palmyrene we find *smy*² (Stark 1971, 41).

19: The name Ani is found in the Peshitta Old Testament (2 Kg 15:25), though there appears to be some confusion of readings (Leroy 1957, 320). The form ^ʿ*n*² occurs quite often in Syriac: see on As30:2.

This tomb contained an impressive array of portraits of an extensive family. Balay is the main person involved and we can identify his sister, Šalmat, a wife of his, another Šalmat, and two of his sons, Barnabas and Ani. Another person, ʿAbšay, was clearly a prominent member of the family, since he, his wife and his mother are depicted. We do not know what his relationship to Balay was, though the best guess is that he is a half-brother, a son of Gawsī by a different, probably secondary, wife (Arḥemta).

Am4 (D47)

Date: Undated, but probably early 3rd century A.D.




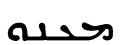

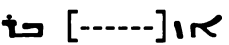







Plate: Pl. 49 (Segal)

Provenance: Urfa, where it was discovered in 1952 by J. B. Segal

Location: Destroyed

Bibliography: Lloyd, Rice and Segal 1953, 287 fig. 2 (*in situ* photograph); Segal 1953, 117-18; Segal 1954, 29-30; Segal 1970, pl. I (drawing); Leroy 1957, 315-18; Colledge 1994, 193

Text:

- (i)
 1 
 2 
- (ii)
 3 
 4 
- (iii)
 5 
- (iv)
 6 
 7 
- (v)
 8 
 9 
- (vi)
 10 
 11 
- (vii)
 12 
 13 

Translation:

(1-2) Ga'u wife of Muqimu. (3-4) Šalmat daughter of Ma'nu. (5) Muqimu son of Abdnaḥay. (6-7) Az..... son of Muqimu. (8-9) 'Abdšamaš son of Muqimu. (10-11) Ma'nu son of Muqimu. (12-13) Amatnaḥay daughter of Muqimu.

Epigraphic: This fine mosaic, sometimes called the Family Portrait Mosaic (or the Muqimu Mosaic), was drawn and coloured by Mrs Seton Lloyd. The illustration has appeared repeatedly after its first publication (Lloyd 1953), but no useful photograph has ever been published.

The captions refer to the standing figures (right to left), (i), (ii) and (vii) being females. Texts (ii) and (iii) are horizontal, the rest vertical.

The mosaic was well preserved and only line 6 is damaged.

Despite confusion elsewhere over GYW, 'YW and G'W (see on As20:1), the reading of the name is clear in line 1 here. In line 6 the name may end with {y} (so Segal 1954, 30).

Comment:

1: The name Ga'u has no known parallel in Aramaic, though Segal 1954, 30, notes a possible Phoenician comparison. See also Leroy 1957, 321.

On 'ntt see As19:2

2: On the name Muqimu see As16:3. The mosaic here is a portrait of his family.

3-4: On the personal names see As1:6, 7. Segal 1953, 117, argued that Šalmat is the same person who later became queen and is mentioned in the Urfa Column inscription (As1).

5: On the name Abdnaḥay (from 'Abdnaḥay: see on Abd'ata in As38:1, though note the retention of the /' / in line 8) see Am1:8.

8: The name 'Abdšamaš occurs in Hatra (Abbadi 1983, 39, 143; Milik 1972, 389).

10-11: The Ma'nu bar Muqimu here is identified by Segal 1953, 118, with the person of the same name who dedicated a relief in Pognon's Cave to Abgar ruler of 'Arab (As51:2-3), but the reading there seems to be *mqymy* and we would have to assume an error or some lack of consistency in order to accept what Segal says.

12: The name Amatnaḥay means "Maid-servant of Naḥay". Other Amat- names are known (As62:2-3; P1: 8). On the deity Naḥay see Am1:8.

Leroy 1957, 318, presents a family tree based on the above data, having described in detail the artistic features of the mosaic (see also Widengren 1960, 14).

Am5 (D48)

Date: Undated, but probably early 3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 50-51 (Segal; Parlasca)

Provenance: Found by Segal in 1956 in Şehitlik Mahallesi north-west of Urfa

Location: Destroyed, but some fragments survive in St Irene, Istanbul.

Bibliography: Segal 1959b, 154; Segal 1959a, 24-27; Segal 1967a, 293-97; Leroy 1961, 160-65; Segal 1970, 34 and pl. 3; Köbert 1971, 365; Naveh 1974, 10-11

Text:

- (i)
- 1 𐤀𐤓
- 2 𐤁𐤓
- 3]𐤁𐤓
- 4 𐤁𐤓
- (ii)
- 5 𐤁𐤓
- 6 𐤁𐤓 𐤀𐤓
- (iii)
- 7 𐤁𐤓 𐤀𐤓
- 8 𐤁𐤓 𐤀𐤓
- (iv)
- 9 𐤁𐤓 𐤀𐤓 𐤀𐤓
- 10 𐤁𐤓 𐤀𐤓 𐤀𐤓
- 11 𐤁𐤓 𐤀𐤓
- 12 𐤁𐤓
- (v)
- 13 𐤁𐤓
- 14 𐤁𐤓 𐤀𐤓

𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁.𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 15
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 16

Translation:

(1-4) Gabbay. (5-6) Ḥapsay son of Adona. (7-8) ʿAdita daughter of Adona son of Gabbay.

(9-12) Adona son of Gabbay son of Šelamʿata made this house of eternity for himself.

(13-16) Whoever removes the sorrow of (his) offspring and mourns for (his) forefathers will have a happy afterlife.

Epigraphic: From the epigraphic point of view it is important to note that the pictures published in various places by Segal (definitively in Segal 1970, pl. 3) are not photographs but coloured drawings by Mrs Seton Lloyd. Use has been made here additionally of photographs of fragments of the mosaic now in St Irene in Istanbul. The mosaic is often called the Tripod Mosaic because the central figure holds a tripod object in his right hand. (Segal 1959b, 154, thought it might be a censer, though Leroy 1961, 164-65, has interpreted it as a container for water for aspersions.)

Two children stand in front of four adults, two of whom are well preserved on the right of the mosaic. The one on the right is a woman. The child on the left is a girl.

(i) is written horizontally above and to the left of the standing woman. (ii) is written vertically to the right of the head of the main male figure, though it refers to the male child in front of him. (iii), evidently directed at the female child, is in fact written vertically beside the leg of one of the damaged adult figures (the only place available for inserting the name of the child).

(iv) and (v) are horizontal, (v) being placed in the bottom right-hand corner of the mosaic and (vi) in the space at the bottom in the centre.

Lines 1-4 are badly damaged, but the available photographs suggest that line 2 should be read as above (against Segal's *ʿm*). Similarly line 3 begins with *šnt* rather than Segal's *ʿnt* (doubted also by Leroy 1961, 162-63 n.3). Both of these readings are seductive, however, and there may have been disturbance of the tesserae.

Segal read the name in line 7 as *ʿwytʿ*, but this does not seem justifiable.

Segal drastically altered his reading of lines 13-16 after re-examining the mosaic: see now his 1967, 293-97. In line 13 there remains

considerable difficulty with the last letter of the line. It could be {^c} or {l}. It is not very tall, but the space is very much restricted by the foot of Adona. The reading of Köbert 1971, 365, *ngl*[?], seems quite impossible (though he is right to note the extra line on the {t} in *hryt*[?] in the following line and the difficulty of reading *ng^c* for *ngw^c*). Naveh 1974, 10, prefers *ngl* which is accepted above (against Segal 1967, 293; Drijvers 1972, 39: *ng^c*).

Comment:

1-4: As noted above, it is tempting to read [?]*nt(t) gby*, “wife of Gabbay” in lines 3-4, but the photographs do not allow this, though the tesserae may be disturbed. In any case it is highly probable that the writing refers to the female figure who might be expected to be the wife of the main figure of the mosaic, who must be Adona son of Gabbay.

The name Gabbay (Segal prefers G^cḥay from *gabyā*, “chosen”) is not otherwise attested in Aramaic, though it appears in Hebrew (גַּבַּי, Neh 11:8?).

5-6: For the personal names see on As33:3 and As27:4. This is the name of the little boy to the right of the mosaic.

7-8: This gives the name of the girl: ^cAdita. This may be comparable to Nabataean ^c*dyw* (Al-Khraysheh 1986, 135; Negev 1991, 48), but it is not otherwise known in Syriac. It may be connected with the Aramaic/Syriac root ^cDY. ^c*edyāytā*, for example, means “pilgrim” (fem.) (Payne Smith, 400).

9: For *byt ^clm*[?] see on As7:3.

12: The name Šelam^cata is without exact parallel, but we may note ^cAta in personal names (e.g. As9:1) and Palmyrene *šmlt* (Stark 1971, 51, 114).

13-16: These lines appear to contain an epigram giving a reflection on life and death. They have proved very hard to understand.

On the basis of the reading given above, the first element means “Whoever removes...”. This takes *ngl* to be the 3rd singular imperfect ap^cel of the root GLL/GWL, “cast out, eject, remove” (Naveh 1974, 10; Payne Smith, 64; Brockelmann, 109). (Note that the reading *ng^c* suggests to Segal the root GW^c/G^c and he translates it as “despises” [Brockelmann, 109; *TS*, cols. 686-87, 759] — thus the end result is rather similar, though *ngw^c* would really be expected rather than *ng^c*, as noted by Köbert 1961, 365).

The second element (line 14) must be something bad, the removal of which leads to a happy reward (line 16). *šbr [?]hryt*[?] looks like a construct phrase. Syriac *šabrā* means “infant” and renders no sense. Naveh 1974, 10, rightly pointed to Jewish Aramaic *šabrā*, meaning

“sorrow, trouble, affliction” (see also Beyer 1984, 702). This makes better sense than Segal’s “expectation” (a by-form, he thought, of Syriac *sabrā*). $\text{ʕhryt}^?$ is more difficult. Literally it means “end, posterity, descendants” or, if plural, “end, other things” (see Payne Smith, 12; Brockelmann, 13). It stands in antithetic parallelism with $\text{qdmyt}^?$ in line 15. The injunction, therefore, appears to encourage the removal of sorrow which would otherwise be suffered by one’s descendants or offspring.

The next line then follows more easily: “and mourns those (things or men) of old”. There are various derivatives of the root QDM which would support this (Brockelmann, 646-47), but the main consideration here is the antithesis with $\text{ʕhryt}^?$. Naveh 1974, 10, therefore, translates “the (deceased) forefathers”.

For RQD, in the ap^{el} form, “mourn”, see Payne Smith, 549; Brockelmann, 744.

Finally we have the projected outcome: whoever does these good things will have (*hw*[?] *l*-: see on As20:5-6) “a good end” (for *hrt*[?] see Payne Smith 160; Brockelmann, 13). In As20:5, in a similar context, the adjective “good” is omitted and the reference there seems to be to afterlife. This may be implied here too.

For convenience of comparison we may note Segal’s final translation (1970, 34; 1967, 293):

“Whoever despises
the expectations of [his] last [days],
and mourns [his] first [days] —
he shall have a goodly latter end.”

Segal 1967a, 293-97, discusses the general cultural context. Note may be made of his drawing attention to the poetic qualities of the epigram: the rhyme of lines 14 and 15, the antithesis between $\text{ʕhryt}^?$ and $\text{qdmyt}^?$, the play on $\text{ʕhryt}^?$ and $\text{hrt}^?$.

Am6 (D49)

Date: A.D. 235/6

Plate: Pl. 52 (Segal)

Provenance: Found by J. B. Segal in a cave-tomb in Eyüp Mahallesi in the south of Urfa in 1956

Location: Destroyed

Bibliography: Segal 1959b, 155; Segal 1959a, 35-36; Leroy 1961, 160; Segal 1963, 208 (coloured drawing); Segal 1970, 56 and pl. 43; Köbert 1971, 365; Beyer 1996, 44

Text:

(i)

1 פניס

(ii)

2 כעסו שבעה

3 נאזכר עבד

4 תבנה תצטרך תי

5 תבנה תבנה

6 תבנה תבנה לעד [עד]

7 תבנה

Translation:

(1) Phoenix.

(2-3) In the year five hundred and forty-seven, (4-7) (monument) which Baršamaš son of Barqa made, this house of eternity, for myself and for my children for ever.

Epigraphic: This mosaic is called the Phoenix Mosaic for obvious reasons. Apart from (i), which is to the left of the large bird depicted on the mosaic, the rest of the text is located in the lower right-hand corner of the main field.

The text is mostly clear and undamaged apart from the end of line 5. Segal 1959a, 35, sought to read *lbyl 'lm*?, but there are difficulties in this reading, not least the *l-*, which would be unique (though it is inserted superfluously by Segal also in Am1:4 in a similar phrase). More obviously the repetition of *byl 'lm*? (already in line 5) makes no sense. Köbert 1971, 365, proposed reading *lymt 'lm*?, which is better

from every point of view. Indeed Segal 1959a, 36, noted that this might have been expected. His drawing did not allow this, though the drawing by Mrs Seton Lloyd is much less decisive in that what Segal read as a {b} is more likely a {y}. (It may be that Segal overlooked this sign before what he read as {b}.)

Note also the accidental repetition of *wly* in Segal 1959a, 35.

Comment:

1: *pnks*, “Phoenix” (φοῦνξ), the mythical self-resurrecting bird, symbol of eternal life (Colledge 1994, 191). In the mosaic the bird stands on a funerary stele beside a sarcophagus. On the phoenix mosaic from Antioch see Levi 1947, 351-55 and pl. LXXIII; Leroy 1961, 160, and references given there. Various Syriac spellings of the word are recorded (Brockelmann, 579) (of which this is not one!)

2: The date follows a usual formula (Brock 1992, 253-54). The year 547 in the Seleucid dating is A.D. 235/6.

4: The syntax, with *d-* introducing the verb, is strictly wrong, though it may be noted that inscriptions sometimes begin with *d^hbd*, without any antecedent. “Monument” or “tomb” may be understood (see on As8:1). See also Beyer 1996, 44, and 1994, 331.

For the name Baršamaš see on As4:2.

5: Barqa is a name based on the root Common Semitic BRQ meaning “lightning”. This precise form is not attested elsewhere, but there are similar names in Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 12, 80) and in Greek transcription (Βαρκατος, Βαρκα: Wuthnow 1930, 34). See also Vattioni 1971, 445.

6: For *byt ‘lm’* see on As7:3.

The switch to the 1st person (and perhaps the *d-* in line 5) suggested to Beyer 1996, 44, that the text had been composed mechanically out of set phrases by an artisan.

6-7: *lywmt ‘lm’* is restored with some confidence in the light of As59:5, Am2:7-8, etc.

Am7 (D50)

Date: A.D. 228

Plate: Pl. 53 (Segal)

Provenance: Found by Segal in 1956 in a cave-tomb in Eyüp Mahallesi in Urfa

Location: Destroyed

Bibliography: Segal 1959b, 157 (photograph); Segal 1959a, 36-37 (line-drawing); Leroy 1961, 160; Segal 1963, 209 (coloured drawing); Segal 1970, 52, 55-56, pl.44; Degen 1974a, 295; Drijvers 1993, 150 and n.13

Text:

(i)

ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲓⲕ 1

(ii)

ⲛⲁⲃⲏⲁ ⲁⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲏⲁ ⲛⲁⲃⲏⲁ 2

ⲛⲁⲃⲏⲁ ⲛⲁⲃⲏⲁ ⲛⲁⲃⲏⲁ 3

ⲛⲁⲃⲏⲁ ⲛⲁⲃⲏⲁ ⲛⲁⲃⲏⲁ ⲛⲁⲃⲏⲁ 4

ⲛⲁⲃⲏⲁ ⲛⲁⲃⲏⲁ ⲛⲁⲃⲏⲁ ⲛⲁⲃⲏⲁ 5

Translation:

(1) Orpheus.

(2-3) In the month of Tammuz of the year thirty-nine, I, Aptuḥa son of

(4) Barnay, make (?) for myself this house of eternity, (5) for myself and for my children and for my heirs for ever.

Epigraphic: Only the first word of line 4 is doubtful. As usual, {d/r} is ambiguous, and it is followed by what could be {l} and was so understood by Segal 1959a, 36. The best reading of the name is *brny*, since this name has turned up in As60:3 (and see As32:3).

In line 5 Segal omitted the {l} from the last word in his drawing, but it is clear that the {l} is present in the published photograph (Segal 1959b, 157).

In line 4 *bd* is probably a scribal error for *bdt* (so Segal 1959a, 37; Degen 1974a, 295), though it might conceivably be explained as a participle.

Comment:

1: Orpheus was important in popular religion throughout the eastern Empire, though in Edessa the main interest seems to have been in Orpheus as a paradise figure, charming the wild animals and associated with the underworld (Leroy 1961, 160; Segal 1970, 52, 55-56; Drijvers 1980, 188-92; Colledge 1994, 190-91). For Orpheus on other mosaics see Balty 1995, 239-44 and pl. XII. 1-2 (Shahba and Tarsus).

2-3: For the dating formula see also As9:1; As36:1 and Brock 1992. 500 is to be added to the year number, giving a Seleucid date of 539, which corresponds to A.D. 227/8. Tammuz (July) fell in 228.

On the name Aptuḥa see on As1:1.

4: On Barnay see As60:3 (and As32:2).

5: On yrty see As7:4.

For *lywmt* 'lm' see on As59:5, Am2:7-8, etc.

Am8 (D51)

Date: A.D. 218 or 228 (or, less likely, 238)

Plate: Pl. 54 (Segal)

Provenance: Found by Segal in 1956 in a cave-tomb in Eyüp Mahallesi in Urfa

Location: Now destroyed: fragments have appeared on the Beirut antiquities market (Parlasca 1984, 229, pl.2)

Bibliography: Segal 1959b, 157; Segal 1959a, 37-39; Leroy 1961, 165-69; Segal 1963, 205 (partial coloured drawing), 214; Segal 1970, 55, pl. 2; Colledge 1994, 191-92

Text:

- (i)
- 𐤁[---𐤌]𐤒𐤓[---] 𐤁𐤎 𐤏𐤌 𐤎𐤓𐤁 1
 𐤎𐤓𐤁
- 𐤏𐤓𐤁 𐤏 𐤁𐤓.𐤓 𐤌𐤌 2
 𐤏𐤓𐤁 𐤏 𐤌𐤓 𐤌𐤓𐤁 𐤁𐤓 𐤏 𐤁𐤓.𐤓 3
- (ii)
- 𐤏𐤓 4
- 𐤁𐤓𐤁 5
- 𐤁𐤓.𐤓 6
- (iii)
- 𐤏𐤓 7
- 𐤁𐤓 8
- 𐤁𐤓.𐤓 9
- (iv)
- 𐤏 𐤁𐤓.𐤓 10
- 𐤏[𐤎]𐤓𐤁 11
- (v)
- 𐤌𐤓𐤁 12
- 𐤁𐤓.𐤓 𐤏 13

	(vi)
حَمَام	14
أب. ١ ت	15
	(vii)
أب. [---] ١	16
أب. [١]	17
	(viii)
أب. [---]	18
أب. ١ ت	19
	(ix)
أب. ١ ت	20
أب. ١ ت	21

Translation:

(1) In the month of Ab of the year hundred and -nine.

(2) I, Zaydallat son of Barbaʿšamin, (3) made for myself this tomb, for myself and for my children.

(4-6) Awi, wife of Zaydallat. (7-9) Qimi daughter of Zaydallat. (10-

11) Zaydallat son of Barbaʿšamin. (12-13) Baršalma son of Zaydallat.

(14-15) Maʿmi son of Zaydallat. (16-17) Z..... daughter of Zaydallat.

(18-19) M....u son of Zaydallat. (20-21) Barbaʿšamin son of Zaydallat.

Epigraphic: The mosaic, called the Funerary Couch Mosaic because it depicts a central reclining figure surrounded by his family, was extensively preserved when found, though the inscriptional elements are not always clear. In fact the scene is not funerary, but depicts a happy family (Colledge 1994, 191-91; cf. Palmyrene parallels).

(i) is located at the top of the mosaic, outside the main field in which the figures are placed. It is written horizontally. It may be noted that line 1, including *wʾš* (which is placed just below the preceding words), is formed in brown tesserae, while lines 2-3 are in black. Segal 1959a, 38, thought line 1 (the date) had been added later.

(ii)-(ix), all vertical, are placed beside the persons depicted in the mosaic. The order of items is right-to-left starting at the top of the mosaic. The figures related to (ii) and (iii) are clearly female. (vii) is damaged. *brt* would refer to a female, though the related figure appears to be male (see below). This would put a question mark over the reading of *brt*.

The first line is particularly difficult, though Segal's reading of the general formula is probably correct. It is impossible to know how many hundreds figured at the end of the line, but again Segal's assumption that it was five is probably correct (*hmšm*²). There were probably also some tens, but Segal's "eighty" seems to be purely guesswork, though a {t} may stand before *wtš*^c. The tesserae may have been disturbed. Colledge 1994, 191-92, favours 20 or 30 or 40 on art-historical grounds.

The personal name *zydlt* is difficult to read in line 2, but its repetition throughout the following lines makes it certain. It is particularly clear in line 15. The name *brbšmn* has plene spelling line 11: *brbšmyn* (though the {š} in line 11 is missing — on this the drawing of Segal 1959a, 37 and the plate in Segal 1970, pl.2, disagree).

The name in line 14 could be read as *mymy*.

Line 16 is badly disturbed, though *brt*, which is a *possible* reading, would indicate that a female is involved, when the figure is clearly male. Leroy 1961, 166-67, is probably right in insisting that the person involved is male. The coloured drawing in Segal 1963, 205, implies nothing is missing before what was earlier read as *brt*, but Segal 1959a, 37, marks some damage and the tesserae must have been disturbed.

The name in line 18 also is indecipherable. It might be *mšynw* or *mšnw* or *eve myšw*.

At the end of line 20 the final {n} is cramped against the shoulder of the related figure.

Comment:

1: The date follows a standard formula (Brock 1992). Ab corresponds to August. Assuming that *hmšm*² was the first number, the Seleucid date would be between 529 and 599. Segal's 589 would give an equivalent of A.D.277/8, which is certainly too late on art-historical grounds. Colledge 1994, 191-92, favours 529/539/549 (A.D. 218/228/238), also on art-historical grounds. A.D.238 is less likely.

2: The name Zaydallat ("Increase of Allat") is well paralleled in Hatra (*zydlt*: Abbadi 1983, 18, 105) and in related forms in Nabataean (*zydww*, *zydlyh*: Al-Khraysheh 1986, 73-74). The Arabic root ZYD means "increase" and there are many Arabian names derived from it: Zayd, Zaydallah, Zaydmanat, etc. (Al-Khraysheh 1986, 74; Al-Jadir 1983, 373).

The name Barbašamin is evidently contracted from Barba'alšamin. *brbšmn* is found in the Dura parchment, P1:8 (the defective spelling being more common than the plene in early Syriac), while the name survived into the Christian period (the name of a 4th

century martyr: Segal 1959a, 39). The full name appears at Hatra (Abbadī 1983, 9, 87-88) and *b^ʿšmn* appears as a personal name in Palmyra (Stark 1971, 11, 78).

3: For *byt qbwr* see As16:4 etc.

4: The name Awi is not satisfactorily explained (Segal 1959a, 39); it might be related to Arabic ʾWY, “seek refuge” (Al-Jadir 1983, 341).

7: The name here is possibly a defective spelling for *qymy*, which is found in Hatra (Abbadī 1983, 47, 159) and vocalised Qayyāmāy or Qayyāmī by Milik, 1972, 365. The defective spelling precludes such a vocalisation here.

12: The name Baršalma appears in early Syriac literature (Cureton 1864, *Doctrina Addai*, ܩܠܘܢܐ:24). *šalmā* may be a hypocoristic form of the divine name Šalman (as in Palmyra: see Stark 1971, 51, 114; see also Hatra: Abbadī 1983, 51, 168).

14: The name here is of uncertain reading. The name *m^ʿmw* may appear in Nabataean, but the reading there is very doubtful (see RES§1125B: the name is not listed by Negev 1991). Al-Jadir 1983, 385, suggested linking it to the root ʿMY, “be blind” (attested in classical Syriac) and cites Arabic parallels.

Am9

Date: A.D. 224

Plate: Pl. 55 (Drijvers)

Provenance: A cave-tomb in Yakup Mahallesi

Location: *In situ*.

Bibliography: Drijvers 1973, 12-14 and pls xi and xii; Segal 1973, 622; Vattioni 1973, 330

Text:

1 כַּתְּמָא לְבַרְאֲמָתָא
 2 רַבְרַבָּא דְּבַרְאֲמָתָא
 3 עָשָׂה לְבַרְאֲמָתָא
 4 כַּתְּמָתָא לְבַרְאֲמָתָא
 5 דְּבַרְאֲמָתָא לְבַרְאֲמָתָא
 6 לְבַרְאֲמָתָא לְבַרְאֲמָתָא

Translation:

(1) In the month of Nisan (2-3) of the year five hundred and thirty-five, (4-5) I Bar'amta son of Qašya made (6) this tomb.

Epigraphic: The text on this mosaic (called for convenience the Four-Pointed Star Mosaic: on the star motif at Antioch see Colledge 1994, 190) was published by Drijvers exactly as above, except for the last word in line 5, which was originally read as *hdt*. *‘bdt* was subsequently advocated by Segal 1973, 622, and is now accepted as better.

Comment:

1-3: On the dating formula see Brock 1992. Note that the spelling of “hundred” has been abbreviated ($-m^? < m^?$, possibly for lack of space).

The Seleucid year 535 corresponds to A.D. 223/4. Nisan (April) of 535 fell in A.D. 224. This is thus the oldest dated mosaic from Edessa.

4: The name Bar'amta is unparalleled. Drijvers 1973, 13-14 and Al-Jadir 1983, 360, noted the Arabic personal name *‘amīt*, meaning “brave, intelligent”. We may also note the personal name *‘mt* found in Safaitic, Thamudic and Nabataean (see Negev 1991, 53).

5: The name Qašya is probably related to the root QŠY, “be hard”, but it is not otherwise attested (*qašyā*, “hard”?).

6: For *byt qbr*, a defective writing for *byt qbwr*, see on As16:4.

Am10

Date: late 2nd or early 3rd century A.D. (based on comparison with dated mosaics D71, D50, D49 and on palaeography: see Drijvers 1982, 170-72)

Plate: Pl. 55 (Drijvers) and frontispiece

Provenance: Funerary mosaic in Şehitlik Mahallesi, northern cemetery of Urfa (Edessa)

Location: partly destroyed subsequently, then covered over, perhaps lost

Bibliography: Drijvers 1982; Drijvers 1981; Segal 1983

Text:

(i)

1 ארם תשרא תא

2 אצוה חבדו ל

3 חסו חסו מ

4 ל חבדו חסו

5 חסו חסו

6 חסו חבדו חסו

(ii)

7 תשרא

8 ת אצוה

(iii)

9 אצוה ת

10 חסו

(iv)

11 אצוה ת


12 חסו

(v)

13 חסו ת

14 אצוה

(vi)

 15

 16
Translation:

(1-2) I, Barsimya son of Ašadu, made for myself (3) this house of eternity, (4) for myself and for my children and for my brothers, (5) for the life of Abgar, (6) my lord and benefactor.

(7-8) Barsimya son of Ašadu. (9-10) Abgar son of Maʿnu. (11-12) Ašadu son of ʿAqrab. (13-14) Ḥanan son of Ašadu. (15-16) ʿAzil, mother of Barsimya.

Epigraphic: This mosaic has been called the Abgar Mosaic.

(i) is in the centre of the mosaic, written horizontally, while (ii)-(vi) appear vertically beside the six figures depicted. (ii) and (v) are to the left of the two figures on the left, (iv) and (vi) to the right of the figures on the right (the lower one female). (iii) is to the right of the central figure, who is of special status, probably royal.

Drijvers 1982, 172-73, noted a tendency to join separate words by ligatures (lines 4, 6, 13 and 15), explaining this as the result of mechanical copying from an original by the mosaicist.

The only other difficulties of reading are over the name Ḥanan in line 13. *hyn* cannot be completely excluded, though it seems less likely in view of the size of the stroke in question. It is, however, paralleled as a personal name.

A full account of the palaeography is given by Drijvers 1982, 170-172, but note may be made here of the distinctive forms of {h}, {ḥ} and {š}, with features characteristic of the late second/early third century. The later date is the most probable (Colledge 1994).

Comment:

1: The name Barsimya is also found in the Dura Parchment (P1:v4) and Drijvers 1982, 173, suggested they might be the same person. It also occurs on the Tell Metin altar (Bs3:2; Abou-Assaf and Briquel-Chatonnet 1991-92, 190 and n. 8). The name is also found in the *Doctrina Addai*. It also occurs in Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 12, 79). For Greek versions of the name see Wuthnow 1930, 34. On the divine element in these names, *sm̄y*, see on As31:1.

2: The name Ašadu, which means “lion” (Arabic *asad*), appears also in Nabataean (Al-Khraysheh 1983, 44) and Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 7, 73). The name occurs also in Greek form (Ἰσασδος: Wuthnow 1930, 26; see also 90).

3: For *byt* 'lm' see on As7:3.

4: In *lhy*, "for my brother", we have clear elision of the {ʔ} of ʔhy, showing that it had disappeared from pronunciation (as might be expected and is normal in classical Syriac after the preposition) (see Nöldeke 1898², 23, 24). This kind of elision is common in classical Syriac, though not for this particular word. Thus *ht*ʔ, "sister", and *nš*ʔ, "man". The same phenomenon is reflected in spellings like 'bdlt (< 'bdʔlt: see As6:4; As8:2, etc.). It may be noted that ʔhy could be singular or plural. Since no name is given, "brothers" (in the general sense of relations) seems better.

5: For the "for the life of ..." formula see As27:3 and especially Dijkstra 1995 (on this inscription 256-58).

For the name Abgar see on As51:4.

Drijvers 1982, 177-89, identified the Abgar referred to and depicted here with Abgar VIII the Great, king of Edessa A.D. 176-211. The argument in favour of this is based on the full name given in lines 9-10, the titles "lord and benefactor", the use of the "for the life of ..." formula and the iconography. Basically it is argued that Barsimya, in building his family tomb, expresses his allegiance to Abgar, who is placed as a central figure in the mosaic with regalia.

Segal 1983 rejected the identification, wondering whether the fact that the title "king" is not used and, as he argues, the regalia are not quite regal, might suggest an identification with Abgar X Frahaṭ (239-41), the last king of Edessa who was deposed. This is accepted by Gawlikowski 1998.

Dijkstra 1995, 256-58, while conceding some of Segal's points about the inconclusiveness of Drijvers' arguments, remains convinced that the identification with Abgar the Great provides the best explanation of the data. He notes especially the personal nature of Barsimya's dependence on Abgar, quite apart from his role of king.

Two points may be added here. First, the cumulative weight of Drijvers's evidence is telling, even if some points are inconclusive. Secondly, Abgar the Great had been a man of great prominence as "governor of 'Arab" before he became king (As51:4-5). In view of its personal nature (Dijkstra) Barsimya's relationship with Abgar may well have originated before he became king. Indeed the mosaic is not dated and may even date to before Abgar became king, though this would imply a date (before A.D. 176) much earlier than the other dated mosaics (Drijvers 1982, 169-70).

The identification with Abgar the Great is accepted by Millar 1993, 474.

6: On the titles see Drijvers 1982, 178-81; Segal 1983, 108-10.

mry, "my lord" is used of the king in As36:4 and otherwise with

‘*bd(y) ibr*’ in the formula “lord(s) and benefactor(s)” (As47:5-6; As49:7-8; possibly a feminine version in As1:9).

10: On the name Ma‘nu see on As1:7.

12: The name ‘Aqrab, meaning “scorpion”, is quite widespread in Nabataean and Arabic (Negev 1991, 54; Drijvers 1982, 176) and appears as ‘*qrbn* in Palmyrene and in Greek transcriptions (Stark 1971, 45, 107; Drijvers 1982, 176; Ἀκραβανης: Wuthnow 1930, 16).

13: The name Ḥanan is very well known in early Syriac literature (the name of Abgar’s scribe or archivist in the *Doctrina Addai*). *hyn* on the other hand, if that were the correct reading, is well known in Nabataean and Arabic (Al-Khraysheh 1986, 82; Negev 1991, 29) and, in the form *hyny*, in Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 20, 88).

15: On the name ‘Azil see Drijvers 1992, 176-77. This precise form has no parallel in Syriac, though there is a later Saint Azazäil (‘*zz’yl*). ‘*zl* is found in Epigraphic South Arabian and Thamudic and ‘*z’l* in ESA and Lihyanite inscriptions (Ryckmans 1934-35, I, 161, 243). The likely explanation is as a theophoric, “Mighty is Il” or “Mighty is the God”. for the loss of /ʔ/ see on *lhy* above.

So far as the substance of this inscription is concerned, it is no exaggeration to say that this is historically the most important of all the pagan Syriac inscriptions, since the figure at the centre of the mosaic represents king Abgar the Great.

Am11

Date: Undated, but probably early 3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 56-57 (Güler)

Provenance: Discovered in 1991 in a former cave-tomb in Yakup Mahallesi in Urfa

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: Drijvers 1993, 154-59

Text:

- (i)
- 𐤌𐤍𐤁 1
- (ii)
- 𐤁 𐤁.𐤁.𐤁 2
- 𐤁.𐤁.𐤁 3
- (iii)
- 𐤁𐤁 4
- (iv)
- 𐤁 𐤍𐤁𐤁 5
- 𐤁.𐤁 𐤍𐤁𐤁 6
- (v)
- 𐤍𐤁𐤁 𐤁.𐤁 𐤍𐤁 7

Translation:

(1) Masa. (2-3) Barhadad son of ʿAbdnu. (4) Waʿel. (5-6) Ruma son of Baršama, may he be remembered. (7) Ḥata daughter of Ruma.

Epigraphic: This mosaic, called the Barhadad Mosaic since Barhadad appears to be the main figure, represents five persons. (i)-(v) appear from right to left, with (i) and (iii) written vertically, the others horizontally. The names appear beside the heads of the figures except that (v) is immediately below (iv), well above the figure it refers to and in slightly smaller letters than (iv).

All the readings are clear.

Comment:

1: The name Masa is not otherwise known in early Syriac or in

Palmyrene, etc. See similar names in Thamudic, Safaitic, etc. (Ryckmans 1934-35, I, 129-30).

2-3: The name Barhadad is clear enough in meaning: it was in use in earlier Aramaic (Maraqten 1988, 73, 143-44; Drijvers 1993, 156-57).

‘Abdnu, also unparalleled in this precise form, appears to be a hypocoristic from “Servant of Nabu” (Drijvers 1993, 157).

4: On the name Waʿel see As20:8.

5-6: Drijvers 1993, 1957-58, prefers *rwm*ʿ to *dwm*ʿ, though indicating that both are possible. Palmyrene *rwmy* provides a parallel (Stark 1971, 49, 111), but *rwm*ʿ is frequent in Nabataean (Al-Khraysheh 1986, 165; Negev 1991, 60). Cantineau 1930-32, 146, linked it with RWM, “be high”, in which case the name would probably be a hypocoristic of a theophoric: “The god so and so is high”.

Baršama is regarded by Drijvers 1993, 158, as a hypocoristic of Baršamaš, a name found in the inscriptions (see on As4:2). Another possibility might be that it is a defective spelling of Baršuma (As20:1).

While the *dkyr* formula is common in our inscriptions (see As3:1, etc.), it is only found here set into a mosaic. One might have thought it was redundant since Ruma is depicted and named! This special circumstance may be connected with the further oddity in this mosaic that none of Barhadad’s relations are mentioned and we do not know what his relationship to Ruma is.

7: The name Ḥata is yet another unparalleled name. It may be presumed to be an example of the use of a kinship term as a personal name. It might be a hypocoristic.

Bs1(D63:I)

Date: Undated: probably early 3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 57 (Yale University Art Gallery, Dura-Europos Collection)

Provenance: A votive stele from the Temple of Hadad and Atargatis at Dura-Europos

Location: Yale University Art Gallery

Bibliography: Torrey 1932, 68-71 and pl.xix.1; Mesnil du Buisson 1937a, 172; Mesnil du Buisson 1937b, 85-86; Mesnil du Buisson 1962, 425-30; Drijvers 1972, 49-50

Text:

ⲉⲗⲗⲉ	1
ⲛⲁ ⲛⲉⲛⲁ	2
ⲛⲁⲛⲉⲛⲁ	3
ⲛⲁⲛⲉⲛⲁ	4
ⲛⲁⲛⲉⲛⲁ	5
ⲛⲁⲛⲉⲛⲁ	6
ⲛⲁⲛⲉⲛⲁ	7
ⲛⲁⲛⲉⲛⲁ	8

Translation:

(1-2) Vologases son of Sennaq, (3) of Qarḥa, (4-5) disciple of Rama, (6-8) may he be remembered before the god.

Epigraphic: Line 1 was read *hlsʹ* by Torrey 1932, but this was corrected by Drijvers 1972, 50. In line 2 *slq* is also a possibility (though the letter {l} is usually taller in this inscription). In line 3 Mesnil du Buisson (1937b, 85-86) read *qrynnyʹ* (< *qrʹt nnyʹ*, “village of Nanaya”), but the photograph and drawing (by Pillet in Torrey 1932) show that Torrey’s reading should be retained.

Comment:

1-2: The Iranian name Vologases is well known at Hatra (Abbadi 1983, 15, 102) and it is also found in later Syriac (*TS*, 1063: *wālāgeš*).

The name Sennaq is also Iranian. It occurs in the *Doctrina Addai* (Howard 1981, ⲛ:23; ⲛ:1). (The alternative reading would give us Seluq: see on As16:2.)

3: *qrhny*² appears to mark the place of origin of Vologases. Qarḥa, if that is the correct place-name, is not otherwise known.

4-5: Vologases is also described as “disciple of Rama”. *tlmd*², “disciple, follower”, here in a defective spelling, became common in Syriac in a Christian context (disciples of Jesus and monastic aspirants), but it is also common in Mandaic (*tarmida*: Drower and Macuch 1963, 481-82) and Jewish Aramaic (Jastrow, 1673) and there is no need to think of this inscription as being Christian (against Torrey).

The name Rama (it could, of course, be Dama) would appear to be connected with RWM, “be high”. The name appears also in Palmyrene and Nabataean, and there are variants like *rmw* also (Stark 1971, 49, 112; Negev 1991, 60; Al-Khraysheh 1986, 166; Abbadi 1983, 49, 164). See also the probable *rwm*² in Am11:5. Torrey 1932, 71, notes the later use of the name among Mesopotamian Christians.

6-8: For the *dkyr* formula see on As3:4, etc. and especially Healey 1996.

Torrey also took the reference to ²*lh* without further qualification as an indicator of monotheism (“God”, without definite article in his translation). On this point, however, his argument is circular, since ²*lh* can equally well be translated “the god”, meaning the god of the particular sanctuary, who need not be named. This can be seen conclusively in As26 at Sumatar: “Remembered be so and so *before the god*.” (Mesnil du Buisson 1937a, 172 and n.4, reserves his position on the question of a Christian background in view of the pagan sculpture of the stele. See also his 1937b, 85 and n.2, and his 1962, 425-50, on the iconography of the standards.) Another possibility is that ²*lh* might be plural.

Mesnil du Buisson 1937b, 85-86, suggests that the author of the inscription was a foreign pilgrim (using a foreign script) and the *tlmd*² was his “host” (= the διδάσκαλος at Hierapolis as in Lucian).

Bs2 (D2)

Date: A.D. 73

Plate: Pl. 58 (Pognon)

Provenance: In the wall of a tomb-tower in Serrin on the left bank of the Euphrates opposite Qal'at al-Najm in Syria

Location: *In situ*

Bibliography: von Oppenheim 1901, 82; Pognon 1907, 15-22 and pls I-III; Moritz 1913, 158-65; Maricq 1965, 127-39, 141-44 and pl. IVa; Segal 1967b, 8-9; Bivar and Shaked 1964, 274-76; Altheim and Stiehl 1966, 68-69; Segal 1970, 57-59, 23 n. 4; Teixidor 1986, 22; Beyer 1996, 43

Text:

385 ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ 1
 ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ 2
 (erased: ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ)
 ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ 3
 ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ 90 4
 ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ 5
 ܘܠܗܘܐ
 ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ 6
 ܘܠܗܘܐ
 ܘܠܗܘܐ [-]ܘܠܗܘܐ[-]ܘܠܗܘܐ[-]ܘܠܗܘܐ 7
 ܘܠܗܘܐ
 ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ 8
 ܘܠܗܘܐ
 ܘܠܗܘܐ 9

Translation:

(1) In the month of Former Tešri of the year 385 (2) I, Ma'nu the elder, (3) *budar* of Nahay, son of Ma'nu, grandson of Šardunaha, built (4) this monument for myself and for my children, at the age of 90. (5) Whoever gives thanks, may all the gods bless him and permanence (6) and life may he have. Whoever comes and destroys this work (7-8)

and these bones may he have no tomb and may children to throw dust upon his eyes (9) not exist for him.....

Epigraphic: The readings of this inscription, which was first discovered in 1899 by M. von Oppenheim (see von Oppenheim 1901, 82; von Oppenheim and Lucas 1905, 7; Moritz 1913), have been refined by successive studies.

It should be noted that the mason has made an error at the end of line 2. He has carved and then attempted to erase *br m^cnw*. (Since these words are genuine contemporary Syriac, we have not excised them completely from the edition! Moritz 1913, 160, included them in his text.)

The publications of Maricq 1965 marked a definite step forward. In particular we owe to Maricq the disentanglement of the beginning of line 3, where Pognon 1907, 17-18, with great hesitation and aware of the genealogical difficulties caused, had read *br drnhy*. Comments on this line made from time to time tried to improve the reading and noted the possible reference to a theophoric name involving the deity Nahay (see Segal 1954, 30; Leroy 1957, 325 and n.1).

Pognon was, however, very perceptive in seeking here the title of an office. He had in fact offered *bdrdrnhy* as one possible reading, but he could not make sense of it. Sense was supplied by Maricq 1965, 141-44, who read *bdr dnhy*, noting in passing that the inscription does in fact distinguish slightly between {d} and {r} (the {d} being slightly more angular, as is clearer in the photograph in Maricq 1965, than in the drawing of Pognon 1907).

The middle of line 7 cannot be recovered: presumably it contained a verb referring to some bad action which could be taken against the body in the tomb. To judge from As20:5 the verb might be ZW^c, but the traces of strokes descending below the line are very hard to explain.

Comment:

1: The dating formula is standard: see Brock 1992. The year 385 corresponds to A.D. 73/72. Former Tešri fell in 73.

The numeral is made up as follows: (3 x 100) + 20 + 20 + 20 + 20 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 1. On the numerals see on As29:2.

2: *bnyt*: 1st singular pe^cal perfect of BN^p, "build". The separate expression of the pronoun after the verb may be emphatic (Nöldeke 1898², 166).

For the name Ma^cnu see on As1:7.

The meaning here of *qšyš^p* has caused considerable discussion. Pognon 1907, 17, thought that it did not have its significance of

“priest” as in later (Christian) Syriac (where it appears to be a calque on Greek πρεσβύτερος). He preferred the more basic meaning “elder”, whether referring to the old age of Ma‘nu or to distinguish him from some other Ma‘nu. This sense is retained, for example, by Beyer 1996, 43 (“Ma‘nū senior”).

Maricq 1965, 143-44, after concluding, as we shall see, that line 3 begins with a religious title (*bdr*), throws doubt on the assumption that the religious meaning of *qšyš*² is late. It must be said against his argument, however, that if *bdr* a religious title it is less likely that *qšyš*² also has religious significance. Segal 1967, 8-9, however, takes up Maricq’s point and states definitively that “Here *qaššiša* probably denotes a pagan priest.” Non-Christian religious usage of the term can be suggested (but not always proved) for Palmyra, the Shimbar inscriptions from Khuzistan, Hatra and Jewish Dura-Europos (see Hoftijzer and Jongeling, 1039; Segal 1967, 8-12; see on the Shimbar inscription Bivar and Shaked 1964, 274-76, with subsequent comments in Altheim and Stiehl 1966, 68-69; Teixidor 1986, 22). Segal implies that this title was more permanent, while the office referred to in line 3 was passed from person to person.

Here we prefer to see the title *qšyš*² as non-religious. It could still, however, be a specific title, perhaps something like English “alderman” (literally “an elder”, a kind of councillor).

3: As noted above (Epigraphic), it was Maricq 1965, 141-44, who found a solution to the difficulties of the beginning of line 3 by reading *bdr dnhy* as the name of a religious functionary. The difficulty with reading a personal name, *br drnhy* in Pognon, *br ddnhy* in Beyer (apart from the question of explaining the form of the name), lies in the fact that in the later part of line 3 Ma‘nu would then be identified as the grandson of both Ma‘nu and Šardunaḥa. One would be forced to avoid this by interpreting *br brh d-* not as “grandson of...” (Payne Smith, 53), but “descendant of...” in a rather vague and unparalleled way. (In retaining the phrase “son of Dādnoḥay” at the beginning of the line, Beyer 1996, 43, has to translate *br brh* as “der Nachkomme des ...”.)

Maricq’s argument was that the word he read as *bdr* is a (defective) form of the word *bwdr* which is found in As37:6 (in connection with which fuller discussion of the term is given). The deity Naḥay is fairly well attested in the area: see on Am1:8 and Vattioni 1971, 442.

The name read *šrdwnh*² has a partial parallel in the Šaredu of the Amašamaš inscriptions (As62). It may be that we are dealing with two names: *šrdw nh*², as in Pognon 1907, 17, and Beyer 1996, 43, though a full theophoric name based on the divinity Naḥay seems also possible. Al-Jadir 1983, 405, however, preferred to read *šddwnh*², interpret-

ing it as “Naḥay is powerful” and citing names using the root ŠDD, “be mighty”, in Palmyrene and Hatran.

4: Line 4 begins with the object of the verb, *npšʔ*, normally “self” in these inscriptions, though clearly here the meaning is, as commonly in Nabataean and Palmyrene, “burial monument” (see Hoftijzer and Jongeling, 748-49). The more common meaning follows immediately in *lnpšy*, “for myself”.

The idiom at the end of the line, “son of X years” (*šny* being absolute plural) to express age, is normal in classical Syriac (Payne Smith, 53; Brockelmann, 92). The number 90 is made up of 20 + 20 + 20 + 20 + 10.

5: *mn d-*: see on As20:5.

The imperfect verbs here have *y-* prefixes. *yšbh* is the imperfect of the pa^cel verb form, classically *yšabbah*, “he will praise”. It is normally transitive, but it can be used for “to give thanks” (e.g. Peshitta Matt 15:36) and, later, “to say the *Gloria*” as a liturgical act (Payne Smith, 555-56; Brockelmann, 751).

ybrkwnh: *ybarr^ckūneh* is the 3rd person plural pa^cel imperfect of the root BRK, with 3rd masculine singular object suffix.

lhʔ must be plural (followed by *klhwn* and with plural verb): *alāhē*. The placing of *kl* after the noun with resumptive suffix is standard: see on As55:7 (restored on the basis of the present passage).

5-6: The rewards for the respectful are *mrʔ* and *hyʔ*. The latter is “life” (*plurale tantum*: *ḥayyē*). The former was taken by Pognon as an error for (or better defective spelling of) *wmrʔ*: *umrā*, normally “dwelling, monastery” in classical Syriac, but also used for “life, course of life” (like Arabic *عمر*) (Payne Smith, 405; Brockelmann, 532). In this context the idea is of long or permanent life, perhaps with overtones of everlasting life (cf. Arabic *لعمري الله*, “by the everlasting existence of God”, Wehr, 643).

For *hwʔ lh* see on As20:5-6.

ytʔ is the imperfect pe^al of ʔTʔ/Y, “come”. This defective spelling is unexpected, since the {ʔ} is usually retained, though sporadically omitted, in written forms in classical Syriac (Nöldeke 1898², 24-25). It was obviously not pronounced.

For *bdʔ*: *ḥādā*, “handiwork, building-work”, see Payne Smith, 397; Brockelmann, 504-05.

yhbl: see on As37:9; As60:3.

7: For *tmʔ* see on As24:1.

kprʔ is only found here in the inscriptions and here it has a meaning, “tomb”, more characteristic of Nabataean (see Healey 1994, 69). Such a meaning may occur in a Palmyrene text, but the reading is disputed (Milik 1972, 178). The word is in fact probably a Lihyanite loan

into Nabataean and it may have come to early Syriac through Arabian linguistic contact. The normal classical Syriac meaning is “village” (Payne Smith, 223; Brockelmann, 341).

8: *yrmwñ*: 3rd person plural imperfect pe^{al} of RMY/ʾ, “throw” (Payne Smith, ; Brockelmann, 732-33). Used with ʿpr², “dust”, the reference is to the duty of children to bury their parent, to cast dust on his eyes (ʿl ʿynwhy). The strength of the ancients’ need for children relates to this concern with proper burial.

9: *yškḥwn* is the 3rd person plural imperfect passive (ethpe^{al}) of the anomalous verb ʾeškāḥ, “find, be able”. The ethpe^{al} can mean “exist” (Payne Smith, 576; Brockelmann, 775-76)

Bs3

Date: Unknown

Plate: Pl. 59 (Abou-Assaf and Briquel-Chatonnet)

Provenance: On an incense altar found at Tell Matin, Syria

Location: Raqqa Museum

Bibliography: Abou-Assaf and Briquel-Chatonnet 1991-92 (includes plate)

Text:

ܐܘܓܓܝ ܕܒܪܫܝܡܝܝܐ ܕܒܪܫܝܡܝܝܐ 1
 ܕܒܪܫܝܡܝܝܐ ܕܒܪܫܝܡܝܝܐ 2
 ܕܒܪܫܝܡܝܝܐ ܕܒܪܫܝܡܝܝܐ 3
 ܕܒܪܫܝܡܝܝܐ ܕܒܪܫܝܡܝܝܐ 4
 ܕܒܪܫܝܡܝܝܐ ܕܒܪܫܝܡܝܝܐ 5
 ܕܒܪܫܝܡܝܝܐ ܕܒܪܫܝܡܝܝܐ 6

Translation:

(1-2) (Monument) which Aggay son of Barsimya made (3) for their god (4) for his own life (5) and for the life of his children. (6) I Baršamaš made it.

Epigraphic: Abou-Assaf and Briquel-Chatonnet 1991-92, 188, note the miscalculation of the space for the text on the left of the stone. This has led to the squashing of the letters and may partly explain the defective writing of *klhn* for *klhwn* in line 3, the omission of the final {y} of *bnwhy* in line 5 and the strange form of {c} in the last word of line 6. {r} is rather strangely ligatured with the following {š} in *bršmš* (line 6).

There appears to be a {y} between the {ʔ} and the {l} of *ʔlhʔ*, but this is probably an accidental mark on the stone: it is more prominent in the published drawing than in the plate.

Abou-Assaf and Briquel-Chatonnet 1991-92, 191, cast slight doubt on the final {n} of line 3, but it seems clear enough.

Comment:

1: The name Aggay is found in early Syriac literature as that of Addai's successor (*Doctrina Addai* ܘ:18, etc. [Howard 1981]). The variant ʔgʔ is found in the Dura Parchment (P1:6).

2: For the name Barsimya see on Am10:1 (the Abgar Mosaic) and also the Dura Parchment (P1:v4).

3: The dedication is to an unnamed god, but instead of looking to the Palmyrene anonymous god for an explanation of this (against Abou-Assaf and Briquel-Chatonnet 1991-92, 191), one can cite the Syriac examples of As26:3; As28:4; As29:2; As37:9; Bs1:8, where the probability is that the god is not anonymous, but that it was simply obvious because of the setting which god was being referred to.

Assuming that we are right (with Abou-Assaf and Briquel-Chatonnet 1991-92, 191) to read *dylhn*, “belonging to them”, in line 3, the spelling is defective. Other defective spellings of this type are attested in the Syriac inscriptions (see Language chapter) and also in Palmyrene (Cantineau 1935, 68-69: *-hn/-hwn*). The plural suffix lacks a referent, though it could refer either to Aggay and his father or to Aggay and his children (line 5). In either case there is an implication of a family deity: see Abou-Assaf and Briquel-Chatonnet 1991-92, 191.

4-5: For the formula “for the life of ...” see on As27:3 and especially Dijkstra 1995.

hywhy: hy?, “life”, is always plural: Bs2:6. Here alone in our corpus does it have a suffix, though note the similar construction in Lightfoot and Healey 1991, 5-6.

6: For the name Baršamaš see on As4:2.

Abou-Assaf and Briquel-Chatonnet 1991-92, 192, note the second use of *‘bd* within the inscription with two senses (“dedicate” v. “carve”). This is no longer, however, unique in the corpus: see on As59 (published after the present inscription).

Bm1**Date:** A.D. 227/8**Plate:** Pl. 60 (Parlasca)**Provenance:** Tell Mas'udiyeh, Syria (north-east of Aleppo, south-east of Membij)**Location:** Destroyed**Bibliography:** Moritz 1913, 158; Cumont 1917, 250; Balty 1981, 369-71 and pl. XII, 1; Parlasca 1983**Text:**

ܡܠܟ 1
 ܡܠܟ 2

Translation:

(1) Euphrates, (2) the king.

Epigraphic: This was discovered by von Oppenheim in 1899 (von Oppenheim 1901, 82; von Oppenheim and Lucas 1905, 7). There is also a Greek inscription, though this is not really a bilingual: the Syriac is written vertically to the left of the bearded main figure of the mosaic, the river-god. Two other figures, female, are to each side of him, representing Mesopotamia and Syria (divided by the river: Balty 1995, 155). For other river-gods on mosaics see, e.g., the Ghillineh mosaic depicting the Orontes (?): Balty 1995, 67-68, pl. I.2. The Syriac is clear, but the reading is in any case confirmed by the accompanying Greek inscription (below).

Moritz 1913, 158, claimed that there was a dot on top of the {r} of *p^erat*, but this appears to be a stray tessera and is not aligned above that letter.

There are traces of one or two further Syriac words on the mosaic, as noted by Parlasca 1983, 266, though they cannot now be read.

Comment:

1: *p^erat* (or *p^erāt*) is the Syriac name of the river Euphrates, here mythologised. The site is near the river.

2: *mlk²* appears otherwise in the corpus in As36:4.

The Greek text reads:

βασιλεὺς Ποταμὸς Εὐφράτης | Εὐτυχῆς βαρναβίλωνος ἐποίησεν. θλφ,
 “River King Euphrates. Eutyches (son of) Barnabion made (it). 539”
 (see von Oppenheim and Lucas 1905, 58-59 and pl. IV, fig. 21-22;
 Balty 1981, 369; Parlasca 1983, 263-7). The Greek date = A.D. 227/8

(Parlasca 1983, 266: 228/9). (von Oppenheim and Lucas 1905, 59, comment on the Greek name Barnabion in the context of the Semitic original: see on As32:3.)

Bo1 (D63:II)

Date: Undated, but probably early 3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 61 (Yale University Art Gallery, Dura-Europos Collection)

Provenance: On the bottom of a silver vase found in the House of the Large Atrium at Dura-Europos

Location: Yale University Art Gallery

Bibliography: Torrey 1933, 178-80 (see p. 229 of the same volume for archaeological context); Drijvers 1972, 50-51

Text:

1 ܩܠܝܠܘ ܕܐܘܪܝܢ ܕܘܪܝܢ ܕܘܪܝܢ
 ܩܠܝܠܘ [-] ܩܠܝܠܘ

Translation:

(1) Belonging to Qalilu. ... weight, *litrae*

Epigraphic: Drijvers 1972, 51, expressed grave doubts about Torrey's published readings. A close examination of the photograph gives this doubt full justification: his drawing is very inaccurate.

The text is a single line written around the base of the bowl. It appears to record the weight of the silver and may record ownership, but the letters, created by punching the metalwork with a sharp tool, are very obscure and irregular.

In particular it is clear that there is a letter before the {1} which Torrey made initial and the marks on the metal show a fairly clear {d} or {r}, not a straight line of dots. Of the words read by Torrey we are reasonably confident of *tql² lytr²*, but the rest is very uncertain indeed.

What is above read as *pzw* is treated by Torrey as a numerical expression, ܐ 80 (= 80), the whole meaning "80 *litrae*", but this is pure guesswork.

Comment: Hammered (pointillé) inscriptions on metal are known elsewhere and in particular we may note Aramaic examples such as a silver bowl from Sissian (Armenia) on which the ownership and weight (*mtql*) of silver are marked (Périkhanian 1971) and a bowl in the Kayseri Museum (Eskioğlu 1989, 199, 219: this bowl has not yet been fully published, but the inscription begins with *zy*, "belonging to", and includes reference to *mtql*, "weight").

Bearing these analogies in mind, the reference to weight may well be represented by *tql²*, as Torrey supposed (see classical *qālā*: Payne Smith, 618; Brockelmann, 831). This would be reinforced by the

word *lytr*², if this is indeed the classical *litrā* (= λίτρα) (Payne Smith, 241; Brockelmann, 365). On the λίτρα see LSJ, 1054. The attempt to find the word *mlk*² is, however, very tentative: we might have reference to “royal measure”.

The numerical expression rendered above as *pzw* is probably beyond solution. Under the system in use in later Syriac ܩ might stand for 80 or 800 and this might be followed by smaller numbers (ܐ = 6). If what looks like {z} were actually {y} or {n} we might have 816. But the possible hypotheses are numerous and little is to be gained by speculation.

With the corrected reading of the first word of the inscription and in the light of the analogous inscriptions, it seems most likely that the inscription begins with a mark of ownership: *d-l-qlylw*, “belonging to Qalilu”.

The remaining words of the inscription cannot be read.

Bo2 (D63:III)

Date: Undated, but probably early 3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 62 (Torrey)

Provenance: Sherd from Dura-Europos

Location: Yale University Art Gallery, Dura-Europos Collection

Bibliography: Torrey 1933, 181 and fig 13; Drijvers 1972, 51

Text:

Translation:

(1)(2) which deposited.. (3) ..the god

Epigraphic: There is no justification for Torrey's assumption that these are ends of lines: the {m} in line 2 is non-final and must have been followed by something. The final {ʔ} of line 3 is clear but broken in such a way that it is impossible to know whether anything followed.

The script is painted on the sherd and is of a manuscript type (Torrey 1933, 181).

Comment:

1: The surviving letters cannot be made out, but Torrey speculated that the word involved might be *kḏny*, “jars of” (classical *kʿdānā*: Payne Smith, 205).

2: *dsm-* is probably *d-*, “which”, followed by a form of the verb *sām*, “deposit, place”. If the inscription was dedicatory, as is implied by line 3, the reference would probably be to an offering (see the use of the same verb in As37:4).

3: The word *ʔlhʔ* is clear. We cannot tell whether it was accompanied by a divine name (see on Bs3:3) or (as Torrey conjectured) followed by *qdm*.

Cs1 (D43)

Date: Unknown

Plate: Pl. 62 (Giron)

Provenance: Unknown: seen in Aleppo by N. Giron. Probably from Edessa

Location: Unknown

Bibliography: Giron 1922, 88-90 with plate

Text:

1 אַבְסָא בַּכּוֹסָא
 2 בַּכּוֹסָא בַּכּוֹסָא
 3 בַּכּוֹסָא בַּכּוֹסָא
 4 אַבְסָא בַּכּוֹסָא

Translation:

(1-3) Image which Absaka and Bakkosa, sons of Bakkos, made for Ayyu, (4) their sister. (Turned) to clay, alas.

Epigraphic: The inscription on a stele with a relief of an eagle was seen in Aleppo in 1910-11 by Giron. Only his drawing (and photograph of squeeze) are available for checking the readings. The personal names are not certain. In line 3 Giron read *brs*, Drijvers 1972, 30, *bks*, Vattioni 1973, 309, *kbs*, Al-Jadir 1983, 161, *bbs*!

Comment:

2-3: The names Absaka and Bakkosa (*s.v.l.*) are only found here, though the latter may be of Greek origin (Bacchus). ‘*bsk*’ may be an assimilated form from ‘*bd*’ (cf. ‘*bšlm*’: As7:1, etc.) *bks* may find a parallel in As31:3 (Beyer 1996, 42, there reads a form of the name Bacchus, comparing אַבְסָא: *TS*, 524.) The name Ayyu also is unparalleled.

4: *hthwn*, “their sister”.

The final phrase is closely paralleled in As21:2 (see for details). The point of difference is the addition here of the preposition *l-* (not an emphatic particle as suggested by Al-Jadir 1983, 161, but a direction indicator). Giron 1922, 88-90, has “en terre”, implying a less dramatic expression of grief.

Cs2 (D57)

Date: Unknown

Plate: Pl. 63 (Segal)

Provenance: Not known. Presumably from Urfa region, but moved from Urfa to Diyarbakir Museum in 1937

Location: Diyarbakir Museum

Bibliography: Segal 1959a, 40, and pls VII and VIII; Segal 1970, 33 and pl. 12b; Drijvers 1972, 47; Vattioni 1973, 319-20

Text:

ܡܘܕ[ܕܡܪ] ܠܚܝܐ ܕ[---] ܕܡܬܐ ܕܡܬܐ ܐ
ܡܘܕܐ ܕܡܬܐ ܕܡܬܐ

Translation:

(1) This is the memorial which made for ‘Ani his [wife] and for Matašada his daughter.

Epigraphic: This inscription is on the left of a relief figure (not the same relief figure as that of inscription Cs3: *contra* Vattioni 1973, 319).

The text is generally clear, though the name of the dedicant is lost and the name of his wife is uncertain.

Comment:

1: *dkrn*² is a defective writing for *dwkrn*², an unusual term in the context of these inscriptions, where *šlm*² is the usual term which fills this slot. It normally means “memorial” in classical Syriac (as in Eucharistic memorial) (Payne Smith, 86; Brockelmann, 153-54), while *dkrwn* is (probably) used for “documentary record” in the Dura Parchment (P1:19) (as it certainly is in earlier Aramaic: Hoftijzer and Jongeling, 330-31). *dkrn* is, however, found in Palmyrene on funerary monuments (see Hillers and Cussini 1996, 357; Vattioni 1973, 320).

The name ‘Ani is without parallel.

The restoration of *ʾntth* can be regarded as certain. See also As19:2, etc.

The name of the daughter, Matašad/ra, is otherwise unknown, but Amat- and Mat- names are familiar. See on Am4:12; As13:2. The name *šdy* in Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 50, 113) may be relevant to the explanation of the name here. Segal’s suggestion of a connection with

the Nabataean god Dušara is improbable. More likely is a connection with the name Ašadu (see Am10:2).

brth: see also Cs3:3.

Cs3 (D56)

Date: Unknown

Plate: Pl. 64 (Healey)

Provenance: Inscribed bust of unknown provenance formerly in the courtyard of the Vatan Okul in Urfa

Location: Urfa Museum

Bibliography: Segal 1959a, 39-40 and pls VI and VIII; Segal 1970, 33 and pl. 12a; Drijvers 1972, 46-47; Vattioni 1973, 319

Text:

Translation:

(1) Image of Šalmat daughter of (2) Maruna and of Rabbayta, (3) her daughter.

Epigraphic: The readings are clear apart from the usual ambiguity of {r}/{d}. The {n} in the name Maruna might be read as {l} (Drijvers 1972, 46), but the letter does not extend above the height of the following {ʔ} and {n} is more probable. Note may be made of the leftward-leaning ductus of the inscription.

Comment:

1: For the name Šalmat see on As1:6. Note that it is not said who erected the monument: *contra* Segal 1970, 33.

2: For the name Maruna (*s. v. l.*), a diminutive meaning “little lord” (see Nöldeke 1898², 78), there is plenty of evidence in Syriac (*TS*, cols.2220-21) and in Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 37, 97).

Rabbayta may be a feminine form derived from the root RB^ʔ/Y, “grow”. A feminine version of *rby* (see As7:1): so Segal. This is a better explanation than one based on *rb byt^ʔ*, “steward, temple servant”, which would hardly turn into a female personal name (against Al-Jadir 1983, 402).

Cm1**Date:** Undated, but probably early 3rd century A.D.**Plate:** Pl. 65 (Desreumaux)**Provenance:** Unknown**Location:** Private Collection (communication of A. Desreumaux)**Bibliography:** Unpublished**Text:**
Translation:

(1-2) Gahru son of Garmu.

Epigraphic: The writing appears vertically on a fragment of a mosaic panel of which only the top left-hand corner survives. The nearby figure is that of a man.

The {g} in line 2, unlike the one in line 1, is attached to the following letter at both bottom and top, producing a box-shape. This may result from some disturbance of the tesserae. There are also two isolated dots (under the {h} in line 1 and at the end of line 2) which are probably the result of disturbance (since neither diacritics nor punctuation appear elsewhere at this early date). Note the other ligatures: {b} + {r}, {m} + {w}.

Comment:**1-2:** Of the names Gahru (or Gahdu) is unparalleled, but Garmu is found in Am2:3, etc. and in Cm7:1. See on Am2:3.

Cm2

Date: Undated, but probably early 3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 66 (Parlasca)

Provenance: Unknown

Location: Reported by Parlasca 1984 as in the hands of a Japanese art-dealer

Bibliography: Unpublished inscription, but a plate of the mosaic was published by Parlasca 1984, pl.4 (with discussion 231); Colledge 1994, 195, pl. cxii.2

Text:

] 𐤀𐤕 , 𐤀𐤕 1

Translation:

(1) 'Ati son of

Epigraphic: The text is written horizontally beside a reclining male figure, whom it presumably names. The letters are joined up.

Comment:

1: The name 'Ati is otherwise attested in Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 46, 108). It could be a hypocoristic related to the more common form 'Ata (on which see Bar'ata, As9:1).

Cm3

Date: Undated, but probably early 3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 66 (Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem)

Provenance: Not known exactly, but certainly northern Syria/Osrhoene

Location: Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem

Bibliography: Unpublished

Text:

ܐܚܝܠ 1
ܩܘܬܪܘܫ 2

Translation:

(1-2) Achilles. Patroclus

Epigraphic:

This comes from a large floor-mosaic from a house. It is possible that this mosaic fragment forms part of the same mosaic as Cm4.

The two names stand beside two figures. The figure of Achilles holds a harp; Patroclus holds a branch.

Comment:

1: The spellings ܐܟܠܘܫ and ܐܟܠܘܫ (Ἀχιλλεύς) are found in early classical Syriac (*TS*, 177, 181). For the former see Cureton 1855, ܐ:2, ܐ:13.

2: For Patroclus (Πάτροκλος) the early literature has both *ptrqls* and *ptrqlws* (*TS*, col.3098). For the former see Cureton 1855, ܩ:18. Note also Palmyrene *ptrqls*: Stark 1971, 47.

Achilles and Patroclus are associated in the *Iliad*, where Achilles rejoins battle after the death of his friend Patroclus at the hands of Hector. The local interest in these figures is illustrated by the *Hypomnemata* of Ambrose (Cureton 1855, 61-62).

Cm4

Date: Undated, but probably early 3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 67 (Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem)

Provenance: Not known exactly, but certainly northern Syria/Osrhoene

Location: Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem

Bibliography: Unpublished

Text:

(i)

דָּמוֹס 1

(ii)

דָּמוֹס 2

(iii)

בְּרִישַׁיִס 3

(iv)

[-]ב[-]ש 4

Translation:

(1) Damos. (2) Damos. (3) Briseis. (4) ...

Epigraphic:

These words appear on two fragments of the same mosaic. (i) appears between two figures who are holding hands. The figure on the right is female and holds a box. The figure on the left is male and young. (ii), (iii) and (iv) are on the other fragment on which three figures appear. (ii) appears beside the figure on the right who appears to be leading the female figure in the middle, above which (iii) is written. The fourth name, which is illegible, stands above the third figure, on the left.

Comment:

The persons involved here appear to be Homeric and it is possible that these fragments come from the same mosaic as Cm3. In the *Iliad* Briseis (βρισηϊς) was the Trojan woman taken as booty by Achilles (who appears in Cm3) and whose subsequent removal by Agamemnon was the central cause of the great feud between the two. She is also associated with Patroclus (again Cm3), Achilles' great

friend, lamenting for him in *Iliad* 19. 282-300. She appears in mosaics at Antioch (Kossatz-Deissmann 1986, 158) and is also mentioned in the *Hypomnemata* of Ambrose (Cureton 1855, 62; Syriac ܡܕ: 18 — ܡܕܪܘܪܐܬܐ [TS, col. 606])

Damos (or Ramos) appears to be the main figure. For the personal name Δᾶμος see Fraser and Matthews 1987, 117. He is not easily identified mythologically and it is possible that he is the human patron of the mosaic. Could the scene depict a mythologised marriage of Damos to his Briseis?

Cm5

Date: Undated, but probably early 3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 68 (Brock)

Provenance: Unknown: drawing of mosaic fragment communicated to Drijvers by S. P. Brock

Location: Unknown

Bibliography: Unpublished

Text:

(i)
] אַוַּ [1
] טַוַּ [2

(ii)
] כַּ [3
] אַוַּ [4

Epigraphic: (i) is written vertically to the left of a female figure in a fragment of a mosaic, (ii) horizontally to the right. Only a few letters can be made out.

Cm6

Date: Undated, but probably early 3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 68 (Brock)

Provenance: Unknown: drawing of mosaic fragment communicated to Drijvers by S. P. Brock

Location: Unknown

Bibliography: Unpublished

Text:

]𐤔 1

]𐤌 2

Epigraphic: Beside a male figure.

Cm7

Date: Undated, but probably early 3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 69 (Parlasca)

Provenance: Unknown: mosaic fragment

Location: St Irene, Istanbul

Bibliography: Alluded to in Drijvers 1973, 13 n.5; Colledge 1994, 196

Text:

(i)

𐤀𐤓𐤁 1

(ii)

𐤁𐤓𐤁 𐤀𐤓𐤁 2

𐤁𐤓𐤁 3

Translation:

(1) Garmu. (2-3) Atu daughter of Waʿel.

Epigraphic:

Comment:

1: For the name Garmu see on Am2:3.

2-3: The name Atu (*s.v.l.*) is without parallel, though it might be a hypocoristic from a name like ʿ*rb*, which is attested at Hatra (Abadi 1983, 8, 85, where it is interpreted as based on the divine name ʿAte).

On Waʿel see As20:8.

Cm8

Date: Undated, but probably early 3rd century A.D.


Plate: Pl. 69 (Parlasca)

Provenance: Unknown: mosaic fragment

Location: St Irene, Istanbul

Bibliography: Alluded to in Drijvers 1973, 13 n.5; Colledge 1994, 196

Text:

(i)
 1

(ii)
 2

Epigraphic: The material evidence is too slight to allow any interpretation.

Cm9

Date: Undated, but probably early 3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 70 (Parlasca)

Provenance: Unknown: mosaic fragment

Location: Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide (Inv. 707A6)

Bibliography: Maidment 1971; Parlasca 1994, 196 and pl. cxiv.3

Text:

ⲉⲛⲓ 1

Epigraphic: Only the fragment of some writing survives, to the right of the head of a young woman. The material evidence is too slight to allow any interpretation.

Cm10**Date:** Undated, but probably early 3rd century A.D.**Plate:** Pl. 71 (Parlasca)**Provenance:** Unknown: mosaic fragment**Location:** Formerly in the possession of a Paris art-dealer**Bibliography:** Unpublished**Text:**

1 ⲁⲓ ⲕⲕ
 2]ⲁⲓⲕ

Translation:

(1) daughter of (2)

Epigraphic:

The writing appears vertically to the right of a head.

Cm11

Date: Undated, but probably early 3rd century A.D.


Plate: Pl. 72 (S. Dere)


Provenance: Unknown: communicated to Drijvers by K. Parlasca; in the hands of an art-dealer in New York (S. Dere)


Location:

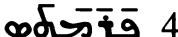
Bibliography: Unpublished

Text:

(i)
 1

(ii)
 2

(iii)
 3

(iv)
 4

Translation:

(1) Maralahe. (2) Hera. (3) (4) Prometheus.

Epigraphic: The Syriac appears on a large floor-mosaic depicting the creation of man. Zeus supervises the action of Hermes who puts life (the female figure of Psyche) into the *protoplastos*, bringing the inert figures of men to life.

The four names are set beside four of the five main figures at the top of the mosaic. They are numbered from right to left. (There is a female figure without a name to the left of the other four.) Lines 1 and 2 are materially clear (though as usual {d} and {r} are ambiguous). Line 3 cannot properly be made out: the letter rendered ܐ might be {d}. The fourth name is probably correctly read as above.

Comment:

1: On Maralahe see on As20:6. Here this is clearly a local title of Zeus.

2: Despite the odd spelling, which may result from some disturbance of the tesserae, the name of the second (female) figure from the right

is almost certainly Hera. In the *Hypomnemata* of Ambrose we find the spelling ܠܗܪܐ (Cureton 1855, ܠܗܪܐ: 19).

4: This appears to be Prometheus, whose name appears as *prmytws* and *prmtws* in classical Syriac (*TS*, col.3268).

Cm12

Date: Undated, but probably early 3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 72 (Parlasca)

Provenance: Unknown

Location: Private collection in Erlangen: plates of mosaic (without discussion of inscription) published by K. Parlasca

Bibliography: Parlasca 1984, 229-31 and pl. 3; Colledge 1994, 195 and pl. cxiii.2

Text:

Α	1
·	2
Λ	3
Κ	4
Α	5

Epigraphic: Only the very ends of lines survive. Assuming the usual formulae they may contain traces of 2: *ly* and 3: *lbny*. On the interpretation of the whole mosaic see Parlasca 1984, 229-31; Colledge 1994, 195.

Cm13

Date: Undated, but probably early 3rd century A.D.

Plate: Pl. 73 (Colledge)

Provenance: Unknown

Location: Louvre AO 22917

Bibliography: Colledge 1994, pl. cxiv.2; Parlasca 1984, 227 and n.9; Maidment 1971

Text:

ܐܦܪܗܐ 1

Epigraphic: The single remaining word on this mosaic fragment is written vertically to the left of a female figure (though it does not necessarily relate to that figure).

Comment:

1: The name appears to be Aphrahaṭ, a man's name, and this suggests it does not refer to the surviving mosaic figure. The name is well known in later Syriac tradition, especially as that of a major literary figure of the 4th century, but it is also found at Hatra (Abbadi 1983, 6).

Cm14

Date: Undated, but probably early 3rd century A.D.


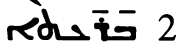
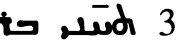

Plate: Pl. 74 (Parlasca)

Provenance: Unknown: sold at Christie's, communicated to Drijvers by K. Parlasca

Location: Unknown

Bibliography: Unpublished

Text:

(i)
 1 
 2 
 (ii)
 3 
 4 

Translation:

(1-2) Malakdan son of Bar'ata. (3-4) Taḥni son of Bar'ata.

Epigraphic: The two names appear above the heads of two standing figures (youths). The mosaic may originally have formed part of a larger whole with Bar'ata at the centre.

Comment:

1-2: The name Malakdan is not otherwise attested but must be a form based on the roots MLK and DWN, perhaps "The (divine) king has judged".

The name Bar'ata is well known (see on As9:1).

3: The name Taḥni (*s. v. l.*) might be a hypocoristic based on the name of a goddess with a form of the root ḤNN, "have mercy".

Co1

Date: Reign of Waʿel bar Sahru (A.D. 162/3-65)

Plate: Pl. 75

Provenance: Unknown

Location: British Museum example used here

Bibliography: Hill 1922, 91 and pl. XIII 6; Segal 1970, pl. 28 b(ii); Drijvers 1972, 58

Text:

(rev.)

𐭪𐭫𐭥 1
𐭫𐭥𐭪 2

Translation:

Waʿel the King.

Epigraphic: Bronze coin of Waʿel. The obv. has the bust of Vologases IV of Parthia. The rev. has the bust of Waʿel and the legend is clear, with the word “king” written vertically starting at the top to left of the king’s head and the name to the right. The phrase is, therefore, to be read starting at the bottom.

Here and elsewhere on the coins it may be noted that there is a tendency to simplify the script, making it similar to the cursive. The {l} of *mlk*² is reduced to a short vertical, while the angle of the {l} in *wʿl* is c. 100°.

Co2

Date: Reign of Waʿel bar Sahru (A.D. 162/3-64/5)

Plate: Pl. 75

Provenance: Unknown

Location: The British Museum examples are used for the text given below; note Naster 1968 for other examples. There are at least two varieties of this coin: some examples have the word **𐤎𐤓** to the right on the rev., others to the left. Nor is it completely certain that the legend is otherwise always the same (see the Hunterian Museum coin below: Macdonald 1905, 304 and pl. LXXVIII 30, 31).

Bibliography: Babelon 1892, 364-65 and pl. X 3; Macdonald 1905, 304 and pl. LXXVIII 30; Hill 1922, 91 and pl. XIII 7 and 8; Naster 1968; Segal 1970, 58 n.5, pl.28 a(i-ii); Starcky 1970, 6; Drijvers 1972, 58-59

Text:

(obv.)

𐤎𐤓 1

𐤎𐤓 2

(rev.)

𐤎𐤓 3

𐤎𐤓 4

Translation:


Waʿel the King. The God Naḥay.

Epigraphic: Bronze coin of Waʿel. The obv. bears the bust of Waʿel, with the same legend as Co1, written in the same way. The rev. depicts a cultic object or building, but the reading of the accompanying legend has caused much dispute.

The reading of the rev. which held sway for a long time was that of Babelon 1892: **𐤎𐤓 𐤎𐤓**, “God (of the month of) Elul”. The problem here would be the oddity of this divine title, which has no parallel. A full discussion is provided by Naster 1968. He notes other possible readings, the possibility that **ʿlwl** might be a place-name and the possibility of interpreting **ʿlh** as a divine name. He advises caution over the Babelon interpretation.

Segal 1970, 58 n.5 suggested reading the divine name Naḥay. The deity Naḥay is well known (see Bs2:3; Am1:8; Am4:12).

Close examination of the British Museum coins confirms this read-

ing, especially the {h} (against {w} in Babelon's reading). There is, however, a new difficulty in that ^ʿlh is construct and we have to assume that the word is to be read ^ʿlh^ʿ, split over two lines. This assumption does, however, seem to be confirmed by one of the Hunterian Museum examples, where the full word  appears undivided to the right, with only the first letter doubtful (Macdonald 1905, 304 no.2). This might be thought to settle the issue, but this particular coin has a very odd form of the divine name, probably ^ʿlnhy. There may be different coin types involved and this will only be resolved when further examples come to light.

Co3

Date: Reign of Ma'nu VIII (A.D. 164/5-76)

Plate: Pl. 75

Provenance: Unknown

Location: British Museum example used here

Bibliography: Babelon 1892, pl. X 10-13; Hill 1922, 92 no.4 and pl. XIII 9; Drijvers 1972, 59

Text:

(rev.)

حسب 1

حلب 2

Translation:

Ma'nu the King.

Epigraphic: The legend appears surrounded by a wreath on the rev. The obv. has the bust of Ma'nu. The letters are joined and the {1} is short and vertical.

Co4**Date:** Reign of Abgar VIII (A.D. 176-211)**Plate:** Pl. 75**Provenance:** Unknown**Location:** Babelon's example from the de Vogüé collection used here**Bibliography:** Babelon 1892, 508 and pl. IV 1; Hill 1922, c; Drijvers 1972, 59**Text:**

(rev.)



1
2

Translation:

Abgar the King.

Epigraphic: The legend appears surrounded by a wreath on the rev. The obv. has the bust of Abgar. The letters are joined. The {r} is close in form to the same letter in the parchments (P1-3).

APPENDIX 1

THE PARCHMENTS

The texts presented here are based on the editions referred to in the bibliographies. Improvements in readings have been incorporated, but no systematic attempt has been made to produce a new edition. Analogous Greek texts from the same area may be found in Welles, Fink and Gilliam 1959, and Feissel and Gascou 1989.

In the Syriac texts the conventions used are as in the main part of this book, but round brackets () enclose filled out abbreviations. Upper (summary) text line numbers are Roman. Lower (main) text line numbers are Arabic (continuing into the subscriptio). Verso line numbers have a prefixed v.

In the translations gaps are represented by dots (...) and italics are used for words of unclear meaning. Round brackets enclose words supplied to improve the sense in English and square brackets enclose identifications of persons when pronouns are non-transparent. Brief notes on problematic translations are added where appropriate.

- 10 purchased — she is aged twenty-eight years, more or less — from captivity, as follows:
 11 That from this day and forever you, Tiro, the buyer, and your heirs will have authority over this female slave
 12 whom I have sold to you, to keep or to sell or to do with her whatever you wish. And if anyone shall enter into
 litigation or
 13 raise a complaint with Tiro, the buyer, or with his heirs on account of this female slave whom I have sold to him,
 14 I, Matar'ata, the seller, and my heirs will arise and make legal declaration and declare (her) free of claim and
 clean and I will confirm her
 15 in the possession of Tiro the buyer, and I will not be empowered to revoke the words of this document. And I
 have sold
 16 to you this female slave law from now until full six months.
 17 And thus was the agreement between them, that if this female slave should flee from today
 18 onward, it is from the possession of Tiro, the buyer. And two documents of this sale have been written:
 19 one copy, kept as a record, will be entered into the archive of Antoniana Edessa the Glorious;
 20 and the other copy will be for Tiro, the buyer. I, Aurelius Hapsay, son of Šamašyahb,
 21 Edessene of the twelfth tribe, declare that I have signed on behalf of Aurelia
 22 Matar'ata, in the subscriptio, since she does not know how to write, that she has sold this female slave of hers
 23 and received her price as written above.

Subscriptio

- 24 Marcus Aurelius son of Kalba: he witnesses.
 25 Marcus Aurelius son of : he witnesses.
 26 With the signature of the inspector of documents:
 27 I, Aurelius Mannos, superintendent of the sacred
 28 and civic archives, bear witness.
 29 I, Marcus Aurelius Belšu son of

30 Muqimu, the scribe, wrote this document.

SEAL

Verso

- v1 Aurelia Matar'ata daughter of Šamnay, the seller, witnesses on her own behalf.
 v2 I, Aurelius Hapsay son of Šamašyahb, have sealed this document.
 v3 Aurelius Abgar, strategos, witnesses: Abgar.
 v4 Abgar son of Barsimya witnesses.
 v5 Aurelia Matar'ata daughter of Šamnay, the seller, witnesses on her own behalf.

Notes

Note may be made of the oscillation between the forms of Matsin/Amatsin (ii and 9). That two versions of a name might be used of the same person is also clear from Barbaš'a/Barbašamin (i and 8) and Šamnay/Šamenbaraz (i and 8 and v1, v5).

Marcus Aurelius Abgar (5-6) may be a member of the Edessan royal family.

With regard to the mention of city archives (19) note may be made of reference to these in the Addai legend.

Lower Text

- 1 כתיב ביהוה מרת עדה שפתיחא מטיעתי חיהיה בעדה
- 2 הלה זאירא פתיחא חיהו מתיא חתומיט ארועלגוסט לאזארוס
- 3 לאזירא חוכא מטיעה חיהיה זאיראט שפתיחטיט ארועל זחלא
- 4 כי חטינה פתיחא כי ארועל זחלא זחטיה כמפולא כזיחי
- 5 כזרוט זחזעלדא זחזא ארועל זחזעלדא חלמי זחטיה נמיזי
- 6 חטיב זעלדא חזירא כמטיחא חזירא זעלדא זאירועל זחלא
- 7 כמתי חזירא טיעזי זחזירא כטיעה כי ארועל כי טיעעה
- 8 חזי זחזירא חזירא חזירא זעלדא כי זעלדא זעלדא
- 9 לאזירא כי זעלדא חזי כטיה פתיח זחזירא חזירא זעלדא
- 10 זעלדא זעלדא חזי זחזירא כטיה כטיעה כי זחזירא זעלדא
- 11 חזי חזירא זעלדא זעלדא חזירא חזירא חזירא זעלדא
- 12 לעלדא זעלדא זעלדא זעלדא חזירא חזירא חזירא
- 13 כמטיחא חזי זעלדא זעלדא זעלדא חזירא חזירא
- 14 זעלדא זעלדא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא
- 15 כטיה זעלדא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא
- 16 כי זעלדא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא
- 17 מטיעתי חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא
- 18 זחזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא
- 19 זעלדא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא
- 20 חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא
- 21 זעלדא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא
- 22 חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא
- 23 חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא חזירא

24 כְּיָמֵי דְנִינְתָּי דְיִשְׁבְּלָא דְמִנְיָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא
 25 דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא
 26 דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא
 27 דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא
 28 דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא

Subscriptio

29 דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא
 30 דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא

Verso

v1 דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא
 v2 דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא
 v3 דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא
 v4 דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא
 v5 דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא דְכַנְנָא

Translation:

Recto: Upper Text

- i In the month of Former Kanun of the year five hundred and 52, on the twenty-eighth
- ii day, I, Ba'isu son of Abgar son of Samisu from
- iii MYHRW, servant of Sa'idu son of Salman son of, of SHB, declare

- iv to Worod son of Nišryahb from Bet Purin on account of a document
- v which Ba'īšu son of Šamaš'aqab son of Taymu from New Town wrote —
- vi and Batnanay his wife stood surety — to Ša'īdu my master — i.e. me
- vii Ba'īšu — and he [Ba'īšu son of Šamaš'aqab] declared to him [Ša'īdu] with regard to a *loan*, that he would repay it to him at the end of Latter
- viii Tišri or the beginning of Former Kanun and if the time were to pass and he had not given it to him
- ix he would give him in compensation one hundred and fifty denarii; and it was written in the month of Elul
- x in the year five hundred and fifty-one, on the eighteenth day.

Lower Text

- 1 In the month of Former Kanun of the year five hundred and fifty-two, in the third year
- 2 of Autokrator Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus
- 3 the Fortunate and Victorious, and in the second year of Aelius Septimius Abgar the king
- 4 son of Ma'nu, crown prince, son of Abgar the king, who was honoured with consular rank in Urhoy,
- 5 in Edessa, the great city, mother of all the cities of Bet Nahrin,
- 6 this document was written in Hayklā New Town of Hunting, of Abgar the king,
- 7 on the twenty-eighth day: Ba'īšu son of Abgar son of Šamišu
- 8 from the village of MYHRW, servant of Ša'īdu son of Šalman of ŠHB, declares
- 9 to Worod son of Nišryahb from Bet Purin who lives in New Town
- 10 on account of a document which Ba'īšu son of Šamaš'aqab son of Taymu
- 11 from New Town of Hunting wrote — and Batnanay wife of Ba'īšu stood surety —
- 12 to Ša'īdu my master — i.e. me Ba'īšu — and he declared to him in the document
- 13 with regard to a certain *loan* of his, i.e. of Ša'īdu my master, that he would repay it to him at the end
- 14 of Latter Tišri or at the beginning of Former Kanun of the self-same year in which

- 15 this document was written. And if this time were to pass and he were not to give (it), he, Ba'īšu son of Šamašaqab, would give
- 16 to Ša'īdu my lord the the equivalent value of the *loan*, one hundred
- 17 and fifty denarii. And it is written in it that if he did not pay these one hundred and fifty denarii
- 18 *some three denarii would be added to the sum month by month*. And that document
- 19 was written in the month of Elul of the year five hundred and fifty-one, on the eighteenth
- 20 day. Thus I [Ba'īšu son of Abgar] declare to Worod: since Ša'īdu my master
- 21 ordered me to demand redress from Ba'īšu and Ba'īšu was not present
- 22 here, I have received from Worod these one hundred and fifty denarii which he [my master] was calling in
- 23 and my master *collected* the document and I have assigned that document for his good or ill
- 24 into the possession of Worod, so that he might demand it from Ba'īšu and from his heirs as
- 25 it has been (arranged) between us. I, Ḥašša son of Mattay from New Town, declare I have signed (this)
- 26 on behalf of Ba'īšu son of Abgar since he does not know how to write: he has written and declared
- 27 in the document thus to Worod son of Nišryahb as written
- 28 above.

Subscriptio

- 29 I, Bar Bassa, the scribe, son of
- 30 Barbašamin wrote this document.

Verso

- v1 I, Ba'īšu son of Taymu, have acted as guarantor: he witnesses on his own behalf.
- v2 I, Ḥašša son of Mattay, have acted as guarantor: I have sealed this document.
- v3 I, Šalam son of Bar'ata, have acted as guarantor: he witnesses.

- v4 I, ʿAbduk, have acted as guarantor: he witnesses.
 v5 I, Baʿišu son of Taymu, have acted as guarantor: he witnesses on his own behalf.

Notes

The meaning of $\text{šw}y^?$ (vii, etc.) is very uncertain. From the context, some derivative of the root $\text{šW}^?/Y$, which has various meanings involving “even, equal” and “to be worth” (Jastrow, 1532-33; Payne Smith, 562; Brockelmann, 760-61). Note especially $\text{ʾ}w$, “equivalent, value” (Jastrow, 1533). “Loan” or something similar would be suitable. If a piece of property is involved, the only help the lexica give is Jewish Aramaic $\text{N}^?w$, “bed” (Jastrow, 1533), though this cannot be regarded as very likely in the context.

For *pašgrībā* (4) see Asl: 5. The elder King Abgar (4) is Abgar VIII the Great.

In 5, “mother of all the cities” is a direct rendering into Syriac of Greek $\mu\eta\tau\rho\acute{\rho}\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$.

18 is syntactically obscure, but clearly refers to interest on the outstanding sum at 3 denarii per month.

Verso
(not fully published: see Teixidor 1991-92, 206)

[מאמר לא רצוהו מאמר ב גתהו סגולתו] v1
[מאמר ב גתהו] v2
v3-5
[מאמר לא רצוהו מאמר ב גתהו סגולתו] v6

Translation

Recto: Upper Text

- i In the month of Elul of the year five hundred and 53 of the Greeks, Worod son of Philota from the village of Bet Purin
- ii wrote this document thus to Tamarqos son of Šama: and I have leased to him unsown land and buildings and an enclosure
- iii and all their appurtenances, which Šama his father pledged to me in a document of pledge, as he acknowledges from his own mouth. I have leased to him this *specific property* which is to be planted in the year fifty-four and I have received its rent
- v for the year And the tax arising as a liability to me and the *charge* on its sown land and its products which arise in this particular year,
- vi however much *is exacted*, when it arises, he will be responsible for and the seasonal *assessed tax* for the whole year Tamarqos is to pay.
- vii And if anyone *challenges* him, I will confirm his claim against him.

Lower Text

- 1 In the fifth year of Autokrator Caesar Marcus Antoninus Gordianus Eusebes Sebastos,
- 2 in the consulate of Vettius Atticus and of Lapidus Praetextatus, in the month of Elul of the year five hundred
- 3 and fifty-three in the former reckoning, in the year thirty of the liberation of Antoniana Edessa the Glorious,
- 4 Colonia, Metropolis Aurelia Alexandria, this document was written in Marcopolis Thera, in the priesthood
- 5 of Marcus Aurelius, hiercus, son of ʿAkkay, and in the archonship of Marcus Aurelius Alexandros
- 6 son of Severus and Barʿata son of Šalamsin, on the first day of the month: I, Worod son of Nišryahb son of Philota
- 7 from Bet Puri(n), the village which is in the Euphrates region, declare to Marcus Aurelius Tamarqos son of Šama from Marcopolis,
- 8 that I have signed this document and I have leased to him unsown land and buildings and an enclosure and all its appurtenances, which
- 9 Aurelius Šama his father son of Muqimi of Marcopolis gave me in pledge in a document of pledge in my possession, as
- 10 he (also) acknowledges from his own mouth, that he has in Seħerta, the village of potters, which he *lives near* in Marcopolis.
- 11 I have leased to him this *specific property* which is to be sown and will yield crops in the (coming) year five hundred and fifty-four. From
- 12 the day on which this document is written and until the end of the period, i.e. the whole year, twelve complete months.
- 13 And the charge for this land and this *specific property* I have received from Tamarqos on the day when this document
- 14 was written. of all the produce of this land (and) this *specific property*.
- 15 And the tax, however much is *exacted*, when it arises, he will be responsible for and any *assessed taxes* which remain for any benefit on

- 16 this land, he, Tamarqos, will pay from the day this document was written and until the end
 17 of the period, i.e. the whole year, twelve months. And he will occupy and have the use of the buildings and this
 enclosure (for) this period,
 18 i.e. the whole year, twelve months, and he will daub them and maintain (them), as written in the document of
 pledge
 19 of the land and of the buildings and of the enclosure. And if anyone *challenges* him with regard to any of this
 land which I have leased to him
 20 I will arise and make legal declaration and declare (it) free of claim and clean and confirm it in his ownership on
 account of the charge for this land on account of
 21 this *specific property*, as it has been (arranged) between us. And no(body) shall be empowered to repudiate the
 words of this document.

Subscriptio

- 22 I, Aurelius Worod son of Nišryahb, declare to Tamarqos son of Šama:
 23 I have leased to him this pledge-land and enclosure and buildings in the village of Seḥerta;
 24 I have leased to him the *a certain specific property* for the whole year: and he received rent for it,
 25 *a certain specific property*, as he has written above.
 26 I, Marcus Aurelius Gadda, the scribe,
 27 son of Gadda, the scribe, wrote this document.

Verso

- v1 [Land-contract of Worod]
 v2 [son of Nišryahb]
 v3-5
 v6 [Worod son of Nišryahb, the lessor, for his land]

Notes

ʔdš² (iv, etc.), obscure in meaning, is related to Greek εἶδος, which can mean “class, kind, species” and, in later Greek, “goods, wares”. The connection with “fruit”, as in 𐤁𐤃𐤕𐤁𐤕 𐤁𐤃𐤕𐤁𐤕, is incidental and does not fit here. In 24 and 25 ʔdš² *hd* (perhaps to be read as a single word) is best explained as “a certain specific property” following the common use of *had* in this way.

ʔgr² (v, etc.), translated “charge”, is not simply the “rent” (ʔgr² in iv, etc.), but some special kind of payment (see 𐤁𐤃𐤕𐤁𐤕 in Brockelmann, 5).

šql² (vi, etc.) is some specific form of tax. Note Payne Smith, 594: “tax, impost; an assessed district”.

14 may refer to a “quarter” of the produce, but the sense is obscure.

APPENDIX TWO

INSCRIPTIONS TO BE PUBLISHED IN
FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS

Inscriptions which have been recently discovered, drawn to our attention, but not yet formally published are listed below with basic information as available. Add = "Additional Inscription".

Add 1

Information on Discovery: Cave-tomb inscription dated A.D. 191 found at Apamea, opposite Zeugma, by A. Desreumaux (see Abadie-Reynal, Ergeç et alii 1998, 405-06) and to be published by him.

Present Location: *In situ*

Add 2

Information on Discovery: Referred to in Drijvers 1993, 148

Present Location: *In situ*

Text (part):

ⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲙⲁⲥ 1

Translation:

(1) This is the image of Lišamaš

Comment:

1: On Lišamaš (*s.v.l.*) see As60:1.



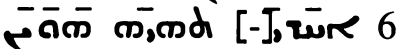


Add 3

Information on Discovery: A stone block found in Sumatar in 1995 by Mr S. E. Güler; photograph and drawing sent to H. J. W. Drijvers

Present Location: Urfa Museum

Text:

ⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲙⲁⲥ 1
ⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲙⲁⲥ 2
ⲓⲛⲓⲛⲁⲙⲁⲥ ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲙⲁⲥ 3

4  4
 5  5
 6  6
 7  7
 8  8

Translation:

(1) [Th]is is the image which ...-Malik son of (3) Belbana made for Tiridates, (4) governor of ‘Arab, (5) his lord. Whoever destroys (it), (6) from (7) evil things. Šila son of (8) Šila carved (it).

Comment:

1:The opening formula is closely paralleled in As40:1-2; As43:1; As51:1-2; As52:1-2.

2: The name with the probable divine element *-mlk* is best paralleled in Nabataean *‘bdmlkw* (Kh-raysheh 1986, 130) and in Hatran *‘bdmlk* (Abbadi 1983, 140), with which we may compare Palmyrene *mlkbl*, “Bel is king” (Stark 1971, 95). Indeed it is quite possible that the name here should be read *‘bdmlk*.

3: For the names Belbana and Tiridates see As37:3 and As27:4. Tiridates son of Adona (As27:4) appears as “governor of ‘Arab” in As36:2 and we are presumably dealing with the same person here. This gives us a date around A.D. 165.

4: For the title “governor of ‘Arab” see on As36:2.

5: *mrh*, “his lord”, indicates the loyalty of the maker of the image with regard to Tiridates (see As36:4; As47:5; As49:7).

A new sentence begins in the middle of line 5 and, although the text is damaged, it is easy to recognise the formula *mn dyhbl* (see As60:3; Bs2:6 and As37:9).

6-7: The “apodosis” which follows is unclear. *dy* might be related to the root *Ḍ/Y* meaning “seize, snatch away” (Payne Smith, 400) and this might link with *byšn*, possibly the absolute plural (feminine) “evil things, misfortunes”. There might be some reference to the evil which will befall anyone who damages the image. *mn* is harder to explain in this context, though it might introduce an agent: “... by evil things”.

7-8: Šila bar Šila is named as a sculptor in As47:7-8.

For *glp* see on As13:1.

Add 4

Information on Discovery: Found at Sumatar by Mr S. E. Güler; photograph and drawings sent to H. J. W. Drijvers

Present Location: Urfa Museum

Text (part):

ܪܫܝܢ 1

ܬܘܢܝܢ 2

ܪܫܝܢ 3

Translation:

(1) Enclosure (2-3) which Šila bought.

Comment:

1: *dyr*², if correctly read, could mean “enclosure (for sheep, etc.)” (Payne Smith, 91), the word *drt*² also being found in a similar sense in P3:ii, etc.

2: *mkr* means “buy” in the context of marriage in Syriac (Payne Smith, 272; Brockelmann, 385-86), though the basic meaning is usually “sell”. Either meaning would be possible here.

The implication of this translation is that the stone is some kind of property marker.

3: For the name Šila see As27:1.

Add 5

Information on Discovery: Stele probably from Sumatar

Present Location: Urfa Museum

Bibliography: Referred to in Drijvers 1980, 20 and n.4

Text (part):

ܘܪܫܝܢ 3

ܡܬܝ 4

Comment:

3-4: The personal name Waʿel is well known in the Syriac inscriptions: see on As20:8.

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WORD INDEX AND LISTS OF PERSONAL AND OTHER NAMES

Word Index

What follows is an index of words in the inscriptions edited in the main part of this volume and in the Parchments (Appendix 1). The additional material in Appendix 2 is not included. Words of which the reading is very uncertain are not included and letters which are uncertain are not indicated as such (though a question mark draws attention to particular difficulties). Only independent words are listed (not verbal prefixes and suffixes or pronominal suffixes). Very common words such as *br*°, “son”, are listed with a statement of the approximate number of occurrences. Otherwise the list of citations is complete.

Verb-derived forms are listed under the “root” (capitals). Nouns and adjectives are normally cited in the “emphatic” state, though this may not be the form in which the noun actually occurs in the inscriptions. Words of Greek origin sometimes do not have a normal “emphatic” form. Basic meanings of the words are given: precise meaning is determined by context. For the inscriptions (not the Parchments) full grammatical and contextual discussions are to be found in the commentary on each text.

Personal names (including Greek honorifics) are listed separately. Divine and mythological names, month names and geographical names are listed separately at the end.

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› <i>b</i>	“father”	As30:5; As36:5; P3:iii, 9
›GR	“hire”	P3: ii, iv, 8, 11, 19, 23 (?), 24
› <i>gr</i>	“rent”	P3:iv, 24
› <i>grt</i>	“charge”(?)	P3:v, 13, 20
› <i>dryt</i>	“statue”	As1:5
› <i>dš</i>	“property”(?)	P3:iv, 11, 14, 21, 24, 25
› <i>w</i>	“or”	P1:10, 12, 13
› <i>wzn</i>	“sarcophagus”	As20:4
› <i>wtqrṭwr</i>	“emperor”	P1:1; P2:2; P3:1
› <i>h</i>		As27:5; As36:5; As37:3; As56:3; As60:3; Am10:4 (P]h)
›HD	“hold”	P1:19
› <i>hry</i>	“after” (adj.)	As20:3; P2:viii, 14
› <i>hryt</i>	“posterity”	Am5:14
› <i>hrn</i>	“other”	P1:20

ʔygmwnʔ	“governor”	As10:2 (?)
ʔykʔyknʔyknʔ	“as”	P1:23; P2:24; 27; P3:iii, 9, 18, 21, 25
ʔyt	“there is”	As5:7; As10:1; As11:1; P3:10
ʔlhʔ	“god”	As26:3; As27:3; As28:4, 11, 12; As29:2; As37:9; As55:7; Bs1:8; Bs2:5; Bs3:3; Bo2:3; Co2:3-4
ʔmʔ	“mother”	Am3:10, 18; Am10:15; P1:16; P2:5
ʔMR	“say, order”	P2:20
ʔmtʔ	“female slave”	P1:ii, 9, 11, 13, 16, 17, 22
ʔn	“if”	As37:8; P1:12, 17; P2:viii, 15, 17; P3:vii, 19
ʔnʔ	“I”	As1:1; As7:1; As9:1, etc. — c. 25 times
ʔnwn	“they”	As5:9; P3:18
ʔnšʔ	“man”	As55:6; P1:12; P3:vii, 19
ʔntʔnth	“you”	As5:5 (<nth ?); P1:11
ʔnttʔtt	“woman, wife”	As1:8; As19:2; As62:2, 3; Am1:12; Am3:7; Am4:1; Am8:5; Cs2:1; P1:22; P2:vi, P2:11
ʔstwnʔ	“column”	As1:4
ʔstwtgwʔ	“office of strategos”	P1:5
ʔpʔ (pl.)	“face”	P3:20
ʔplwtrʔ	“freedman”	As49:5
ʔrbʔ	“four”	As41:2; P1:3; P3:iv, 11
ʔrbʔyn	“forty”	Am6:3
ʔrkwnwtʔ	“archonship”	P3:5
ʔrkywn	“archive”	P1:19
ʔrʔ	“land”	P3:iii, 8, 13, 14, 16, 19 (twice), 20, 23, v6
ʔŠKH	“find”	Bs2:9
ʔTʔ	“come”	As55:6; Bs2:6

b

<i>b-</i>	“in”	As5:6, As5:10; As9:1, etc. — c. 100 times
<i>bdr/bwdr</i>	“ <i>budar</i> ”	As37:6; Bs2:3
<i>byl</i>	“indeed!” (?)	As22:1
<i>bynt</i>	“between”	P1:17; P2:25; P3:21
<i>byštʔ</i>	“evil”	P2:23
<i>bytʔ/btʔ/b-</i>	“house”	As5:2; As7:3; As9:1; As16:4; As20:2; As24:1; As55:4, 5, 6; As56:1; As59:3 (<i>b-</i>); Am1:4; Am2:4; Am3:1; Am5:9; Am6:5; Am7:4; Am8:3; Am9:6; Am10:3; P2:iv, 9; P3:i, ii, 7, 8, 17, 19, 23

<i>blʔ</i>	“indeed!”	As14:3; As22:2
BNʔ	“build”	As36:3; Bs2:2
<i>bnyʔ</i>	“builder”	As34:5; As39:1
Bʕ	“ask”	As20:3
<i>bʕʔ</i>	“lord”	As60:4
<i>bqbwrʔ</i>	“tomb”	As59:3
<i>brʔ/bnyʔ</i>	“son”	As1:2; As5:3; As6:4, etc. — c. 170 times
BRK	“bless”	As37:5; As55:7; Bs2:5
<i>brtʔ/bntʔ</i>	“daughter”	As1:6, As4:1, As6:3, As11:3 (plural), etc. — c. 30 times
<i>btr</i>	“after”	As37:6
g		
GBʔ	“choose, appoint”	P3:vi, 15
<i>gdʔ</i>	“fortune, possession”	P1:15, 18, 24
<i>gdyʔ</i>	“fortunate”	P2:3
<i>gwdʔ</i>	“troop”	As10:5
GLL/GWL	“remove”	Am5:13
<i>glwpʔ/glpʔ</i>	“sculptor”	As13:1; As14:1; As55:8
GLP	“carve”	As47:8
<i>grmʔ</i>	“bone”	As20:4, 5
GŠŠ	“explore”	As5:10
d		
<i>d-</i>	“of, which”	As1:5; As2:1, 4; As4:2, etc. — c. 180 times
DWN	“judge”	As28:11 (?); P1:12, 14; P3:20
DWR	“dwell”	P1:8; P3:10 (?)
<i>dyl-/dl-</i>	“belonging to”	As10:8; As36:5; Bs3:3; P1:9, 22; P2:vi, 12, 13, 14; P3:19, 24 (<i>dl-</i>)
<i>dynʔ</i>	“judgement”	As60:4
<i>dynrʔ</i>	“denarius”	P1:ii, 9; P2:ix, 16, 17, 18; P2:22
DKʔ	“be clean”	P1:14; P3:20
<i>dkyrʔ</i>	“remembered”	As3:1, 4; As20:7; As26:2; As30:1; As31:1, 3; As32:2, 3; As33:2; As34:1; As35:1; As38:1; Am11:6; Bs1:6
<i>dkrwnʔ/dkrmʔ</i>	“memorial, record”	Cs2:1; P1:19
<i>dmyʔ</i> (pl.)	“price”	P1:23; P2:16
<i>dnhʔ</i>	“manifestation”	As5:13
<i>drtʔ</i>	“enclosure”	P3:ii, 8, 17, 19, 23

h

<i>hʔ</i>	“behold”	As28:10
HGʔ	“meditate, plot”	P1:13
<i>hdʔ/hd</i>	“this” (fem.)	As6:1; As36:3; As37:4; Bs2:4; P1:11, 13, 16, 17, 18, 22; P2:14; P3:v, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23 (<i>hd</i>)
<i>hw</i>	“he”	As37:9; P2:15, 18, 21, 23; P3:10, 16
HWʔ	“is”	As20:5; As37:6, 8; As60:4; As61:4; Am5:16; Bs2:6, 7; P1:10, 11, 17, 20; P2:25; P3:vi, 14, 21 P3:5
<i>hyrws</i>	“hierues, priest”	P1:10, 17; P2:20, 27
<i>hkn/hknʔ</i>	“thus”	As47:1; Bs2:7; P2:17, 22
<i>hlyn</i>	“these”	As1:4; As5:1 (<i>hnʔ</i> ?); As7:3, etc. — c. 50 times
<i>hnʔ/hnʔʔ</i>	“this” (masc.)	As5:10, 14
<i>hnwn</i>	“those”	P1:5, 6
<i>hpws</i>	“eques”	P1:2, 4, 2
<i>hptyʔ</i>	“consulship”	P1:15
HPK	“turn back”	

w

<i>w-</i>	“and”	As1:5; As2:2; As3:2, 3, etc. — c. 225 times
<i>wy</i>	“woe!”	As22:1 (twice)
<i>wʔdʔ</i>	“proximity”	P3:10 (?)

z

<i>zbwnʔ</i>	“buyer”	P1:13, 15, 18, 20
<i>zbyntʔ</i>	“sale”	P1:18
ZBN	“sell” (pa ^c el)	P1:9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 22
<i>zbnʔ</i>	“sale”	P1:i (twice)
<i>zbnʔ</i>	“time”	P1:7; P2:viii, 15; P3:vi, 12, 17 (twice)
<i>zdqʔ</i>	“right, appurtenance”	P3:iii, 8
ZW ^c	“move”	As20:4, 5
<i>zkyʔ</i>	“victorious”	P2:3
ZR ^c	“sow”	P3:ii, iv, v, 8, 11

h

HBL	“destroy”	As37:9; As60:3; Bs2:6
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<i>hbl</i>	“alas!”	As6:5; As14:4; As21:2; As22:2; Cs1:4
<i>hd/hdʔ</i>	“one”	P1:3, 19; P2:iv, vii, x, 10, 13, 18 (twice), 19; P3:6, 15, 24, 25
<i>hdtʔ</i>	“new”	P2:v, 6, 9, 11, 25
<i>hwgʔ</i>	“homage”	As61:4
<i>HZʔ</i>	“see”	As5:11; As28:5, 9; As55:7
<i>hyʔ</i> (pl.)	“life”	As27:3, 4; As36:4 (twice), 5; Am10:5; Bs2:6; Bs3:4, 5
HKM	“know”	P1:22
<i>hlp</i>	“instead of”	P1:21; P2:26
<i>hltʔ</i>	“aunt”	As13:2
<i>hmš</i>	“five”	Am9:3; P3:1
<i>hmšyn/hmšn</i>	“fifty”	P1:3; P2:ix, x, 1, 17 (twice), 19, 22; P3:iv, 3, 11
<i>hmšmʔ/hmšmʔʔ</i>	“five hundred”	As16:1; Am6:2; Am9:2 (<i>hmšmʔ</i>); P1:3, P2:i, P2:x, P2:1, P2:19, P3:2, P3:11
<i>hsyrʔ</i>	“less”	P1:10
<i>hrwrʔ</i> (pl.)	“deliverance”	P1:3; P3:3
<i>hrtʔ</i>	“end”	As20:5; Am5:16
<i>hšbnʔ</i>	“reckoning, account”	As5:16; P1:13; P2:iv, 10
<i>hšhtʔ</i>	“use, necessity”	As5:15
<i>hšqbl</i>	“equally”	As56:4
<i>htʔ/hwtʔ</i>	“sister”	As4:2; As10:11; As41:3; Am11:7; Cs1:4
HTM	“seal”	P1:v2; P2:v2
<i>htnʔ</i>	“kinsman”	As61:5
t		
<i>tbʔ</i>	“good”	As1:9; Am5:16; As47:6; As49:8; Am10:6; P2:23
<i>twrʔ</i>	“mountain”	As37:4
<i>tmʔ</i>	“bone”	As24:1; Bs2:7
y		
YDʔ	“declare” (apʕel)	P1:7, 20; P2:ii, vii, 7, 12, 20, 25, 26; P3:6, 22
<i>ydʔ</i>	“hand”	As58:4 (?)
YDʕ	“know”	P2:26
YHB	“give”	P2:viii; P3:vi
<i>ywmʔ/ymtʔ/ymʔ</i>	“day”	As29:2; As59:5; Am2:7; Am6:6; Am7:5; P1:7; P2:i, x, 7, 19; P3:6, 12, 13, 16
<i>ywmnʔ</i>	“today”	P1:11, 17

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YQR	“honour”	P2:4
<i>yrh</i> ²	“month”	As9:1; As36:1; As37:1; As55:1; Am1:1; Am7:2; Am8:1; Am9:1; Bs2:1; P1:2, 16; P2:i, ix, 1, 18, 19; P3:i, 2, 6, 12, 17, 18
<i>yrt</i> ²	“heir”	As7:4; As16:5; As59:4; Am2:7; Am3:1; Am7:5; P1:11, 13, , 14; P2:24
YTB	“sit, inhabit”	P3:17
<i>ytyr</i> ²	“greater”	P1:10

k

<i>kyt</i>	“thus”	P3:ii
<i>kl</i>	“all”	As10:9; As55:5, 7; Bs2:5; P1:12; P2:5; P3:iii, 8, 14, 15
KL ²	“withhold”	As37:8
<i>kmrwt</i> ²	“priesthood”	P1:4; P3:4
<i>kn</i> ²	“support”	As61:4
KNŠ	“collect”	P2:23
KPR	“deny”	P3:21
<i>kpr</i> ²	“tomb”	Bs2:7
<i>krk</i> ²	“walled city”	P2:v, 6, 9, 11, 25
<i>krs</i> ²	“seat”	As37:5, 7, 8
<i>kt</i> ²	“clay”	As21:2; Cs1:4
KTB	“write”	P1:18, 21, 23, 30; P2:v, ix, 6, 10, 14, 17, 18, 25, 26(?), 27, 30; P3:ii, 4, 8, 12, 14, 16, 18, 25, 27

l

<i>l-</i>	“to, for”	As1:6; As5:5; As7:3, etc. — c. 140 times
<i>l</i> ²	“not”	As20:4, 5; Bs2:7, 8; P1:15, 22; P2:viii, 15, 17, 21, 26; P3:ii, 8, 21
<i>lhl</i>	“onwards”	P1:18
LWT	“curse”	As20:6
<i>lwt</i>	“with, for”	P1:20; P3:9
<i>lytr</i> ²	“litra”	Bo1:1
<i>lk</i> ²	“here”	As20:4
<i>lm</i> ²	“whatever” (?)	P3:vi, 15
<i>lʾlʾll</i>	“above”	P1:23; P2:28

m

<i>m</i> ²	“hundred”	As16:1; As41:2; Am8:1; P2:ix, 16, 17, 22
<i>m</i> ² <i>d</i> ² <i>r</i> ² / <i>mdr</i> ²	“tax”	P3:v, 15
<i>mbhr</i> ²	“inspector”	P1:26
<i>mdynt</i> ²	“city”	P2:5 (twice)
<i>mwgr</i> ²	“lessor”	P3:v6
<i>mwhb</i> ²	“gift, compensation”	P2:ix
<i>mzbnnyt</i> ²	“seller”	P1:14, v1, v5
<i>m</i> ² <i>l</i> <i>d</i> -	“since”	P2:20
<i>m</i> ² <i>trp</i> <i>wls</i>	“metropolis”	P1:4; P3:4
<i>mk</i> ²	“henceforth”	P1:16
<i>mly</i> ²	“fullness, sum” (?)	P2:18
<i>mlk</i> ²	“king”	As36:4; Bm1:2; Bo1:1; Co1:2; Co2:2; Co3:2; Co4:2; P2:3, 4, 6
<i>mlkt</i> ²	“queen, princess”	As1:6
<i>mlr</i> ² / <i>ml</i> ²	“word”	P1:15; P3:21
<i>mn</i>	“from”	As1:5, 6; As20:3, 4; As37:5, 8, etc. — c. 35 times
<i>mn</i>	“who(ever)”	As20:5; As37:6, 7; As60:3; Am5:13; Bs2:5
<i>mnyn</i> ²	“reckoning”	P1:3; P3:3
<i>m</i> ² <i>l</i>	“above”	P3:25
<i>m</i> ² <i>l</i> ²	“beginning”	P2:viii, 14
<i>mpq</i> ²	“end, exit”	P2:vii, 13
<i>mr</i> ²	“lord”	As2:1; As36:4; As47:5; As49:7; Am10:6; P2:vi, 12, 13, 16, 21, 23
<i>mrbyn</i> <	“tutor”	As55:3
MRQ	“cleanse”	P1:14; P3:20
<i>mrt</i> ²	“lady”	As1:9; As55:5
MŠKN	“pledge, mortgage”	P3:iii, 8
<i>mškn</i> ²	“pledge” (noun)	P3:23
<i>mšknwt</i> ²	“pledge” (noun)	P3:iii, 9, 18
<i>mšry</i> ²	“dwelling”	As5:2
<i>mt</i>	“when(ever)”	P3:vi, 15

n

NGR	“continue”	P3:15
<i>nwhdr</i> ²	“commandant”	As1:2; As31:2; As47: 2, 5
<i>nmws</i> ²	“law”	P1:16
<i>npš</i> ²	“soul, self”	As55:4; Bs2:4; P1:v1, v5, v1, v5
<i>npš</i> ²	“tomb”	Bs2:4
<i>nšbr</i> ²	“pillar”	As36:3; As37:4, 9
<i>nšyh</i> ²	“splendid”	P1:4, 19; P3:3
N TL	“give”	As37:7; P2:vii, ix, 13, 15 (twice), 17; P3:16

S

<i>sgyd</i> ²	“venerable”	As2:2
<i>strig</i> ²	“strategos”	P1:v3
SLQ	“go up”	P3:vii, 19
SWM	“set in place”	Bo2:2 (see also <i>šwm</i>)
<i>spr</i> ²	“scribe”	P1:30; P2:26, 29; P3:26, 27
<i>spr</i> ²	“writing”	P1:22
<i>str</i> ²	“secret”	As5:13
c		
<i>cp</i>	“yield”	P3:v
‘BD	“make”	As1:3; As6:3; As7:2, etc. — c. 40 times
<i>‘bd</i> ²	“work”	Bs2:6
<i>‘bd</i> ²	“slave”	P2:iii, 8
‘BR	“pass”	P2:viii, 15
<i>‘dm</i> ² / <i>‘dm</i> ²	“until”	P1:16; P3:12, 16
<i>‘dn</i> ²	“time, season”	P3:vi (twice), P3:(twice), P3:17 (twice), P3:(twice), P3:24 (twice)
<i>‘wdrn</i> ²	“help, benefit”	P3:15
<i>‘yn</i> ²	“eye”	Bs2:8
‘l	“upon, for”	As1:5; As5:15; As27:3, etc. — c. 25 times
‘LL	“enter, produce a yield”	As20:3; P1:19; P3:11
<i>‘llr</i> ²	“produce”	P3:14
<i>‘lm</i> ²	“eternity”	As7:3; As9:1; As59:5; Am2:5, 8; Am1:4; Am3:1; Am5:9; Am6:5, 7; Am7:4, 5; Am10:3; P1:11
<i>‘lr</i> ²	“altar”	As36:3
<i>‘m</i> ²	“with”	P1:13 (twice)
<i>‘mq</i> ²	“depth”	As5:11
‘MR	“dwell”	P2:9
<i>‘mr</i> ²	“permanence of life”	Bs2:5
‘N	“say, answer”	As5:8, 9
<i>‘pr</i> ²	“dust”	Bs2:8
‘RB	“stand surety”	P2:vi, 11, v1, v2, v3, v4, v5; P3:vi, 15
<i>‘rb</i> ² / <i>‘rbt</i> ²	“guarantor”	P2:vi; P3:14
‘RQ	“flee”	P1:17
<i>‘šryn</i> ²	“twenty”	As9:1; P1:10; P2:ii, 7

P

<i>phm</i> ²	“copy”	P1:19, 20
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<i>phr</i> ²	“potter”	P3:10
<i>pylys</i>	“tribe”	P1:21
<i>pm</i> ²	“mouth”	P3:iv, 10
<i>psgryb</i> ²	“crown prince”	As1:7; P2:4
PQD	“command”	As29:1
<i>pr^cn</i> ²	“reward”	As37:7
§		
SB ²	“wish”	P1:12
<i>syd</i> ²	“hunting”	P2:6, 11
<i>slm</i> ²	“image”	As14:2; As23:1; As27:2; As29:1; As40:1; As43:1; As47:1; As51:1; As52:1; As60:1; As61:1; Cs1:1; Cs3:1
<i>slmt</i> ²	“image” (of female)	As6:2; As13:1
q		
<i>qbwr</i> ² / <i>qbr</i> ²	“burial”	As10:1; As16:4; As20:2; As55:4, 6; As56:1; As58:2; As59:3 (<i>bqbwr</i> ²); Am8:3; Am9:6
QBL	“receive”	P1:9, 23; P2:22; P3:iv, v (?), 13, 24
<i>qdm</i>	“before”	As26:3; As31:2; Bs1:7
<i>qdm</i>	“former”	Bs2:1; P2:i, viii, 1, 14
<i>qdm</i> ²	“former”	Am5:15; P1:3; P3:3
QWM	“arise, stand”	As5:14; As37:5; As61:2; P1:14 (twice); P2:23; P3:vi, P3:vii, 15, 20 (twice)
<i>qlwny</i> ²	“colonia”	P1:4; P3:4
QN ²	“possess”	P1:12
<i>qsr</i>	“Caesar”	As49:7; P1:1; P2:2; P3:1
QR ²	“call, acknowledge”	As5:8; P2:22; P3:iii, 10
<i>qrb</i> ²	“proximity”	As5:12
<i>qryb</i> ²	“near” (noun)	P2:21
<i>qryt</i> ²	“village”	P2:8; P3:ii, 7, 10, 24
<i>qšyš</i> ²	“elder, priest”	Bs2:2
r		
RB ²	“grow, increase”	P2:18 (?)
<i>rb</i> ²	“great”	P2:5
<i>rb^cw</i> ²	“quarter” (?)	P3:14 (?)
<i>rh^t</i> ²	“courier”	As7:2
<i>rwm</i> ²	“height”	As5:11;

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<i>rhm</i> [?]	“friend”	As3:3
<i>rhq</i> [?]	“distant” (noun)	As5:12
<i>ryš</i> [?]	“head”	As10:5
RMP	“throw”	Bs2:8
RQD	“mourn”	Am5:15
<i>ršm</i> [?]	“signature, subscriptio”	P1:22, 26

š

ŠBH	“praise”	As55:7; Bs2:5
<i>šby</i> [?]	“captivity”	P1:10
<i>šb</i> [?]	“seven”	Am6:3
<i>šb[?]yn</i>	“seventy”	Am1:2
<i>šb[?]m[?]</i>	“seven hundred”	P1:9
<i>šbr</i> [?]	“sorrow”	Am5:14
ŠHD	“witness”	P1:24, 25, v1, v3, v4, v5; P2:v1, v3, v4, v5
<i>šwy</i> [?]	“loan” (?)	P2:vii, 13, 16
ŠWM	“set in place”	As36:3; As37:4 (see also <i>swm</i>)
ŠW ^c	“daub”	P3:18
<i>šwtp</i> [?]	“partner, spouse”	As10:4
<i>štr</i> [?]	“document”	P1:15, 18, 26, etc. — c. 25 times
ŠLT	“have power”	P1:11, 15; P3:21
<i>šlyt</i> [?]	“governor”	As36:2; As37:6 (twice); As47:3; As49:2; As51:4; As52:4; As55:2
ŠLM	“be finished”	P3:12, 16 (?)
<i>šlm</i>	“complete”	P1:16; P3:13
<i>šlm</i> [?]	“peace”	As5:5
ŠMŠ	“serve”	P3:17
<i>šnt[?]/šny[?]</i>	“year”	As9:1; As29:3; As36:1, etc. — c. 30 times
<i>šql</i> [?]	“tax”	P3:vi, 15
ŠR [?]	“rest”	As5:17
<i>št/št</i> [?]	“six”	P1:1, 16

t

TB ^c	“seek satisfaction”	P2:21; P2:24
<i>tlmd</i> [?]	“disciple”	Bs1:4
<i>tlu/tlt</i> [?]	“three”	P2:2, 18; P3:3
<i>tlty</i> [?]	“thirty”	Am7:2; Am9:3; P1:3; P3:3
<i>tlš[?]r[?]</i>	“thirteen”	As16:1
<i>tmn</i> [?]	“eight”	P1:10
<i>tmny</i> [?]	“eighth”	P2:ii, 7
<i>tmnt[?]šr[?]</i>	“eighteen”	P2:x, 20
<i>tnwy</i>	“agreement”	P1:17 (?)
<i>tnn</i>	“here”	P2:22

<i>tqI</i> ^p	“weight”	Bo1:1
TQN	“establish” (pa ^{ce} l)	As28:3 (?)
<i>tryn/trtyn</i>	“two”	As42:2; As56:4; P1:7, 18; P2:1, 3
TRSY	“maintain”	As37:5, 7; P3:18
<i>tr^cšr/tr^cšr^o</i>	“twelve”	P1:21; P3:12, 17, 18
<i>tš^c/tš^ct^o</i>	“nine”	Am7:3, Am8:1; P1:7

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<i>ʔb^o</i>	As61:5
<i>ʔbbwy</i>	As32:2
<i>ʔbgr</i>	As51:4; As55:2; Am10:5, 9; Co4:1; P1:6 (twice), 8, v3, v4; P2:ii, 3, 4, 6, 7, 26
<i>ʔbdnh^y</i>	Am4:5
<i>ʔba^ct^o</i>	As38:1
<i>ʔbsk^o</i>	Cs1:2
<i>ʔg^o</i>	P1:6
<i>ʔgy</i>	Bs3:1
<i>ʔdwm</i>	As3:2
<i>ʔdwn^o</i>	As27:4; As30:1, 5; As31:1; As36:2, 4; As37:2; As38:2; As50:2; As54:1 (twice); Am5:6, 8, 10
<i>ʔdy</i>	As12:2; As14:2; As15:1
<i>ʔd/rkw</i>	As6:3
<i>ʔw^ofwks</i>	P1:1
<i>ʔwy</i>	Am8:4
<i>ʔwsbws</i>	P1:1; P3:1
<i>ʔwrylws/ʔwrlws/</i>	
<i>ʔwrylws/ʔwrls</i>	As49:3; P1:5, 6, 8, 20, 24, 25, 29, v2, v3; P3:5 (twice), 7, 9, 22, 26, v6
<i>ʔwrl^yʔ</i>	P1:i, 7, 21, v1, v5
<i>ʔfyqws</i>	P3:2
<i>ʔyw</i>	Cs1:3
<i>ʔkd/rw</i>	Cm10:2
<i>ʔky</i>	P3:5
<i>ʔkyd/r</i>	As34:2
<i>ʔlyws</i>	P2:3
<i>ʔlkwd/r</i>	As30:4; As37:2, 3; As38:1
<i>ʔlksndrws</i>	P3:5
<i>ʔmšmš</i>	As62:2, 3
<i>ʔmtnh^y</i>	Am4:12
<i>ʔmtsyn/mtsyn</i>	P1:ii, 9
<i>ʔn^o</i>	As4:2; As30:2
<i>ʔn^ofwnyws</i>	P1:1; P2:2; P3:1
<i>ʔn^ofwnyns</i>	As49:6
<i>ʔn^ofywks</i>	P1:5
<i>ʔny</i>	Am3:19, Am3:20
<i>ʔnyws</i>	P1:2
<i>ʔsw</i>	As33:1; Am2:12

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<i>ᵑprhᵑ</i>	Cm13:1
<i>ᵑptwhᵑ</i>	As1:1; As8:1; Am2:2, 9; Am7:3
<i>ᵑrhmtᵑ</i>	Am3:9
<i>ᵑrnyws</i>	P1:2
<i>ᵑšdw</i>	Am10:2, 8, Am10:11, 14
<i>ᵑtw</i>	Cm7:2
<i>ᵑty</i>	As43:5
<i>bbs</i>	As31:3
<i>bgyᵑ</i>	Cm8:1
<i>bkwsᵑ</i>	Cs1:2
<i>bks</i>	Cs1:3
<i>bkry</i>	As8:3
<i>blbnᵑ</i>	As37:3; As38:2
<i>bly</i>	Am3:1, 4, 15, 21
<i>blšw</i>	P1:5, 29
<i>bsᵑ</i>	P2:29
<i>bᵑyšw</i>	P2:ii, v, vii, 7, 10, 11, 12, 15, 21, 21, 24,26, v1, v5
<i>brbbs</i>	As38:5
<i>brbᵑšᵑ</i>	P1:i
<i>brbᵑšmyn/</i>	
<i>brbᵑšmn</i>	Am8:2, 11, 20; P1:8; P2:30
<i>brhdd</i>	Am11:2
<i>brwnᵑ</i>	As35:1
<i>bryᵑ</i>	As38:6 (?)
<i>brklbᵑ</i>	As48:1, As49:5, As50:5
<i>brkmrᵑ</i>	As57:1
<i>brmtᵑ</i>	As25:1
<i>brmty</i>	As32:1
<i>brnbs</i>	Am3:15
<i>brnhr</i>	As49:1; As52:3
<i>brny</i>	As32:3; As60:3; Am7:4
<i>brsmᵑyᵑ</i>	Am10:1, 7, 16; Bs3:2; P1:v4
<i>brᵑmtᵑ</i>	Am9:4
<i>brᵑrᵑ</i>	As9:1; As19:1; As23:2; Am1:9, 13; Cm14:2, 4; P2:v3; P3:6
<i>brqᵑ</i>	Am6:5
<i>bršwmᵑ</i>	As20:1, 7
<i>bršlmᵑ</i>	Am8:12
<i>bršmᵑ</i>	Am11:6
<i>bršmš</i>	As4:2; As33:2; Am6:4; Bs3:6
<i>brtlhᵑ</i>	Am2:15
<i>brᵑ</i>	As40:4
<i>bttnny</i>	P2:vi, 11
<i>gby</i>	Am5:4, Am5:8, Am5:11
<i>gdᵑ</i>	P3:26, 27
<i>ghrw</i>	Cm1:1
<i>gwsy</i>	Am3:1, 3, 4
<i>gwrdynws/</i>	
<i>grdynws</i>	P1:1; P2:2, P3:1
<i>gyw</i>	As20:1, As43:3

<i>gny</i> ²	As7:5
<i>g^cw</i>	Am4:1
<i>g^cl</i>	As19:1
<i>grmw</i>	Am2:3, 10, 11; Cm1:2; Cm7:1
<i>dynwn</i>	As61:2
<i>dyny</i>	As49:2; As52:4
<i>dmws</i>	Cm4:1, 2
<i>d/rmy</i>	Am3:5
<i>drdw</i>	As13:1, As14:1
<i>w²l</i>	As20:8; As45:1 (twice);, As46:1 (twice); As47:2, As47:3, 4 (twice); Am11:4; Cm7:3; Co1:1 (twice)
<i>w²yws</i>	P3:2
<i>wlgš</i>	Bs1:1
<i>wrdw</i> (?)	As42:3
<i>wrdsyn</i> (?)	As28:3
<i>wrwd</i>	P2:iv, 9, 20, 22, 24, 27; P3:i, 6, 22, v1, v6
<i>zydlt</i>	Am8:2, 6, 9, 10, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21
<i>zky</i>	As26:2
<i>z^crwr²</i>	Am1:11
<i>zrbyn</i>	As55:2
<i>hwnr</i> (?)	As34:3
<i>hlwy²</i>	As55:4
<i>hlh²</i>	As41:3
<i>hmtw²</i>	As40:3
<i>hnn</i> (?)	Am10:13
<i>hpsy</i>	As33:3, As48:1, As49:4, As50:4, As53:1, Am5:5, P1:6, P1:20, P1:v2
<i>hš²</i>	P2:25, v2
<i>hšy</i>	As55:8
<i>trybwnyws</i>	P1:2
<i>ywhnn</i>	As10:2, 5
<i>kwz²</i>	As6:4; As26:1
<i>kwkb</i>	As5:4
<i>klb²</i>	P1:24
<i>lwqs</i>	P1:8
<i>lpydws</i>	P3:2
<i>lšmš</i>	As60:1
<i>mgdl</i>	As21:1
<i>mwtrw</i>	As47:2
<i>mkyl</i>	As58:3
<i>ml²</i>	As52:2
<i>mly</i>	As56:2; P1:15
<i>mlkdn</i>	Cm14:1
<i>mnyš</i>	As37:2
<i>ms²</i>	Am11:1
<i>m^cmy</i>	Am8:14
<i>m^cn²</i>	As29:2; As34:4; As37:2
<i>m^cnw</i>	As1:7; As30:3; As51:2, 6; As55:3 (twice); As62:2, 3; Am4:4, 10 (twice); Bs2:2 (twice), 3; Co3:1; P1:6; P2:4

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<i>mʿtʿ</i>	As30:3
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<i>nty</i>	P2:25, v2
<i>mʿzt</i>	As13:2
<i>mtʿtʿ</i>	P1:i, 7, 14, 22, v1, v5
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<i>ʿbdnhy</i>	Am1:8
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<i>ʿbdšmš</i>	Am4:8
<i>ʿbydʿl</i>	As61:3
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<i>qmy</i>	Am8:7
<i>qšt</i>	Am3:7

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<i>rby</i>	As7:1
<i>rbyt</i> ²	Cs3:2
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<i>rwm</i> ²	Am11:5, 7
<i>rhbw</i>	As18:1
<i>rm</i> ²	Bs1:5
<i>r^cy</i>	As24:2
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<i>ʔrpws</i>	Am7:1
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<i>hr</i>	Cm11:2
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<i>nhy</i>	Bs2:3; Co2:4
<i>syn</i>	As27:3; As28:11; As60:4

<i>ptrqls</i>	Cm3:2
<i>pnks</i>	Am6:1
<i>prmts</i>	Cm11:4

Month Names

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<i>nysn</i>	Am9:1
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<i>tmwz</i>	Am7:2
<i>tšry ʔhry</i>	P2:vii, 14
<i>tšry qdm</i>	Bs2:1

*Geographical Names and Adjectives Indicating
Geographical or Tribal Origin*

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<i>ʔwrlyʔ</i>	P1:4; P3:4
<i>ʔlksndryʔ</i>	P1:4; P3:4
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<i>ʔrhy</i>	P2:4
<i>byrtʔ</i>	As55:2
<i>byt nhryn</i>	P2:5
<i>byt pwry/pwryn</i>	P2:iv, 9; P3:i, 7
<i>hyklʔ</i>	P2:6
<i>hrynyʔ</i>	P1:9
<i>ywnyʔ</i>	As10:6; P3:i
<i>myhrw</i>	P2:iii, 8
<i>mrqpwls</i>	P3:4, 7, 9, 10
<i>shrtʔ</i>	P3:10, P3:23
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<i>pd/rd/r</i>	As31:2
<i>prt</i>	Bm1:1; P3:7
<i>šhbyʔ/šhbnyʔ</i>	P2:iii, 8
<i>qrhnyʔ</i>	Bs1:3
<i>rhmwš</i>	P1:5, 6
<i>šwr</i>	As47:5
<i>trʔ</i>	P3:4

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PLATE I — AS I-2

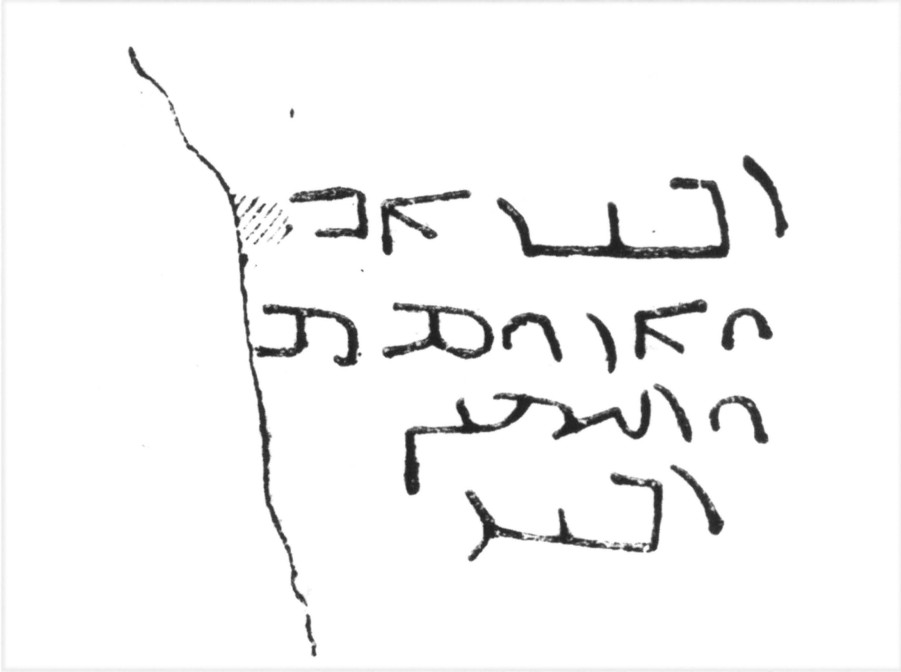


As 1

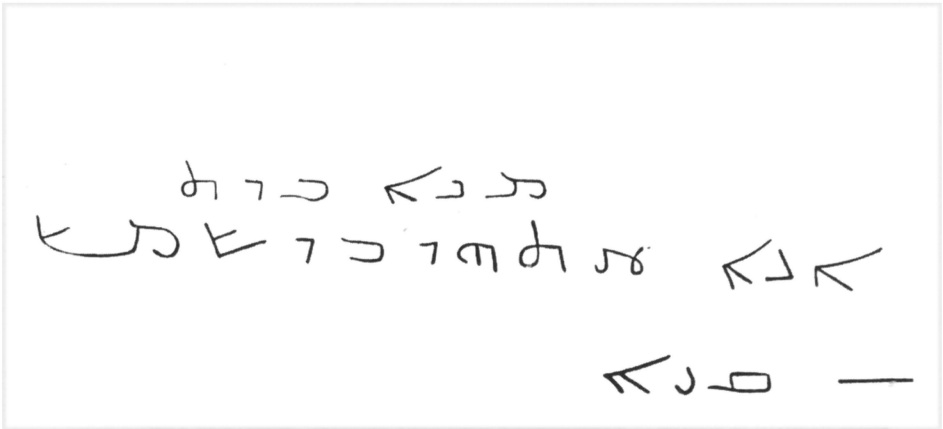


As 2

PLATE 2 — As 3-4



As 3



As 4



As 6

אִשׁוֹבֵט עַל־
וּמַלְאָכֹת
לַבַּיִת לְאִמָּה
לְהַלְבִּיחַ לְיָמֵינוּ
הַיְצִיב אֶת־

As 7

PLATE 6 — AS 10A-B



As 10a



As 10b

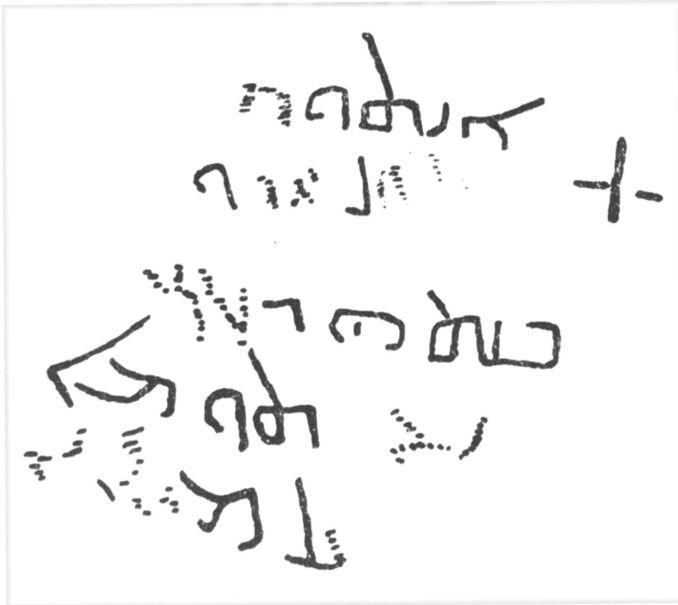
אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ
מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
בְּיָמֵינוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ
בְּיָמֵינוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ
בְּיָמֵינוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ
בְּיָמֵינוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ
בְּיָמֵינוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ
בְּיָמֵינוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ
בְּיָמֵינוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ

As 10c

PLATE 8 — AS IIA-B

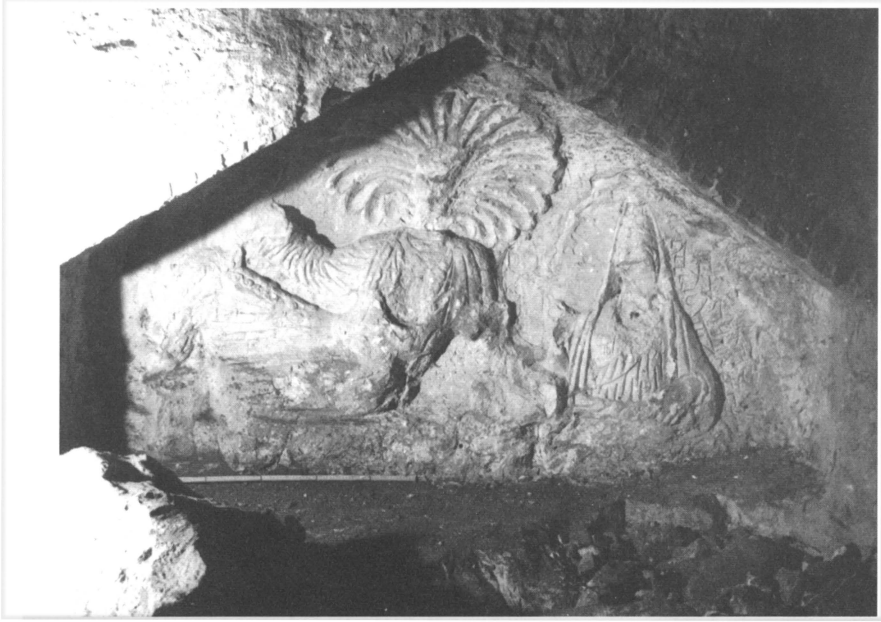


As 11a



As 11b

PLATE 9 — AS 12A—B

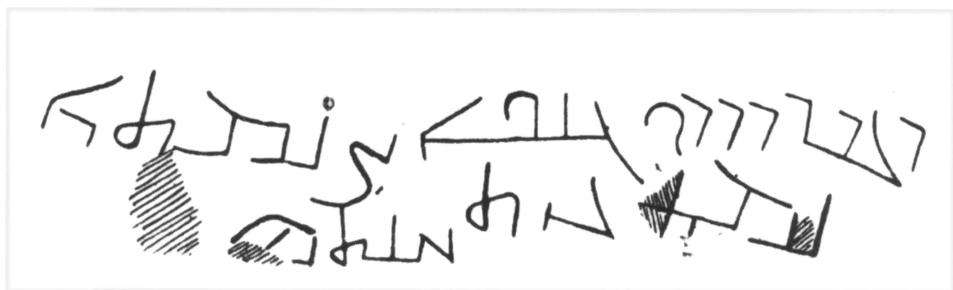


As 12a



As 12b

PLATE IO — As 13-14a



As 13

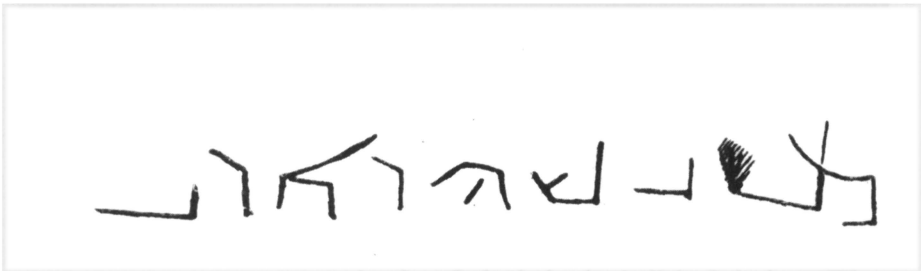


As 14a

PLATE II — As I4B-15



As 14b

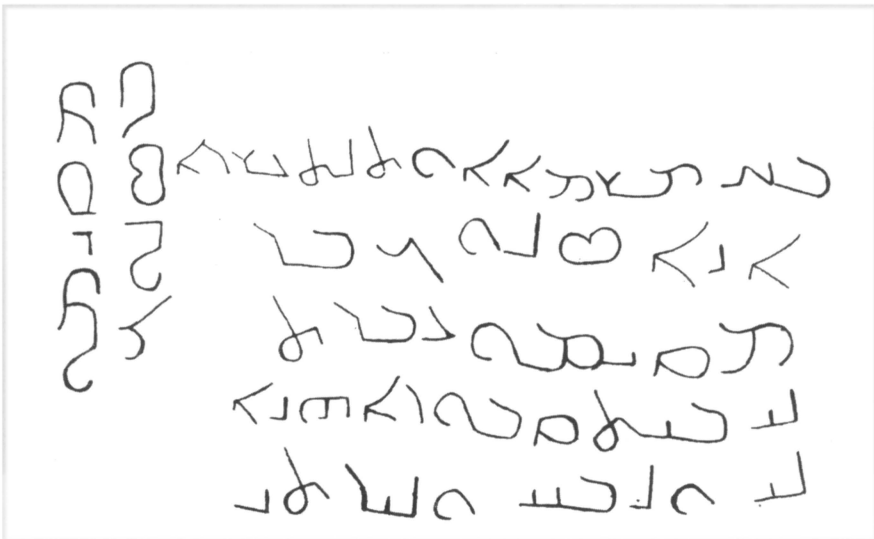


As 15

PLATE 12 — As 16/17A-B

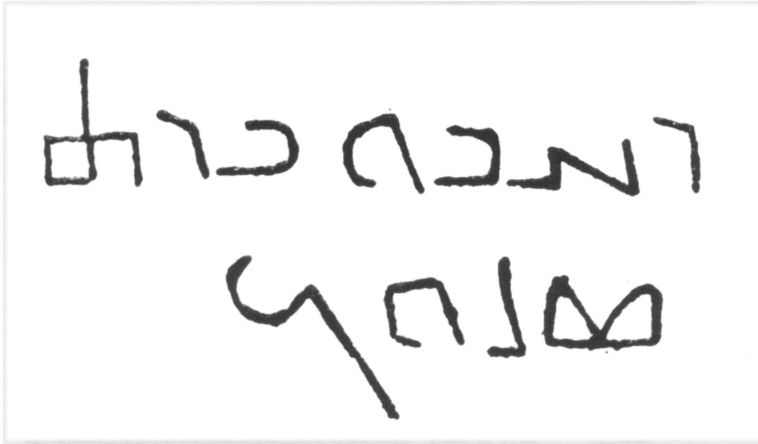


As 16/17a



As 16/17b

PLATE 13 — As 18-19



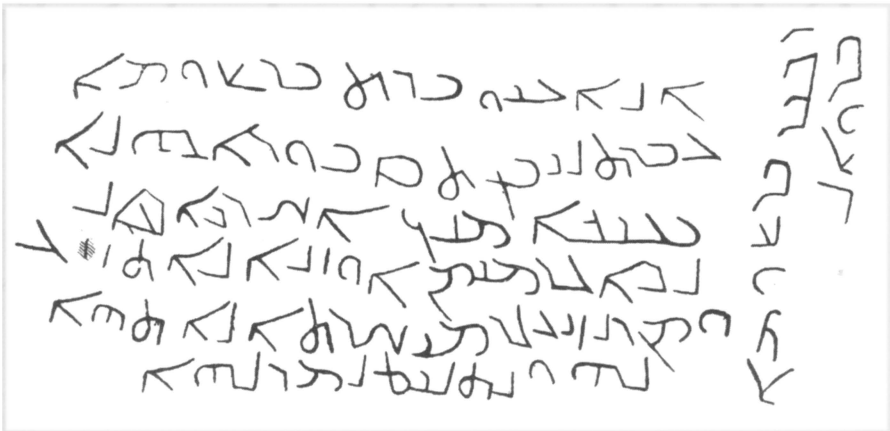
As 18



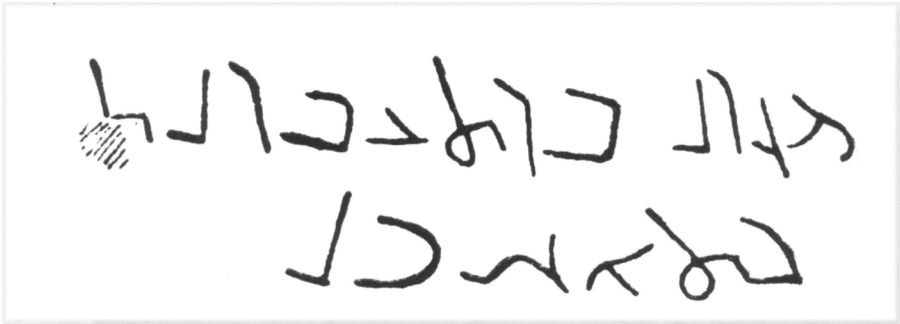
As 19



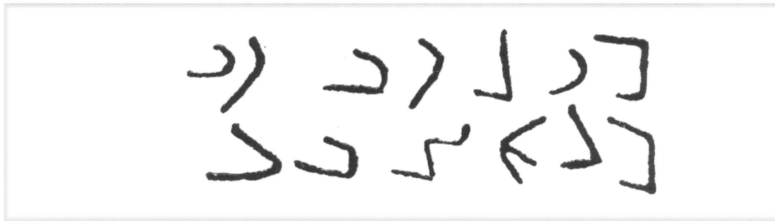
As 20a



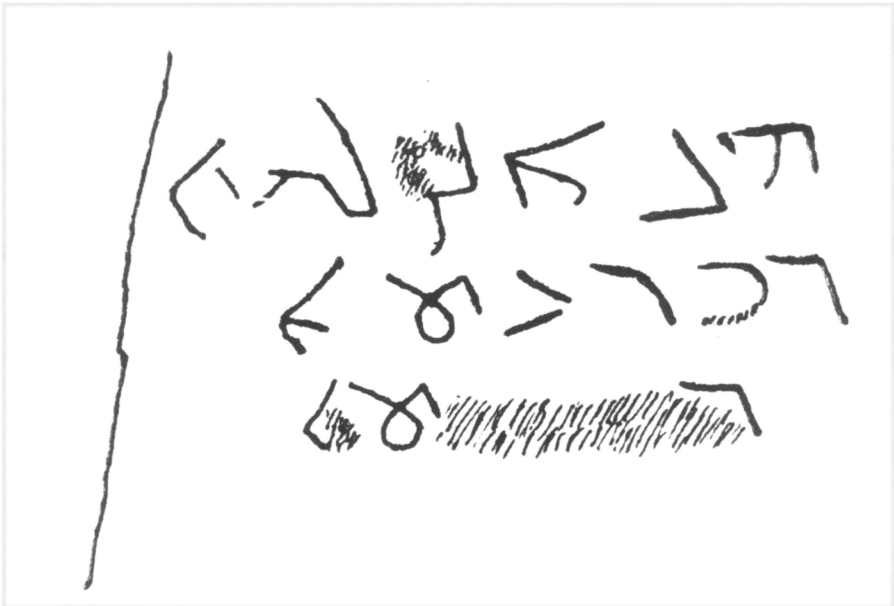
As 20b



As 21



As 22



As 23

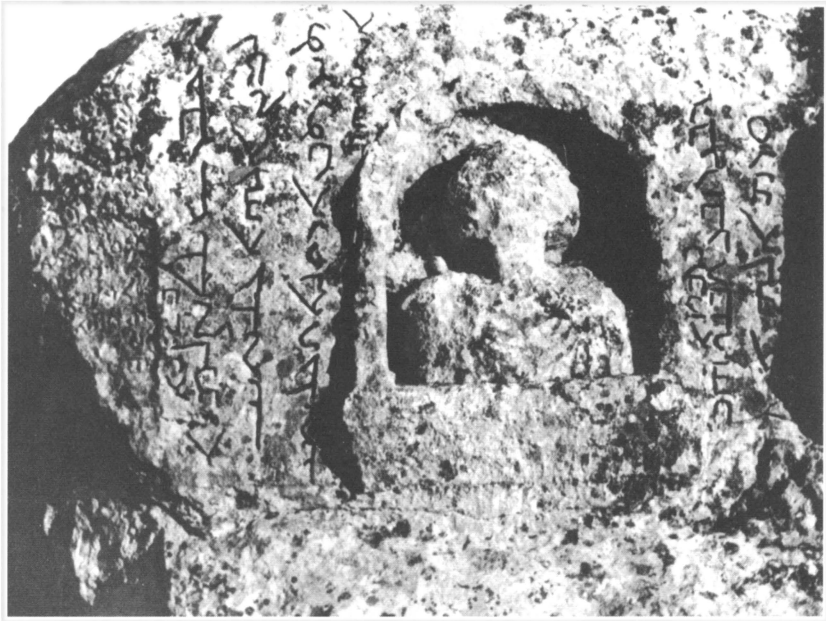
PLATE 16 — AS 24-25

מִן־הַיָּם לַעֲרֵב
וְיָבֵשׁ הַיָּם

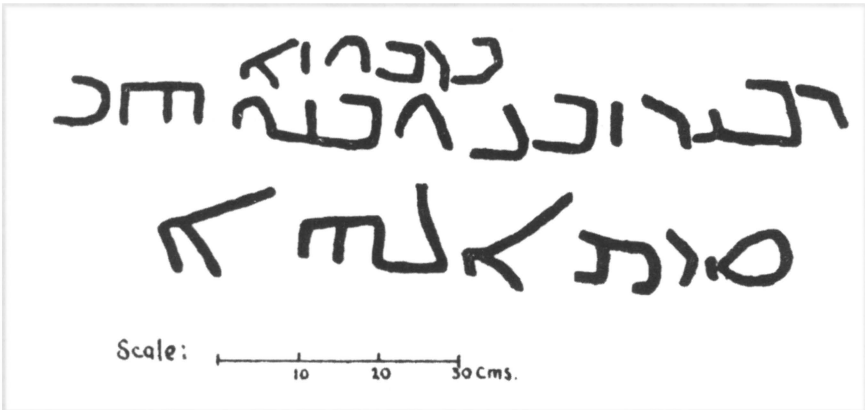
As 24

כִּי־יִבְרָא
וְיִבְרָא

As 25



As 26a

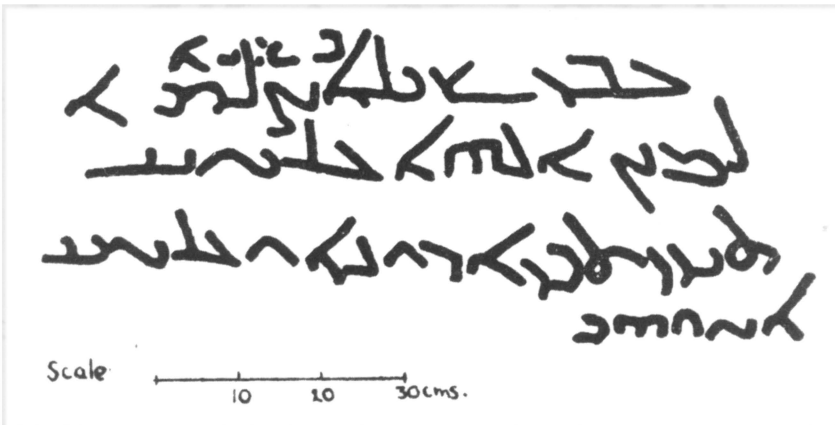


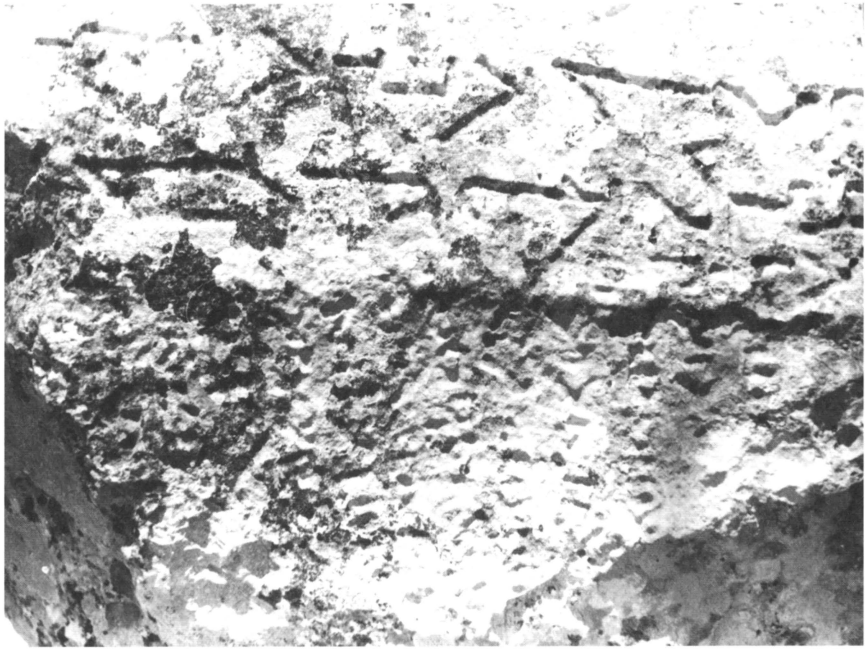
As 26b

PLATE 18 — AS 27/28A-B

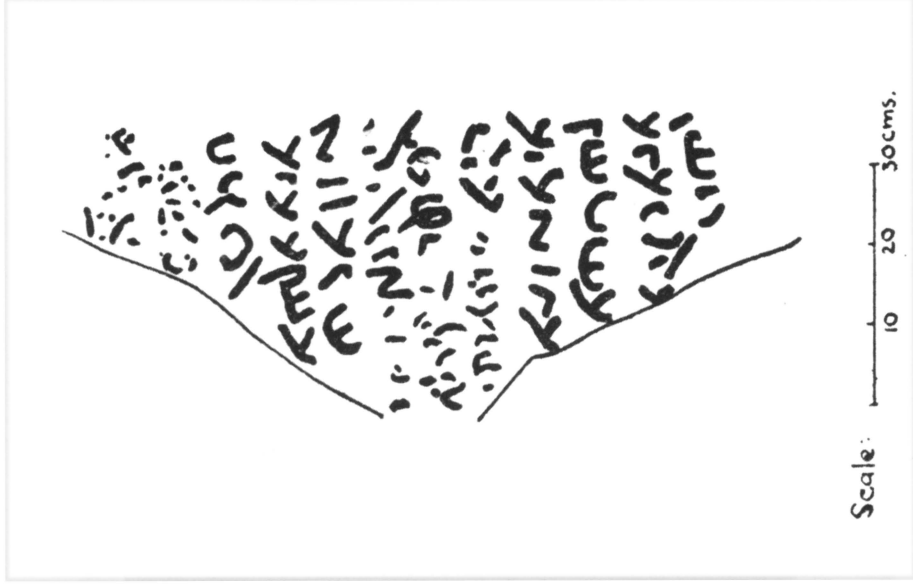


As 27/28a





As 28a

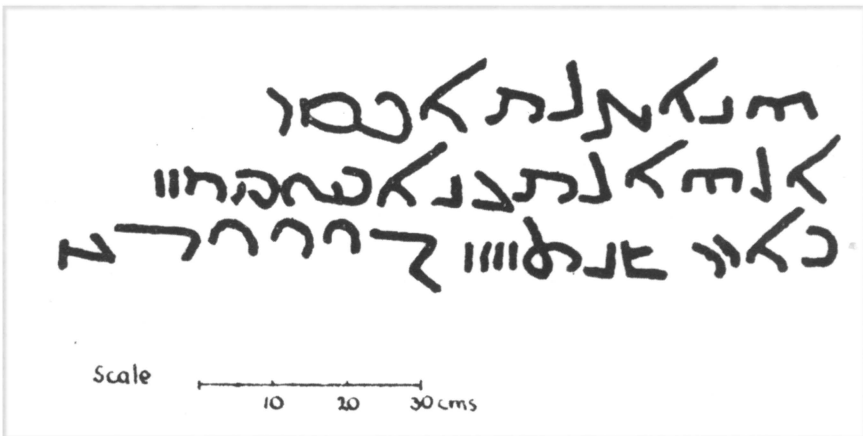


As 28b

PLATE 20 — As 29

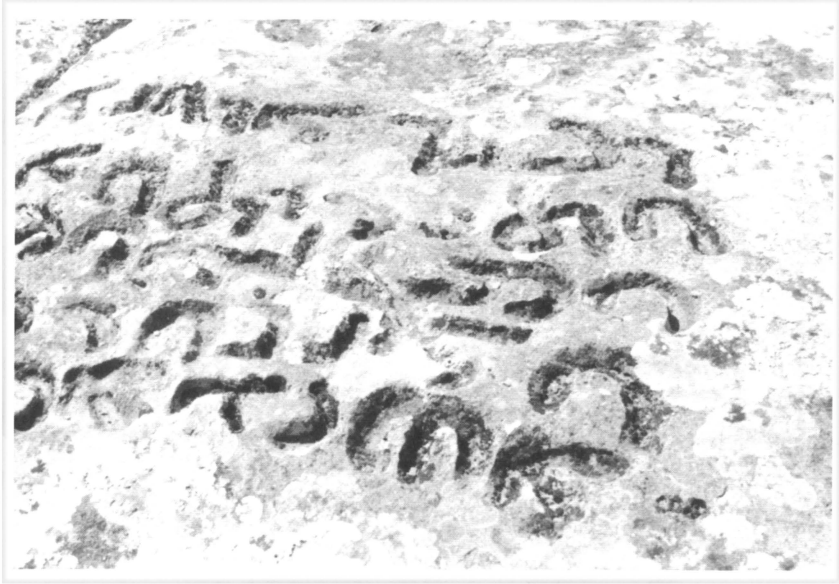


As 29a

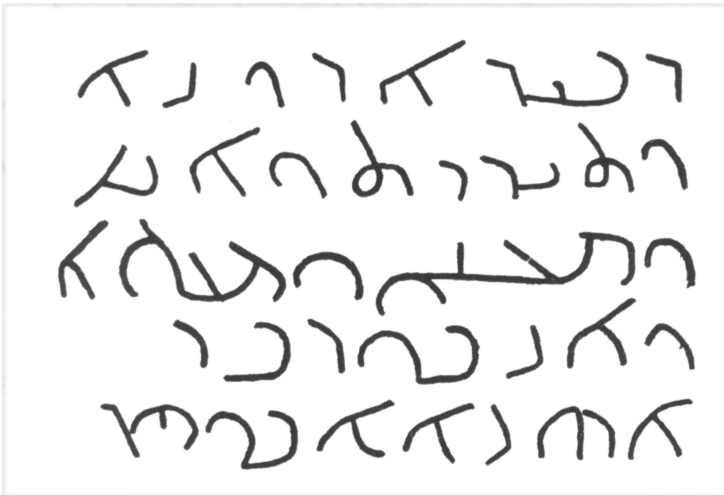


As 29b

PLATE 21 — As 30



As 30a



As 30b

וּבַּבַּיְתָא טַא אֲרַחַ
טַח מוּרָא וְטוּסִינָה
כַּוְנָה אֲוֵב עֵנֶם
חֲשֵׁוּלָה טַח כַּסְתָּה

As 31

כַּתְּלָה
וְכַעַר כַּכְרָה
וְכַטָּה

As 32a

PLATE 23 — As 32B



As 32b

PLATE 24 — As 33-34



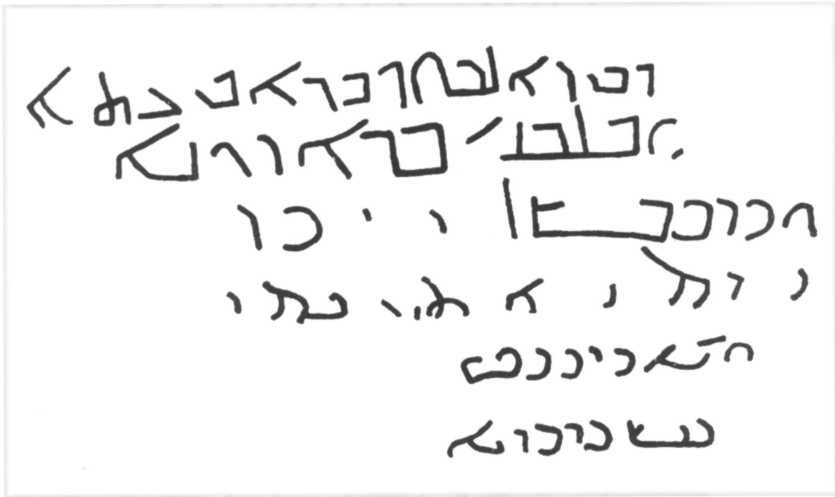
As 33



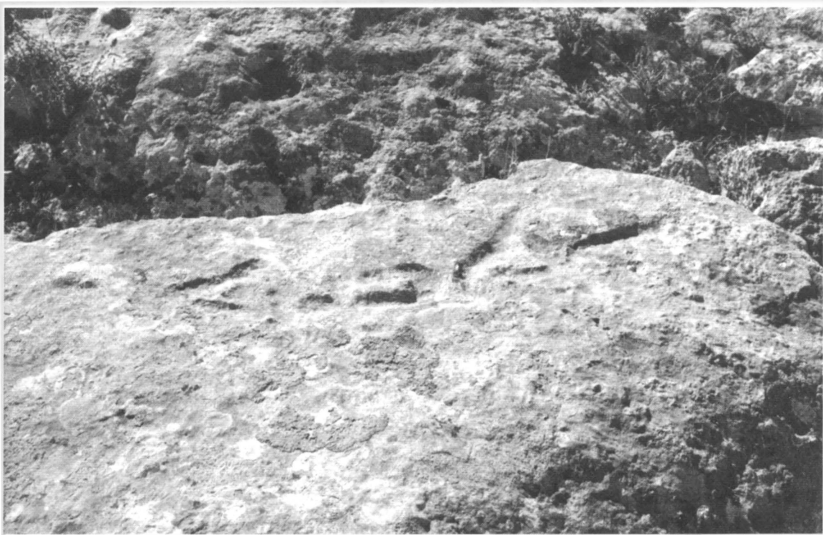
As 34

PLATE 26 — As 37A-C





As 38



As 39

PLATE 29 — As 40-41



As 40



As 41

PLATE 30 — As 42

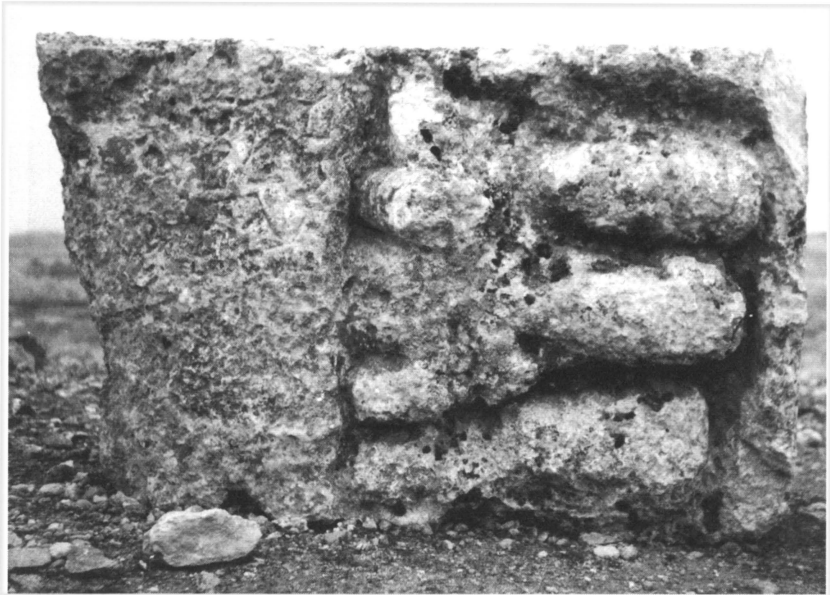


As 42

PLATE 31 — AS 43A-B



As 43a

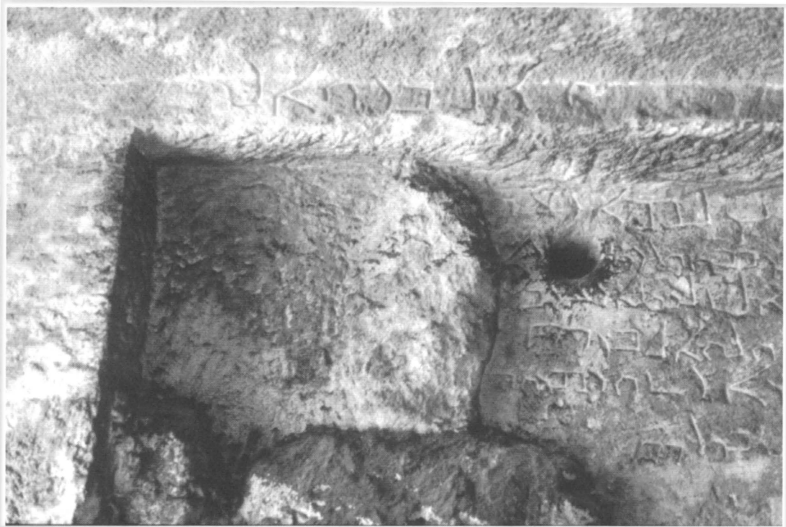


As 43b

PLATE 32 — AS 45A-B



As 45a



As 45b



As 45c

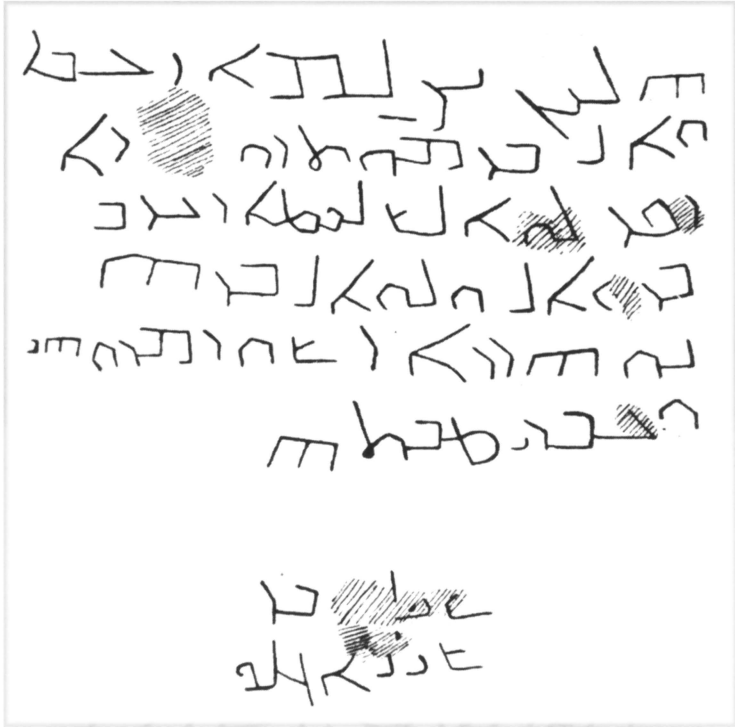


As 46

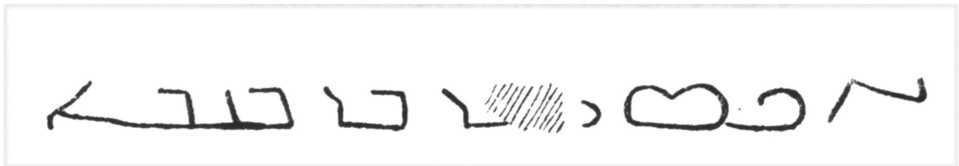
PLATE 34 — As 47A



As 47a



As 47b



As 48

PLATE 36 — As 49A-B



As 49a



As 49b

PLATE 37 — AS 50A—B



As 50a

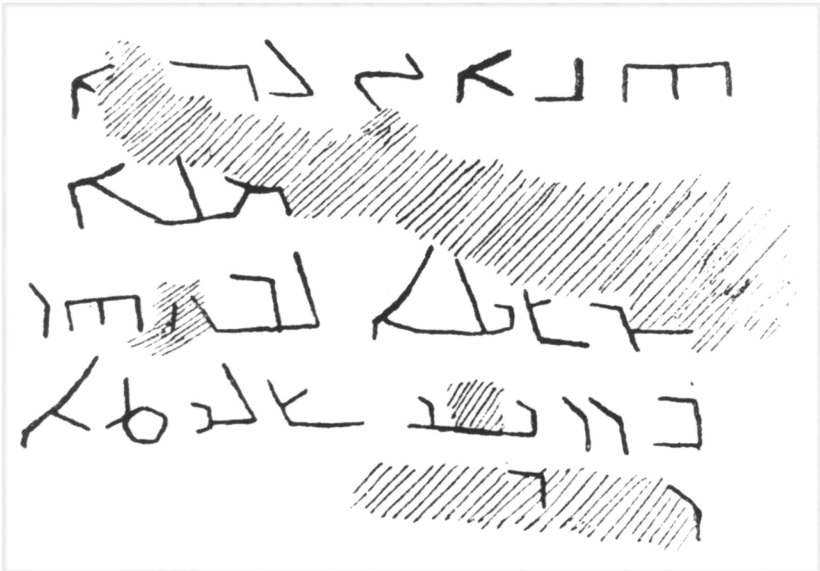


As 50b

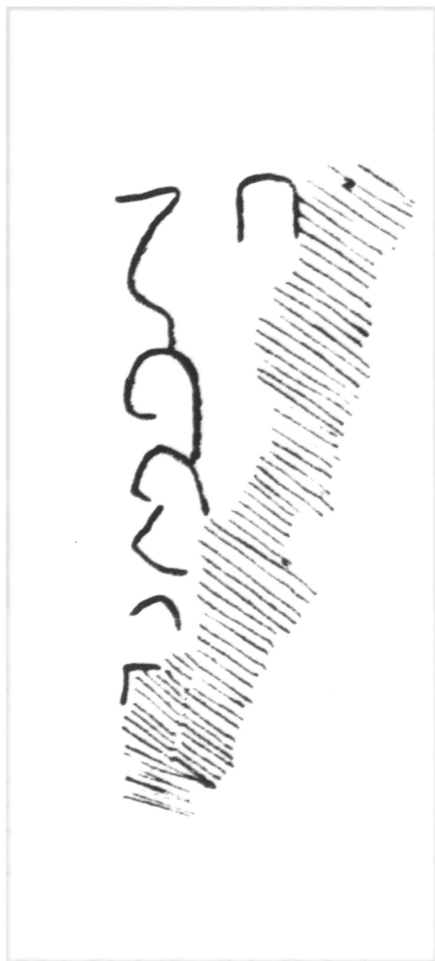
PLATE 38 — As 51-52



As 51



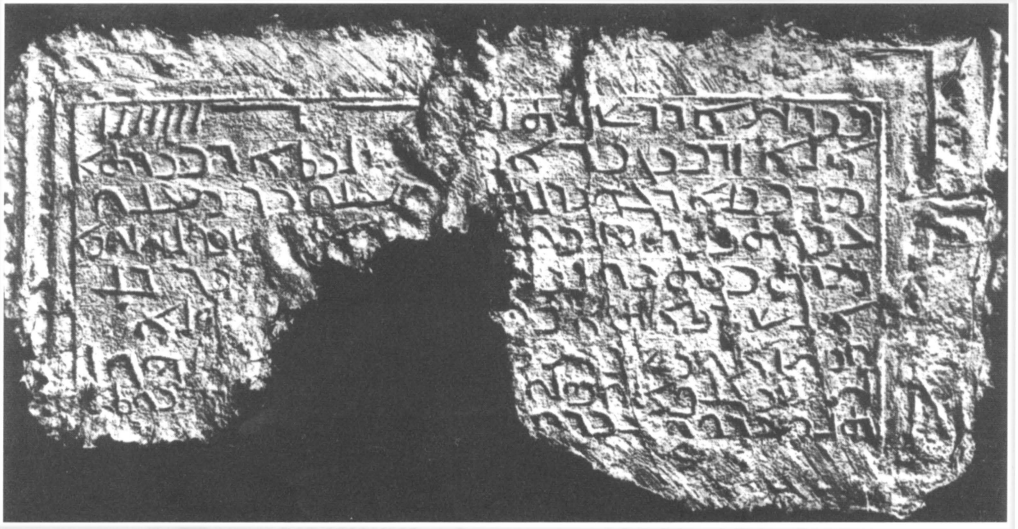
As 52



As 53



As 54



As 55a

	—	—	טבדא ארדא נאוו
לנלא דכנולא			אנא ודנכנ איו
עלח כר לעלח			נדכטא דגהנולא
אטלחלחא			בכרולא, ואס כח
כר כר			נדולא כטלח נכ
ילא			א לש ינחולא ב
נדחא			חנחולא הנאנר
טל			ד וכלטא חכח
			וארבורה עבר

As 55b

PLATE 4I — AS 56A-B



As 56a

אנא חסדך
והנה אנו
בביתך
אשר אתה

As 56b

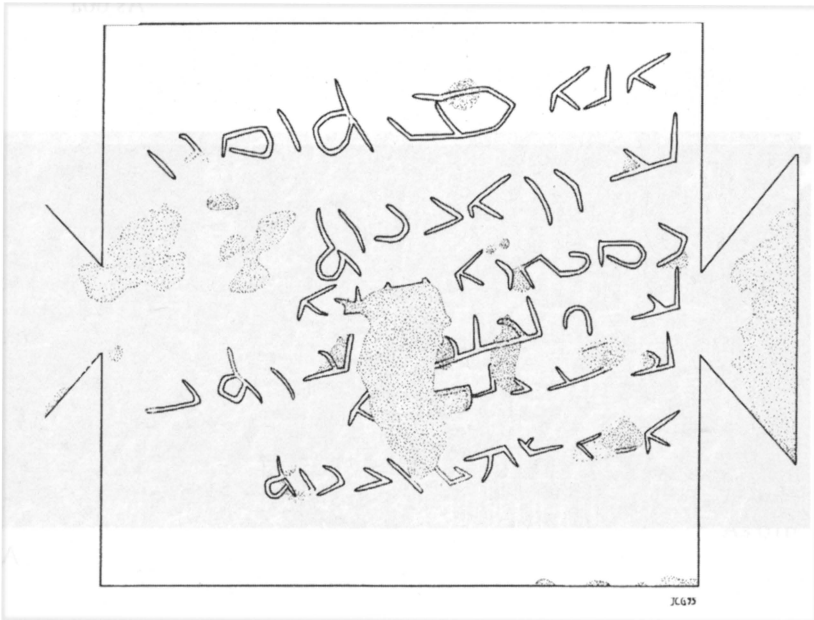


As 57

PLATE 43 — As 58-59



As 58



As 59

PLATE 44 — AS 60A-B



As 60a



As 60b

PLATE 45 — AS 61A-B



As 61a



As 61b

PLATE 48 — AM 2-3



Am 2

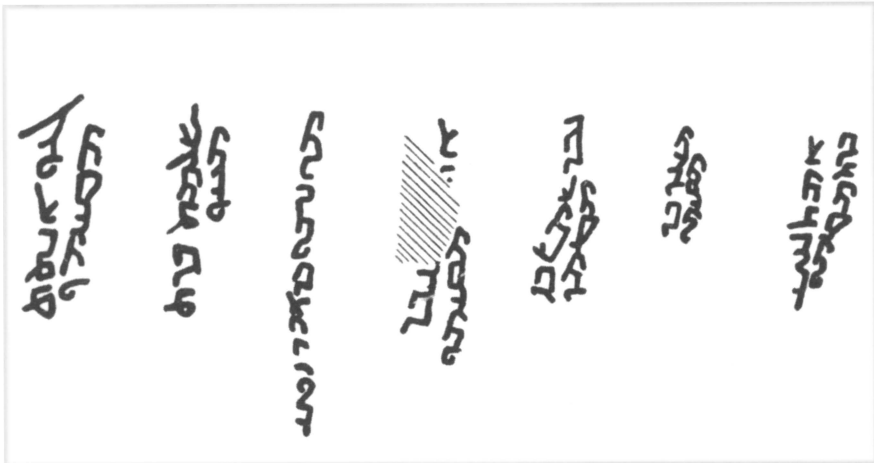


Am 3

PLATE 49 — AM 4A-B



Am 4a



Am 4b

PLATE 50 — AM 5A-D



Am 5a



Am 5b



Am 5c

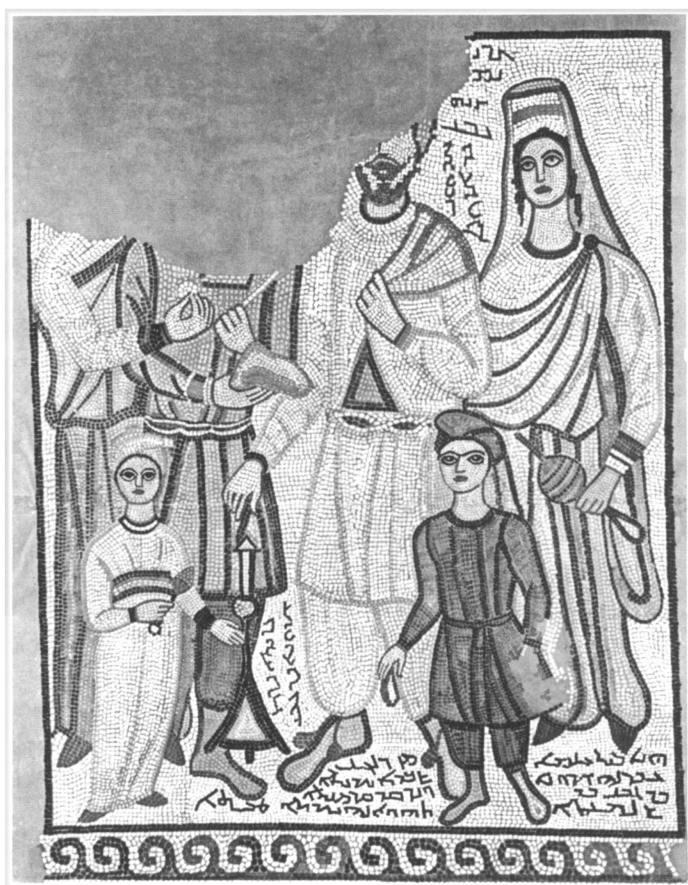


Am 5d

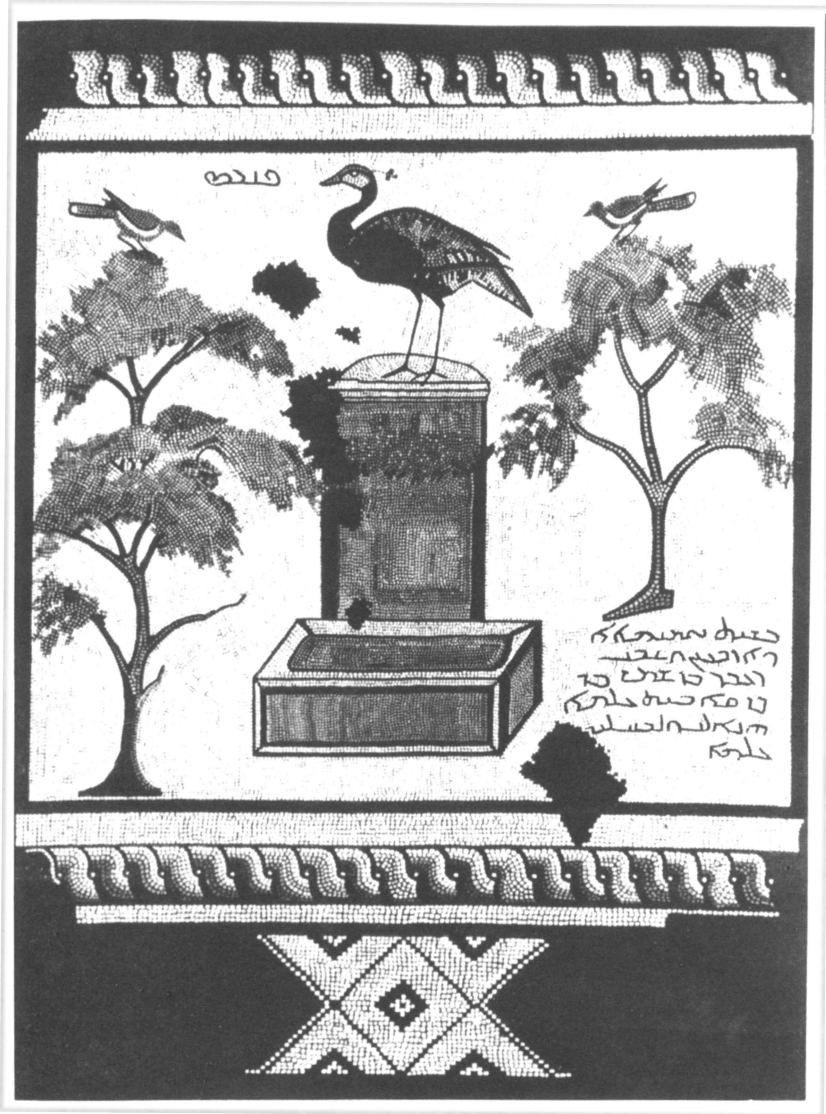
PLATE 5I — AM 5E-F



Am 5e



Am 5f



Am 6



Am 7

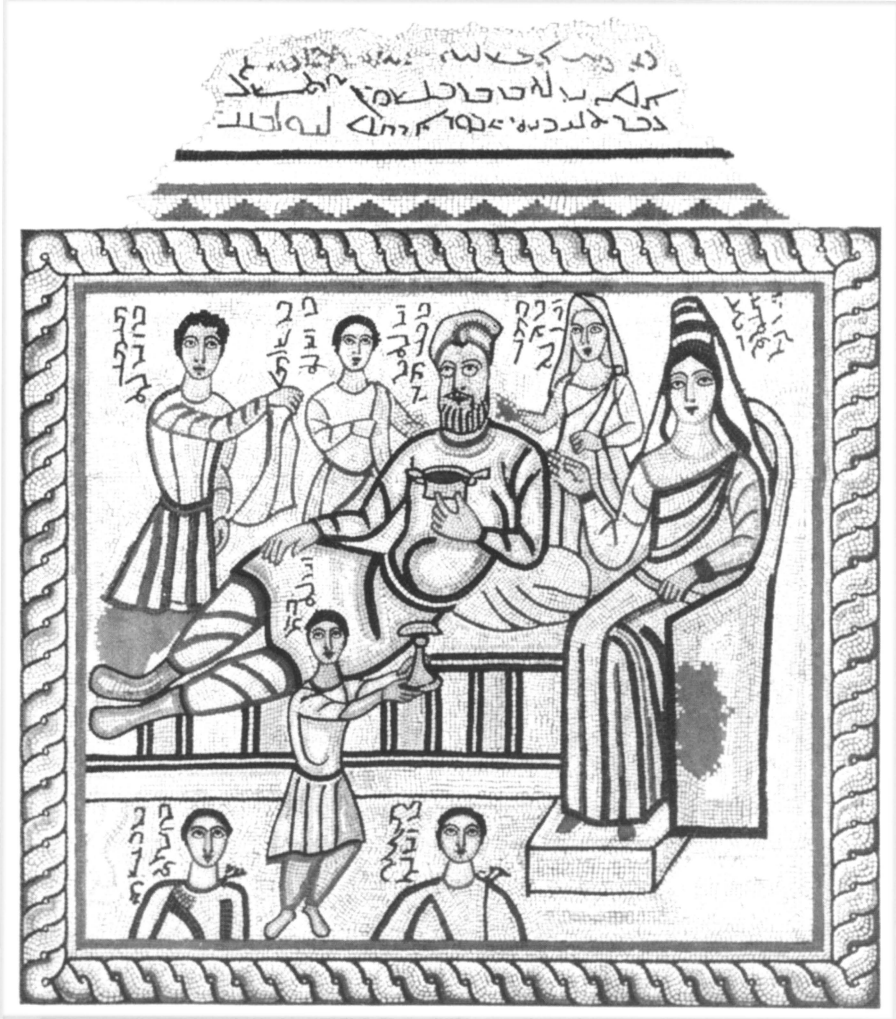
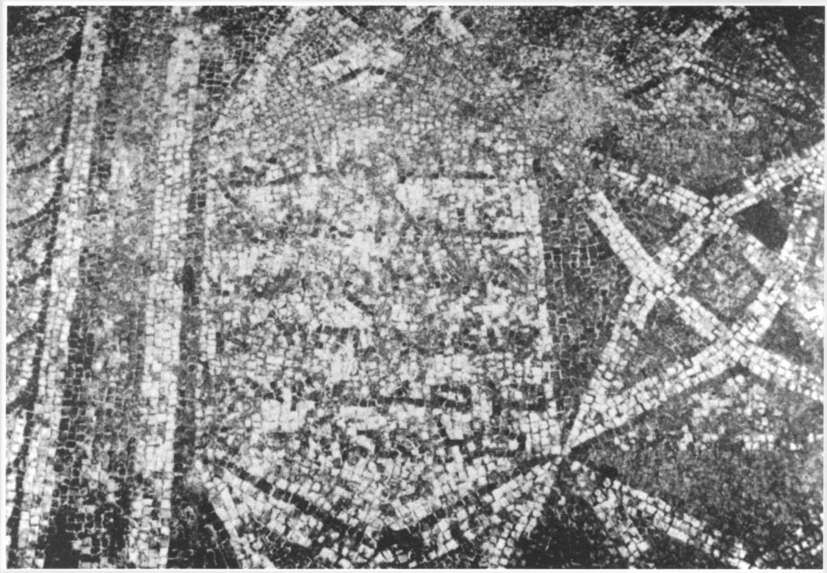


PLATE 55 — AM 9-10



Am 9

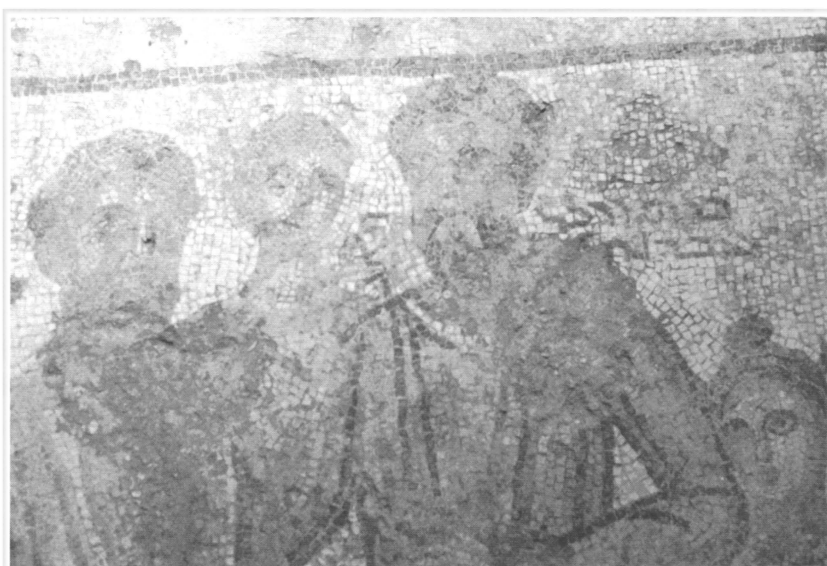


Am 10

PLATE 56 — AM IIA-B



Am 11a



Am 11b

PLATE 57 — AM 11c—BS 1



Am 11c



Bs 1

PLATE 59 — Bs 3A-B

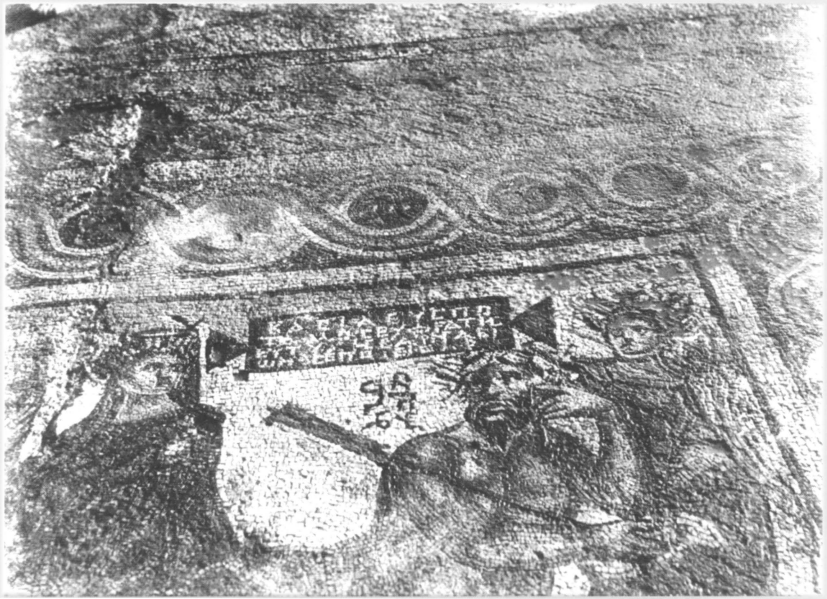


Bs 3a

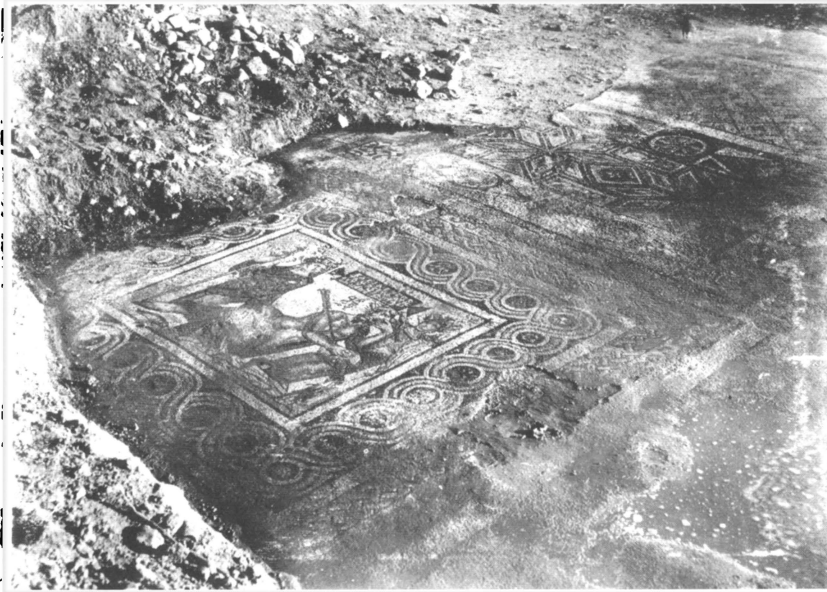


Bs 3b

PLATE 60 — BM 1A-B



Bm 1a

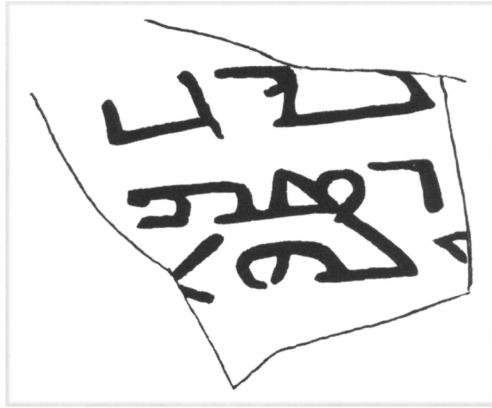


Bm 1b

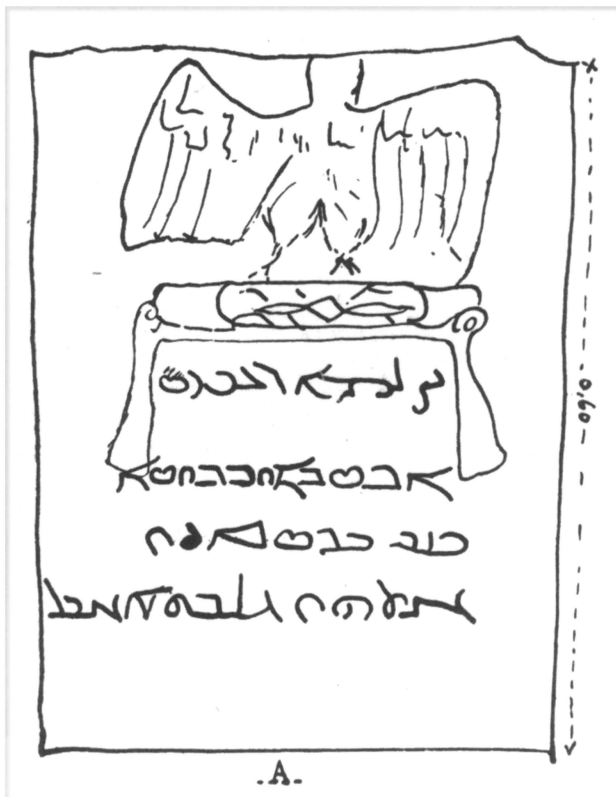
PLATE 61 — Bo I



Bo I



Bo 2



Cs I



Cs 2a

וְנִשְׂמָאֲבַרְתָּ אֶת־הַיָּדָיִם
וְאֶת־הַיָּדָיִם אֶת־הַיָּדָיִם

0 10 20 30 40

Cs 2b

PLATE 64 — Cs 3

גלגל ואלה אלה
יהוה יהוה יהוה
יהוה

Cs 3a



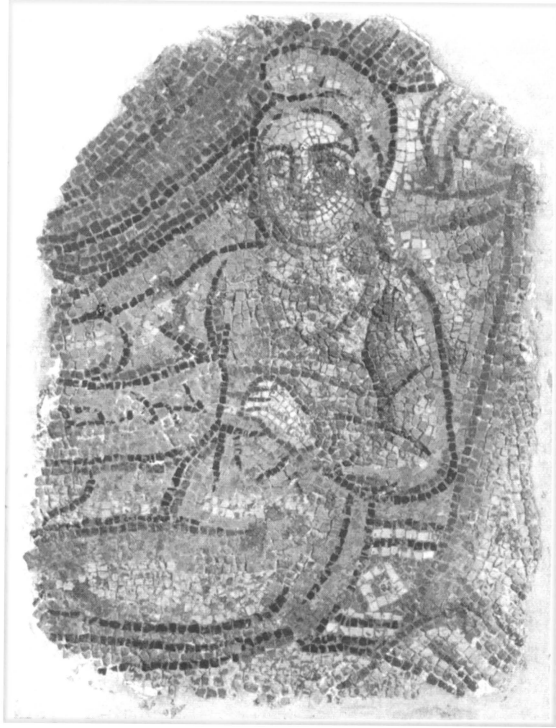
Cs 3b

PLATE 65 — CM I



Cm I

PLATE 66 — CM 2-3

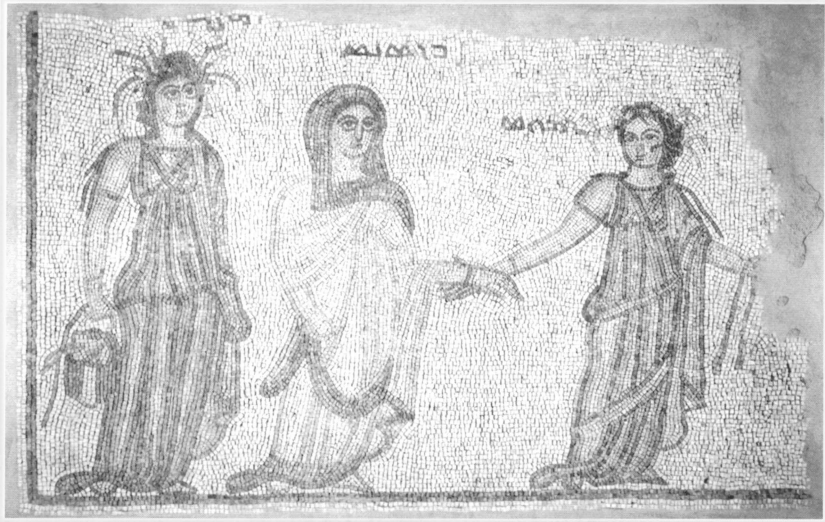


Cm 2



Cm 3

PLATE 67 — CM 4A-4B



Cm 4a



Cm 4b

PLATE 68 — CM 5-6

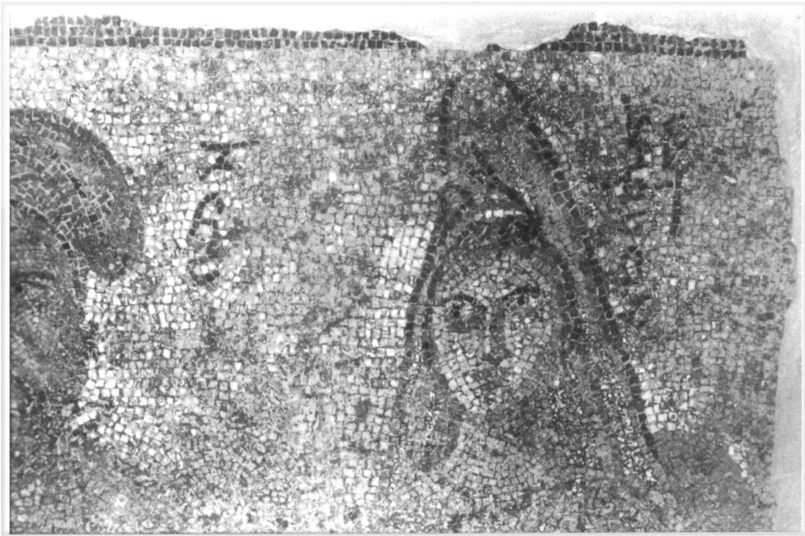


Cm 5



Cm 6

PLATE 69 — CM 7-8



Cm 7



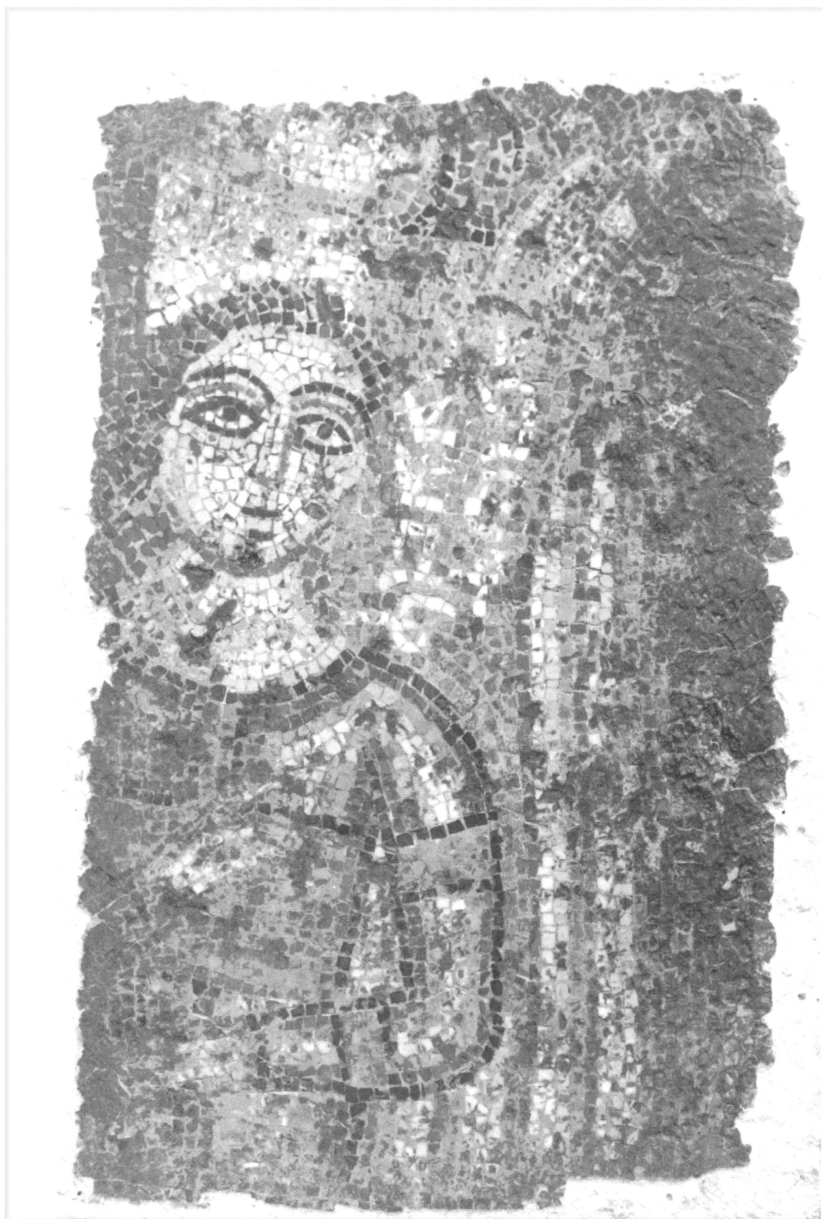
Cm 8

PLATE 70 — Cm 9



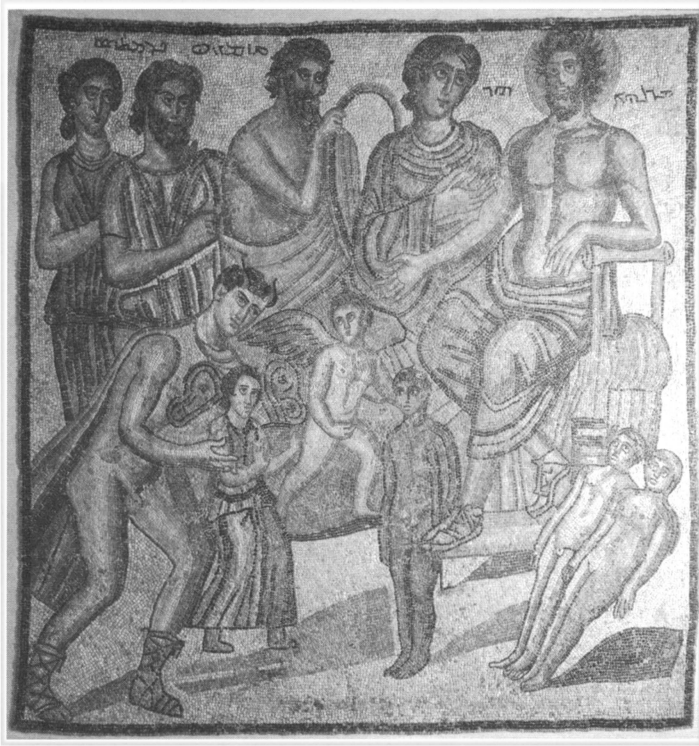
Cm 9

PLATE 71 — CM 10



Cm 10

PLATE 72 — CM II-12



Cm 11



Cm 12

PLATE 73 — Cm 13



Cm 13



PLATE 75 — Co I-4



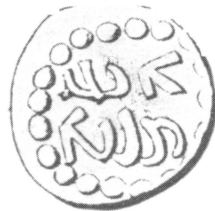
Co 1



Co 2



Co 3



Co 4