

LXXXVII. *An Explication of all the Inscriptions in the Palmyrene Language and Character hitherto publish'd. In five Letters from the Reverend Mr. John Swinton, M. A. of Christ-Church, Oxford, and F. R. S. to the Reverend Thomas Birch, D. D. Secret. R. S.*

L E T T E R I.

S I R,

Christ-Church, Oxford, May 30, 1754.

Read June 20,
1754.

SEVERAL copies of the *Ruins of Palmyra* reached Oxford, towards the close of December 1753; one of which was purchased by the Reverend Mr. Godwyn, Fellow of Balliol College, a gentleman of great learning, and an eminent tutor of that house. At his invitation, I looked over with him the finished plates, exhibiting to our view those noble remains of antiquity, which gave both of us infinite pleasure and delight; though we then only cast our eyes upon the inscriptions, and particularly those that are the subject of this letter, in a cursory manner.

In the beginning of January 1754, Mr. Godwyn informed me, that he had discovered several letters of the Palmyrene alphabet, by the help of the Greek inscriptions corresponding with some of those drawn in the Palmyrene character; and that he could even decipher a few words in several of the latter inscriptions. At the same time, he desired me to apply myself to the interpretation of those inscriptions, and the
discovery

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J. Mynde sculp.

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ΙΕΤΟΥΣ Δ̄ Ο̄ ΜΗΝΟΣ ΥΠΕΡΒΕΡΕΤΑΙΟΥΚ

ΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ
ΛΛΑΘΟΥ
ΧΟΣ ΑΙΡΑΝΟΥ
ΗΣ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ
ΥΕΤΟΥΣ

VIII 16.

א 3763 א 696 ט 637 ת 637
א 696 ט 637 ת 637
א 696 ט 637 ת 637

XI

א 696 ט 637 ת 637
א 696 ט 637 ת 637

IX 17.

א 3763 א 696 ט 637 ת 637
א 696 ט 637 ת 637
א 696 ט 637 ת 637

XII

א 696 ט 637 ת 637
א 696 ט 637 ת 637

X 19.

א 3763 א 696 ט 637 ת 637
א 696 ט 637 ת 637
א 696 ט 637 ת 637

XIII

א 696 ט 637 ת 637
א 696 ט 637 ת 637
א 696 ט 637 ת 637

discovery of the Palmyrene alphabet. This, I told him, I could not then do; being engaged in a work of another nature, which I was obliged to dispatch with all the expedition possible. However, I assured him, that I would spend now-and-then an hour or two upon those inscriptions, when tired with working, and try what I could make of them. Having therefore borrowed a copy of the *Ruins of Palmyra*, on Saturday, January 12, 1754, I began, about five o'clock in the afternoon, to compare the 16th, 17th, and 19th Greek inscriptions with the 8th, 9th, and 10th Palmyrene, with all the attention I was capable of; and, in less than two hours time, did not only find out twenty letters of the Palmyrene alphabet, but likewise could interpret, to my own satisfaction, the three last-mentioned inscriptions. Between seven and eight o'clock, Mr. Godwyn sent me several words belonging to some of the other inscriptions, in the Hebrew character, the significations of which he had, as he apprehended, discovered, and the powers of eighteen different Palmyrene letters, as they appeared to him, in order to facilitate my inquiries. 'Tis worthy observation, that he assigned all these letters the same powers and places in the alphabet I had done; which confirmed me in my opinion, that I could not be very remote from truth. The form of the element *Koph* appeared to me at first to represent *Hbeth*; but the word 𐤀𐤏𐤍 AKIM, POSVIT, EREXIT, &c. soon afterwards gave me sufficiently to understand, that I was mistaken. We likewise both found, that this character sometimes occupied the place of *Mem*; though scarce the least affinity is to be observed between the forms of *Koph* and *Mem*, either in the Phœnician or the Chaldee alphabet.

The unexpected success, I had met with, excited me afterwards to examine the letters and words of several other Palmyrene inscriptions, even some of those, which had no Greek ones to answer them. The latter however, for some time, not a little embarrassed me; as I found the spirit and genius of them very different from those of the others; though, with pleasure, I observed, that in the most essential points the three completest of them agreed. But, notwithstanding this, before the close of Thursday, January 17, 1754, I had discovered twenty-one letters of the Palmyrene alphabet; and could, as I imagined, translate into Latin and English seven of the thirteen inscriptions drawn in the Palmyrene character, three of which had no correspondent Greek inscriptions. In fine, before the end of February 1754, I thought myself able to explain all the thirteen inscriptions, except the twelfth, which had several of its letters defaced; though I soon found out the date it bore, which indeed was visible enough, as well as perceived the true turn and nature of it. I likewise had made myself fully acquainted with the forms and powers of all the Palmyrene letters, except those of *Tzade*; which, if I am not greatly mistaken, I have since certainly discovered. To the preceding short account of the gradual progress made in the supposed interpretation of these inscriptions; from the beginning to the end of it, I shall beg leave to subjoin here the Palmyrene alphabet, with some ligatures of the letters. After which will follow a Latin and English version of six Palmyrene inscriptions, not a little illustrated by the Greek ones answering to them; and of four of those, that have no correspondent Greek inscriptions. To which I shall add a few cursory remarks,

marks, and the particular days on which the explanations of the inscriptions were supposed to have been hit upon; that the true dates of these explanations (if such the learned gentlemen of the Royal Society should allow them to be), may, with the utmost precision, be ascertained.

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The PALMYRENE Alphabet compared with the HEBREW.

Palmyr.	Hebr.	Palmyr.	Hebr.
<i>Alaph</i> א א א א א	א	<i>Lamed</i> ל ל ל ל ל	ל
<i>Beth</i> ב ב ב ב ב	ב	<i>Memo</i> מ מ מ מ מ	מ
<i>Gimel</i> ג ג ג ג ג	ג	<i>Nun</i> נ נ נ נ נ	נ
<i>Daleth</i> ד ד ד ד ד	ד	<i>Samech</i> ס ס ס ס ס	ס
<i>He</i> ה ה ה	ה	<i>Ajin</i> ו ו ו ו ו	ו
<i>Vau</i> ו ו ו ו ו	ו	<i>Pe</i> פ פ פ פ פ	פ
<i>Zain</i> ז	ז	<i>Tzade</i> צ	צ
<i>Heeth</i> ח ח ח ח ח	ח	<i>Koph</i> ק ק ק ק ק	ק
<i>Teth</i> ט ט ט ט ט	ט	<i>Refeh</i> ר ר ר ר ר	ר
<i>Jod</i> י י י י י	י	<i>Schin Sin</i> ש ש ש ש ש	ש
<i>Caph</i> כ כ כ כ כ	כ	<i>Thau</i> ת ת ת ת ת	ת

LIGATURES of the PALMYRENE Letters.

נ.ג.ק	נ.ג.ס	ח.א.מ.ת.א	א.ז.ח.ו	ט.ב.ר
ו.ג.ה	פ.ג.ס	מ.ת.א.מ.ת.ח	מ.א.מ.א	ז.ג.כ.ו
ו.ת.ה	ד.ג.ס	נ.ו	מ.ה.מ.ו	ג.א.ב.ר
	א.ק.ב	ח.ה.ו	מ.ה.מ.ד	מ.ג.ב.כ.ו
	נ.ק.ו	א.ה.ת	מ.ה.מ.ת	ט.ב.ר

Inscription

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Inscription VIII.

See Plate xxv, Number VIII.

ספטימיוס ורוד קרעטטוס אפטרפא
דקנרא וארנבטא אקים יולים
אורליס ספטימיוס דא דפקוס

SEPTIMIUM VORODEN EXCELLENTISSIMUM
PROCVRATOREM DVCENARIUM ET ARGAPETAM
POSVIT IVLIVS AVRELIVS SEPTIMIUS IADA HIP-
PICVS :::::::::::

IVLIVS AVRELIVS SEPTIMIUS IADA HIPPICVS :::::
PLACED SEPTIMIUS VORODES, THE MOST EXCEL-
LENT PROCVRATOR DVCENARIUS AND ARGAPETA, here.

January 12th, 1754.

Inscription IX.

See Plate xxv, Number IX.

ספטימיוס ורוד קרעטטוס אפטרפא
דקנרא וארנבטא אקים יולים
אורלי: שלמא בר קסינא בר :::::

SEPTIMIUM VORODEN EXCELLENTISSIMUM
PROCVRATOREM DVCENARIUM ET ARGAPETAM
POSVIT IVLIVS AVRELIVS SALMA FILIVS CASSI-
ANI FILII :::::::::::

IVLIVS AVRELIVS SALMA, THE SON OF CASSI-
ANVS, THE SON ::::::: PLACED SEPTIMIUS VO-
RODES, THE MOST EXCELLENT PROCVRATOR
DVCENARIUS AND ARGAPETA, here.

January 12th, 1754.

Inscription

Inscription X.

See Plate xxv, Number x.

ספטימיוס וורודס קרעטסטס אפטרופא
 דוקטורא די אקום ליקרא
 ילים אולים גביבל בר שעוהודיא
 אסטרוגא די קלניא לרחמא
 שנת דער בירח פללול

SEPTIMIUS VORODES EXCELLENTISSIMVS PRO-
 CVRATOR DVCENARIVS QVEM POSVIT AMICI-
 TIE NOMINE IVLIVS AVRELIVS NABIBAL FILIVS
 SAODOIDÆ (vel SAODVTI) DVCTOR EXERCITVS
 COLONIE HONORIS CAUSA ANNO DLXXIV MENSE
 APELLÆO.

SEPTIMIUS VORODES, THE MOST EXCELLENT
 PROCVRATOR DVCENARIVS, WHOM IVLIVS AV-
 RELIVS NABIBAL, THE SON OF SAODVTVS, GE-
 NERAL OF THE COLONY'S FORCES, ON ACCOVRT
 OF FRIENDSHIP, PLACED here, IN ORDER TO DO
 HIM HONOV, IN THE YEAR DLXXIV, and THE
 MONTH APELLÆVS.

January 12th, 1754.

Remarks on these Inscriptions..

1. They seem to have appertained originally, tho'
 probably all of them were inscribed either on pillars
 or pedestals, to three statues of SEPTIMIUS VO-
 RODES, and to have applied to those statues the
 name of the person they represented. This is so
 clear from the stile of the inscriptions themselves,
 that I shall insist no farther upon it here.

2. The

2. The two first of them are imperfect, the latter part of both having been apparently defaced.

3. The word NABIBAL, which is undoubtedly the true reading, as I have restored it here, that has been partly deformed and partly effaced by time, or else not exactly taken, in the third line of the tenth inscription, may be recovered by the assistance of the Greek one answering to it.

4. I have taken the liberty to suppose the letter wanting in the beginning of the last word in the fourth line of that inscription to be *Lamed*; which supposition the oriental critics will perhaps allow to be not very remote from truth. For, לרומה, may either be expressed in Latin AMICITIÆ NOMINE, PRO AMICITIA, or (as *Lamed*, according to Schindler, *Lex. Pent.* p. 914, is sometimes an article of the accusative case) AMICVM SVVM; any of which expressions will come near enough to ΤΟΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΤ ΦΙΛΟΝ, in the correspondent Greek one, and be perfectly consonant to the tenor of both inscriptions.

5. The dialect, in which these Palmyrene inscriptions are written, is most certainly the Syriac. This is rendered incontestable by the words אקים, SURGERE FECIT, POSUIT, EREXIT, STATUIT; בר, FILIUS; ליקרא, HONORIS CAUSA; לרומה, or לרומא, PRO AMICITIA; which manifestly belong to that dialect.

6. But, notwithstanding this, several of the words they exhibit, such as ΚΡΑΤΙCΤΟC, ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΙΑ, ΑCΤΡΑΘΗΓΑ, DVCENARA, and COLONIA, are indisputably of Greek and Latin extraction.

7. In the third line of the tenth inscription, the word AVRELIVS wants the letter R; and in the fourth, the word ΑCΤΡΑΘΗΓΑ the letter T. That this is an undoubted

doubted truth, we may fairly infer from the third line of the eighth inscription, and the second of the fourth; where both these words drawn out at length, after the oriental manner, evidently occur.

8. The true reading of the word ΑΡΓΑΠΕΤΗΝ, in the sixteenth and seventeenth Greek inscriptions, which neither Dr. Halley, Dr. Bernard, Dr. Smith, nor Mr. Sellar could ascertain, is clearly discovered by the word (a) ARGABETA, in the secondline of the eighth, as well as of the ninth, Palmyrene inscription; both of which are here exhibited to our view.

9. The tenth inscription, the latest of those whose dates have been preserved, did not precede the 574th year of the æra of Seleucus, nearly coincident with the 263d of CHRIST; having been drawn out in the month *Apellæus*, or *December*, that year. This therefore will fix the date, that the correspondent Greek inscription originally bore; and consequently render that inscription something more complete, than it was before.

10. It appears from these inscriptions, that the letter *Vau* was sometimes pronounced by the Palmyrenes, in the third century after CHRIST, like O, and at other times like OV or V; as also that they some-

(a) It seems to appear from the word ΑΡΤΑΒΙΑ, which in Leo denotes a sort of *hammer*, used by the cavalry chiefly for the carriage of water, that ΑΡΙΑΠΕΤΗΝ, ΑΡΓΑΒΕΤΗΝ, or ARGABETA, signified an officer at Tadmor, whose province it was to supply the troops with water, in order to support them in their march over the vast deserts surrounding that place. Nor can it be doubted, but such an officer must have been extremely necessary in a city distinguished from all others by so remarkable a situation.

Vid. Leonis Imperat. *Tactic.* Cap. xiii. S. 11. Filip. Pigafetta, in annotat. ad Leon. ibid. Mauric. Lib. vii. p. 143. Upsaliæ, 1664. Vid. etiam Carol. Du Fresn. *Glossar. ad Scriptor. med. & infim. Græcitat.* in voc. ΑΡΤΑΒΙΑ.

times assigned to their *Beth* the power of the Greek *Pi*: of which other examples will likewise hereafter be produced.

Inscription I.

See Plate xxiv, Number 1.

מורא לברך שמה
לעלמא יול אור.
: : לבונא בר אעילע.
זביעא אקובע
בירח טבת
ביזמן ד
שנת רמד

NOMINI BENEDICTO TIMOR IN SECVLVM IVL. AVR. PRO PATRE NOSTRO (vel PRO PATRE) QVI ET FILIVS AILÆ (AILI vel ALLI) ZENOBII ACOBÆI (ACOBENSIS vel ACABENSIS) dedicavit MENSIS TEBETH DIE IV ANNO DXLIV.

TO THE BLESSED NAME BE FEAR FOR EVER :
IVL. AVR. dedicated this ON OVR (or HIS) FATHER'S ACCOVNT, WHO WAS THE SON OF AILA ZENOBIVS OF ACOBA, (or ACABA) THE FOVRTH DAY OF THE MONTH TEBETH, IN THE YEAR DXLIV.

January 15th, 1754.

Inscription II.

See Plate xxiv, Number II.

לברך שמה לעלמא טבא ורחמנ.
מורא קר יול בר זכרכול בר מילכום על
חייה ודיא אחוהי בירח תשרי
שנת רלג

NOMINI

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NOMINI BENEDICTO IN SECVLVM BONO ET MISERICORDI TIMOR COR. IVL. FILIVS ZABDIBOLI FILII MILCOMI OB SVAM ET FRATRIS EIVS SALVTEM *dedicavit* MENSE TISRI ANNO DXXXIII.

TO THE BLESSED NAME, FOR EVER GOOD AND MERCIFVL, BE FEAR: COR. IVL. THE SON OF ZABDIBOL, THE SON OF MILCOM, dedicated this FOR HIS OWN HEALTH or SAFETY, AND THAT OF HIS BROTHER, IN THE MONTH TISRI, and THE YEAR DXXXIII.

January 17th, 1754.

Inscription XIII.

See Plate xxv, Number XIII.

לברוך שמה לעלמא עבר שלמן בר נשא בר
 היצא ברכו על היחי והיא בנהי
 ה בירח ניסן שנת תמוז ה

NOMINI BENEDICTO IN SECVLVM timor PARAVIT SALMON FILIVS NASÆ FILII HIZÆ (vel CHITZÆ) VTIQVE PROPTER SVAM ET LIBERORVM EIVS SALVTEM ::::: MENSE NISAN ANNO CCCCXLVII.

TO THE BLESSED NAME FOR EVER be fear: SALMON THE SON OF NASA, THE SON OF HIZA, (or CHITZA) PREPARED (or DEDICATED) this ON ACCOVNT OF HIS OWN HEALTH or SAFETY, AND THAT OF HIS CHILDREN, IN THE MONTH NISAN, and THE YEAR CCCCXLVII.

January 17th, 1754.

Remarks on these Inscriptions.

1. The stones that exhibit them seem to have belonged to altars dedicated to *Jupiter*, the chief of

the gods, or rather to the Supreme Deity, either in consequence of vows formerly made, on account of recoveries from dangerous fits of sickness; or for the future health, safety, and preservation of the persons therein mentioned. This sufficiently appears, not only from the Greek inscription, which in some measure expresses the sense of the first of them, but likewise from the tenor of them all. Nor can any thing be more clear and explicit, than the terms of which they are composed.

2. The aforesaid Greek inscription only informs us, that JVLIVS AVRELIVS, therein also mentioned, dedicated an altar, on his father's account, after he had prayed to the deity, for whom that altar was designed. But the Palmyrene one answering to it has preserved the very form of this short prayer, or ejaculation; which pretty nearly corresponds with that used by the prophet Daniel, in chap. ii. ver. 20. as well as a very noted one of the Rabbins. Nor is it altogether remote from a (*a*) scriptural expression, that now and then occurs. Nay, that the antient Syrians, or rather the Syrian Jews, applied the word שֵׁמָה, NAME, to GOD, or the Supreme Being, we learn from some (*b*) good authors. This opens a large field for reflections, and suggests to us several remarkable particulars relating to the religion, or rather religions, that prevailed at Tadmor, about the middle of the third century.

3. Those particulars are likewise very clearly pointed out to us by the second Palmyrene inscription, which contains a sort of short prayer, or eja-

(*a*) Val. Schind. *Lex. Pentaglot.* p. 247—250, 1886, &c.

(*b*) Edm. Castel. *Lex. Hept.* p. 3772.

culatation, not unlike one in the beginning of the (a) *Liturgy of the Syrian Jacobite Christians*, a Latin version of which has been published by M. Renaudot. The thirteenth Palmyrene inscription gives us to understand, that the same religion, or religions, had been introduced at Tadmor, soon after the beginning of the second century.

4. As a similar (b) inscription still remains, or was very lately to be seen, near the well, or current of hot sulphureous waters, which undoubtedly constituted in antient times one of the hot sulphureous baths of Tadmor, it seems not improbable, that the waters of those baths were medicinal; and that by bathing themselves therein, or drinking them, the Palmyrenes were frequently cured of various distempers and indispositions. This, I say, appears at least not improbable, from the matter and situation of that inscription, in conjunction with those which I have here endeavoured to explain, and which had in all likelihood at first either the same or a similar situation. So that these inscriptions, every thing considered, may be deemed mutually to support and illustrate one another.

5. From the word LABVNA, לבונה, PRO PATRE NOSTRO, in the third line of the first inscription, we may infer, that the second letter *Aleph* was either inadvertently omitted by the inscriber, or virtually contained in the first letter *Lamed*, or *Lomad*. For LABVNA must be rendered into Latin PRO PATRE NOSTRO, or simply PRO PA-

(a) Euseb. Renaud. *Liturgiar. Oriental. Collect.* Tom. ii. p. 2. Parisiis, 1716.

(b) Edw. Bernard. *Monument. Palmyren.* p. 4. *Philosoph. Transact.* Vol. xix, N. 217, p. 109.

TRE; the Syrians (*a*) and Arabs sometimes applying it in that sense as a title, or mark of distinction, to the Jacobite patriarchs, and probably others, as we learn from Al Makîn. Nay, it seems as natural to suppose, that the Syrians used the word ABVNA promiscuously for OVR FATHER, and FATHER; as that ABA, or ABBA, should have been admitted by them in two similar significations. Nor can the words ANTI ΠΑΤΡΟΣ, in the correspondent Greek inscription, possibly answer to any other word, in that I am considering, than LABVNA. This will suggest to us one or two curious observations, which I have not time at present so much as to touch upon.

6. The Syriac זנוביא, ZENOBIA, is expressed by the Greek ΖΗΝΟΒΙΟΥ; and consequently must be looked upon as a masculine proper name. But whether the same letters, amongst the Palmyrenes, formed the proper name of *Zenobia*, the famous queen or empress of that nation, I cannot yet take upon me to determine.

7. ACOBA, or ACABA, the city, as it should seem, to which ZENOBIVS, mentioned in the first inscription, did originally belong, might possibly have been the capital of *Acabene*, a province or district of Mesopotamia, a region separated from Palmyrene by the Euphrates. This district is placed by Ptolemy at no great distance from the Tigris; and its capital might have been called by the Palmyrene Greeks, in the third century, ΑΚΟΠΑ. But that this was really

(*a*) Val. Schind. *Lex. Pentaglot.* p. 8. Geor. Elmacin. *Hist. Saracen.* p. 144, 145, 151, 152, & alib. pass.

the town the inscriber had in view, I must not presume positively to affirm.

8. From the first of these Palmyrene inscriptions, if the sixth line of it be exactly copied, and the Greek one answering to it, we may fairly collect, that the fourth day of the month *Tebeth* was coincident with the twenty-fourth of *Aydynæus*, the Macedonian month; and consequently that those two months were not precisely the same, as we find intimated (a) by Dr. Fabricius. The former of them began on the twenty-first day of the latter, if the authority of our inscription in this point may be intirely depended upon. Hence likewise it most evidently appears, that *Tebeth* was the name of a Syrian, as well as of an Hebrew, month.

9. Though the Palmyrene dialect be almost, in all respects, the same with the Syriac; yet it must be allowed, that some Hebrew words occur in these inscriptions. Of this נָוַד, in the first and second, and אָ, in the fifth, to omit other instances of the same kind, are incontestable proofs. For which we may easily account, if we consider, that many (b) Jews, as well as Christians, were settled in the territories of the Palmyrenes. 'Tis remarkable, that though the word בָּר, BAR, is used here for SON in the enumerations of descents; yet מַלְּבָנָי, according to the Syriac form, HIS CHILDREN, presents itself to our view towards the close of the thirteenth inscription. As to the word מַלְּבָנָי, it must be owned to be likewise of

(a) Jo. Albert. Fabric. *Menolog.* p. 16, 42. Hamburgi, 1712.

(b) Sellar's *Antiq. of Palmyr.* Chap. xix.

the Syriac form; and consequently not to have been improperly used by the Palmyrenes. The same may be said of the word אַחְוַי, apparently deducible from (a) אַחַי, FRATER; as the letters ה and ו are of the same organ, have frequently a pronunciation extremely similar, and were therefore undoubtedly often taken and used for one another. Unless we suppose, that the word was originally upon the stone אַחְוַי, which will bring it to the pure Syriac form; and this for various reasons, especially as that very term is exhibited by the third inscription, the most antient of all, in the very same sense, I am inclined to believe.

10. That the proper names ZABDIBOL, MILCOM, SALMON, NASA, and HIZA or CHITZA, in the second and thirteenth inscriptions, which have no Greek ones to answer them, are either of Syriac, Chaldee, or Hebrew extraction, from some of the (b) best oriental lexicographers most clearly appears. As for HIZA, or CHITZA, this must be allowed to be a pure Syriac word; though I remember not to have met with it as a proper name in any antient author. The second inscription bears date in the month *Tisri*, and the 533d year of the æra of Seleucus, or A. D. 222, soon after Alexander Severus had ascended the imperial throne. The thirteenth is 76 years older, having been drawn A. D. 136, in the reign of the emperor Hadrian, and about two years before the death of that prince. The altar on which the first appears inscribed was

(a) Val. Schind. *Lex. Pent.* p. 54. *Verf. Syr.* in GEN. iv. 8, 21.

(b) Val. Schind. *Lex. Pentaglot.* pass. Edm. Castel. *Lex. Heptaglot.* pass.

erected in the year of CHRIST 233, in the month *Tebeth*, or *Aydynæus*, when Alexander Severus was engaged in the Parthian war. 'Tis observable, that the forms of some of the letters, and particularly that of the *Fod*, or *Jud*, in the third and thirteenth inscriptions, considerably differ from those of the same elements, that have been preserved by the others, which are of a later date. But notwithstanding this, that all the letters forming these Palmyrene inscriptions are to be deduced from the same source, will, I believe, be universally allowed.

Inscription XII.

See Plate xxv, Number XII.

אמתחא בר תבלעקב בר נשא
אמתאלהסל בר והבלת

AMTACHA FILIVS TEBELACABI FILII NASÆ
AMTALEHSAL FILIVS VAHBALATHI.

AMTACHA THE SON OF TEBELACAB, THE SON
OF NASA; AMTALEHSAL THE SON OF VAHBALATH.

January 17th, 1754.

Inscription XI.

See Plate xxv, Number XI.

בלמיחל בר מוגיאתת
מעזו בר והבלת

BALMICHAL FILIVS MOGIATHATHI
MAZO FILIVS VAHBALATHI.

BALMICAL THE SON OF MOGIATHATH,
MAZO THE SON OF VAHBALATH.

January 17th, 1754.

Remarks on these Inscriptions.

1. They seem both to have been mutilated, tho' the eleventh has suffered more than the other; some of its letters being partly defaced, and partly deformed, by time.

2. That they consist of the proper names of men, connected by the word BAR, SON, is obvious to every one, who reads them.

3. That these men were persons of distinction, and filled some of the highest posts in the state, there is great reason to believe.

4. That the names themselves, as exhibited here, are of oriental extraction, tho' the reason of their imposition, at this distance of time, is not known, (a) can by no means be denied.

5. In the twelfth inscription, as well as the eleventh, tho' in the latter it is something deformed, the proper name VAHBALATH, or VABALATHVS, (which has also been preserved by coins) in the Palmyrene character, manifestly occurs.

6. That the dates of these inscriptions, if any were ever visible in them, must have been posterior to the 447th year of Seleucus, or the 136th of CHRIST, the forms of the letters themselves, and particularly that of the *Jed*, or *Jud*, evidently prove.

(a) Val. Schind. *Lex. Pentaglot.* p. 1048, 1220, 1030, 1959, 1960, 1372, &c.

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Inscription V.

See Plate xxiv, Number v.

חלקא דנח ד' ספטמיוס אידן בר
 אדינת סנקלטיקא נהינא ורש
 תדמור די אקים לה אורליס
 פלינוס בר מריא פלינא דדי פלהא
 רב לגיונא די בתרא ליקרא ביתא
 תשרי די שנת דסג

SORS five PORTIO est HÆC SEPTIMII ÆRANÆ FILII ODÆNATHI SENATORIS CLARISSIMI ET VIRI PRIMARII civitatis TADMOR QVAM EI EREXIT AVRELIVS PHILINVS FILIVS MARI PHILINI MILES EMERITVS IACVLATOR five PILANVS LEGIONIS PARTHICÆ HONORIS CAUSA MENSE TISRI ANNI DLXIII.

THIS IS THE LOT, or PORTION, OF SEPTIMIUS ÆRANES, A MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SENATOR, AND A PRINCIPAL PERSON IN THE CITY OF TADMOR; WHICH AVRELIVS PHILINVS, THE SON OF MARIUS PHILINVS, A VETERAN OF THE PARTHIAN LEGION, WHO HAD SERVED AS A LANCIER, ERECTED TO HIS HONOUR, IN THE MONTH TISRI OF THE YEAR DLXIII.

February 2d, 1754.

Inscription VII.

See Plate xxiv, Number VII.

חלקא דנח די יוליס אורליס
 שלמלת בר מלא עברי רב שירתא
 די אקימת לה בולא ודמס ליקרא
 די אסם שירתא מעד מגן יסה
 שנת דסג

SORS five PORTIO est HÆC IVLII AVRELII SAL-
MALATHI FILII MALÆ HEBRÆI PRINCIPIS vel DVC-
TORIS CATERVÆ Mercatorum QVAM STATVIT EI
SENATVS POPVLVSQVE QVOD DOMVM REDVXIT
CATERVAM Mercatorum DE RE FAMILIARI GRATIS
eam SVSTENTANS ANNO DLXIX.

THIS IS THE LOT, or PORTION, OF IVLIVS AV-
RELIVS SALMALATH, THE SON OF MALA, A
IEW, PRINCE, CHIEF, or LEADER, OF THE CARA-
VAN of Merchants ; WHICH THE SENATE AND PEOP-
LE HAVE DECREED HIM, BECAUSE HE CON-
DUCTED HOME THE CARAVAN, AND SVPPORTED
IT AT HIS OWN EXPENCE, IN THE YEAR DLXIX.

February 9th, 1754.

Remarks on these Inscriptions.

1. From the words אִירָן אֲרִינָת AIRAN, ODI-
NATH, or ÆERAN, ODÆNATH, and בּוֹלָא, to-
gether with the words AIPANHΝ ΟΔΑΙΝΑΘΟΥ,
Η ΒΟΥΛΗ, in the correspondent Greek inscription,
it plainly appears, that the letter *Aleph*, amongst the
Palmyrenes, sometimes answered to A, sometimes
to E, and sometimes to O, about the middle of the
third century.

2. From the words סַנְקִלְטִיקָא SENATORIS,
מַרְיָא פִּלִינָא MARIÆ PHILINI, אַוְרֵלִיּוֹס פִּלִינִי AV-
RELIVS PHILINVS, &c. we may collect, that
one of the Palmyrene terminations of Greek and
Latin words in the oblique cases was א; but
that the people of Tadmor, in the nominative case,
when they wrote such words in their own character,
generally preserved the Greek and Latin termina-
tions.

tions. See the eighth, ninth, and tenth of the Palmyrene inscriptions.

3. The proper name מלא, MALA, in the seventh inscription, seems to answer to ΜΑΛΗC, in the seventh of Dr. Bernard's Greek Palmyrene inscriptions; though the terminations of those words are not intirely the same. The proper names, or surnames, שלמה ידא are also in like manner represented by CAAMHC IAΔHC, as has been already observed. As for the name, or surname, SALCALATH, or SALMALATH, it only occurs in the seventh of Mr. Dawkins's Palmyrene inscriptions, which I have here been attempting to explain.

4. Though the dialect, in which the two inscriptions I am considering are written, be apparently the Syriac; yet the word רב, IACVLATOR, in one of them, as has been already remarked, is undoubtedly Hebrew. As for בולה, ΒΟΥΛΗ, דמוס, ΔΗΜΟC, and סנקלטיקא, CYNKAHTIKA, or rather CYNKAHTIKON, they are most evidently Greek. In one of these inscriptions, the word רש, PRINCEPS, VIR PRIMARIVS, appears without either the א or the י, inserted as the middle letter; which sometimes, tho' very rarely, happens. The word שירתא, CATERVA, is applied to the Ishmaelites, as merchants, *Gen.* chap. xxxvii, ver. 25. in the Syriac version; which, with the word ΑΡΧΕΜΠΙΟΝ, exhibited by Mr. Dawkins's thirteenth Greek inscription, agreeing in signification with our רב שירתא, plainly shews, that I have hit upon the true sense of that term here. The surname PHILIVS and the name MARIVS are only visible in the fifth of these Palmyrene inscriptions;

Mr.

Mr. Dawkins's eleventh Greek one presenting nothing of that kind to our view, but ΑΤΡΗΑΙ :: :: and part of the word ΗΛΙΘΔΟΡΟΥ, if that be exactly taken. We may conclude, from the fifth Palmyrene inscription, that the people of Tadmor, if not the Syrians in general, when it was written, called *Parthia* ΒΑΤΡΑ, or ΒΑΤΡΙΑ; which in sound approaches pretty near to the ΒΑΧΤΡΙΑ of the antients. The name תדמור, TADMOR, consisting of five letters, and not of four only, as has hitherto been generally, if not always, supposed, occurs in the same inscription. The two last words of the fourth line of the seventh have either not been so well preserved as the others, or not so accurately taken. They may nevertheless be read either מן כיסה, EX SVO MARSV-PIO, or מן יסה, GRATIS DE RE FAMILIARI; either of which lessons is consonant enough to the tenor of the inscription. The latter, which I have chosen here, seems however to be better supported by the correspondent Greek inscription; as the Syriac מן יסה exactly answers to the adverb ΠΡΟΙΚΑ there. Should the critics allow the words מן יסה, as they now appear upon the face of the inscription, to stand; the Syriac יסה must be of the same import with the Hebrew ישה, PECVNIA, DIVITIÆ, RES FAMILIARIS, &c. though it has for its middle letter *Samech*, instead of *Schin*. Nor indeed is this to be wondered at, as the Syrians sometimes used the former for the latter of those elements. That word, upon the foregoing supposition, suffers here an ellipsis of the particle ב BE; as is evident from Mr. Dawkins's thirteenth Greek inscription, with the fragments of which the seventh Palmyrene one
 extremely

extremely well agrees. Such ellipses as this were anciently not uncommon, according to Noldius (a).

5. From the seventh inscription it appears not improbable, that some eminent Jewish merchants, about the middle of the third century, resided at Tadmor. That inscription therefore may perhaps be allowed to support the authority of Photius; who has not scrupled to assert, that the famous Zenobia herself professed the Jewish religion (b).

6. From the two inscriptions now before us, and the others written in the same character, we may fairly infer, that the use of the Chaldeæ letters (between which and the Palmyrene there is so surprizing an affinity, that they may not improperly be considered as the same) prevailed at Tadmor, and in all the neighbouring parts of Syria, that were at no great distance from the confines of Chaldæa, or Irák, in the first, second, and third centuries after CHRIST. For the oldest of them was drawn out in the month *Elul*, or *September*, and the year of Seleucus 360, nearly coincident with the 49th of CHRIST; the thirteenth of them in the month *Nisan*, or *April*, of the year of Seleucus 447, answering to the year of CHRIST 136; the fifth, that I have been just attempting to explain, in the month *Tisri*, and the year of Seleucus 563, or of CHRIST 252, when Trebonianus Gallus directed the Roman affairs; the seventh, that I have been likewise now endeavour-

(a) Christian. Nold. *Concordant. Particular. Ebræo-Chaldaic.* &c. p. 164, &c. Jenæ, 1734.

(b) Phot. *Cod. σζι*, p. 1469, 1470. Rothomagi, 1653.

ing to decipher, in the year of Seleucus 569, which corresponds with the 258th of the Christian æra; and all the others, that bear any dates, in the same century. Neither the present Syrian letters therefore, nor the Mendæan or Nabathæan characters, seem to have been used by the Syrians bordering upon Irâk, during the three first centuries after CHRIST; nor consequently in any other interval whatsoever preceding the commencement of that period. So that these inscriptions may, with sufficient propriety, be considered in the light of manuscripts, written in the Chaldee or Hebrew character, 1500, 1600, and even 1700 years old.

7. With regard to the numeral characters, exhibited both by the inscriptions at present in view, and the others transmitted down to us in the Palmyrene language, it may not be improper to observe, that the letter *Ajin*, or at least a character similar to it, in the first place, annexed to a sort of mark or sign of an unusual form, sometimes denoting TEN, stands for 500, and in the last place alone for the number FIVE. The Palmyrene *Pe*, which resembles the figure 3, represents the number TWENTY; and unity is expressed by the Pelasgic or Attic character I, which was likewise antiently used by the Romans. Hence it appears, that this kind of notation was undoubtedly very antient in the East; and might possibly have prevailed amongst the Syrians, seated not far from the frontiers of Arabia and Irâk, and even amongst the Arabs and Chaldæans themselves, several centuries before the birth of CHRIST; though from whence the Syrians first received it, or how they came first to

to hit upon it themselves, I have not yet been able to discover.

To the preceding remarks many others might have been added, relating to the history of Tadmor, as well as to the genius, government, customs, religion, language, &c. of the inhabitants of that once most flourishing city. But, as I intend hereafter, when I can find a little relaxation from the business, in which I am at present engaged, if it shall please GOD to grant me health, to publish a dissertation upon the inscriptions transmitted down to us in the Palmyrene character, and to consider every thing material deducible from them in a proper manner; I have here only attempted a bare translation of the major part of them, and laid down a few cursory remarks, which upon my first perusal of them occurred, in order a little to support and illustrate that translation. Besides, a minute discussion of all the abovementioned particulars would have swelled this paper greatly beyond the bounds of a letter; whereas my present intention is, only to submit a few memoirs relating to these celebrated monuments of antiquity to the judgment of our most learned and illustrious Society; that by this means my design may in some measure transpire, and come to the knowledge of at least the most discerning part of the public. I shall offer no apology for the trouble now given you, Sir, as I was informed that a sight of these memoirs would not be unacceptable to you. In the mean time, you will permit me only to add, that I must acknowledge myself obliged to the Reverend and very Learned Mr. Sanford, Fellow of Balliol College, as well as to Mr. Godwyn, for many

valuable hints, from time to time communicated to me; and that I am, with the most perfect esteem,

S I R,

Your most obedient humble servant,

John Swinton.

L E T T E R II.

Reverend Sir, Christ-Church, Oxford, June 27, 1754.

Read July 5, 1754. **T**HE favourable reception, which my last letter met with from the Royal Society, has encouraged me to trouble you with another upon the same subject; and to send you a Latin and English version of Mr. Dawkins's three remaining Palmyrene inscriptions, attended by such short remarks, as were drawn up in order a little to illustrate and explain the former. And this I have been the more readily induced to do, as I have, I think, since discovered more fully the true notation of the Palmyrenes, at least from **UNITY** to a **THOUSAND**, and am thereby enabled to correct one or two slight errors, which had before escaped me. I shall therefore, without any farther preface or introduction, immediately proceed to the point in view, and consider the three inscriptions now before me, in the same manner I did the preceding ones; especially, as I have had the pleasure to find, that the method by me formerly observed did not prove unacceptable to so considerable a part of the learned.

Inscription

Inscription IV.

See Plate xxiv, Number iv.

חלק יולים אורליס זבדלא בר מלכו בר מלכו בר
 נשום די הו אסטרטג לקלניא במיתויתא די
 אלהא אלכסנדרוס קסר ושמש כריא ואתן ר
 קריספינוס היגמונא וסריאן ילפאין לדיניא
 זכר בסגיאלוה וארכ שום וחס נדיאין שגיאין שגיאין
 ודבר עם ראש כנתנת מטל כות סהר לה ירחבעל
 אלהא ואפ יולים די סוא ורמיכ מרתא
 די אקימת לה בולא ודמוס ליקרא שנת רנר

SORS five PORTIO IVLII AVRELII ZABDILÆ FILII
 MALCHI FILII MALCHI FILII NASSVMI QVI IPSE
 DVCTOR EXERCITVS COLONIÆ IN ADVENTV DEI
 ALEXANDRI CÆSARIS ET MINISTER IVXTA SVF-
 FICIENTIAM ET PERENNITATEM (i. e. DIGNVS ET
 PERPETVVS LEGATVS) RVTILII CRISPINI PRÆ-
 FECTI ET CHILIADVM (COPIARVM vel VEXILLA-
 TIONVM) AMANDATARVM (vel DEDVCTARVM) IN
 IVDICEM (i. e. IVDEX five QVÆSTOR) ET DE PECV-
 LIO SVO (feu RE FAMILIARI) iis DONAVIT ET REPO-
 SITO frumento PROSPEXIT ET PLVRIMA TRIBVTA
 CVRAVIT ET PRÆCLARE REM EGIT SECVNDVM
 DONA (five PLENA MANV) PROVTV hæc TESTATVS
 EST EI DEVS IARIBOLVS ET IVLIVS (PHILIPPVS)
 ETIAM (vel PROPTER HÆC A DEO IARIBOLO ET
 IVLIO (PHILIPPO) ITIDEM CONFIRMATA atque
 COMPROBATA) QVI DIGNVS ET EXCELSVS est DO-
 MINVS QVAM EI POSVIT SENATUS POPVLVSQVE
 HONORIS CAUSA ANNO DLIV.

THE LOT, or PORTION, OF IVLIVS AVRELIVS ZABDILA, THE SON OF MALCHVS, THE SON OF MALCHVS, THE SON OF NASSVM, WHO WAS COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE COLONY'S FORCES, WHEN THE GOD ALEXANDER CÆSAR ARRIVED HERE, AND THE WORTHY AND PERPETVAL LIEVTENANT OF RVTILIVS CRISPINVS THE PRÆFECT, AND JVDGE, or QVÆSTOR, OF THE AVXILIARY TROOPS, WHOM HE SVPPORTED AT HIS OWN EXPENCE, AND WAS THEIR PVRVEYOR, AND RECEIVED THE TRIBVTE, AND PRESIDED WITH GREAT PRVDENCE AND GENEROSITY; FOR THESE SERVICES, AS ATTESTED BY THE GOD IARIBOLVS AND THE EXCELLENT LORD IVLIVS (PHILIPPVS), THE SENATÈ AND PÈOPLE HAVE ERECTED THIS TO HIS HONOVR, IN THE YEAR DLIV.

February 16th, 1754.

Inscription VI.

See Plate xxiv, Number vi.

בולא ודמוס ליולים אורלים
 בר ארית מדא סלוקוס בר
 ושאי לאדי שמש ושפר
 להון באסטרטגא דו מגר לבולא
 נדבו ליקרא בירח תשרי שנת קסו

SENATVS POPVLVSQVE IVLIO AVRELIO FILIO
 ODÆNATHI MADDÆ (vel MATTHÆ) SELEVCO FI-
 LIO ::::: ET SEEILADIO IIS SERVIENTI feu MI-
 NISTRANTI et BENE SE GERENTI NEC NON DVC-
 TORI EXERCITVS IPSI A SENATV ::::: HONE-
 STATO (vel CVM IPSO EXIMIO EXERCITVS DVC-
 TORE SENATVS POPVLIQVE PALMYRENI) SPONTE
 DONAVIT (i. e. DECREVIT) HONORIS CAUSA
 MENSE TISRI ANNI DLXVI.

THE

THE SENATE AND PEOPLE HAVE VOLVNTARILY GIVEN, or DECREED, these TO IVLIVS AVRELIVS, THE SON OF ODÆNATHVS; MADDA, or MATTHA, SELEVCVS, THE SON OF :::::; AND SEEILADIVS, WHO SERVED THEM WELL; AS ALSO TO THE GENERAL, HONOVRD BY THE SENATE ::::: (or TOGETHER WITH THE RENOWNED GENERAL OF THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF TADMOR) IN ORDER TO DO THEM HONOVR, IN THE MONTH TISRI OF THE YEAR DLXVI.

February 21st, 1754.

Inscription III.

See Plate xxiv, Number III.

· ירח אלול שנת שס ·
 · אנה מנא רנה ועלתא די ·
 · ברו ומרכול שמש חביד ·
 בנו מלכו בר יריעבל בר נשא
 סימת מרא כר עברבל די מ :::::
 פחד בני מנר חל שמש ::::::
 יסרבית אבוה נעל ::::::
 דוידון וחוי אחיה
 ובנירון

MENSE ELVL ANNI CCCLX DONVM HOC ATQVE
 ARA :::: BADI AMRISAMSÆ ET ZEBIDÆ FI-
 LIORVM MALCHI FILII IARIBOLIS FILII NASÆ RE-
 POSITA five DONARIA MADDÆ seu MATTHÆ FI-
 LII ABDEBALIS QVOD CVM ÆEDIFICIVM COLLAP-
 SVRVVM TIMERET SERVVS EIVS ASCENDENS PA-
 TREM SVVM SERA vel PESSVLO CLAVSVM ABSTV-
 LIT ET PROPTER SALVTEM EORVM ET SALV-
 TEM FRATRIS EIVS ET LIBERORVM SVORVM.

IN

IN THE MONTH ELVL OF THE YEAR CCCLX, THIS GIFT AND ALTAR WERE PLACED here BY :::: BADVS, AMRIO'L SHEMS, AND ZEBIDA, THE SONS OF MALCHVS, THE SON OF IARIBOL, THE SON OF NASA: RICH PRESENTS, or OFFERINGS, were likewise placed on or near the Altar BY MADDA, or MATTHA, THE SON OF ABDEBAL, BECAUSE THAT, WHEN HE WAS AFRAID OF A HOVSE FALLING, A SERVANT OF HIS WENT * VP, AND CARRIED OFF HIS FATHER, WHO WAS LOCKED, or BOLTED, IN; AND FOR THEIR SAFETY, HEALTH, or PRESERVATION, AS WELL AS FOR THE SAFETY, HEALTH, or PRESERVATION, OF HIS BROTHER, AND THEIR CHILDREN.

February 25th, 1754.

Remarks on these Inscriptions.

1. It may be proper to observe here, that I have adhered as closely to the original Palmyrene, in my Latin version of these three last inscriptions, which are much more abstruse than the others, as the genius of the Latin language would permit; though I have taken greater liberties in the English translation, in order to render them more intelligible to the generality of our English readers.

2. The fourth inscription has been in the main extremely well preserved, and discovers more of the true turn and genius of the Palmyrene dialect, than any of the others. Of this **במיתותה**, IN ADVENTV, though it varies from the pure Syriac form; **כדיה ואתן**, IVXTA SVFFICIENTIAM ET PERENNITATEM, an idiom that sufficiently points out to us the nature of the language spoken

* See Dr. Shaw's *Travels*, p. 276.

by the Palmyrenes; **לפאין**, CHILIADES, for so it ought to be read, a word that seems peculiar to that language, though apparently of Hebrew or Syriac extraction; **בסניאלוה**, DE PECVLIO; **נרמין שנימין שנימין**, TRIBVTA MVLTA MVLTA, i. e. TRIBVTA PLVRIMA; **כנתנת**, SECVNDVM DONA, i. e. PLENA MANV; **מורמא**, DOMINVS; to omit other instances that might be produced, are indubitable proofs. The words IVLIVS, AVRELIVS, COLONIA, CÆSAR, CRISPINVS, HΓEMONA, ΔHMOC, BOYAH, and AΛEΞANΔPOC discover at first sight the sources from whence they are to be deduced. The last of those words has been a little injured by time, several of the forms of its letters being considerably altered. The third and fourth elements of the fifth line of this inscription, as well as the second, third, twenty-second, and twenty-eighth (*Thau* and *Nun* in the Palmyrene alphabet being extremely similar) of the fourth, have likewise met with the same fate; to all which I have endeavoured to restore their primitive powers and forms. In fine, this inscription may be considered as a tolerable good specimen of the language or dialect of the Palmyrenes (*a*).

3. The words **בר מלכו בר מלכו**, BAR MALCHV BAR MALCHV, in the beginning of this inscription, evidently confirm the ingenious conjecture of the learned Mr. William Baxter, mentioned by Dr. Halley; according to which, ΔΙΣΜΑΛΧΟΥ, in the correspondent Greek inscription,

(*a*) Vid. Schind. *Lex. Pentaglot.* & Castel. *Lex. Heptaglot.* pafs.

was inserted there instead of ΜΑΛΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΛΧΟΥ. They at the same time most clearly evince, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by Dr. Bernard and Dr. Smith, that the word ΔΙΣΜΑΛΧΟΥ is not of oriental extraction.

4. The surname PHILIPPVS, which ought to have followed IVLIVS, in the seventh line of this inscription, does not appear; though a chasm, or vacant space, capable of containing a word of that size, presents itself there to our view. This, in conjunction with the parallel chasm, exhibited by the Greek inscription, expressing much of the sense of the Palmyrene one I am considering, amounts, in my opinion, to an almost irrefragable proof, that this surname, as our great Dr. Halley formerly supposed, was, after *Philip's* treason to the emperor Gordian came to light, purposely effaced.

5. The last letter but one of the sixth line of our Palmyrene inscription seems to resemble *Daleth* or *Resch*, whereas it was undoubtedly designed at first for *Ajin*; so that the name to which it belongs ought to be written in Hebrew or Chaldee letters ירהבעל, IAREHBAAL, IARIHBAL, or IARIBOL, i. e. DOMINVS LVNVS. From whence we may certainly infer, as Dr. Halley has observed, that this deity was the DEVS LVNVS worshiped by the antient Syrians. I have therefore taken the liberty to restore the true reading here, by converting the *Daleth* or *Resch* into *Ajin*; as also to insert the word בר, BAR, FILIVS, notwithstanding it has probably for many ages disappeared, as the last in the first line of the inscription.

6. The numeral characters preserved at the end of this inscription merit the particular attention of the

the learned. From them, in conjunction with the numeral letters still visible in the Greek one answering to it, we may certainly conclude, that the unusual mark, formerly mentioned, alone properly denotes TEN, and with unity prefixed an HUNDRED. This observation will enable me to correct one or two small errors, in the dates before assigned the second and tenth Palmyrene inscriptions. The former was drawn in the year of Seleucus 533, not 523, as I then imagined; and the latter in 574, not 564, as I ventured to assert. In fine, by the sole assistance of these characters, and those of the sixth and seventh Palmyrene inscriptions, as explained by the correspondent Greek numeral letters, I have constructed the following table of numbers, from UNITY to a THOUSAND, according to the true and genuine notation of the Palmyrenes.

PALMYRENE Numerals from One to a Thousand. pag. 721.

CLX	333	⌒ C	⌒	XXXI	1	⌒3	XVI	1	⌒	I	1		
CLXX	⌒333	⌒ CI	1	⌒	XXXII	11	⌒3	XVII	11	⌒	II		
CLXXX	3333	⌒ CII	11	⌒	XXXIII	111	⌒3	XVIII	111	⌒	III		
CXC	⌒3333	⌒ CIII	111	⌒	XXXIV	1111	⌒3	XIX	1111	⌒	IV		
CC	⌒11	⌒ CIV	1111	⌒	XXXV	γ	⌒3	XX	3	⌒	V		
CCC	⌒111	⌒ CV	γ	⌒	XXXVI	1	⌒γ	⌒3	XXI	13	⌒	VI	
CCCC	⌒1111	⌒ CVI	1	⌒γ	⌒3	XXXVII	11	⌒γ	⌒3	XXII	113	⌒	VII
D	⌒γ	⌒ CVII	11	⌒γ	⌒3	XXXVIII	111	⌒γ	⌒3	XXIII	1113	⌒	VIII
DC	⌒γ	⌒ CVIII	111	⌒γ	⌒3	XXXIX	1111	⌒γ	⌒3	XXIV	1113	⌒	IX
DCC	⌒11γ	⌒ CIX	1111	⌒γ	⌒3	XL	33	XXV	γ3	⌒	X		
DCCC	⌒111γ	⌒ CX	1	⌒γ	⌒3	L	⌒33	XXVI	1	⌒γ3	⌒	XI	
DCCCC	⌒1111γ	⌒ CXX	3	⌒γ	⌒3	IX	333	XXVII	11	⌒γ3	⌒	XII	
M	⌒1	⌒ CXXX	3	⌒γ	⌒3	LXX	⌒333	XXVIII	111	⌒γ3	⌒	XIII	
		⌒ CXL	33	⌒γ	⌒3	LXXX	3333	XXIX	1111	⌒γ3	⌒	XIV	
		⌒ CL	⌒33	⌒γ	⌒3	XC	⌒3333	XXX	⌒3	⌒	XV		

Hence it appears, that the ancient Palmyrenes, in this part of their notation, used only four numeral characters; two of which were letters of their alphabet, or at least a sort of marks endued with similar forms. So that this kind of notation might have prevailed amongst them several centuries before the commencement of the Christian era. For we learn from (a) Diodorus Siculus, that the Arabs of Petra, or Al Hejr, on the confines of the deserts of Syria, and at no very great distance from the borders of Irák, used the very same letters with those of the neighbouring Syrians, and therefore probably of the people of Tadmor, 314 years before the birth of CHRIST. This gives us some reason to believe, considering the situation of the aforesaid Arabs, that these letters could not have been very different from those, which three or four centuries afterwards formed the alphabet of the Palmyrenes.

7. It ought to be observed, that the fourth inscription is dated in the year of Seleucus 554, nearly coincident with the year of CHRIST 243, towards the close of Gordian's reign; and consequently before Philip's elevation to the imperial throne. This may be fairly collected from the ninth of Mr. Dawkins's Greek inscriptions, as well as from that drawn in the language of the Palmyrenes, which I have here been endeavouring to explain. From hence likewise it seems plainly enough to appear, that the emperor Alexander Severus himself was at Tadmor in the

(a) Diod. Sic. *Bibliothec. Historic.* Lib. xix. p. 723. Edit. Rhodoman. Hanoviz, 1604.

year of our LORD 233; when he marched against Artaxerxes, king of Persia, overthrew him with great slaughter, and forced him, after he had raised the siege of Nisibis, to retire with shame into his own dominions.

8. I have taken the liberty to convert the sixth letter in the second line of the sixth inscription, which seems to resemble *Mem* or *Koph*, into *Nun*; as ADINATH, or ODÆNATHVS, was the proper name of several great personages at Tadmor; whereas we have little reason to think, that such a proper name as ADIMATH, ADICATH, ARIMATH, or ARICATH, was ever known amongst the Palmyrenes.

9. The word MADA, or MADDA, seems to be the same proper name with MAΘΘΑ, or MATTHA, that occurs in the fifth of Dr. Bernard's Greek inscriptions.

10. That the three words following ACTPATHΓA, in the fourth line of this inscription (however disfigured or defaced by time, or inaccurately taken) were originally what I have made them, is rendered probable by the mutilated words MAPTYPHΘEN... TEIMHCAMEN..., and BOYAH..., exhibited, as well as the proper names CEΛETKON and CEBIAA-ΔY :: ::, by the correspondent Greek inscription.

11. With regard to the words שמש ושפר, which likewise present themselves to our view in the sixth inscription, they cannot well admit of any other sense, than that which I have assigned them. However, as they can receive no manner of illustration from the fragments of the correspondent Greek one, I only offer this, as what appears to me at present the most probable; especially, as the inscription I am consider-

ing seems to have suffered more from the injuries of time, than most of the others, which I have here been endeavouring to explain.

12. The date of this inscription falls in with the year of Seleucus 566, which nearly coincides with the 255th of CHRIST, about two years after Valerian was fixed upon the imperial throne.

13. With regard to the third inscription, I shall first beg leave to remark, that in the age, in which it was written, the Palmyrenes seem to have been extremely fond of the letter *Vau*. This may be clearly evinced from the words **והיון** and **והוי**, written two hundred years afterwards **והיון** and **והיי**, or **והיא**, which appear towards the close of the inscription. Nor will this be any matter of surprize, when it is considered, that the Jews, whose language was then the Syriac, sometimes used the epenthetic *Vau*, or a letter equivalent to it, a little before the year in which our inscription was drawn; as we may infer from the words ELOI, ELOI, instead of the Hebrew ELI, ELI, spoken by our Saviour upon the cross, just before he expired. That the mutilated letter beginning the eighth line of this inscription was originally an *Aleph*, and that the word to which it belongs is to be deduced from the root **סבת**, or **שבת**, notwithstanding the epenthetic **ה**, from whence, in the conjugation *Aphel*, is formed **אסבית**, or **אסהבית**, if the natural and genuine sense of the passage be duly attended to, cannot, I think, be well denied (*a*).

(*a*) Pafor. *Lexic.* p. 652. Ed. Schoettgen. Lipsiæ, 1717. Schind. ubi sup. p. 54. Buxtorf. *Gram. Chald. et Syr.* p. 36. Basileæ, 1615.

14. The first word of the second line here, which has been injured by time, was not improbably צִאֲנָה, or צִנָּה, INFIXVM, ERECTVM, or COLLOCATVM EST; WAS FIXED, ERECTED, or PLACED; as the sense of this part of the inscription requires either that term, or one of a similar signification. The chasm at the end of the seventh line I shall not take upon me to fill up; tho' several words might be offered for this purpose, which would connect those that precede and follow them, with very great propriety. That the stone containing the inscription belonged formerly to an altar, is abundantly manifest from the word וְעִלְתָּה, ET ARA or ALTARE, towards the close of the second line. Nor are we to be surprized, that several persons are mentioned here, as concerned in the erection of it; since a similar instance, if not one exactly parallel, presents itself to our view, in the second of Dr. Bernard's Greek Palmyrene inscriptions. The first proper name, being imperfect, cannot so easily be made out; but the second I take to be OMRIBOL SHEMS, or OMRIB OL SHEMS; which a pure and genuine Arab would have wrote AMRĪO'L SHEMS, or AMRI AL SHEMS, and a Greek AMPICAMCOY. For, that this was one of the Palmyrene proper names, we learn from the fourth of Dr. Bernard's Greek Palmyrene inscriptions; which exhibits it connected with IARIBOL, or IARIBOLIS, almost in the same manner as the monument at present under consideration. And this circumstance ought to be looked upon as an additional argument, in favour of what is here advanced. The next word ZEBID, or ZEBIDA, is likewise undoubtedly a Palmyrene proper name; as
 most

most evidently appears from the thirteenth of the aforesaid inscriptions. The following term **𐤁𐤍**, **BE-NV**, or **BANV** (agreeing with the *Arabic*) **FILIORVM**, relates to all the persons before-mentioned. **MALCHVS**, **IARIBOL**, or **IARIBOLIS**, **NASA**, and **MATTHA**, are proper names of men, that occur in other Palmyrene inscriptions. That the word **ABDEBAL**, i. e. **THE SERVANT OF BAL**, or **BAAL**, applied to **MATTHA**'s father here as his proper name, favours very strongly of the East, particularly of Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia, where such proper names as these were frequently assumed, is too clear and obvious a point to stand in need of any proof.

15. From the date prefixed to this inscription we may conclude, that it is older than any of the others, handed down to us in the Palmyrene language and character, which have been hitherto published. For it is dated in the year of Seleucus 360, and consequently was preceded by the commencement of the Christian æra only 49 years, when the emperor Claudius presided over the Roman world.

16. From the last observation we may collect, that one at least of the inscriptions, in the long portico, still preserved amongst the ruins of Tadmor, is prior to the reign of the emperor Hadrian; though our celebrated Dr. Halley, who had not seen this, which I have now attempted to explain, took for granted, that all of them were posterior to the commencement of that reign.

17. It has been thought proper here to add to the plate of Mr. Dawkins's inscriptions, in the Palmyrene language and character, the two other plates, containing the Greek ones, with which he has favoured the public.

public. For, tho' few of the latter directly correspond with the former; yet, by the affinity between several of the proper names, and the manner of expression, wherein they apparently agree, to omit other circumstances that occur, they greatly contribute to explain and illustrate one another.

Several other remarks on these noble remains of antiquity might here have been offered, and expatiated upon; which, for the reasons already assigned, I must beg leave at present to supersede. In the mean time, you will please to accept of my most grateful acknowledgments for the favour done me, and believe me to be, with all due sentiments of respect,

S I R,

Your most obliged,

and most obedient servant,

J. Swinton.

L E T T E R III.

Reverend Sir, Christ-Church, Oxford, Sept. 2, 1754.

Read Nov. 7, 1754. **A**S the Royal Society have done me the honour to approve of my attempts to explain Mr. Dawkins's Palmyrene inscriptions, handed down to us in the antient Chaldee, or Syriac, character; I have been thereby encouraged, before I conclude what I have to offer on that subject, to submit to their superior judgment the following additional observations.

I. Though my numeral table, from UNITY to a THOUSAND, may be intirely depended upon; yet I cannot, with the same certainty, extend this to the higher numbers.

numbers. However, as the Palmyrenes had no particular numeral character for an HUNDRED, as had the (1) Greeks and the Romans; from thence I conclude it probable, that they by no means expressed a THOUSAND by any such character. If this be admitted, the following table of higher numbers may likewise be considered by the learned, as consonant to the true and genuine notation of the Palmyrenes.

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PALMYRENE Numerals from a Thousand to a Thousand Millions.

1000	M	ⲙⲃⲉ .110.....ⲙⲃⲉ
2000	MM	ⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉ .1100...ⲙⲃⲉ
3000	MMM	ⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉ
4000	MMMM	ⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉ .4005..ⲙⲃⲉ
5000	ⲕⲟⲕ	ⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉ
6000	ⲕⲟⲕⲙ	ⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉ .6020..3ⲙⲃⲉ
7000	ⲕⲟⲕⲙⲙ	ⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉ
8000	ⲕⲟⲕⲙⲙⲙ	ⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉ .8500..ⲙⲃⲉ
9000	ⲕⲟⲕⲙⲙⲙⲙ	ⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉ
10000	ⲕⲟⲕⲟⲕ	ⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉ .1010...ⲙⲃⲉ
100000	ⲕⲟⲕⲟⲕⲟⲕ	ⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉ
1000000	ⲕⲟⲕⲟⲕⲟⲕⲟⲕ	ⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉ
10000000	ⲕⲟⲕⲟⲕⲟⲕⲟⲕⲟⲕ	ⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉ
100000000	ⲕⲟⲕⲟⲕⲟⲕⲟⲕⲟⲕⲟⲕ	ⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉⲙⲃⲉ

(1) Herodian. ab Hen. Stephan. & Joh. Scapul. ad *Lexic. Græc. calcem* edit. Sertor. Urfat. *De not. Romanor.* Johannis Wall. *Oper. mathematic.* Vol. prim. c. viii. p. 43-46. Oxon. 1695.

This

This series, or manner of numeral expression, if agreeable to the learned, may with the same facility be continued *ad infinitum*.

2. The Palmyrene names of five of the twelve months occur in our inscriptions. These are *Pellul*, *Tebeth*, *Nisan*, *Ehul*, and *Tijri*. To which we may add from a Palmyrene inscription, published by (2) M. Spon, and others, that of a sixth, *viz.* *Shebat*, or *Shabat*, which has been applied to one of the Syrian Months by some of the most celebrated (3) chronologers. These names point out to us six months answering, in some respects at least, if not intirely, to the Syro-Macedonian months, *Apellæus*, *Aydynæus*, *Xanthicus*, *Gorpiciæus*, *Hyperberetæus*, and *Peritius*; as most evidently appears from what has been observed by the (4) learned Dr. Fabricius, and the correspondent Greek inscriptions. But notwithstanding the agreement here mentioned, that they did not however exactly coincide with the Syro-Macedonian months, we may perhaps be allowed to infer from the (5) first of Mr. Dawkins's Palmyrene inscriptions; which seems to intimate, that the fourth day of *Tebeth* was the twenty-fourth of *Aydynæus*, and consequently that the former began the twenty-first day of the latter month. And that this Palmyrene inscription has

(2) Jacob. Spon. *Miscellan. Erudit. Antiquitat.* p. 1. Lugduni, 1685. Joan. Polen. *Utriusq. Thesaur. Ant. Rom. & Græc. Nov. Supplement.* Vol. IV. p. 407, 650. Venetiis, 1737. Montfauc. *L'Antiquité Expliquée*, Tom. II. par. ii. p. 391. A Paris, 1719.

(3) Scalig. *De Emendat. Tempor.* p. 95, 350. Guliel. Bevereg. *Institut. Chronologic.* p. 71. Lond. 1716. Jo. Albert. Fabric. *Menolog.* p. 20. Hamburgi, 1712.

(4) Jo. Albert. Fabric. *ubi sup.* p. 20, 44.

(5) Dawk. *Marmor. Palmyren.* Inscript. Palmyren. I, 8.

been rightly taken in the part under consideration, may appear probable from hence, that the word **כמים**, or **כמין**, in the plural number, seems to be naturally connected with the numeral FOUR, and occurs (6) actually connected with that numeral in the Old Testament. Unless it should be said, that what now appears upon the face of the inscription as the last letter *Nun* was originally, though altered by time, the Palmyrene numeral character expressing TWENTY; to which indeed at present it is not much unlike. Which if we admit, the word **ים**, in the singular number, must be allowed to have a connection here with the numeral TWENTY-FOUR. Nor are similar instances of such a connection difficult to be found. Nay, the very expression **ביום עשרים וארבעה**. DIE VICESIMO QUARTO, ON THE TWENTY-FOURTH DAY, presents itself to our view HAG. i. 15. From whence some persons will be apt to conclude, that nothing can be more just than the emendation here proposed. It may not be improper to observe, that the Palmyrene inscription published by Gruter and M. Spon, has (7) been preserved on a marble, that formerly remained in the gardens belonging to Cardinal Carpegna, and afterwards in those of the Princes Justiniani, near St. John Lateran, at Rome. I shall take the liberty to insert here the Syrian, or Syro-Chaldæan, and Syro-Macedonian names of the aforesaid months, in order the more clearly to point out the difference between them and those of the Palmyrenes.

(6) JUD. xi. 40.

(7) Montfauc. *L'Antiquité Expliquée*, Tom. II. par. ii. p. 391.
A Paris, 1719.

Syro-Chaldæan names.	Syro-Macedonian names.	Palmyrene names.
<i>Canun prior.</i>	<i>Apellæus.</i>	<i>Pellul.</i>
<i>Canun posterior.</i>	<i>Aydynæus.</i>	<i>Tebeth.</i>
<i>Shebat.</i>	<i>Peritius.</i>	<i>Shebat.</i>
<i>Nifan.</i>	<i>Xanthicus.</i>	<i>Nifan.</i>
<i>Eilul.</i>	<i>Gorpiceus.</i>	<i>Elul.</i>
<i>Tifri.</i>	<i>Hyperberetæus.</i>	<i>Tifri.</i>

By the names *Tebeth* and *Elul* it should seem, that the proper Syrians did not approach so near the Jews, in the appellations of their months, as did the Palmyrenes.

3. In order to set in a clearer light what has been here observed of the last-mentioned inscription, I have been persuaded by the Reverend and very Learned Mr. Sanford, Fellow of Balliol College, to attempt an explication of it; which I now beg leave to submit to the judgment of our most illustrious Society. Nor shall I be greatly censured, as the forms of the letters, of which it is composed, have undoubtedly been altered by time; and as none of the copies of it, that I have seen, have been exactly taken; if this in all points should not be strictly conformable to truth. All of those letters, as exhibited by the copies now before me, are not easily reducible to the correspondent elements in Mr. Dawkins's Palmyrene alphabet, by the assistance of which I have endeavoured to decipher this inscription. However, as no small assistance has likewise been afforded me by the Greek one answering to it, and the numeral characters at the end of it, as well as by the second, third, and thirteenth, of Mr.

Dawkins's Palmyrene inscriptions, on which my conjectures have already been offered; I hope the following interpretation of it (which yet I would have only considered as an imperfect essay) will not prove unacceptable to the learned.

The Palmyrene Inscription published by Gruter and M. Spon.

See Plate xxx, Number 1.

לעגלכול ומלכבל ובמיתא די כספא ותצביתה עבר
 מן כיסה ירחי בר הליכי בר
 ירחי ברל שמש שער ועל חיוהי והיא בנוהי
 בירח שבט שנת כמז

AGLIBOLO ET MALACHBELO ET MONVMENTVM ELEVATVM (five SIGNVM) ARGENTI ET ORNATVM EIVS PARAVIT EX MARSVPIO SVO IARHÆVS (vel IARÆVS) FILIVS HALIBÆI (vel CHALIBÆI) FILII IARHÆI (vel IARÆI) PROPTER OFFICIVM (five RELIGIONEM) TIMORIS (i. e. EX VOTO A IARÆO IN ALIQVO PERICVLO CONSTITVTO ET TIMORE PERTERRITO FACTO) ET OB SALVTEM SVAM ET SALVTEM LIBERORVM (vel FAMILIÆ) EIVS MENSE SHEBAT ANNI DXLVII.

IARÆVS THE SON OF HALIBÆVS, or CHALIBÆVS, THE SON OF IARÆVS, DEDICATED THIS ELEVATED MONVMENT OF SILVER, AND ITS ORNAMENTS, PREPARED AT HIS OWN EXPENCE, TO AGLIBOLVS AND MALACHBELVS, IN CONSEQUENCE OF A VOW HE HAD MADE, WHEN IN GREAT FEAR AND DANGER, AND FOR THE SAFETY, HEALTH,

HEALTH, or PRESERVATION, OF HIMSELF AND HIS FAMILY, IN THE MONTH SHEBAT OF THE YEAR DXLVII.

4. That the letter \aleph , (8) in Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, and Phœnician words, sometimes answered to the elements CH, or KH, sometimes to H, and at other times was quiescent, or endued with no power at all, we may fairly infer from several instances produced on this head by the famous M. Bochart. From whence I shall not scruple to conclude, that the Palmyrene proper names of men in this inscription may be written in Latin either IARHÆVS, HALIBÆVS, and IARHÆVS; or IARÆVS, CHALIBÆVS, and IARÆVS: which if we admit, the first and last of them are the very same with one of those, that occur in the (9) seventh of Dr. Bernard's Greek Palmyrene inscriptions; and the other one very well known in the neighbourhood of Tadmor. The last point is clearly evinced by the word CHALEB, CHALIB, CHALIBON, or CHALYBON, the name of a city at no great distance from Tadmor, which has been mentioned by the (10) prophet EZEKIEL, Ptolemy, and Strabo.

5. That the language of this inscription is the same, with that of the others copied by Mr. Dawkins, and consequently little different from the pure Syriac,

(8) Boch. *Phal. Lib. III. c. xiv. p. 220. Chan. Lib. I. c. xxii. p. 502. c. xliv. p. 765. & alib. pass.*

(9) Edward. Bernard. *Monument. Palmyren. Inscript. vii. p. 4. Rotterædami, 1716.*

(10) EZEK. xxvii. 18. Ptol. *Geogr. Lib. v. c. 15. Strab. Geogr. Lib. xv.*

will at first sight appear to every one, who has been in the least conversant with that dialect. However, that it contains one or two slight variations from the pure Syriac, cannot well be denied; since the words **ברל שמש**, for **בריל שמש**, if rightly taken in Father Montfaucon's copy, which I have followed here, may not improperly be considered in the light of such variations.

6. It appears from the matter of the inscription now before us, that IARÆVS dedicated the monument therein mentioned to AGLIBOLVS and MALACHBELVS, the two most celebrated Palmyrene deities, in order to perform a vow he had made, when in great fear, and apprehensive of some imminent danger; as likewise in order to avert both from himself, and his family, all future evils and dangers. The Palmyrene words therefore preserved on the stone, that exhibits them, confirm what has been suggested by (11) M. Spon (which is not clearly deducible from the Greek words answering to them) in relation to the end, or design, of IARÆVS's dedication of the monument pointed out to us by this inscription.

7. With regard to Mr. Dawkins's Palmyrene inscriptions, that indicate altars, or other votive monuments, to have been erected either on account of deliverances from some impending dangers, in consequence of vows formerly made; or for the preservation of the persons therein mentioned from future evils; nothing uncommon or extraordinary appears in them. Such inscriptions as these were not only

(11) Jacob. Spon. ubi sup. p. 2.

sometimes drawn out by the Palmyrenes, as is abundantly evident from the third of (12) Dr. Bernard's Greek Palmyrene inscriptions, as well as that I am here considering, and another published by (13) M. Spon; but likewise extremely common both amongst the Greeks and Romans. In support of which assertion a multitude of instances might be produced, did it stand in the least need of them. But, as this is not the case, it will be sufficient to refer the curious, for their farther satisfaction in this particular, (14) to the authors cited here.

8. As for the honorary inscriptions, such as are exhibited by some of the Palmyrene marbles, inspected by Mr. Dawkins, they were still, if possible, more common than the others, both amongst the Greeks, the Romans, and the Palmyrenes. So common indeed, that whole volumes might be collected of them. Nay, many might judge too prolix a bare enumeration of even the names of all those writers; though I shall take the liberty to mention (15) some of them here, who have published and attempted to explain them.

(12) Edw. Bernard. *Monument. Palmyren.* Inscript. III. p. 2.

(13) Jac. Spon. ubi sup. p. 3.

(14) Gruter. & Reines. pass. Baudelot. *De Util. Peregrin. in Diis Larib.* Spon. ubi sup. p. 4. Prid. *Marm. Oxoniens.* p. 282, 287. Oxon. 1676. Raph. Fabret. pass. Joan. Oliv. Rhodigin. in *Marm. Jfac. Exercitat.* C. iv. p. 23—33. & C. x. p. 70—82. Romæ, 1719. Lud. Ant. Murator. in *Nov. Thesaur. Vet. Inscript.* Mediolani, 1739, 1740, 1742. *Marmor. Taurinens.* Auguftæ Taurinorum, 1743, 1747.

(15) Gruter. Reines. Prid. Raph. Fabret. Edw. Bernard. *Monument. Palmyren.* Seller's *Append. to the Antiquit. of Palmyr.* Lud. Ant. Murator. ubi sup. *Marmor. Taurinens.* &c.

g. Three Palmyrene names of Syrian deities occur in Mr. Dawkins's inscriptions, and that I am at present endeavouring to decipher; viz. IARIBOLVS, AGLIBOLVS, and MALACHBELVS of which the first points out to us the Moon, and the other two, according to some very learned writers, the Sun. That the first name was antiently applied by the Syrians and Palmyrenes to the *Deus Lunus*, or the Moon, is allowed on all hands; and has (17) been so clearly demonstrated, that it does not stand in need of any farther proof. And that AGLIBOLVS, or AGLIBOL, was in early times one of the Syrian names of the Sun, who was dignified by his adorers with the title of MALAC, or MALEC, KING, is, I conceive, plain from hence, that the word (18) AGLIBAL, or AGLIBOL, apparently signifies THE ROVND LORD; which appellation could not so properly and emphatically have been applied to any other pagan divinity, as the sun. The people of Tadmor wrote the last word in the composition of this name בעל, *Baal*, בל. *Bal*, or *Bel*, and בול, *Bol*, *Bul*, or *Pul*; as may be inferred from some of Mr. Dawkins's Palmyrene (19) inscriptions, in conjunction with that I am now considering,

(16) Jan. Gruter. *Corp. Inscript. ex Recens. et Annotat.* Joan. Georg. Græv. p. lxxxvi. Amstelædami, 1707. Joan. Selden. *De Diis Syr.* p. 226. Lipsiæ, 1668. Bochart. *Chan.* Lib. II. c. viii. p. 811. Francofurti ad Mœnum, 1681.

(17) Edw. Bernard. *Schol. ad Monument. Palmyren.* p. 21. Tho. Smith. *Annotat. in Monument. Palmyren.* p. 53. Rotterædami, 1716. Cl. Halleius in *Act. Philosoph. Anglican.* Vol. xix. n. 218. p. 171.

(18) Bochart. ubi sup.

(19) Dawk. *Marm. Palmyren.* Inscript. Palmyren. iv, 9. l. 6. Inscript. Palmyren. iii. l. 5.

which

which has been published both by Gruter and M. Spon. I have taken no notice of the name IVPITER BELVS, though it occurs in the seventh of Dr. Bernard's Greek Palmyrene inscriptions; because that name, however the deity, to whom it appertained, might have been revered by them, did not properly belong to the Palmyrenes.

10. It has been remarked by (20) Mr. Seller, and may be collected from some of the (21) Palmyrene inscriptions themselves, that several of the most eminent citizens of Tadmor had both Syriac and Roman names. To which I would beg leave to add, that some of their assumed surnames seem to be deducible from the Greek language also; the words PHILINVS, SELEVCVS, &c. that occur in the fifth, sixth, &c. of Mr. Dawkins's Palmyrene inscriptions, being apparently such surnames. And this is farther confirmed by the Palmyrene words now before me, and the correspondent Greek inscription; in the former of which the Palmyrene, whose memory has been perpetuated by the monument I am at present considering, is called IARHÆVS, or IARÆVS, and in the latter, T. AVRELIVS HELIODORVS. But, for a more particular account of the different appellations of the Palmyrenes, I must refer the curious to the writer (22) last mentioned here.

(20) Seller's *Append. c. ii. p. 187, 188, 189, 190, &c. Lond. 1705.*

(21) Dawk. *Marm. Palmyren. Inscript. Palmyren. iv, 9. viii, 16. ix, 17. x, 19. &c.*

(22) Seller's *Crit. Observat. &c.*

11. It will at first sight be allowed, that the forms of several of the letters, exhibited by the inscription I am attempting to illustrate, are considerably different from those of the letters preserved by Mr. Dawkins's Palmyrene inscriptions; tho' the forms of every particular element repeated in the first of these monuments, at least if we may depend upon F. Montfaucons's copy, nearly resemble one another. From whence I would infer, that the letters of M. Spon's inscription were drawn at Rome, either by a person not sufficiently acquainted with the true forms of the Palmyrene letters; or by a native of some part of Syria, where an alphabet was used not exactly the same with that of the Palmyrenes. The latter of which suppositions seems to me at present the more probable. I shall therefore, in consequence of this opinion, take for granted, at least till I can meet with a more accurate copy of the Roman Palmyrene inscription, that the alphabet, to which its elements belonged, was something different from that of the Palmyrenes; though I should not be surprized, if hereafter, upon an inspection of that inscription, those two alphabets should appear to be intirely the same. Nor will this seem altogether improbable, if it be considered, that (23) one of Mr. Dawkins's Palmyrene inscriptions is only three years earlier, and (24) another of them not above seven years later, than the monument I have now in view. What is here advanced will perhaps be thought not so remote from

(23) Dawk. *Marm. Palmyren.* Inscript. Palmyren. i, 8.

(24) Dawk. *Marm. Palmyren.* Inscript. Palmyren. iv, 9.

truth, if we admit, what has been suggested by two (25) very great men; *viz.* that this marble was brought to Rome from Tadmor by the emperor Aurelian himself, after he had pillaged the latter of those cities, and treated its inhabitants with uncommon cruelty, according to one of his own letters, still extant in (26) Vopiscus. Which notion if we think fit to adopt, we must likewise allow, that the two deities exhibited by this stone were BAAL, BELVS, or IVPITER, and the SVN; those having been the deities, according to the authors who have espoused this notion, as well as (27) Zofimus, and not Herodian, as Dr. Hyde (28) asserts, whose images were carried from Tadmor to Rome by that emperor.

After what has been observed on this head, I shall perhaps be excused, if I lay before the Society the following alphabet, deduced from the Roman Palmyrene inscription published by Gruter and M. Spon.

(25) Selden. ubi sup. Tho. Hyd. *Hist. Rel. Vet. Perf.* p. 116, 117. Oxon. 1700.

(26) Flav. Vopisc. in *Aurelian.*

(27) Zofim. Lib. i.

(28) Hyd. ubi sup.

The PALMYRENE Alphabet, according to the Inscription ^{pag. 740.}
published by Gruter and Spon.

	Palmyr.	Hebr.		Palmyr.	Hebr.
<i>Aleph</i>	Ⲁ Ⲁ	Ⲁ	<i>Lamed</i>	Ⲛ Ⲛ Ⲛ	Ⲛ
<i>Beth</i>	Ⲃ Ⲃ Ⲃ Ⲃ Ⲃ	Ⲃ	<i>Mem</i>	Ⲙ Ⲙ	Ⲙ
<i>Gimel</i>	Ⲅ	Ⲅ	<i>Nun</i>	Ⲏ Ⲏ	Ⲏ
<i>Daleth</i>	Ⲇ Ⲇ	Ⲇ	<i>Samech</i>	Ⲙ Ⲙ	Ⲙ
<i>He</i>	Ⲉ Ⲉ Ⲉ Ⲉ	Ⲉ	<i>Ajin</i>	Ⲑ Ⲑ	Ⲑ
<i>Vau</i>	Ⲋ Ⲋ	Ⲋ	<i>Pe</i>	Ⲓ Ⲓ Ⲓ	Ⲓ
<i>Zain</i>		Ⲍ	<i>Tzade</i>	Ⲕ	Ⲕ
<i>Hheth</i>	Ⲏ Ⲏ Ⲏ Ⲏ Ⲏ	Ⲏ	<i>Koph</i>		Ⲑ
<i>Teth</i>	ⲏ	ⲏ	<i>Resch</i>	Ⲓ Ⲓ Ⲓ	Ⲓ
<i>Jod</i>	Ⲑ Ⲑ	Ⲑ	<i>Schin</i>	Ⲕ Ⲕ	Ⲕ
<i>Caph</i>	Ⲓ Ⲓ Ⲓ	Ⲓ	<i>Thau</i>	Ⲗ Ⲗ Ⲗ	Ⲗ

It may not be improper to observe, that the forms of the *Nun* and the *Ajin*, in this alphabet, approach nearer the modern Syriac forms of those letters, if they do not intirely agree with them, than they do those of the same elements in the proper alphabet of the Palmyrenes.

12. With regard to the numeral characters, still visible on the Roman marble, it may not be amiss to remark, that the last of them seems to have been altered by time. It was probably at first two short strait lines, which express the number Two in some of (29) Mr. Dawkins's Palmyrene inscriptions. If this should be admitted by the members of our most learned Society, they will not be displeased to see the following numeral table, deduced from the inscription I have been considering, from UNITY to a THOUSAND, not a little resembling that of the true and proper Palmyrenes.

pag. 741.

PALMYRENE Numerals from One to a Thousand ,
according to the Inscription published by Gruter .

D	∇	XL	∩∩	XXI	∩∩	XI	∇	I	∇
DC	∇∇	L	∇∩∩	XXII	∩∩∩	XII	∇∇	II	∇∇
DCC	∇∇∇	LX	∩∩∩	XXIII	∩∩∩∩	XIII	∇∇∇	III	∇∇∇
DCCC	∇∇∇∇	LXX	∇∩∩∩	XXIV	∩∩∩∩∩	XIV	∇∇∇∇	IV	∇∇∇∇
DCCCC	∇∇∇∇∇	LXXX	∩∩∩∩	XXV	∇∩∩	XV	∇∇	V	∇∇
DCCCCXX	∇∇∇∇∇∇	XC	∇∩∩∩∩	XXVI	∇∇∩∩	XVI	∇∇∇	VI	∇∇∇
DCCCCXL	∩∩∇∇∇∇∇	C	∇	XXVII	∇∇∩∩∩	XVII	∇∇∇∇	VII	∇∇∇∇
DCCCCCLX	∩∩∩∇∇∇∇∇	CC	∇∇	XXVIII	∇∇∇∩∩∩	XVIII	∇∇∇∇∇	VIII	∇∇∇∇∇
DCCCCCLXXX	∩∩∩∩∇∇∇∇∇	CCC	∇∇∇	XXIX	∇∇∇∇∩∩∩	XIX	∇∇∇∇∇∇	IX	∇∇∇∇∇∇
M	∇∇∇∇∇	CCCC	∇∇∇∇	XXX	∇∩∩	XX	∩	X	∇

(29) Dawk. *Marw. Palmyren. Inscript. Palmyren. iv, 9. v, II. vii, 13. &c.*

This table, if the manner of numeral expression offered to the consideration of the Society in the beginning of this letter be allowed, may be continued *ad infinitum*.

13. It is worthy observation, that the word בְּנוֹתָי, HIS SONS, in the Roman Palmyrene inscription, denoted IARÆVS's whole family, and consequently included both the wife (as manifestly appears from the Greek inscription answering to it) and the daughters (if he had any) of that Palmyrene. From whence we may conclude, that this word was pretty frequently used in such an extensive signification, about the middle of the third century after CHRIST, and probably much (30) earlier, at least in some parts of the East.

As I have expatiated so largely upon Gruter's Palmyrene inscription, with which perhaps it may be thought I was not at first so immediately concerned, I am afraid you will esteem me too prolix. I shall therefore only beg leave farther to observe, that sufficient acknowledgments can never be made to Mr. Dawkins, for the honour he has done his country, and service to the republic of letters, in copying so exactly such a number of inscriptions, which were before intirely lost to the learned world; and to assure you that I am, with the highest regard,

S I R,

Your most obliged,

and most obedient humble servant,

John Swinton.

(30) Val. Schind. *Lex. Pentaglot.* p. 211. Hanovix, 1612.

L E T T E R I V.

Reverend Sir, Christ-Church, Oxford, Oct. 10, 1754.

Read Nov. 14, 1754. **N**OT long after I had finished my conjectures upon the Palmyrene inscription published by (1) Gruter and (2) M. Spon, I received a most obliging letter from M. l'Abbé Barthelemy, member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Letters at Paris, and keeper of the medals in the French king's cabinet; wherein he informed me, that he had taken great pains to explain that inscription, and another drawn in the same character, published likewise by (3) M. Spon. As he seemed to think, that he had not intirely deciphered those inscriptions, he recommended it to me to take them both into my consideration, and try what I could make of them. I received also, at the same time, from that very learned and polite gentleman, as a present, a copy of his reflections upon the alphabet and language of Palmyra; which, especially as the piece itself is the result of great sagacity and erudition, I esteem as an additional favour. M. l'Abbé Barthelemy acquainted me in his letter, that he had procured a most faithful and exact copy of the second Roman Palmyrene inscription, which enabled him to express it by the square, or Chaldee,

(1) Jan. Gruter. *Corp. Inscript. ex Recens. & Annotat.* Joan. Georg. Græv. p. lxxxvi. Amstelædami, 1707.

(2) Jac. Spon. *Miscellan. Erudit. Antiquitat.* p. 1. Lugduni, 1685.

(3) Idem *ibid.* p. 3.

letters exhibited in his third plate. It may not be improper to observe here, that we are obliged for the publication of this last inscription to (4) F. Montfaucon, (5) Mr. Reland, and (6) Sig. Poleni, as well as to M. Spon.

In my answer of the 8th inst. to M. l'Abbé's letter, dated at Paris, Sept. 5th, which reached me here the 12th of the same month, I told him, that I had drawn out my conjectures upon the first of the inscriptions he desired me to give some attention to, before the arrival of his letter; but that I could not at present find time to attempt an explication of the other. Nor indeed ought I to think of undertaking such a task, before I can procure an accurate copy of the inscription to be explained, which M. l'Abbé Barthelemy says he is in possession of; those to be met with in F. Montfaucon, Mr. Reland, Sig. Poleni, and M. Spon, being so inaccurately taken, that, with regard to the forms of the letters they exhibit, they cannot certainly be depended upon.

If the square, or Chaldee, letters at the bottom of M. l'Abbé's third plate do really answer to the Palmyrene elements, they are intended to represent; the SVN had the name, or surname, of MALACHBELVS, MALACBELVS, or MALECBAL, that is to say, KING BAAL, given him by the Palmyrenes. Which

(4) Montfaucon. *L'Antiquit. Expliq.* Tom. II. par. ii. p. 392. pl. clxxxix.

(5) Hadrian. Reland. *Palæst. Illustrat.* Tom. ii. p. 526. Trajecti Batavorum, 1714.

(6) Joan. Polen. *Utriusq. Thesaur. Antiquitat. Romanar. & Græcar. Nov. Supplement.* Vol. quart. p. 411, 654. Venetiis, 1737.

if we admit, the names, or surnames, of AGLIBOL, or AGLEBAL, and MALECBAL, may be considered as two different titles, or surnames, of the SVN; or rather as two appellations pointing out to us two pagan divinities, with which the Palmyrenes were supplied by the different appearances, or influences, of the Sun in summer and winter. This notion has been countenanced (7) by Salmastius, and some (8) other very learned men. However, I must frankly own, that I cannot, to my intire satisfaction, yet trace out the elements M. l'Abbé has favoured us with, in any of the copies of this inscription, that has hitherto fallen under my inspection.

That IVPITER and the SVN were looked upon as the same deity, and denominated BAAL, or BAAL SHEMESH, by the people of Abila, a town of Syria, at no very great distance from the famous Heiopolis, if not by the Palmyrenes; we may, I think, fairly infer from an inscription in the Palmyrene character, copied by (9) Signore Pietro della Valle, (10) at Teive, or Teibe, between two and three days (11) journey from Tadmor, in conjunction with a (12) Greek one published by Dr. Bernard, that appears upon the same stone. The inscription in the Palmyrene cha-

(7) Claud. Salmast. ad Flav. Vopisc. in *Deo. Aurelian.*

(8) Jan. Gruter. ubi sup. Joann. Selden. *De Diis Syr.* Syntag. ii. p. 226. Lipsiæ, 1668. Bochart. *Chan.* p. 811. Francofurti ad Mœnum, 1681.

(9) Hadr. Reland. ubi sup. p. 525, 526.

(10) *Philosoph. Transact.* Vol. xix. n. 217. p. 109. & n. 218. p. 173.

(11) *Philosoph. Transact.* Vol. xix. n. 217. p. 109.

(12) Edw. Bernard. *Monument. Palmyren.* p. 2. Rotterdam, 1716.

rafter, as to the forms of some of its letters, has either been a little inaccurately taken by Signore Pietro della Valle himself; or a little inaccurately copied by Mr. Maffon, from that gentleman's original papers. However, as the words AGATHANGELVS, or AGATHANGELVS, ABILENVS, BAAL, and SHEMESH, therein plainly enough occur; I would, if such a liberty might be indulged me by the learned, willingly bestow the following Latin and English versions upon the inscription now in view.

See Plate xxx, Number 11.

לבעל שמש מר אבלנוס מסב
סבהאר עשא אנתגלם

BAAL SHEMESH (BELO SOLI vel DOMINO SOLI)
DEO ABILENO DOMICILIVM (HABITATIONEM vel
MANSIONEM) INCOLVMITATIS (vel SALVTIS) FE-
CIT AGATHANGELVS.

AGATHANGELVS PREPARED A PLACE OF SAFE-
TY, or HEALTH, FOR BAAL SHEMESH, THE SVN,
or IVPITER THE THVNDERER, THE GOD OF
THE ABILENES.

That the inscription, according to this interpretation, sufficiently expresses the sense of the Greek one answering to it, though in a very concise manner, will not, I believe, be denied; which may be considered as a pretty strong presumption, that my explication of it cannot be very remote from truth. But this will be still more evident from a closer
atten-

attention to the particular terms of which it is composed. The signification of the two first words **לבעל שמש**, BAAL SHEMESH, or DOMINO SOLI, cannot well be mistaken. That the third word **מר** MAR, may be translated into Latin either (13) DOMINO or DEO, will by every orientalist be easily allowed. The fourth manifestly appears to be **אבילניש**. ABILENVS, or in Latin by apposition ABILENO; though the second, fourth, and fifth, of its letters have been something altered and effaced. The fifth **מסב** may be looked upon as the same with **מושב**, or **משב**, (14) DOMICILIVM, HABITATIONEM, MANSIONEM, &c. the Syrians (15) sometimes suppressing *Vau*, and using *Samech* for *Schin*. The sixth **סבהאר**, or (16) **סבהור**, answers to the Latin INCOLVMITATIS, SALV-TIS, &c. The seventh **עשה** apparently denotes (17) FECIT, PERFECIT, ABSOLVIT, &c. the Syrians not seldom converting the Hebrew *He* in (18) verbs of this kind into *Aleph*. And the eighth, if

(13) Edm. Castel. *Lex. Heptaglot.* p. 2128. Val. Schind. *Lex. Pentaglot.* p. 1034, 1035.

(14) Edm. Cast. ubi sup. p. 1648. Val. Schind. ubi sup. p. 814, 815.

(15) See the first Roman Palmyrene inscription, as above explained. Schind. ubi sup. p. 1826, & alib.

(16) Vid. *Targ. & Verf. Syriac.* in PROV. ii. 7. & Castel. ubi sup. p. 2450.

(17) Castel. ubi sup. p. 2928, 2929. Schind. ubi sup. p. 1399, 1400.

(18) Joh. Buxtorf. *Thesaur. Gram. Hebr.* p. 251, 252. Basileæ, 1663. Buxtorf. *Gram. Chald. et Syriac.* p. 161. Basileæ, 1615. Schind. ubi sup. p. 313, 314, 315, &c.

an allowance be made for a small alteration in the second and sixth letters, will be אגתגלס, AGATHAGELVS, AGATHAGGELVS, or, as the Greeks pronounced, and the Romans wrote it, AGATHANGELVS; the Greek *Nu* being (19) sometimes omitted in eastern words, and sometimes supplying the (20) place of *Dagesch Forte*. Whence we may conclude, that the Abilenes, who were neighbours to the Heliopolitans, if not the people of Tadmor, took the Greek ΖΕΥΣ ΚΕΡΑΥΝΙΟΣ, the Roman IVPITER FVLGVRATOR, or IVPITER THE THVNDERER, and BAAL SHEMESH, or the SVN, for the same deity; and consequently that whether we look upon the words AGLIBOLVS and MALACHBELVS as pointing out to us IVPITER, or BELVS, and the SVN, (21) as some imagine, or only the latter of those deities, as others (22) will have it, we cannot greatly err. From the inscription now before us we may likewise collect, that some of the Syrians, inhabiting districts not in the neighbourhood of Tadmor, made use of the very same letters, or alphabet, about the year of our LORD 134, which then prevailed amongst the Palmyrenes.

What has been here advanced, in relation to the identity of the Greek ΖΕΥΣ, the Roman IVPITER, and BAAL SHEMESH, or the SVN, is perfectly consonant to the sentiments of Macrobius on this

(19) Bochart. *Chan.* p. 833.

(20) Idem *ibid.* & p. 534.

(21) Zosim. Lib. i. Tho. Hyd. *Hist. Rel. vet. Perf.* p. 117.

(22) Jan. Gruter. & Joan. Selden. *ubi sup.* Sam. Bochart. *ubi sup.* p. 811.

head; who expressly (23) affirms, that the Greek ΖΕΥΣ, the Roman IVPITER, the principal god of the Heliopolitans, and therefore undoubtedly that of their neighbours the Abilenes, were the very same deity with the SVN. *Nec ipse Jupiter, says that writer, rex deorum, Solis naturam videtur excedere; sed eundem esse Jovem ac Solem claris docetur indiciis.* In support of which assertion he cites Homer, Plato, Cornificius, Posidonius, and Cleanthes; who, according to him, absolutely evince such a notion. The Assyrians also, or Syrians, if we will believe (24) him, allowed the IVPITER of the Heliopolitans, and therefore in all likelihood the IVPITER of their neighbours the Abilenes, to have been BAAL SHEMESH, or the SVN. *Affyrri quoque, adds he, Solem sub nomine Jovis (i. e. BAAL, BAALIS, vel BELI), quem DIA HELIOPOLITEN cognominant, maximis cæremoniis celebrant in civitate, quæ Heliopolis nuncupatur.* Nay, which is directly in point, from the same author it very clearly (25) appears, that IVPITER HELIOPOLITES was not only BAAL SHEMESH, or the SVN, but likewise, in conformity to our inscriptions, the ΖΕΥΣ ΚΕΡΑΥΝΙΟΣ, or IVPITER THE THUNDERER, of the Greeks. *Hunc vero, continues he, eundem Jovem Solemque esse cum ex ipso sacrorum ritu, tum ex habitu discitur. Simulacrum enim aureum specie imberbi instat dextra elevata*

(23) Macrob. *Saturn.* Lib. I. c. xxxiii. p. 215—217. Lond. 1694.

(24) Idem *ibid.*

(25) Idem *ibid.*

CVM FLAGRO IN AVRIGÆ MODVM; *læva tenet FVLMEN et spicas, quæ cuncta Jovis Solisque consociatam potentiam monstrant.* Sanchoniatho, Philo Byblius, Servius, Herodian, Julius Capitolinus, and others, in effect likewise assert the (26) same thing. And that the Sun was antiently worshiped in those parts of Syria, bordering upon Palæstine, under the name of *Shemesh*, or *Baal Shemesh*, is sufficiently implied by the local names *Beth Shemesh*, the temple of *Shemesh*, or the Sun; *Ir Shemesh*, the city of *Shemesh*, or the Sun; *Har Shemesh*, the mountain of *Shemesh*, or the Sun, &c. which (27) not seldom occur in Scripture. It has been remarked by Salmasius (28), that several nations and cities of the East paid divine honours to the Sun under different appellations, each of them having one or more peculiar to itself. The people of Tadmor gave him the surnames of *Aglibolus*, and *Malachbelus*, as has been already observed; the citizens of Emesa, or Hems, called him *Alagabalus*, *Elagabalus*, or *Heliogabalus*; the Persians denominated him *Miber*, or *Mibr*, which was converted into *Mitbra* by the Greeks; the Babylonians dignified him with the title of *Baal*, or *Bel*, importing *Lord*; and the Abilenes, according to the inscription I have been endeavouring to decipher, *Baal Shemesh*. With regard to the nature of the mansion, chamber, or apartment, erected and fitted up by AGATHANGELVS for BAAL SHEMESH, the SVN,

(26) Bochart. ubi sup. p. 736, 737.

(27) Matth. Hiller. *Onomast. Sacr.* p. 771, 772. Tubingæ, 1706.

(28) Claud. Salmaf. ubi sup.

or IVPITER THE THVNDERER, I must refer the curious to what has been said by (29) Mr. Seller, and the authors cited by him, on this head ; as I cannot, consistently with the brevity here proposed, at present expatiate farther upon it. To what has been advanced, in order to illustrate this inscription, which has never hitherto been explained, several other particulars, perhaps not altogether unworthy the attention of the learned, might have been added, were it not for the reason just hinted at. For as I may probably be thought to have treated the point before me in too copious, or rather prolix, a manner ; it might be deemed improper to offer any farther observations at this time relative to it. I shall therefore only intreat you to believe me to be, with the greatest respect and esteem,

S I R,

Your most obliged,

and most obedient servant,

John Swinton.

(29) Sel. ubi sup. p. 364—369.

ERRATA.

P. 724. l. 13, 14. read— (1177) and (1177),

P. 726. l. 3. immediately after the parenthesis, read— unless we suppose it to have been originally 1177.

LETTER

L E T T E R V.

Reverend Sir, Christ-Church, Oxford, Oct. 21, 1754.

Read Nov. 14, 1754. **I**N my last letter I intimated to you, that I had no intention to offer any conjectures, at least for the present, upon the second Roman Palmyrene inscription, published by F. Montfaucon, Mr. Reland, Sig. Poleni, and M. Spon, for the reason therein assigned. But having since been prompted by my curiosity to compare Mr. Reland's copy of it, by the assistance of the two Palmyrene alphabets I imagine myself to have discovered, with the Chaldee letters, that appear at the bottom of M. l'Abbé Barthelemy's third plate; I find that the latter may be supposed tolerably well to represent the former, and from thence am induced to conclude, that M. l'Abbé's copy of the same inscription must have been pretty accurately taken. This has excited me to attempt, with all the attention I am capable of, an explication of that inscription; the result of which I now do myself the honour to send you, drawn up in the shortest, and most concise, manner possible.

The inscription then, after the introduction of an emendation in the second line, and of two additional letters in the third, which I would recommend to the consideration of the learned, may perhaps be pretty easily exhibited in the Chaldee character, and demonstrated to express the sense of the Latin inscription, with which it is supposed to correspond.

The

The second Roman Palmyrene inscription, published by Mr. Reland, from a copy taken of it by Mr. Maffon, in his *Palæst. Illustrat.* Tom. ii. p. 526. Trajecti Batavorum, 1714.

See Plate xxx, Number III.

עלתא דה למלכבל ולאלי תדמר
 קרב טברים כלודים כלביא
 ותדמריא לאליה(ו)ן שלמו

ARAM HANC MALACHBELO ET DIIS TADMOR
 OBTVLIT (vel DEDICAVIT) TIBERIVS CLAVDIVS
 CALBIENSES ET TADMORIENSES (vel PALMYRENI)
 DIIS SVIS VOTVM SOLVERVNT.

TIBERIVS CLAVDIVS DEDICATED THIS ALTAR
 TO MALACHBELVS AND THE GODS OF TADMOR :
 THE CALBITES AND THE TADMORITES (or PAL-
 MYRENES) HAVE PERFORMED THE VOW THEY
 MADE TO THEIR GODS.

The terms, which form this inscription, are so clear and intelligible, that it would be superfluous to expatiate upon them. My conversion of M. l'Abbé Barthelemy's dubious *Samech* and *Jod*, the powers of which he seems not absolutely to have ascertained, into *Jod* and *Aleph*, in the word כלביא, at the end of the secone line, is sufficiently justified, and even rendered incontestable, by the word ותדמריא, that immediately follows, and the correspondent Latin

inscription. That part of the seventh letter in לאלהיהוון has been connected with the preceding element, and the other part defaced by the injuries of time, at first sight seems clearly enough to appear; though, had this not been the case, we may easily conceive, from what has been already observed, that the Palmyrenes sometimes in the affix הון might have omitted the letter (1) *Vau*. The pronoun (2) יה, or (3) ירה, (not יהי, (4) which is undoubtedly *Hebrew*) and the words קרב כלביא ותדמריא עלתא קרב כלביא are all of them of the pure Syriac form. As for טבריס כלודים, TIBERIVS CLAVDIVS, several similar instances of such Roman proper names, written in the Palmyrene character, have already (5) been produced.

That the last word was originally שלמו, SOLVERVNT, or rather VOTVM SOLVERVNT, HAVE PERFORMED THE VOW, as I have taken the liberty to translate it here, is clearly evinced by the latter part of the Latin inscription; with which this translation so exactly corresponds. The term שלמו, as confined to the signification now assigned it, is apparently (6) Syriac; and occurs both in the (7) Old and New Testament. Hence we may conclude, that TIBERIVS CLAVDIVS, by the dedication of this altar, enabled several of the CALBITES and TADMORITES, who acted under his command, to

(1) See my *Third Letter*, p. 734. l. 5.

(2) Edm. Castel. *Lex Heptaglot.* p. 631, 632. Lond. 1669.

(3) Idem. *ibid.*

(4) Val. Schind. *Lex. Pentaglot.* p. 467. Hanovix, 1612. Castel. *ubi sup.* p. 1019.

(5) See my *First and Second Letters.*

(6) Edm. Castel. *Lex. Heptaglot.* p. 3766.

(7) PSAL. xxii. 25. MATTH. v. 33.

perform or accomplish a vow they had made ; and that he conducted some important enterprize, which had occasioned that vow, with great success. Whether the principal figure on that side of the stone, which exhibits the Palmyrene inscription, was intended to represent the SVN (8), as F. Montfaucon and others have asserted ; or TIBERIVS CLAVDIVS himself, as some perhaps may suppose not less probable ; I shall not pretend to decide : but that the inference here deduced from the term, which I have now been considering, can by no means be deemed unjust, will, I flatter myself, by the learned be very readily allowed.

Who the CALBITES mentioned in this inscription were, we cannot so easily learn from any of the Greek or Latin authors. However, I make not the least doubt, but they must have belonged to the Calbites taken notice of by (9) Abulfeda, the celebrated Arabian historian ; who, according to that writer, were a tribe of Arabs that acknowledged for their great progenitor Calb Ebn Wabra, descended in a right line from Hamyar, the son of Saba, the fifth of the antient kings of Yaman. This tribe, in the times of ignorance (10), that is to say, before the introduction of Islamism into Arabia, occupied Dawmat Al Jandal, Tabûc, and several other places upon the confines of Syria. From whence, in conjunction with the inscription now before me, which perhaps was brought to Rome from Tadmor by the emperor Aurelian himself, we may infer, that

(8) Montfauc. *L'Antiq. Expliq.* Tom. II. par. ii. p. 391, 392.

(9) Ism. Abulfed. in cap. *De Arab. pur.* Poc. *Not. in Spec. Hist. Arab.* p. 40, 41. Oxon. 1650.

(10) Al Kâdi Saed Ebn Ahmed Andalosén. apud Greg. Abul Faraj. in *Hist. Dynast.* p. 159. Oxon. 1663.

the Calbites, before the birth of Mohammed, probably extended themselves from Dawmat Al Jandal and Tabûc to the borders of Palmyrene, and were even possessed of some districts in the neighbourhood of Tadmor. According to the correspondent (11) Latin inscription, the TADMORITES, or PALMYRENES, as well as the (12) CALBITES, mentioned here to have expressed such a regard for their local or tutelary deities, must have been soldiers belonging to the third cohort of one of the Roman legions, then quartered either at Tadmor, or some other place in the territories of the Palmyrenes. But who TIBERIVS CLAVDIVS was, what command he had assigned him in the Roman forces, or even at what time precisely he lived, for want of sufficient light from antient history, I cannot at present take upon me to determine.

Thus, Sir, you have my thoughts upon the second Roman Palmyrene inscription, the only one of those hitherto published, which I have not already touched upon, laid before you with all possible brevity. For the rest, I remain, with the highest respect and esteem, S I R,

Your most obedient humble servant,

John Swinton.

(11) Jacob. Spon. *Miscellan. Erudit. Antiquitat.* p. 3. Lugduni, 1685.

(12) It appears from Eutychius, that the Calbites acknowledged the sovereignty of the emperor Heraclius, and that even part of a body of troops, assembled by that prince to oppose the Moslem forces, was drawn out of their tribe, in the Khalifat of Abu Becr. Eutych. *Annal.* Tom. ii. p. 270—273. Oxon. 1656.

I

ΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝ ΑΙΩΝΙΟΝ ΓΕΡΑΣΩΚΟΔΟΜΗΣ ΕΝΙΑΜΛΙΧΟΣ ΜΟΚΕΙΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΚΚΑΛΕΙΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΜΑΛΙΧΟΥ ΕΙΚΤΕ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΥΙΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΓΓΟΝΟΥΣ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΔΉ ΤΜΗΝΙΖΑΝ ΔΙΚΩ

II

ΤΟ ΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝ ΕΚΤΙΣ ΑΝΕΛΑΒΗΛΟΣ Μ
ΑΝΝΑΙΟΣ ΣΟΧΑΙΕΙΣ ΜΑΛΙΧΟΣ ΟΥΑΒΑΛ
ΛΑΘΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΝΝΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΛΑΒΗΛΟΥ ΑΥΤ
ΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΥΙΟΙΣ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΔΉ ΤΜΗΝΟΣ ΞΑΝΔΙΚΟΥ

III

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ΤΟΥ ΜΟΚΙΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΡΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΘΘΑ ΚΑΙ
ΑΙΡΑΝΗΝ ΤΟΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ
ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΔΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΙ ΤΡΟΠΩ
ΣΙΜΩΣ ΑΡΕΣΑΝΤΑΣ ΤΗ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΚΑΙ
ΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ ΤΕΙΜΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ
ΕΤΟΥΣ ΝΉ ΤΜΗΝΟΣ ΞΑΝΔΙΚΟΥ

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Η ΒΟΥΛΗ

ΑΘ· ΑΛΕΙΝΑ ΑΙΡΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΣΑΒΑΤΟΥ
ΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΩΝΝΕΟΥΣ ΕΠΑΓΓΕΙ·
ΝΉ ΝΑΥΤΗΣ ΠΙΔΟΣ ΑΙΩΝΙΑΝ
ΙΘΥΣΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ· · · ΑΙ· ΘΕ· ΑΤΑ
ΛΑΧΒΗΛΩ ΚΑΙ· ΣΧΗΘΑ ΜΕΙΟΣ Κ·
ΙΙ· ΑΤΕΙ ΠΑΤΡΩΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ ΤΕΙΜΗΣ ΚΑΙ
· ΝΗΜΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΑΉ ΤΜΗΝΟΣ ΞΑΝΔΙΚΟΥ

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ΝΕΣΧΑΛΑ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΣ· · · · ·

ΝΕΣΧΑΛΑ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΣΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΑΛΑ ΤΟΥ ΡΕΦΕΛΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΣΕΟΥΣ ΜΟΔΙΑΡΧΗΝ ΟΙΣ ΝΑΝΑΒΑΝ
ΤΕΣ ΜΕΤΑ· ΤΟΥ ΕΜΠΟΡΟΙΑ ΠΟΦΟΡΑΘΟΥ ΚΕ
ΟΛΑΓΑΣΙΑΔΟΣ ΤΕΙΜΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΑΣ
ΕΝΕΚΕΝ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΓΉ ΤΜΗΝΟΣ ΖΑΝΔ· · ·

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ΕΞ ΙΔΙΩΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΔΉ ΤΜΗΝΟΣ ΥΠΕΡΒΕΡΕΤΑΙΟΥ Κ

VII

ΜΑΡΘΕΙΝΑ ΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ
ΚΑΠΑΔΗ ΤΟΥ ΟΥΑΒΑΛΛΑΘΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΣΥΜΩΝΟΥΣ ΟΡΑΙΧΟΣ ΑΙΡΑΝΟΥ
ΑΝΗΡΑΥΤΗΣ ΜΝΗΜΗΣ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ
ΜΗΝΕΙΔΥΣ ΤΡΩ ΤΟΥ 4 ΥΕΤΟΥΣ

VIII

ΔΙΙΥΨΙΣ ΤΩ ΚΑΙ·
ΤΗΚΩ ΙΙΟΥ ΑΥΡ·
ΝΤΙ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ
ΑΜΕΙΤΟΥ ΖΗΝΟΒΙ
ΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΚΟΠΤΑΟΥ
ΕΥΖΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΝΕ
ΘΗΚΕΝ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΔΜΦ
ΑΥΔΥΝΑΙΟΥ ΚΔ