

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ACADEMIES
(UNION ACADÉMIQUE INTERNATIONALE)
Project 67: China and the Mediterranean World:
Archaeological and Written Sources

FONTES HISTORIAE VIAE SERICAE
Sources on the History of the Silk Road

4

FONTES HISTORIAE
PALMYRENAE (TADMORENAE)

SOURCES ON THE HISTORY OF PALMYRA (TADMOR)



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ANCIENT INDIA AND IRAN TRUST
CAMBRIDGE
(13.5.2023)

FOREWORD

The inclusion of a collection of sources on the History of Palmyra / Tadmor, the most famous of the ‘Caravan Cities’ of the Roman Near East and one which had suffered horrendous damage to her monuments in recent years, among the on-line publications of the UAI’s China and the Mediterranean World Project needs no justification. Palmyra remains the only ancient Roman site from which a silk fragment with a recognizable (woven) Chinese character (明 *ming* ‘light, radiance’) has been recovered (from Tower Tomb 46) and conserved.¹

The present collection began life at Warwick University (UK) in the 1980s where I taught a course on the Roman Eastern Frontier. With the help of Michael Dodgeon, then conveniently teaching at nearby Solihull, the material prepared jointly for teaching, mainly consisting of translated texts from literary sources, grew gradually into a university text-book which is still widely used by both students and researchers: M.H. Dodgeon and S.N.C. Lieu, *Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars (AD 226-363)* (London, 1991) (*REFPW*). The book contains a lengthy chapter devoted to the Palmyrene Empire (pp. 49-110).

After I moved to Macquarie University (Australia) in 1996 to take up the Chair of Ancient History in succession to Professor Edwin Judge, I was given a series of annual travel grants by my new university to visit the Republic of Syria with a small group of colleagues and research students. The team, joined at Macquarie by Dr Greg Fox who was unable to take part in the visits, consisted of scholars with a variety of language skills, Classical and Near Eastern. The team visited a number of sites in Syria on a regular basis over a number of years and among the publications to emerge from these visits was: I. Gardner, S. Lieu and K. Parry (eds.) *From Palmyra to Zayton*, Silk Road Studies X (Turnhout, 2005) (*FPTZ*) the first three chapters of which provide Anglophone students with the first substantial collection of inscriptions from Palmyra in Greek, Latin, Palmyrene Aramaic and Hebrew with editions of the original texts and English translation and lexical-indices (pp. 1-188).

The publication of D.R. Hillers and E. Cussini (eds.), *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts* (Baltimore, 1996) provided the Macquarie (SERICA) team with a valuable research tool as well as a convenient system of numbering for Palmyrene inscriptions in Palmyrene Aramaic (many with parallel-texts in Greek and some in Latin) but the lack of a parallel volume for inscriptions in Greek and Latin which are unaccompanied by Palmyrene parallels was also strongly felt. The impetus to update the sections on Palmyra in both *REFPW* and *FPTZ* finally came with the publication of the outstanding work of J.-B. Yon, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie (IGLS)*, Tome XVII, fasc. 1 (Bordeaux-Beyrouth, 2012). Although Yon’s work does not contain Palmyrene inscriptions found outside the city of Palmyra nor the text of the famous Tariff which is currently housed in the Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg, his collection is so substantial and authoritative that it became the *raison d’être* for the present work. Yon’s collection also provides the researcher with a system of numbering of all Palmyrene inscriptions in Greek and Latin with parallels in Palmyrene Aramaic that is now regarded as standard. All the inscriptions from Palmyra included in this collection are given their respective *IGLS* and / or *PAT* numbers where appropriate.

The fact that the present collection – *Fontes Historiae Palmyrenae (Sources on the History of Palmyra)* – is published on-line means that it can easily be updated and revised. It is therefore the hope of the compiler that scholars who use this revised and updated combined collection will send him their corrections and suggestions for further improvement.

I am grateful to Ms. Camilla Ferard for her assistance over a number of years to the China and the Mediterranean World Project and to the Union Académique Internationale for a series of biennial grants for the project (UAI Proj. 67).

Samuel N. C. Lieu
President, UAI (2017-2021)

¹ A. Schmidt-Collinet, *Palmyra. Kulturbegegnung im Grenzbereich* (Mainz am Rhein, 2005) 77, Abb. 124.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS



- AAAS* *Annales archéologiques (arabes) syriennes.*
- AIDRP* J.F. Healey, *Aramaic Inscriptions and Documents of the Roman Period*, Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions, Vol. 5 (Oxford, 2009).
- Allat* M. Gawlikowski, *Le sanctuaire d'Allat à Palmyre*, PAM Monographs 8 (Warsaw, 2017).
- Bauzou* T. Bauzou, 'Deux milliaires inédits de Vaballath en Jordanie du Nord', in P. Freeman and D. Kennedy (eds.), *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East*, (Oxford 1986), Vol. 1, pp. 1-8.
- Bertolino* R. Bertolino, *Corpus des inscriptions semitiques de Doura- Europos* (Naples, 2004).
- Bilingualism* J.N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (Cambridge, 2003).
- Bowersock* (1976) G. Bowersock, 'A new Antonine inscription from the Syrian desert', *Chiron* 6, 349-55.
- BS* iii C. Dunant, *Le sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre III, Les inscriptions* (Rome, 1971).
- C* (followed by a number) = *CIS* (v. *infra*).
- Cameron* A. Cameron. 'Agathias on the Sassanians', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 23/24 (1969/70), 69-183.
- Chéhab* M. Chéhab, 'Tyr à l'époque romaine — Aspects de la cité à la lumière des textes et des fouilles' *MUSJ* 38, 13-40.
- CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin 1863ff.).
- CIS* *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, Pars secunda. Tomus III: Inscriptiones palmyrenae*, edd. Jean-Baptiste Chabot *et al.* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale 1926).
- Colledge* M.A.R. Colledge, *The Art of Palmyra* (London, 1976).
- Cooke* G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press 1903).
- Déd.* J.T. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux (Palmyra, Hatra, Tyr et des thiasés sémitiques à l'époque romaine)* (Paris: Geuthner 1972).
- Dijkstra* K. Dijkstra, *Life and Loyalty – A study in the socio-religious culture of Syria and Mesopotamia in the Graeco-Roman period based on epigraphical evidence* (Leiden, 1995).
- Dirven* L. Dirven, *The Palmyrenes of Dura Europos, A Study of Religious Interaction in Roman Syria* (Leiden, 1999).
- DNWSI* J. Hoftizer and K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, 2 vols (Leiden, 1995).
- Drijvers* (1982) H.J.W. Drijvers, 'Sanctuaries and social safety. The iconography of divine peace in Hellenistic Syria', *Visible Religion* 1 (1982) 65-75.
- Drijvers* (1995a) H.J.W. Drijvers, 'Inscriptions from Allât's sanctuary', *Aram* 7, 109-19.
- Drijvers* (1995b) H.J.W. Drijvers, 'Greek and Aramaic in Palmyrene Inscriptions' in M.J. Geller, J.C. Greenfield and M.P. Weitzman (eds.) *Studia Aramaica*, JSS Suppl. 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press on behalf of the University of Manchester 1995), 31-42.
- FHG* C. Müller *et al.* (eds.), *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1828-38).
- FPTZ* I. Gardner, S. Lieu and K. Parry (eds.) *From Palmyra to Zayton*, Silk Road Studies X (Turnhout, 2005).
- Gawlikowski* (1971) 'Inscriptions de Palmyre', *Syria* 48 (1971), 407-25.
- Gawlikowski and al-As'ad* (1993) M. Gawlikowski and K. al-As'ad, 'Le péage à Palmyre en 11 après J.-C.', *Semitica* 41-42, 163-72.

- Gawlikowski and al-As'ad (1997)
M. Gawlikowski and K. al-As'ad, 'Inscriptions de Palmyre nouvelles et revisitées', *Studia Palmyrenskie* 10: 23-38 + 10 pls.
- GLI W.K. Prentice, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Part III of the Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria 1899-1900* (New York, 1908).
- Gorea M. Gorea, 'The Palmyrene tablet 'De Geest'' in I. Strauch (ed.), *Foreign Sailors on Socotra – The inscriptions and drawings from the cave Hoq*, (Bremen, 2012), pp. 448-57
- Healey (1996)
J.F. Healey, 'Palmyra and the Arabian Gulf Trade', *Aram* 8, pp. 33-37.
- Hvidberg-Hansen
F.O. Hvidberg-Hansen, *The Palmyrene Inscriptions Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* (Copenhagen, 1998).
- IGLS xvii J.-B. Yon (ed.) *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, Tome XVII, fasc. 1 (Bordeaux-Beyrouth, 2012).
- IGRR R. Cagnat and G. Lafaye (eds.), *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* (Paris, 1906-1927).
- IMP K. Al As'ad *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, eds. R. Cagnat and G. Lafaye (Paris, 1906-1927).ad and M. Gawlikowski, *The Inscriptions in the Museum of Palmyra – A Catalogue* (Palmyra and Warsaw, 1997)
- Imperial Cult M. Gawlikowski and K. As'ad, 'The imperial cult in Palmyra under the Antonines', in *SP* 11 (Warsaw, 2010), 43-48.
- Ingholt (1938)
H. Ingholt, 'Inscriptions and Sculptures from Palmyra II', *Berytus* 2, 93-140.
- Ingholt (1962)
H. Ingholt, 'Palmyrene Inscription from the Tomb of Malku', *MUSJ* 38, 99-119.
- Ingholt (1976)
H. Ingholt, 'Varia Tadmoria' in *Palmyre, Bilan et perspectives* (Strasbourg: AECR) 101-37.
- Inv. *Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre* (Beirut, 1930ff.).
- Inv. Doura *Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyréniennes de Doura-Europos* (Paris, 1939).
- IP K. Al As'ad and J.-B Yon, *Inscriptions de Palmyre - Promenades épigraphiques dans la ville antique de Palmyre* (Beyrouth–Damas–Amman 2001).
- IPS G. Fox and S. Lieu, *Inscriptiones Palmyrenae Selectae ad commercium pertinentes - Greek and Palmyrene Inscriptions Relating to Commerce* (Sydney and Cambridge 2017f.): <http://www.uai-iaa.org/content/files/85328157447921903.pdf>
- L'Agora C. Delplace et al. (eds.) *L'Agora de Palmyre* (Bordeaux-Beyrouth 2005).
- Loc. Location.
- Louvre J. Dentzer-Feydy and J. Teixidor (eds.), *Les antiquités de Palmyre au Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1993).
- MKG W. Sundermann, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, Berliner Turfantexte XI (Berlin, 1990).
- MM ii F. C. Andreas and W. B. Henning, 'Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan II', *SPAW* 1933, 7, 294-363.
- Morano E. Morano, 'Contributi all'interpretazione della bilingue Greco-Partica dell'Eracle di Seleucia' in G. Gnoli and A. Pananino (eds.), *Proceedings of the First European Conference of Iranian Studies, Part 1: Old and Middle Iranian Studies* (Rome 1990) 229-38 + 2 pls.
- MUSJ *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* (Beirut, 1906ff.).
- OGIS *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1903).
- Oppenheimer
A. Oppenheimer, *Babylonia Judaica in the Talmudic Period* (Wiesbaden, 1983).
- PAT D. R. Hillers and E. Cussini (eds.), *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts* (Baltimore, 1996).
- Palmyra *Palmyra and the Aramaeans*, ARAM Periodical Vol. 7 (Leuven, 1995).

- Potter D.S. Potter, *Prophecy and History in the Crisis of the Roman Empire — A Historical Commentary on the Thirteenth Sibylline Oracle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1990).
- PP J. Teixidor, *The Pantheon of Palmyra* (Leiden, 1979).
- Principia M. Gawlikowski, *Les principia de Dioclétien* ('Temple des Enseignes') (Warsaw, 1984).
- Pros. P. Piersimoni, *The Palmyrene Prosopography*, 2 vols (PhD Diss., London: University College London 1995).
- Prov. Provenance.
- REFPW M.H. Dodgeon and S.N.C. Lieu, *Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars (AD 226-363)* (London, 1991).
- RIB R.G. Collingwood *et al.* (eds.), *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* (Oxford, 1965).
- RLP T. Kaizer, *The Religious Life of Palmyra* (Stuttgart, 2002).
- RSP M. Gawlikowski (ed.), *Recueil d'inscriptions palmyréniennes provenant de fouilles syriennes et polonaises récentes à Palmyre* (Paris, 1974).
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D. Schlumberger, 'Bornes frontières de la Palmyrène', *Syria* 20, 43-73.
- Schuol M. Schuol, *Die Charakene, Ein Mesopotamisches Königreich in hellenistisch-parthischen Zeit* (Stuttgart, 2000).
- Sel. Seleucid (Era).
- Seyrig (1937)
H. Seyrig, 'Deux inscriptions grecques de Palmyre', *Syria* 18, 369-78.
- Seyrig (1963)
H. Seyrig, 'Les fils du roi Odainat', *AAAS* 13, 159-72.
- Skjærvø P. Skjærvø, 'Aramaic in Iran' in *Palmyra and the Aramaeans*, *Aram Periodical* 7 (Leuven, 1997), 283-318.
- SPAW *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1882-1921; philos.-hist. Klasse, 1922-49) (Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften,).
- Speidel M. Speidel, 'The Roman Army in Arabia', *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II/8 (Berlin, 1977), 687-730.
- Stark J. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1971).
- TEAD *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Preliminary Reports*, 9 vols. (New Haven, 1929-52)
- Trade Routes = *Trade Routes in the Near East and Cultural Interchange in the Arabian Peninsula*, *ARAM Periodical*, Vol. 8 (Leuven, 1996).
- Yon J.-B. Yon, *Les notables de Palmyre*, *Bibliothèque archéologique et historique* 163 (Beirut, 2002).
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- Young G.K. Young, *Rome's Eastern Trade - International commerce and imperial policy, 31 B.C. - A.D. 305* (London: Routledge 2001).

I. FROM MARK ANTONY TO TRAJAN (41 BCE – 117 CE)



Goraimai b. Nebuzabad honoured by the priests of Bel (44 BCE)

PAT 1524, cf. *AIDRP* 28, *IP* 2, p. 32, *IMP* 29, *PP*, p. 2, *Inv.* xi, 100 (On stone block from the Temple of Bel and inscribed in a decorative border, was in Palmyra Museum A 959/959). Photo: *IP*, p. 32:

(Palmyrene)

1. byrh tšry šnt 2.100
2. +60+5+4 'qym[w] kmry'
3. dy bl šlm' dnh lgrymy
4. br nbwzbd dy mn phd
5. bny khnbw

In the month of TŠRY² in the year 269 (Sel. = Oct., 44 BCE), the priests of BL (Bēl) erected this statue to GRYMY (Garīmay) son of NBWZBD (Nabūzabad) of the tribe of the Benē KHNBW (Khānebō).³ (Tr. *PP*, p. 2, adapted)

Mark Antony's attempted raid on the oasis of Palmyra between Rome and Parthia (41 BCE)

Appian, *Bellum Civile*, V,ii,9 (Ed. & tr. H. White, iv, pp. 390-91) (written after 117 CE):

Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐνήλλακτο ταχέως, καὶ τὸ πάθος αὐτῷ τοῦτο ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος τῶν ἔπειτα κακῶν ἐγένετο. ἀποπλευσάσης δὲ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔπεμπε τοὺς ἰππέας Πάλμυρα πόλιν, οὐ μακρὰν οὖσαν ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου, διαρπάσαι, μικρὰ μὲν ἐπικαλῶν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι Ῥωμαίων καὶ Παρθυαίων ὄντες ἐφόριοι ἐς ἑκατέρους ἐπιδεξίως εἶχον (ἔμποροι γὰρ ὄντες κομίζουσι μὲν ἐκ Περσῶν τὰ Ἰνδικὰ ἢ Ἀράβια, διατίθενται δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων), ἔργῳ δ' ἐπινοῶν τοὺς ἰππέας περιουσιάζειν. Παλμυρηνῶν δὲ προμαθόντων καὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ μετενεγκάντων τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὄχθης, εἴ τις ἐπιχειροίη σκευασαμένων τόξοις, πρὸς ἃ πεφύκασιν ἐξαιρέτως, οἱ ἰππέες τὴν πόλιν κενὴν καταλαβόντες ὑπέστρεψαν, οὔτε ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες οὔτε τι λαβόντες.

So swiftly was Antony transformed, and this passion was the beginning and the end of evils that befell him. When Cleopatra returned home Antony sent a cavalry force to Palmyra, situated not far from the Euphrates, to plunder it, bringing the trifling accusations against its inhabitants, that, being on the frontier between the Romans and the Parthians, they had avoided taking sides between them; for, being merchants, they bring the products of India and Arabia and dispose of them in the Roman territory. In fact, Antony's intention was to enrich his horsemen, but the Palmyrenes were forewarned and they transported their property across the river, and, stationing themselves on the bank, prepared to shoot anybody who should attack them, for they were expert bowmen. The cavalry found nothing in the city. They turned around and came back, having met no foe, and empty-handed.

Palmyrene Dedication from the Temple of Bel at Dura Europos (33 BCE)

PAT 1067, cf. Bertolino A.TN.01, pp. 34-35, Dirven 1, pp. 199-20, *Inv. Doura* 1-2, *TEAD* VII/VIII, pp. 318-20. (On gypsum slab. Prov. Dura-Europos, necropolis, found on the rear of naos 1. A. TN.01. Loc: Now unknown.) Facsimile: Bertolino, p. 122.

² 'The month Teshrī corresponds to October in the Julian calendar, though in this early inscription it is possible that the Babylonian equivalent September / October is intended. The inscription is thus dated to the very beginning of the year 260, which began on 1 October 44 BCE. The inscription is, therefore, the earliest dated Palmyrene text.' (*AIDRP*, pp. 144-45)

³ Teixidor (*PP*, p. 2) transcribes the name as Kohenbo[l] which could mean 'priests of Bol/Bel' but khn' does not appear for 'priest' in Palmyrene. Cf. *AIDRP*, p. 145.

(Palmyrene)

1. byrh sywn šnt 2+100+
2. 60+10+5+4 hw⁴ zbdwl
3. br b'yšw dy mn bny
4. gdybwl wmlkw br
5. rmw dy mn bny kmr'
6. 'bdw hykl' lbl
7. wyrḥbwl

In the month of SYWN (Siwan), (in) the year 279 (Sel. = June, 33 BCE)⁵, ZBDBWL (Zabdibol) son of B'YŠW (Ba'yašu)⁶, of the Benē GDYBWL (Gadibol), and MLKW (Malku), the son of RMW (Ramu), of the Benē KMR' (Komarē), made the shrine for BL (Bel) and YRḥBWL (Yarḥibol). (Tr. *PP*, p. 3, adapted)

Honorific inscription to statue of 'Atte'em daughter of Kohailu (17 BCE)

PAT 0315, cf. *Déd.*, p. 62, *Inv.* xi, 84, C3969 (Palmyra Museum? On statue base). Facsimile *CIS*, p. 148.

(Palmyrene)

1. šlmt' dh dy 't'm b[rt khylw br]⁷
2. 'wšy 'tt bwlḥ' [br ...]
3. dy 'qym<w> lh 'glbwl w[mlkbl]⁸
4. wbny kmr' byrh' dr š[nt 2.100]⁹
5. 80+10+4

This statue is that of 'T'M ('Atte'em) daugh[ter of KHYLW (Kohailu) son of] 'WŠY (Aushai) wife of BWLḥ' (Bolḥa) [son of] which 'GLBWL ('Aglibol) and [MLKBL (Malakbel)] and the Benē KMR' (Komare) (have erected) for her in the month of 'DR (Adar) in the year 294 (Sel. = March, 17 BCE).

Funerary foundation established by 'Athenathan b. Kohailu (9 BCE)

PAT 0457, cf. C4109 (A), *Inv.* iv, 28, Cooke 141 (On Stone Tablet. Valley of Tombs, Tower 7¹⁰, Group 4109, 4110, 4111, *in situ*?). Facsimile *CIS*, p. 239.

(Palmyrene)

1. qbr' dnh dy
2. 'tntn br khylw dy
3. bnw 'lwhy bnwhy
4. khylw ḥyrn bnwhy
5. dy mn bny myt'

This sepulchre is that of 'TNTN ('Athenathan), son of KHYLW (Kohailu) which has been built over him by his sons KHYLW and ḤYRN (Ḥairan), his sons, who are of the Benē MYT' (Maitha). In the month KNWN (Kanun), the year 304 (Sel. =

⁴ Dirven (p. 200) suggests that *hw* is not to be read as a pronoun but as an exclamation. However, *hw* as an independent pronoun is well attested. Cf. *AIDRP*, p. 146.

⁵ The date (June 33 BCE) makes this the oldest Palmyrene inscription found in Dura-Europos so far. (Dirven, p. 200)

⁶ Ba'yašu (Dirven), B'YḤW (Bertolino). The Palmyrene *š* and *ḥ* are very similar. The reading B'YŠW according to Dirven (p. 200) is more probable as it is of Arab origin and fitting for a member of the Bene Gaddibol, a clan of Arab origin.

⁷ b[rt khylw br] suggested by Milik (*Déd.* 63).

⁸ *PAT* 0315 following C3969 gives dy 'qym lh. dy 'qymw lh is suggested by Milik (*Déd.* 62) although the final -m appears to be missing from the inscription. See photo from *CIS* II, *Tabula* XXII.

⁹ š[nt 3.100] *restituit* C3969, i.e. 83 CE.

¹⁰ The characteristic form of Palmyrene sepulcher is the tomb-tower which could rise as high as six storeys. Within the entrance is normally a hall with recesses for coffins with a richly decorated ceiling and underground is a large vault. It is highly probable that tower-tombs were erected because the adjacent underground vault (hypogeum) could not hold more coffins. Within the tomb-towers are found busts which are the finest representations of Palmyrene art. The inscriptions on the outside of the towers are usually bilingual, within they are almost always in Palmyrene alone. Cf. Cooke, p. 306.

6. byrḥ knwn šnt 3.100+4

Oct./Nov. 9 BCE).

The priests of Ḥirta honour 'Ogeilu b. Aid'an (6/5 BCE)

PAT 2766. Cf. *AIDRP* 29, pp. 145-47; *PP*, pp. 111-12; *RLP*, p. 76; *IMP* 28, p. 25. (Found in the ruins of the first temple of Bel; was in Palmyra Museum A 361/361). Photo: *IMP*, fig. 28.

(Palmyrene)

1. byrḥ knwn šnt 3.100+5+1+[1] 'qymw
2. kmry' dy ḥrt' šlm' dnh
3. l'gylw br 'yd'n dy mn bny kmr'
4. dy 'bd wqrb hw wbnwhy plgwt
5. [mt]lt'¹¹ dh wmšl' wbt nḥry' w
6. [']drn' lḥrt' wlnny wlršp 'lhy'

In the month KNWN (Kanūn) (Oct./Nov.), year 307 (Sel. = 6/5 BCE), the priests of ḤRT' (Ḥirta) erected this statue to 'GYLW ('Ogeilu) son of 'YD'N (Aid'an), from the tribe of Benē KMR' (Komarē), who, together with his sons, built and offered half of this portico, the MŠL' (parlour?),¹² the slaughterhouse, and the [']DRN' (i.e. *andron* banqueting hall) to ḤRT' (Ḥirta) NNY (Nanai) and RŠP (Reshef), the gods. (tr. *PP*, p. 112, modified)

Dedication to Allat – oldest surviving (?) dated bi-lingual inscription on altar (7/6 BCE)

Allat 20, *IGLS* xvii, 134, *RLP*, pp. 103-04

(Greek)

1. Ἀλλαθῆ τ[ε καὶ Ἀ]ρτέμιδ[ι ...] ζτ'

To Allat [and who is also] Artemi[s¹³ ...] 306 (Sel. = 7/6 BCE).¹⁴

(Palmyrene)

1. [...] ml[kw b]r bl[...] 'ky [...]

[...] MLKW (Malku), son of BL (Bel) [...] 'KY (Aakeī) [...]

Building inscription honouring donors (10 CE)

PAT 2636, cf. Gawlikowski and al-As'ad, 1993: 163-72.

(Palmyrene)

1. ktl' dnh dy blwy' dy
2. gml'y' dy l'l mnḥ dy blw
3. gbl tdmry' klhwn 'l
4. 'tntn kptwt br br'
5. w'l ymlkw brh dy mn bny
6. myt' lyqrhwn šnt
7. 3.100+20+2

This wall (was constructed) out of the funds of the people of Gamla (or: the cameleers?) (GMLY'). Its upper part (was constructed) from the funds of all the people of Tadmor.¹⁵ It is for 'TNTN ('Athenathan) son of KPTWT (Kafatut) son of BR' (Bar'a) and to YMLKW (Yamliku) his son, (both) from the Benē MYT' (Maitha), in their honour in the year 322 (= AD 10/11).

¹¹ [mt]lt' (*Déd.* 220): *PAT* 2766.5 gives ['t]lt'. Gawlikowski (*Le Temple*, pp. 60-62) states that there are two characters missing rather than one. See also *RLP*, p. 76.

¹² For discussion on the meaning of the hapax *mšl'* see *RLP*, p. 76.

¹³ The Greek can also mean '... to both Allat and Artemis'. The identification of Allat with Artemis is found in only one inscription of the Tetrarchic period from Chalcis. (*Allat*, p. 249)

¹⁴ The date, if correct, would make this the oldest extant bilingual (Greek and Aramaic) inscription from Palmyra. However, the Aramaic inscription which attaches the altar to the family of the A'keī appears to be late. (*Allat*, p. 249)

¹⁵ The translation of this important text is uncertain. See notes in *PAT* 347 (Glossary, s.v. **blw**).

**Statues (?) dedicated to imperial family by the Legate of Legio X Fretensis
(between 14 & 19 CE)**

IGLS xvii, 3, cf. *L'Agora*, Anx. 10, *Inv.* ix, 2 (On cornice. Palmyra Museum Inv. A 35):

(Latin)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. [Dr]uso Caesari {Ti(beri) Aug(usti) f(ilio) diui nepoti} Ti(berio) Caesari diui Aug(usti) f(ilio) Augusto diui Iuli nepoti Ge[rmanico Caesari] {Ti(beri) Aug(usti) f(ilio), diui nepoti}</p> <p>2. <i>imperatoribus posuit</i></p> <p>3. [. Min]ucius T(iti) f(ilius) Hor(atia tribu), Rufus legatus leg(ionis) X Fretensis</p> | <p>To the rulers (<i>imperatoribus</i>) Drusus Caesar, {son of Tiberius Augustus, grandson of the divine (Augustus)}, to Tiberius Caesar, son of the divine Augustus, grandson of the divine (<i>Augusto</i>) Julius, to Ge[rmanicus Caesar] {son of Tiberius Augustus, grandson of the divine (Augustus), [. Min]ucius Rufus, son of Tiberius, of the tribe Horatia, Legate of the Legio X Fretensis, has erected (these statues?).</p> |
|---|--|

**Palmyrene (Tadmorean) and Greek merchants from Seleucia honour
Yedi'ebel b. 'Azizu (19 CE)**

IGLS xvii, 24, cf. *PAT* 0270, C3924, *IPS* G1 (Temple of Bel, re-employed):

(Greek)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. [.....οἱ ἐν Σελευ-]</p> <p>2. [κεῖα ἔμπ](ο)[ρ]οι Πα[λμυρηνοὶ]</p> <p>3. [καὶ Ἑλλην]ες ἀνέσ[τη]σ[αν]</p> <p>4. [τὸν ἀνδριάν]τα Ἰεδειβ[ήλω]</p> <p>5. [Ἀζίζου Παλ](μ)υρηνωὶ φ[υλῆς]</p> <p>6. [Μανθαβω]λείων ἐπεὶ</p> <p>7. [κατεσπο]ύδασεν (εἰς τὴν)</p> <p>8. [κτίσιν] τοῦ ναοῦ Βή(λου)</p> | <p>[...] The P[almyrene and Greek mer]c[ha]nts [of Seleukeia ?] have er[ec]t[ed] this statue] to Iedei[bēlos] son of Azizos of the tribe of the Manthabōlians because [he had been zea]lous in the [construction of t]he Temple of Bēl.</p> |
|---|---|

(Palmyrene)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. byrh 'b šnt 3.100+20+10 [šlm' dnh dy]</p> <p>2. ydy'bl br 'zy(zw) br y(dy')[bl dy mn]</p> <p>3. (bn)y mtbw[l dy] 'qym[w lh tdmry']</p> <p>4. (w)y(wn)y'¹⁶ dy b(s)lwky' [bdyl dy]</p> <p>5. (q)m w(šmš bmgd' r)[b' lbt bl]</p> | <p>In the month of 'B (Ab) of the year 330 (Sel. = August, 19 CE). [This is the statue of] YDY'BL (Yedi'ebel), son of 'ZY(ZW) ('Azīzū) son of YDY[BL] of the tribe of MTBW[L (Maṭṭabol) which] the Tadmorenes (TDMRY') and Greeks (YWNY) from SLWKY' (i.e. Seleucia) have erected (to him) because he rose and served [the House of BL (Bēl)] with a gr[eat] gift.</p> |
|--|--|

Statue of 'Azīzū b. Yedī'ebel erected by his son Yedī'ebel (17 CE)

IGLS xvii, 27, cf. *PAT* 0271, *Inv.* ix, 6B, C3925 (Temple of Bel, re-employed)¹⁷:

¹⁶ *ywny'* (= Gr. Ἴωνες in the Greek text) is derived from Gr. Ἴωνες 'Ionians' – the most common name for Greeks in the Achaemenid Empire and along the Silk Road and survives today in *Yunanistan* – the official modern Turkish name for Greece.

¹⁷ According to M. Gawlikowski ('Trade across frontiers: Foreign relations of a caravan city' in *Palmyrena*, 19): 'No photograph was ever made available, but we know that the stone was seriously damaged after its discovery, The stone is a socle prepared for two statues standing side by side, bearing on the front two

(Greek)

1. [Ἀζειζον Ἰεδειβήλου τοῦ]
2. [Βαρ]χαιου Παλμυρηνὸν
3. φυλῆς Μανθ<α>βωλείω[v]¹⁸
4. Ἰεδειβήλος ὁ υἱὸς ἔτ[ους]
5. (ηκ)[τ'] μηνὸς Γορπιαί[ου]

[(This is the statue of) Azizos, son of Iedeibēlos, son of Bar]chaïos, a Palmyrene of the tribe of Manthabōlians which Iedeibēlos his son (had erected) in the year 3[28] in the month of Gorpaios (Sel. = September, 17 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. [byrḥ] 'lwl šnt 3.100+20+5+3 šl[m']
2. [d]y 'zyzw (br) ydy'bl brky dy m[n]
3. [b]ny mtbwl dy 'qym lh ydy['bl]
4. [b]rh

[In the month of] 'LWL (Elūl) of the year 328 (Sel. = September, 17 CE/AD). (This is the) sta[tue o]f 'ZYZW ('Azizu) son of YDY'BL (Yedi'ebel) son of BRKY (Barkaī) which YDY'BL his son had erected to him.

Hashash b. Nesha honoured with a statue for settling tribal disputes (21 CE)

PAT 0261, cf. *Inv.* ix, 13, C3915, Cooke 132¹⁹ (Temple of Bel, *in situ*?)

1. šlm ḥšš br nš' br bwlḥ' ḥšš dy
2. 'bdw lh bny kmr' wbnny mtbwl mn (dy) qm
3. bršhwn w'bd šlm' bynyhwn wprns
4. brmnhwn bkl [š]bw klh rb' wz'r
5. lyqrh byrḥ knwn šnt 3.100+ 20+10+3

Statue of ḤŠŠ (Ḥašāš) son of NŠ' (Nešā), son of BWLḤ' (Bōlḥā) ḤŠŠ, which the tribe of KMR' (Komarē) and the tribe of MTBWL (Maṭṭabōl) have made to him, because he stood up at their head and made peace between them, and superintended their agreement(?)²⁰ in everything whatsoever, the great and the small. In his honour. In the month KNWN (Kanūn), the year 333. (Sel. = November, 21 CE/AD). (tr. Cooke, altered.)

Yadai b. Malku honoured by his sons (24 CE)

PAT 1351, cf. *Inv.* ix, 7 (Temple of Bel, on console, *in situ*):

(Palmyrene)

1. byrḥ šbt šnt 3.100+20+10+5 šlm' dnh dy
2. [yd]y br mlkw br 'gylw²¹ br 'bd'stwr br 'tz'
3. [dy] (mn bny) zbwd dy 'q(ym)w lh 'gylw wydy
4. bnwhy

In the month ŠBT (Shabat) of the year 335 (Sel. = February, 24 CE/AD), this is the statue of YDY (Yadai), son of MLKW (Malku), son of 'GYLW ('Ogeilu), son of 'BD'STWR ('Abd'astor), son of 'TZ' ('Atza), of the tribe of ZBWD (Zaboda). His sons 'GYLW and YDY have erected this.

bilingual inscriptions identifying the persons so honoured. So, in September AD 17, one Yedi'bel set up a likeness of his father 'Azizu b. Yedi'bel, apparently out of filial piety alone. Two years later, in August AD 19, the son was honoured by another statue set up next to his father's, this time offered by a group whose description of his contribution to the '(building of the) temple of Bel', as can be understood from the remaining of the Greek and Aramaic letters put together.'

¹⁸ Μανθ<α>βωλείω[v] : The photograph of the squeeze shows clearly ΜΑΝΘΒΩΛΕΙΩ[...].

¹⁹ The Greek version of the inscription given by Cooke (p. 293) belongs to *IGLS* xvii, 16 = PAT 1352 (*infra*).

²⁰ The word *rmn* is not Aramaic; it may be from Arabic, or it may come from Persian and related to the word *firman*, hence the translation by Cooke as 'agreement'. It could also be related to the Egyptian derived word *rmn* found in Official (i.e. Royal) Aramaic meaning 'basket' (cf. *DNWSI* ii, 1078, s.v. **rmn**²) - hence a reference to some kind of common agreement or common fund.

²¹ The reading *gylw* given by PAT (both in line 2 and in line 3) must be a misprint for 'gylw. The initial 'e- is clearly recorded in the hand-drawn version of the inscription given in *Inv.* 9 7.

Palmyrene merchants of the city of Babylon honour Malku b. Nesha with a statue (24 CE)

IGLS xvii, 16, cf. *IPS* G2, *PAT* 1352, *Inv.* ix, 11 (On console in two blocks. Temple of Bel. Line 6 of the Palmyrene text is below the moulding.):

(Palmyrene)

1. b[yr]h knwn šnt 3.100+20+10+5+1 šlm' dnh dy
2. br nš' br bwlh' dy mtqr' ḥšš dy mn bny
3. kmr' dy 'qymw lh t[g]ry' klhwn dy bmdynt
4. bbl mn dy špr lhwn bkl gns klh w'dr bn[yn]
5. dy h[y]kl' dy bl wyhb mn kysh dy l' 'bdh
{below the moulding}
6. 'nš bdy l kwt 'qymw lh šlm' dnh lyqrh

In the m[on]th KNWN (Kanūn) of the year 336 (Sel. = November, 24 CE); this (is a) statue of MLKW (Malku), the son of NŠ' (Nesha), the son of BWLH' (Bolḥa), who is called ḤŠŠ (Ḥhashash), of the tribe of KMR' (Komare), which was erected for him by all the merchants in the city of BBL (i.e. Babylon), because he has done good to them in all (kinds of) ways and has helped (in) the building of the temple of BL (Bel) and has contributed from his own purse, which nobody (else ever) did; for this reason they erected this statue for him in his honour.

(Greek)

1. Μάλιχον Νεσᾶ τοῦ Βωλαᾶ τοῦ ἐπικαλ-
2. ουμένου Ἀσάσου, φυλῆς Χομαρηνῶν, Παλ-
3. μυρηνῶν ὁ δῆμος, εὐνοίας ἔνεκα.

(This statue of) Malikos (the son of) Nesa, the son of Bōlaa(s), also called Hasasos, of the tribe of the Komarenes, (has been erected by) the people (δῆμος) of the Palmyrenes, on account of (his) benevolence.

Malku b. Nesha honoured by the Treasurers and citizens of Palmyra (25 CE)

IGLS xvii, 17, cf. *PAT* 1353, *Inv.* ix, 12 (Temple of Bel):

(Palmyrene)

1. [b]yrh sywn šnt 3.100+20+10+5+1 šlm' dnh dy
2. [ml]kw br nš' br bwlh' ḥšš dy mn bny kmr'
3. [dy] 'qymw lh 'nwš 'nwšt' wgb l tdmry'
4. [mn d]y špr lhwn wlmḥwzhwn wlb t 'lhyhwn

In the month of SYWN (Siwan), the year 306 (Sel. = June, 25 CE/AD). This statue is that of [ML]KW (Malku) son of NŠ' (Nesha) son of BWLH' (Bolḥa) (son of) ḤŠŠ (Ḥhashash) of the Benē KMR' (Komare) which the treasurers ('NWŠ 'NWŠT' lit. 'men of the treasury') and the people of Tadmor (GBL TDMRY') have erected for him because he was pleasing to them and to their city and the place of their gods (i.e. the Temple of Bel).

(Greek)

1. Μάλιχον Νεσᾶ τοῦ Βωλάα τοῦ Ἀσά-
2. ξ, φυλῆς Χομαρηνῶν, οἱ ἀργυρο-
3. τομίαι καὶ Παλμυρηνῶν ὁ δῆμος,
4. εὐνοίας ἔνεκα. ☩

(This statue of) Malikos (the son of) Nesa, the son of Bōlaas son of Hasasos, of the tribe of the Komarenes, the treasures (ἀργυροτομίαι) and the People (δῆμος) of the Palmyrenes²² (have erected it) {flower} for the sake of honour(ing him).
{flower}

{At the foot of the inscription}

²² This is probably the earliest attestation of the word δῆμος in a bilingual Palmyrene inscription and is probably used in the Greek sense of 'the city of Palmyra'. It is also worth noting that the term *dms* or *dmws* does not appear in the Palmyrene Aramaic version and further more the words 'traders in the city of Babylon' do not appear in the Greek. This suggests quite separate composition and that the Palmyrene version is here the original and more complete inscription and that the Greek is a formulaic version couched in a Greek epigraphical tradition. (Ricklefs, *FPTZ*, p. 125)

- (1). Λ' Δ' AP
(2). μέχρι τούτο

34 AP²³
until now

Statue honouring 'Ogeilu b. Taimai (28 CE)

PAT 0268, cf. C3922 (Temple of Bel, on column console, *in situ*):

(Palmyrene)

1. šlm' dnh dy 'gylw br tymy b[r]
2. zbdbwl dy m[n] bny kmr' dy 'qym
3. lh bnwhy lyqrh šnt 3.100+40

This is the statue of 'GYLW ('Ogeilu), the son of TYMY (Taimai), the s[on] of ZBDBWL (Zabdibol), of the tribe KMR' (Komarē), which was set up for him by his sons. In his honour, (in) the year 340 (Sel. = 28-29 CE).

Altar set up by a religious association (34 CE)

PAT 0326, cf. IMP 26, PP, p. 40, C3980, Cooke 140 (On altar. Palmyra Museum)

(Palmyrene)

1. [byrh] šbt šnt 3.100+40+5 'lt' dh ['bdw]
2. [bny m]rzh' 'ln l'glbwl wmlkbl 'lh[y']
3. [wh]by br 'tnwry 'wdw whggw br zbdllh kmr'
4. [wn]bwzbd br mlkw mtn' wtymw br 'gylw rbbt
5. [w]mlkw br yrhbwl' hty wyrhbwl' br tymrsw
6. 'brwq wzbdbwl br ydy'bl 'lhw w'gylw br
7. nwry zbdbwl wmlkw br mqymw tym'md

In the month ŠBT (Shebat), the year 345 (Sel. = February, 34 CE/AD). This altar [was erected] to 'GLBWL ('Aglibol) and MLKBL (Malakbel), (the) gods, (by) the members of the *symposium*:²⁴ [WH]BY (Wahbai) son of 'TNWRY 'WDW ('Ath-enur 'Audu), HGGW (Hagegou) son of ZBDLH KMR' (Zabdilah Komare). [N]BWZBD (Nebuzabad) son of MLKW MTN' (Malku Mattane), TYMW (Taimu) son of 'GYLW ('Ogeilu) son of RBBT (Rabibat) and MLKW (Malku) son of YRHBWL' HTY (Yarhibola Hati), YRHBWL' (Yarhibola) son of TYMRŠW 'BRWQ (Taimaršu Abruq) and ZBDBL (Zabdibol) son of YDY'BL 'LHW (Yedi'ebel Alihu) and 'GYLW ('Ogeilu) son of NWRY ZBDBL (Nurai Zabdibol) and MLKW (Malku) son of MQYMW TYM'MD (Moqimu Taim'amad).

Dedication to the 'good gods' Aglibol and Malakbel (37 CE)

PAT 2781 (Palm. only); IGLS xvii, 384 (Gr. on a different altar?) (prov. unknown):

(Palmyrene)

1. [byrh] šbt šnt 3.100+40+10+5+3
2. [dh]t' qrbw mlkw [z]bd'[th]
3. [...].bny tym'md b[r] bwrp' zg[wg]
4. [l'glybwl w]mlkbl 'lhy' tby'
5. [l'hyhyn whyy b]nyhyn w'hyhyn whyy tym'[md]

In the month of ŠBT (Shebat), the year 348 (= 37 CE), [this] altar [and crater(?)] offered MLKW (Malikū) and [Z]BD'[TH] (Zabadateh) [and ...] sons of TYM'MD (Taymamad), son of BWRP' ZG[WG] (Borfa Zagog), to 'GLYBWL ('Aglibol)

²³ The same formula is found on at least two other inscriptions (IGLS xvii, 41 & 42) but accompanied by the word ἀπληροσμένον 'made even, achieved, completed'. If this is a craftsman's mark then it shows the use of the Greek in Palmyra was not limited to the mercantile elite or that native Greek-speaking craftsmen were employed in the production of Greek inscriptions.

²⁴ On the significance of the *bny mrzh* 'religious guild' or 'confraternity' see the important comments of RLP, pp. 229-34.

6. [ʾbwhn]

(Greek after Milik, *Déd.* 147)

1. [M]ḡnī Perēit(i)w ʾētous [... theōis]
2. [ʾA]ḡlibolw kai [Malakḡbēlōw eis]
3. [t]eiḡmēn tōn ʾ[poḡ fulḡis Xōnēitōn]
4. tō symḡōs[iou ...]

(Greek after *IGLS* xvii, 384):

1. [M]ḡnī Perēit(i)w ʾētous [... oī iereīs]
2. [ʾA]ḡlibolōw kai [Malakḡbēlōw eis]
3. [t]eiḡmēn tōn A[...]
4. tō symḡōs[iou ...]

and MLKBL (Malakbel), the good gods,[for their lives and the lives of their s]ons and brothers and for the life TYM[ʾMD (Taymamad), their father.] (tr. Kaizer, *RLP*, 131)

In the month of Peritios (February), the year [...], for the gods Ag]libol and [Malakbel, in h]onour of those who are [from the tribe of the Chōneitōi]. the hall for the sympos[ium ...] (tr. Kaizer, *RLP*, 131)

In the month of Peritios (February), the year [...], the priests of Ag]libol and [Malakbel, in h]onour of [those A...] for (the hall of the) sympos[ium ...]

Dedication to Elqoner(a?) / Poseidon ‘the good god’ (39 CE)*IGLS* xvii, 318, cf. *IMP* 10, *PAT* 2779 (Prov. Wadi es-Saraysir):

(Palmyrene)

1. byrh sywn šnt 3.100+40+10
2. [qrb] mqymw br khylw br zbdbl
3. [dy] mtqrh br zbydy dy mn pḡd bny
4. [gd]ybwł ʾlwt ʾln trtyhn
5. [l]ʾlqwnr ʾlh ʾtḡ

In the month of SYWN (Siwan) in the year 350 (Sel. = June, 39 CE), MQYMW (Moqimu) son of KHYLW (Kohailu) son of ZBDBL (Zabdibel), also known as BR ZBYDY (Bar-Zebidai), from the tribe of GDYBWL (Gaddibol), has offered these two altars to ʾLQWNR (Elqoner) the good god.

(Greek)

1. Ποσειδῶνι θεῷ

To the God Poseidon. (tr. *IP* 14-15, altered)

Lishamash b. Taibbol honoured for consecrating the Temple of Bel (45 CE)*PAT* 1347, *RLP*, p. 69, *IMP* 22, *PP*, p. 1, *Inv.* 9, 1 (Temple of Bel, re-employed. Loc.: Palmyra Museum A26/25):

(Palmyrene)

1. byrh tšry šnt 3.100+40+10+5+2
2. šlm ʾdnh dy lšmš br tybwł
3. br škybl dy mn bny kmr ʾdy
4. ḡnk hykl ʾdy bl wyrḡbwł
5. w ʾglbwł ʾlhy ʾbqdšwhy
6. ywm štt ʾbnysn šnt 3.100+40+3
7. dy ʾqymw lh bnwhy lyqrh

In the month TŠRY (Tishri), the year 357 (Sel. = October, 45 CE). This is the statue of LŠMŠ (Lišamaš) son of TYBWL (Taibbol) son of ŠKYBL (Shokaibel), of the Benē KMR (Komarē), who dedicated the temple of BL (Bel) and yrḡbwł (Yarḡibol) and ʾGLBWL (ʾAglibol), the gods on their festival-day, the sixth day of NYSN (Nisan), in the year 343 (Sel. = April 6, AD 32). His children erected the statue in his honour. (tr. Teixidor, *PP*, p. 1, altered).

Palmyrene merchants from Charax Spasinou honour Zabdibol b. Obayhan (51 or 71 CE)*PAT* 1584, cf. *IPS* G3, Schuol 4 (Palmyra Museum):

(Palmyrene)

1. [...] šnt 3.100+60+2 (or 3.100+80+2)
2. šlm ʾdnh dy zbdbwl br ʾbyhn
3. br zbdbwl br lšmš br mkn ʾ

... in the year 362 (or 382) (Sel. = 51 or 71 CE/AD), this statue of ZBDBWL (Zabdibol) son of ʾBYHN (ʾObayhān) son of ZBDBWL son of LŠMŠ

4. rb' dy mn p̄hd bny mtbwl dy
5. 'qymw lh t̄gry' tdmry'
6. dy b'sp[s]nq̄rt̄ klhn spwn
7. [.....b]kl šbw dnpl'
8. [.....]

(Lišamaš) son of MKN' (Maknā) the Great, of the tribe of MTBWL (Maṭṭabōl) which was erected for him by the merchants of Tadmor (TDMRY') who are in 'SP[S]NQRT̄ (Ispasiqert̄ i.e. Charax Spasinou) - all of them in accord [..in] everything that occurs (?) [...]

Moqimu b. 'Ogeilu honoured by the City (*polis*) of Palmyra (51 CE)

IGLS xvii, 18, cf. *PAT* 0269, C3923 (On column console, Temple of Bel, *in situ*?):

(Greek)

1. [Παλμυρη]νῶν ἡ πόλις Μόκιμον Ὀγηλου τοῦ]²⁵
2. [κα]ι Ὀχχάισου ἀρέσ[αντ]α αὐ(τ)ῇ τε καὶ τοῖς θεο[ῖς]
3. διδόντα ἐξ ἰδίων εἰς τ[ὸ] ἱερὸν σπονδοφό[ρίας]²⁶
4. καὶ θυμιατήριν χρυσᾶ ἐγ̄ δη<ναρίων> ρν' καὶ το[...]²⁷
5. [φι]άλια τέσσαρα χρυσᾶ ἐγ̄ δη(ναρίων) ρκ' καὶ τ[ραπεζ]ώ[ματα]²⁸
6. [κ]αὶ πρ[οσ]κε(φ)αλάδιον εἰς τὴν τῆς ἀ[δύτου]²⁹
7. [κ]λείνην ἡγορασμ(έ)να ἀργυρίου δηναρ[ίω]ν ...]
8. [τειμῆ]ς κ[αὶ] εὐνοί]ας ἔνεκεν ἔτους βξτ' μηνὸς [Δύστρου]

[The city of the Palmyre]nes (has erected this statue) [to Moqimos son of Ogeilōs, (known as)] Hokkaisos, because he was pleasing to it and to the gods and, at his own expense, gave to [the temp]le the vase of libations and a golden censer worth 150 denarii, and [...] four golden decorated (?) libation bowls worth 120 denarii, and [...], and a pillow for the couch of the [adyton?] bought at the price of [...] denarii. To his h[onour] a[n]d as a token of goodwi[ll]. The year 362, the month [Dystros] (Sel. = March, 51 CE). (tr. *PP*, 5, altered.)

(Palmyrene)

1. šlm' dnh dy mqymw br 'gylw br p̄sy' [l]
2. br tymy dy mtqrh ḥkyšw dy mn bny zb[dbwl]
3. [dy 'qymw lh gbl tdmry' klhn mn dy špr [lhn]
4. [wq]rb lbt 'lhyhn mn [kysh ...]³⁰ qr[...]
5. [byrh 'dr [šnh] 3.100 +[60]+2

This statue is MQYMW (Moqimu) son of 'GYLW ('Ogeilu) son of P̄SY'[L] (Phašaiel) son of TYMY (Taimai) known as ḤKYŠW (Ḥokkaishu), who is of the tribe of ZB[D]B[WL] (Zabdibol), which the Assembly³¹ of all the people of Tadmor (GBL TDMRY') erected to him because he benefited them, and offered to the temple of the gods [from his own expense ...]. [In the month 'DR (Adar), [the year] 3[6]2 (Sel. = March, 51 CE). (Trans. Teixidor, *PP*, p. 5, altered.)

²⁵ Kaizer (*RLP*, p. 163) suggests adding Θαιμει τοῦ (cf. Palmyrene l. 2: *br tymy*). Since the first line of this now severely damaged inscription being on a moulding, is somewhat longer than the remaining lines (cf. Prentice, *GLI*, 278), there is certainly room for such an addition and perhaps even for Φασάηλου τοῦ (cf. Palmyrene l. 1: *br p̄sy' [l]*).

²⁶ σπονδοφό[ρίας] (*IGLS*, p. 29); σπονδοφό[ρον] (*Déd.*, p. 154).

²⁷ Kaizer (*RLP*, pp. 163-4) suggests restoring το[ρύνην καὶ] 'and a [ladel (?)]'.

²⁸ Kaizer (*RLP*, p. 163) suggests restoring: πε[ρίσ]τ[ρ]ωμ[α] 'bed-covering' (?). *IGLS* suggests τορευτὰ 'decorated'.

²⁹ ἀ[δύτου] (Kaizer); [..](Y)A[---] (*IGLS*).

³⁰ [..]w[...]. (*Déd.*, p. 154); [kysh ...] (*IGLS*).

³¹ Note the use of the Aramaic term GBL 'people' instead of BWL' (= Gr. βουλὴ) or DMS (= Gr. δῆμος). Note also that the corresponding Greek term here is πόλις (line 1). This seems to suggest that the Palmyrene is less dependent upon the Greek than is normally the case, otherwise one would expect them to use the corresponding term MDYNTH 'city'. (Ricklefs, *FPTZ*, p. 121)

Self-commemorating tri-lingual inscription of Ḥairan son of Bonna (52 CE)

IGLS xvii, 535, cf. *IMP* 24, *PAT* 2801 (Large pane in moulded border. Loc. Palmyra Museum A1126/1126):

(Latin)

1. Haeranes Bonne Rabbeli
2. f(ilius) Palmirenus phyles Mithenon
3. sibi et suis fecit

Haeranes (son of) Bonne, son of Rabbelus, a Palmyrene of the tribe of the Meitthenians, has built this for himself and his (children).

(Greek)

1. Ἔτους γξτ' μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ
2. Αἰράνης Βωνναίου τοῦ Παββήλου
3. Παλμυρηνὸς φυλῆς Μειτθηνῶν ἑαυτῷ
4. καὶ Βωννῇ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ Βααθηγᾶ μητρὶ
5. αὐτοῦ εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις αὐτοῦ

In the month Xandikos of the year 363 (Sel. = April, 52 CE). Hairanes, son of Bōnnaios, son of Rabbēlos, a Palmyrene of the tribe of the Meitthenians (built this) for himself and his father Bōnnēs and his mother Baalthēga, for the sake of goodwill, and for his family.

(Palmyrene)

1. byrh nysn šnt 3.100+60+3 qbr' dnh dy
2. hyrn br bwn' br rb'l br bwn' br 'tntn br
3. tymy tdmry' dy mn pḥd bny myt' dy bn' 'l
4. bwn' 'bwhy w'l b'ltg' brt blšwry dy mn
5. pḥd bny gdybwl 'mh wlh wlbwhy lyqrhwn

In the month NYSN (Nisan), year 363 (Sel. = April, 52 CE). This is the tomb of HYRN (Ḥairan), son of BWN' (Bonna) son of RB'L (Rabb'el) son of BWN' son of 'TNTN ('Atenatan) son of TYMY (Taimai), a Tadmōrene of the tribe of MYT' (Mita), which he had built for BWN' his father and for B'LTG' (Ba'altaga) daughter of BLŠWRY (Belšuri), of the tribe GDYBWL (Gaddibol), his mother, and for himself and his children, in their honour. (tr. *IMP*, p. 22, adapted)

Tri-lingual tomb foundation inscription of Caius Virius Alcimus and Titius Statilius Hermes (56/57 CE)

IGLS xvii, 400, cf. *IMP* 113, *IP*, p. 16 (Prov. On plaque found in the Valley of Tombs. Loc. Palmyra Museum A1500/9fHaer

194):

(Latin)

1. [C(aius) Virius Alcimus]
2. [et T(itius) Stat]ilius Hermes
3. [fec]erunt sibi et suis

G(aius) Virius Alcimus and T(itus) {or T(itius)} Stat]ili[us Hermes] have made (this) for themselves and their own.

(Greek)

1. Ἔτους ηξτ'
2. [Γάϊο]ς Οὐίριος Ἀλκιμος
3. [καὶ Τίτο]ς Στατίλιος Ἑρμῆς
4. [ἐποι]ήσαν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἰδίο(ι)ς

In the year 368 (Sel. = 57/58 CE/AD), [Gaiu]s Virios Alkimos [and Tito]s Statilios Hermes have made (this) for themselves and for their own.

(Palmyrene)

1. gys wyrs 'lqms wtyts 'sttlys h[rms]
2. bnw npšh wm'rth 'ln lhn wlbnyhwn
lyq[r]h[wn]

GYS WYRS 'LQMS (Gaius Virius Alcimus) and TYTS 'STTLYS H[RMS] (Titus Statilius Hermes) have built this monument and this cave for

3. bšnt 3.100+60+5+3

themselves and for their children in their honour.
In the year 368 (Sel. = 57/58 CE/AD).

Funerary foundation made by Ogeilu for himself and his sons and brothers (57 CE)

PAT 0468; *Louvre* 188; *MF Fondation* 9; C4119 (On stone tablet found and purchased in 1891, now in the Louvre):

1. byrh nysn dy šnt
2. 3.100+60+5+3 bt 'lm'
3. dnh dy 'gylw br 'wšy
4. br khylw tdmry' dy
5. mn phd myt' dy
6. 'bd lh bhywhy lbt
7. 'lmh lyqrh wlyqr
8. bnwhy w'hwhy lbt 'lm'

In the month of Nisan of the year 368 (Sel. = 57 CE/AD). This house of eternity is that of 'GYLW (Ogeilu), son of 'wšY (Awšai), son of KHYLW (Kohailo), Tadmorean of the tribe of MYT' (Mita), which he build for himself while living his house of eternity, in his honour and in honour of his children and his borthers, for a house of eternity.

Tri-lingual funerary inscription of the Tax-farmer Chrysanthos (58 CE)

IGLS xvii, 536, cf. *PAT* 0591, *IGRR* iii, 1539 (Prov. On stone tablet found in the sanctuary of the Temple of Bel, re-employed. Loc. Palmyra Museum A23/22):

(Latin)

1. [L(ucius) S]pedius Chrysanthus
2. [vi]vos fecit sibi et suis

[L(ucius) S]pedius Chrysanthus made this (tomb) while he was still alive for himself and his own (offspring).

(Greek)

1. Λούκιος Σπένδιος Χρύσανθος(ο)[ς]
2. (ζῶ)ν ἐποίησεν ἑαυτῷ κ(α)ὶ τοῖς
3. (ιδ)[ίοι]ς, ἔτους θξτ' μηνὸς Γ[ορ]π[αίου]

Loukios Spedios Chrysanthos while living made (this tomb) for himself and for his own (offspring) in the month of G[or]p[ai]os], the year 369 (Sel. = September, 58 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. byrh 'lwl šnt 3.100+60+5+2+[2] bnh [lwqy]ws
2. ('spdy)[s] krystws mks' bhywhy [qbr' dnh]
3. lh wlbwhy wlbny byth ly[q]rh[wn]

In the month of 'lwl (Elul) of the year 369 (Sel. = September 58 CE/AD), [lwqy]ws 'SPDY[S] KRYSTWS (Lucius Spedius Chrystos). tax-farmer (MKS'), has built this tomb during his life for himself and for the sons of his house in their honour.

Dedication to Emperor Nero (63 CE)

IGLS xvii, 297 (inscription in 2 lines - with no published line-breaks - reused in fortification):

(Latin)

[Nero Claudius, diui Claudi f(ilius), Germanici Caes]ar(is) [ne]p(os), Ti(beri) Caesaris Aug(usti) pron(epos), diu[i Aug(usti) adnep(os), Caesar Aug(ustus) Germani]c(us), pont(ifex) maxi(mus), trin(unicia) potest(ate) X, imp(erator) VI[III], co(n)s(ul) IV, p(ater) p(atriciae) ...

[Claudis Nero, son of the divine Claudius, grandson of Germanicus Cae]sar, great-grandson of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, great-great-grandson of the Divi[ne Augustus, Caesar Augustus Germani]cus, Maximum Pontiff, 10 times voted tribune (of the people), 9 times Emperor, 4 times Father of the Fatherland ...

Building offerings to the Temple of Baalshamin (67 CE)

PAT 0329, cf. *BS* iii 13, *Inv.* i, 4, C3983, Cooke 133 (Prov. On stone tablet, Temple of Baalshamin. Loc. Palmyra Museum)

(Palmyrene)

1. 'mwdy' 'ln ḥmš' wšrythwn wttlylhwn qrb zbdy
br zbdnbw qhzn dy mn bny m'zyn lb'lšmn 'lh'
ṭb'
 2. wškr' 'l ḥywhy whyy bnwhy w'ḥwhy byrh 'lwl
šnt 3.100+60+10+5+3
- These five columns and their entablatures³² and their roofing ZBDY (Zabdai), son of ZBDNBW (Zabdnebu), (son of) QHZN (Qahzan) who is of the Benē M'ZYN (Maazin), offered to B'LŠMN (Baalshamin), the good and bountiful god, for his life and the life of his sons and his brothers; in the month of 'LWL (Elul), the year 378 (Sel. = September, 67 CE/AD).

Dedication from the Temple of Aršu (63 CE)

PAT 0992, cf. *IMP* 118, Dijkstra, 98 (On altar with crow-steps from the Temple of Aršu. Palmyra Museum A 1471/8834):

(Palmyrene)

1. byrh 'lwl šnt 3.100
 2. +20+20+20+10+5 'lwt' 'l[n]
 3. qrb br'' br mqymw br
 4. twry br br'' dy mn bny
 5. mtbwl l'ršw wlqsm'y
 6. [w]lbnt'l 'lhy' ṭby' 'l
 7. ḥyy mqymw 'bwhy whywhy
 8. whyy bnwhy [why] w'ḥwhy
- In the month 'LWL (Elul) of the year 375 (Sel. = September, 64 CE/AD) BR'' (Baraa) son of MQYMW (Moqimu) son of TWRY (Tawrai) son of BR'' who belongs to the Benē MTBWL (Mattabol) has offered these altars to 'RŠW (Arsu) and to QSMY' (Qismaia) and to the daughters of 'L (El), the good gods, for the life of MQYMW, his father, and the life of himself and the life of his sons and brothers. (tr. Dijkstra, p. 98)

Unnamed citizen of Palmyra honoured by fellow merchants who traded with Charax Spasinou (before 68 CE)

IGLS xvii, 240, cf. *IPS* G4, Schuol 6, *PAT* 1366 (On console found near the rampart of the Agora. *Non-extant*):

(Greek)

1. [- - - - - οἱ ἀνα-]
2. βάντες ἀπὸ Σπασίνο[υ Χάρακ-]
3. ος Παλμυρηνῶν ἔμ(π)[οποι ...]

The mer[chants ...] of the Palmyrenes [...who went] up from Spasin[ou Chara]x [...]

(Palmyrene)

1. [... tgr'y] dy tdm[wr dy slqw]
 2. ['mh mn krk'] dy myšn lyq[rh]
 3. [byrh ...] šnt 3.100+20+[.] [...]
- [The merchant]s of Tadmor [who went up with him from KRK'] DY MYŠN (Kerak of Maishan) [erected this statue?] to honour him. In the year 320 + ? (between 26 and 68 CE)

³² The term 'entablature' (Palmyrene: šry, emph. šryt) here probably means the combination of cornice, frieze and architrave so often found in rock-cut tombs in the Roman Near East.

Tri-lingual inscription honouring Ḥairan b. Bonne (74 CE)³³

IGLS xvii, 304 (not in *PAT*), *Bilingualism*, p. 260 (Latin n°. 12) (In cartouche on column found south of the Theatre):

(Latin)

1. Bu[le et ciui]tas Palmyrenorum Haeranem
2. Bo[nnae f(iliu)m] qui et Rabbelum
3. pium [et phi]lopatrin

Council (*bule*)³⁴ and City of the Palmyrenes (honour) Hairan son of Bonna, surnamed Rabbilus (for being) pious and patriotic.

(Greek)

1. ἡ [βουλ]ή και ὁ [δήμος] Αἰράνην Βωννέο[υς]
2. [τὸν και 'Ρ]άββηλο[ν]
3. κ[τιστ]ήν εὖσε[βή] και [φιλ]όπατριν τιμῆς
χάριν
4. [ἔ]τους επτ' μηνός Ξανδικοῦ

The [Counci]l and [People] (honour) Hairanēs, son of Bōnneōs, also known as Rabbēlos, (a) f[ounde]r, pious and patriotic, for the sake of honour. In the year 385 and in the month of Xandikos (Sel. = April, 74 CE).

(Palmyrene)

1. bwl' wdms lh[y]rn br bwn['] dy
2. [mtqr' rb'l] mšbth bbnby [']l[hy'] wrhym
3. mdynth 'qymw lh šlm' dnh lyqrh
4. byrh n[ys]n [snt] [3.100]+20+20+20+20+5

The Council (BWL') and People (DMS) for Ḥ[Y]RN (Hairan), son of bwn['] (Bonne), who is also called RB'L (Rabbel), who has embellished the buildings of the gods, a patriot, this statue has been erected in his honour, in the month of NYSN (Nisan), the year 385 (Sel. = April, 74 CE).

Council honours Zabdilāh b. Shamshigeram, Scribe of the City (75 CE)

IGLS xvii, 214, cf. *PAT* 1375, *Inv.* x, 39 (Agora, on column console, *in situ*?)

(Greek)

1. [ἡ βουλῇ]
2. Ζαβδιλᾶη Σαμσιγεράμου Ἰο[ύ]σα γραμματέα
παῖσαν φιλοτειμ[ίαν] ἐνδειξάμενον ἐν τοῖς τῆς πό-
3. λεος [πρ]άγμασι [κ]αὶ ἀγνῶς γραμματ[εύ]-
σα]ντα, τιμῆς χάριν, ἔτους ζπτ'

[The Council] (has erected this statue of) Zabdilās the son of Samsigeramos (the son of?) Io[u]sa, the scribe, who has shown his munificence in all the affairs of the city and who has performed his scribal duties with excellence, for the sake of honour(ing him), the year 387 (Sel. = 75 CE).

(Palmyrene)

1. šlm' dnh dy zb[d]lh br šmšgrm 'yš'
2. grmtws rhym mhwzh wkl š[b]w klh
3. špr lmdyth w'p bgrmt'y dy lh hlk
4. [šp]yr wbdylkwt bwl' 'qymt lh
5. šlm' dn[h] lyq[rh] byrh ... šn]t
6. 3.100+[80+5+2]

This statue is that of ZB[D]LH (Zabdilah) son of ŠMŠGRM (Shamshigeram) (son of?) 'YŠ' (Iyushā), the scribe (GRMTWS) and lover of the city (RHYM MHWZH) and in all affairs always pleasing to the city and in his office as scribe (GRMTY') he also behaved excellently and because of this the Council (BWL') has made for him th[is] statue for [his] hon[our] [in the month of ..., the ye]ar 387 (Sel. = 75 CE).

³³ The early date of this tri-lingual inscription is highly significant as Palmyra was not yet a Roman city and there was no political advantage in using Latin. Equally significant is the fact that it honours a local benefactor and not a resident Roman official. 'The inclusion of a Latin version in such an imperfect state can only be interpreted as a form of display, with the Latin wording less important than the ostentatious use of that language alongside the other two.' (*Bilingualism*, p. 260)

³⁴ *Bule* - this Latin *hapax* (found only in another Palmyrene inscription: *IGLS* xvii, 72) - is a phonetic transliteration of the Greek βουλῇ and shows the lack of a suitable word in Latin because of the Latin West had a different system of urban administration.

Description of Palmyra by Pliny the Elder (before 79 CE)

Plinius, *Naturalis Historia*, V,xxi,88:

Palmyra, urbs nobilis situ, divitiis soli et aquis amoenis, vasto undique ambitu harenis includit agros ac, velut terris exempta a rerum natura, privata sorte inter duo imperia summa Romanorum Parthorumque est, prima in discordia semper utrimque cura. abest ab Seleucia Parthorum, quae vocatur ad Tigrim, cccxxxvii p., a proximo vero syriae litore cciii et a Damasco xxvii propius.

Palmyra is a city famous for the beauty of its site, the riches of its soil, and the delicious quality and abundance of its water. Its fields are surrounded by sands on every side, and are thus separated, as it were, by nature from the rest of the world. Though placed between the two great empires of Rome and Parthia, it still maintains its independence; never failing, at the very first moment that a rupture between them is threatened, to attract the careful attention of both. It is distant 337 miles from Seleucia of the Parthians, generally known as Seleucia on the Tigris, 203 from the nearest part of the Syrian coast, and twenty-seven less from Damascus. (tr. J. Bostock, 1855)

Statue of Zabidol b. 'Ogeilu dedicated by Palmyrene merchants from Charax (81 CE)

IGLS xvii, 241, cf. *IPS* G5, *PAT* 1376, *Inv.* x, 40, *Schuol* 5 (Agora, on console, *in situ*):

(Greek)

1. [Ξ]αβδῖβωλον Ὁ[γ]ήλου τοῦ Ἀμ-]³⁵
2. μάθου τοῦ Ἀάχει Παλμυρην[όν]
3. οἱ ἀπὸ Σπασίνου Χάρακος ἀν[αβ]άντες
Παλμυρηνοὶ ἔμπορο[ι]
4. τειμῆς χάριν.

The Palmyrene merchants from Charax Spasinou (dedicated this image to) Zabdibōlos son of Ogēlos (son of) [Ham]mathos, son of Aacheis, a Palmyrene, in his honour.

(Palmyrene)

1. šlm' dnh d[y] zbdbwl
2. [br] 'gylw br ['m]t br ['gylw '']ky
3. [d]y mn bny m'zyn dy 'qymw lh tgry[']
4. [tdmry' dy s]lqw mn krk my[šn]
5. [lyqrh byrh 'b [šn]t 3.100+[80+10+2]

This statue is that of ZBDBWL (Zabdibōl) [son of] 'GYLW ('Ogēlu) son of ['QM]T ('Aqamat?) son of ['GYLW '']KY ('A'kī) of the tribe of M'ZYN (Ma'azīn) which the merchants of [Tadmor who came] up from KRK MY[ŠN] (Kerak of Maishan) have erected to honour him. In the month 'B (Ab) in the year 3[9]2 (Sel. = August, 81 CE/AD).

Abgar b. Astōrgā honoured by the Council of Palmyra with a statue (84 CE)

IGLS xvii, 19, cf. *PAT* 2778 (Temple of Bel):

(Greek)

1. Ἡ βουλὴ Ἀβγαρον Πατρόκλου
2. τοῦ καὶ Ἀστουργᾶ τοῦ Λεκεῖσου
3. ἀγαθὸν πολεῖτην καὶ εὖνουν
4. πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδα τιμῆς
5. χάριν ἔτους ερτ' Δύστρου

The Council (honours) Abgaros, the son of Patroklos also named Astourga, the son of Lekeisos, a good citizen and well disposed towards his *patria*. For the sake of honour. The year 395 in the month of Dystros (Sel. = March, 84 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. šlm' dnh dy 'bgr br pṭrqls
2. dy mtqrh 'stwrġ' br lqyšw
3. dy mn bny myt' dy 'qymw lh bwl'

This statue of 'BGR (Abgar) son of PṬRQLS (Patroklos) who is surnamed 'STWRĠ' (Astōrgā), son of LQYŠW (Leqīshū) of the Benē MYT' (Mītā).

³⁵ *Schuol* (p. 52) restores [Ἀκα]μάθου for line 1 of the Greek and ['q]mt for line 2 of the Palmyrene (p. 53).

4. lyqrh bdyl dy špr lhwn byrh
5. 'dr šnt 3.100+80+10+5

The Council (BWL') made (this statue) for him in his honour because he did good to them. In the month 'DR (Adar) in the year 395 (Sel. = March, 84 CE/AD).

Chapel and altar offered by Lishamash and Zebida b. Malku (85 CE)

PAT 0324, cf. C3978, Cooke 136 (Prov. Palmyra. Loc. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum C2-9):

(Palmyrene)

1. [b]yrh 'lwl šnt 3.100+60+[20]+
2. 10+5+1 ḥmn' dnh w'lt' dh
3. [']bdw wqrbw lšmš wzbyd'
4. bny mlkw br ydy'bl br nš'
5. dy mtqr' br 'bdbl dy mn
6. pḥd bny mgdt lšmš
7. 'lh byt 'bwhn 'l
8. ḥyyhwn whyy 'hyh[wn]
9. wbyhwn

In the month of 'LWL (Elul), the year 396 (Sel. = September, 85 CE/AD), this chapel and this altar have been [m]ade and offered by LŠMŠ (Lishamash) and ZBYD' (Zebida), sons of MLKW (Malku), son of YDY'BL (Yedi'ebel), son of nš' (Nesha). who was called son of 'BDBL ('Abdbel), who was of the tribe of MGDT (Migdash), to ŠMŠ (Shamash), god of their father's house, for their life and the lives of their brothers and their sons.

Yarḥai b. Zabdilāh honoured for protecting and favouring merchants (86 CE)

IGLS xvii, 225, cf. IPS G6, L'Agora VI.03, PAT 1421, Inv. x, 127 (Agora, found in a pit):

(Greek)

1. [ἡ βο]υλῇ Ἰαρ[αῖον Ζαβδιλᾶ φιλόπατριν καὶ]
2. [φιλότειμον εὐνοίας καὶ σπου-
3. [δῆς ἔνεκεν ἧς ἐ]νδεδείκται πρὸς
4. [τοὺς ἐμπό]ρους, τειμῆς χάριν
5. [ἔτους ζρτ' μην]ὸς Γορπιαί[ου].

The Council (has dedicated this statue) to Iar[aios son of Zabdilas, patriot and benefactor] for the generosity and ze[al which] he showed to [the merch]ants to honour him. In the year 397 in the month of Gorpaios (Sel. = September, 86 CE).

(Palmyrene)

1. bwl' lyrh br zbdl' qr[- -]
2. lḥšbn ḥpy<ṭ>wt' whš' ṭb[']
3. dy 'šthwh³⁶ lwt tgr'y
4. lyqrh byrh 'lwl
5. šnt 3.100+80+10+5+2

The Council (has dedicated this statue) to YRH'Y (Yarḥai) son of ZBDL' (Zabdilāh) son of QR[...] in consideration for the zeal? and good will found in him toward the merchants. In the month 'LWL (Elul) of the year 397 (Sel. = September, 86 CE).

Funerary foundation established by Shalamallat b. Malku (after 89 CE)

IGLS xvii, 423, cf. PAT 1816, IMP 38, RSP 25 (Prov. Fragments from a marble plaque. Hypogeum of Shalamallat. Loc. Palmyra Museum A1254/6610):

(Greek)

1. τὸν ταφ[εῶ]να ᾠκοδόμη-
2. σεν Σαλ[μά]λλαθος Μαλίχου
3. τοῦ Διο[νυσίου ἐ]ξ ιδίων ἐπὶ τοῦ
4. π[ατρὸς αὐτοῦ] τελευ[τήσα-]
5. [ν]τὸ(ς) ἔτη λγ' εἰσὶν ἔτι υ[ιοῖς]

Salamathos, son of Malichos, son of Dio[nysios] built this tomb from his own resources for his father who died in the 33rd year (of his life) and for his children and grand-children.

³⁶ 'šthwh (IGLS); 'št<k>h (PAT).

6. [kα]i ū<ι>ovo[ĩ]ς.

(Palmyrene)

1. bt 'lm' [dnh 'bd] šlml[t br mlkw]
2. br d[ynys m]n kysh '[l 'bwhy]
3. (b)tr dy myt mlkw [br dynys br]
4. šnyn 20+10+3 w'bd gw'[mḥyn ... hyk]
5. dy mn l'l ktyb lbt '[lm' ...]
6. mn kysh lh wlbwhy wl[bny bnwhy]
7. l'lm' byrḥ 'yr šnt 4[...]

[This] house of eternity [was built by] ŠLML[T] (Shalamallat), son of MLKW (Malku), son of D[YNYS (i.e. Dionysius) fr]om his own purse, [for his father] after MLKW [the son of DYNYS] died [at the age of] 33. And he made *loc[uli]* (i.e. burial places) as] written above for the house [of eternity] at his own expense, for himself, and for his children, and [the children of his children,] forever. In the month 'YR (Iyyar), year 4[...]
(trans. *IMP*, p. 31, adapted).

Funerary foundation established by Matnai b. Nurbel (95 CE)

PAT 0482, cf. C4130, Cooke 142 (On stone tablet. Prov. Qaryatein. Loc. *in situ*? Group 4130, 4131, (apparently) 4132, 4133):

(Palmyrene)


1. bt 'lm' dnh 'bd mtny br nwrbl br mlkw
2. br tymḥ' 'l nwrbl 'bwhy w'l nby 'mh lyqrhn
3. wlyqr bnwhy dy 'lm' šlmy' 'ln dy mtny br
4. nwrbl br mlkw br tymḥ' br mtny br bwn' br
5. mtny dy mtqrh mḥwy wdy nwrbl 'bwhy wdy
6. nby 'mh byrḥ 'b šnt 4.100+5+1

This house of eternity has been made by MTNY (Matnai), son of NWRBL (Nurbel), son of MLKW (Malku), son of TYMH' (Taimḥa), over NWRBL (Nurbel) his father and over NBY (Nabbai) his mother, to their honour, and to the eternal honour of his sons. These statues are those of MTNY, son of NWRBL, son of MLKW, son of TYMH', son of MTNY, son of BWN' (Bonnē), son of MTNY who is called MHWY (Mahui), and of NWRBL his father, and of NBY his mother. In the month 'B (AB), the year 406 (Sel. = August, 95 CE/AD).

Building inscription of the hypogeum 'Abd'astor b. Nurbel 'the physician' (98 CE)

IGLS xvii, 512, cf. *PAT* 0094, Ingholt, 1938: 120-21 (On stone tablet. Prov. S.W. Necropolis. Hypogeum of 'Abd'astor):

(Palmyrene)

1. bt 'lm' dnh bd 'bd'stwr br nwrbl
2. 'sy' br khylw br 'tnwry 'šwly lh wlbwhy
3. byrḥ nysn 4.100+10 

'BD'STWR ('Abd'astor) son of NWRBL (Nurbel), a physician, son of KHYLW (Kohailu), son of 'TNWRY ('Atenūri), son of 'ŠWLY (Ašūlai), built this house of eternity for himself and for his sons, in the month NYSN (Nisan) in the year 410 (Sel. = April, 98 CE/AD). {flower}

(Greek)

1. Ἀβδασθῶ[ρη]ν Νουρβήλου
2. ὁ [ιατ]ρός

Abdaasthōros, son of Nourbēlos the physician.
(tr. Ingholt, altered).

'Aqqāyḥ b. No'arai honoured by the Benē Gaddibōl (108 CE)

IGLS xvii, 23, cf. *AIDRP* 30, *PAT* 0263, *Inv.* ix, 15, C3917 (Loc. On console of the 9th column of the southern portico of the Temple of Bel, *in situ*):

(Greek)

1. Ἀκκεον Νοαραίου τοῦ Ἀκκαέου
2. οἱ Γαδδειβόλαιοι τιμῆς χάριν

The Gaddeibōlians (have dedicated this) to Akkeos, son of Noraaios, son of Akkaeos, for the sake of honour.

(Palmyrene)

1. šlm' dnh dy 'qyh b[r n'(?r]y br 'qyh
2. dy 'bdw lh bny gdybwl bdy l dy 'bd lhn
3. bb' wtr' why w'p 'bd b'lgšy' ḥmn'³⁷
4. klh hw w'trh w'p ṭll 'drwn'
5. klh wšpr lhwn bkl šbw klh bdy l
6. kwt 'bdw lh šlm' dnh lyqrh
7. byrh knwn šnt 4.100+20

(Palmyrene)

This statue is that of 'QYḤ ('Aqqāyḥ) son of [N'R]Y (No'arai) son of 'QYḤ which the Benē GDYBWL (Gaddibōl) have made for him because he made for them the gate and its doors (out of bronze?). Also in 'LGŠY' (i.e. Vologesias) he erected the whole sanctuary, with its precinct, and also the whole ceiling of the dining room (*or* cella). Because he did good and was helpful in every well, they erected this statue for him in his honour. In the month of KNWN (Kanūn), the year 420 (Sel. = November, 108 CE/AD).

Dedication to the god Baalshamin (114 CE)

PAT 0332, cf. C3986, Cooke 134 (On altar. Palmyra Museum):

(Palmyrene)

1. lb' lšmn mr' 'lm' 'bdw
2. nbwzbd wyrḥbwl' bny brnbw
3. br nbwzbd br zbdl' 'knby 'l
4. [h]yyhwn whyy bnyhwn w'ḥyhwn
5. byrh 'b šnt 4.100+20+5

To B'LSMN (Baalshamin), Lord of the World, (this) has been made by NBWZBD (Nebuzabad) and YRḤBWL' (Yarḥibola), sons of BRNBW (Bar-nabu), son of NBWZBD, son of ZBDL' 'KNBY (Zabdela Akonabi),³⁸ for their [l]ives and the life of their sons and their brothers; in the month of 'B (Ab), in the year 425 (Sel. = August, 114 CE/AD) (trans. Cooke, revised and altered).

Epitaph of a Palmyrene centurion's aide (n.d.)

PAT 0251, cf. *CIL* iii, 7999 (Prov. Karánsebes, Hungary. Loc. Timisioara, Rumania):

(Latin)

1. D<is> M<anibus> M<arcus>
2. Fl<avius> Guras · Iiddei ·
3. [filius op]tio· ex n<umero> Palmvr<enorum> ·
4. [vi]xit · ann<is> · XXXXII · mil<itavit>
5. [an]n<is> XXI · Ae<lis> · Habibis
6. [pon]tif<ex> et h<eres> b<ene> · m<erito> ·
p<osuit>

(Consecrated to) the departed spirits. M(arcus or Manlius) Fl(avius) Guras s(on of) Iddeus, a centurion's aide (*optio*) of the Palmyrene Auxiliary. He lived for 42 years and was a soldier for 21 years. Ael(ius) Habibis [pr]iest and h(eir) well deservedly dedicated this.

³⁷ ḥmn' clearly means 'chapel' or 'cella'. (*AIDRP*, p. 148)

³⁸ On the very rare name 'knby (which appears to mean 'callous', cf. Stark, p. 67) and its relation to the gentilic *bny knbt* see esp. *Déd.* 90.

(Palmyrene)

1. gwr' ydy hptyn

GWR' (Gura) son of YDY (Iaddai) a centurion's aide.

Bi-lingual inscription erected by a Palmyrene archer (?) serving in Britannia (n.d. 2nd C CE?)*PAT* 0246, cf. *RIB* 1065, C3901 (On stele. Prov. Hadrian's Wall. Loc. South Shields Museum):**(Latin)**

1. D<is> M<anibus> Regina liberta et coniuge
2. Barates³⁹ Palmyrenus natione
3. Catuallauna an(norum) XXX

To the spirits of the departed, Barates of Palmyra (set up this statue to honour) Regina, a freedwoman and his wife, a Catuvellaunian by tribe, aged 30.

(Palmyrene)

1. rgyn' bt hry br 't' hbl

RGYN' (Regina), the freedwoman of BR 'T' (Barates). Alas! (tr. *RIB*)**Bi-lingual funerary inscription of a Palmyrene archer serving in Numidia (n.d. 2nd C CE?)***PAT* 0253 = Cooke 146 (Prov. al-Kantara, Lambaesis (mod. Algeria), pres. loc. not known):**(Latin)**

1. D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum)
2. Suricus Rubatis
3. Pal(myrenus) sag(ittarius) c(enturia) Maximi
4. [vixit] ann(is) XLV mi(li)t-
5. avit ann(is) XIII.

Consecrated to the departed spirits. Surecus son of Rubat, a Palmyrene archer of the century of Maximus who lived for 45 years and was a soldier for 13 years.

(Palmyrene)

1. npš' dnh dy
2. šrykw br rbt
3. tdmwry' qšt'
4. qtry' mksmws
5. br šnt 40+[5]
6. hbl

The monument (or tomb) is that of ŠRYKW (Soraiku), son of RBT (Rubat), the Tadmorene archer, century (QTRY') of MKSMWS (Maximus), 4[5] years old. Alas! (trans. Cooke, p. 312, altered).

Altar consecrated to the Palmyrene gods by Palmyrenes living in Rome (n.d. 1-2 C CE)*PAT* 0248, cf. C3903 (Prov. Acqua Acetosa, Rome, now in Museo Capitolino):**(Latin)**

1. Soli sanctissimo sacrum
2. Ti<berius> Claudius Felix et
3. Claudia Helpis et

Consecrated to the most holy sun. Tiberius Claudius Felix, Claudia Helpis, and their son, Tiberius Claudius Alypus, (thus) who live in the

³⁹ A very fragmentary inscription, also from South Shields (*RIB* 1171, pp. 385-86), might well have been the tombstone of Barates (cf. Kaizer, *op. cit.*, 78):

1. M
2. [](r)athes Pal-
3. (m)orens vexla (=vexillarius ?)
4. vixit anos LXVIII

4. Ti. Claudius Alypus fil<ius> eorum
5. votum solverunt libens merito
6. Calbienses de coh(orte) III

third courtyard of the apartment house in the Galban complex (i.e. the *horrea Galbae*)⁴⁰ gladly have fulfilled a vow due to the Sun.

(Palmyrene)

1. 'lt' dh lmlkbl wl' lhy tdmr
2. qrb t̄brys qlwdys plqs
3. wtdmry' l' lhyhn šlm

This is the altar to MLKBL (Malakbel) and the gods of Tadmor which T̄BRYŠ QLWDYS PLQS (Tiberius Claudius Felix) and the Tadmorenes (TDMRY') offered to their gods. Peace!

Funerary dedication to Hagar b. Zebida (n.d.)

PAT0010 (Loc. Canberra, Australian War Memorial ART 00484)⁴¹:

(Palmyrene)

1. šlmt hgr
2. brt zbyd'
3. br ml' 'tt
4. tymy br
5. blšwry

The image of HGR (Hagar) the daughter of ZBYD' (Zebida) the son of ML' (Male), wife of TYMY (Taimai) son of BLŠWRY (Belšori) TYMY. Alas! (tr. Ricklefs, *FPTZ*, p. 28).

Shamshigeram b. Nurbel's curse against illegal opening of his grave (n.d.)

PAT 0574, cf. *Louvre* 189, C4218, Cooke 145

(Palmyrene)

1. ḥbl šmšgrm br nwrbl
2. mr'gr' whw bn' qbr' dnh
3. w'nš l' ypṯḥ 'lwhy gwmḥ'
4. dnh 'd 'lm' l' yhw' lh
5. zr' wgr 'd 'lm' wl' yqṣṯ
6. lmn dy ypṯhyhy 'd 'lm'
7. wlḥm wmn lm' yšb'

Alas! ŠMŠGRM (Shamshigeram), son of NWRBL (Nurbel) the paymaster (?).⁴² He himself built this sepulchre. And let no man open over him this niche forever! Let him have no seed or patron for ever, and may things never go right for him who opens it, forever, and may he never be satisfied with bread and water!

⁴⁰ Teixidor (*PP*, p. 47) suggests (as did earlier scholars) that Calbienses most probably stands for the name of a tribe, the Benē Kalbe. However, no such tribe is otherwise attested and the translation 'Third Cohort Calbiensis' seems unlikely given the fact that no such military *cohors* is known and the social context of the dedication.

⁴¹ The inscription is found on a bust of a Palmyrene female that reached the Australian War Memorial at Canberra as a result of extraordinary historical circumstances. Apparently on 26th Oct. 1918 the crew of an Australian aeroplane which was blown out of course by a storm but was rescued on landing by a sheikh's son. Lt. General Sir Henry Chauvel, commander of the Desert Mounted Corps and a Queenslander, sent the latter a golden repeater-watch as a more appropriate reward than the normal monetary sum and in return he received two gifts, one of which was the bust, which the donor said came from the ruins of Palmyra. Cf. D. Trendall. *The Shellal Mosaic and Other Classical Antiquities in the Australian War Museum in Canberra* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial), 26. (Lieu, *FPTZ*, p. 120, expanded)

⁴² This term *mr'gr'* is taken to be a combination of *mr* 'lord' or 'master' and *'gr'* 'wages, salary'. This term could therefore also mean something like 'hirer' or 'paymaster' or even, since *mr* is often used to mean members of a profession, 'accountant' or the like. (Ricklefs, *FPTZ*, p. 123).

II. FROM HADRIAN TO GORDIAN III (117- c. 251 CE)



Dedication to a ‘good and compassionate’ deity (Bel?) (125 CE)

PAT 0342, cf. C3996, Cooke 135 (Prov. Temple of Bel. Loc. Palmyra Museum):

(Palmyrene)

1. lbryk š[m]h l[']lm'
2. t̥b' wr[h]mn'
3. 'bd prn<k> br h̥ry
4. lšmš br šmšgrm
5. nrqys br h̥ry ml'
6. brp' 'l h̥yyhn w̥hyy
7. bnyhn byrh̥ kslwl
8. šnt 4.100+20+10+5+2

To him whose name is blessed forever, the good and the compassionate, (this altar) has been made by PRN<K> (Parnak) freedman of LŠMŠ (Lishamash), son of ŠMŠGRM (Shamshigeram), (and by) NRQYS (Narcissus), freedman of ML' (Male), (son of) BRP' (Borefa), for their lives and the lives of their sons: in the month of KSLWL (Kislev), the year 437 (Sel. = December, 125 CE/AD). (tr. Cooke, p. 297).

Dedication to a deity ‘whose name is blessed for ever’ (125 CE)

PAT 0345, cf. C3999, Cooke 137 (On altar. Palmyra Museum):

(Palmyrene)

1. lbryk šmh l'lm' 'bd šlmn br nš' br
2. h̥yr' brq 'l h̥ywhy w̥hyy bnwhy
3. X byrh̥ nysn šnt 4.100+40+5+2 X⁴³

To him whose name is blessed for ever (this) has been made by ŠLMN (Shalman), son of NŠ' (Nesha), (son of) H̥YR' (Haira)⁴⁴ (son of) BRQ (Baraq), for his life and the life of his sons. {X} In the month NYSN (Nisan), the year 447 {X} (Sel. = April, 125 CE/AD). (tr. Cooke, p. 299, revised).

NN honoured for donations to the Goddess Allat and the God Rahmu (129 CE)

PAT 0301, cf. *Déd.*, p. 115, *Inv.* v, 8, C3955, Cooke 117 (Loc. On console, Transversal Colonnade):

(Palmyrene)

1. [...]
2. [...]
3. klhwn lyqrh̥ b̥dyl d[y špr lhwn]
4. w'bd hw wlšmš 'h̥why b'st[w']
5. dnh 'mwdyn št' w̥šrythwn
6. [wt]t̥lylhwn mn kyshwn lyqr šmš
7. w'lt wr̥hm 'lhy' t̥by' byrh̥
8. 'dr šnt 4.100+40

[This statue is that of ... which the sons of ... have set up] all of them to his honour, because [he was well-pleasing to them], and made, himself and LŠMŠ (Lishamash) his brother in this porti[co] six pillars and their tablets and their roofing, at their own expense, to the honour of ŠMŠ (Shamash) [and] 'LT (Allat) and R̥HM (Rahmu), the good

⁴³ A satisfactory reason for the decorative 'X's at the beginning and end of line 3 cannot be found. (*CIS* II, p. 184).

⁴⁴ Cooke following Vogüé reads ŠYD' (Šaïda) but *CIS* has corrected the treading to H̥YR' on the basis of C3939.2.

gods. In the month 'DR (Adar), the year 440 (Sel. = March, 129 CE/AD) (trans. Cooke, revised).

Yarhai b. Nabuzabad, a citizen of 'Hadriana Palmyra', honoured (131 CE)

IGLS xvii, 245, cf. *L'Agora* VI.04, Schoul 9, *PAT* 1374, *Inv.* x, 38 (On column console from the Agora 8/6/1/2. Lines 7 and 8 of the Greek are below the moulding.):

(Greek) {Lines 7 and 8 of the Greek are below the moulding}

1. Ἰαραῖον Νεβ(ο)[υζαβάδ](ο)υ τοῦ
2. [Σ]αλαμαλλάθο(υ) [τοῦ] Ἀχχαδανοῦ
3. [Ἀδ]ριανὸν Παλμυρ(ην)ὸν σατρά-
4. [π]ην Θιλουανῶν Μεερεδάτου
5. βασιλέως Σπασίνου Χάρακος
6. οἱ ἐν (Σ)πασίνου Χάρακι ἔμποροι,
7. τειμῆς χάριν ἔτους βμυ' μη[ν]
8. Ξανδικῶ

(Statue of) Iaraios Neb[ouzabad]os (son) of [S]alamallathos (son) [of] Aqqadanos (a citizen of) Hadriana Palmyra, satrap of the Thilouanians⁴⁵ for Meeredates King of Spasinou Charax. (Blank) The merchants of Spasinou Charax (have dedicated it) to honour him. In the year 442, in the month of {flower} Xandikos (Sel. = April, 131 CE). {flower}

(Palmyrene) {Below the Greek text}

1. [šlm' dnh] dy yrhy br nbwzbd br
2. [...]

{On right side of console}

1. [- - - - -] lyqr[h]
2. [- - - byrh nysn šn]t [4.100+40+2]

(This statue) is that of YRHY (Yarhai) son of NBWZBD (Nabuzabad) son of [...]

{On right side of console}

to honour him. In the month of NYSN (Nisan) in the year 422 (Sel. = April, 131 CE).

Council honours Male (Agrippa) b. Yarhai (131 CE)

IGLS xvii, 145, cf. *PAT* 0305, C3959, *BS* iii, 44 (Temple of Baalshamin, on column console, *in situ*):

(Greek)

1. [Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ] ὁ δῆμος
 2. Μαλῆν τὸν καὶ Ἀγρίππα[ν]
 3. Ἰαραίου τοῦ Ρααίου γραμμ[α]-
 4. τέα γενόμενον τὸ δεύτε-
 5. ρον ἐπιδ(ημία) θεοῦ Ἀδρ[ι]-
 6. ανοῦ ἄλιμμα παρασχό[ν]-
 7. τα ξένοις τε καὶ πολεῖται[ς]
 8. ἐν πᾶσιν ὑπηρετήσαντα
 9. τῇ τ[ῶν] στρατευμάτων
 10. ὑπο[δοχ]ῇ καὶ τὸν ναὸν
 11. τὸν [τοῦ] Διὸς σ[ὺν] τῷ π[ρο]-
 12. ναίῳ [καὶ σὺν τ]αῖς ἄλλα[ις - - -]τ[- - ἐξ]
- iδ[ίῳν - -]⁴⁶

The Council and the People (honoured) Males, who is also called Agrippa, son of Iaraeus son of Raaius, when he was secretary for the second time providing unguent for the visit of the god Hadrian, for both foreigners and citizens, offering service among all for the entertainment of the troops, and the temple of Zeus with its front hall and with [other (buildings?) ... at his o]wn [expense...]

(Palmyrene)

1. mn twhyt bwl' wdmws [šlm' dnh dy ml']
2. br yrhy l[šmš] r'y dy hw' grmtws dy trty'
3. wkdy 't['] ltn]n⁴⁷ hdry[n'] 'lh' yhb mšh'

By decree of the Council and the People, This is the statue of ML' (Male) son of YRHY (Yarhai) (son of) L[ŠMŠ] (Lišamaš) son of R'Y (Ra'ai), who was secretary (GRMTWS) a second time and

⁴⁵ Thilouana = Tylos, modern Bahrain.

⁴⁶ Milik (*Déd.*, p. 11), following *CIS* ii, p.136, suggests restoring the end of the line to read: καὶ σὺν] ταῖς ἄλλαι[ς α]ὐτ[οῦ] στοαῖς] 'and with its [other colonnades...]'.

4. lbny md[ynt' wl]'str[ṭwm'] wl'ksny' dy 't'
5. 'mh [wšpr⁴⁸ lm]dyth⁴⁹ b[k]l md'n wbn' hykl'
6. wprn'[yn wtšb]yth k[l]h mn kysh lb'lšmn
7. wldrḥ[lwn]h d'[...]mn bny ydy'bl
8. byr[h nys]n šnt 1+[3].100+40+2
- {9. Greek = l. 12 of Greek version, v. *supra*}

when the divine HDRYN' (Hadrian) the god came here. He gave oil to the citizens (lit. 'sons of the city') and to the army ('STRṬWM') and to the foreigners who came with him, and he did good to the city in every way, and he built the temple and the front hall and all its decoration at his own expense to B'LŠMN (Baalshamin) and to DRḤ[LWN] (Durahlun) ... the sons (the tribe?) of YDY'BL (Yedī'ebel), in the month [of NYS]N (Nisan) (?) in the year 442 (Sel. = [Apri]l, 131 CE)

Sho'adū b. Bōlyada' honoured for saving a caravan from Vologesias (132 CE)

IGLS xvii, 150, cf. PAT 0197, BS iii, 45 (on statue console from the Temple of Baalshamin):

(Greek)

(Greek)

1. Σόαδον Βωλιάδους τοῦ Σοάδου [εὐσεβῆ καὶ]
2. φιλόπατριν καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ [μεγάλοις]
3. καιροῖς γνησίως κ[αὶ φιλοτείμως]
4. παραστάντα τοῖς ἐμπό[ροις καὶ ταῖς]
5. συνοδί[α]ις καὶ τοῖς ἐν Οὐλογοισιά[δι]
6. πολεῖταις καὶ π[ά]ντοτε ἀφειδήσαντα
7. [ψ]υχῆς καὶ οὐσίας ὑπὲρ τῶν τῇ πατρίδις
8. διαφ[ε]ρόν[τ]ων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δόγμασι
9. καὶ ψ[η]φίσ[μα]σι καὶ ἀνδριᾶσι δημοσίαις
10. καὶ ἐπιστολ[αῖς καὶ διατάγματι Ποβλικίου
11. Μαρκ[έ]λλου τοῦ διασημοτάτου κυρίου
12. ὑπατικ[οῦ] κεκοσμη[μένον] διασώσαντα
13. δὲ καὶ τὴν [προσφ]άτως ἀπὸ Οὐολογοισιά[δος]
14. παραγενομέν[ην] συν[ο]δίαν ἐκ τοῦ
15. περιστάντος αὐ[τ]ὴν μεγάλου κινδύνου
16. ἢ αὐτὴ συνοδία [ἀρετ]ῆς καὶ μεγαλο-
17. φροσύνης [καὶ εὐσεβείας ἔνεκ]α αὐτοῦ
18. ἀνδρ[ι]άντας τέσσαρας ἀνέστησε ἐν[α]
19. μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἐν ἱερῷ Δίος] ἓνα δὲ
20. [ἐ]ν ἱερῷ ἄλσει ἓνα δὲ [ἐ]ν ἱε[ρῷ] Ἄρεος
21. καὶ τὸν τέταρτον ἐν ἱερῷ Ἀταργάτειος
22. διὰ Ἀγεγοῦ Ἰαριβωλέους καὶ Θαιμάρσου
23. τοῦ Θαιμάρσου συνοδιάρχων ἔτους
24. [γ]μυ' μηνὸς Περιτίου

(For) Soados son of Bōliades, son of Soados, a [pious man and] friend of his city, who has nobly a[nd generously] rendered assistance on many [important] occasions to the mercha[nts and the] cara[va]ns and his fellow-citizens at Vologesia[s]. He was a[l]ways unsparing of his [l]ife and fortune in matters of im[p]or[t]ance to his city and for this was [honour]ed by decrees and popu[lar vot]es and public statues and letters and by an edict (read by) Publicius Marc[ellus] [the] most illu[strious] consul[ar] governor. In that he saved the caravan which had [rece]ntly arrived from Vologesia[s] from the great danger that surrounded i[t], the same caravan, [in recognition] of his [valo]ur, magnanimity [and piety] set up [four stat]ues of him, one here in the sanctuary of Zeus (i.e. Baalshamin), one in the sacred grove, one [i]n the sa[nctua]ry of Ares and the fourth in the sanctuary of Atargatis, through the services of Agegos son of Iaribōlē and Thaimarsos son of Thaimarsos, caravan leaders. In the year 443, the month Peritios (Sel. = February, 132 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

- | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|
| 1. w [|] | ... statues in the name of the Council and (the |
| 2. b ^d rm[|] | Assembly of) the People [...] and many honours, |
| 3. wb[|] | and [PW]BLWQYWS MRQL[WS] (Publicius |
| 4. wṭ'[|] | Marcellus), the HGMN' (i.e. <i>hegemon</i>), our Lord, |

⁴⁷ PAT 0305 (p. 72b) gives [mr]jm 'our lord'.

⁴⁸ CIS, p. 136 = PAT p. 72b suggests [wprns] 'he provided for'.

⁴⁹ [mš]ryth suggested by CIS, p. 136 and [lmš]ryth by PAT (p. 72b).

5. mšbt bšm bwl' [wdm]s' []
6. wyqryn šgy' yn w' [p pw]blwqyws mrql[ws]
7. hgm'n' mrn b'g[rt'] wbdy[tg]m' šhd lh
8. wšbhh wbd[y] s[y'] šyr[t'] dy [sl]qt mn
9. 'lgšy' bmd'm [w]šwzbh mn qdns rb
10. d[y] hwt bh [h]nwn bny šyrt' dh 'bdw lh
11. šlm[y] 'ln 'rb' lyqrh 'hd tnn bt
12. [b' lšmn w'hd bt 'r]šw w'hd bgnt' 'lym
13. [w'rb't' bt 'tr'th brb]nwt šyrt' h[ggw b]r
14. [yrhbw] wtymr]šw br tymršw [byrh šbt]
15. [šnt 400+]40+3

in letters and by decrees testified concerning him and honoured him, because he helped the caravan that came down from 'LGŠY' (i.e. Vologesias) in every way and saved it from great peril in which it was. And they, the members of this caravan, erected these four statues to honour him: one, here, in the temple of B'LŠMN (Baalshamin) one, in the temple of ['R]ŠW (Aršū); one in the Garden of the Gods; and the fourth in temple of 'TR'TH (i.e. Atargatis), by the caravan leader H[GGW] (Ḥagegu) son of YRHBWL' (Yarhibōlā) and [TYMR]ŠW (Taimaršu) son of TYMRŠW. [In the month of ŠBT (Shebat)], the year 443 (Sel. = February, 132 CE/AD) (tr. Ricklefs, *FPTZ*, p. 33).

Dedication by a Nabataean cavalryman of two altars at the Temple of Bel (132 CE)

PAT 0319. cf. *AIDRP* 42, C3973, cf. Dijkstra, p. 108, *PP*, pp. 85-86, Cooke 140B (Palmyra Museum?):

(Palmyrene)

1. [t]rt'n 'lwt' 'ln 'bd 'bydw br 'nmw
2. [br] š'dlt nbty' rwh'y['] dy hw' prš
3. [b]hyrt' wbmšryt' dy 'n'
4. lšy' 'lqwm 'lh' t'b' wškr' dy l'
5. št' hmr 'l hywhy whyy m'yty
6. w'bdw 'hwhy wš'dlt brh byrh
7. 'lwl šnt 4.100+40+3 wdkyr zbyd' br
8. [š]m'wn br bl'qb gyth wrh'mh qdm
9. šy' 'lqwm 'lh' t'b' wdkyr kl
10. m'yd 'lwt' 'ln w'mr dkyryn
11. [h] 'ln klhwn b'tb

These two altars have been made [i.e. erected] by 'BYDW (Obaidu) son of 'NMW (Animu) son of Š'DLT (Shadilat), a Nabataean (NBTY') of the RWHY' (Rawwaha) (tribe), who was a horseman (PRŠ) at HYRT' (Hirta) and in the camp of 'N' ('Ana),⁵⁰ to ŠY' 'LQWM (Shai'alqaum)⁵¹, the good and bountiful god who does not drink wine, for his life and the lives of M'YTY (Meaiti) and 'BDW (Abdu), his brothers, and Š'DLT (Shadilat), his son; in the month of 'LWL (Elul), the year 443 (Sel. = September, CE/AD 132). And remembered be ZBYD' (Zebaida) son of [š]M'WN (Shimeon) son of BL'QB (Belaqab), his patron and friend, before ŠY' 'LQWM, the good god. And remembered be everyone who will visit these altars and say 'May all these be remembered for good!' (tr. Cooke, pp. 299-300, adapted)

Dedication to Zeus for the safety of the Emperor Hadrian made by Agathangelos son of Abilenos of the Decapolis (134 CE)

PAT 0258, cf. C3912, cf. *IGRR* iii, 2631 (found in Tauuibeh, Syria, now in the British Museum 125025):

(Greek)

⁵⁰ 'N' ('Ana) = the island of 'Āna on the Euphrates. On Palmyrene relations with the Middle Euphrates see D. Kenedy and A. Northedge, 'Ana in the Classical Sources' in A. Northedge *et al.* (edd.) *Excavations at Āna, Report on the excavations of the British Archaeological Expedition to Iraq in 1981-2* (Warminster, 1988), pp. 6-8.

⁵¹ The god Shai'alqaum is a protector of the nomads (*PP*, p. 87).

1. Διὶ Μεγίστῳ Κεραυν-
2. ἰὼ ὑπὲρ σωτηρί-
3. ας Τρα(ιανοῦ) Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβ(αστοῦ)
4. τοῦ κυρίου Ἀγαθάνγε-
5. λος Ἀβιληνὸς τῆς Δεκα-
6. πόλεος τὴν καμάραν ὥκο-
7. δόμησεν καὶ τὴν κλίνην(ν)
8. ἐξ ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν
9. ἔτους ἐμὴ μηνὸς Λώου.

To the Greatest Zeus the Thunderer. For the safety of the Lord Emperor Hadrian, the son of Trajan. Agathangelos, the son of Abilenos of the Decapolis built the vaulted chamber and dedicated the couch at his own expense in the year 445⁵² in the month of Lōos (Sel. =August, 134 CE).

(Palmyrene)

1. lb' lšmn mr' 'lm' qrb
2. kpt' w'rš' 'gtgls

To B' LŠMN (Baalshamin), Lord of the World. 'GTGLS (Agathangelos) offered a vault space and couch.

The centurion Julius Maximus honoured by caravaneers (135 CE)

IGLS xvii, 209, cf. *IPS* G8, *AIDRP* 31, *PAT* 1397, *Inv.* x, 81 (On console from the Agora. Palmyra Museum Inv. S 1903):

(Greek)

1. [Ιούλιον Μάξιμον (ἐκατόνταρχον) λεγ(εῶνος) - - (For) Julius Maximus, centurion of the] leg[ion]:
2. (Μᾶρ)κος Οὐλπιος Ἀβγαρος
3. Αἰράνου υἱὸς καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Σπασίνου
4. Χάρακος τειμῆς χάριν

Marcus Ulpius Abgar son of Hairanes and those from Spasinou Charax (made this statue) in his honour.

(Palmyrene)

1. s{4th line of Greek} šlm' dnh
2. dy ywlys mksms qtryn' dy lgywn'
3. dy 'bdw lh mrqs 'lpys 'bgr br
4. hym 'bgr wbn yšyrt' dy slqt 'mh
5. mn krk myšn lyqrh bksw šnt <4.100+>40+5+2

This is the statue of YWLYS MKSMS (Julius Maximus), centurion (QTRYN') of the legion (LGYWN'), which was made for him by MRQS 'LPYS 'BGR (Marcus Ulpius Abgar) son of HYRN (Hairan) 'BGR and the members of the caravan which came up with him from KRK MYŠN (Kerak (of) Maishan) to honour him. In (the month) of KSLW (Kislev), in the year 447 (Sel. = Dec., 135 CE/AD). (tr. Healey, 1996, p. 35 altered.)

Dedication to NN b. Aaki at the Temple of Allat (137 CE)

Allat 35; Drijvers, 1995: 111 (Loc. On stone bracket from the southern part of the temenos of the Temple of Allat):

(Palmyrene)

{Front side}

1. šlm' dnh dy [.....]
2. [.....]br
3. 'ky dy 'qymt lh 'lt wbn y
4. nwrbl bdyl dy špr lhwn lyqrh
5. byrh 'dr šnt 4.100+40+8

{Front side} This is the statue of [...] son of 'KY (Aaki) which 'LT (Allāt) and the Benē NWRBL (Nurbēl) erected for him in his honour, because he pleased them, in the month of 'DR (Adar) of the year 448 (Sel. = March, 137 CE/AD). And in the year 438 (Sel. =126/27 CE/AD) he made from

⁵² Taylor (2001, 212, n. 63) states: 'This text is to be dated between 445 and 449'' (i.e. 134 and 138 CE) However, *Déd.* 177, using the date given in the Greek version dates it to 134 CE.

6. w'bd bšnt 4.100+30+8
7. mn dytq' dylh l't 'štr' 'lhth
8. mhd' dy ddb' wksp' w'p 'bd
9. lbl wlyrhbw l' glbw l' štrt
10. 'lhy' tby' wškry' mhd' dy klh ddb

{Left side}

11. w'p qrb lb 'lšmn wdrh[lwn]
12. wlbty 'štr' mhd' [dy] ksp'
13. lhlq lywm 'šr' wtrn bsywn [dnryn]
14. 'lpyn št' wyhb lbny plyn[ws]
15. l'lm' dy msqyn lbtlt'
16. 'lt ywm tš't' dbh [lwl]
17. wym VII b' lwl lgd[' dy..]
18. w'p yhb lbny 'ky bny bt[h]
19. dy 'bhthwn bzb<n>zn kl št' ['lhywhy
whyy]
20. bnwhy wby bnwhy l'[lm']

his own disposition of property of the goddess 'LT (Allāt), his goddess, a basin of gold and silver, and he also made for BL (Bel), and yrhbw (Yarhiblōl), and 'GLBW (Aglibōl), and 'ŠTRT (Astarte), the good and rewarding deities, a basin entirely of gold.

{Left side} And he offered to B'LŠMN (Baal-shamin), and DRHLWN (Durahlun), and the goddess BLTY (Belti) a basin of silver for (casting) lots on the twelfth day in (the month of) SYWN (for the price) six thousand (denarii). And he gave to the Benē PLYNW(s) (?) forever, that they should bring offerings to the virgin 'LT (Allāt) the ninth day of [...] the seventh day (in the month of) 'LWL ('Elul) (i.e. September) to the Tychē (GD') (of Nurbel?). And he also gave to the Tribe of 'KY (Aaki), members of the family of their forefathers (that they should bring offerings) occasionally every year (for) his sons and his grandsons forever (tr. Drijvers, adapted).

Lex Portu A Senatu Lata - The 'New' Tariff of Palmyra (137 CE)

PAT 0259, cf. *AIDRP* 37, Cooke 147, C3913 (Prov. Palmyra, Loc. The Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg):

(I) Greek Version

{Header for the entire text from Panel ii: **Greek** only}

1. [Ἐπὶ αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ Τρ]αι- (1) During the rule of the Emperor Caesar
ανο[ῦ Παρθι]κοῦ υἱο[ῦ, θε]ο[ῦ Νέρουα Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, son of the deified
υἱωνοῦ, Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, Traianus Parthicus, grandson of the deified
ἀρχιερέως μεγίστου, δημοκρατικῆς ἐξουσίας Nerva, in the twenty-first year of his tribunician
2. τὸ κα', αὐτοκράτορος τὸ β', ὑπ]άτου τὸ γ', power, (2) twice declared imperator, three times
π[ατ]ρὸς πατρίδος, ὑπάτω[ν Λ. Αἰλίου consul, *pater patriae*, during the consulships of L.
Καί]σαρος [τὸ β' Πουβ]λίου Κοιλί[ου Aelius Caesar for the second time and Publius
Βαλβίνου] Coelius Balbinus.

[Panel i, top, **Greek** text of Decree]

1. [Ἔτ]ους ημ', μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ ιη'. Δόγμα In the year 448, on the 18th day of the month
βουλῆς. Xandikos (Sel. = 18th April, 137 CE/AD). A
2. Ἐπὶ Βωννέους Βωννέους τοῦ Αἰράνου decree of the Council. (2) In the presidency of
προέδρου, Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Bonnēs, the son of Bonnēs, son of Hairanēs,
3. Φιλοπάτορος γραμματέως βουλῆς καὶ when the secretary of the council and people was
δήμου, Μαλίχου Ὀλαιοῦ καὶ Ζεβείδου Alexandros, the son of Alexandros, (3) the son of
Νεσᾶ ἀρχόν- Philopator, during the magistracies of Malichos,
4. των, βουλῆ[ς] νομίμου ἀγομένης, ἐψηφίσθη the son of Olaies, and Zebeidas, the son of Nesa,

- τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα. Ἐπειδὴ [ἐν το]ῖς πάλαι
 χρόνοις
 5. ἐν τῷ τε[λω]νικῷ νόμῳ πλείστα τῶν
 ὑποτελών οὐκ ἀνελήμφθη ἐπράσ[σετο] δ[ὲ]
 ἐ]κ συνηθείας, ἐν-
 6. γραφομέ[νου] τῇ μισθώσει τὸν τελωνοῦντα
 τὴν πράξιν ποιεῖσθαι⁵³ ἀκολούθ[ω]ς τῷ
 νόμῳ καὶ τῇ
 7. συνηθείᾳ, συνέβαιεν δὲ πλειστάκις περὶ
 τούτου ζητήσεις γείνεσθ[αι με]ταξὺ τῶν
 ἐνπόρων
 8. πρὸς τοὺς τελώνας· δεδόχθαι τοὺς
 ἐνεστώτας ἄρχοντας καὶ δεκα]πρώτους
 διακρίνοντας
 9. τὰ μὴ ἀνειλημμένα τῷ νόμῳ ἐνγράψαι τῇ
 ἔνγιστα μισθώσει καὶ ὑποτ[ά]ξι ἀκάστῳ
 εἶδει τὸ
 10. ἐκ συνηθείας τέλος, καὶ ἐπειδὴν κυρωθῇ
 τῷ μισθουμένῳ, ἐνγραφῆναι μετὰ τοῦ
 πρώτου νό-
 11. μου στήλῃ λιθίνῃ τῇ οὔσῃ ἀντικρὺς ἱερ[οῦ]
 λεγομένου Ῥαβασείρη, ἐ[πι]μελεῖσθαι δὲ
 τοὺς τυγχά-
 12. νοντας κατὰ καιρὸν ἄρχοντας καὶ δεκα-
 πρώτους καὶ συνδίκ[ο]υς τοῦ] μηδὲν
 παραπράσσειν
 13. τὸν μισθοῦμενον.

(4) at a regular meeting of the council, the following decisions were ratified: Whereas in earlier times (5) most of the dues were not included in the tax law, but were exacted by convention, since it is written (6) into the lease that the tax collector should make his exactions in accordance with the law and (7) with convention, and it frequently used to happen that disputes arose on this matter between the merchants (8) and the tax collectors, it is resolved that the current magistrates and the *dekaprōtoi* (i.e. the ten leading men) should determine (9) the dues not included in the law and write them into the next lease, and assign to each category of goods the (10) tax laid down by convention; and that when they have been ratified by the contractor they should be written down together with the first law (11) on the stone column opposite the temple called Rabaseire; ⁵⁴ and that the magistrates who are in office at any time and the *dekaprōtoi* and syndics should take care to see that the contractor does not overcharge.

{Palmyrene text of Decree}

1. dgm' dy bwl' byrh nysn ywm 10+5+3 šnt
4.100+40+5+3 bplhdrwt' dy bwn' br
2. bwn' br hyrn wgrmt'y' dy 'lksdrs br 'lksdrs br
plptr grmt'ws dy bwl' wdms w'rkwny'
3. mlkw br 'lyy br mqymw wzbyd' br nš' kd hwt
bwl' knyš' mn nmws' 'šrt
4. mdy ktyb mn ltht bdyt dy bzbny' qdmy'
bnmws' dy mks' 'bydn šgyn hybn
5. mks' l' 'sqw whww mtgbyn mn 'yd' bmd'n dy
hw' mtktb b'gwry' dy
6. mks' whw' gb' hyk bnmws' wb'yd' wmtl kwt
zbnyn šgyn 'l šbwt' 'ln
7. srbynyn hww byny tgr' lbyny mksy' 'thzy lbwl'
dy 'rkwny' 'ln wl' šrt'
8. dy ybn[w]n md'm dy l' msq bnmws' wykbt
bštr 'gry' hdt wykbt lmd'm'

Decree (DGM') of the Council, in the month of Nisan, the 18th day, the year 448 (Sel. = 18 April, 137 CE), during the presidency (PLHWR) of BWN' (Bonna), son (2) of BWN', son of HYRN, (Hairan) and the secretaryship (GRMTWS) of 'LKSDRS (Alexandros), son of 'LKSDRS (Alexandros), son of PLPTR (Philopator), secretary (GRMTWS) of the Council and People, and the archons ('RKWNY') (being) (3) MLKW (Maliku), son of 'LYY ('Alī), son of MQYMW (Moqimu), and ZBYD' (Zabīda), son of NŠ' (Nashsha). When the Council was by law assembled, it established (4) what is written below - Whereas in former times by the law of taxation many goods liable to (5) taxation were not specified, but taxes were levied on them by custom, according to what was

⁵³ ποιεῖσθαι in *AIDRP*, p. 176 is a misprint for ποιεῖσθαι (cf. *CISem* iii, p. 35 & 40, Cooke, p. 313)

⁵⁴ On this temple of which very little is known see esp. *RLP* 252 (note misprint in the Aramaic text: for *rb'syr'* read *rb'syr'*).

9. md'm' mksh dy mn 'yd' wmdy 'šr l'gwr' wktb⁵⁵ 'm nmws' qdmy' bgll' and he was in the habit of making levies by law
 10. dy lqbl hykl' dy rb'syr' wyhw' mbtl l'rkwny' and custom, and on this account many times
 11. wsdqy' dy l' yhw' gb' 'gwr' mn 'nš md'm ytyr about these matters (7) disputes arose between the
 merchants and the tax-collectors – it seemed good
 to the Council of these archons and to the Ten (8)
 that they should make known what was not
 specified in the law, and (that) it should be
 written down in the new document of contract
 and (that) there should be written down for each
 (9) article its tax which is by custom. And when
 the lease is approved by the contractor, they
 should write it down together with the former law
 on the stele (10) which is in front of the temple of
 RB'SYR' (Rabasīrē); and that it be made the
 concern of the archons who shall be (in office) at
 any time, and of the Ten, (11) and of the syndics,
 that the contractor do not demand any further levy
 from any man

{Panel i, bottom, **Greek** and **Palmyrene** – remaining text of Old Law}

- 12(14) Γόμος καρκικὸς παντὸς γένους· (Greek) (12/14) For one wagon-load of any kind
 τεσσάρων γόμων καμηλικῶν τέ- of merchandise, the (13/15) tax has been fixed at
 13(15) λς ἐπράχθη. ἡ'wn qrs dy klm' gns klh the rate of four camel-loads. (Palmyrene) A
 l'rb' ἡ'wnyn dy gmln waggon-load of any kind of goods whatsoever, at
 14 mks' gby four camel-loads (14) the tax shall be levied.

{Panel iii, **Greek** Text of New Law, Pt. 1}

Col. I

1. Παρὰ τῶν παίδας εἰς Πάλμυρα] (1) From those importing slaves into Palmyra or
 2. ἢ εἰς τὰ ὄρια Παλμυρηνῶν εἰς-] the borders of Palmyra, he will exact for each
 3. αἰόντω[ν πράξει ἐκάστου σώματος Χ κβ'] person, 22 denarii.
 4. Παρ' οὗ δ[ἐ] (4) But, from the one [selling slaves in the city]
 5. μ[.....ἐκάστ]ου σώματος Χ ιβ'] (not?)⁵⁸ for export,] for each person, 12 denarii.

⁵⁵ wktb (*PAT*, p. 60, cf. C3913; <y>ktb *AIDRP* – wktb in the *PAT* text appears to mean 'and he wrote' or, if interpreted as p'il, 'and it was written', but the existence of a p'il in Palmyrene is uncertain. It may be better to correct the reading to yktb. (*AIDRP*, p. 190).

⁵⁶ The translator seems to have problems with converting the accusative-infinitive construction in the Greek that follows τῇ μισθώσει into an Aramaic equivalent and, by rendering τῇ μισθώσει τὸν τελωνοῦντα erroneously as b'gwry' dy mks' lit. 'by the contract of the tax collector', he gave the impression of not realizing that τὸν τελωνοῦντα governs the infinitive ποιῆσθαι in the same line. What is clear in the Greek, viz. that the tax collector had become accustomed to levying dues on articles not specified in the old law according to (the spirit of the) law and custom (Gr. τὸν τελωνοῦντα τὴν πράξιν ποιῆσθαι ἀκολούθ[ω]ς τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῇ | συνηθείᾳ), now emerges somewhat clumsily in the Aramaic: b'gwry' dy | mks' whw' gb' hyk bnmws' wb'yd' wmtl kwt zbnyn šgyn l'šbw' lit. '(taxes were collected) according to (what was written) in the contract of the tax collector, and he was in the habit of making levies by law and custom'. The resulting translation gives the impression that there was a more defined system of short-term contracts with specific collectors. (SL)

6. Παρ' οὐ [ἄν ἀνδράποδ]α⁵⁷ οὐετραν[ὰ Χ ι'] And if the purchaser exports the slaves, he will exact for each person, 12 denarii. From one selling veteran slaves, 10 denarii.
7. Κἂν τὰ σώμα[τα].οτο[... ἐξ-] (7) And if the purchaser exports the slaves he will exact for each person 12 denarii.
8. ἀγῆται ἐκάστου σώμα[τος πράξει Χ ιβ'] (9) The said tax-collecto[r] will exact for each [camel-lo]ad [of dried produce] imported, 3 denarii.
9. Ὁ αὐτὸς δημοσιώνη[ς ξηροφόρου] (12) For each camel-load exported, 3 denarii.
10. πράξει ἐκάστου γόμου[ν καμηλικού] (14) For each donkey-load imported, [2 denarii ?].
11. εἰσκομισ[θέ]ντος [Χ γ'] Exported, [2 denarii ?].
12. Ἐκκομισθ[έν]τος [γόμου καμηλικού] (16) For purple-dyed fleece, for each skin imported, [he will exact 8 asses].
13. ἐκάστου [Χ γ'] (18) Exp[orte]d, [8 asses].
14. Γόμου ὀνι[κού ἐκάστο]ν εἰ[σκομισθέν]τος (19) For a camel-load of unguent imported in alabaster vessels, he will exact 25 denarii.
- Χ β'] Exported, [2 denarii ?].
15. Ἐκκομισθέν[τος Χ β'] (21) And for [each camel-load] ex[port]ed, 13 denarii].
16. Πορφύρας μῆλωτῆ[ς], ἐκά[στου δέρμα-] (23) [For a camel]-load of unguent [imported in goat-skins, he will exact 13 denarii?].
17. τος εἰσκομισθέν[τ]ος [πράξει ἄσσάρια η'] (25) [Ex]p[orte]d, [7 denarii?].
18. Ἐκκομισθ[έν]τος [ἄσσάρια η'] (26) For a donkey-load of unguent imported in alabaster vessels, he will exact 13 denarii?].
19. Γόμου κ[αμηλικού] μύρου [τοῦ ἐν ἀλαβάσ-] (28) [Exported, 7 denarii?].
20. τροις εἰσκομισθέντος πράξει Χ κε'] (29) For a donkey-load of unguent imported in goat-skins, [he will] ex[act 7 denarii].
21. Καὶ το [.....] (31) Exported, 4 denarii
22. ἐκ[κομισθέν]τος πράξει Χ ιγ'] (32) For a load of olive oil imported by camel in four goatskins, he will exact [13 denarii].
23. Γ[όμου καμηλικού] μύρου [τοῦ ἐν ἄσκοις] (35) Exporte[d, 13 denarii]
24. αἰγείοις [εἰσκομισθέντος πράξει Χ ιγ'] (36) For a load of olive oil imported by camel in two goatskins, he will exact [7 denarii?]
25. [Ἐκ]κ[ομισθέν]τος Χ ζ'] (40) Exported, [7 denarii?]
26. [Γόμου ὀνικου] μύρου τοῦ ἐ[ν ἀλαβάστροις] (41) For a load of oliv[e oil imported by donk]ey, he will exact [?7 denarii].
27. εἰσ[κομισθέν]τος πρά[ξει Χ ιγ'] (42) Exported, [?7 denarii].
28. [Ἐκκομισθ]έν[τος Χ ζ'] (43) For a load of [animal fat?] imported [by camel] in four goatskins, he will exact 13 denarii.
29. Γόμου ὀνικου μ[ύρου τοῦ ἐν ἄσκοις] (44) Exported, [?7 denarii].
30. αἰγείοις εἰσκομ[ισθέν]τος π[ράξει Χ ζ'] (45) Exported, [?7 denarii].
31. Ἐκκομισθέντος π[ράξει Χ δ'] (46) Exported, [?7 denarii].
32. Γόμου ἐλεηροῦ τοῦ ἐ[ν ἄσκοις] [τέσσαρ-] (47) Exported, [?7 denarii].
33. σι αἰγείοις ἐπὶ καμήλ[ου εἰσκομισθέν-] (48) Exported, [?7 denarii].
34. τος [Χ ιγ'] (49) Exported, [?7 denarii].
35. Ἐκκομισθέντο[ς Χ ιγ'] (50) Exported, [?7 denarii].
36. Γόμου ἐλαιηροῦ τοῦ ἐ[ν ἄσκοις] δυσι αἰ-] (51) Exported, [?7 denarii].
37. γείοις ἐπὶ καμήλ[ου εἰσκομισθέντος] (52) Exported, [?7 denarii].
38. πράξει [Χ ζ'] (53) Exported, [?7 denarii].
39. Ἐκκομισθέντο[ς Χ ζ'] (54) Exported, [?7 denarii].
40. Γόμου ἐλε[ηροῦ τοῦ ἐπ' ὄν]ν εἰσκομ[ισθέν-] (55) Exported, [?7 denarii].
41. τος π[ράξει Χ ζ'] (56) Exported, [?7 denarii].
42. Ἐκ[κομισθέν]τος Χ ζ'] (57) Exported, [?7 denarii].
43. Γόμ[ου κ..... τοῦ ἐν ἄσκοις] τέσσα[ρσι] (58) Exported, [?7 denarii].
44. αἰγείοις [εἰσκομισθέντος πρά]ξει Χ ιγ' (59) Exported, [?7 denarii].

⁵⁸ '(not?)' is suggested by Matthews (p. 175, n. 11) on the grounds that it is demanded by the logic of the sentence. Teixidor's translation (1984, 82): 'Pour l'esclave qui est vendu dans la ville ou exporté, 12 deniers' would suggest no difference in tariff between exporting and internal sale.

⁵⁷ [ἄν ἀνδράποδ]α suggested by *OGIS* (ii, p. 327).

45. Ἐκκομ[σ]θέ[ντος] Χ ζ' (44) Expo[r]ted, 13 denarii.
 46. Γόμου κ[.... τοῦ ἐν] ἀ[ξ]κοῖς δυσι αἰγείοις (46) For a load of [animal fat] [im]ported by
 47. ἐπὶ κ[αμήλου εἰς]κομισθέντος πράξει Χ ζ' c[amel] in two goatskins, he will exact 7 denarii.

Col. II

48. Ἐκκομισθέντος [Χ ζ'] (48) [Expo]rtd, [7 denarii]
 49. [Γόμου ὁ]ν[ικοῦ κ..... εἰσκο-] (49) For a load of animal fat imported by donkey,
 50. [μισθέντος πράξει Χ ζ'] he will exact 7 denarii
 51. Ἐκκομισθ[έντος Χ ζ'] (51) [Expo]rt[ed, 7 denarii]
 52. [Γ]ό[μου καμήλι]κοῦ [....] (52) [For a load of salted fish imported by cam]el,
 [he will exact 10 denarii].
 53. [Ἐκκ]ο[μισθέντ]ο[ς πρά]ξει [Χ .'] (53) [Exp]or[ted, he will exact ? denarii].
 54-63 *Lines totally effaced* {*Lines 54-67 are too fragmentary for trans-*
 64. [.....]φο[.....] *lation.*}
 65. [.....]
 66. [.....]σ[.....]
 67. [.....]λλη[ς][...] (68) camel-load (?) [.....]
 68. [κα]μήλου το[.....]κης [.....] [of an a]nimal (?) [.....]
 69. [θ]ρέμματος [..]εσ[...ενου[....]
 70. [....]δ[.....]θ[....]
 71. [..]νκαδ[.τ]εθυμένη[.....] (71) [...] (s)acrificed[...]
 72. Ὁ αὐτὸς δ[ημ]οσιώνης ἐκάσ[του] μην[ὸς] (72) The said tax-collector [will exact] each
 73. παρ' ἐκ[άστο]υ τῶ[ν τὸ] ἔλαιον κατα [...] month from each of the [...] olive-oil according
 74. π[.]ον[...ε]ις [πωλού]ντων [.....] [...] for [sell]ing (?)
 75. Ὁ αὐτ[ὸς] δημοσιώνης] πρά[ξει]λει (75) The said t[ax collector] will ex[act from
 76. [..τῶν] ἐταιρ[ῶν] ὅσαι [.....] prostitut[es who receive one denarius or more,
 77. [..λαμβά]νουσιν π[.....] from each woman, [1 denarius]. (77) From those
 78. [.....]σσάρια ὁκτώ [.....]αιη who receive eight asses [he will exact] 8 asses.
 79. [..]σσάρια ἕξ ἐν [έ]καστ[η] ἄσος ζ' From those who receive six asses, from each
 woman, 6 asses.
 80. Ὁ αὐτὸς δημ[οσιώνης] πρά[ξει] (80) The same tax collector will exact from work-
 ἐργαστηρίων shops, [.....] general stores, leather [-
 81. [.....] παντοπωλ[εί]ν σκυτικῶν workers' shops] (82) according to
 82. [.....]ς ἐκ συνηθείας ἐκάστου μηνὸς custom, from each workshop per month, 1
 83. καὶ ἐργαστηρίου ἐκάστου, Χ α' denarius.
 84. Παρὰ τῶν δέρματα εἰσκομζόντ[ων ἢ] πω-] (84) From those importing or (85) selling skins,
 85. λούντων, ἐκάστου δέρματος ἄσσά[ρια β'] for each skin, 2 asses.
 86. Ὅμοίως ἱματιοπῶλαι⁵⁹ μετάβολοι (86) Similarly, let the retail haberdashers selling
 πωλ[οῦν-] in the city [pay] the tax-collector the appropriate
 87. τες ἐν τῇ πόλει τῷ δημοσιῶνι τὸ ἱκανὸν γ[ιν]έσθω.⁶⁰ tax.
 88. Χρήσεος πηγῶν β' ἐκάστου ἔτους Χ ω' (88) For the use of the two water sources, each
 year, 800 denarii.
 89. Ὁ αὐτὸς πρά[ξει] γόμου πυρικοῦ, οἰνικοῦ, (89) The said (tax-collector) will exact for a load
 ἀχύ-

⁵⁹ ἱματιαπῶλαι given in *AIDRP* (p. 169) is most probably a misprint for ἱματιοπῶλαι (cf. Cooke, p. 3176, *CISi*, p. 42, *PAT*, p. 58).

⁶⁰ γ(ιν)έσθω suggested by *OGIS* (ii, p. 330) – reading ΓΙ[.] for Π[.].

90. ρων καὶ τοιούτου γένους, ἐκάστου γόμου camel-load, for each trip, 1 denarius.
 91. καμηλικοῦ καθ' ὁδὸν ἐκάστην X α'
 92. Καμήλου ὃς κενὸς εἰσαχθῇ πράξει X α' (92) For a camel brought in unloaded, he will
 93. καθὼς Κίλιξ Καίσαρος ἀπελεύθερος ἔπρ- exact 1 denarius according to the exaction laid
 αξεν down by Cilix (Gr. Kilix), freedman of Caesar.

Col. III

94. [...] (94-113) *Too fragmentary for translation.*
 95. πο[...]
 96. τῆς γ[...]
 97. κ[...]
 98. [...]
 99. [...]
 100. ξ[...]
 101. Πορφ[...] (101) Purp[le fleeces (?)]
 102. [...]εκ[...] [...]ex[port]ed ?...]
 103-13 *little or nothing of these lines can be made out*
 114. [...]μ[...]η[...]γο[...]
 115. [...]ἀποτ]εινέτω⁶¹ (115) [...] pay [in full (?)]
 116. Ὅς δ' ἂν ἄλα[ς ἔχ]ῃ ἐν Παλμύροις ἢ [ἐν (116) Whoever shall have salt in Palmyra or [in
 ὄροις] the regions] of Palmyra, let him measure out to
 117. Παλμυρη[ν]ῶν παραμετρησάτω [τῷ the tax-collector [1] assarius for each modius.
 δημο-] (119) Whoever would not [...] measure out [...] having the [...] tax-co[l]lector ...]
 118. σιώνη εἰς ἔκ]αστον μόδιον, ἀσσά[ριον...] (121) From whomsoever the tax-collector [.....]
 119. ὃς δ' ἂν οὐ [...]ν παραμετρήσῃ [...] receives sureties [.....] let them be handed over
 120. ση ἔχων το [...] δημο[σιών...] [.....] let the tax-collector receive a double
 121. Παρ' οὗ ἂν ὁ δη[μοσι]ώνης [.....ἐνέ-] security.
 122. χυρὰ λά[βῃ] (125) As far as this is concerned, let the sum
 123. ἀποδο[θω]σιν ο[.....]αβρει deposited with the tax-collector be double.
 124. δημο[σιώνῃ] τοῦ διπ[λοῦ] τὸ ἱκανὸν
 λαμβά-
 125. νέτω· περὶ τ[ο]ύτου πρὸς τὸν
 δημοσιώνην
 126. τοῦ διπλοῦ εἰσα]γέσθω
 127. Περὶ οὗ ἂν ὁ δημ[ο]σιώ[νης] τινὰ ἀπαιτῇ, (127) Concerning any demand which the tax
 περὶ τε collector may make of anyone or concerning any
 128. οὗ ἂν ὁ δημοσιώ[νης] ὑ]πό τινος demand which is made of the tax collector by
 ἀπαιτῆται περὶ someone, let a judgment be given about this by
 129. τούτου δικαιοδο[τεῖσ]θω παρὰ τῷ ἐν the designated (130) official in Palmyra.
 Παλμύ-
 130. ροις τεταγμένῳ *vacat*
 131. Τῷ δημοσιώνῃ κύρι[ον] ἔ[σ]τω παρὰ τῶν (131) Let it be within the powers of the tax
 μὴ ἀπο- collector to take sureties for undischarged debts
 132. λ[υόντων] ἐν]έχυρα [λ]α[μβάνει]ν δι' through his own agency or through [his
 ἑαυτοῦ ἢ δι[ὰ] assistants]; and if these sureties are not redeemed
 133. [τῶν ὑπ]ῃ[ρε]τῶν· καὶ τα]ῦτα τὰ in [3] days, let the tax collector have the right to

⁶¹ [ἀποτ]εινέτω suggested by Greg Fox.

- [ἐνέ]χυρα ἡμέραις
 134. [τρισὶν μὴ λυθῇ, ἐξέστω τῷ δημ]οσιώνῃ
 πωλεῖν.
 135. [..... ἐν τόπῳ δημ]οσίῳ χωρὶς
 136. δόλου πο[νηροῦ...]ω[.....] ἐπράθη
 137. ἢ δοθῆναι ἔδει π[ράσσ]ειν τῷ
 δη[μοσιώνῃ] καθὼς
 138. καὶ [...]στιν [...] τοῦ νόμου [ἐξέσ]τω
 139. Λιμένος π[... πη]γῶν ὑδάτων Καίσαρος
 140. τῷ μισθωτῇ [...]εντος [...]·
 παρασχέσ[θαι]
- sell.
 (135) [.....? in a] public [place?], without fraud
 or malice. [If any surety?] was sold [for more?]
 than was required to be paid, let the tax collector
 be empowered to act as [is permitted by?] the
 law.
 (140) ... to provi[de] to the tax contractor of the
 port of exchange [of Palmyra and the] water
 sources of Caesar...,

{Panel III, Greek Text of New Law, Pt. 2}

Col. I

141. ἄλλῳ μηδενὶ πράσσειν διδόναι
 λαμ[βάνειν]
 142. ἐξέστω μήτε τ[...]ε[...]νωφο[...] ἀνθρ[ωπ...
 μή]
 143. τε τινὶ [ὄν]όματι το στ[...]οε[...]υπ[...]ν
 144. τούτων εἰ ποιήσῃ ἢ ε[..... πρ[αχ-]
 145. [θήτω τὸ] διπλοῦν [..... ..]
 146. [.....]ητε⁶² [.....]οι[...]
 147. [.....]
 148. Κ[.....]
 149. κα[.....]
 150. Γάϊο[.....]
 151. ἀντι[.....]
 152. Μεταξὺ Παλ[μυρηνῶν..]
 153. γνους, ἐστι [... ..]
 154. γείνεσθαι καθό[τι] οι[.....]
 155. εὐ[...]σατο μ[.....]
 156. [.....]οσα δὲ ἐξ[.....]
 157. [...]ως
 158. Αὐτο[ί]ς [..]τα[..]λεισπ[..
 159. τω[ν] τ[α] [...]ν[.....]
 160. τῷ τελών[η] διδόσ[θ]ω
 161. οἱ δ' ἄν ε[.]α[...α]σω[.] ἐξα[γ...]
 162. [...]ει[.....]
 163. [.]εο[.....]δ[ό]ν[...]
 164. καθ ἣν ἀναλο[γ].....
 165. Τοῦ δὲ ἐξαγω[.....]αι[...]
 166. α δώσε[...ν]ο[.....]
 167. Ἐρίων[.....]
 168. θαρ[.....]
 169. π[.....]
 170. [.]εο[.....]δο[...]
- (141) [permitting] 'no one else to act, to give or to
 receive [.....] by any name (i.e. title of authority)',
 [...] ma[n] (143) to anyone in the [name] of [...] of
 these, if (anyone) will carry out or [...] let him
 perform] double [...]
 (146-151) *Lines too fragmentary for translation.*
 (150) Gaius Mucianus ...
 (152) *Largely reconstructed from the Palmyrene:*
 [On] the assessment of taxes between the
 Palmyrenes and [.....] taxes, having learnt, it is
 [my judgment] that [....] the tax should be
 [according to the schedule?] [.....] which [Alki-
 m]os contracted [.....]
 (158) To th[e]m [...]
 let him pay to the tax-collector.
 And whoever [import or export]
 (163) [r]oa[d]
 (164) according to which [it will be] reckoned
 And while the [person conducting the] expo[rt]
 [...] he will give (?) [.....]
 (167) [...] wool
 (171) [...] tribute

⁶² Given as]τηε[in *AIDRP*, p. 171.

171. [...]φόρον[...]ματουμεν[...] φορι[.]
 172. [Ἐξ]αγωγὴ [.....]ι Χ' ζ' τοῦ δὲ [..... Χ] θ'
 173. ἀξιούντος τοῦ τελώ]νου εἰ καὶ μὴ [....]
 174. [Ἰ]ταλικῶν ἐξαγο[ομένων]ν πράσσειν
 ὅστ[ερον] ὡς συν-]
 175. ἐφωνήθη μ[ὴ] ἀπὸ τ]ούτων ἐξαγο[μένων]
 τὸ τέλος δί-]
 176. δοσθαι
 177. Μύρου τοῦ ἐν ἄσκο[ῖς αἰγεί]οις πρά[ξει] ὁ
 τελώνης]
 178. κατὰ τὸν νόμο[ν] οὔτε[.....]ἀμ[άρ-]
 179. τημα γέγονεν τῷ προτεθέντι [.εικ]..... ἐν
 τῷ συν-]
 180. ἐσφραγισμένῳ νόμῳ τέτακται
 181. Τὸ τοῦ σφάκτρου τέλος εἰς δηνάριον
 ὀφείλει λο[γεύεσθαι]
 182. καὶ Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος διὰ τῆς πρὸς
 Στατείλι[ον ἐπισ-]
 183. τολῆς διασαφήσαντος ὅτι δεῖ πρὸς
 ἄσσάριον Ἰτα[λικόν]
 184. τὰ τέλη λογεύεσθαι· τὸ δὲ ἐντὸς
 δηναρίου τέλο[ς]
 185. συνηθεῖα ὁ τελώνης πρὸς κέρμα πράξει·
 τῷ[ν δὲ]
 186. διὰ τὸ νεκριμαῖα εἶναι ῥεπτουμένων τὸ
 τέλο[ς] οὐκ ὀφείλεται.]
 187. Τῶν βρωτῶν τὸ κα(τὰ) τὸν νόμον τοῦ
 γόμου δην[άριον]
 188. εἰσπημι πράσσεσθαι ὅταν ἔξωθεν τῶν
 ὄρων εἰσά[γῃται]
 189. ἢ ἔξαγῃται. Τοὺς δὲ εἰς χωρία ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν
 [χω-]
 190. ρίων κατακομίζοντας ἀτελεῖς εἶναι, ὡς
 καὶ συνεφώ-
 191. νησεν αὐτοῖς. Κώνου καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων
 ἔδ[ο]-
 192. ξεν ὅσα εἰς ἐμπορείαν φέρεται τὸ τέλος
 εἰς τὸ ξη-
 193. ρόφορτον ἀνάγεσθαι, ὡς καὶ ἐν ταῖς
 λοιπαῖς γέινεται πόλεσι.
 194. Καμήλων ἂν τε κενὰ ἂν τε ἔνγομοι
 εἰσάγονται ἔξωθεν
 195. τῶν ὄρων ὀφείλεται δηνάριον ἐκάστης
 κατὰ τὸν
 196. νόμον ὡς καὶ Κουρβούλων ὁ κράτ[ιστ]ος
 ἐσημ-
 197. ὡσαυτο ἐν τῇ πρὸς Βάρβαρον ἐπιστολῇ.
- Ex[port [....] 6 denarii.
 [.....] 8 [denarii].
 th[e tax-collect]tor requiring [...] [when It]alian
 [.....are being] exported afterwards to exact, as
 it was agreed n[ot from th]ose items being
 expor[ted finally] to be [gi]ven
 (177) For the unguent carried in goat-skins the
 tax-collector will exact according to the la(w)
 [...] neither [....] mi[st]ake has occurred to the
 previously laid down [.... as?] has been laid down
 [in the] law as ratified.
 (181) The tax on animals for slaughter should be
 collected in denarii, as Germanicus Caesar also
 made clear in his letter to Statilius, to the effect
 that taxes should be collected in Italian *asses*.
 (184) Any tax of less than a denarius the tax
 collector will exact according to custom in small
 coin. In the case of animals rejected on account of
 natural death, the tax is not payable.
 As for foodstuffs, I decree that a tax of one
 denarius should be exacted according to the law
 for each load imported from outside the borders
 (of Palmyra) or exported there; but those who
 convey provisions to the villages or from them
 (190) should be exempt, as was agreed upon with
 them.
 As to pine-cones and similar produce carried for
 marketing, (192) it is determined that the tax
 should be reckoned as for dried produce, as is
 also the practice in the other cities.
 (194) As for camels, if they are brought in from
 outside the borders either loaded or unloaded, one
 denarius is due for each camel according to the
 law, as the excellent Corbulo also noted down in
 his letter to Barbarus.

Col. II

198. [.....]ϱλ[.....]
 199. [...]οι[.....]ν[... ..]οξη⁶³ [...]

200. ἀγεσ[θαι]τ(α)[...]οποστ[..
 201. [.....]π[ρ]οσ[.....]
 202. [.....]υσ[...π[.....]
 203. [Παρά τῶν] ἐταιρῶ[ν αἰ δηνάριον ἢ
 πλέον λαμβά-
 204. [νουσιν ..έ]κ[ά]στης[.....]α[.]αν
 205. [.....]εου[.....]ναλα⁶⁴
 206. [.....]οσ[.....]π[ρ]άσσειν
 207. [.....]τον κ[...αν
 208. [.....]ντος ο[.....]
 209. [.....]του[.....]
 210. [.....]ι[.....]
 211. [.....]
 212. [.....]νιτ[...ον[...]
 213. [.....]μέννοι τ[.....]
 214. [.]εἴποι[.....]
 215. νόμον [.]τ[.... ..]
 216-27. {only a few letters can be made out}
 228. [...]πατ[.....]
 229. [.....]ω[.....]
 230. [...]πας συνφων[.....]
 231. τελώ[ν]ην γείνεσθαι· επει[... τὸ ἐκ τοῦ]
 232. νόμο[υ] τέλος πρὸς δηνά[ρ]ιον φ[έρειν.]
 233. Ἐννόμον⁶⁵ συνεφωνήθη μὴ δεῖν
 πράσσειν ἐκτὸς τῶν]
 234. τελῶν· [τ]ν δὲ ἐπὶ νομὴν μεταγομένων
 [εἰς Παλ-]
 235. μυρηνήν θρεμμάτων ὀφείλεσθαι·
 χαρ[κτη]-]
 236. ρίσασθαι τὰ θρέμματα ἐὰν θέλῃ ὁ
 δημο[σιώνης.]
 237. ἐξέστω.

(198-202) *Greek text too fragmentary for translation but see Palmyrene text ll. 122-24.*

(203) The tax collector will exact from the prostitutes who take one denarius or more, [a tax of one denarius] for each woman; ... (*see Palmyrene text ll. 125-27*)

[.....] to exact

{*Lines 206-213 are too fragmentary for translation.*}

(213) [.....]he might remain (?)

(214) [.....] he would say

(215) [.....] law

{*These fragmentary lines concern tariff on skins and on the grazing of flocks of sheep. See Palmyrene text ll. 142-47.*}

(230) the agree[d] upon (?) [...] the tax-col[lec]tor should be [...] to t[ake] the tax [from the law] in dena[ri]i.

(233) It has been agreed that payment for grazing rights is not to be exacted [as distinct from the normal?] taxes; but for animals brought [into Pal]myrene (235) territory for the purpose of grazing, the payment is due. The animals may be branded, if the tax-col[lector] so desires.

(II) Palmyrene Version

{Panel ii, Line 1: above Columns I-III of Palmyrene Text and beneath Greek Header,

Palmyrene Header}

1. nmws' dy mks' dy lmn' dy hdryn' tdmr w'ynt'
 dy my' [dy 'y]ls qysr

(1) The law of the taxes of the port of exchange of
 HDRY' TDMR (Hadriana Tadmor) and the springs

⁶³ Given as [...]οξη[...] *AIDRP*, p. 172. (misprint?). Cf. *CISem.*, iii, p. 39 and 45.

⁶⁴ The text in *IGRR* (iii, p. 400, l. 7) gives [...]nai ai[...] which strikes us as more probable.

⁶⁵ Ἐννόμιον (*AIDRP*, p. 175). Misprint for Ἐννόμιον. Cf. Cooke, p. 320, *CISi*, p. 45. *PAT*, p. 60 used a wrong symbol for a (harsh) breathing.

of water of 'Y]LYS (Aelius) Caesar.

{Panel iii **Palmyrene** Text of New Law}

Col. I

2. mn m'ly 'lymy' dy mt' 'lyn ltdmr
3. 'w [lthwmyh ygb' mks]' lkl rgl[y] [. .] d<ynr> 20+2
4. mn 'lm dy y[zb]n b[mdy]t' . .] [d]<ynr> 10+2
5. mn 'lm wtr[n] dy yzbn [...] [d]<ynr> [.10 .]
6. whn zbwn' [ypq] 'lymyn ytn lkl rgly [d]<ynr> 10+2
7. hw m[ks' yg]b' [m]n t'wn gml' dy yby[šyn]
8. lm'ln' [.....] dy t'wn gml' d<ynr> [3]
9. mn [t'wn gml'] lm[pqn'] d<ynr> 3
10. mn t[wn] hmr' lm'ln' w[lmpqn' d<ynr> 2
11. mn 'rg]wn' ml't' lkl m[šk lm'ln']
12. wlm[p]qn' 'sryn 5+3
13. mn t'wn g]ml['] dy mšh' bšym' [dy]
14. mt' 'l [b]š[typt]' d<ynr> 20+5
15. wlm' d[... mšh]' dnh
16. lmpqn' [.....] gml l't'wn' d<ynr> 10+3
17. mn t'wn gml' dy [m]šh' bšym' [dy yt' 'l]
18. bzqy[n dy] '[z l]m[l'n] d<ynr> 10+3
wlm[p]qn' d<ynr> 5+2]
19. mn t[wn] hmr dy m]šh' bš[ym' d]y yt' 'l
20. bš[typ]y' [d]<ynr> 10+3 wlm[p]qn' d<ynr> 5+2
21. mn t'wn hmr[r d]y mšh' b[šy]m' dy
22. yt' 'l bzqy[n dy] 'z d<ynr> 5+2 [wlm]pqn' d<ynr> 4
23. mn t'wn dy mš[h' dy bzq]yn' rb'
24. dy 'z lm'ln' t'wn g[m]l' d<ynr> 10+3
25. wlm[p]qn'⁶⁶ d<ynr> [10+3]
26. mn t'wn dy mš[h'] dy bzqyn trtn dy 'z
27. lm'ln' t[wn] dy gml' d<ynr> [5+2]
wlm[p]qn' d<ynr> [5+2]
28. mn t'w[n] hmr dy mšh' lm'[ln'] d<ynr> 5+2
wl<m>pqn' [d<ynr> 5+2]
29. mn t'wn dhn' dy bzqyn '[rb'] dy 'z dy
30. t'wn gml' <l>m'ln' d<ynr> 10+3 wl[mpq]n' d<ynr> 10+3

- (2) From importers of slaves who are imported into Tadmor or its territory [the tax-collector will levy the tax] for each pers[on] of 22 denarii.
- (4) From a slave who is [sol]d in the [cit]y, 12 denarii.
- (5) From a veteran slave who will be sold, [10] denarii.
- (6) And if the buyer [exports] the slaves he will give for each person, 12 [d]<enarii>.
- (7) The said t[ax-collector will l]evy from a camel-load of dry goods, for import [.....] of the camel-load, [3] denarii.
- (9) From [a camel-load] for ex[port], 3 denarii.
- (10) From a donkey-l[oad], for import [and for export], 2 d<enarii>.
- (11) From purple-fleeces, for each s[kin, for import] and for export, 8
- (13) From a cam[el-lo]ad of perfumed oil [which] is imported [in] the a[labaster] jar(s?), 25 denarii
- (15) And for that [..... oil] which is exported, [... c]amel, for the load, 13 denarii.
- (17) From a camel-load of perfumed oil [which is imported] in goa[t-s]kins, for im[port], 13 denarii, and for expor[t, 7 denarii].
- (19) From a [donkey-loa]d [of perfumed] oil which is imported in alal[bas]ter jars, [for import], 13 [denarii], and for export, 7 denarii.
- (21) From a donkey-load [o]f [perfumed] oil which is imported in goat-skin[s], 7 d<enarii>, [and for ex]port, 4 d<enarii>.
- (23) From a load of oi[l which is in] four goat-[ski]ns, for import, the ca[mel]-load, 13 d<enarii>, and for export [13] d<enarii>.
- (26) From a load of o[il] which is [in] two goat-[sk]ins, for import, the camel-l[oa]d, [7] d<enarii>, and for export, [7] d<enarii>.
- (28) From a donkey-load of oil, for im[port], 7 d<enarii>, and for export, [7 d<enarii>].
- (29) From a load of tallow which is in f[our] goat-skins, which is a camel-load, for import, 13 d<enarii>, and for ex[port], 13 d<enarii>.

⁶⁶ *lmpqn'* in *AIDRP*, p. 176 is a misprint for *wlmpqn'* (cf. *CISem* iii, p. 37 & 47, Cooke, p. 324 and *PAT* p. 61).

31. mn t'wn dhñ' dy bzqyn t[rtn dy] 'z
 32. l't'wn gml lm'ln' d<yñr> 5+2 wlm[pqn'
 d]<yñr> 5+2
 33. mn t'wn [dh]n' dy hmr lm'ln' [d<yñr> 5+2
 wlm[pqn' d<yñr> 5+2]
 34. mn t'wn n[wñy]' mlyhy' l't'wn' dy [gml']
 35. [lm']ln' d]<yñr> 10 wmn mpq mnhwn [...]
 36. [.....]' l't'wn' dy gml' lm[...]
 37. [.....]' dy t'wn hmr' lm'ln' d[...]
 38. [.....]n' ygb' mks' d<yñr> 3
 39. mn [.....]y' 10 d<yñr> wlkwdn[' ..]
 40. [.....]l mn [.....]' m[...]' [...]
 41. [.....]y' [...]'s]ryn 2
 42. m[.....]' mry' lm'[ln wlm[pqn] lrš' hñd' sr' hñd
 43. mn[...]' gml' 'sry]n 3
 44. mn[...]' rb' [.....]' 'sry]n 2
 45. mn[...w[.]d[n m]k[s' 'sr]' hñd
 46. 'p [y]g[b]' mk[s' lkl yr]h mn dy yh[w'] mzbñ
 mšh'
 47. bšym' 'sryn 2 * 'p ygb' mks' mn znyt' mn
 48. mn dy šql' dynr [w] ytyr dñr' hñd mn 'tt'
 49. wmn mn dy šql' 'sryn tmny'
 50. ygb' 'sryn tmny'

- (31) From a load of tallow which is in tw[o] goat-skins, for the camel-load, for import 7 d<enarii>, and for ex[port 7 d<enarii>].
 (33) From a donkey-load of [tall]ow, for import, [7 d<enarii>, and for export], 7 d<enarii>.
 (34) From a load of salted [fish], for the [camel]-load [for import], 10 [denarii], and from an exporter of any of them [...].
 (36) [.....] for the camel-load [.....] of the donkey-load, for import [.....] the tax-collector will levy 3 d<enarii>
 (39) From [.....] 10 d<enarii> and for a mule [...] [.....] From [.....] 2 assarii.
 (42) [...] lambs, for im[port and for export] one head, one assarius.
 (43) From a camel-[loa]d [...], 3 assarii [...] from [...] big [...] 2 assarii
 (45) From [...] the [tax-col]lec[tor] will collect one [assari]us. Also [the tax-]c[ollector] will collect each month from one (?) who sells perfumed oil, 2 assarii. Also the tax-collector will levy from the prostitutes, from one who charges a denarius [or] more, one denarius per woman. And from one who charges eight assarii he will levy eight assarii.

Col. II

51. wmn mn dy šql['] 'sry[n š]t'
 52. ygb' 'sryn [št']
 53. 'p ygb' [mks' mn]yw[...]
 54. [..]yp' [...h[...]] hyk 'dt'
 55. [lkl] yr[h] mn hñwt' d<yñr> 1
 56. [mn k]l mšk dy [y]t' 'l' w yzbn lmšk' 'sryn 2
 57. [mzbñ]y nhyt' dy hpkyñ bmdyt' yhn mwñ
 mks'
 58. [ltš]myš 'ynn trtn dy m[y] dy bmdyt' d<yñr>
 8.100
 59. [y]gb' mks' l't'wn' dy hñt' wñmr' wtbn'
 60. w[k]l mdy dm' [lhwn lk]l gml l'rñ hñd' d<yñr>
 1
 61. lgml' kdy yt'y'l sryq ygb' d<yñr> 1
 62. hyk [dy gb'] qlqys br hñy qysr
 63. nm[ws' dy mk]s' dy tdmr w'ynt' dy my'
 64. wml[h' d]y b[m]dyt' wñwmyh hyk
 65. '[gwry' d]y '[t]gr qdm mryns hygmwn'

- (51) And from one who charges [s]ix assarii he will levy [six] assarii.
 (53) Also (the tax-collector) will levy [tax from ...] according to custom, [every] mon[th] from the shop 1 denarius.
 (56) [From every] skin which will be imported or sold, for the skin 2 assarii.
 (57) [Haberd]ashers who go around the city will be (charged) a variable amount of tax.
 (58) For the use of two springs of wa[ter] which are in the city, 800 d<enarii>.
 (59) The tax-collector will levy for a load of wheat and wine and straw and suchlike, for each camel, for one journey, 1 d<enarius>.
 (61) For the camel when it is brought in unladen he will levy 1 d<enarius>, as QLQYS (Kilix), freedman of Caesar, levied.
 The ta[x-la]w of Tadmor <concerning> the springs of water and the salt which is in the city and its territories, according to the c[on]tracts (65) wh[ic]h we[re] drawn up before before MRYNS

66. m[n]lk[l] t'wn dy gml m'ln d<ynr> 4
wmpqn d<ynr> 4
67. m[n 'r]gwn' mlt' lkl mšk lm'ln' d<ynr> 4
wmpqn' d<ynr> 4
68. 'p ygb' [mks]' mn gnsy' klhwn hyk dy ktyb
mn l'l
69. [mlh] t[et] [ytg]b' 'sr' h[et] lmdy' dy qstwn
70. 'šr w[š]t [w]m' dy ytb' ytn [lh]n ltšmyš'
71. w[dy] l' y[...y]pr' lkl md' mn nm[ws]' dnh
sst[rtyn] [trn]
72. mn dy yhw' lh mlh btd[mr 'w bthw]m' d[y]
73. t[dmry]' ykyl[nh] l[mks]' [']py mdy' b'sr' h[et]
74. m[....]gys[.....]qy hygmwn'
75. [..] hšbn mk[.....]bny tdmry' l[....]
76. [..]q[.]t mksy[']' qy[mt] dy [..] [m]ks'
77. hyb lmhw' [..]s' [dy] 'gr bh
78. 'lqms wh[....] nmws' md'm lhn
79. mštp wm[....]' dy [..] yhw'
80. pr' lms' mn dy m'l r[gl]yn ltdmr
81. [']w lth[wm]yh wmpq lkl r[gl]y d<ynr> 20+2
82. w[m]n dy [..... m]pq ypr' lmk[s' d]<ynr>
10+2
83. w[mn] dy y[zbn 'l]m wtrn ypr' d<ynr> 5+3
84. [..]l kl [....]my' dnh [....]
85. w[d]y m'l[....]hw d<ynr> wmpq [d]<ynr>
10+2
86. [.....] mn dy mpq 'lm wtrn
87. [..] hšb[n] [..... hyk dy] ktyb bnmws'
88. [mn] dy yz[bn] ypr' d<ynr> 5+4
89. w[dy m]pq [..]l' ktyb bdy l [dy]
90. md'm l' [..] wk[.....]
91. l' dmy' [.....]y[....]
92. wm'ln mk[....]b[....]y m[..]
93. wdy 'mr' [..]s' dy 'p m[...]
94. tdm[r] l' m]ks[....] pr' thw' 'mr'
95. dy 'yt[ly]] mks' lmpqn' btr
96. kwt hww spw[n ...]l' 'mr' 'ytlyq[']
97. [t]hw' pr' [mk]s['] lmpq<n>'
98. mšh' b[šym] dy bzqyn dy 'z yhw' mks'
99. mt[gb] hyk nmws]' bdy l dy bt'wn dy
- (Marinus) the governor (HYGMWN').⁶⁷
- (66) [...] the camel-load, 4 d<enarii>, and export, 4 d<enarii>.
- (67) From [... pu]r[ple] fleece, for each hide, for import, 4 d<enarii>, and for export, 4 d<enarii>.
- (68) [Also the tax-collector will l]evy for goods of all kinds as it is written above.
- (69) [Salt] will be rightly taxed at one assarius for the modius of [si]xteen *sextarii* and when it is requested, he will give (it) [to th]em for use.
- (71) And [whoever] will not [measure it out will] be charged for every modius according to this l[a]w, [two] sesterii.
- (72) Whoever has salt in Tad[mor] or in the territory of the T[admoren]es, will measure it out to (pay) [the tax-collecto]r [ac]cording to the modius at one assarius (one as per modius).
- (74) [...] GYS (Gaius) [...]the governor. [concerning] the reckoning of taxe[s ...] between the Tadmorenes [...] the tax[es] [I] determined that ... [the t]ax should be for which 'LQMS (Alcimus) contracted and [...] the law, some-
- (79) thing with them participating and the t[ax.] which will be he will pay to the tax-collector, who imports any persons into Tadmor [or] its territory, and exports (any), for each person [...] 22 d<enarii>. And whoever [ex]ports, he will pay to the tax-col[lector] 12 [d<enarii>] And from whoever buys (or sells) a veteran [sla]ve, 8 d<enarii>
- (84) [...] for each [...] this [...] every [...] and [who] .imports [...] and [10] d<enarii>, and for export, 12 d<enarii>. [.....] whoever exports a veteran slave [...] a reckoning [...] as it is] written in the law [...] pay 9 d<enarii>.
- (89) [...] is not written, because anything [...] is not like [...] and import [...] and of wool [...] which he exports, [...] Tadmor [...] the tax [...] he will pay. The Italian ('YTLYQ') wool [...] the tax for export afterwards as they have agreed [...] Italian wool, he will pay the [tax] to the exporters.
- (98) [Perfumed] oil [which] is in goat-skins the tax-collector will [...] because by mistakes in the

⁶⁷ Our translation of the second half of the sentence owes much to *PAT Glossary* (s.v. 'gr).

Col. III

100. ktb dy t' mks[' ..]bl[.....]
 101. [.]k[.]š wbnmws' ršyp d<ynr> 10+3
102. mks' dy qšb' 'py dnr hyb
 103. lmtššbw hyk dy 'p grmn-qws qysr
 104. b'grt' dy ktb lštyls pšq dy
 105. h' kšr dy [yh]n mksy' 'py 'sr 'ytlq[']
 106. gbn wmdy gw mn dnr hyb mks' hyk
 107. 'dt' '[r]pn yh' gb'
108. pgryn dy mštdn mks l' hybyn
109. lt' mt' hy<k> bnm[w]s' lt' wn' 'qymt
 110. dy yhw' [mtgb]' dnr
 111. mdy yhw' mt[']l br mn tšwm' 'w m'pq
 112. mn dy mpq l[qry]' ['w m]' 'l mn qry'
 113. mks l' hyb hyk dy 'p hww spwn
114. 'štrbyly' wmdy dm' lhwn 'tšzy dy
 115. lkl dy 'll lššbn tgr' yhw' mks'
 116. hyk lybyš hyk dy hw' 'p bmdynt'
 117. 'hrnyt'
 118. gml'y' hn tynyn whn sryqyn yhn
 119. mt' 'lyn br mn tšwm' hyb kl
 120. gml dnr hyk bnmws' whyk dy 'šr
 121. qrbwn kšyr' b'grt' dy ktb lbrbrs
 122. 'l gldy' dy gml'y['] 'p 'ln kprw dy mks
 123. l' gbn * šb[y]' w[nt]yrt' 'tšzy dy yhwn
 124. yhbyn mk[s'] bdyl dy 'yt bhwn tgrt'
125. mks' dy 'lymt' hyk dy nmws' m<wḥ>⁶⁸
 pšqt
 126. hw mks' yg[b' mk]s' mn 'lymt' dy šqln dnr
 127. 'w ytyr l't[t' dn]r whn ḥsyrt thwh šql'
 128. mdy hy šql[l' ygb' 'l] šlmy nḥš' 'drty'
 129. 'tšzy dy ytgbl[wn] hyk [nḥ]š' wyhw' pr' šlm
 130. bplgwt [t'w]n wšlmyn trn t'wn * 'l mlḥ'
 131. qšt[']]tšzy ly dy b'tr dy dms thw'
 132. mtzbn' b'tr dy mtknšyn wmn mn tdmry'
 133. yzbn lḥš[h]th yhw' yhb lmdy' 'sr 'ytlq[']
 134. hyk bnmws' w'p mks' [m]lḥ' dy hwy'

(100) document which the tax-collector committed [...] [...] established in the the law, 13 denarii.

(102) The tax on butchered animals must be reckoned by the denarius, as also GRMNQWS KYSR (Germanicus Caesar), in the letter which he wrote to STTYLS (Statilius), made clear that it was indeed right that the taxes (should be) levied by the Italian assarius, and what is under a denarius, the tax-collector must levy in small coin according to custom.

(108) Carcasses which are thrown out are not liable to taxation.

(109) As to foodstuffs, accordi(ng) to the law, for a load I have decreed that a denarius will be [levie]d, when it will be imported from outside the borders or exported. (But) whoever exports to the [villages (of Tadmor) or] imports from the villages is not liable to taxation, as they also agreed.

(114) (As for) pine-cones and such like, it seemed good that for all that comes into the reckoning of the merchants the tax will be as for dry goods, as has been also (the rule) in other cities.

(118) (As for) camels, whether they are brought in laden or unladen from outside the borders, each camel is liable for a denarius, as in the law, and as the excellent QRBLWN (Corbulo) established in the letter which he wrote to BRBRS (Barbarus). As for camel-skin[s] too, they are tax-exempt, they should not be taxed. As for ha[y] and [f]ruit (i.e. windfalls ?) it seemed good that they should pay the ta[x], because they are an article of merchandise.

(125) I have clearly specified the tax on prostitutes according to the law: the tax-collector will lev[y ta]x from girls who charge a denarius or more, for (each) wo[man a denari]us, and if she takes less, what she has taken [he will levy. As for] bronze images, that is statues, it has been decreed that [they] be taxed as for [bro]nze and (for) each image the tax will be on half [loa]d (i.e. half its weight) and for two images a (full) load. As for [imported] salt it seems right to me that it be sold in the public place where people asse-

⁶⁸ *mwh* in the text is probably an error for *mḥw*, pa'el or ap'el participle of ḥw'/Y. 'show'. (Healey, *AIDRP*, p. 203)

135. btdmr hyk bh[w nmws]⁶⁹ 'py 'sr yhw'

136. mtqbl wl[tmdry]' yhw' mzbh hyk 'yd'

137. [. mk]s' dy 'rgwn' bdy l dy

138. [....]'rb'' wplgw [...]b[...]

139. [..] m[h]lkyn b[md]yt<⁷⁰ whyt'

140. [....]d dy yhw'

141. [..]' [.....] yhw' mtgb'

142. mks' hyk dy k[tyb mn l]'l lm'ln šlh'

143. 'sryn 2 'šl[....] mtgb' wlm{m}pqn'

144. lt'wn[']' [hyk dy 'p hww spwn

145. 'n' t[h]w['] m[t]'l' m[n br] mn thwm' 'p hn

146. [..... mt]'l' mks' hyb' whn lgw mn

147. [. mt]'l' lmdyt' lmgz mks l' hyb[']

148. m[.....]nwt' wmn dy hyk <d>y hwn hwn

mble; and (that) any Tadmoredne who purchases (it) for his use will pay (one) Itali[an] assarius per modius, as is (stated) in the law. And also the tax on the salt which is in Tadmor, as in [...] will be reckoned at (one) assarius, and will be sold to [the Tadmorednes], according to custom.

(137) [...] the [ta]x on purple, because [...] four and a half [...]

As for retailers in the city and tailors [...] which will be [...] shall be levied, the tax-collector will levy as written above [...] As for imported skins 2 assarii [he will l]evy, and for export (?) [...] [as al]so they have agreed.

(145) Sheep which are imported from (outside) the territory this also [...] for im]port the tax is liable, or if below [...] if im]ported to the city to be shorn, a tax is not liable.

(148) [...] the shop and because, as they will be(?) [...]

Last line, below other columns, **Palmyrene** text.

149. [s]pwn mks' [....]' hyk bnmws' dnr yhw' mtgb' ['p] mn[....] mdy pr' mks' l' yhw' mtgb' 'l' l'n<'> dy thw' m' 'l' l[.... thw]m tdmr 'n yšb' mks' yhw' [...] lh

[agr]eeable. The tax [...] as in the law will be levied at a denarius. [Even] from [...] to pay the tax it will not be levied but for small cattle that will be brought into [...] the territory of Tadmor, if the tax-collector wishes, it will be [allowable?] for him [to brand them?]

Council honours Yarhibola b. Lishamsh A'abi for having helped the merchants in Charax, and assumed an embassy to Worod, King of Ailymene (138 CE)

IGLS xvii, 227, cf. *L'Agora* VI.05, *Schuol* 12, *PAT* 1414 (On console fragments from the Agora 8/6/1/99):

(Greek)

1. ἡ βουλὴ Ἰαριβόλην Λισάμσο[υ....]
2. Ἀαβεῖ τὸν φιλόπατριν καὶ φ(ι)λότ[ειμον τειμῆς]
3. χάριν ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ προ[θύμως συνερ-]
4. γούντα ἐμπόροις τοῖς ἐν Σπασίνου Χά-]
5. [ρακι] καὶ [συναρ](ά)μενον α(ὐ)[τοῖς]
6. [...]ε ἀφειδῆσ[α]ντα ψυχῆς κα[ὶ χρημά-]
7. [τ]ων καὶ π[ρεσβεύσαντα] αὐθαιρέτως
8. [πρὸς Οὐορώδην τὸν β]ασιλέα τῆς Αἰλ[υ-]
9. [μήνης]κῶν δωρη-
10. [.....]

(*Left face*) The Council (dedicated this image) to Iaribōles (son) of Lisamsos [(son) of ...] Aabeis, patriot and benefactor, to honour him, who in all circumstances and in his dealings with those merchants who are from [Spasinou Charax], expending his soul (i.e. his physical energy) and his wealth and who has conducted at his own expense the envoy to Orōdēs, King of Ailymene (i.e. Elymais) (*Lacuna of four lines then Right face*) Elymais [...] having received thanks [...] before the Excellent Council [...] of his [...]

⁶⁹ bh[w nmws]: restoration suggested by Healey (*AIDRP*, p. 184).

⁷⁰ b[md]yt<'>: restoration suggested by Healey (*AIDRP*, p. 184). *PAT*, p. 62: b[md]yt.

11. [.....]
12. [.....]
13. [.....] τῇ Αἰλυμηνῇ [.....]
14. [.....] ΠΟΤΩΝΑΠΟΙ [.....] εὐ[χα-]
15. ριστηθῆναι αὐτὸν [.....] ἐπὶ τῆς
16. κρατίστης βουλῇ[ς] [.....] αὐτοῦ τὸ
17. πρὸς τὴν πατρί[δα] με]μαρ-
18. [τύ]ρηκεν [κατ]ὰ καιροῦς διὰ ψηφισμάτων παρὶ
19. [.....] καὶ Βρουττίῳ Πραΐσεντι καὶ Ἰουλίῳ Μ[αί]
20. [.....] ὑ]πατικοῖς ἔτους θμυ' Ξανδικοῦ

towards his native [city] [...] attested to often by decrees of [...] Bruttius Praesens and of Julius M[aior ...] consuls. In the year 449, (in the month) of Xandikos (Sel. = April, 138 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. šlm yrḥbwl' br lšmš[.....]
2. [.....]
3. [...] kktbw tgry' tdmry' [.....]
4. [...zb]nyn wl' z'wrn 'wdw lbwl' [...]
5. [...]t[...]
6. [...bdy]l dy
7. [...] bšwšn
8. [...] wrwd mlk

Statue of YRḤBWL' (Yarḥibola) son of LŠMŠ (Lishamsh) [...] as have been written on (i.e. decreed) on (numerous?) important (lit. and not insignificant) occasions the Tadmorene merchants have attested to the Council [...] because [...] in ŠWŠN (i.e. Susa) [...] the King WRWD (Worod) [...]

Council honours A'ailami b. Ḥairan (139 CE)

IGLS xvii, 159, cf. *AIDRP* 32, *PAT* 0276, C3930 (On *tabula ansata* at foot of column, found between the Temple of Bel sanctuary and modern Tadmor, *in situ* ?):

(Greek)

1. Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἀιλάμειν Αἰράνου
2. τοῦ Μοκίμου τοῦ Αἰράνου τοῦ Μαθθα καὶ
3. Αἰράνην τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεῖς καὶ
4. φιλοπάτριδας καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ φιλο-
5. τείμως ἀρέσαντας τῇ πατρίδι καὶ
6. τοῖς πατρίοις θεοῖς τειμῆς χάριν
7. ἔτους νυ' μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ

The Council and the People (honoured) Ailamis son of Hairanes son of Mokimos son of Hairanes son of Mattha, and Hairanes, his father, men who revere the gods and love their fatherland, and in every way with public spirit pleased their homeland and their ancestral gods, for the sake of honour, in the year 450, in the month of Xandikos (Sel. = April, 139 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. bwl' wdms 'bdw šlmy' 'ln trwyhwn
2. l' 'ylmy br ḥyrn br mqymw br ḥyrn mt'
3. wlḥyrn 'bwhy rhymy mdythwn wd(h)ly 'lhy'
4. bdy l dy šprw lhwn wl' lhyhwn bkl šbw klh
5. lyqrhwn byrh nysn šnt 4.100+40+10

The Council and the People built these two statues for 'YLMY (A'ailami) son of ḤYRN (Ḥairan) son of MQYMW (Moqimu) son of ḤYRN (son of) MT' (Matta), and for ḤYRN, his father, lovers of their city and fearers of the gods, because they did well for them and for their gods in every matter, in their honour, in the month of NYSN (Nisan) of the year 450 (Sel. = April, 139 CE/AD).

Council honours Bariki b. Amrisha (139 CE)

IGLS xvii, 305, cf. *PAT* 0277, *Inv.* iiT, 3, Cooke, 111 (Loc.: In cartouche at the foot of column.):

(Greek)

1. Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Βαρεῖχειν
2. Ἀμρι[σά]μσου τοῦ Ἰαριβωλέους
3. καὶ Μόκιμον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεῖς
4. καὶ φιλοπάτριδας τειμῆς χάριν

The Council and the People (honoured) Barichi(s) son of Amrisamsus son of Iaribōlē, and his son Mokimos, men who revere the gods and love their fatherland, for the sake of honour.

(Palmyrene)

1. bwl' wdmś 'bdw ślmy' 'ln
2. trwyhn lbryky br 'mrš' br
3. (yrḥbwl' w)lmqym(w) brh rḥmy
4. mdythwn wdḥly '[lh]y' lyqrhwn
5. byrḥ nysn šnt 4.100+40+10

The Council and the People made these two statues for BRYKY (Bariki) son of 'MRŠ' (Amrisha) son of YRḤBWL' (Yarḥibola) and for MQYM[W] (Moqimu) his son, lovers of their city and fearers of the gods, in their honour, in the month of NYSN (Nisan) of the year 450 (Sel. = April, 139 CE/AD).

Council honours 'Aḥofali b. Ḥairan (140 CE)

IGLS xvii, 306, cf. *PAT* 0273, *IMP* 7, *PP*, pp. 89-90 (On console, found east of Temple of Bel. Now in Palmyra Museum A 22/21):

(Greek)

1. {On listel} Ἡ βουλὴ {On shaft} Ἀο[φ]άλειν Αἰράνου τοῦ Σαβᾶ τοῦ
2. [Αἰρ]άνου τοῦ Βωννέους ἐπανγει-
3. [λά]μενον αὐτῇ ἐπίδοσιν αἰωνίαν
4. [κα]ὶ θυσίαν καὶ ἔτ[ε]ρα ἀναθέματα
5. [Μα]λαχβήλω καὶ Τύχη Θαιμεῖος καὶ
6. [Ἀτε]ργάτει πατρώοις θεοῖς τειμῆς καὶ
7. μνήμης χάριν ἔτους ανυ' Πανήμου

The Council (honoured) Aophalis son of Hairanēs son of Sabas son of Hairanēs son of Bonnēs, who endowed it with an everlasting contribution and a sacrifice and other items dedicated to Malachbelos and the Tyche of Thaimeios and Atargatis (*IGLS* Atergatis), ancestral gods, for the sake of honour and memory, in the year 451, in the month of Panēmos (Sel. = July, 140 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. ślm' dnh dy 'h(p)ly br ḥyrn šb' b[r]
2. ḥyrn bwn' š[']t dy 'bdt lh bwl' dy
3. mgd lh ḥr[m]' l'lm' w[m]qlwt' w'qm⁷¹
4. [m]ḥr[m]n⁷² lmlkb[l] wgd tymy wl' tr'th
5. 'lh[y'] tḥ[y'] btr dy myt lyqrh byrḥ
6. [qnyn] šnt 4.100+40+10+1

This statue is (of) 'HPLY ('Aḥofali)⁷³ son of HYRN (Hairan) (son of) ŠB' (Šaba) son of HYRN (son of) BWN' Š[']T (Bonnē Ša'at), which the Council had built for him, who bestowed on it consecrated objects in perpetuity and burnt offerings, and set up sacred things (endowments?) for MLKBL (Malakbel) and the GD (Gad) (of) TYMY (Taimi) and 'TR'TH ('Attar-'atfeh), the good gods, after he died, in his honour, in the month of [QNYN (Qinyan)] of the year 450 (Sel. = July, 140 CE/AD).

⁷¹ w'qm (C3927(Aram.):3; *IGLS* 306(Aram.):3 w'qm[rn]). See also next foot-note.

⁷² Kaizer (*PLP*, pp. 253-54) follows the suggestion of Garbini in restoring w'm[rn] mḥrm[n] 'consecrated lambs'. While ingenious, this is not supported by the Greek version and will require abandoning the traditional reading and restoration of w'q[m] at the end of line 3 adopted by both *CIS* and *IMP*. The photograph of the altar in *IGLS* gives the impression that the space caused by chipping at the end of the line is insufficient for the two additional letters [rn] as the preceding letter m (a broad letter only half preserved) would have taken a fair share of the remaining space. However as r and n are both narrow letters in the Palmyrene script the suggested reading w'q(m)[rn] is not completely impossible.

⁷³ Vogüé (*ap.* Cooke) read 'š[T]LY but this is now generally rejected in favour of 'HPLY. On the name which means 'generous' see Stark, p. 67.

Caravaneers honour NN, an official of Forat (140 CE)

IGLS xvii, 246, *Schuol* 14, *PAT* 1412 (Reconstituted from six fragments of a console from the Agora. Palmyra Museum A1055):

(Greek)

1. [Τὸν δ. τοῦ δ.]
2. [τοῦ Ἀ]λεξάνδ[ρου ἄρχοντα (?)]
3. [Φορ]αθῶν τῆς περ[ὶ Σπασίνου]
4. [Χά]ρακα ἡ μετὰ Μάλχο[υ τοῦ]
5. [Ἀζ]είζου παραγενομένη
6. ἀπ[ὸ τ]οῦ Χάρακος εἰς Πάλμυρ(α)
7. <καὶ> Ὀλογαισιάν συνοδία τειμῆς
8. ἔνεκεν ἔτ[ο]υς ανυ'
9. μηνὸς Γορπιαίου

[(This is the statue of) NN, son of NN, the son of A]lexander, the archon (of) the people of Forat] in the vicinity of (?) [Cha]rax [Spasinou], (dedicated by) the caravan which travels with Malchos, son of Azizos and (travels) from Charax to Palmyra <and> to Vologesias; in his honour, in the year 451, in the month of Gorpaaios (September, 140 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. [šlm' dnh dy - - -]py[- - -]
2. [- - br 'lksndrws - - prt] m(?)yšn
3. [dy 'qymw lh bny šyrt']
4. [dy] slqw 'm [mlkw br 'zyzw] mn krk[']
5. dy(?) myšn l'lgšy wldmr bdy l dy
6. [špr lhn bkl] šbw klh lyqrh
7. [byrh 'lwl šnt 4.100+] 40+10+1

[This is the statue of NN, the son of NN, the son of Alexander archon (?) of Forat in] M(?)YŠN (Maishan) [which was erected to him by members of the caravan, who came up with MLKW (Malku), son of 'ZYZW ('Azizu) from] KRK MYŠN (Kerak of Maishan) to 'LGŠY (Vologesias) and to Tadmor (i.e. Palmyra), because he did good to them in every possible way; in his honour, [in the month of 'LWL (Elūl) in the year 4]51 (Sel. = September, 140 CE/AD).

**A caravan returning from Phorat and Vologesias honours its leader,
Nesa b. Ḥala b. Nesa b. Ḥala Raphael Abisai (142 CE/AD)**

(Greek)

1. {On listel} Νεσῆ Ἀλᾶ τοῦ Νε[σῆ ...]
2. {On console} Νεσῆ Ἀλᾶ τοῦ Νεσῆ τοῦ Ἀλᾶ τοῦ
3. τοῦ Ἀβισσέου συνοδιάρχην οἱ συναναβάν-
4. τες μετ' α[ὐ]τοῦ ἔμποροι ἀπὸ Φοράθου κὲ
5. Ὀλαγασιάδος τειμῆς καὶ εὐχαριστείας
6. ἔνεκεν ἔτους γνυ' μηνὸς Ξανδ[ικοῦ]

(Statue of) Nesēs son of Ala son of Nesēs son of Ala, son of Refaelos son of Abisseos, caravan leader: the merchants who came up together with him for Phorat (i.e. Ferat) and Vologesias (have erected this) for the same of honour and gratitude in the year 453, the month of Xandikos (Sel. = April, 142 CE).

(Palmyrene)

1. slm' dnh dy ns' br hl' br ns' br hl' br
 2. rp'l br 'bsy dy 'qymw lh bny šyrt' dy slq
 3. 'mh mn prt wmn 'lgšy' bdy l dy špr lhw n
 4. wqm bršhwn w'drnwn bkl (š)bw klh [lyqrh]
- (lower margin)
5. byrh nysn [šn]t 4.100+40+10+3
- On the vertical:

This statue is that of NS' (Nesa) son of HL' (Ḥala) son of NS' son of HL' son of RP'L (Raphael) son of 'BSY ('Abisai) which the caravaneers who had come up with him from RPT (Phorat) and from 'LGŠY' (i.e. Vologesias) had erected for him because he was pleasing to them and was their leader and was helpful in every way. In the month of NYSN (Nisān), the year 453 (Sel. = April, 142 CE).

(Palmyrene)

ns' br hl'
br ns' 'hmr

NS' (Nesa) son of HL' (Ḥala) son of NS' 'HMR (Arḥmar)

Sho'adu b. Bolyada honoured with four statues (144 CE/AD)

IGLS xvii, 127, *Allat* 36, *PLP*, pp. 62-63, Drijvers, 1995b, 34-36 (On both front and left side of column console from the Temple of Allat. Now in Palmyra Museum):

(Greek)**Front:**

1. [τοὺς ἀνδριάντας τέσσαρας χαλκίνους, ἓνα] τοῦτον τὸν ἐν
 2. [ἱερῷ Ἀθην]ᾶς, ἓνα τὸν ἐν ἱερῷ ἄλσει, ἓνα δὲ τὸν
 3. [ἐν ἱερῷ Ἄρεος] καὶ ἓνα τὸν ἱερῷ Ἀταργάτειος
 4. [τοὺς] ἐγγεγεμένους παρὰ τοῖς πρώτοις
 5. τέσσαρσι ἀνδριᾶσι τοῖς ἀνεγερθεῖσι
 6. ὑπὸ τῆς πρώτης συνοδίας Σοάδῳ Βωλιάδους
 7. τοῦ Σοάδου τοῦ Θαιμισάμσου εὐσεβεῖ καὶ φιλο-
 8. πατρίδι τῷ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ εὐνοίαν καὶ μεγαλο-
 9. φροσύνην τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πολεῖτας παντὶ
 10. τρόπῳ κεκοσμημένῳ ἀρεταῖς καὶ μεγίσ-
 11. ταις τειμαῖς ἀνέστησεν ἡ ἀπὸ Ὀλογασίας ἀνα-
 12. βᾶσα συνοδία πάντων Παλμυρηνῶν ἐπεὶ
 13. προώρμησεν ἐπισήμως παραλαβὼν μ[ε]-
 14. θ' αὐτοῦ πολλὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἀνέστ[η]
- Left side:
15. [Αβ]δαλλάθῳ Ἐειθίνῳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συναχθεῖσι ἀπὸ Π[αλμύρηνων]
 16. [δ... ληστη]ριοῖς τοῖς ἐπὶ χρόνον ἐνεδρεύσασι ἀδικῆσαι τὴν σ[υνοδίαν]
 17. [καὶ Σωάδος πρ]οσιδίσωσεν αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦτο ἀνέγειραν αὐτῷ
 18. [τοὺς ἀνδριάντας (?)] τειμῆς χάριν συνοδιαρχούντων Μαλῇ Συμώνου
 19. [τοῦ Βαζέκη καὶ Ἐ]ννιβήλου Συμώνου τοῦ Βαζέκη ἔτους ενν' μ[ηνὸς] Δαισίου.

[The four bronze statues,] this one in the [temple of Athen]a, one in the sacred garden, one [in the temple of Are]s, and one in the temple of Atargatis, which have been erected next to the first four statues that were erected {flower} by the first caravan for Soados (son) of Boliades son of Soados (son) of Thaimisamsos, who is pious and patriotic, through his benevolence and magnanimity towards the citizens in every way adorned with distinctions and very great honours the caravan of all Palmyrenes which came back from Vologesias erected, because he advanced in a distinguished manner taking with him a large force {Left side:} and he protected (or: defended) (them) against [Ab]dallathos, a man from Eeithe and the (robbers) that were brought together by him from [.....] who for a long time had lain in wait in order to harm the [caravan] he preserved them. Therefore they erected for him [.... these statues] to honour him, when Males (son) of Symonos [.... and He]nnibelos (son) of Symonos (son) of Bazekēs were caravan-leaders in the year 455 in the month of Daisios (Sel. = June, 144 CE/AD). (tr. Drijvers, 1995b: 36).

(Palmyrene)

1. šlmy' 'ln dy nhš' 'rb'tyhw n 'hd dnh bt 'lt [w'hd bgnt' 'lym]
2. w'hd bt 'rsw w'hd bt 'tr'th dy qymyn lwt 'rb'[t' qdmy' dy]
3. 'qymw lh bny šyrt' qdmyt' lš'dw br blyd' br š['dw tymšmš dy dhl]
4. 'lhy' wrhym mdynth dy mn t' hšh t'b' wr'ynh rb' dy l[t ...]
5. bkl gnsh wmsbt bšbhyn wbyqryn šgy'yn dy 'qymw l[h šyrt' dy]
6. tdmr klh dy slqt mn 'lgšy' bdyl dy npq bydy'w[t' w'yty 'mh w]
7. hl šgy wqm b'py 'bdlt 'hyty' wgyšy' dy knš ['mh...]

These four bronze statues, this one in the temple of 'LT (Allat) [and one in the sacred garden], and one in the temple of 'RŠW (Aršu), and one in the temple of 'TR'TH (i.e. Atargatis), which are standing next to the (first) four ones, (which) the members of the first caravan erected for š'DW (Sho'adu) son of BLYD' (Bolyada) son of š['DW who fears] the gods and loves his city, who because of his benevolence and magnanimity towards [....] in every way and he was adorned with praises and many honours which [the caravan of] all Tadmor that came from 'LGŠY' (i.e. Vologesias) erected [for him], because he proceeded with perception [and took with him] a

8. dy hww ytbyn zbn lmḥt'⁷⁴ 'l šyrt' whw š'dw
šw[zbh⁷⁵ bdy] kwt]
9. 'qymw lh šlmy' 'lyn lyqrh brbnwt šyrt⁷⁶ ml['] br
šm'wn bzq']
10. whnbl šm'wn bzq' byrh sywn šnt 4.100+5[0+5]
- large force and protected [them] against 'BDLT (Abdallat) the 'HYTY' (Aihṭaia) and the robbers that he brought together [.....] who were sitting a (long) time to harm the caravan. But this Š'DW (Sho'adu) saved [them. Therefore] they erected for him these statues to honour him, when ML' (Mala) (son) of ŠM'WN (Shim'on) and ḤNBL (Ḥanibēl) son of ŠM'WN (son) of BZQ' (Bazeqa) were caravan-leaders. In the month SYWN (Siwan) of the year 455 (June, 144 CE/AD). (tr. Drijvers, 1995b: 36-39).

The Council, the People and the caravans honour Sho'adu b. Bolyada (145 CE/AD)

IEOG 157 (Gr. only), *PAT* 1062, Schuol 16, Matthews, pp. 166-67, *Déd.*, p. 13, (Prov. Palmyrene: Umm el-'Amad, 22 km. from Palmyra)

(Greek)

Text A:

1. Ἔτο[υς υνζ' μηνὸς -----]
2. ἡ βουλὴ [καὶ ὁ δῆμος [Σόαδ]ον Βωλιάδους
3. τοῦ Σ[ο]άδου τοῦ Θαιμισάμσου εὐσεβῆ καὶ
4. φιλόπατριν καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις
καιροῖς
5. γν[η]σίως καὶ φιλοτείμως παραστάντα τοῖς
6. ἐ[μ]πόροις καὶ ταῖς συνοδίαις καὶ τοῖς ἐν
Ὀλογασίᾳ
7. πολεῖταις καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις [ἐπισ]τολ[ᾱ] θεοῦ
8. [Α]δριανοῦ καὶ τοῦ θειοτάτου α[ὐ]τοκράτορος
9. Ἀντωνεῖνου υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ μαρτυρηθέντα
10. ὁμοίως καὶ διατάγματι Ποβλικίου
Μαρκέλλου
11. καὶ ἐπιστολᾷ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐξῆς ὑπατικῶν
12. καὶ ψηφίσμασι καὶ ἀνδριᾶσι τειμηθέντα ὑπὸ
13. βουλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ τῶν κατὰ καιρὸν συν-
14. οδιῶν καὶ τῶν καθ' ἓνα πολειτῶν καὶ νῦν
τοῦτον
15. μόνον τῶν πώποτε πολειτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς
16. πατρίδος διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς καὶ ἐπαλ[λ]ήλους
17. εὐποίας τεσσάρων ἀνδριάντων ἐν τῷ
18. τετραδείῳ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ κειόνων δημοσίαις
19. ἀναλώμασι κατηξιωμένον καὶ ἄλλων
20. ἀνδριάντων τριῶν ἐν τε Σπασίνου Χάρακι
21. [κα]ὶ ἐν Ὀλ[ο]γασίᾳ καὶ ἐ[ν] Γεννάῃ
καταλύματι {συν-}
22. [συ]νοδιῶν ὑπὸ β[ου]λ[ῆ]ς καὶ δήμου καὶ
κτίσαντα
23. [ἐ]ν Ὀλογα[σίᾳ] ναὸν τῶν Σε[β]αστῶν κ[α]ὶ

In the ye[ar]. the Council [a]nd the People (honour) [Soad]os son of Boliadēs, son of S[o]ados son of Thaimisamsos, for his piety and love of his city, and for the n[o]bility and munificence that he has on many important occasions shown to the me[rch]ants and the caravans and the citizens at Vologesias. For these services he received testimonial letters from the divine Hadrian and from the most divine Emperor Antoninus his son, similarly in a proclamation of Publicius Marcellus and letters from him and successive consular governors. He has been honoured by decrees and statues by the council and people, by the caravans on various occasions, and by individual citizens: and now, he alone of all citizens of all time is on account of his continuous and cumulative good services honoured by his city at public expense by four statues mounted on pillars in the *tetradeion* of the city, and by decision of the council and people another three, at Spasinou Charax and at Vologesias and at the caravanserai of Gennaes. In addition, he founded and dedicated at Vologesias a temple of the Augusti [.....]

⁷⁴ Drijvers, 1995b, p. 36 reads *mḥt'* (reading followed by Kaizer, *RLP*, p. 63) but the reading *lmḥt'* given by *IGLS* xvii, p. 138 is supported by the accompanying photograph on p. 139. See also *Notables*, p. 24, fn. 95.

⁷⁵ šw[zbh] (*IGLS* 127(Aram.):8); šw[zbhwn] (*Allat* 36(Aram.):8).

⁷⁶ Drijvers's text gives *šyrt'* as in the previous line but *IGLS* gives *šyrt* as in the photograph.

κ[α]θι-
24. [ερώ]σαν[τα]

Text B:

1. [καὶ (?) πίστε]ω[ς (?) κ]αὶ μεγαλοφ[ρ]οσύνης
ἔ[νεκα] (?)
2. π[ά]ν[υ] (?) π[ᾶ]σα[ν] ἐν χειρισθέντα δυναστείαν
3. [...]στωτο[...]ειρω
4. [...]ς στασι[...]⁷⁷

(Palmyrene)

1. [byrh ...] šn[t] 4.100+40+10 +5+2
2. b[w]l' wdms [l]š'dw br [bl]yd' br š'd[w]
3. tymšmš dhl 'l[hy' wrhym] mdynth wbzb[nyn]
4. šgy'n wrbrbn ... (yb.)[.....] nhw[ryt]
5. [...] tgyr' wšy[rt]' wb[ny mdyn]th d[y]
6. [b'lgšy']
7. [.....]
8. [.....] ... [.....]
9. whgmyn dy b'[trh]
10. wbdgmyn wyqryn wš[l]myn [.....]
11. [l]šyryn [bkl šb]w klh
12. [.....]
13. [.....]
14. [.....]
15. ['h]d šlm [bkrk' dy myšn w'h]d šlm]
16. b'lg[šy']
17. bwl' wdms dm[h l]' qmw[...]
18. [...]. yhk [.....]
19. mn bny šyr[t']

and in gratitude for his loyalty and generosity in his management of [every] position of authority [.....] (trans. Matthews, pp. 166-67).

[In the month ...] the yea[r] 457 (Sel. = 145/6 CE/AD), the c[oun]cil and people (give honour) [to] š'DW (Šo'adu), son of [BL]YD' (Bolyadā), the son of š'D[W], the son of TYMŠMŠ (Taimišamaš), (because he) reveres the go[ds and loves] his city and on many important occas[ions][.....] illustri[ous]..[.....] the merchants and the carav[an]s and the cit[izens of] his [city] wh[o] [at 'LGŠY' (Vologesias)] and the governors who in his [place.....] and with decrees and honours and sta[tu]es [....] [to] the caravans [in every] thin[g] [o]ne statue [at Kerak of Maishan and one statue] at 'LG[ŠY'] the Council and the People in his (?) liken[ess] erected from the members of the carav[an].

List of benefactions to the Temple of Bel

IGLS xvii, 308, *RLP*, p. 246, Seyrig, 1937: 372-78 (On stone block from the city-wall found east of the Temple of Bel):

(Greek)

1. [- - - - - παντ]ὸς καὶ αἰωνίου δ-
2. [ιαμονῆς τῶν κυρίων] αὐτοκρατόρων ἐπανγελάμενον δὲ
3. [πρὸς τὸ ἱερ]ὸν ἄλσος κείονας παρίνους δύο σὺν ἐπιστυ-
4. [λίο]ις καὶ στέγη καὶ περιαργυρώσαντα τὴν πᾶσαν ἄποσι[ν φ]ορ-
5. εἶου Βωρραώωνου θεοῦ καὶ φιλοτειμησάμενον εἰς τὸ κτίζ-
6. μα τοῦ ἱεροῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ Βήλου ἀργύ(ριον ἔτι πάλαι, καὶ με-
7. τα ταῦτα εἰς διανομὴν ἀείδιον τοῖς ἱρεῦσι τοῦ

[... concerning ...] and eternal c[ontinuance of the lords] the emperors he promised [for the sacred grove, two pillars of Parian marble with architraves and roofs, and covered with silver the whole of the exterior of the sedan-chair of the god Bōrroaōnos, and generously presented money for the construction of the temple of the greatest god Bel a long time ago, and after that for everlasting distribution to the priests of Bel in the name of Iaribōlē and Salamalath his sons, six thousand denarii on [s]et dates, and in his own name six thousand denarii on the 16th of (the month) Lōos and for the meat distribution for all the people who were entertained on the same day before

⁷⁷ *IEOG* 157:26 suggests: [...] ἐς Σπασίνου [Χαρακ ...].

- Βήλου ἐξ ὄν[ό]-
 8. ματος Ἰαριβωλ(έου καὶ Σαλαμα)λάθου υἱῶν
 αὐτοῦ δηνά-
 9. ρια ἐξακισ[ισ]χεῖλια (ἡμέραις) [τ](α)κταῖς καὶ
 ἐξ ἰδίου ὀνόματος
 10. δηνάρια ἐξακισχεῖλια εἰς ζι' Λώου καὶ εἰς
 κρεονομίαν
 11. πάντων τῶν (ἐστιωμέ)νων τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ
 ἔμπροσθεν Μάν-
 12. νου θεοῦ δηνάρια (τετρ)ακόσια ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ
 τόκου γεινέσθαι
 13. [τ]ὴν κρεονομίαν ἄς (πάσ)[α]ς (φιλοτει)μίας
 μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν
 14. [αὐ]τοῦ οἱ υἱοὶ ἐπὶ (πέρας) [ἡ]γαγον καὶ
 προσεφιλοτειμήσαντο τῇ
 15. [βουλ]ῇ δηνάρια τετρακισχεῖ[λια πεν]τακόσια
 ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ εἰς
 16. [- - - - - ENHNIEPΩ - - - - -]

Mannos, the god, four hundred denarii, so that from the interest [t]he meat distribution took place. A[ll] these benefactions after [h]is death his sons [brought] to fulfilment [and] in addition generously donated to the [Counc]il four thou-[sand fiv]e hundred denarii in his name to .[....]

A caravan having gone to Vologesias honours its leader Nesā son of Ḥalā (150 CE)

IGLS xvii 247; *IEOG* 93 (Gr. only); *L'Agora* VI.07 (8/6/1/104); *Schul* 17; *PAT* 1419; *Inv.* 10 124. (Prov. On wall-console found at the foot of the rampart of the Agora):

(Greek)

1. Νε[σῆ] Ἀλ]ᾶ τοῦ Νεσῆ τοῦ Ἀλᾶ συνο[διάρχην] (Statue of) Nesēs son of Ala son of Nesēs son of
 2. ἡ σ[υνκα]ταβᾶσα μετ' αὐτοῦ συνο(δ)ία εἰς [Ὀλο]. Ala, the caravan which had come down with him
 3. γασίαν μηνὶ Περιτίῳ τοῦ to Vologesias (has erected this) for the sake of
 4. ἀξυ' ἔτους τεμῆς καὶ εὐχα- honour and gratitude.
 5. ριστε(α)ς ἔνεκεν

(Palmyrene)

1. slm' dnh
 2. dy (n)š' br hl' br nš' br hl' dy
 3. 'bdw lh bny šyrt' dy nḥtw
 4. 'mh mn tdmwr l'lgšy' bdy
 5. [dy špr l]hwn w'drnwn bkl [šbw]
 6. klh lyqrh byrh [š]bt šnt 4.100+60+1

This statue which is of NS' (Nesā) son of ḤL' (Ḥalā) son of NS' son of ḤL' the caravan which went down with him from Palmyra to Vologesias has made for him in his honour because he was their leader and was helpful in every way in the month šBT (Shebet) in the year 461 (Sel. = February, 150 CE).

Merchants back from Charax honour [...] (between 100 and 150 CE)

IGLS xvii, 243; *IEOG* 152; *L'Agora* VI.19 (8/6/1/47); *Inv.* 10 19 (Prov.: On plinth of a console between columns 6 and 7 of the Agora):

(Greek)

1. [... οἱ] ἐν Χαρακ[τ] ἔμποροι [The merchants] in Charax [...] in the y[ear] ...
 2. [...]κοσιόστου ἑ[κ]τουσ [...] [hundred] ...

**Bilingual (Greek and Parthian) inscription celebrating the conquest of Mesene
by the Parthian King Arsak (151 CE)⁷⁸**

Morano, pp. 230-31, Skjærvø, p. 292 (Inscribed on a the both legs of a Hercules statue found at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, now in the Iraqi Museum I.M. 100178):

(Greek)

1. ἔτους τοῦ
2. καθ' Ἑλληνας
3. βξυ' βασιλεὺς
4. βασιλέων Ἀρ-
5. σάκης Ὀλόγασος
6. υἱὸς Μιραδάτου {βα-}
7. βασιλέως ἐπεστρα-
8. τεύσατο Μεσσηνι
9. κατὰ Μιραδάτου βασι-
10. λέως υἱοῦ Πακόρου
11. προβασιλεύσαντος καὶ
12. τὸν Μιραδάτην βασιλέ-
13. α ἐγδιώξας τῆς Μεσσηνίας
14. ἐγένετο ἐνκρατὴς ὅλης
15. τῆς Μεσσηνίας καὶ εἰκόνα
16. ταύτην χαλκὴν Ἡρακλέ-
17. ος θεοῦ, τὴν μετενεχθεῖ-
18. σαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσση-
19. νίας ἀνέθηκεν ἐν ἱερῶι τῶι-
20. δὲ θεοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ
21. χαλκῆς πύλης προκα-
22. θημένον.

In the year 462 of the Greeks (= 151 CE), the King of Kings, Arsakēs (5) Vologeses the son of King Mithridates campaigned in Mesene against King Mithridates, the son of the previous king Pacorus. He expelled King Mithridates (10) of Mesene and became ruler of all of (15) Mesene. This bronze statue of the god Heracles was brought back with him from Mesene and was dedicated in the temple of the god Apollo who protects the bronze (toll-)gate.

(Parthian)

1. ... 'ršk wlgšy MLKYN MLK'
Aršak Walγaš šāhān šāh
2. BRY mtrdt ML[K']
puhr Mihrdād šāh
3. [KT]ŠW OL myšn BR' mtrdt MLK' BRY
*kōšēd ō Mēšān *abar Mihrdād šāh puhr
4. pkwr MLKYN MLK'
Pakōr šāhān šāh
5. mtrdt MLK' MN TMH MRDPW
Mihrdād šāh aš ōd...
6. hmk mysn 'HDW
hamag Mēšān gīrwēd
7. ZNH ptkr wrtrgn 'LH' MH MN myšn HYT-t
im padkar Warh(r)ayn bay če aš Mēšān āwurd
8. nygndn B tyry bgny HQ'YMW
*nigāndān andar Tīr bayin awestēd

[In the year ...] Arsaces Vologases, King of Kings, son of King Mitradates, fought in MYŠN (Maishan) against King MTRDT (Mitradates), son of PKWR (Pakōr), King of Kings. He chased King Mitradates from there, he took all of Maishan. The image of the god Warhagn (i.e. Herakles), which was brought from Mesene, he placed as *trophy in the temple of Tīr. (tr. Skjærvø, p. 292)

⁷⁸ The conquest of Mesene by the Parthians had the immediate effect of simplifying Palmyra's commercial relationship with the Persian Gulf as it meant she only had to deal with the Parthians to benefit from this lucrative trade.

sThe boundaries of the region of Palmyra set by Creticus Silanus (153 CE)

Schlumberger, 1939: 61-63 (On milestone):

(Latin)

1. [Imp. Ca](e)sar
2. D[i]vi Hadriani f.,
3. (D)ivi Traiani Parthi-
4. ci nepos, Divi Nervae
5. pronepos, T. Aelius Hadria-
6. nus A]ntoninus Aug. Pius, pon-
7. tif. max., tr(i)b. pot. XVI, imp. II, cos. IIII,
8. p.p., fines regionis Palmyrenae,
9. constitutos a Cretico Silano
10. leg. Aug. pr. pr. ex sententia Di-
11. vi Hadriani patris sui, restitu<i>t
- 12 per Pontium Laelianum leg. Aug. pr. p[r].
13. mense decembre, Praesente et Rufino co[ss]

The Emperor Caesar, the son of the de[if]ied Hadrian, the grandson of the [d]eified Trajan Parthicus, the greatgrandson of the deified Nerva, Titus Aelius Hadr[ian A]ntoninus Augustus Pius, High Priest, holding tr[i]bunician power 16 times, emperor twice, consul 4 times, *pater patriae*, resto(r)ed the boundaries of the region of Palmyra, which had been set by Creticus Silanus,⁷⁹ the emperor's legate with the power of a praetor, in accordance with the decision of the deified Hadrian, his father, through the agency of Pontius Laelianus, the emperor's legate with the power of a *proprae[tor]*, in the month of December, when Praesens and Rufinus were con[suls].

Marcus Ulpius Yarḥai honoured by caravaneers (155 CE)

IGLS xvii 313, cf. PAT 0274, Schuol 18 (Prov. Temple of Bel, re-employed):

(Greek)

1. [Μάρκων Οὔλπιον Ἰαραῖον Αἰ-]
2. [ράνου τοῦ Ἀβγάρου ἢ τῶν ...]
3. [- - - - - ἀπὸ Σπασί-]
4. [νου] Χάρακος συνοδία βο[ηθή-]
5. σαντα αὐτῇ παντὶ τρόπῳ διὰ
6. Ζαβδεάθους Ζαβδεῶ τοῦ
7. Ἰα[δδαίου] συνοδιάρχου
8. ἔτους ζξϛ' μηνὸς Λῶου

The caravan of those [...] from Spasinou Charax (honoured) Marcus Ulpius Iaraeus⁸¹ son of Hairanes son of Abgarus, because he helped it in every way, through Zabdeathēs son of Zabdelas son of Iaddaios, leader of the caravan, in the month of Lōos of the year 466 (August, 155 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. [sl]m mrqs 'l[p]y[s] yr[h]y br h̄yrn]
2. [br ']'gr dy 'qymw⁸⁰ lh bny šyrt' dy
3. [slq](t) mn krk 'spsn' bdyl dy 'drh
4. [bkl šb]w [kl]h lyqrh brbnwt šyrt[']
5. [dy zbd']t' br zbdl' ydy byrh 'b šnt
6. 4.100+60+5+1

Statue of MRQS 'L[P]Y[S] (Marcus Ulpius) YR[H]Y (Yarḥai) [son of H̄YRN (Hairan)] [son of] [']GR (Abgar), which the members of the caravan, which came up from KRK 'SPSN' (Kerak Ispasina = Charax Spasinou) erected for him, because he helped him (?) in every way, for his honour, during the term as caravan leader [of ZBD']T' (Zabde'athe) son of ZBDL' (Zabdibol) (son of) YDY (Yaddai), in the month of 'B of the year 466 (Sel. = August, 155 CE/AD).

⁷⁹ Creticus Silanus was Legate of Syria AD 11-17, i.e. during the reign of Tiberius.

⁸⁰ 'qymw: IGLS 313(Aram.):10 gives 'qym which is not supported by the extant drawings of the Aramaic version of the bilingual inscription.

⁸¹ He belonged to the Sergia tribe and is one of the best-known protectors of caravans.

Caravan leaders honour Marcus Ulpius Yarḥai (156 CE)

PAT 1411, *L'Agora* VI.08, *Inv.* 10, 111 (On column console in the Agora. 8/6/1/415):

(Palmyrene)

1. [šlm mr]qs 'lpys yrḥy b[r]
2. [ḥyr]n 'bgr dy 'qymt⁸² l[h]
3. šyrt' dy nḥtt lkrk'
4. bdy l dy qm w'drnn bkl šbw
5. klh lyqrh by[r]h 'b šnt
6. 4.100+60+5+2

[Statue of MR]QS 'LPYS (Marcus Ulpius) YRḤY (Yarḥai) the s[on of [ḤYR]N (Ḥairan), (the son of) 'BGR (Abgar), which the caravan which went down to KRK' (Karka i.e. Charax) erected for him, because he stood and assisted them in every possible matter, in his honour, in the mo[n]th of 'B (Ab) in the year 467 (Sel. = August, 156 CE/AD).

A caravan under Yarḥai Zabdilāh, back from Charax, honours Marcus Ulpius Yarḥai (157 CE)

IGLS xvii, 249; *L'Agora* VI.10 (8/6/1/100); *IEOG* 161; Schoul 20; *PAT*; *Inv.* 10 90 (Prov.: On column console found behind column 66 of the Agora. *Inv.* A 969):

(Greek)

1. Μάρκων Οὔλπιον Ἰαραῖο-
2. υ Αἰράνου τοῦ Ἀβγάρου
3. υἱὸν ἡ ἀναβᾶσα ἀπὸ Σπ-
4. ασίνου Χάρακος συνο-
5. δία διὰ (Ἰα)δδαίου Ζαβδιλά
6. τοῦ Ἰαδδαίου τειμῆς
7. χάριν ἔτους ηξυ'
8. [μ]ηνὸς Αὐδναίου

(This image of) Marcus Ulpius Iaraios son of 'Airanēs son of Abgaros, the caravan which came up from Spasinou Charax has erected it through (the resources of) Iaddaios son of Zabdila son of Iaddaios, for the sake of honour, in the year 468, the month Aud<u>naios (Sel. = January, 157 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. šlm' mrqws 'lpys yrḥy br ḥyrn
2. 'bgr dy 'qymt lh šyrt' dy
3. slqt mn krk' bšyrt ydy br zbdl[h]
4. ydy lyqrh byrḥ tbt šnt [4.100+60+8]

Statue of MRQWS 'LPYS (Marcus Ulpius) YRḤY (Yarḥai) son of HYRN (Ḥairan) son of 'BGR (Abgar) which the caravan which has come up from KRK' (Karkā) by (the chief of) the caravan YDY (Yaddai) son of ZBDL[H] (Zabdelā) son of YDY, in his honour, in the month of TBT (Ṭebet) of the year [468] (Sel. = January, 157 CE/AD).

Merchants back from Scythia (= India) honour NN (157 CE)

IGLS xvii, 26, cf. *IPS* G24, *PAT* 2763, *Déd.* p. 32, *Inv.* x, 95 (On fragment of statue console. Palmyra Museum *Inv.* A 805):

(Greek)

1. . [Μάρκων Οὔλπιον Ἰαραῖον] Αἰράν[ου]

For [Marcus Ulpius Iaraeus, the son of Hairanes, patri[ot, the merchants who [set sail from]

⁸² 'qymt (*L'Agora* VI.08:2). 'qmt (*PAT* 1411:2) is obviously a copyist error.

2. [υῖὸν τὸ]ν φιλό[πατριν οἱ ἀναχθέντες ἀπὸ]
3. Σκυθίας ἐν πλοίῳ Βε[ελαίου Κύρου τοῦ Ὀγήλου]
4. ἔμποροι συνλαβόμε[νον αὐτοῖς πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ]
5. [κ]αὶ πάσῃ σπου[δῇ τειμῆς χάριν Δύστρῳ τοῦ
ηξυ' ἔτους]

Scythia⁸⁴ in the vessel of Be[elaios Kuros, the son of Ogēlos] (erected this), because he help[ed them with all energy] and all des[patch. In his honour, in (the month) Dystros in the year 468] (Sel. = March, 157 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. [šlm' dnh dy mrqws] 'lpys [yrhy br hyrn 'bgr]
2. dy 'qym[w lh tgr'y' dy ...wmn ... b ...']
3. dy b' l[y] br kwrš br ['g]yl[w bdy] dy 'drnn bkl
hyrw]
4. wšky⁸³ lmr b' mb' r' [w... 'lyqrh byrh 'dr šnt
4.100+60+5+3]

[This is a statue of [MRQWS] 'LPYS (Marcus Ulpius) [YRHY] (Yarḥai) the son of HYRN (Hairan) 'BGR (Abgar)] which [the merchants who from] erect[ed], which the masters of the Son of KWRŠ (Korash) the son of ['G]YL[W] ('Ogeilu) (a ship), because they helped with all zeal] and confidence? to clear the goods? from customs? (i.e. the 25% tax?) [and in his honour in the month of 'DR (Adar) in the year 468 (Sel. = March, 157 CE/AD).

Palmyrene merchants back from an expedition honour Marcus Ulpius Yarḥai (157 CE?)

IGLS xvii, 248; *IEOG* 96; *L'Agora* VI.14 (8/6/1/88); *Schuol*, 23; *PAT* 0306; *Inv* 10 87 (Aram.) and 88 (Gr.); C3960. (Prov.: Agora. On column console, now lost.):

(Greek)

1. Μάρκον Οὔλπ[ιο]ν Ἰαραῖον Αἰ-
2. ράνου τοῦ Ἀβγάρου οἱ ἀναβά-
3. ν[τε]ς [ἀπ]ὸ [X]ου[μ]άνων⁸⁵ ἐνπ-
4. [οροι -----]
5. [- -----] τεῖμῆς
6. [χάριν ἔτους ηξ]υ' [μηνὸς]
7. Δύστρου

The merchants who have come up from [Ch]ou[mana] (or Choumana) (have erected this statue for) Marcus Ulpius Iaraios the son of Hairanēs, the son of Abgaros [...] for the sake of his honour in the year 4[68 (?)] in the month of Dystros (Sel. = March, 157 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. [šl]m' dnh dy mrqs 'lps
2. yrhy br hyrn 'bgr dy
3. 'qymw lh hyrn br yrhy
4. br tym' whbyby br
5. yrhy br hyrn bny 'nwb
6. rhmwhy wtgr'y' dy slq
7. 'mhwn lyqrh by(r)h 'dr
8. šnt 4.100+60+8

[Stat]ue of MRQS 'LPS (Marcus Ulpius) YRHY (Yarḥai) son of HYRN (Hairan) 'BGR (Abgar) which HYRN son of YRHY, son of TYM' (Taymā), and HBYBY (Ḥabībī), son of YRHY, son of HYRN of the Bene 'NWB (Annūbat), his friends and the merchants who came up with him made in his honour in the month of 'DR (Adar), the year 468 (Sel. = March, 157 CE).

Merchants back from Scythia on the ship of Ḥonainu b. Ḥaddudan honour Marcus Ulpius Yarḥai for having helped them (157 CE)

⁸³ wšky: *PAT* (p. 386) suggests wšry.

⁸⁴ Scythia here must refer to the area around the mouth of the River Indus (or modern Pakistan) rather than the area east of the Black Sea.

⁸⁵ [X]ου[μ]άνων (*IGLS* 248(Gr.):3). The suggested reading of [X]ου[χ]άνων (*L'Agora* VI.14 (Gr.):3), i.e. 'the Kushan(s)' is not without interest.

IGLS xvii 250; *L'Agora* VI.09 (8/6/1/36); *IEOG* 412; Schoul 21; *PAT* 1403; *Inv.* 10 96. (Prov.: On console fragment on the rampart of Agora.):

(Greek on front side of console)

1. Μάρκον Οὔλπ[ιο]ν Ἰαραῖον Αἰράν[ου]
2. τοῦ Ἀβγάρου υἱ[ὸ]ν τὸν φιλόπατριν
3. [ἔ]μποροι οἱ ἀν[αχ]θέντες ἀπὸ Σκυθ[ίας]
4. [ἐν] πλύῳ Ὀνα[ῖν]ου Ἀδδουδανοῦ τοῦ
5. [....] πάσῃ προ[θυμ]ία βοηθήσαντα
6. αὐτοῖς καὶ συνλαβόμενον τεῖμης
7. χάριν Δύστρω τοῦ ἡξυ' ἔτους

The merchants who had conveyed their goods up from Scyth[ia] in the ship of Onainos Addoudanēs the [... ...] (have dedicated this statue to) Marcus Ulpius Iaraios, son of Abgaros the patriot, who has helped and assisted them [with all eagerness, for the sake of his honour in the month Dystros in the year 468 (Sel. = March, 157 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene on left side of console)

1. šlm' dnh dy [mrqs 'lpys yrhy br hyrn 'bgr]
2. dy 'qymw l[h tgry' dy]
3. hnywn br [hdwn]
4. [ly]qrh by[rh 'dr šnt 4.100+60+8]

This statue is that of [MRQS 'LPYS (Marcus Ulpius) YRHY (Yarḥai) the son of HYRN (Hairan) (son of) 'BGR (Abgar)] which the merchants of [....] have made [...] HNYNW (Honainu) son of [HDDN (Haddudan)...] in his honour in the month of 'DR (Adar) in the year 468 (Sel. = March, 157 CE).

Haddudan b. Haddudan Firmon honours Marcus Ulpius Yarḥai for helping him in Charax (159 CE)

Schoul 25; (not in *PAT* ?); *Déd.*, p. 32; J. Cantineau, 'Tadmorea (suite)', *Syria* 19 (1938), p. 75. (Prov.: The Palmyrene. Found column consol in the demolished part of the a village east of Bel Temple.)

(Palmyrene)

1. šlm 'lpys mrqs yrhy br
2. hyrn 'bgr dy 'qym⁸⁶ lh
3. hdwn br hdwn prmw bdy
4. dy 'drh bkrk myšn lyqrh
5. byrh sywn šnt 3.20+10

Statue of 'LPYS MRQS (Ulpius Marcus) YRHY (Yarḥai) son of HYRN (Hairan) (son of) 'BGR (Abgar) which HDWDN (Haddudan) son of HDWDN PRMWN (Firmon?) has made for him in his honour because he had helped him in KRK MYŠN (Kerak (of) Mayshān), in the month of SYWN (Siwān), the year [4]70⁸⁷ (Sel. = June, 159 CE).

A caravan from Charax under his son Abgar, honours Marcus Ulpius Yarḥai (159CE)

IGLS xvii 251; *IEOG* 162; *L'Agora* VI.13 (8/6/1/37); Schoul 24; Dijkstra, 155-56; *PAT* 1409; *Inv.* 10 107. (Prov.: On console of column 71 in the Agora):

(Greek on front of console)

1. [Μάρκον Οὔλπιον Ἰαραῖον Αἰρά[νου τ]οῦ Ἀβγάρο[υ ἡ]
2. ἀναβᾶσα ἀπὸ Σπασίνου Χάρακο[ς]
3. [σ]υνοδία ἥς ἡγήσατο Ἀβγαρος υἱὸς[ς]
4. αὐτοῦ βοηθήσαντα αὐτῇ παντὶ

(This is the statue of) Marcus Ulpius Iaraios son of Hairanes son of Abgaros. The members of the caravan that came up from Spasinou Charax guided by Abgaros his son, have erected (this for) him because he has assisted them in every

⁸⁶ 'qym (*Déd.*, p. 32:2 and Schoul 5:2). The text given by Cantineau (*Tadmorea* 28:2) in Hebrew letters appears to read 'qymw which cannot be correct.

⁸⁷ On the need to correct the date of the inscription see Cantineau, 'Tadmorea (suite)', *Syria* 19 (1938), 76.

5. τροπῶ τειμῆς χάριν ἔτους ου'
6. μηνὸς Ἀρτεμεισίου

respect, for his honour. In the month Artemesios of the year 470 (Sel. = May, 159 CE).

(Palmyrene on left side of console)

1. šlm mrqs 'lpys yrḥy br ḥyrn
2. 'bgr dy 'qym⁸⁸ lh šyrt' dy slqt
3. mn krk 'spsn' 'm 'bgr brh bdyl
4. dy 'drh bkl šbw' klh lyqrh
5. byrh 'yr šnt 4.100+60+10

The statue of MRQS 'LPYS (Marcus Ulpius) YRḤY (Yarḥai) son of ḤYRN 'BGR (Ḥairan Abgar), which the members of the caravan that went up from KRK 'SPSN' (i.e. Spasinou Charax) with 'BGR his son, have erected for him, because he has assisted them in every way, for his honour. In the month 'YR ('Iyar) of the year 470 (Sel. = May, 159 CE). (Trans. after Dijkstra.)

**Ḥaddudan b. Ḥaddudan Firmon honours Marcus Ulpius Yarḥai
for helping him in Charax (159 CE)**

Schoul 25; (not in *PAT* ?); *Déd.*, p. 32; J. Cantineau, 'Tadmorea (suite)', *Syria* 19 (1938), p. 75. (Prov.: Palmyrène. Found column consol in the demolished part of the a village east of Bel Temple):

(Palmyrene)

1. šlm 'lpys mrqs yrḥy br
2. ḥyrn 'bgr dy 'qym⁸⁹ lh
3. ḥdwdn br ḥdwdn prmw n bdyl
4. dy 'drh bkrk myšn lyqrh
5. byrh sywn šnt 3.20+10

Statue of 'LPYS MRQS (Ulpius Marcus) YRḤY (Yarḥai) son of ḤYRN (Ḥairan) (son of) 'BGR (Abgar) which ḤDWDN (Ḥaddudan) son of ḤDWDN PRMW N (Firmon?) has made for him in his honour because he had helped him in KRK MYŠN (Kerak (of) Mayshān), in the month of SYWN (Siwān), the year [4]70⁹⁰ (Sel. = June, 159 CE).

Merchants [of Seleucia ?] honour Marcus Ulpius Yarḥai (ca. 150/60 CE)

L'Agora VI.15 (8/6/1/416); *PAT* 0307; *Inv.* 10 89; C3961. (Prov.: Agora. On wall console.)

1. [š]lm m[rqs] 'lp[ys] yrḥy br
2. [ḥy]rn ['bgr dy 'bdw l[h tg]ry' dy
3. [slqw 'mh mn]

[St]atue of M[RQS] 'LP[YS] YRḤY (Yarḥai) sor (Ḥairan) ['BGR (Abgar) which] the [merch]ants o Seleucia) [who have come up] with him from [...]

**Marcus Aemilius Marcianus Asclepiades, a councillor of Antioch and tax-collector
honoured by the merchants of Palmyra (161 CE or 163 CE)**

⁸⁸ 'qym (*IGLS* 253(Aram.):3. 'qymw (*PAT* 1409(Aram.):3 (following *Inv.* 10 107(Aram.):3) appears to be supported by the photograph – an error made by the scribe or the engraver?

⁸⁹ 'qym (*Déd.*, p. 32:2 and Schoul 5:2). The text given by Cantineau (*Tadmorea* 28:2) in Hebrew letters appears to read 'qymw which cannot be correct.

⁹⁰ On the need to correct the date of the inscription see Cantineau, 'Tadmorea (suite)', *Syria* 19 (1938), 76.

IGLS xvii, 196, cf. *IPS* G25, *Schul* 26, *PAT* 1373 (On column console found in front of Columns 20 and 21 of the Agora. Inv. S 1737):

(Greek)

1. Μᾶρκον Αἰμίλιον Μαρκιανὸν
2. Ἀσκληπιάδην Ἀντιοχέων βου-
3. λευτὴν τεταρτώνην οἱ ἀναβάν-
4. τεσ ἀπὸ Σπασίνου Χάρακος ἔμπο-
5. ροὶ προηγουμένου αὐτῶν Νεσῆ Βωλι-
6. ἄδους ἔτους βου' μηνὶ Πανήμῳ

(Statue of) Marcus Aemilius Marcianus Asclepiades, a councillor of Antioch and tax-collector (lit. of the 25%). The merchants who came up from Spasinou Charax (erected this). Their leader was Nesē(s) (the son of) Bōliades. In the year 472. In the month Panēmos (Sel. = July, 161 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. mrqs 'mlyws mrqynws
2. 'sqlpyd' blwt b'ntky' dy rb''
3. 'bdw lh tgr'y' dy slq mn krk'
4. dy slq bhwn rš šyr' nš' br blyd'
5. byrh qyny šnt 4.1000+60+10+4

MRQS 'MLYWS MRQYNWS (Marcus Aemilius Marcianus Asclepiades) Councillor (BLWT) of 'NTKY' (i.e. Antioch), tax-collector. The merchants who came up from KRK' (Kerak) made this for him, and NŠ' (Nesha), the son of BLYD' (Bolyada) went up as the caravan leader over them. In the month QNYN (Kanūn) and year 474 (Sel. = July, 163 CE/AD).

Ḥalifi b. Ethpani honoured (162 CE)

PAT 0302, *Inv.* 5 7; *Déd.*, p. 116, C3956 (On console, Transversal Colonnade):

(Palmyrene)

1. šl[m] ḥlypy br 'tpny br ḥlypy
2. [dy] 'bd lh ḥlypy [b]r(?) ḥggw br mlkw
3. [bd]yl dy špr lh lyqrh w'šlth
4. [šmš⁹¹ ...] b'mwd' dnh lmqmw 'lwhy
5. [šlm]yn trn dy yh[l] byrh 'dr šnt
6. 4.100+60+10+3

Stat[ue of] ḤLYPY (Ḥalifi), son of 'TPNY (Ethpani), set up for him by ḤLYPY, son of ḤGGW (Hagegou), son of MLKW (Malku), [be]cause he was [well-pleas]ing to him, in his honour: and has authorised him (?) [...] and has offered] this pillar so that two statues of onyx (?) may be placed upon it. In the month 'DR (Adar), the year 473 (Sel. = March, 162 CE/AD).

Dedication to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius from the Temple of Bel (?) (166 CE)

IGLS xvii 351, *Imperial Cult*, p. 44; Bowersock, p. 350 (outdated).. (Prov.: Palmyra. Originally on one large block from the Bel Temple but was broken into two and one block was found in the bath area at Qaṣr el Ḥeir and the other in Palmyra.):

(Greek)

1. Τοὺς ἐπ[ά]νω τοῦ ἐπιστυλίου ἀνα[σ]τάντας
2. Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα [Μ]ᾶρκον Αὐρήλιον Ἀντωνεῖνον καὶ
3. Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Λ[ο](ύ)κιον Αὐρήλιον Οὐῆρον ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ
4. θεοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου υἱοὺς θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ υἱωνοὺς θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ
5. Παρθικοῦ ἐκγόνους θε[ο]ῦ Νέρωνα ἀπογόνους Σεβαστοὺς
6. Ἀρμενιακοὺς Μηδικοὺς [τ]οὺς κυρίους

(The statues), standing above the architrave, of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Emperor Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus his brother, sons of the divine Antoninus, grandsons of the divine Hadrianus, great-grandsons of the divine Traianus Parthicus, great-great-grandsons of the divine Nerva, Augusti Armeniaci Medici, the Lords, (which) Rabbel son of Wahballat son of Simōn, high priest and symposiarch of the priests of the great god Bel, and also a priest of

⁹¹ šmš restituted by Milik (*Déd.* 116-17) with some hesitation: 'et [Šamš] lui a donné pouvoir pour ce qui regarde cette colonne, d'y ériger [dux statue]s ...'

- Ῥαββήλος Οὐαβαλλάθου τοῦ
 7. Συμῶνου ἀρχιερεὺς κα[ῖ] συμποσίαρχης
 ἱερέων τοῦ μεγίστου θε(οῦ)
 8. Βήλου ἱερεὺς δε καὶ τῶν [α]ὐτῶν
 αὐτοκρατόρων εἰς εὐσέβειαν τὴν
 9. πρὸς τοὺς Σεβαστοὺς κα[ῖ] εἰς τειμὴν τῶν
 ἱερέων ἐξ ἰδίων ὑποτάξας
 10. καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ τῆς συμ[π]οσιάρχιας αὐτοῦ
 χρόνῳ πεμφοθεῖς(αν) τῇ πόλει
 11. ἐπιστολὴν τῶν αὐτῶ[ν] τοκρατόρων περὶ
 χάριτος καὶ δωρεᾶς
 12. προσθέσεος θυματορων (sic) περ[ὶ] χ[α]ρίτ[ο]ς
 καὶ δωρεᾶς προσθέσεος θυμάτων δ[ις]
 ἡμερισίων
 13. τοῖς αὐτοῖς [ἱε]ρ(ε)[ῦσι..]σ[. Ἀδρια]νὸς ὁ
 πάππος αὐτῶν καὶ Τραιανὸς ὁ πρόπαππος
 14. [- - -] [ἐτ]ους θου Ἀπελλαίου εἰ

these Augusti, offered from his own means, out of his piety toward the Augusti and in honour of the priests, attaching also a letter of the same Augusti sent to the City in the year of his symposiarchy <about the gracious gifts for the establishment of sacriices> about the gracious gifts for the establishment of the twice-daily frankincense sacrifices, to the same priests, [... Hadria] nus their grandfather and Traianus their great-grandfather. (Ed. and trans. Gawlikowski and Al-As'ad, p. 44)

Tri-lingual inscription in honour of Lucius Antonius Callistratus (174 CE)

IGLS xvii, 197, cf. *L'Agora*, III.01 *PAT* 1413, *Inv.* x, 113 (On console, Agora, *in situ* S1990):

(**Latin**) {Front of console}

1. L(ucio) Antonio Callis-
2. trato manc(ipi) III mer(caturae)
3. Galenus actor.

To L(ucius) Antonius Callistratus, farmer of the quarter-tax, Galenus his agent (erected this).

(**Greek**) {Front of console, beneath the Latin}

1. Λ(ουκίῳ) Ἀντωνίῳ Καλ-
2. λιστράτῳ τεταρτῶ-
3. νῇ, Γαληνὸς πραγ-
4. ματευτῇ[ς] ἴδιο[ς].

To L(ukios) Antonios Kallistratos, farmer of the quarter-tax (i.e. the *tetarte*), Galenus his agent (erected this).

(**Palmyrene**) {Back of console}

1. šlm' dnh dy (l)wqys⁹² 'ntwnys
2. qlstrṭws dy rb' dy
3. 'qym lh lyqrh glwns
4. prgmṭt'⁹³ dydh byrh' (b?) šnt
5. 4.100 +80+5 𐤁𐤓

This statue is that of (L)WQYS 'NTWNYS QLSTRṬWS (Lucius Antonius Callistratus) (farmer of) the quarter-tax. His agent (PRGMṬT') GLNWS (Galenus) has erected this, in his honour, in the month of 'B (Ab) in the year 485 (Sel. = August, 174 CE/AD). {flower}

Council honours Šoraiku b. Ḥairan (179 CE)

IGLS xvii, 113, cf. *PAT* 0298, *Inv.* v, 3, C3952 (On console, Transversal Colonnade):

(**Greek**)

1. Ἡ βουλὴ
2. Σόραιχον Αἰράνου τοῦ

The Council (honoured) Soraikos son of Hairanēs son of Alainēs son of Seppheras who reveres the

⁹² The scribe had written BWQYS for LWQYS. 'La notation du mois est bizarre, mais peut-être faut-il lire autre chose'. (Starcky, *Inv.* 10, p. 69)

⁹³ *IGLS* xvii, p. 193 and *Inv.* 10, p. 68 gives *prlgmṭt'* which is an unusual word-division and appears to follow the way the Greek πραγ|ματευτῇ[ς] is divided between two lines. *PAT* 1413 gives *prgmṭt'* as an undivided word on line 4. The photograph published in *Inv.* 10, p. III.5, though not entirely clear does seem to support the *PAT* reading.

3. Ἀλαινῇ Σεφφερᾷ εὐσεβῇ
4. καὶ φιλόπατριν καὶ φιλό-
5. τειμον τειμῆς καὶ εὐ-
6. νοίας χάριν,
7. μηνὶ Δύστρῳ ρυ' ἔτους.

gods and loves his fatherland and is public-spirited, for the sake of honour and goodwill, in the month of Dystros in the year 490 (Sel. = March, 179 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. šlm' dnh dy šrykw br hyrn br 'lyn'
2. špr' dy 'qymt lh bwl' lyqrh
3. w'bd bslq' dnh 'mwdyn šb'
4. wtšbythwn klh w'bd knwn' dy nhš'
5. byrh 'dr šnt 4.100+80+10

This is the statue of ŠRYKW (Šoraiku) son of HYRN (Hairan) son of 'LYN' ('Alaine) (son of) ŠPR' (Šeppera), which the Council erected for him, for his honour, and he built this basilica (BSLQ') of seven columns and all its decoration, and he made the brazier of bronze, in the month of 'DR in the year 490 (Sel. = March, 179 CE/AD).

Statue in remembrance of Marthi daughter of Yade (179 CE)

IGLS xvii, 117, cf. *PAT* 0300, Inv. 5, 5, C3954; Cooke 120 (On console, Transversal Colonnade)

(Greek)

1. Μάρθειν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ
2. καὶ Ἰαδῆ τοῦ Οὐαβαλλάθου
3. τοῦ Συμώνου, Σόραιχος
4. Αἰράνου ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς μνή-
5. μης ἔνεκεν μηνὶ Δύστρῳ
6. τοῦ ρυ' ἔτους.

Martheis daughter of Alexander, who is also called Iadēs, son of Vaballathus son of Symōnēs, Soraikos son of Hairanēs her husband (honoured), on account of remembrance, in the month of Dystros {flower} of the year 490 (Sel. = March, 179 CE/AD). {flower}

(Palmyrene)

1. šlmt' dnh dy mrty brt yd['] br whblt]
2. br šm'wn dy 'qym lh šryk[w b'lh btr]
3. dy mytt lyqrh byrh 'dr š[nt 4.100+]
4. 80+10

This statue is of MRTY (Marthi) daughter of YD' (Yade) son of WHBLT (Wahaballat) son of ŠM'WN (Šim'on), which ŠRYK[W] (Shoraiku), her husband, erected for her, after] she died, for her honour, in the month of 'DR (Adar) in the year 490 (Sel. = March, 179 CE/AD) (tr. Cooke, altered).

NN ... b. A'abi archon of Mayshan (?) honoured for having favoured his native city and its merchants (between 89 and 188 CE)

IGLS xvii 160; *IEOG* 151; Schuol 13; D. Schlumberger, 'Palmyre et la Mésène', *Syria* 38, 1961, 256; M. Rostovtzeff, 'Une nouvelle inscription carvannée de Palmyre', *Berytus* 2, 1935, 143-48. (Prov.: Palmyra. On socle of statue.)

(Greek)

1. [ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος τὸν δ. του]
2. σου Ἀάβει τὸν ἄρχ[οντα Μ]αισηνῶν ἀρέσαντα
3. τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ [καὶ] τοῖς ἐνπόροις Παλ[μυ]-
4. ρ[ηνοῖς τοῖς ἐν Χάρακι μηνὶ]⁹⁴ Πανήμῳ τοῦ
5. [...]' ἔτους

The Council and People of (has erected this in honour of) [...]SOU of (the family of) Aabeis, the Archon of the Maiseneans (= people of Mesene) who was pleasing to his father-land and the Palmyrene merchants who were in Charax in the

⁹⁴ Παλ[μυ]ρ[η]νοῖς τοῖς ἐν Χάρακι μηνὶ] (*IGLS* 13:3-4). παν[τί] τρόπῳ βοηθήσαντα μηνὶ] (Rostovtzeff 143:3-4).

month Panemos of the year 4[.].

Tomb-cession granted by Lishamash b. Lishamash (188 CE)

PAT 0551, C4195, Cooke 144 (On stone tablet. Prov. Palmyra, S-W Necropolis, Hypogeum of Lišamš. Loc. Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi, 3742T)

(Palmyrene)

1. byrḥ knwn šnt 5.100
2. ḥbr lšmš br lšmš
3. br tym' mn m'rt'
4. <d>h lbwn' br bwlḥ'
5. br bwn' br yqrwr
6. ḥbrth mn 'ksdr' mql'
7. gmḥyn tmny' mn ymynk
8. 'rb' wmn smlk 'rb'

In the month KNWN (Kanun), the year 500 (Sel. = November, 188 CE/AD). LŠMŠ (Lishamash), son of LŠMŠ, son of TYM' (Taime), has given a share of this vault to BWN' (Bonne), son of BWLḤ' (Bolḥa), son of BWN', son of yqrwr (Yaqrur). I have given him a share of the *exedra* ('KSDR') lying opposite, eight niches, on your right hand four, and on your left four.

Dedication to a triad of Palmyrene gods (188 CE)

PAT 0327, cf. *RLP* 141, C3981, Cooke 139. (On altar. Palmyra Museum)

(Palmyrene)

1. mwdn kl ywm zdbdwl
2. wmqymw bny gd' br
3. mqymw rp'l lḥm<n>
4. ṭb' wtyr' 'l ḥyyhwn
5. wḥy' bnyhwn wbythwn
6. klh kdy l' glbwl wmlkbl 'l[...]
7. by[r]ḥ [k]slwl d[y] šnt 5.100

Giving thanks every day, ZBDBWL (Zabdibol) and MQYMW (Moqimu), sons of GD' (Gadda), sons of MQYMW, (son) of RP'L (Raf'el), (have made this) to the Compassionate One, the good and the merciful for their lives and the lives of their sons and their whole household, likewise to [the g]ods 'GLBWL ('Aglibol) and MLKBL (Malakbel). In the month [K]SLWL (Kislev), the year 500 (Sel. = December, 188 CE/AD). (tr. Cooke, p. 301; revised).

Inscription referring to part-cession of a tomb (193 CE)

PAT 0555, cf. *AIDRP* 44, C4199, Cooke 143 (On door lintel. Prov. Palmyra. Loc. Qaryatein. Group: 4199, 4200):

(Palmyrene)

1. m'rt' dh dy bt 'lm' 'bd
2. pšy'l br 'stwrḡ' br 'wyd
3. br lšmš br lšmš lh šqqn
4. trtn ḥd' 'l ymyn' kdy 'nt
5. 'll w'ḥrt' mql'
6. wzbyd' br m'n br bwlḥwr <nwr>'th
7. šqq' kdy 'nt 'll 'l šml'
8. 'ksdr' dnh mql' dy
9. m'rt' dy mql' bb' ḥpr
10. wšbt šy'n br tym' br
11. 'bgr lh wlbḥwhy wlbny
12. bnwhy h<yk> dy rḥqt lh šgl
13. brt lšmš br 'stwrḡ' br

This vault of the eternal house has been made by PŠY'L (Phašaiel), son of 'STWRḠ' ('Asturga), son of 'WYD ('Auid), son of LŠMŠ (Lishamash), son of LŠMŠ, for himself, two corridors, the one upon the right as you are entering, and the other lying opposite. And ZBYD' (Zebida), son of M'N (Ma'n), son of BWLḤWR (Bolnūr) (son of) <NWR>'TH (Nur'athe), (has made) the corridor as you are entering on the left. This *exedra* ('KSDR') on the opposite side of the vault, which lies opposite to the door, has been dug and ornamented by ŠY'N (Shau'an), son of TYM' (Taime) son of 'BGR (Abgar), for himself, and his sons and his grandsons ceded to him by ŠGL

14. pšy'l byrh 'dr šnt hṁš
15. m'h w'rb'

(Shegal), daughter of LŠMŠ, son of 'STWRG', son of PŠY'L. In the month 'DR (Adar), the year five hundred and four (Sel. = March, 193 CE/AD) (tr. Ricklefs, *FPTZ*, p. 84).

Caravan leaders honour Taimaršu b. Taime b. Moqimu Garba and sons (193 CE)

IGLS xvii, 87, cf. *IPS* G28, *Schuol* 28, *PAT* 0294, C3948 (On console, Grand Colonnade):

(Greek)

1. Τὸν ἀνδρ[ιάντα ἀ]νέσ(τη)[σαν Θαιμαρ]-
2. σῆ Θαιμῆ τοῦ [Μο]κίμου τοῦ Γαρ[β]ᾶ [συν]-
3. οδιάρχη οἱ σὺν [αὐτῷ ἀ]ναβάντε[ς ἀπὸ]
4. Σπασίνου Χάρ[ακος κουφίσαν]-
5. τι αὐτοῖς χρυσᾶ παλαιὰ δηνά<ι>ρι[α]
6. τριακόσια ἀναλ(ωμάτω[ν]) [καὶ ἀρέ]-
7. σαντι αὐτοῖς εἰς τειμὴν αὐ[τοῦ]
8. καὶ Ἰαδδαίου καὶ Ζαβδιβώλου υἱῶν
9. αὐτοῦ ἔτους δφ' Ξανδικοῦ

The statue for Thaimarsas son of Thaimēs son of Mokimos son of Garba(s), leader of the caravan, those who came up with him from Spasinou Charax set up, because he cancelled for them three hundred denarii of gold, old currency, from their expenses, and because he pleased them, for his honour and that of his sons Iaddaeus and Zabdibōlos, in the year 504 (in the month of) Xandikos (Sel. = April, 193 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. šlm' dnh dy tymršw br tym' br mqymw
2. grb' rb šyrt' dy 'bdw lh bny šyrt' dy slqw
3. 'mh mn krk' bdy' dy ḥsknwn nwr dnryn dy dnh
4. 'tyqyn tlt m'h wšpr lhwn lyqrh wlyqr ydy
5. [wz]bdbwl bnwhy byrh nysn šnt 5.100+4

This is the statue of TYMRŠW (Taimaršū) son of TYM' (Taimē) son of MQYMW (Moqymō) (son of GRB' (Garba) chief of the caravan, which the members of the caravan who came up with him from KRK' (Kerak), had built for him, because he spent on them the amount of (?) three hundred old gold denarii and was good to them, for his honour, and for the honour of his sons YDY (Yaddai) and ZBDWL (Zabdiḥl), in the month of NYSN (Nisān) of the year 504 (Sel. = April, 193 CE/AD).

Transfer of property in the Hypogeum of Yarḥai (194 CE)

PAT 0067, cf. Ingholt, 1938, pp. 95-96 (On door lintel in the Hypogeum of Yarḥai, *in situ*):

(Palmyrene)

1. byrh 'yr ywm ḥmšt' dy
2. šnt 5.100+5 mqymw br lšmš
3. br ḥpry w'qmt bt yrḥy br
4. mqymw 'ḥbr lšlmn br qlybw
5. br 'lhbl wltymw br dbḥ br ḥmyn
6. w'rḥq lhwn mn pnyn trtn dy štr'
7. grbyy' wtymny' šḥymy' 'd <qw>py'
8. dy kpt' mqblt' dy 'ksdr' m'rb'y'
9. dy yhwn ḥpryn wbnm mqbrn hyk dy yšbyn⁹⁵
10. lhwn wlbnyhwn wlbny bnyhwn l'lm'

In the month of 'YR (Iyyar), the fifth day of the year 505 (Sel. = May, 194 CE/AD), MQYMW (Moqimu), son of LŠMŠ (Lišamaš), son of ḤPRY (Ḥafri?), and 'QMT (Aqamate), daughter of YRḤY (Yarḥai), son of MQYMW, gave in partnership to ŠLMN (Šalman), son of QLYBW (Qulaibu), son of 'LHBL (Elahbel), and to TYMW (Taimu), son of DBḤ (Dabaḥ), son of ḤMYN (Ḥamyan), and transferred to them two stretches of the northern and the southern walls, the profane ones, up to the posterior part of the vaulted space facing the western chamber, that they might dig and build burial places as they want, for themselves and for

⁹⁵ The reading dy is clear from the photograph in Ingholt 1938, pl. XXV. Cf. *Excavating* ii, 1021.

their sons and for the sons of their sons forever
(trans. Ingholt, adapted).

Council and People honour Aelius Bora b. Titus Aelius 'Ogeilu (198 CE)

IGLS xvii, 307, cf. *PAT* 1063, *RLP*, pp. 46-47 (On column. Loc. Re-employed in Byzantine fortifications):

(Greek)

1. [Προστάγματι βουλῆς καὶ δήμου]
2. [Αἴλιον Βώραν Τίτου Αἰλίου Ὀγείλου]
3. [τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς]⁹⁶
4. εἰ(ρήνης) καταστα(θέντα ὑπὸ τε)
5. Μανελίου Φούσκου καὶ Οὐνιδίου
6. Ῥούφου ὑπατικῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πα-
7. τρίδος καὶ πολλὴν σπουδὴν καὶ ἀνδρεί-
8. αν ἐνδειξάμενον καὶ στρατηγήσαντα
9. πλειστάκις καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀνδρείαν
10. καὶ ἀρετὴν σώσαντα καὶ ἐπ(ι τ)ούτοις (*sic*)
- μαρ-
11. τυρηθέντα ὑπὸ τε Ἰαριβόλου τοῦ πατ-
12. ρίου θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἡγησαμένων καὶ ὑπὸ
13. τῆς πατρίδος ψηφίσμασι ἐφ' οἷς ἀμειβομέ-
14. νη αὐτὸν ἡ πατρίς τὰς πρεπούσας αὐτῷ
15. τειμὰς ἐψηφίσατο ἔφιππον ἀνδριάντα καὶ
16. αἱ τέσσαρες φυλαὶ ἐν ἰδίοις ἱεροῖς ἐξ ἰδίων
17. ἀνδριάντας τέσσαρες (*sic*) ὧν τοῦτον Χωνει-
18. τῶν φυλῇ ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀνδρείας ἔνεκεν ἔτ-
19. οὺς θφ' Περειτίου κε'

[By the decree of the Council and the the People (this honour is conferred on) Aelius Bōra, the son of Titus Aelius Ogeilus], who presided over the peace,⁹⁸ by Manilius Fuscus⁹⁹ and Venidius Rufus,¹⁰⁰ the consulares, and by the city, because he has demonstrated great despatch and courage, has served as *strategos* very many times, has maintained that same courage and valour and in addition to these things has been attested by Yarhibolos, the ancestral god, by those who have exercised rule and by decrees of the city. To repay him for this the city has voted appropriate honours to him: an equestrian statue, and the four tribes in their own sacred places, at their own expense, four statues, of which is this one, (by) the tribe of the Choneitai, because of his valour and bravery, in the year 509, (in the month of) Pereitios (Sel. = February, 198 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. mn twḥyt bwl' (wdms šlm') dnh dy 'lys
2. bwr' br tyṭs 'lys 'g(ylw 'strtg') dy
3. 'bd šlm' (bthwmy mdyt' wl' 'h)[y]s npšh
4. 'l m(dyth) dy 'qymw lh bny (k)mr' nwyṭ š'wr
5. phz' bt 'lhwhwn⁹⁷ lyqrh byrh šbt šnt 5.100+9

By decree of the Council and the People this statue of 'LYS (Aelius) BWR' (Bora), son of TYṬS 'LYS 'GYLW (Titus Aelius 'Ogeilu), the general, who made peace in the borders of the city, and did not sp[a]re himself for his city, which the sons of KMR' (Komare) erected for him, just as the rest of the tribes (did) in the houses of their gods, in his honour, in the month of ŠBT (Shebat), in the year 509 (Sel. = February, 198 CE/AD).

⁹⁶ Restored by Ingholt, 1932, 279 on the basis of the Palmyrene version.

⁹⁷ 'lhwhwn (*IGLS* xvii, p. 259); 'lhwhwn (*PAT*, p. 169a).

⁹⁸ The 'strategos for the peace' (Palm.: 'the strategos who has re-established peace within the boundaries of the city') was probably in charge of the safety of the caravans within the confines of the Palmyrene state. Cf. *Pros.* ii, p. 837.

⁹⁹ Manilius Fuscus was *legatus Augusti* in AD 191 in Dacia. On some milestones he appears to be governor of Syria Phoenice. The date of his legation according to Piersimoni should correspond to the end of 194 AD and the beginning of 195 AD. Cf. *Pros.* ii, p. 825.

¹⁰⁰ Q. Venidius Rufus Marius Maxim(us) L. Calvinianus *legatus Augusti* of the Syria Phoenice province was governor of the consular province of Germany in 205. Cf. *Pros.* ii, p. 245.

Council orders the four tribes to honour 'Ogeilu b. 'Ogeilu with four statues (199 CE/AD)

IGLS xvii, 222, cf. *PAT* 1378, *L'Agora* VI.18, *IP* 16, *Schul* 30, *RLP*, pp. 47-48, *Inv.* 10, 44 (On large wall console outside the Agora with the Greek (left) and Palmyrene (right) texts displayed side by side and with the first line of each inscribed above the moulding.)

(Greek)

1. Προστάγματι βουλῆς καὶ δήμου
2. αἱ τέσσαρες φυλαὶ Ὀγηλον Μακκαίου τοῦ Ὀγήλου τοῦ Ἀγεγοῦ
3. τοῦ Σεουιρᾶ δι' ἀρετὴν πᾶσαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς τὰς
4. κατὰ τῶν νομάδων στρατηγίας συναράμενον καὶ τοῖς ἐνπό-
5. ροις καὶ συνοδίαις ἀεὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν παρασχόντα ἐν πάσαις
6. συνοδιαρχίαις καὶ πολλὰ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἐξ ἰδίων ἀναλώσαντα καὶ πᾶ-
7. σαν πολειτίαν λαμπρῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως ἐκτε[λέσαντα] τειμῆς χάριν ἔτους ι[φ]'

By the decree of the Council and the People, the four tribes (have erected these images) of Ogelos, (the son) of Makkaios, (the son) of Ogelos, (the son) of Agegos, (the son) of Sewiras, who had assisted them with all his valour and courage, particularly because of his frequent military expeditions against the nomads. He has always secured the safety of the merchants and caravans in his entire superintendence of these caravans. For this he has spent large sums out of his own resources and has conduc[t]ed his whole political career with brilliance and glory. In his honour. In the year [5]10 (Sel. 199 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. bthwt bwl' wdms
2. slmy' 'ln 'rb'tyhw dy 'gylw br mqy 'gylw
3. šwyr' dy 'bd lh 'rb' phzy' lyqrh bdy' dy špr
4. lhw b' štrtgwn šgy' n wbsryhyn
5. wšyrn dy slq bhn 'qly dy 'pq mn kysh
6. npqn rbrbn wsy' tgr' bkl šbw klh
7. w'bd plty' šbyhyt wnhwryt byrh
8. tbt šnt 5.100+10

By the decree of the Council and of the People. These four statues are those of 'GYLW ('Ogēlu), son of MQY (Maqqai), (son of) 'GYLW (son of) ŠWYR' (Shewira). The four tribes have made them for them, in his honour, because he benefited them with many campaigns and much assistance for the caravans with which he went up (which he escorted) and because he spent large sums out of his own resources and helped the merchants in every possible matter, and conducted his public life in a praiseworthy and distinguished fashion. (Erected) in the month of TBT (Tebet) in the year 510 (Sel. = January, 199 CE/AD).

The Emperor Septimius Severus and his family honoured by the priests of Bel (203 CE/AD)

IGLS xvii, 157, cf. *PAT* 0316, C3970 (On door lintel re-employed in Byzantine church):

(Greek)

1. Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Λ<ούκιον> Σεπτίμιον Σεουήρον Εὐσεβῆ Περτίνακα (Σεβαστόν) Ἀραβικόν Ἀδιαβηνικόν Παρθικόν (μέγιστον)
2. κα[ὶ] Αὐτοκ[ράτορα] Καίσαρα Μάρκ[ον] Α[ν]τ[ων]ιν[ου] (Ἰουλίαν) Δ[ο]μν[ου] (Ἀντωνεῖνον Εὐσεβῆ Σεβαστόν) vac. (καὶ Ἰουλίαν Δό-)
3. μν[αν] (Σεβαστήν μητέρα τῶν ἱερῶν

For the Emperor Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax,¹⁰¹ Augustus Arabicus, Adiabenicus, Parthicus, Maximus (greatest) and [the Emp]er[or] Caesar Marc]us [Au]r[e]li[us] Antoninus Pius Augustus [.....] and Julia Domn[a] Augusta, Mother of the S[acred] Ca[em]ps¹⁰² and the [Emperor] Caesar Publius Septimius Geta Augustu]s, rulers of the earth and sea and [every]

¹⁰¹ Septimius Severus at his own command was given the name of Pertinax in honour of the Emperor Publius Helvius Pertinax who only ruled for three months in 193 CE/AD (*SHA Severus* 7.9).

¹⁰² Cf. *ILS* 482.5-7: '[matri]s Aug. l nostri et castrorum et senatus l et patriae' and (Dura Europos) D. 149.2-4 (*Third Season*, p. 51): τὴν μητέρα συνκλήτου καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν στρατευμάτων.

- στρατοπέδων καὶ) [Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα
Π<όπλιον>] Σεπτίμιον Γέταν Σεβαστὸν
(δεσπότης γ)ῆς καὶ (θαλάσσης καὶ)
4. [παντός ἀνθρώπ](ων γέ)[ν](ους Σά)[λμης
Μα](λίχου τ)[οῦ Βω](λιάδους ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ
συ)[μποσία](ρχος ἱερέων) μεγίστου θεοῦ Διὸς
Βή-
5. [λου - - -] (ἐξ ιδίων ἀνέστησεν ἔτους) [δ]ιφ'
μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ

(Palmyrene)

1. brbnwt mrzḥwt šlm' br (mlkw br blyd') ['bd
šlmy]('ln št')
2. mn kysh byrh nysn šnt 5.100 +10+4 𐤎

ra[ce of mankind], Sa[lmes the son of Ma]lichus,
the high-priest and sym[posia]rch of the priests of
Jupiter Be[los], the greatest god, erected this at
his own expense, in the year 51[4], in the month
of Xandikos (Sel. = April, 203 CE/AD).

During (his) presidency of the dining club
(religious symposium) ŠLM' (Šalma) the son of
MLKW (Malku), the son of BLYD' (Belyada)
[made] these six [statues] from his (own) funds in
the month of NYSN (Nisan), in the year 514 (Sel.
= April, 203 CE/AD). {*Flower*}

Dedication to the Emperor Septimius Severus (206/207 CE)

IGLS xvii, 118, cf. *Principia* 41 (On stone block re-employed in the Temple of the Standards in the
Diocletianic Principia):

(Latin)

1. Imp(eratori) Cae[sari] L(ucio) [Septimio Se]-
2. uero Pio Pert[i]-
3. naci Aug(usto) Arab(ico) A-
4. dia(benico) Part(hico) Max(imo),
5. pont(ifici) max(imo), trib(unicia) pot(estate)
6. XV, co(n)s(uli) III, p(atri) p(atriciae), imperator
XI,
7. coh(ors) I Fl(auia) Chalcidenorum eq[ui]t(ata)]
8. s[ag]g(ittariorum), s[ub] Dom(itio) [Leone]
9. [Pro]cilliano [leg(ato) Aug(usti)]
10. pr(o) pr(aetore) [cu]ram a[g]g(ente)]
11. [...] ADIANI [...]
12. [...] pr[ae]f(ecto) [...]

To the Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus
Pius Pertinax Augustus, Arabicus, Adiabenicus,
Parthicus Maximus, Maximum Pontiff, (voted)
power of the Tribune 15 (times), of the Consul 3
(times), Father of the Country, (voted) Imperator
11 (times), the First Flavian Cohort of the
Chalcidean mounted archers¹⁰³ under the super-
vision of Domitius Leo Procillanus, Augustan
Legate, performing the duty of Propraetor [...] Pre[fect] [...]

Two Jewish citizens of Palmyra built a tomb to honour their father (212 CE)

IGLS xvii, 471, cf. *IJO*, Syr49, *PAT* 0557, *CIJ* 820, C4201 (On lintel over entrance of a funerary
temple):

(Greek)

1. [τὸ μνημεῖον τοῦ ταφε]ῶνος ᾧ κοδόμησαν
Ζηνόβιος καὶ Σαμουήλος Ληοὺι τοῦ Ἰακούβου
2. [τοῦ Σαμουήλου εἰς τιμὴν] Ληοὺι πατρὸς
αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀδελφοῖς καὶ υἱοῖς καὶ
ὑψονοῖς καὶ
3. [ἐγγόνους εἰς τὸν ᾗπαντα χρόνον] μηνὶ Ξανδικῷ

[This memorial sepul]chre Zenobios and Samu-
elos, the sons of Lēoui(s), the son of Jakoubos, he
son of Samuelos, have built in honour of their
father Lēoui(s), for themselves and their siblings
and sons and grandsons and descendants for all
time. In the month of Xandikos, the year 523 (Sel.
= April, 212 CE/AD). (Trans. Lieu) {*Flowers*}

¹⁰³ This cohort was part of the garrison of Palmyra from at least 206/7 to 247 CE.

τοῦ γκφ' ἔτους ٤٠ ٤١

(Palmyrene)

1. qbr' dnh bt 'lm' ٤١
2. [w]tšbyth kl[h] 'bdw mn kyshwn zbyd[']
wš]mw'l] bn[y] lwy br y'qwb br šmw'l lyqr
lwy 'bwh[wn lhwn ..]
3. [wlbnyhwn wlb'n' bnyhwn l'lm' b]yrh nysn šnt
5.100+20+3

This tomb, house of eternity, {flower} and all its ornamentation was made at the expense of ZBYD' (Zebadiah) and šMW'L (Samuel), sons of LWY (Levi) son of Y'QWB (Jacob) son of Samuel, to the honour of Levi their father, for themselves and for their [children and for their children's children forever.] In the month of NYSN (Nisan), year 523 (Sel. = April, 212 CE/AD). (tr. *IJO*, p. 77)

Yaddai b. Taimaršu b. Taime Moqimu Garba honoured by fellow merchants (211 CE)

IGLS xvii, 88, cf. *IPS* G30, *PAT* 0295, *Inv.* 3, 29, C3949 (On console, Grand Colonnade):

(Greek)

1. Ἰαδδαῖον Θαιμα[ρσᾶ τοῦ Θαιμῆ τοῦ]
2. Μοκίμου τοῦ Γα[ρβᾶ συνοδιάρχην]
3. τῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ Σ[.....]¹⁰⁴
4. αὐτοῖς πανταχοῦ [...]
5. καὶ Οὐολογαισιά(δι Αἰς)[...]
6. αὐτοὺς κουφίσ[αντα ἢ σὺν αὐτῷ]
7. κατελθοῦσα συν[οδιά τειμῆς]¹⁰⁵
8. χάριν ἔτους βκ[φ' μηνὶ Δύστρου]

(The statue for) Iaddaios Thaimarsas, son of Mokimos son of Garbas, leader of the caravan of merchants who [had satisfied / was good to (?)] them in very way [...] and (financially?) relieved (?) them [... from] Vologesias, the caravan which went down with him (has erected this); [for the sake of honour], in the year 522, in the month of Dystros (Sel. = March, 211 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. šlm' [dnh dy ydy br]
2. [tymršw br tym br mqymw grb]' dy 'qym lh
3. [bny šyrt' - - -]'lgšy' wmw'dn
4. [- - - -]nyn šgy'n
5. [- - - -]wbkl 'tr klh
6. [- - - -]hwn w'd_rz[....] bz'y^d_r bkl
7. 'nwkl' [.....]wl'
8. [...] byrh 'dr
9. šnt 5.100+20+2

[Statue of TYMRŠW (Taimaršū) son of TYM' (Taimē) son of MQYMW (Moqymō) (son of) [...]] which (the caravan) from 'LGŠY' (Vologesias) (had erected) and (which) gave thanks [...] (on) numerous [occa]sions (?) [...] and in every aspect/place possible (lines 6 and 7 untranslatable). In the month of 'DR (Adar), in the year 522 (Sel. = March, 211 CE/AD).

Agreement concerning the disposition of niches in the Tomb of Malku (214 CE/AD)

PAT 1624, cf. Hvidberg-Hansen 131, Ingholt, 1962, pp. 106-07 (Prov. Palmyra, S-W Necropolis, Hypogeum of Malku. Loc. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, LN 3727)

(Palmyrene)

1. byrh 'lwl šnt hms m'h w'sryn whms
2. ywlys 'wrls ydy 'bl dy mtqr' mzb'n' br ywlys
3. 'wrls 'nynws 'š'lt ktb ydy lywlys br 'wrls
4. 'gylw br 'prht br hry zbdbwl bdy' dy l' yd'¹⁰⁶
spr
5. d mwd' hw lywlys 'wrls 'grp' br 'gtpws¹⁰⁷ br

In the month Elul in the year five hundred and twenty five (= September, AD 214) YWLYS 'WRLYS (Julius Aurelius) YDY'BL (Yedi'ebel) who is called MZBN' (Mezabbana), son of YWLYS 'WRLYS 'NYNWS (Julius Aurelius Annianus), I have lent the writing of my hand to YWLYS

¹⁰⁴ καὶ Σ[.....] (*IGLS* 88:3); καὶ [β]ο[ηθήσαντα] (Schoul 31:3).

¹⁰⁵ σὺν [---] (*IGLS* 88:7); συν[οδιά τειμῆς] (Schoul 31:7).

¹⁰⁶ yd' (*MUSJ* 106:4) is a misprint for yd' (corr. *PAT* 1624: 4). See photo (*supra*).

6. ḥry hlydwrs yrḥbwl' dy lwt lh brbw't' dy qym'
7. btr gwmḥyn tlt' dy 'grp' md'n kl lmtl dy plg
nsb
8. mnth plgh rwh' nwyṭ gmḥwhy tlt' dy str wl'
9. yh' šlyṭ lh lmrḥ l'lwḥ l'rbw't' md'n w'n šb'
10. dy y'bd bštr' dydh ḥwlwh md'n yhw'¹⁰⁸ 'bn'
'w
11. ktl dy ḥwr' 'w ḥmryn dy yrḥ¹⁰⁹ l'lyhwn bh
12. bštr' ywlys 'wrls nš' br br'th
13. šhd ywlys 'wrls yrḥbwl' br mlkw
14. šhd

(Julius), son of 'WRLYS (Aurelius) 'GYLW ('Ogeilu')¹¹⁰ son of 'PRHT (Afrahat), freedman¹¹¹ of ZBDBWL (Zabdibol), because he did not know writing: He acknowledges to YWLYS 'WRLYS 'GRP' (Julius Aurelius Agrippa), son of 'GTPWS (Agathopus) freedman of HLYDWRS (Heliodorus) YRḤBWL' (Yarhibola) that I have (or *he has*) taken him as partner in the room which is standing beyond the three niches of 'GRP' (Agrippa), in such a way that one half he would take as his share, his half, the space next to his three niches which he will thus have protected. And he will not be allowed to widen his recess in any way, and if he wants to make in his own side something unconsecrated, let there be stones or a coat of plaster or clay by means of which he may enlarge the wall. YWLYS 'WRLYS (Julius Aurelius) NŠ' (Nesha), son of BR'TH, is witness. YWLYS 'WRLYS (Julius Aurelius) YRḤBWL' (Yarhibola), son of MLKW (Malku) is witness (trans. Ingholt, p. 107, altered).

Palmyra granted the rights of an Italian colony (before 217 CE)

(Iustinianus), *Digesta*, 50.15.1:

Ulpianus libro primo de censibus.

(Prol.) Sciendum est esse quasdam colonias iuris Italici, ut est in Syria Phoenice splendidissima Tyriorum colonia, unde mihi origo est, nobilis regionibus, serie saeculorum antiquissima, armipotens, foederis quod cum Romanis percussit tenacissima: huic enim diuus Seuerus et imperator noster ob egregiam in rem publicam imperiumque Romanum insignem fidem ius Italicum dedit:

1. Sed et Berytensis colonia in eadem prouincia Augusti beneficiis gratiosa et (ut diuus Hadrianus in quadam oratione ait) Augustana colonia, quae ius Italicum habet. 2. Est et Heliopolitana, quae a diuo Seuero per belli ciuilis occasionem Italicae coloniae rem publicam accepit. 3. Est. et Laodicensis colonia in Syria Coele, cui diuus Seuerus ius Italicum ob belli ciuilis merita concessit.

Ulpian, *On Taxes, Book I.*

(Prol.) It should be remembered that there are certain colonies subject to the Italian Law, as, for example, the magnificent colony of Tyre, in Phoenician Syria (where I was born), the most noble of all, most ancient in point of time, warlike, and most constant in observance of the treaties which it made with the Romans. The Divine Severus and Our Emperor conferred upon it the privileges of an Italian city, on account of the extraordinary and distinguished fidelity which it always manifested in its intercourse with the Roman government.

1. The colony of Berytus, in the same Province, through the favor of Augustus, bears the title of an Imperial colony (as the Divine Hadrian stated in a certain Address), and it also is subject to the Italian Law. 2. The City of Heliopolis also received the title of an Italian colony from the Divine Severus, on account of services rendered during the Civil War. 3. There is also the colony

¹⁰⁷ 'gtpws (MUSJ 106:5) is a misprint for 'gtpws (corr. PAT 1624: 5).

¹⁰⁸ yhw (MUSJ 106:10) is a misprint for yhw' (corr. PAT 1624: 10).

¹⁰⁹ yhr (MUSJ 106:11) is a misprint for yrḥ (corr. PAT 1624: 11).

¹¹⁰ ywlys br 'wrls 'gylw 'Julius son of Aurelius 'Ogeilu' is likely to have been a stone-carver's error for ywlys 'wrls 'gylw 'Julius Aurelius 'Ogeilu' – a well attested person in Palmyra (Hvidberg-Hansen, p. 83).

¹¹¹ br ḥry: lit. 'son of a freedman'.

Ptolem^{ae}ensium enim colonia, quae inter Phoenicen et Palaestinam sita est, nihil praeter nomen coloniae habet. 4. Sed et Emisenae ciuitati Phoenices imperator noster ius coloniae dedit iurisque Italici eam fecit. 5. Est et Palmyrena ciuitas in prouincia Phoenice prope barbaras gentes et nationes collocata.

of Laodicea, in Coele Syria, to which also the Divine Severus granted the Italian Law on account of its services in the Civil War. The colony of Ptolomais, which is situated between Phoenicia and Palestine, has nothing but the name of a colony. 4. Our Emperor (Septimius Severus / Caracalla) bestowed upon Emesa, a city of Phoenicia, the title and the rights of an Italian colony. 5. The city of Palmyra, situated in the Province of Phoenicia, and adjoining barbarous peoples and nations, enjoys the same right. (trans. C.P. Scott)

Funerary inscription of Marcus Julius Maximus of Beirut (between 200 and 250 CE)

IGLS xvii, 551, cf. *PAT* 0761, *IGRR* iii, 1055 (Prov. Palmyra. Inscribed on both sides of a bust.¹¹² Loc. The Louvre, Paris Inv. AO 1556).

(Greek)

1. Μάρκος
2. Ἰούλιος
3. Μάξιμος
4. Ἀριστείδης
5. κολών
6. Βηρύτιος
7. πατήρ Λου-
8. κίλλης γυ-
9. ναικὸς Περ-
10. τίνακος.

Markos Ioulios Maximos Aristeidēs, a *colonus* of Bērytios (i.e. Beirut).¹¹³ Father of Loukillēs, wife of Pertinax.

(Palmyrene)

1. mrqws ywlyws mksmws
2. 'rstds qwlwn
3. brty' 'b(w)hy
4. lwql' 'tt prtnks

MRQWS YWLYWS MKSMWS 'RSTDS (Marcus Julius Maximus Aristides), a *colonus* (QWLWN) of BRTY' (i.e. Beirut). Father of LWQL' (Lucilla) wife of PRṬNKS (Pertinax).

The Council honours Julius Aurelius Nebomai b. Taimišamš b. Bonne Šabi, caravan leader, having brought a caravan back safely (beginning of 3rd C. CE)

IGLS xvii 22; *L'Agora*, Annexe 39 (8/6/1/314); *PAT* 1360; *Inv.* 9 30. (Prov.: Bel Temple. On column drum, reemployed in medieval defense structure.):

(Greek)

1. Ἡ βουλὴ [καὶ ὁ δῆμος]
2. Ἰούλιον Αὐρήλιον [N]ε[β]οῦ-
3. μαιον Θα[μισάμ]σο[υ τ]οῦ

The Senate [and the People] (has erected this statue for) Julius Aurelius [N]e[b]oumaios Thai[misam]s[ou], son of Bonneos [S]abeis, chief

¹¹² This well-known funerary bust to an immigrant to Palmyra is of great interest to art historians of Palmyra: 'Marcus Julius Maximus Aristides, who had exchanged the humidity of Beirut for the dryer atmosphere of Palmyra, received a funerary relief bust of ordinary early third-century type. Some Western touches perhaps reflect his origin: the lengthy Greek text, pilaster, scrolla and receding hairline. But such touches, commonly added by Westernized workshops, need not imply special instructions.' (Colledge, p. 225)

¹¹³ I.e. he was a citizen of the Roman *colonia* of Berytus.

4. Βωννέο[υ]ς [Σ]αβεῖ συνοδι-
5. ἀρχην ἀνακο[μ]ι[σαντ]-
6. α τήν [συ]νοδίαν [κ]αὶ ἀρέ-
7. σαν[τα] τῇ πόλει [τειμῆς]
8. χάριν [ἔτους]

of the caravan, who has provisioned the caravan and has been pleasing to the city, for the sake of honour; the year [...]

(Palmyrene)

1. [šlm' dnh dy ywlys] ('wrllys)
2. [nbwmy br tymšm]š bwn'
3. [šby - - - dy 'qym]t lh
4. [- - -]

[This statue is that of YWLYS (Julius)] 'WRLYS (Aurelius) [NBWMY (Nebomai) son of TYMŠM]š (Taimišamaš) son of BWN' (Bonne) [šBY (Šabi) which has ma]de for him [...]

Bolha b. Ḥairan, Superintendent of the Efqa Spring, honoured (205 CE)

PAT 1919, cf. *RLP*, p. 144, *RSP* 127, *PP*, pp. 32-33 (Prov. On altar found in the vicinity of the Efqa Spring. Loc. Palmyra Museum A 1169):

(Palmyrene)

1. [b]rbnwt 'yn' dy bwlh' br ḥyrn br
2. 't'qb ḥwml dy 'hd yrḥbwl 'lh'
3. bn' bny'n' dnh dy 'yn'¹¹⁴ wktl' dy qd[m]
4. bt gb' wktl' dy br' w'bd ktl' dy
5. [l]bn' byrh' nysn šnt 5.100+10+5+1
6. wdkyr t[y]m' br m'[] tym' blyd[']
7. [w]ḥyrn b[r] mqym[w mlk]w dy 'hd lh
8. bwlh' dnh rb 'yn

While supervisor of the spring BWLH' (Bolḥa) son of ḤYRN (Ḥairan) son of 'T'QB ḤWML ('Athe-'aqab Haumal), who was chosen by the god YRḤBWL (Yarḥibol), erected the building at the spring and the wall that is in front of the pool, and the outer wall, and he made the brick wall (also). In the month NYSN (Nisan), the year 516 (Sel. = April, 205 CE/AD). May T[Y]M' (Taim'a) son of M'[] (son of) TYM' BLYD['] (Belyada) [and] ḤYRN son of MQYM[W (Moqimu) (son of) MLK]W (Malku), whom BWLH', the superintendent of the spring, chose for himself (as his assistants) be remembered. (On right face) And BWLH' made this altar at his own expense for his life and for the lives of his children and brothers. (tr. Teixidor, *PP* p. 33, altered).

(On right face)

- 1(9). w'bd bwlh' dnh 'lt' dh mn kysh 'l
- 2(10). ḥywhy whyy bnwhy w'ḥwhy

Julius Aurelius Malku b. Wašḥo honoured (n.d., post 212 CE)

IGLS xvii, 224, cf. *L'Agora* V.10, *PAT* 1415, *PP*, p. 117 (On double console in rampart of Agora 8/6/1/26):

(Greek)

1. [ῆ βουλῆ καὶ δῆμος Ἰούλιον Αὐρήλιον
Μάλι(?)χον] Οὐάσεοῦ Μαλίχου το[ῦ]
<Οὐ>άσεοῦ Νεβουλᾶ, στρατη[γ]ήσαντα τῆς
κολωνείας]
2. [καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντα ἐπι]σήμως καὶ
φιλοτείμω[ς] ὥς ἐπὶ πᾶσιν μεμαρτυρηῆσθαι
ὕπο τε τοῦ πατρός τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς

[The Council and the People to Julius Aurelius Malichos] Ouaseos son of Malichos son of Ouaseos Neboulas, who was *strategos* [of the Colony and chief of the market] with distinction and zeal; on account of all this the ancestral god, and the [excellent Council, and the most illustrious governor have borne witness for him; and for Ouaseos his father, who fulfilled all his public

¹¹⁴ *PAT* gives |yn which is almost certainly a misprint for |yn' as evidenced by the more correct reading given in *ibid.* 395-96 (Glossary, s.v. |yn).

3. [κρατίστης βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ λαμ]προτάτου
ἡγουμένου κα[ι] Οὐάσεω πατρὶ αὐτοῦ πάσας
λειτουργίας ἐκτελέσαντι τειμῆς καὶ μνή-
4. [μης χάριν].

(Palmyrene)

1. šlmy' 'ln tlt' dy ywlys 'wrllys mlkw br wšhw br
mlkw br wšhw nbwl' dy 'bdt lh bwl' wdmws
[b'štrtḡwt' dy]
2. qlny' wbrbnnšqwth dy špr lhwn wšr lhwn mn
kysh w'l hnn šhd lh 'lh' [w]skrt lh mdyth
wšhd lh [nhyr' hgm'n' wlwšhw 'bwh]
3. dy špr bkl' 'hdyw klh lmdyth lyqrh byrh tbt [šnt
...]

services. To their honour and memory.

These three statues are of YWLYS 'WRLYS (Julius Aurelius) MLKW (Malku) son of WSHW (Washo) son of MLKW son of WSHW NBWL' (Nebula), which were erected to him by the Council and the People, [because during his tenure of the office of *strategos* of] the Colony (QLNY') and chief of the market he benefited them and paid their expenses with his own money; on account of this the god has borne witness for him and his city has congratulated him and [the illustrious governor] has borne witness for him; [and for WSHW, his father] who benefited his city during his whole time in office. In (their) honour. In the month Tebet, [the year ...]. (tr. Teixidor, *PP*, p. 117, revised.)

Inscription concerning the renovation of a funerary monument (237 CE)

PAT 0567, Hvidberg-Hansen 132, p. 86, C4211 (Prov: Palmyra. Loc: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I.N. 1135 *Løytved*):

(Greek)

1. [Ιούλιος Αὐ]ρήλιος [Εὐτύχης]
2. [Ἀγγαί]ο υἱοῦ κοινωνόν
3. [[προσε]λάβε]το ἐν τῷ ἀναγαί[ω]
4. [...]ετου μνηεῖο[υ]
5. [Γά]ϊον Ἰούλιον Ἑρμεῖαν ἀ-
6. δελφόν αὐτοῦ ὃ ἀμφο-
7. τεροι οἰκοδομήσαντες
8. ἀνενέωσαν ἐξ ἰδίων ἐαυ-
9. τοῖς καὶ υἱοῖς καὶ υἱωνοῖς
10. καὶ εἰς τειμὴν υἱῶν Μαε-
11. νᾶ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῶν μη-
12. νὶ Λώφ ημφ' ἔτους

[Julius Au]relius [Eutyches, son of Aggaios,] has [mad]e as partner - in the upper floor, [above] funeral monument - [Gaiu]s Julius Hermeias, his brother, concerning what both of them, during (re)building have restored at their own expense, in favour of themselves and (their) sons and grandsons and in honour of the sons of Maenay, their brother. In the month of Lōos, year 548 (Sel. = August, 237 CE/AD). (tr. Hvidberg-Hansen, p. 86).

(Palmyrene)

1. ywlys 'wrllys 'wtk' hgy 'h[br]
2. b'ly[t dy] qbr' dnh l[gys]
3. [yw]ly[s hrmys ']hwhy dy [...]

YWLYS 'WRLYS 'WRLYS 'WTK' (Julius Aurelius Awṭikā = Eutyches) son of HGY (Haggai) gave the upper floo[r of] this tomb in partnership to [GYS] [YW]LY[S HRMYS] (Gaius Julius Hermeias) his brother who ... (tr. Hvidberg-Hansen, p. 86, adapted)

Transfer of ownership in the Hypogeum of 'Abd'astor (239 CE)

PAT 0095, cf. *AIDRP* 45, Ingholt, 1938: 14-25 and pl. xlvii.1 (On lintel inside the Hypogeum of 'Abd'astor):

(Palmyrene)

1. 'ksdr' smly' m'lyk 𐤏𐤋
2. m'rt' 'l ymyn' str mn gwmhyn trn bryyn
ymnyyn
3. mqdšyn rhq ywly' 'wryl' šlmt brt 'bd'stwr br
4. yrhbwł' w'mdbw brt hry lwqys 'wrls brsmy'
5. mprnsyt'¹¹⁵ dy bwn' br rb'l brh lywly' 'wryl'
mlkw
6. br 'gylw br šlmn gmhyn tmny' mdnhyyyn m'lyk
'ksdr'
7. 'l ymyn' wlm'yn' brt bwn' br bwlh' gwmhyn
m'rbynn
8. št' m'lyk 'ksdr' 'l sml' wmqblyn gwmhyn tlt'
9. dy plg bnyhwn lhwn wlbnyhwn wlbny bnyhwn
l'im' byrh nysn
10. šnt 5.100+40+10 𐤏𐤋

The *exedra* ('KSDR') on the left (i.e. to the north), {flower} when you enter the *hypogeum* on the right, except two outer sanctified niches on the right, YWLY' 'WRLY' (Julia Aurelia) ŠLMT (Šal-mat), daughter of 'BD'STWR ('Abd'astor), son of YRHBWL' (Yarhibola), and 'MDBW (Emdabū), freed-woman of LWQYS 'WRLYS (Lucius Aurelius) BRSMY' (Barsamayyā), provider of BWN' (Bonnē), son of RB'L (Rab'el) her son, ceded to YWLY' 'WRLY' (Julius Aurelius) MLKW (Malku), son of 'GYLW ('Ogeilu), son of ŠLMN (Šalman), eight niches to the East, when you enter the *exedra* on the right, and to M'YN' (Mu'aina), daughter of BWN' (Bonne), son of BWLH' (Bol-ha), six niches to the West, when you enter the *exedra* on the left, and three niches facing (you), which are in the middle between them, for them and for their sons and for the sons of their sons forever, in the month of NYSN (Nisan), the year 550 (Sel. = April, 239 CE/AD). {flower} (Trans. Ingholt, adapted).

Conuncil honours Julius Aurelius Zabdela (242 CE)

IGLS xvii, 53, cf. *AIDRP* 33, *PAT* 0278, *Inv.* 3, 22, C3932 (On console, Grand Colonnade, *in situ*?):
(Greek)

1. Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
2. Ἰούλιον Αὐρήλιον Ζηνόβιον
3. τὸν καὶ Ζαβδιλᾶν δις Μάλ-
4. χου τοῦ Νασσοῦμου στρατη-
5. γήσαντα ἐν ἐπιδημίᾳ θεοῦ
6. Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ὑπηρετή-
7. σαντα παρουσίᾳ διηνεκεῖ
8. Ρουτιλλίου Κρισπεῖνου τοῦ
9. ἡγησαμένου καὶ ταῖς ἐπιδη-
10. μῆσάσας οὐξ ἰλλατίοσιν ἄ-
11. γορανομήσαντα τε καὶ οὐκ ὀλί-
12. γων ἀφειδήσαντα χρημάτων

The Council and the People (honoured) Iulius Aurelius Zenobius, who is also called Zabdilas,¹¹⁷ son and grandson of Malchus son of Nassoum(us), who held the office of general at the visit of the *divus* Alexander¹¹⁸, offering service for the whole length of the stay of Rutillius Crispinus,¹¹⁹ the governor, (and) for the resident *vexillationes*, (and for) acting as chief of the market and being lavish of much money and governing well — according to these things to be witnessed by the god Iaribōlē and by Iulius [Priscus]¹²⁰ the most eminent prefect of the sacred praetorium — and who was a lover of his fatherland, for the sake of

¹¹⁵ *mprnsyt'* as given on the stone might well be an (engraver's?) error for *mprnsnyt'*. Cf. *DNWSI* ii, 674.

¹¹⁷ He was *strategos* in 229 AD and *agoranomos* in 242/43. (*Pros.* ii, p. 840)

¹¹⁸ I.e. the Emperor Alexander Severus who might have visited the city in the course of his campaign against the Sassanians in AD 230/31.

¹¹⁹ He was governor of Thracia and *legatus Augusti* in Syria Phoenice. (*Pros.* ii, p. 825)

¹²⁰ The Praetorian Prefect Julius Priscus was the brother of Philip the Arab (*r.* AD 244-49). His name was chiselled out of both versions of the inscription on the stele after his brother's fall. Cf. *IP*, p. 67.

13. καὶ καλῶς πολειτευσάμενον
14. ὥς διὰ ταῦτα μαρτυρηθῆναι
15. ὑπὸ θεοῦ Ἰαριβώλου καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰου-
16. λίου Π[ρε]ίσκ[ου] τοῦ ἐξοχωτά-
17. του ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτω-
18. ρίου καὶ τῆς πατρίδος τὸν φιλό-
19. πατρὶν τειμῆς χάριν ἔτους δνφ'

honour. In the year 554 (Sel. = 242 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. ṣlm ywlys 'wrllys zbdlh br mlkw br mlkw
2. nšwm dy hw' 'štrtg lqlny' bmytwyt' dy
3. 'lh' 'lksndrws qsr wšmš kdy hw' tnn
4. qrspynws hygmnw' wkdy 'ty lk' yt lgyny'
5. zbnyn sgy'n whw' rb šwq whsk rz'yn šgy'n
6. wdbr 'mrh šktyt mtl kwt šhd lh yrhbwł
7. 'lh' w'p ywlys [prysqws rb'(?)] dy sp' wrhym
mdth
8. dy¹¹⁶ 'qym lh bwl' wdmws lyqrh šnt
5.100+40+10+4

Statue of YWLYS 'WRLYS (Julius Aurelius) ZBDL' (Zabdela) son of MLKW (Malku) son of MLKW (son of) NŠWM (Nassum), who was general to the Colony (QLHY') at the coming of the god 'LKSNDRWS (Alexander) Caesar (QSR) and served when QRSPYNWS (Crispinus) the consular governor (HYGMWN') was here and when he brought the legions (LGYN') here many times, and he was chief of the market and spent large amounts and conducted his life quietly. Therefore, YRHBWL (Yarhibol) the god testified for him, and also YWLYS [PRYSQWS] (Julius Priscus) chief(?) of the praetorium(?),¹²¹ and lover of his city, so that (?) the Council and the people erected (this) for him, for his honour, in the year 554 (Sel. = 242 CE/AD).

Julius Aurelius Zebīdā b. Moqimu honoured (247 CE)

IGLS xvii 89, cf. *IPS* G 31, *Schuol* 32, *PAT* 0279, *Inv.* 3, 21 (On column console, Grand Colonnade):

(Greek)

1. Ἰούλιον Αὐρήλιον Ζεβεΐδαν
2. Μοκίμου τοῦ Ζεβεΐδου
3. Ἀσθόρου Βαιδᾶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῶ
4. κατελθόντες εἰς Ὀλογεσι-
5. ἄδα ἔμποροι ἀνέστησαν ἀρέ-
6. σαντα αὐτοῖς τειμῆς χάριν
7. Ξανδικῶ τοῦ ηνφ' ἔτους

(This statue of) Iulius Aurelius Zebeidas son of Mokimos son of Zebeidas son of Asthōrus son of Baidas the merchants who went down with him to 'Ologesias set up, because he pleased them, in his honour, in the month of Xandikos of the year 558 (Sel. = April, 247 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. ṣlm' dnh dy ywlys 'wrllys
2. zbdyd'¹²² br mqymw br zbyd' 'štwr
3. byd' dy 'qym lh tgr' bny šyrt'
4. dy nht 'mh l'lgšy' lyqrh bdył

This statue is (of) YWLYS 'WRLYS (Julius Aurelius) ZBYD' (Zebīdā) son of MQYMW (Moqymō) son of ZBYD' (Zebīdā) (son of) 'ŠTWR ('Aštōr) (son of)

¹¹⁶ dy – word omitted (inadvertently?) by editor in *IGLS* xvii, p. 62. See facsimile edition in the Palmyrene script in *CIS* II, p. 98.

¹²¹ The taking of the word *sp'* to mean 'praetorium' is totally dependent on the Greek and on the assumption that the title of Julius Priscus must somehow have been represented in the Aramaic version. The word *SP'* in Aramaic normally means 'to feed'. The word as it is found in line 7 of this inscription may be part of the honours to Zenobios – hence the rendering 'quoniam nutritus (fuit)' i.e. 'nourisher (of his city)' in *CIS*.

¹²² zbdyd' (*IGLS* xvii, 104) appears to be a misprint for zdyd' – see text in Palmyrene script reproduced from *CIS* (II, p. 10) in adjacent column.

5. dy špr lhwn byrh nysn šnt
6. 5.100+40+10+5+3

BYD' (Bayda), which the merchants, the members of the caravan who went down with him to 'LGŠY' (Vologesias), had built for him, in his honour, because he was good to them, in the month of NYSN (Nisān) of the year 558 (April, 247 CE/AD).

Funerary cession given by tomb-owner to relatives (249 CE)

IMP 108, cf. Cantineau, 1930: 543, Gawlikowski and As'ad 1997: 37-36 (Prov: Palmyrène, found on a door jamb on the Jebel 'Antar about 14 km or 3.5 hrs march from Palmyra. Loc. Palmyra Museum A 1497/9191)

(Greek)

1. [...]
2. [... κ]αὶ Βαθ[σαέδη]
3. [Βαρβωννέ]ους τοῦ κα[ι...]
4. [... ἀδ]ελφῶ [αὐτοῦ]
5. [καὶ] υἱοῖς Βωννέους [καὶ]
6. [Μά]λχου .ENOYNEO[...]
7. [...]ΠΑΟΥ καὶ Χαφαθο[ύθου]
8. [υἱ]ῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ΛΟΓΟ[...]
9. [κ]αὶ μεταθέσεις καὶ [...]
10. [Α]ὐρήλιου Βαρβων[νέους]
11. [κ]αὶ ἔχχωμα [τ]ρις Βω[ννέους]
12. [ἀδ]ελ[φ]οῦ θεντοῦ (*sic*) Νε[...]
13. [...] δε τῆς Β[α]θσαεδῆς
14. [τ]ῶν υἱῶν Βωννέους [...]
15. [κ]αὶ Χαφαθ[ο]ύθου τε[.]θ[...]
16. [κα]ὶ ἐντελαμένου [...]
16. ὑπ' ἀρχόντων τοῦ ΙΟΣ[...]
17. [ἐαυτ]ῶν καὶ υἱῶν καὶ υἱ[ωνων]
18. καὶ ἐγγόνων ἀρσένων [εἰς τὸ]
19. [π]αντελές μηνὶ Ὑπερβερ[εταίῳ]
20. ἀξφ' ἔτους

[NN has ceded this tomb to ...] and to Bathsædēs, daughter of Bonnē(s), surnamed [...], his sister, and to the sons of Bonnē(s) and of [Mal]chos [...] and of Khafatho[uthos], his sons, in LOGO[...] and exchange and [...] of Aurelius Barbonnē(s) and three times *enchōma* of Bonnē(s), brother [...] of Bathsædēs [and] of the son of Bonnē(s) and of Khafatho[uthos] [...] by the archons [...] of themselves, their sons, their grandsons and their male offspring forever, in the month of Hyperberetaios, in the year 461 (Sel. = October, 249 CE/AD). (Trans. after IMP, pp. 70-72)

Transfer of property in the Hypogeum of Seleukos (251 CE)

PAT 0071, cf. Ingholt, 1938, p. 104 (Loc. on lintel in the Hypogeum of Seleukos, *in situ*):

(Palmyrene)

1. slwqs br typyls br slwqs rhq gwmhyn 'sr' dy
b'ksdr
2. m'lyk' bb' lqbl' lyrhbw' br sbyn' wtrn' br
tym' hl' lh
3. wlbwhy wlb<n>y bnwhy lyqrhwn dy 'lm' šnt
5.100+60+2 byrh qnyn

SLWQS (Seleukos), son of TYPYLS (Theofilos), son of SLWQS (Seleukos), transferred ten niches which are in the exedra, when you enter the door, facing you, to YRH BWL' (Yarhibola), son of SBYN' (i.e. Sabinus), a veteran (WTRN'), son of TYM' (Taimē), his maternal uncle, for him and for his sons and for the sons of his sons for their (monument) of honour forever, in the year 562, in the month of QNYN (Qinyan) (Sel. = July, 251

CE). (tr. Ingholt, p. 104)

Temple inscription banning blood-sacrifice (n.d.)

PAT 1122, cf. *RLP*, pp. 169-70, *IMP* 65, Drijvers, 1985, p. 65 (On orthocast of a lion with a small antelope between its front legs. Prov: Temple of Allat, re-employed. Loc: Palmyra Museum entrance. B2359/8570):

(Palmyrene)

1. tbrk '[lt]
2. mn dy l' yšd
3. dm 'l ḡb'

May '[LT] (Allat) bless whoever does not shed blood in the sanctuary. (tr. *IMP*, p. 66).

Prophylactic Hebrew inscription from a Jewish synagogue (?) (n.d., before 273 CE)

CIJ 821, cf. *IJO iii* Syr44, pp. 70-73 (On long lintel found NE of Grand Colonnade):
(Hebrew)

1 שמע ישראל אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶחָד
2 וְאַהֲבַתָּה אֶת אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּכָל לִבְבְּךָ וּבְכָל
נַפְשְׁךָ וּבְכָל מְאֹדְךָ וְהָיוּ הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה
אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מְצַוְךָ הַיּוֹם עַל לִבְבְּךָ
3 וְשִׁנַּנְתָּם לְבִנְיֶיךָ וּדְבַרְתָּ בָם בְּשִׁבְתְּךָ
בְּבֵיתְךָ וּבְלִכְתְּךָ בְּדַעְרְךָ וּבְשֹׁכְבְּךָ
וּבְקוֹמְךָ וְקִשְׁרַתָּם לְאוֹת עַל יָדְךָ
4 וְהָיוּ לְשׁוֹטְפֹת בֵּין עֵינֶיךָ וּכְתֻבֹתָם עַל
מְזוֹזֹת בֵּיתְךָ וּבְשַׁעְרֶיךָ

1. Hear, O Israel the Lord, our God, is the only Lord. 2. And you will love the Lord, your God, with all your heart and with all your soul and all your power. And these words that I command you today shall be in your heart. 3. And you will teach them with diligence to your children, and will speak of them when you sit in your house, and when you walk on the road and when you lie down and when you rise up and you shall bind them as a sign upon your hand, 4. and they will be phylacteries between your eyes and you shall write them upon the door posts of your house and upon your gates (tr. Ricklefs, *FPTZ*, p. 87).¹²³

¹²³ The text, the longest Jewish inscription known from Antiquity, is from Deuteronomy 6:4-9 (Masoretic text and cf. the *Septuagint*). There are some minor differences between this text and the Masoretic text. Firstly the word 'dwny has been substituted for the yhw found in the Masorah; clearly indicating that the use of the name of God was taboo amongst the Palmyrene Jews of this period (or that the scribe was inscribing according to aurality). Other small orthographic differences result from the use of the *matres lectionis* in the engraved text, thus: (line 1) 'hbth for 'hbt; (line 3) bšybt for bšbt; (line 4) tpt for tpt. Interestingly in line 4 the word mzzwt does not contain a second vav, which is found in the Masorah. The text antedates the destruction of the house in 273 and is probably third century AD. (Ricklefs, *FPTZ*, p. 124, expanded)

III. THE PALMYRENE EMPIRE (251-274 CE)



Dedication to Septimius Hairan b. Odainath (251 CE)

IGLS xvii, 58, cf. *PAT* 0290, C3944 (On column console, Grand Colonnade):

(Greek)

1. Σεπτίμιον Αἰράνην Ὁ-
2. δαινάθο(υ τὸν λαμπρό)-
3. τατον συνκλ(ητικόν)
4. ἔξα[ρχον τῶν? Παλμυ]ρηνῶν
5. Αὐρήλι[ος Φλαβιανὸς]¹²⁴ (Α)ὐρ(ηλίου)
Ἥλι-
6. οδώρου [τοῦ Ῥααίου] στρατιώ-
7. της λεγ<εῶνος>[γ' Κυρηνα]ϊκῆς τὸν
8. πάτρων[α τει]μῆς καὶ εὐχα-
9. ριστίας χάριν ἔτους γξφ'

Aurelius Flavianus (*or* Philinus) the son of Aurelius Heliodōrus son of Rhaaius, soldier of the [Third] Legion [Cyrenai]ca (honoured) his patron, the most illustrious senator Septimius Hairanes son of Odainathus, exarch of the Palmyrenes, in honour and gratitude, in the year 563 (Sel. = 251 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. šlm' dnh dy sptmyws hyrn br
2. 'dynt snqltyq' nhyr' wrš
3. tdmwr dy 'qym lh 'wrls
4. plynws br mry' plyn' r'y plh'
5. dblgywn' dy bsr' lyqrh byrh
6. tšry dy šnt 5.100+60+3 𐤔𐤕

This is the statue of SPṬMYWS (Septimius) ḤYRN (Hairan) son of 'DYNT (Odainath), illustrious Councillor and Chief of Tadmor, which 'WRLYS PLYNWS (Aurelius Flavianus) son of MRY' PLYN' (son of) R'Y (Ra'ai), the soldier who is of the Legion of BSR' (i.e. Bosra), erected for him, in his honour, in the month of TŠRY (Tishri) in the year 563 (Sel. = October, 251 CE/AD). {*Flower*}

Septimius Odainath honoured by Ate'qab b. 'Ogeilu (252 CE)

IGLS xvii, 54 = *PAT* 2815 (On column. Grand Colonnade):

(Greek)

1. Σεπτίμιον Ὁδαίνα-
2. [θον Αἰ]ράνου Ο[ὐαβ]αλλά-
3. θου [τοῦ Νασώρου] λα[μ]πρό-
4. τατον [ἔξαρχ](χ)ον Παλμυ-
5. ρην Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος
6. Ἀθηακά[βος Ὁ]γήλου Ζαβδι-
7. βώ[λου Μο]κίμου τοῦ καὶ Κω-
8. ρᾶ τὸν φίλον στοργῆς ἔνε-
9. κεν ἔτους γξφ' μηνεῖ
10. [Ξανδ]ικῷ

(To) Septimius Odaenathus, son of Haeranes, son of Vaballathus Nasoros, the most illustrious *exarch* of the Palmyrenes, Julius Aurelius Athēakabos son of Ogēlos, son of Zabdibō[los, son of Moqimos who is also called] Kōrā, to his friend, with affection. In the month Xandikos, the year 563 (Sel. = April, 252, CE/AD).

¹²⁴ The Palmyrene version gives 'wrls plynws which is suggestive of Αὐρήλι[ος Φιλεῖνο]ς.

(Palmyrene)

1. šlm' sptmyws '[dynt br hyn]
2. br whblt nšwr rš['] dy [tdmw]r
3. nhyr' d'bd lh 't'qb br 'gylw br
4. zbdbwl br mqymw dmqr' qr'
5. rḥmh lyqrhwn brbnwḥ byrh
6. nysn šnt 5.100+60+3

The statue of 'SPTMYWS (Septimius) '[DYNT] (Odainath) son of HYRN (Hairan), son of WHBLT NŠWR (Wahaballat (Nasor), the Illustrious Chie[f of Tadmo]r, was made for him by 'T'QB (Ate'qab) son of 'GYLW ('Ogeilu), son of ZBDBWL (Zabdibol), son of MQYMW (Moqimu), who is also called QR' (Qara), to his friend, in their honour, under his presidency. In the month NYSN (Nisan), the year 563 (Sel. = April, 252, CE/AD).

Dedication to Julius Aurelius Oge, strategos of Palmyra (254 CE)

IGLS xvii, 75, cf. PAT 0280, C3934 (On column found in the city):

(Greek)

1. (Η Β)[ουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἰ]ούλιον
2. Αὐρή[λιον Ὅγαν τὸν καὶ] Σέλευ-
3. κον [δὲ τοῦ Ἀζίζου] (το)ῦ σεειλᾶ
4. δυα[νδρικὸν]¹²⁵ φιλοτεῖ[μω]ς
5. στρα[τηγῆσαντα κ]αὶ μαρτυ-
6. ρηθέν[τα καὶ φιλ]οτειμη-
7. σάμεν[ον τῇ] κρατίστη
8. βουλῇ Ἀτ[τικᾶς] μυρίας,
9. τειμῆς ἔνεκεν ἔτους
10. ζξϞ' Ὑπερβερεταίῳ

The Council and the People (honoured) Iulius Aurelius Oggas, who is also called Seleucus, son and grandson of Azizos son of Seeilas, who as *duumvir* in a public-spirited manner held the office of general and who was approved by testimony as to his character and presented to the most excellent Council ten thousand Attic drachmae, on account of honour, in the year 566, (in the month of) Hyperberetaios (Sel. = October, 254 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. bwl' wdmws lywlys 'wrllys
2. 'g' dy mtqr' slwqws br
3. 'zyzw 'zyzw š'yl' dy šmš wšpr
4. lhwn b'strṭgwh wmgd lbwl'
5. zwzyn rbw lyqrh byrh tšry šnt
6. 5.100+60+5+1

The Council and the People for YWLYS 'WRLYS (Julius Aurelius) 'G' ('Ogga), who is called SLWQWS (Seleucus), son of 'ZYZW ('Azizu) (son of) 'ZYZW (son of) š'YL' (Š'eila), who served and benefited them during his term as general and bestowed on the Council ten thousand zuzes, for his honour, in the month of TŠRY (Tishri) in the year {Leaf} 566 {Leaf} (Sel. = October, 254 CE/AD).

Dedication to an unnamed deity (256 CE)

PAT 0393, cf. C4047, Cooke 138 (On altar. Palmyra Museum):

(Palmyrene)

1. byrh tmwz
2. ywm 25 dy šnt
3. 500.20+20+20+5+4

Blessed be his name for ever, [the go]od and the compassionate! LŠMŠ (Lishamash) offered (this altar) judiciously¹²⁶ (?heartily) to the

¹²⁵ δυα[νδρικὸν]: restoration suggested by Waddington. Other restorations are possible. IGLS 75:4 gives ΔΥΑ[---].

¹²⁶ Although MHR means 'quickly' or 'promptly' in Hebrew it does not mean this in other Semitic languages. In Arabic it refers to dowries or to being capable or skilful, or quick. In Syriac it refers to skill, capability or training - hence I think this is the meaning here. It is worth noting that the line is

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| 4. 'n' 'bgr br | compassionate one, whose aid he invoked by |
| 5. 'bšmy' šmmr | land and sea, and he answered him [whe- |
| 6. 'tt bkr' npšy | ne]ver he invoked him, he and his household. |
| 7. ltnn ybrwk 'lh' | In the month 'LWL (Elul), the year [5]67 (Sel. |
| 8. dy šrn tnn lk gbr | = September, 256 CE/AD). |
| 9. dy yqr' lwh' dnh | |
| 10. wybrknn wyšbqnh | |
| 11 llwh' bdkth | |

Hairan b. Odainath honoured by the guild of raft-makers (257 CE)

IGLS xvii, 59, cf. IMP 25 (On console. Prov. Grand Colonnade. Loc. Palmyra Museum A1247/6532):

(Greek)

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. [Σεπίμιον] Αἰράνην τὸν | (This is the statue of Septimius) Hairanēs the |
| 2. λαμπρότατον υἱὸν Ὀδαι- | most glorious son of the most glorious consul |
| 3. νάθου τοῦ λαμπρο- | Odainathos. The <i>symposion</i> of the leather |
| 4. τάτου ὑπατικοῦ τὸ | cutters and floating skin(-raft) makers, (set it |
| 5. συμπόσιον σκυτ(έ)- | up to honour) their patron. In the year 569 |
| 6. ὦν καὶ ἀσκοναυτο- | (257/8 CE/AD). |
| 7. ποιῶν ¹²⁷ τὸν πάτρωνα | |
| 8. ἔτους θξφ' | |

Dedication to (Septimius) Odainath (date uncertain)¹²⁸

PAT 2753, cf. Ingholt, 1976: 120, Cantineau, 1931: 138 (n°. 17) (Palmyra Museum):

(Palmyrene)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. [...] l[y]qr' dynt br hyrn whblt [...] | In honour of 'DYNT (Odainath), son of |
| 2. [... rš] dy tdmwr 'bd 'gylw b[r] | HYRN (Hairan), WHBLT (Wahaballat), the |
| 3. [...]ny ḥdwdn ḥd' mw[...]dnh[...] | head of Tadmor. 'GYLW ('Ogeilu), son of |
| 4. [...]wn' wmq[...] ¹²⁹ | [..]NY, (son of) ḤDWDN (Ḥadudan), (son of) |
| | ḤD' (Ḥada), made this throne and brought as |
| | offering the hearth and the brazier and the |
| | holocaust ... (tr. Ingholt) |

Sepulchral inscription of Septimius Odainath (date uncertain)

IGLS xvii, 545, cf. PAT 0558, C4202 (On door lintel. Re-employed in the Ayyubid bastion):

(Greek)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. τὸ μνημῖον τοῦ ταφεῶνος ἔκτισεν ἐξ ιδίων | This monument of burial has been built, at his |
| Σεπίμιος Ὀδαίναθος ὁ λαμπρότατος | own expense, by Septimius Odaenathos, the |
| (συγκλητ)[ικός], | most illustrious Councillor, son of Hairanēs, |

almost completely obliterated in Cooke but fully restored in CIS which also suggests the translation of 'promptus, expeditus' on the base of the Targums. (Ricklefs, *FPTZ*, p. 123)

¹²⁷ ἀσκοναυτοποιῶν 'makers of rafts supported on inflated skins' (not in *LSJ*), cf. *RLP*, 217.

¹²⁸ This inscription has been given an early date in this collection because of the absence from it of the more grandiose titles which Odaenathos enjoyed after his victory over the Persians and the Roman usurpers.

¹²⁹ ll. 3-4 reading: mw[tb]' dnh [wq]rb [mwdq'] wk[n]wn' wmq[lwt]

2. Αἰράνου Οὐαβαλλάθου τοῦ Νασώρου αὐτῶ
τε καὶ υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ υἱωνοῖς εἰς τὸ
παντελὲς (αἰώνιον τιμὴν) (son of) 'Waballathus, son of Nasōros, for
himself, and his sons and grandsons, forever,
eternal honour.

(Palmyrene)

1. (qbr' dn)h bn' 'dynt slqtyq' br ḥyrn whblt
nšwr lh wlbwnh wlb'n' bnwhy l'lm' Th[is sepulchre] has been built by 'DYNT
(Odainath), senator (SLQTYQ'), son of ḤYRN
(Ḥairan), (son of) WHBLT (Wahaballat), (son
of) NŠWR (Nasor), for himself, his sons and
the sons of his sons forever.

Unsuccessful attempt by Septimius Odainath to make a treaty with Shapur I

Petrus Patricius, Frag. 10, *FHG* IV, p. 187 (*REFPW* §4.1.3):

Ὅτι Ὀδέναθος τὸν Σαπώρην πολὺ ἐθεράπευεν
ὥς ὑπερβεβηκότα κατὰ πολὺ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους.
Βουλόμενος δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπαγαγέσθαι, πέμπει
δῶρα μεγαλοπρεπῇ καὶ ἄλλα ἀγώγιμα, ὧν ἡ
Περσίς οὐκ ἦν εὐφορος, καμήλοις ἐπιθείς. Καὶ
γράμματα πέμπει δεήσεως δύναμιν ἔχοντα,
καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν Πέρσαις ὑπεναντίον αὐτὸς
εἰργάσατο. Ὁ δὲ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑπέτασσε
δεξαμένους τὰ δῶρα ρίπτειν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν,
καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς διαρρήξας συνέτριψε, καὶ
ἐδήλωσε· 'Τίς ὦν καὶ πόθεν ἐτόλμησε πρὸς
τὸν οἰκεῖον δεσπότην γράψαι; καὶ νῦν εἰ
βούλεται ἐλαφροτέρας κολάσεως τυχεῖν,
ὀπίσω τὰς χεῖρας δήσας προσπεσέτω. Εἰ δὲ
μὴ, ἴστω ὥς καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν
πατρίδα ἀπολῶ.'

Odenathos paid [much] court to Shapur as
one who had greatly surpassed the Romans.
Wanting to lead him on, he sent magnificent
gifts and other goods which Persia was not
rich in, conveying them by camels. He also
sent letters expressing entreaty and saying
that he had done nothing against the
Persians.¹³⁰ Shapur, however, instructed the
slaves who received the gifts to throw them
into the river and tore up and crushed the
letters. 'Who is he', he declared, 'and how
has he dared to write to his master? If then he
wants to obtain a lighter punishment, let him
prostrate himself again with his hands in
chains. Otherwise, let him know that I shall
destroy him and his people and his land.'

**Dedication by Abgar b. 'Abshmeya placed in the Hoq Cave on the
Island of Socotra in the Indian Ocean (257 CE/AD)**

Tablet 'De Geest', ed. & tr. Gorea, p. 451 (On wooden tablet. Prov. Socotra. Loc. Hoq Cave):

(Palmyrene)

1. byrh tmwz In the month of Tammûz
2. ywm 25 dy šnt on the 25th day, of the year
3. 500.20+20+20+5+4 569 (Sel. = July, 258).
4. 'n' 'bgr br I, Abgar, son of 'Abe/iššmāyayyâ šmmr
5. 'bšmy' šmmr (sailor?),
6. 'tt bkr' npšy I came, in the pain of my soul,
7. ltnn ybrwk 'lh' here. Bless you the god
8. dy šrn tnn lk gbr who installed us/me here. (You) man
9. dy yqr' lwh' dnh who will read this tablet
10. wybrknn wyšbqnh you will bless me/us and he will levae
11 llwh' bdkth the tablet in its place.

¹³⁰ The safe-guarding of the trans-continental trade, so vital to the prosperity of Palmyra, might have lain at the heart of this attempt at a treaty by Odaenathus with Shapur

The Council honours Julius Aurelius Šallamalat b. Male ‘Abdai, caravan leader (257 CE)

IGLS xvii, 74, cf. *IPS* G32, *PAT* 0282, C3936 (On column, Grand Colonnade):

(Greek)

1. Ἡ βουλ[ῆ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἰ]ούλιον
2. Αὐρήλιο[ν Σαλαμάλ]λαθον
3. Μαλῆ τοῦ [Ἀβδαίου ἀ]ρχέμπορον
4. ἀνακομίσα(ντα τὴν) συνοδίαν
5. προῖκα ἐξ ιδίων τειμῆς χάριν
6. ἔτους θξϝ’

The Council and the People (honoured) Iulius Aurelius Salamallathos son of Malēs son of Abdaios, chief merchant, because he brought back the caravan freely from his own resources, for the sake of honour, in the year 569 (Sel. = 257 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. šlm’ dnh dy ywlys ’wrlys
2. šlmlt br ml’ ’bdy rb šyrt’
3. dy ’qymt lh bwl’ wdms lyqrh
4. dy ’sq šyrt’ mgn mn kysh
5. šnt 5.100+60+5+4 𐤁𐤓

This statue is of YWLYS ‘WRLYS (Julius Aurelius) ŠLMLT (Šalāmallat) son of ML’ (Malā) son of ‘BDY (‘Abday), leader of the caravan, which the Council and the People erected for him, for his honour, since he brought up a caravan, at his own expense, in the year 566 (Sel. = 257 CE/AD). {Leaf}

Statue of Septimius Odainath (junior?) erected by the guild of gold and silver workers at Palmyra (258 CE)

IGLS xvii, 56, cf. *PAT* 0291, *Inv.* iii, 17, C3945 (On foot of column. Grand Colonnade.):

(Greek)

1. Σεπ[τίμιον Ὀδαίναθον]
2. τὸν λαμ[πρότατον ὑπατικ]ὸν
3. συντεχ[νία τῶν χρυσοχ]όων
4. καὶ ἀργυ[ροκόπων τ]ὸν δεσπότην
5. τειμῆς χάριν [ἔτ]ους θξϝ’
6. 𐤁𐤓 μηνεὶ Ξανδικῶ 𐤁𐤓

The guild of the goldsmiths and silversmiths (honoured) the most illustrious consul(ar) Septimius Odainathus, their lord, for the sake of honour, in the [ye]ar 569, {flower} in the month of Xandikos (= Apri, 258 CE/AD). {flower}

(Palmyrene)

1. šlm sptmyws ’dynt
2. nhyr’ hptyq’ mrn dy
3. ’qym lh tgm’ dy qyny’
4. ’bd’ dhh’ wksp’ lyqrh
5. byrh nysn dy šnt 5.100+60+5+4

The statue of SPTMYWS (Septimius) ’DYNT (Odainath), the illustrious, the consular, our lord, which the association of smiths, workers in gold and silver, erected for him, in his honour, in the month of NYSN (Nisan) in the year 569 (= Apri, 258 CE/AD).

Dedication to Aurelius Worod, Knight and Senator of Palmyra (258/9 CE)

IGLS xvii, 63, cf. *PAT* 0283, *Inv.* 3.12, C3937 (On console, Grand Colonnade):

(Greek)

1. Αὐρήλιον Οὐορώδην
2. ἱππικὸν καὶ βουλευτὴν
3. Παλμυρηνὸν Βηλά-
4. καβος Ἀρσᾶ τὸν φί-
5. [λον τ]ειμῆς χάριν
6. ἔτους οφ'

Bēlakabos son of Arsas (honoured) his friend Aurelius Vorōdes, Equestrian and Councillor of Palmyra, for the sake of honour, in the year 570 (Sel. = 258/9 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. l'wrl̥ys [w]rwd hpq'
2. wbylw̥t' tdmry' 'bd
3. bl'qb br hrš' lyqrh
4. šnt 5.100+60+10

For 'WRLYS (Aurelius) WRWD (Worod) the equestrian and Tadmōrene Councillor, BL'QB (Bel'aqab) son of hrš' (Harsa) built (this) for his honour in the year 570 (Sel. = 258/9 CE/AD).

Sack of Nehardea by Odainath (?) (between 259 and 263 CE)

Iggereth Rav Sherira Ga jon 6 p. 82, ed. Lewin (Hebrew):

And in the year 570 (Sel. = 259 CE/AD) Papa ben Natzer (= Odainath) came and destroyed Nehardea⁹ and Rabba b. Avuha, our ancestor, went to Sechansiv and to Silhe (and) to Mahoza. And Rav Joseph b. Hama, Rava's father, was there. (And the rest of) our sages (went) to Pumbedita, which from the day of the Second Temple was the Chief Exile, as we learned from Rosh ha-Shanah, 'until he sees the Exile before him like a bonfire' (*Midrash Rosh ha-Shanah* II,4) and Abbaye said the Exile in Pumbedita. (tr. Oppenheimer, p. 290)

Hairan b. Odainath honoured by the Councillor Worod (c. 266 CE)

IGLS xvii, 60 (On console in the portico of the theatre):

(Greek)

1. [Σεπτίμιον] Αἰράνην
2. τὸν λαμπρότατον (υἱὸν)
3. Ὀδαίναθον τοῦ λαμ-
4. πρότατου ὑπατικοῦ
5. Οὐορώδη(ς βουλευ) [τής]

(The Statue) of Septimius Hairanēs, the most glorious (son of) the most glorious Consul Odainathos. 'orōdēs, a councillor (erected it).

The victories of Septimius Odaenathus over the Persians and Roman pretenders as recounted in literary sources (c. 262-66 CE)

(= REFPW 4.3.2)

Oracula Sibyllina XIII, 155-71 (ed. Geffcken, pp. 209-10):

(155) ἡνίκα δ' αὐτ' ἄρξουσιν ὑπερμενῶν Ῥω-
μαίων
ἄνδρες ἀρηίθοοι δυο κοίρανοι· ὃς μὲν ἐφέξει
ἐβδομήκοντ' ἀριθμόν, ὁ δὲ τριτάτου
ἀριθμοῖο·
καὶ τότε δ' ὑψαυχὴν ταῦρος σκάπτων
ὄνουχισσιν
γαῖαν καὶ κέρασιν κονίην δισσοῖσιν ἐγείρων,
(160) ἐρπυστήν κυανόχρῳον δράσει κακὰ
πολλά
ὄλκον σύροντα φολίσιν· ἐπὶ δ' αὐτὸς ὀλεῖται.
ἡυκέρως δ' ἔλαφος μετὰ τόνδ' ἥξει πάλιν

(155) At which time will reign over the mighty Romans,
two men, swift lords of war. One will have the number seventy (i.e. Valerian) and the other three (i.e. Gallienus).
And then a haughty bull, digging the earth with its hoofs and lifting the dust with its two horns,
(160) will do much harm to a dark-skinned reptile,
dragging its coil by its horny scales. But he

ἄλλος
 πεινάων κατ' ὄρη μεμαῶς ἐν γαστρὶ πάσασθαι
 ἰοβόλους θήρας· τότε' ἐλευσεται ἡλιόπεμπτος
 (165) δεινός τε φοβερός τε λέων πνείων
 φλόγα πολλήν.
 δὴ τόθ' ὃ γ' αὐτ' ὀλέσει πολλῇ καὶ ἀναιδεί
 τόλμῃ
 εὐκεράωτ' ἔλαφόν τε θοὸν καὶ θῆρα μέγιστον
 ἰοβόλον φοβερόν· συρίγματα πόλλ' ἀφιέντα
 λοξοβάτην τε τράγον, ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῷ κῦδος
 ὀπηδεῖ.
 (170) αὐτὸς δὲ ὀλόκληρος ἀλώβητος καὶ
 ἄπλητος
 ἄρξει Ῥωμαίων, Πέρσαι δ' ἔσσοντ'
 ἀλαπαδνοί.

will perish with it.
 Another well-horned stag (i.e. Macrianus?)
 will again come after him,
 hungering in the mountains, desiring in its
 belly to feed upon
 the venomous beasts. Then shall come one
 who was sent by the sun (i.e. Odaenathus)
 (165) a mighty and fearful lion, breathing
 much flame.
 Then he with much shameless daring will
 destroy
 the well horned swift moving stag (i.e.
 Quietus, son of Macrianus) and the greatest
 beast -
 venomous, fearful and emitting a great deal of
 hisses (i.e. the Persians)
 and the sideways walking goat (i.e.
 Callistus?) and fame will attend him.
 (170) He himself, entire, unhurt and great,
 will rule over the Romans, but the Persians
 will be weakened. (tr. Lieu)

Festus, *Breviarium*, 23, p. 64,13-18, ed. Eadie:
 Sub Gallieno Mesopotamia invasa etiam
 Syriam sibi Persae coeperant uindicare, nisi
 quod turpe dictu est, Odenathus, decurio
 Palmyrenus, coll-ecta Syrorum agrestium
 manu acriter restitisset: et fuis aliquoties
 Persis, non modo nostrum limitem defend-
 isset, sed etiam ad Ctesiphontem Romani ultor
 imperii, quod mirum est dictu, penetrasset.

Under Gallienus the Persians invaded Meso-
 potamia and would even have begun to lay
 claim to Syria, except that (it is shameful to
 relate) Odaenathus, the Palmyrene decurion,
 collected a band of Syrian country folk and
 put up a spirited resistance. On a number of
 occasions he routed the Persians and not only
 defended our border but even as the avenger
 of the Roman empire, marvellous to say,
 forced his way to Ctesiphon. (tr. Lieu)

Eutropius, *Breviarium* IX,10:

Sed dum haec in Gallia geruntur, in Oriente
 per Odenathum Persae victi sunt. Defensa
 Syria, recepta Mesopotamia usque ad
 Ctesiphontem Odenathus penetravit.

But while these events were taking place in
 Gaul (i.e. the usurpation of Tetricus), the
 Persians in the East were overthrown by
 Odaenathus, who, having defended Syria and
 recovered Mesopotamia, penetrated into
 (enemy) territory as far as Ctesiphon. (tr.
 Watson, p. 520, revised.)

Jerome, *Chron.*, s. a. 266, p. 221,10-12:

Odenatus decurio Palmyrenus collecta
 agrestium manu ita Persas cecideit, ut ad
 Ctesifontem castra poneret.

Odaenathus, a decurion of Palmyra, with a
 band of rustics defeated the Persians so
 heavily that he established camp at Ctesiphon.

SHA, Valer. IV,2-4, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 6-7:

Sed Valeriano apud Persas consenescente
 Odae-nathus Palmyrenus collecto exercitu
 rem Romanam prope in pristinum statum

Meanwhile, however, while Valerian was
 growing old in Persia, Odaenathus the
 Palmyrene gathered together an army and

reddidit. 3. Cepit regis thesauros, cepit etiam, quas the-sauris cariores habent reges Parthici, concubinas, 4. quare magis reformidans Romanos duces Sapor timore Ballistae atque Odaenathi in regnum suum ocius se recepit, atque hic interim finis belli fuit Persici.

restored the Roman power almost to its pristine condition. 3. He captured the king's treasures and he captured, too, what the Parthian monarchs hold dearer than treasures, namely his concubines. 4. For this reason Sapor was now in greater dread of the Roman generals, and out of fear of Ballista and Odaenathus he withdrew more speedily to his kingdom. And this, for the time being, was the end of the war with the Persians.

SHA, Gall. 1,1, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 16-17: Capto Valeriano ... nutante re publica, cum Odaenathus iam orientis cepisset imperium, Galli-enus comperta patris captivitate gauderet, vaga-bantur ubique exercitus, murmurabant omnibus in provinciis duces, erat omnium ingens maeror, quod Valerianus imperator Romanus in Perside serviliter teneretur, sed erat etiam maior omnium maestitia quod Gallienus nactus imperium ut pater fato sic ipse moribus rem publicam perdiderat.

When Valerian was captured ... when the com-monwealth was tottering, when Odaenathus had seized the rule of the East, and when Gallienus was rejoicing in the news of his father's captivity, the armies began to range about on all sides, the generals in all the provinces to murmur, and great was the grief of all men that Valerian, a Roman emperor, was held as a slave in Persia.

Ibid. 3,1-5, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 20-23: Turbata interim re publica toto penitus orbe terrarum, ubi Odaenathus comperit Macrianum cum filio interemptum, regnare Aureolum, Gallienum remissius rem gerere, festinavit ad alterum filium Macriani cum exercitu, si hoc daret fortuna, capiendum. 2. Sed ii qui erant cum filio Macriani, Quietus nomine, consentientes Odaenatho auctore praefecto Macriani Ballista iuvenem occiderunt missoque per murum corpore Odaenatho se omnes affatim dederunt, 3. Totius prope igitur orientis factus est Odaenathus imper-ator, cum Illyricum teneret Aureolus, Romam Gallienus. 4. Idem Ballista multos Emesenos, ad quos confugerant Macriani milites, cum Quietus et thesaurorum custode interfecit, ita ut civitas paene deleteretur. 5. Odaenathus inter haec, quasi Gallieni partes ageret, cuncta eidem nuntiari ex veritate faciebat.

Meanwhile, the commonwealth had been thrown into confusion throughout the entire world, Odaenathus, learning that Macrianus and his son had been slain, that Aureolus was ruling, and that Gallienus was administering the state with still greater slackness, hastened forward to seize the other son of Macrianus, together with his army, should Fortune so permit. 2. But those who were with Macrianus' son - whose name was Quietus¹³¹ - taking sides with Odaenathus, by the instigation of Ballista, Macrianus' prefect, killed the young man,¹³² and, casting his body over the wall, they all in large numbers surrendered to Odaenathus. 3. And so Odaenathus was made emperor over almost the whole East, while Aureolus held Illyricum and Gallienus Rome. 4. This same Ballista murdered, in addition to Quietus and the guardian of his treasures, many of the people of Emesa, to whom Macrianus' soldiers had fled, with the result that this city was nearly destroyed. 5. Odaenathus, meanwhile, as if taking the

¹³¹ T. Fulvius Junius Quietus (Aug. 260-261) was the younger son of Macrianus and brother of T. Fulvius Iunius Macrianus. He was a tribune under Valerian.

¹³² The allegation that Ballista murdered Quietus and seized the throne for himself is not supported by other evidence.

side of Gallienus, caused all that had happened to be announced to him truthfully.

Ibid. 10,1-8, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 36-37:

Gallieno et Saturnino consulibus Odaenathus rex Palmyrenorum obtinuit totius orientis imperium, idcirco praecipue quod se fortibus factis dignum tantae maiestatis infidis declaravit, Gallieno aut nullas aut luxuriosas aut ineptas et ridiculas res agente, 2. Denique statim bellum Persis in vindictam Valeriani, quam eius filius neglegebat, indixit. 3. Nisibin et Carrhas statim occupat tradentibus sese Nisibenis atque Carrhenis et increpantibus Gallienum. 4. Nec defuit tamen reverentia Odaenathi circa Gallienum. nam captos satrapas insultandi prope gratia et ostentandi sui ad eum misit, 5. qui cum Romam deducti essent, vincente Odaenatho triumphavit Gallienus nulla mentione patris facta, quem ne inter deos quidem nisi coactus rettulit, cum mortuum audisset, sed adhuc viventem, nam de illius morte falso compererat. 6. Odaenathus autem ad Ctesiphontem Parthorum multitudinem obsedit vastatisque circum omnibus locis innumeros homines interemit. 7. Sed cum satrapae omnes ex omnibus regionibus illuc defensionis communis gratia convolassent, fuerunt longa et varia proelia, longior tamen Romana victoria, 8. et cum nihil aliud ageret nisi ut Valerianum Odaenathus liberaret, instabat cottidie, at locorum difficultatibus in alieno solo imperator optimus laborabat.

In the consulship of Gallienus and Saturninus, Odaenathus, king of the Palmyrenes, held the rule over the entire East -chiefly for the reason that by his brave deeds he had shown himself worthy of the insignia of such great majesty, whereas Gallienus was doing nothing at all or else only what was extravagant, or foolish and deserving of ridicule. 2. Now at once he proclaimed a war on the Persians to exact for Valerian the vengeance neglected by Valerian's son. 3. He immediately occupied Nisibis and Carrhae, the people of which surrendered, reviling Gallienus. 4. Nevertheless, Odaenathus showed no lack of respect toward Gallienus, for he sent him the satraps he captured - though, as it seemed, merely for the purpose of insulting him and displaying his own prowess. 5. After these had been brought to Rome, Gallienus held a triumph because of Odaenathus' victory; but he still made no mention of his father and did not even place him among the gods, when he heard he was dead, until compelled to do so - although in fact Valerian was still alive, for the news of his death was untrue. 6. Odaenathus, besides, besieged an army of Parthians at Ctesiphon and devastated all the country round about, killing men without number. 7. But when all the satraps from all the outlying regions flocked together to Ctesiphon for the purpose of common defence, there were long-lasting battles with varying results, but more long-lasting still was the success of the Romans. 8. Moreover, since Odaenathus' sole purpose was to set Valerian free, he daily pressed onward, but this best of commanders, now on foreign soil, suffered greatly because of the difficult ground.

Ibid. 12.1, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 40-41:

Laudatur sane eius optimum factum, nam consulatu Valeriani fratris sui et Lucilli propinqui, ubi comperit ab Odaenatho Persas vastatos, redactam Nisibin et Carrhas in potestatem Romanam, omnem Mesopotamiam nostram, denique Ctesiphontem esse perventum, fugisse regem, captos satra-

One excellent deed of his, to be sure, is mentioned with praise. For in the consulship of his brother Valerian and his kinsman Lucillus, when he (Gallienus) learned that Odaenathus had ravaged the Persians, brought Nisibis and Carrhae under the sway of Rome, made all of Meso-potamia ours, and finally

pas, plurimos Persarum occisos, Odaenathum participato imperio Augustum vocavit eiusque monetam, qua Persas captos traheret, cudi iussit, quod et senatus et urbs et omnis aetas gratanter accepit.

arrived at Ctesiphon, put the king to flight, captured the satraps and killed large numbers of Persians, he gave him a share in the imperial power, conferred on him the name Augustus, and ordered coins to be struck in his honour, which showed him hauling the Persians into captivity. This measure the senate, the city, and men of every age received with approval.

SHA, Trig. Tyr. 15,1-5, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 104-105:

Nisi Odaenathus, princeps Palmyrenorum, capto Valeriano, fessis Romanae rei publicae viribus, sumpsisset imperium, in oriente perditae res essent. 2. Quare adsumpto nomine primum regali cum uxore Zenobia et filio maiore, cui erat nomen Herodes, minoribus Herenniano et Timolao collecto exercitu contra Persas profectus est. 3. Nisibin primum et orientis pleraque cum omni Mesopotamia in potestatem recepit, deinde ipsum regem victum fugere coegit. 4. Postremo Ctesiphonta usque Saporem et eius liberos persecutus captis concubinis, capta etiam magna praeda ad orientem vertit, sperans quod Macrianum, qui imperare contra Gallienum coeperat, posset opprimere, sed illo iam profecto contra Aureolum et contra Gallienum. 5. Eo interempto filium eius Quietum interfecit, Ballista, ut plerique adserunt, regnum usurpante, ne et ipse posset occidi, ...

Had not Odaenathus, prince of the Palmyrenes, seized the imperial power after the capture of Valerian, when the strength of the Roman state was exhausted, all would have been lost in the East. 2. He assumed, therefore, as the first of his line, the title of King, and after gathering together an army he set out against the Persians, having with him his wife Zenobia, his elder son, whose name was Herodes, and his younger sons, Herennianus and Timolaus. 3. First of all, he brought under his power Nisibis and most of the East together with the whole of Mesopotamia, next, he defeated the king himself and compelled him to flee. 4. Finally, he pursued Sapor and his child-ten even as far as Ctesiphon, and captured his concubines and also a great amount of booty; then he turned to the oriental provinces, hoping to be able to crush Macrianus, who had begun to rule in opposition to Gallienus, but he had already set out against Aureolus and Gallienus. After Macrianus was slain, Odaenathus killed his son Quietus also, while Ballista, many assert, usurped the imperial power in order that he, too, might not be slain, ...

Ibid. 18,1-3, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 108-11:

De hoc, utrum imperaverit, scriptores inter se ambigunt. multi enim dicunt Quietum per Odaenathum occiso Ballistae veniam datam et tamen eum imperasse, quod nec Gallieno nec Aureolo nec Odaenatho se crederet, 2. alii adserunt privatum eum in agro suo, quem apud Daphnidem sibi compararat, interemptum. 3. Multi et sumpsisse illum purpuram, ut more Romano imperaret, et exercitum duxisse et de se plura promississe dixerunt, occisum autem per eos quos Aureolus miserat ad comprehendendum Quietum, Macriani filium, quem praedam suam esse dicebat.

As to whether this man (i.e. Ballista) held the imperial power or not, historians do not agree. For many assert that when Quietus was killed by Odaenathus, Ballista was pardoned, but nevertheless took the imperial power, putting no trust in either Gallienus or Aureolus or Odaenathus. 2. Others, again, declare that while still a commoner he was killed on the lands which he had bought for himself near Daphne. 3. Many, indeed, have said that he assumed the purple in order to rule in the Roman fashion, and that he took command of the army and made many promises on his own account, but was killed by

those despatched by Aureolus for the purpose of seizing Quietus, Macrianus' son, who, Aureolus averred, was his own due prey.

Orosius, *Adversus Paganos* VII,22,12:

At uero in oriente per Odenatum quendam collecta agresti manu uicti repulsique Persae, defensa Syria, recepta Mesopotamia est, et usque ad Ctesiphontem rustici Syriae cum Odenato suo uincendo uenerunt

But in the East, Odaenathus gathered a band of peasants and overcame and repulsed the Persians, defended Syria, recovered Mesopotamia, and the Syrian peasants with their leader, Odaenathus, went as far as Ctesiphon. (tr. Deferrari, p. 318.)

Zosimus, *Hist. Nova* I,39,1-2:

Τῶν δὲ Σκυθῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα κάκιστα διαθέντων καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας αὐτὰς ἐκπολιορκησάντων, Γαλληνὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺτους μετῆι μάχην ἤδη τὴν Θράκην καταλαμβάνοντας, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς οὖσιν ἐν ἀπογνώσει βοηθεῖν Ὀδαίναθον ἔταξεν, ἄνδρα Παλμυρινὸν καὶ ἐκ προγόνων τῆς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἀξιωθέντα τιμῆς· ὁ δὲ τοῖς αὐτόθι λελειμμένοις στρατοπέδοις δύναμιν ἀναμίξας ὅτι πλείστην οἰκείαν ἐπέζηει τῷ Σαπῶρι κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν, καὶ τὰς τε πόλεις ἀνεκτάτο τὰς ἤδη παρὰ Περσῶν ἐχομένας, καὶ Νίσιβιν εἰλημμένην μὲν ὑπὸ Σαπῶρου τὰ Περσῶν δὲ φρονοῦσαν ἐλὼν ἐξ ἐφόδου κατέσκαψεν. 2. Ἐπεξεληθὼν δὲ μέχρι Κτησιφώντος αὐτοῖς οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ καὶ δεύτερον, Πέρσας μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐναπέκλεισεν, ἀγαπῶντας εἰ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἑαυτοὺς περι-σώσαιεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἤδη πεπορ-θημένην χώραν, ὡς οἷός τε ἦν, εὖ διετίθει: ...

The Scythians had brought worst misfortune over Greece and even captured Athens. Gallienus, who had already occupied Thrace, now tried to measure himself against them; to remedy the desperate situation in the Orient, the emperor appointed Odaenathus, a man from Palmyra, whom the rulers had considered particularly worthy of honour on account of his ancestors. He formed as strong a force as possible from among the legions remaining in the country and resolutely marched with it against Shapur, recaptured the cities already occupied by the Persians and destroyed Nisibis, which he had taken in the first onslaught, right down to the foundation walls; it had fallen into Shapur's hands and favoured the Persian cause. 2. Odaenathus pursued the enemy as far as Ctesiphon, not once but twice, and locked the Persians in their own fortresses, so that they must have been happy to save their children and women and themselves. In the area already plundered, he established order as well as possible.

Jordanes, *Historia Romana* 290, p. 37,29-30:

Odaenathus Palmyrenus ante ipsum, collecta rusticorum manu, Persas de Mesopotamia expellens, ipse ea loca invaserat.

Before him (i.e. Aurelian), Odaenathus the Palmyrene, with a band of rustics had expelled the Persians from Mesopotamia and had occupied it.

Agathias, *Hist.* IV,24,4 (ed. Keydell, pp. 153.29-154.5):

Τοῦτον μὲν οὖν οἰκαδε αὐθις ἀφικόμενον καὶ οὐ μετρίως χρησάμενον οἷς ἀσεβήσας ἐτυγχανεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀλαονείαν ἀρθέντα πολλήν, ἀπέπαυσεν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν τοῦ φρυάγματος Ὀδέναθος ὁ Παλμυρινός, ἀνὴρ ἀφανὴς μὲν τὰ πρῶτα καὶ ἄγνωστος, ταῖς δὲ Σαπῶρου ξυμφοραῖς καὶ οἷς ἔδρασεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, μεγίστην ἀράμενος δόξαν καὶ πολλοῖς

When he came home again, far from showing restraint in his use of his ill-won gains, he was puffed up with pride. But it was not long before Odenathus of Palmyra put a stop to his arrogance. Odenathus was at first unknown and obscure, but won great fame as a result of the disasters he inflicted on Shapur, and many earlier historians wrote about him. (tr.

τῶν πάλοι ξυγγραφῶν ἀξιαφύγητος γεγενη- Cameron, p. 121.)
μένος.

Anonymous Continuator of Dio Cassius 8,1, ed. Boissevain, iii, p. 744 (= *FHG* IV, p. 195):
Ὅτι Κυντος ὁ Μακριανοῦ υἱὸς τὸ βασίλειον
καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐν Ἐμίση ἐκάθητο· καὶ
παραγίνεται Ὀδέναθος μετὰ πλήθους βαρ-
βάρων καὶ δηλοῖ αὐτοῖς ὅτι ‘παράδοτε
ἑαυτοὺς πολεμήσατε.’ Οἱ δὲ εἶπον ὅτι οὖν
ἡνείχοντο ὑπομένειν ἢ βαρβάρῳ ἑαυτοὺς
παραδοῦναι.
As soon as Quietus, the son of Macrinus, had
established imperial rule at Emesa, Odae-
nathus came upon him with a barbarian horde
and made clear to them that they should either
surrender themselves or prepare for battle.
However, they replied that they were
prepared to endure any-thing than to hand
themselves over.

Ibid. 8,2 (= *FHG* IV, p. 195):

Ὅτι Κυρῖνος ἐδυσχέρανεν ὥσῳτι τῶν
Ῥωμαίων τὸν πόλεμον οἰκειώσατο Ὀδέναθος.
Ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μαθὼν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν
ἀναιρεθῆναι· καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων πολλὰ
ἐφιλοτιμήσατο εἰς ταφὴν αὐτοῦ, ἅτινα καὶ
ζῶντι αὐτῷ ἐπέδειξεν. Ὁ δὲ γελάσας ἔφη
πολλῆς ἀμαθίας καὶ εὐηθείας πεπληρῶσθαι
τὸν ἄνδρα· ἀμαθίας μὲν, ὅτι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς
ἀναιροῦμεν, τοῖς δὲ φίλοις χαρίζομεθα,
ἀγνοεῖν δὲ αὐτὸς πότερον εἰς φίλους ἢ εἰς
ἐχθροὺς τάξει αὐτόν· εὐηθείας δέ, ὅτι
βουλεται περιόντα αὐτὸν καὶ αἰσθανόμενον
λυπῆσαι καὶ φονεῦσαι, τελευτῶντα δὲ καὶ
ἀναισθητοῦντα δωρεαῖς τιμᾶν. – Καὶ ἡ
τοσαυτὴ εὐτυχία ταχεῖαν ἔσχε μετ-ἀπτωσιν.
Kyrinus (Quirinus?)¹³³ was greatly displeased
when Odaenathus took over the war of the
Romans (against the Persians). When Odae-
nathus got wind of this, he ordered him to be
executed but he lavished upon him many gifts
from his own belongings for his funeral and
showed them to him while he was still alive.
Kyrinus laughed and said that the man was
suffused with ignorance and silliness -
ignorance, because we normally destroy our
enemies and benefit our friends, but he did
not know whether to class him as friend or
foe; silliness because he wished to afflict and
kill him while he was alive and feeling, but to
honour him with gifts once he was dead and
unfeeling. Such good fortune (as had befallen
him) underwent a rapid change.

Syncellus, pp. 466,23-467,7 (p. 716,12-22 CSHB):

Ὁδέναθος δὴ Παλμυρηνὸς ἀνὴρ στρατηγικὸς
συμμαχῶν Ῥωμαίοις πολλοὺς διέφθειρε
Περσῶν ἀναστρέφοντας κατὰ τὴν Εὐφρα-
τησίαν ἐπιθέ-μενος χώραν· ὃς καὶ στρατηγὸς
τῆς ἐφ᾽ ὑπὸ Γαλιηνοῦ διὰ τοῦτο τετίμηται,
διαφθείρας καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἐπαναστάντων αὐτῷ
Ῥωμαίων κατὰ Φοινίκην. τότε πάλιν οἱ
Σκύθαι καὶ Γότθοι λεγόμενοι ἐπιχωρίως διὰ
τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάσσης ἐλθόντες εἰς Βιθυνίαν
καὶ πᾶσαν Ἀσίαν καὶ Λυδίαν χωρησαντες τὴν
τε Νικομηδεῖαν Βιθυνίας πόλιν μεγάλην
ἔλαβον καὶ τὰς Ἰωνίδας πόλεις διέφθειραν,
τὰς μὴν ἀτειχίστους, τὰς δὲ μερικῶς
ὀχυρωθείσας καταλαβόντες· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ
Φρυγίας ἦσαντο, Τροίαν πορθησαντες,
Καππα-δοκίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν.
But Odaenathus the Palmyrene who was a
fine general allied with the Romans, and he
destroyed many of the Persians when he
attacked them on their retreat across the land
of the Euphrates. For this service he was hon-
oured with the title of commander-in-chief
(strategos) of the East by Gallienus, and also
he destroyed some of the Romans who rose in
insurrection against him in Phoenicia. Then
again the Scyths, also called the Goths in their
own language, came through the Black Sea to
Bithynia and overran all Asia and Syria.
They captured Nicomedia, a great city of
Bithynia, and they destroyed the Ionian cities.
Some of the cities they captured were
unfortified, others were fortified in part. In
addition they also set upon Phrygia and laid

¹³³ The person is otherwise unknown, the reading of Quintus (= Quietus) by Müller and the suggestion of Mai for Carinus (= Macrianus) are both rejected by Boissevain.

waste Troy, Cappadocia and Galatia.

Zonaras, XII,24, pp. 598,19-600,9 (iii, pp. 144,32-145,9 and 146,4-15):

Καὶ ἄλλος δὲ τῷ Γαλιήνῳ κεκίνητο πόλεμος παρὰ Μακρίνου, ὃς δύο ἔχων θίους Μακριανὸν καὶ τυραννίδι ἐπικεχείρηκε. Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν, ὅτι θάτερον πεπήρωτο τῶν σκελῶν, οὐκ ἐνέδυν τὴν στολὴν τὴν βασιλείον, τοῖς δ' υἱοῖς αὐτὴν περιέβαλε. Καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἀσμένως αὐτὸν προσεδέξαντο· ὁ δὲ ὀλίγα πρὸς Πέρσας ἐνδιατρίψας ἐπὶ Γαλιήνον παρεσκευάζετο, καὶ τοῖς Πέρσαις Βαλλίσταν ἀντικατέστησεν, ὃν αὐτὸς προεχειρίσατο ἵππαρχον, καὶ σὺν τούτῳ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καταλέλοιπε Κύντον. ... (p. 599,23) Κύντος γε μὴν ὁ νεώτερος τοῦ Μακρίνου υἱὸς ἐν τῇ ἐφ' ἣν σὺν Βαλλίστᾳ, πᾶσαν αὐτὴν σχεδὸν πεποιημένος ὑφ' οὗς ὁ Γαλιήνος Ὡδένανθον ἔπεμψεν, ἡγεμονεύοντα τῶν Παλμυρηνῶν. Τῆς ἡττῆς δὲ τῶν Μακρίνων τῆς κατὰ Παιονίαν συμβάσης ἀγγελθείσης τῷ Κυντῷ καὶ τῷ Βαλλίστᾳ, πολλαὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοὺς ἀπέστησαν πόλεων. οἱ δ' ἐν Ἐμέσῃ διῆγον. Ἐνθα γενόμενος ὁ Ὡδένανθος καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς νικᾷ, καὶ τὸν μὲν Βαλλίσταν αὐτὸς ἀναιρεῖ, τὸν δὲ Κύντον οἱ τῆς πόλεως. Ὡδένανθον δὲ τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀμειβόμενος πάσης ἀνατολῆς αὐτὸν προεχειρίσατο στρατηγόν.

Another war was undertaken by Gallienus against Macrinus who had two sons, Macrianus and Quintus, and made an attempt for the emperorship. Because he himself was disabled in one leg, he did not assume the purple but endowed it upon his sons. They happily welcomed him in Asia. After spending some time facing the Persians, he began preparations against Gallienus. He appointed Ballista in his place against the Persians, and he himself selected him as his Master of Cavalry. With him he left his son Quintus... (p. 599,23) Quintus, indeed, the younger son of Macrinus, was in the Orient with Ballista, having made practically all of it subject to his authority. Gallienus sent Odaenathus, commander of the Palmyrenes, against them. When the news was announced to Quintus and Ballista of the defeat that had occurred to the Macrini in Pannonia, many of the cities subject to them defected. But they delayed in Emesa. Odaenathus came there and joined battle and defeated them. He himself killed Ballista, while Quintus was slain by the people of the city. The emperor rewarded Odaenathus for his courage and appointed him as Commander-in-Chief (*strategos*) of the entire East.

Dedication to Septimius Odaenathus from the Tyrians (date unknown).

Chéhab 1962: 19-20 (Prov. Tyre):

(Greek)

1. Σεπτίμ(ιον)
2. Ὀδαίναθον
3. τὸν λαμπρότατ(ον)
4. Σεπτιμία
5. Κολ(ωνία) Τύρος
6. ἡ μητρόπολις.

To Septimius Odaenathus, the most illustrious (Councillor?). The Septimian colony of Tyre the metropolis.

Dedication to Septimius Herodianus for victory over the Persians in Syria (c. 264 CE)

IGLS xvii, 61, IGRR III, 1032 (found on a block, once the base of a statue which stood on top of the easternmost of the two lateral arches north of the Grand Colonnade):

(Greek)

1. [Β]ασιλεῖ βασιλέων (π)ρὸς [Ὀρ]όν(τ)η [... βα]σιλείας τὴν κατὰ (This statue is dedicated) to the King of Kings, [having received?] the royalty near the
2. [Π]ε[ρ]σῶν νείκην ἀναδησαμένῳ Σεπ[τιμ]ίῳ Ἡρωδιανῷ, Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος Orontes, crowned for victory over the Persians, Septimius Herodianus, by Julius Aurelius Septimius Vorōdēs and [Julius

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>3. [Σεπτί]μς (Ο)[ύ](ο)[ρ]ώ(δης) [καὶ Ἰούλιος
Αὐρήλιος ... ἐπίτροπος τῆς]</p> <p>4. Ἐ[ρ]μῆς κεντηνάριος (ἀμ)φότεροι
στρα[τηγοὶ τῆς λαμ]προτάτης
[κ]ολω[ν]εῖ[ας τοῦ . οφ' ἔτους]</p> | <p>Aurelius Hermes <i>centenarius</i>, both strategoi of the illustrious colony. [The year ?57]¹³⁴</p> |
|---|---|

Peace between Odaenathus and Gallienus (c. 264 CE)

SHA, Trig. Tyr. 21,5 (ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 62-63), *REFPW* §4.3.5:

<p>... cum constet et decennalia Romae ab eodem celebrata et post decennalia Gothos ab eo victos, cum Odaenatho pacem factam, cum Aureolo initam esse concordiam, pugnatum contra Postumum, contra Lollianum, multa etiam ab eo gesta, quae ad virtutem, plura tamen quae ad dedecus pertinebant.</p>	<p>... on the other hand, it is generally known that he (i.e. Gallienus) celebrated a decennial festival at Rome, and that after this festival he defeated the Goths, made peace with Odaenathus, entered into friendly relations with Aureolus, warred against Postumus and against Lollian, and did many things that make a virtuous life, but more that tend to dishonour.</p>
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Statues of Septimius Worod, Procurator Augusti Ducenarius, erected 262-67 CE

IGLS xvii, 64, cf. *PAT* 0284, *Inv.* iii, 11, C3938 (Grand Colonnade):

(Greek)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Σεπτίμιον
2. Οὐορώδην τὸν κράτιστον ἐπί-
3. τροπον [Σεβ]αστο[ῦ ...]¹³⁵
4. δου[κηνάριον - - - τειμῆς]
5. χάριν [ἔτους γοφ' μηνεῖ]
6. [Ξ]αν[δικῶ]</p> | <p>The Council and the People (honoured) Septimius Vorōdēs, the excellent procurator of the Lord Augustus, for the sake of honour, in the year 573, in the month of Xandikos (Sel. = April, 262 CE/AD).</p> |
|--|---|

(Palmyrene)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. šlm' dnh dy sptm[y]ws
2. wrwd 'pṭrp' dwqnr' dy
3. qsr mrn dy 'qym lh
4. bwl' wdmws lyqrh
5. byrh nysn dy šnt 5.100 +60+10+3</p> | <p>This is the statue of SPTMYWS (Septimius) WRWD (Worod), procurator ducenarius ('PṬRP' DWQNR') of our Lord Caesar (QSR), which the Council and the People erected for him, in his honour, in the month of NYSN (Nisan) in the year 573 (Sel. = April, 262 CE/AD).</p> |
|---|---|

IGLS xvii, 65, cf. *PAT* 0285, *Inv.* iii, 10, C3939 (Grand Colonnade):

(Greek)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. Σεπτί[μιον Οὐορώδην τὸν κράτιστ]ον
2. ἐπίτρο[πον Σεβαστοῦ δ]ουκηνάριον
3. Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλ[ιος Νεβουζ]αβά[δ]ος Σοά-
4. δου τοῦ Αἰρᾶ¹³⁶ [στρατ]ηγὸς [τῆς]
λαμπρότα-</p> | <p>Iulius Aurelius Nebouzabados son of Soados son of Haira(s), general of the most illustrious colony (honoured) his own friend Septimius 'orōdēs, the excellent procurator ducenarius of Augustus, on account of honour, in the</p> |
|--|--|

¹³⁴ Between October 259 CE and September 260 CE has been suggested by *IGLS*, xvii, p. 74.

¹³⁵ *IGRR* iii, 104 restores [τοῦ κυρίου] but there is not enough space to accommodate such a restoration.

¹³⁶ Αἰρᾶ: Αἰρῆ in earlier editions.

5. της κολωνείας [τ]ὸν (ἐαυτ)οῦ φίλον

6. τειμῆς ἔνεκεν ἔτους δοφ' μηνεῖ

7. Ἀπελλαίῳ

(Palmyrene)

1. sptmys wrwd qr[tst]s 'ptrp'

2. dwqnr' dy 'qym lyqrh

3. ywlys 'w(r)lys nb[w]zbd br š'dw hyr'

4. 'str<ṭ>g' dy qlny' rḥmh

5. šnt 5.100+60+10+4 byrh kslwl

year 574, in the month Apellaos (Sel. = Dec., 262 CE/AD).

(Statue of) SPTMYS (Septimius) WRWD (Worod), most powerful procurator ducenarius ('PTRP' DWQNR'), which YWLYS 'W(R)LYS (Julius Aurelius) NB[W]ZBD (Nebuzabad) son of Š'DW (Šo'adu) (son of) HYR' (Haira), general ('STRṬG') of the colony (QLNY'), his friend, erected in his honour, in the year 574, in the month KSLWL (Kislev) (Sel. = Dec., 262 CE/AD).

IGLS xvii, 68, cf. PAT 0286, Inv. iii, 9, C3940 (On console, Grand Colonnade) (267 CE):

(Greek)

1. Σεπτίμιο[v] Οὐορόδην

2. τὸν κράτιστον ἐπίτρο-

3. πον Σεβαστοῦ δουκε-

4. νάριον καὶ ἀργαπέτην

5. Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος

6. Σεπτίμιος Ἰαδῆς ἱπ-

7. πικὸς Σεπτιμίου Ἀλε-

8. [ξά]νδρου τοῦ Ἡρώδου

9. ἀπὸ στρατιῶν τὸν φί-

10. λον καὶ προστάτην

11. τειμῆς ἔνεκεν ἔτους

12. ἡοφ' μηνεῖ Ξανδικῶ

Septimius Vorōdēs, most excellent procurator of the Emperor ducenarius and *argapet*. (This statue) has been set up by Julius Aurelius Septimius Iadēs, knight of the military, son of Septimius Ale[xa]nder son of Herōdēs, in honour of his friend and patron, in the year 578, in the month of Xandikos (Sel. = April, 267 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. sptmyws wrwd qrtstws¹³⁷ 'ptrp'

2. dqnr' w'rgbt' 'qym ywlys

3. 'wrls s[p]tmyws yd' hpqws

4. br 'lks[nd]rws hyrn srykw lyqr

5. rḥmh wqywmh byrh sywn dy

6. šnt 5.100+60+10+5

SPTMYWS (Septimius) WRWD (Worod), most powerful procurator ducenarius and commandant ('RGBT'),¹³⁸ (this statue) has been set up to him by YWLYS 'WRLYS S[P]TMYWS (Julius Aurelius Septimius) YD' (Yade), knight, son of 'LKS[ND]RWS (Alexander) HYRN (Hairan), son of SRYKW (Soraiku) to the honour of his friend and patron. In the month of SYWN (Siwan), of the year 575, (Sel. = June, 264 CE/AD).

IGLS xvii, 66, cf. PAT 0287, Inv. iii, 8, C3941 (On console, Grand Colonnade):

(Greek)

1. Σεπτίμ[ιον] Οὐρόδην

2. τὸν καράτ[ιστον] ἐπίτρο]-

3. πον Σεβα[στοῦ] δουκ]η-

The eminent Julius Aurelius Septimius Malchos, son of Malōcha(s) Nassoumos (has dedicated this) to Septimius Vorōdēs,¹³⁹ the eminent imperial procurator ducenarius and

¹³⁷ *qrtstws* (PAT 0286:1). The reading *qrtsts* given in IGLS 68:1 does not appear to be supported by the photograph or the facsimile of the Palmyrene text given in CIS II, p. 110.

¹³⁸ 'rgbt' / ἀργαπέτης: Persian word meaning 'commander of a fortress' – the highest military rank in Palmyra.

¹³⁹ The name Worod (WRWD) is Iranian which is entirely explicable given the importance of commerce to his family. Cf. IP, p. 65.

4. νάριον καὶ ἀ[ργαπ]έτην,
5. Ἰούλιος Αὐρή[λ]ος Σε-
6. πτίμιος Μάλχος Μαλω-
7. χᾶ Νασσούμου ὁ κράτι-
8. στος τὸν φίλον καὶ προ-
9. στάτην τειμῆς ἔνεκεν,
10. ἔτους ζοφ' μηνὶ Ξανδικῷ

(Palmyrene)

1. sp̄t[myws wrw]d qr[tst]ws
2. '[p]t[rp' dqn̄r' w'rg]b̄t'
3. ['qym ywlys 'wrl̄ys sp̄tmy]ws
4. mlk[w br mlwk' n̄šwm qrt̄sts lyqr]
5. r̄hm[h wqyw̄mh, byrh ny]sn
6. [šnt 5.100+60+10+5+1]

argapete, his friend and patron, for the sake of honour in the year 576 in the month of Xandikos (Sel. = April, 265 CE/AD).

SPT[MYWS (Septimius) WRW]D (Worod) the eminent (QR[TST]WS) procurator ducenarius ('[P]T[RP' DQNR') and *argapete* ('rgbt') - the eminent (QRTSTS) [YWL̄YS 'WRL̄YS SPTMY]WS (Julius Aurelius Septimius MLK[W son of MLWK' N̄šWM (Maloka Nassum) (has dedicated this) in honour of his friend and patron in the month NYSN (Nisan), the year 576 (Sel. = April, 265 CE/AD).

IGLS xvii, 67, cf. PAT 0288, Inv. iii, 7, C3942 (On console, Grand Colonnade):

(Greek)

1. Ἡ βου[λῆ καὶ ὁ δῆ]μος
2. Σεπτίμ[ιον Οὐρώδην] τὸν κρά-
3. τιστον ἐ[πίτροπον] Σεβαστοῦ
4. δουκηνά[ριον, δι]κεοδότην
5. τῆς μητρ[οκολω]νείας, καὶ ἁ-
6. νακομίσαν[τα τ]ὰς συνοδίας
7. ἐξ ιδίων, καὶ μαρτυρηθέντα
8. ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχεμπόρων καὶ
9. λαμπρῶς στρατηγήσαντα
10. καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντα τῆς αὐτῆς
11. μητροκολωνείας, καὶ πλεῖστα
12. οἰκοθεν ἀναλώσαντα, καὶ ἀρέσαν-
13. τα τῇ τε αὐτῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
14. καὶ νυνεὶ λαμπρῶς συμποσίαρ-
15. χον τῶν το[ῦ θεοῦ] Διὸς Βήλου ἱε-
16. ρέων, ἀ[γνείας καὶ] τειμῆς ἔνε-
17. κεν, ἔτ[ους ζοφ' μην]ὶ Ξανδικῷ

The Council and the People have erected this statue to Septimius Vorōdēs, the eminent imperial procurator ducenarius, administrator of justice of the metro-colonia (i.e. Palmyra), who has brought up the caravans at his own expense, and has (worthy) testimony borne to him by the chiefs of the merchants, who has exercised brilliantly his function as strategos, who has been clerk of the market of the metro-colonia; who has spent large sums from his own coffers, who has been pleasing to the Council and the People and who is now the symposiarch, with brilliance, of the priests of the god Zeus-Bel; on account of his integrity and his honour, in the year [577], in the month of Xandikos (Sel. = April, 266 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. [...] qrt̄sts
2. [...]q. '[...]
3. [...]s[...]
4. [...]w[.]wdy[...]

[SPTMYWS (Septimius) WRWD (Worod)] most excellent [procurator du]cena[r̄ius] ...

IGLS xvii, 69, cf. PAT 0289, Inv. iii, 6, C3943 (On console, Grand Colonnade):

(Greek)

1. Σεπτίμιον Οὐρώδην
2. τὸν καράτιστον ἐπίτρο-
3. πον Σεβαστοῦ δουκην-
4. νάριον καὶ ἀργαπέτην
5. Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος Σάλμης

Julius Aurelius Salmē(s) son of Cassianus son of Maenaios (has dedicated this) to Septimius Vorōdēs, the eminent imperial procurator ducenarius and *argapete*, his friend and patron, the year 578 {flower} in the month of Xandikos (Sel. = April, 267 CE/AD).

6. Κασσιανοῦ τοῦ Μαεναίου
 7. ἱππεὺς Ῥωμαίων τὸν φίλον
 8. καὶ προστάτην, ἔτους ἡοφ'
 9. 𐤀𐤌 𐤌𐤒𐤍𐤁𐤀 𐤆𐤁𐤏𐤊𐤍𐤕𐤔𐤏 𐤀𐤌

{flower}

(Palmyrene)

1. spṭmyws wrwd qrtṣṭws
 2. 'pṭrp' dqnr' w'rgbt'
 3. 'qym ywlys 'wrls šlm'
 4. br qsyn' br m'ny hpq'
 5. lyqr ṛhṁh wqyw[mh]
 6. byrh nysn šnt 5.100+60+10+5+3

SPTMYWS (Septimius) WRWD (Worod) the eminent (QRTSTWS) procurator ducenarius ('PTRP' DQNR') and *argapete* ('rgbt') - YWLYS 'WRLYS (Julius Aurelius) ŠLM' (Šalma) son of QSYN' (Cassianus) son of m'ny (Ma'nai) a knight (HPQ') (has dedicated this) in honour of his friend and patron in the month NYSN (Nisan), the year 578 (Sel. = April, 267 CE/ AD).

The Persian war of Gallienus and campaign against Odainath as told by Malalas

Malalas, *Chronographia* XII, p. 298,3-16 (CSHB):

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν Βαλεριανοῦ ἐβασίλευσε Γαλλιενὸς ὁ καὶ Λικινιανὸς ἔτη ιδ'. ... καὶ ἡ μόνον ἐβασίλευσεν, ἐπεστράτευσεν κατὰ Περσῶν καὶ κατῆλθεν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν Ῥωμαίων· καὶ πολλὰ παρέσχε τοῖς πραιδευθεῖσι καὶ ζήσασι, καὶ ἀνήγειρε τὰ καυθέντα καὶ ἐκουφίσε τὰς συντελείας ἐπὶ ἔτη δ'. ἔκτισε δὲ καὶ ἱερὸν ἐν Ἑμίση μέγα. καὶ συμβαλὼν πόλεμον πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ πολλῶν πεσόντων ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν, ἐποίησεν εἰρήνης πάκτα. κάκειθεν ὑποστρέψας ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν, καὶ συνέβαλε πόλεμον τῷ Ἐνάθῳ, βασιλεῖ Σαρακηνῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ ἐφόνευσεν αὐτόν, καὶ παρέλαβε τὴν Ἀραβίαν· καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, καὶ νόσῳ βληθεὶς τελευτῶν, ὧν ἐνιαυτῶν ν'.

After the reign of Valerian, Gallienus also called Licinianus ruled for fourteen years. ...He had only just become emperor, when he marched against the Persians and came to avenge the Romans. He was also very generous to those who had had survived the Persian raids, and he rebuilt what had been burnt and alleviated taxation for four years and he also founded a large temple in Emesa. When he joined war against the Persians, many fell on both sides and he made a treaty of peace. And he turned back from there into Arabia and made war on Enathus (Odaenathus), King of the barbarian Saracens, and he slew him and took over Arabia. He returned to Rome and died of illness at the age of fifty.

Odainath's devotion to his son Herodes

SHA, *Trig. Tyr.* 16, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 106-09:

Non Zenobia matre sed priore uxore genitus Herodes cum patre accepit imperium, homo omnium delicatissimus et prorsus orientalis et Graecae luxuriae, cui erant sigillata tentoria et aureati papilionēs et omnia Persica. 2. Denique ingenio eius usus Odaenathus quicquid concubinarum regalium, quicquid divitiarum gemmarumque cepit, eidem tradidit paternae indulgentiae adfectione permotus. 3. Et erat circa illum Zenobia novercali animo, qua re commendabiliorem patri eum fecerat, neque

Herodes, who was the son, not of Zenobia, but of a former wife of Odaenathus, received the imperial power along with his father, though he was the most effeminate of men, wholly oriental and given over to Grecian luxury, for he had embroidered tents and pavilions made out of cloth of gold and everything in the manner of the Persians. 2. In fact Odaenathus, complying with his ways and moved by the promptings of a father's indulgence, gave him all the king's

plura sunt quae de Herode dicantur.

concu-bines and the riches and jewels that he captured. 3. Zenobia, indeed, treated him in a step-mother's way, and this made him all the more dear to his father. Nothing more remains to be said concerning Herodes.

His other two sons, Herrenianus and Timolaus

SHA, Trig. Tyr. 27, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 130-31:

Odaenathus moriens duos parvulos reliquit, Herennianum et fratrem eius Timolaum, quorum nomine Zenobia usurpato sibi imperio diutius quam feminam decuit rem publicam obtinuit, parvulos Romani imperatoris habitu praeferens purpuratos eosdemque adhibens contionibus, quas illa viriliter frequentavit, Didonem et Semiramidem et Cleopatram sui generis principem inter cetera praedicans, 2. sed de horum exitu incertum est; multi enim dicunt eos ab Aureliano interemptos, multi morte sua esse consumptos, si quidem Zenobiae posterī etiam nunc Romae inter nobiles manent.

Odaenathus, when he died, left two little sons, Herennianus and his brother Timolaus, in whose name Zenobia seized the imperial power, holding the government longer than was meet for a woman. These boys she displayed clad in the purple robe of a Roman emperor and she brought them to public gatherings which she attended in the fashion of a man, holding up, among other examples, Dido and Semiramis, and Cleopatra, the founder of her family. 2. The manner of their death, however, is uncertain; for many maintain that they were killed by Aurelian, and many that they died a natural death, since Zenobia's descendants still remain among the nobles of Rome.

SHA, Trig. Tyr. 28, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 130-33:

De hoc ea putamus digna notione quae de fratre sunt dicta, 2. unum tamen est quod eum a fratre separat, quod tanti fuit ardoris ad studia Romana ut brevi consecutus quae insinuaverat grammaticus esse dicatur, potuisse quin etiam summum Latinorum rhetorem facere.

With regard to him (i.e. Timolaus) we consider only those things to be worth knowing which have been told concerning his brother (i.e. Herrenianus). 2. One thing there is, however, which distinguishes him from his brother, that is, that such was his eagerness for Roman studies that in a short time, it is said, he made good the statement of his teacher of letters, who had said that he was in truth able to make him the greatest of Latin rhetoricians.

Statue honouring Septimius Hairan (n.d., before 266 CE)

IGLS xvii, 59 (On column console, portico of the theatre. Palmyra Museum A1247/6532):

(Greek)

1. [Σεπτίμιον] Αἰράνην
2. τὸν λαμπρότατον (υἱὸν)
3. Ὀδαίναθου τοῦ λαμ-
4. πρότατου ὑπατικοῦ
5. Οὐορώδης βουλευ[τής]

(The Statue) of Septimius Hairanēs, the most glorious (son of) the most glorious Consul Odainathus. 'orōdēs, a councillor (erected it).

Activities of the Manichaean missionary Mar Adda at Palmyra (before 266 CE)

M2 (Middle Persian), *MM* ii, 301-306 (Prov. Qočo, Central Asia):

[Hdr.] *mdyšn* 'yg | *wysp'n šhr'n ncy(h)[yd]*

[R/i] *nbyg'n 'ndwš bwyd* ° |

{h.1} *šwd hynd 'w hrwm* ° | *dyd ws hmwg*
p(ty)k'r ° | [']b'g dyn'n ° prhyd [° w]cydg'n
š nywš'g'n ° | wcyd ° ptyg yk s'r | 'nwš bwd
'b'c | 'md pyš prystg ° | ps xwd'wn ° šh dbyr
[10] 'wnglywn ° 'ny dw nbyg | 'w 'd' prystyd °
| prm'd kw 'wrwn m' | 'wr ° 'n'y 'nwš pt'y |
° <pd> nyš'n 'y w'c'rg'n [15] ky gnz hrwbyd °

{h.2} *'d' | pd 'wyn šhr'n ws | mž bwrđ ° nš'st*
| ws m'nyst'n'n ° | wcyd prhyd wcydg'n š [20]
nywš'g'n ° kyrd nbyg'n | 'wd whyy hs'xt zyn
| pdyrg qyš'n rpt | 'b'g 'wyš'n pd | hrwtys
bwxť ° [25] sr'xšynyd 'wd 'ndrxť | 'w qyš'n °
d' 'w | 'lxsyndrgyrd md ° | npš' 'w dyn wcyd
° | prhyd wdimwš'tyh [30] 'wd wrč pd 'wyn
šhr'n | qyrd ° wpr'yhyst | dyn 'y prystg pd |
hrwm ° ° |

[Hdr.] *The coming (of the Apostle) into | all*
the countries. [R/i] '... become familiar with
the writings!'

{h.1} They went to the Roman empire
and experienced many doctrinal disputes
with the religions. Many (5) elects and
hearers were chosen. Pattig was there for
one year. He returned before the apostle
(i.e. Mani). Hereafter the Lord sent three
scribes, (10) the *Gospel*, and two other
writings to Adda. He gave the order, 'Do
not take it farther, but stay there like a
merchant (15) who collects a treasure!'

{h.2} Adda laboured very hard in these
areas, founded many monasteries, chose
many elects and (20) hearers, composed
writings, and made wisdom his weapon.
He opposed the dogmas with these. In
everything he acquitted himself well. He
subdued and enchained the dogmas. He
came as far as Alexandria. He chose
Nafsha for the religion. Many wonders (30)
and miracles were performed in those
lands. The religion of the apostle was
advanced in the Roman empire.

M216c + M1750 (Parthian), *MKG* §2.5 (ll. 162-87), pp. 26-27 (Prov. Qočo, Central Asia):

[R] [... wr](d)yw(n) | [... ..](n) ° ° | [...
...](.t) | [... ..](.w)d [° [... ..](n ng)[w](š'g) |
[... ky](rb)gyft 'nd(r) | [.....]t(b)[...ws |
[...]'[... '](rd)'(w')n [š n](gw)š'g'n | [° °] ° °
'wd kd fryštg [10] [nd](r) w(hy) 'rdhšyr bwd
° 'b'w | [ptyg] (')mwcg ° 'd' 'spsg | [° wd
m](')ny dbyr ° 'w (f)rwrm | [fršwd ° '](w)d
cf'r 'bdys | [V] 'w'[... ..] | 'wwd[... ..] |
'[... ..] | '(c)[... ..] [° [m]w(rd)y(d) °
(')[.....] | ws m'n(y)[st'n] | [w]s
(x)[wd'y]n [... ..] | 'wd nb(yg')n (rw)š(n
°)[... g](ryf)[t pd] | pswx (c)y dyn'n p(d) ws
g(w)[ng zyn] [10] qyrd 'wd wyr'št pdy(c
h)[rwyn] | dyn'n ° 'wš hrwyn '(m)[wg jd(?) |
'wd šrmjd kyrd 'hyn(d °)[° cw'gwn] | qyc ky
zyn hynz'(w)[r d'ryd ..] |

[R] [...wa]gons [... | ... | ... | ...] (5) hearer
[...][right]eousness (within ?) [... ..] many
[... | ...] Righteous ones (i.e. Elect) and
Hearer(s).

And when the apostle (i.e. Mani) was (10)
in Rew-Ardasher, then he [sent Pattig] the
teacher, [and Ma]ni the scribe to Rome. And
[he gave them] four instructions [.....] [V] to
[... ..] there [... ..] from [... who] (5)
collects [a treasure. And Adda founded] many
monasteries. (*m'nyst'n*) [and he chose] many
lords. [And he composed ...] and the
scriptures of the light. [And he] seized [the
wisdom] [in] answer to the religions. In many
ways he made and (10) fashioned [it as a
weapon?] against all religions. And he [struck
down] all the teachings and made them
ashamed, like somebody who [wields] a
mighty weapon. ...

So 13941 + So 14285 (Sogdian), *MKG* §3.1 (ll. 324-58), pp. 34-36 (Prov. Qočo, Central Asia):

[R] [... ..](šy)r(t)[.....] | pw [... ..]. pry-
wyđ pr xwrtγ-yz|cykt (')[wt'kt cywy](đ)
pyđ'r p'rZY ZKn dywyđ z-yh | 'ßry-t'k

[R] [... | ...] on it in the western *regions,
because on this earth a blessed [...] is thus
prepared that this (5) goodness should be

(β)[...](k) pcp'nh w'nkwxcy 'YKZY ywn'k |⁵
 šyr'krty'kh pr mz-'yxy'kh ptc'γ-t'k wβ'y rty |
 prz-r nyx ZY ptβ'y-st'y-t 'skwδ' pry-wy-δ z-
 yrt | ZY prw'stw'xš'y-t wy'kh 'kwts'r ZY
 šwδ'skwn | rtkδ m'yδ kwnδ' c'nkwxZY-βn
 ['](p)št'tw-δ'(r'm) rty | nwkr pr 'šm'xw prβ'r
 ZKh δynh pr'y-w'yδ |¹⁰ wy'kt βrδβ'y-t-k'm
 rtβn 'rkh ZY k'(rh)[ZKh] | prtry'kh βwtk'm
 rtβn 'yw w'nkwx'pš(t)[y'm 'skwn] | 'sk'tryk
 'δcw n' pcxšδ(t') rt(p)[yšt prw] | δšt'wch
 p(rnx)wnt'ky'kh [s](kw)yδ-(k)[m 'ky]ty |
 xcy sry ZKn s'tw (prnxwnt'k)[y'](kh)
 r(ty δ)[β](t)[y](k) |¹⁵ (cnn) 'yncmy-nch
 wryy-δ wβ ZY prβ'yr 'ny-t'k | [p't](k)
 ['](skw)yδ
 'št(')yk w'nkwxZY pr 'yw 'wt'(k)[...] | [...
 .n'](p)tβ'y-nt'yδ rtpy-št [.....] | [...
 ..]δ.δ.....[.....] ... | [V] [.....] 'rt'wy'(k)[h ...] |
 p'r'ykt pr wy'k pr(')[. ...](.) |
 c'nkwx ZK βr'y-št'k ZKwh 'pš[t'w'nh
 'pš](t)'t- | δ'rt rtšn ZKwh sm'ttyx' 'M [ny](t)t
 np'ykty |⁵ nβ'nt δ'βr
 rtxw ptt'y mwz-'k' [c]nn 12-nw | 'yw 't'
 'βt'δ'n ZY m'ny m'ny-st'nδ'r'k 'M 'ny-tt |
 βr't'rt'y wyt'rt'nt Z(Y p)r(')γ-t'nt mrxw kw
 xwrtx'yz- | cy(k) '(w)t'kt rtš(n) (')krty γ-rβ
 prβ'r 'nxwnch ZY | [.....] δy-wyšn δy-n'ykty
 ZY 'M βr'wm'ykty |¹⁰ [.....](....) 'nyw rty γ-
 rβ δynδ'rt ZY γ-rβ | [ny'wš'k](t) pry-wyδ
 'wt'kt wcy-t'nt rtxw ptt'y | [mwz'k'](y)w srδ
 (Z)Kwy βr'wmy 'skw'z rtp's'r | δβ[tyk *srδ
 'x](w) '(z)[w](rs)ty ZY kw swrstn 'γ-t | ZKn
 (βr')[yš](tk) p(t)[yc](y)
 rtxw mr't' pr pwst'k |¹⁵ [k](w) βγ-w (s'r)
 ptškw't-δ(rt w'n)kw ZY pr'm'nh | [.....](ty)
 ZKn βγ-(y) ZKw pt(c)wš(.. wy)[..][..] | [.....].
 'z-γ-rt pr(m'nh)[.....]

received in greatness. And be very learned and educated in those clever and foreign-speaking places where you are going. And when you act the way I have commanded you, then the religion will be spread in these (10) districts, and your work and doings will result in (its) furtherance.

And so I command you: First. Do not accept any (more than you need), for you shall be in the bliss of poverty, which is the foremost of all bliss.

And second. He spoke (15) about mixing with women and [made] complete exposition *of it.

Third. Thus, do not prolong [your stay] in one place. Instead [... | ...] [V] righteousness (= the righteous) [...] the others on the spot [...]

When the apostle had delivered the command, then he gave them the Treasure of the living together (5) with other writings.

And Pattig the teacher, (one) of the twelve, Adda the bishop, and Mani the abbot together with other brothers left and came all the way to the western districts. And they made much doctrinal dispute with the religions and with the Roman [...] (another) [...]. (10) And many elects and many [hearer]s were chosen in those places. And Pattig [the teacher] was one year in Rome. Then in the second [year ...] he returned and came to Asuristan before the apostle.

And Mar Adda said to the lord in a letter, 'The command [...] (15) to the lord [... ...] quickly the command [...]

So 18223 + So 18222 (Sogdian): *MKG* §3.3 (ll. 441-515), pp, 41-45 ()

[I/R] [... ...](y) nβš' xwty 'kw ('yšw) | [s'r
 β](r)'y-t ZY my šyr'krt'k βγ-' | [... ...]. cy-wy-
 δ py-δ'r p'rZY pr tw' | [.....]k ZKwy
 δyn'ykty my-δ'ny rty
 |⁵ [..][...](y) βr'y-št'k 'nkm'ny 'wxšt ZKwy |
 nβš' pt'y-cy rtxw δstw cwpr w'sty rty ywnyδ |
 ZK nβš' py'mt' ZY 'krt' 'ny-t'kw 'pw | xwy-
 ch rty ZK mγ-wn mrtxm'y-t pr Rβk' wrz | krz
 wyδ'(s)nt rty γ-rβ 'δ'y-t ky ZY ptnw'kw |¹⁰
 ršty'kh pcyγ-'z-nt rtms ZKh t'δyyh xwt'ynh |
 nβš' xw'rh ZKn kysr δβ'mpnwh pr Rβk' |
 [Z](K)n mr'tt' pt'y-cy 'γ-t rtšc ZKwh |

[I/R] [... ...] Nafsha herself to Jesus, Bring [me help], and [...] me, beneficent lord! on account of this, that in your [hand is protection, even] in the middle of the religions.'

(5) And [right away] an angel descended publicly before Nafsha, and laid the hand upon her, and Nafsha was healed at once and was made complete and without pain. And all the people were astounded at the miracle. And there were many who received (10) the truth anew. And also Queen Tadhi, Nafsha's sister

[...]ršty'kh pcy-γ'z rty ZK mr'tt' | [kw ...]t s'r
xrt ° ° rty |¹⁵ [...] pr'γ-t rtxw mrtxm'y-t | [ky
*ZY *pr *δywmcy pc](kw)yr 'r'γ-ty-t
wm't'nt | [...] w'β'nt m'xw ZY t'β'k | [...
w](c')ymk'm cy-wy-δ py-δ'r | [...] βγ](y)'st'ny ky ZY šy ZKw |²⁰ [...] |

[I/V] rtenn 'xšpy' ZK wnxr ZY '[...] | c'nkW
ZY šn wγ-t'k wm't rt[y] | 'nγ-t'k 'nδ'st'k
'wšt't cy-wy-δ [...] | 'yz-tyskt'k ZKh δ'tth
pr '[... ...] |⁵ wm't w'nkW ZY sny knph cpδ'
[...] (t) rtšy | ZK δβry pr kysr t'p'k tβt'k 'skwy
rtšw pr c'β | c'β pcβ'nty 'δcw x'n'kh L'
wm't rty ywnyδ | ZK mr'tt' pr ymkw ZY
'βry-wnh 'w(š)t't rty | kw (β)r'y-št'kw s'r
pt'yškw w'nkW ZY cy-my-δ wnxrš |¹⁰ 'z'nt
βyr'n rty ywn'yδ p'γ-wyδ ZY 'γ-t ZK | βr'y-
št'k rtšy βrtpδy'kh δ'βr w'nkW 12- | pδβr'k
mrtxm'y-t 'skw'nt ky ZY 'yw 'M δ(β)[tyk L']
| 'wsxwn'y-t xnt rtšn mrt mrt cn [...] |
mwry-'y-t knt'k xcy mrxw '[kw ...] |¹⁵ kw ZY
ZK ptkr'y-t nyst'y-t [...] | xnt 12nw mrty-tt
ky Z(Y)[... ...] | xwr'nt z-tyt'kh z-yn'nt [...] |
| ZKw 'z-γ-'r δ'r'nt rtxw[...] | kysr šw' rtšy
r'z-y'(n) [...] |²⁰ 'z-(pr)[t] | [II/R] [...
...](.)[...] | (np')ys p(tkW)[n-δ](y-n'k)
kβnptz-'n'y-t p(r) p(š.y) | w'm'nt'k rty 'δ'k
ptpt'yn xwtryz-'k ZY | wtk'm'k n' 'skw't
w'nkW ZY šn ZK γ-npnh ZY |⁵ tyh pw β(y)r'k
L' β't ° ° rtšn kw 'ny'm | ZKw s't cxš'pδt
'nδ'yk ZY prxm nwmh ZY ZKwh | pδkh
'skw'mch ZY ZKw prxz-'m'nt'kw 'nw'št'kw
| ZY 'nβ'rt'kw pr s'kh δβrtw-δ'rt ° pncw
cxš'pδ | pr]δ[s](c') wkrw ° 'δry t'p'kw pr
wxwšw wkrw ° pncw |¹⁰ [*pr](10) wkrw °
wγ-r't'ky'kh ZY 'nspst'kyh | [...] 1](2)
šxrδ'ryβt pr 62 wkrw ° | [...] .kh wy-spw pr
pnc pnc | [...] .h 'yw 'yw prw 'βt' | [...] .
xwyc]k'w'k ° 'βt' p'šykh |¹⁵ [...] .kh ZY
pnc xwy-ek'w'k ° | [*yw 'yw pr 'βt'
pcxw'kh ZY | [x]w'st(w'nyβt 'yw) 'yw pr |
[II/V] [...] (.)[...] | ('skw'nt rty cy)-wy-δ
py-δ'r wrnky-[n nγ'w](š)'kt | 'z-γ-'yrt'y-t βnt
rtšn ZKwy δynyh (c)ntr pty'pw | 'sty ZY šn
ZK cxš'pδ wy-n'ncyk xcy rty nwkr |⁵ myšn ky
nγ-'wš'kt xnt ZY ZKwyh kt'yβryh | wyrδt'y-t
'skw'ntw βry-'m'k 'st'kt xnt ZY | 'xš'yβt-
xw'r'k ry-nc'kt rtšn ZK xwrt | w'xš'yk
'xš'yβty xcy myšn ZY ms ZKwy δynyh | ZK
cxš'pδ ZY ZKh prm'nh wy-n'nc(yk) [xey] |¹⁰
cy-wy-δ py-δ'r p'rZY ms xwty ZKwy
(δ)[ynyh cntr] | xnt ZY cnn 'z-w'nt'k CWRyh
[.....] | w'xš ywz-trx ky ZY ZKwyh [...] |
'spyš'nt-'skwn rtms p.[...] | xnt ZKn δy-ny-

(and) the wife of the Caesar, came before Mar Adda with great [...] and received the [...] [and] the truth from him.

And Mar Adda went to [...] And [when] he (15) came [to ...] the people were very *... [over the [...] and when they ...] they said, 'We [...] you, [and] we shall ..., because [...] whose [...] [you -ed (20) [... ...]

[I/V] And in the night the voice and [...] as had been said *by them [happened. And] he stood completely astonished, because the walls [of the] idol temple [had ..] on [...] and the [...] was [...] (5) so that [there was no?] way to go up at once. And the door with the Caesar's seal had been sealed *by him. And in it, far and wide, was not a single house. And Mar Adda immediately stopped and prayed, and he said to the angel, 'Let me have a parable (10) for this [...]' And the angel immediately revealed himself and came gave him knowledge:

'There are 12 ranks of people, who do [not] agree with one another. And each single one had dug [...] from [...] all the way to [...] where (15) the images had been seated [...] are [...] Of the 12 men, whoever [...] eat [...] make music [...] went to [...] Caesar and [...] him the secret (20) [...] [II/R] *wrote [...] those of little knowledge [...] behavior, and (if) nobody is contrary and only serves his own desire and will, thus their endeavor and (5) labour will not be without reward.'

And at the end (the angel) gave them the law of the form and manner of all the precepts and the *essence of the rules and the(ir) complete and comprehensive succession by number: five precepts by ten kinds; three seals by six kinds; five (10) [garments] by ten kinds; attentiveness and readiness [by X kinds]; 12 rulerships by 62 kinds; [...] each by five [...] each [...] each one by seven [...] ; seven hymns (15) [...] and five expositions [...] each] one by seven injunctions and [...] confessions, each one by [...] [II/V] are [...] And therefore they are called believing hearers, and they have a share in the religion, and the precept is evident to them. Now, these who are (5) hearers and are [...] in worldliness are [...] yearling kids and nursing children. And their food is spiritual milk. For these, too, the precept and the command in the religion is evident, (10) also because they are [in] the religion and [...] from the living self

prn ky ZY [... ...] |¹⁵ 'skwty rtENN βγ-'n'ykh the holy ghost, who in the [...] they worship
 [... ...] | wnty' ptšmrt'y-t xn[t] | ZY prn'nh [...] And also [...] are [...] whoever is [...] to
 'sty w'nk(w)[... ...] | ..δ[...] | the glory (*farn*) of the religion (the voδc) (15)
 and from divine [...] are thought of as(?) trees
 [...] and the command is that [... ...]

Ch/So 20216 + Ch/So 20505 + Otani 7481 + Otani 7251 (Sogdian), *MKG* §19 (ll. 2049-59), p. 123 + Yoshida, p. 81 (Prov. Qočo, Central Asia):

šyrxwz-ch my(n'ymk'm ZY ZKn ..)[...] | ... we shall be (*female*) friends.
 rtšy ZKh nβš' w'nkW w'β t'δyh x[wt'ynh Then Nafša said to her: 'O Queen T'δyh, O
 mn'] | 'xšnk' xw'ryh šw'nyk kysr ky ZY tYW my excellent sister, you will not always find
 mynw δ'r'y skwn | rty r'm'nt L' βyry-k'm your Emperor (*kysr*) whom you are holding a
 rtšy ms 'wδp'r 'δ'y kysr |⁵ L' 'z-γ'yr'nt-k'm hope. And also over there (after death?)
 p'rZ<Y> kδ' 'z-p'rt δynh L' | ptz-'n'y rty nobody will call him Emperor because if one
 wβyw tYW ZY 'z-w ZY ZK kysr ZKn xwp'xy does not |⁵ know the pure religion (= Manichaeism) in front of the Good Lord (?)
 | rtyh w'n'kw m'n'kw prw'yr'tym c'nkW ZY both you, I and I and the Emperor will just
 tr'yynpt'yδ'k | kwrth ZY pykšyt wδy s't become contemptible (?) [...] and (Buddhist)
 mγ[wn ...] | βymk'm rty pyšt 'wδp'r kysr ZY mendicants. There the whole and all [of us] |¹⁰
 ZK [...] |¹⁰ (βwtk'm ky ZY) mδ'yδ my will be [...] who [are] here in this world [...]
 'βc'npδyh (š)[...] | [...] (k)δry tγ(w) [...] ('wy) Now you [...]
 [...] |

Death of Odaenathus (c. 266/7 CE)

SHA, Gall. 13,1 (ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 42-43):

Per idem tempus Odaenathus insidiis About this same time (i.e. as the invasion of
 consobrini sui interemptus est cum filio Her- the Scythians), Odaenathus was treacherously
 ode, quem et ipsum imperatorem appellaverat. slain by his cousin, and with him his son
 Herodes, whom also he had hailed as
 emperor.

SHA, Trig. Tyr. 15,5-6, ed. Magie, iii, pp. 104-07:

... composito igitur magna ex parte orientis Then, after he had for the most part put in
 statu a consobrino suo Maeonio, qui et ipse order the affairs of the East, he was killed by
 imperium sumpserat, interemptus est cum his cousin Maeonius (who also had seized the
 filio suo Herode, qui et ipse post reditum de imperial power), together with his son Her-
 Perside cum patre imperator est appellatus, 6. odes, who, also, after returning from Persia
 iratum fuisse rei publicae deum credo, qui along with his father, had received the title of
 interfecto Valeriano noluit Odaenathum emperor. 6. Some god, I believe, was angry
 reservare. with the commonwealth, who, after Valerian's
 death, was unwilling to preserve Odaenathus
 alive.

Ibid. 17, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 108-09:

Hic consobrini Odaenathi fuit nec ulla re This man (i.e. Maeonius) the cousin of
 alia ductus nisi damnabili invidia impera- Odaenathus, murdered that excellent emperor,
 torem optimum interemit, cum ei nihil aliud being moved thereto by nothing else than
 obiceret praeter filium Herodem. 2. Dicitur contemptible envy, for he could bring no
 autem primum cum Zenobia consensisse, charge against him save that Herodes was his
 quae ferre non poterat ut privignus eius son. 2. It is said, however, that previously he
 Herodes priore loco quam filii eius, had entered into a conspiracy with Zenobia,
 Herennianus et Timolaus, principes dicer- who could not bear that her stepson Herodes
 entur, sed hic quoque spurcissimus fuit. should be called a prince in a higher rank than

3. Quare imperator appellatus per errorem brevi a militibus pro suae luxuriae meritis interemptus est.

her own two sons, Herennianus and Timolaus. 3. But Maeonius, too, was a filthy fellow, and so, after being saluted as emperor through some blunder, he was shortly thereafter killed by the soldiers, as his excesses deserved.

Zosimus, *Hist. Nova* I,39,(2):

ἐπεὶ δὲ διατρίβων κατὰ τὴν Ἑμισαν καὶ τινὰ γενέθλιον ἄγων ἐορτὴν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἀνηρέθη, τῶν ἐκεῖσε πραγμάτων ἀντιλαμβάνεται Ζηνοβία, συνοικοῦσα μὲν Ὀδαινάθῳ, φρονήματι δὲ ἀνδρείῳ χρωμένη καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐκείνῳ συνόντων τὴν ἴσῃν εἰσφέρουσα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιμέλειαν.

However, when he was in Emesa, he was the victim of an assassination at a birthday party. Zenobia, the wife of Odaenathus, took over the further management of state affairs in this country; however, she was a woman of masculine thinking, who, with the help of her husband's partisans, devoted the same care to tasks of government.

Anonymous Continuator of Dio Cassius 7, ed. Boissevain, iii, p. 744 (= FHG IV, p. 194):

Ὅτι τὸν Ὀδέναθον τὸν παλαιὸν Ρουφίνος ἀναιρεῖ ὡς νεωτέροις ἐπιχειροῦντα πράγμασιν· κατηγόρει δὲ ὁ νέος Ὀδέναθος Ρουφίνου, ὡς φονευσαντος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἠρώτησε τὸν Ρουφίνον διὰ τί ταῦτα ἐποίησεν· ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι σὺν δίκη τοῦτο ἐποίησεν· ‘καινοῖς γὰρ ἐπεχειρεῖ πράγμασιν· καὶ εἴθε ἐπέτρεπές μοι καὶ τοῦτον τὸν Ὀδέναθον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἀνελεῖν, καὶ παραχρήμα τοῦτο ἐποίουν.’ Ἦν δὲ ὁ Ρουφίνος ποδάλγος καὶ χειραλγός, παντελῶς μὴ κινηθῆναι δυνάμενος. Καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς ‘ποία δυνάμει καὶ ποίῳ σώματι θαρρῶν ταῦτα λέγεις;’ ὁ δὲ ἔλεγεν ‘Οὐδὲ εἰ ἔτυχον ὑγιῆς ὢν πλέον τῆς νεότητός μου, ἡδυνάμην διὰ τοῦ σώματός μου τί ποτε εἰς αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι· ἀλλὰ τῇ σῇ δεξιᾷ κελευσὼν καὶ διατυπῶν πάντα κατάρθουν· Καὶ σὺ γὰρ αὐτός, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὐ τῷ σώματί σου ἰσχυὼν ποιεῖς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις σου κελευσὼν.’ Καὶ ἐπῆνεσε τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ὁ Γαλιηνός.

As Rufinus had executed the elder Odaenathus for formenting revolt, the younger Odaenathus²² accused him for having murdered his father. The Emperor (sc. Gallienus) asked Rufinus why he did this. He replied that he was justified in so doing. ‘Would that you had entrusted me to kill this Odaenathus, his son, and that I did it immediately.’ Rufinus was suffering from gout in his hands and feet and was unable to move at all. The Emperor said to him, ‘By what strength and by what person do you have confidence in what you are saying?’ But he replied, ‘Not even if I was healthy, more so than in my youth, was I able to do anything against him. But by giving orders and making dispositions by your authority, I managed all the affairs well. And you, your Majesty, do not personally carry out what you undertake but give orders to your soldiers.’ Gallienus praised him for this reply.

John of Antioch, *Frag.* 152,2, *FHG* IV, p. 599 (ed. Mariev, *Frag.* 176, p. 332 CFHB):

Ὅτι Ὀδενάθος ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς Γαλλιηνοῦ ἀναιρεῖται· καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε πραγμάτων ἀντιλαμβάνεται Ζηνοβία, συνοικοῦσα μὲν Ὀδενάθῳ, φρονήματι δὲ ἀνδρείῳ χρωμένη καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐκείνῳ συνόντων τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀνδρός ἐκδικοῦσα.

Odaenathus was killed in a conspiracy of Gallienus; and Zenobia, who was his wife, took over the affairs there. She had a man's courage and avenged her husband's death with his friends.

Syncellus, p. 467,4-14 (pp. 716,22-717,8 CSHB):

Ἀλλὰ πάλιν Ὀδέναθος κατὰ Περσῶν ἀριστεύσας καὶ Κτησιφῶντα πολιορκία παραστησάμενος, ἀκούσας τὰς συμφορὰς τῆς Ἀσίας σπουδαίως ἐπὶ τὴν Ποντικὴν Ἡράκλειαν ἔρχεται διὰ Καππαδοκίας σὺν ταῖς

But once more Odaenathus, who had gained distinction over the Persians and had subdued Ctesiphon by siege, heard of the disasters of Asia and hurriedly came with his forces through Cappadocia to Heraclea in Pontus.

δυνάμεσι τοὺς Σκύθας καταληψόμενος. καὶ ὁ μὴν αὐτόθι δολοφονεῖται πρὸς τινος Ὠδενάθου τοῦνομα καὶ αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν ἐπανήλθον εἰς τὰ ἴδια διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Πόντου. καὶ διαφθεύουσιν Ὠδενάθον τὸν Ὠδενάθου φονευτὴν οἱ τοῦτου δορυφόροι, Ζηνοβία δὲ τῇ γαμετῇ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐφ᾽ αὐτῷ ἐγχειρίζουσι.

When he was about to fulfil his intention of falling upon the Goths, he was treacherously slain by an individual called Odaenathus like himself. Before his arrival, the Goths returned to their homeland through the same Pontus and the bodyguard killed Odaenathus, the murderer of (their king) Odaenathus; they entrusted the government of the Orient to his wife Zenobia.

Zonaras XII,24, p. 600,10-23 (iii, pp. 146,16-147,3, Dindorf):

Οὗτος ὁ Ὠδενάθος μέγας γενόμενος καὶ Ῥωμαίοις πιστὸς καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς πολέμοις διαφόρων ἐθνῶν καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν τῶν Περσῶν ἀριστεύσας, τελευταῖον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀδελφόπαιδος ἀνηρέθη. Ἐν γὰρ θήρᾳ τῷ θεῖῳ συνὼν ἐκεῖνος, ἐπεὶ θηρίον ἐξέθορε προεχεῖρησε καὶ τὸν θήρα βαλὼν ἀνείλεν· ὁ δὲ Ὠδενάθος ἡγανάκτησε καὶ ἠπειλῆσε τῷ ἀνεψιῷ. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπαύσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ δις καὶ τρις τοῦτο ἐποίησε. Καὶ ὀργισθεὶς ὁ Ὠδενάθος ἀφείλετο τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ· τοῦτο δὲ εἰς μεγάλην ὕβριν τοῖς βαρβάροις λογίζεται. Ἀχθόμενος τοίνυν ὁ νεανίας ἠπεῖλει τῷ θεῖῳ· ὁ δὲ διὰ τοῦτο τοῦτον ἐδέσμησεν. εἶτα ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν Ὠδενάθου υἱῶν λυθῆναι τὸν δέσμιον τὸν πατέρα ἡτήσατο· κάκεῖνος λυθεὶς συμποσιάζοντι τῷ Ὠδενάθῳ ἐπελθὼν μετὰ ξίφους κάκεῖνον ἀνείλε καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου υἱόν, δι' οὗπερ ἐλέλυτο. Ἀνηρέθη δὲ κάκεῖνος, τινῶν ἐπιθεμένων αὐτῷ.

This Odaenathus became a great man and loyal to the Romans, and was victorious in many wars against different nations and against the Persians themselves. But in the end he was killed by his own nephew. For that man joined this uncle in a hunt, and when the animal leapt out, he made the first attack and threw and killed the beast. Odaenathus was angry and threatened his relative. But the nephew did not desist, but did this two or three times. Odaenathus flew into a rage and took away his horse. This is considered a great insult among the barbarians. So the young man angrily threatened his uncle. For his reason, he put him in chains. Later the elder of Odaenathus' sons requested his father that the prisoner be freed. And when the young man was released, while Odaenathus was drinking, he came at him with a sword and killed him and his son by whom the release had been obtained. But the young man was slain when some of them attacked him.

The character and achievements of Odainath

SHA, Trig. Tyr. 15,7-8, Magie, iii, pp. 106-07:

Ille plane cum uxore Zenobia non solum orientem, quem iam in pristinum reformaverat statum, sed et omnes omnino totius orbis partes reformasset, vir acer in bellis et, quantum plerique scriptores loquuntur, venatu memorabili semper inclitus, qui a prima aetate capiendis leonibus et pardis, ursis ceterisque silvestribus animalibus sudorem officii virilis impendit quique semper in silvis ac montibus vixit, perferens calorem, pluvias et omnia mala quae in se continent venatoriae voluptates. 8. Quibus duratus solem ac pulverem in bellis Persicis tulit, non aliter etiam coniuge adsueta, quae multorum

For of a surety he, with his wife Zenobia, would have restored not only the East, which he had already brought back to its ancient condition, but also all parts of the whole world everywhere, since he was fierce in warfare and, as most writers relate, ever famous for his memorable hunts; for from his earliest years he expended his sweat, as is the duty of a man, in taking lions and panthers and bears and other beasts of the forest, and always lived in the woods and the mountains, enduring heat and rain and all other hardships which pleasures of hunting entail. 8. Hardened by these, he was able to bear the

sententia fortior marito fuisse perhibetur, mulier omnium nobilissima orientalium feminarum et, ut Cornelius Capitolinus adserit, speciosissima.

sun and the dust in the wars with the Persians; and his wife, too, was inured to hardship and in the opinion of many was held to be more brave than her husband, being, indeed, the noblest of all the women of the East, and, as Cornelius Capitolinus declares, the most beautiful.

The character and ambition of Zenobia

SHA, Trig. Tyr. 30, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 134-141:

Omnis iam consumptus est pudor, si quidem fatigata re publica eo usque perventum est ut Gallieno nequissime agente optime etiam mulieres imperarent. 2. Et quidem peregrina enim, nomine Zenobia, de qua multa iam dicta sunt, quae se de Cleopatrarum Ptolemaeorumque gente iactaret, post Odaenathum maritum imperiali sagulo perfuso per umeros, habitu Didonis ornata, diademate etiam accepto, nomine filiorum Herenniani et Timolai diutius quam femineus sexus patiebatur imperavit.

3. Si quidem Gallieno adhuc regente rem publicam regale mulier superba munus obtinuit et Claudio bellis Gothicis occupato vix denique ab Aureliano victa et triumphata concessit in iura Romana. 4. Exstat epistula Aureliani, quae captivae mulieri testimonium fert. nam cum a quibusdam reprehenderetur, quod mulierem veluti ducem aliquem vir fortissimus triumphasset, missis ad senatum populumque Romanum litteris hac se adtestatione defendit:

5. 'Audio, patres conscripti, mihi obici, quod non virile munus impleverim Zenobiam triumphando. ne illi, qui me reprehendunt, satis laudarent, si scirent quae illa sit mulier, quam prudens in consiliis, quam constans in dispositionibus, quam erga milites gravis, quam larga, cum necessitas postulet, quam tristis, cum severitas poscat. 6. Possum dicere illius esse quod Odaenathus Persas vicit ac fugato Sapore Ctesiphonta usque pervenit. 7. Possum adserere tanto apud orientales et Aegyptiorum populos timori mulierem fuisse

Now all the shame is exhausted, for in the weakened state of the commonwealth things came to such a pass that, while Gallienus conducted himself in the most evil fashion, even women ruled most excellently. 2. For, in fact, even a foreigner, Zenobia by name, about whom much has already been said, boasting herself to be of the family of the Cleopatras and the Ptolemies, proceeded upon the death of her husband Odaenathus to cast about her shoulders the imperial mantle; and arrayed in the robes of Dido and even assuming the diadem, she held the imperial power in the name of her sons Herennianus and Timolaus, ruling longer than could be endured from one of the female sex. 3. For this proud woman performed the functions of a monarch, both while Gallienus was ruling and afterwards when Claudius was busied with the war against the Goths, and in the end could scarcely be conquered by Aurelian himself, under whom she was led in triumph and submitted to the sway of Rome. 4. There is still in existence a letter of Aurelian's which bears testimony concerning this woman, then in captivity. For when some found fault with him, because he, the bravest of men, had led a woman in triumph, as though she were a general, he sent a letter to the senate and the Roman people, defending himself by the following justification: 5. 'I have heard, Conscript Fathers, that men are reproaching me for having performed an unmanly deed in leading Zenobia in triumph. But in truth those very persons who find fault with me now would accord me praise in abundance, did they but know what manner of woman she is, how wise in counsels, how steadfast in plans, how firm towards the soldiers, and how generous when necessity calls, and how stern when discipline demands. 6. I might even say that it was her doing that

ut se non Arabes, non Saraceni, non Armenii commoverent. 8. Nec ego illi vitam conservassem, nisi eam scissem multum Romanae rei publicae profuisse, cum sibi vel liberis suis orientis servaret imperium. 9. Sibi ergo habeant propriarum venena linguarum ii quibus nihil placet. 10. Nam si vicisse ac triumphasse feminam non est decorum, quid de Gallieno loquuntur, in cuius contemptu haec bene rexit imperium? 11. Quid de divo Claudio, sancto ac venerabili duce, qui eam, quod ipse Gothicis esset expeditionibus occupatus, passus esse dicitur imperare? idque consulte ac prudenter, ut illa servante orientalis fines imperii ipse securius quae instituerat perpetraret.'

12. Haec oratio indicat quid iudicii Aurelianus habuerit de Zenobia.

Cuius ea castitas fuisse dicitur ut ne virum suum quidem scierit nisi temptandis conceptionibus. nam cum semel concubisset, expectatis menstruis continebat se, si praegnans esset, sin minus, iterum potestatem quaerendis liberis dabat. 13. Vixit regali pompa. more magis Persico adorata est, regum more Persarum convivata est. 14. Imperatorum more Romanorum ad con-tiones galeata processit cum limbo purpureo gemmis dependentibus per ultimam fimbriam, media etiam cochlide veluti fibula muliebri adstricta, brachio saepe nudo. 15. Fuit vultu subaquo, fuscis coloris, oculis supra modum vigentibus nigris, spiritus divini, venustatis incredibilis. tantus candor in dentibus ut margaritas eam plerique putarent habere, non dentes. 16. Vox clara et virilis. severitas, ubi necessitas postulabat, tyrannorum, bonorum principum clementia, ubi pietas requirebat. larga prudenter, conservatrix thesaurorum ultra femineum modum, 17. usa vehiculo carpentario, raro pinto, equo saepius, fertur autem vel tria vel quattuor milia frequenter cum peditibus ambulasse. 18. Venata est

Odaenathus defeated the Persians and, after putting Sapor to flight, advanced all the way to Ctesiphon. 7. I might add thereto that such was the fear that this woman inspired in the peoples of the East and also the Egyptians that neither Arabs nor Saracens nor Armenians ever moved against her. 8. Nor would I have spared her life, had I not known that she did a great service to the Roman state when she preserved the imperial power in the East for herself, or for her children. 9. Therefore let those whom nothing pleases keep the venom of their own tongues to themselves. 10. For if it is not meet to vanquish a woman and lead her in triumph, what are they saying of Gallienus, in contempt of whom she ruled the empire well? 11. What of the Deified Claudius, that revered and honoured leader? For he, because he was busied with his campaigns against the Goths, suffered her, or so it is said, to hold the imperial power, doing it of purpose and wisely, in order that he himself, while she kept guard over the eastern frontier of the empire, might the more safely complete what he had taken in hand.' 12. This speech shows what opinion Aurelian held concerning Zenobia.

Such was her continence, it is said, that she would not know even her own husband, save for the purpose of conception. For when once she had lain with him, she would refrain until the time of menstruation to see if she were pregnant; if not, she would again grant him an opportunity of begetting children. 13. She lived in regal pomp. It was rather in the manner of the Persians that she received worship and in the manner of the Persian kings that she banqueted; 14. but it was in the manner of a Roman emperor that she came forth to public assemblies, wearing a helmet and girt with a purple fillet, which had gems hanging from the lower edge, while its centre was fastened with the jewel called cochlis, used instead of the brooch worn by women, and her arms were frequently bare. 15. Her face was dark and of a swarthy hue, her eyes were black and powerful beyond the usual wont, her spirit divinely great, and her beauty incredible. So white were her teeth that many thought that she had pearls in place of teeth. 16. Her voice was clear and like that of a man. Her sternness, when necessity

Hispanorum cupiditate, bibit saepe cum ducibus, cum esset alias sobria; bibit et cum Persis atque Armeniis, ut eos vinceret. 19. Usa est vasis aureis gemmatis ad convivia, iam usa Cleopatranis. in ministerio eunuchos gravioris aetatis habuit, puellas nimis raras,

20. Filios Latine loqui iusserat, ita ut Graece vel difficile vel raro loquerentur. 21. Ipsa Latini sermonis non usque quaque gnara, sed ut loqueretur pudore cohibito; loquebatur et Aegyptiace ad perfectum modum. 22. Historiae Alexandrinae atque orientalis ita perita ut eam epitomasse dicatur; Latinam autem Graece legerat.

23. Cum illam Aurelianus cepisset atque in conspectum suum adductam sic appellasset, 'Quid est, Zenobia? ausa es insultare Romanis imperatoribus?' illa dixisse fertur: 'Imperatorem te esse cognosco, qui vineis, Gallienum et Aureolum et ceteros principes non putavi. Victoriā mei similem credens in consortium regni venire, si facultas locorum pateretur, optavit.'

demanded, was that of a tyrant, her clemency, when her sense of right called for it, that of a good emperor. Generous with prudence, she conserved her treasures beyond the wont of women. 17. She made use of a carriage, and rarely of a woman's coach, but more often she rode a horse; it is said, moreover, that frequently she walked with her foot-soldiers for three or four miles. 18. She hunted with the eagerness of a Spaniard. She often drank with her generals, though at other times she refrained, and she drank, too, with the Persians and the Armenians, but only for the purpose of getting the better of them. 19. At her banquets she used vessels of gold and jewels, and she even used those that had been Cleopatra's. As servants she had eunuchs of advanced age but very few maidens. 20. She ordered her sons to talk Latin, so that, in fact, they spoke Greek but rarely and with difficulty. 21. She herself was not wholly conversant with the Latin tongue, but nevertheless, mastering her timidity, she would speak it; Egyptian, on the other hand, she spoke very well. 22. In the history of Alexandria and the Orient she was so well versed that she even composed an epitome, so it is said; Roman history, however, she read in Greek.

23. When Aurelian had taken her prisoner, he caused her to be led into his presence and then addressed her thus: 'Why is it, Zenobia, that you dared to show insolence to the emperors of Rome?' To this she replied, it is said: 'You, I know, are an emperor indeed, for you win victories, but Gallienus and Aureolus and the others I never regarded as emperors. Believing Victoria to be a woman like me, I desired to become a partner in the royal power, should the supply of lands permit.'

Zenobia held power in the name of her sons after the death of Odaenathus

SHA, Gall. 13,2-3, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 42-43:

Tum Zenobia, uxor eius, quod parvuli essent filii eius qui supererant, Herennianus et Timolaus, ipsa suscepit imperium diuque rexit non muliebriter neque more femineo, 3. sed non solum Gallieno, quo quaeque virgo melius imperare potuisset, verum etiam multis imperatoribus fortius atque sollertius.

Then Zenobia, his wife, since the sons who remained, Herennianus and Timolaus, were still very young assumed the power herself and ruled for a long time, not in feminine fashion or with the ways of a woman, 3. but surpassing in courage and skill not merely Gallianus, than whom any girl could have

ruled more success- fully, but also many an emperor.

SHA, Aurel. 38,1, ed. & tr. (Magie, iii, pp. 268-69:

... Vaballathi filii nomine Zenobiam, non ... it was in the name of her son Vaballathus
Timolai et Herenniani, imperium tenuisse and not in that of Timolaus or Herennianus,
quod tenuit. that Zenobia held the imperial power, which
she did really hold.

Dedication to Zenobia and her son Vaballat Athenodorus¹⁴⁰ (c. 268/70)

PAT 0317, cf. *AIDRP* 34, C3971 (On milestone. Prov. West of Palmyra):

(Greek)

1. [...]
2. [...κ]α[ἰ ὑπὲρ σω]-
3. τηρίας Σεπτιμίας Ζηνο-
4. βίας τῆς λαμπροτάτης
5. βασιλίσσης μητρὸς τοῦ
6. βασιλέως, [...]

... and [for the sa]fety of Septimia Zenobia,
the most illustrious queen, the mother of the
Emperor [Septimius Athenōdoros] V[aball-
athus ...]

(Palmyrene)

1. 'l h[ywh] wz[kwth dy] sptymyws
2. whblt 'tndr[ws nhy]r' mlk mlk'
3. w'pnrtt' dy mdnh' klh br
4. sp[ymy]ws ['dynt mlk] mlk' w'l
5. h[hy] dy sptymy' btzby nhyrt'
6. mlkt' 'mh dy mlk mlk'
7. bt 'ntywkws m<y> 10+4

For the safety and vi[ctory] of SPTMYWS
(Septimius) WHBLT (Wahaballat) 'TNDR[WS]
(Athenodorus), the most illustrious King of
Kings and Corrector ('PNRTT')¹⁴¹ of the
entire Orient, son of SPT[MY]WS (Septi-
mius) ['DYNT (Odainath), King] of Kings;
and for the safety of SPTMY' (Septimia)
BTZBY (Bathzabbai i.e. Zenobia), the most
illustrious queen, mother of the King of
Kings, daughter of 'NTYWKWS (Antiochos).
Fourteen miles.

Defeat of Heraclianus by the Palmyrenes (c. 268 CE)

Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus* 33,3:

His prospere ac supra vota cedentibus more
hominum secundis solutior rem Romanam
quasi naufragio dedit cum Salonino filio, cui
honorem Caesaris contulerat, adeo uti
Thraciam Gothi libere pergressi Macedonas
Achaeosque et Asiae finitima occuparent,
Mesopotamiam Parthi, Orienti latrones seu
mulier dominaretur, ...

He (Gallienus), together with his son
Saloninus on whom he had conferred the rank
of Caesar, had left the Roman commonwealth
to sink to such a point that the Goths,
traversing Thrace without hindrance, had
occupied Macedonia, Achaea and the
confines of Asia, that the Parthians (sic.) had
had possession of Mesopotamia and that the

¹⁴⁰ Gr. *Athenodoros* 'Gift of Athena' is a part-calque and part-translation of Palm. *Vaballat* or *Wahaballat* which means 'Gift of Allat' as Allat was the Palmyrene equivalent of Athena.

¹⁴¹ 'pnrtT is tranliteration of the Greek term ἐπανορθωτής which itself is a translation of the Latin term *corrector*. The latter is a special office created by Trajan to oversee the finances of a city. Although the Greek text here is defective, the Palmyrene appears to be the fuller version and is therefore not a translation from the Greek, as is normally suggested for official bilingual inscriptions of the era of Odaenathus and Zenobia. (Ricklefs)

East had fallen under the dominations of brigands and a woman (i.e. Zenobia); ...

SHA, Gall. 13,4-5, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 42-45:

Gallienus sane, ubi ei nuntiatum Odaenathum interemptum, bellum Persis ad seram nimis vindictam patris paravit collectisque per Heraclianum ducem militibus sollertis principis rem gerebat. 5. Qui tamen Heraclianus, cum contra Persas profectus esset, a Palmyrenis victus omnes quos paraverat milites perdidit, Zenobia Palmyrenis et orientalibus plerisque viriliter imperante.

As for Gallienus, indeed, when he learned that Odaenathus was murdered, he made ready for war with the Persians - an over tardy vengeance for his father - and, gathering an army with the help of Heraclianus, he played the part of a skilful prince. 5. This Heraclianus, however, on setting out against the Persians, was defeated by the Palmyrenes and lost all the troops he had gathered, for Zenobia was ruling Palmyra and most of the East with the vigour of a man.

Zenobia founded a city/fortress on the Euphrates (date uncertain)

Procopius, *De bello Persico* II,5,4-6 (written 540 CE/AD) (ed. & tr. Dewing, i, pp. 294-97):

διὸ δὴ ὁ Χοσρόης οὔτε φρουρίου ἐθέλων οὔτω δὴ ἐχυροῦ ἀποπειρᾶσθαι οὔτε διαβαίνειν ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην διανοούμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Σύρους τε καὶ Κίλικας ἰέναι, οὐδὲν διαμελλήσας, ἐπίπροσθεν τὸν στρατὸν ἤλαυνε, τριῶν τε σχεδὸν τι ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ παρὰ τοῦ Εὐφράτου τὴν ὄχθιν ἀνύσας πόλει Ζηνοβία ἐπιτυγχάνει: ἦν ἡ Ζηνοβία ποτὲ δειμαμένη τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῇ πόλει, 5. ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἔδωκεν. ἦν δὲ ἡ Ζηνοβία Ὀδονάθου γυνή, τῶν ἐκείνῃ Σαρακηνῶν ἄρχοντος, οἱ Ῥωμαίοις μαίοις ἔνσπονδοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦσαν. 6. οὗτος ὁ Ὀδονάθος ἀνεσώσατο Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἐφ' ἂν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μήδοις γεγενημένην. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐγένετο.

Chosroes, therefore, not wishing to make trial of so strong a fortress (i.e. Circesium) and not having in mind to cross the River Euphrates, but rather to go against the Syrians and Cilicians, without any hesitation led his army forward, and after advancing for what, to an unencumbered traveller, is about a three day's journey along the bank of the Euphrates, he came upon the city of Zenobia; this place Zenobia had built in former times, and, as was natural she gave her name to the city. 5. Now Zenobia was the wife of Odaenathus, the ruler of the Saracens of that region, who had been on terms of peace with the Romans from of old. 6. This Odaenathus rescued for the Romans the Eastern Empire when it had come under the power of the Medes (i.e. Persians); but this took place in former times.

Alleged support for Paul of Samosata, heretical bishop of Antioch by Zenobia (c. 260 CE/AD)

Athanasius, *Historia Arianorum* 71, ed. Bright, p. 233:

Ἰουδαία ἦν Ζηνοβία, καὶ Παύλου προέστη τοῦ Σαμοσατέως· ἀλλ' οὐ δέδωκε τὰς ἐκκλησίας τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις εἰς συναγωγάς.

Zenobia was a Jewess, and a supporter of Paul of Samosata; but she did not give up the churches to the Jews for Synagogues. (tr. Robertson, p. 296.)

Invasion of Arabia by Zenobia

IGLS xiii/1 9107 (p. 180) = *AE* 1947, 165 (Prov. inscription of the lintel over the entrance to the temple of Iuppiter Hammon at Bostra in Arabia):

(Latin)

1. [... te]mplum Iovis Hammo(nis) [dirutum¹⁴² a Pal]myrenis hostibu[s ...]
2. quem refecit cum statua argen[tea et ostea f]erra

... the temple of Iuppiter Hammon, destroyed by the Palmyrene enemies, which ... rebuilt, with a silver statue [and iron doors (?)].¹⁴³

Malalas, XII,28 (ed. Thurn, p. 230.24-30):

Ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ χρόνῳ Ζηνοβία ἡ Σαρακενὴ, <Οδ>ενάθου γυνή, ἐκδικοῦσα τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἰδίου αὐτῆς ἀνδρός, λαβοῦσα τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ παρέλαβε τὴν Ἀραβίαν κατεχομένην τότε ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, φονεύσασα καὶ τὸν δοῦκα Ῥωμαίων Τρασσὸν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ βοήθειαν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ Ἀπουλλιανοῦ τοῦ καὶ Κλαυδίου βασιλείας. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Κλαυδῖος ἐν τῷ Σιρμίῳ ἦν πολεμῶν, κάκεῖσε τελευτᾷ, ὧν ἐτῶν νς'.

At the same time Zenobia the Saracen, the wife of Enathus (i.e. Odaenathus), exacting revenge for the death of her own husband, gathered his kinsmen and took over Arabia, then held by the Romans. She also slew the Dux Trassus of the Romans and all the force with him during the reign of Apollianus himself (also called Claudius) (268-270 CE/AD). The same Claudius was in Sirmium, waging war, and there he died at the age of fifty-six.

The expansion of Palmyrene power into Egypt (c. 270 CE) ²⁵

SHA, Claud. 11,1-2, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, p. 173:

Sed dum haec a divo Claudio aguntur, Palmyreni ducibus Saba et Timagene contra Aegyptios bellum sumunt atque ab his Aegyptia pervicacia et indefessa pugnandi continuatione vincuntur. 2. Dux tamen Aegyptiorum Probatus Timagenis insidiis interemptus est. Aegyptii vero omnes se Romano imperatori dederunt in absentis Claudii verba iurantes.

While these things were being done by the Deified Claudius, the Palmyrenes, under the generals Saba and Timagenes, made war against the Egyptians, who defeated them with true Egyptian pertinacity and unwearied continuance in fighting. 2. Probatus, nevertheless, the leader (*dux*) of the Egyptians, was killed by a trick of Timagenes'. All the Egyptians, however, submitted to the Roman emperor, swearing allegiance to Claudius, although he was absent.

SHA, Probus 9,5, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 352-53:

... pugnavit etiam contra Palmyrenos Odaenathi et Cleopatrae partibus Aegyptum defendentes, primo feliciter, postea temere, ut paene caperetur; sed postea reffectis viribus Aegyptum et orientis maximam partem in Aureliani potestatem redegit.

... he (i.e. Probus) fought also against the Palmyrenes, who held Egypt for the party of Odaenathus and Cleopatra (i.e. Zenobia), fighting at first with success, but later so recklessly that he nearly was captured; later, however, when his forces were strengthened, he brought Egypt and the greater part of the Orient under the sway of Aurelian.

Zosimus, *Hist. Nova* I,44:

¹⁴² [dirutum ...] *om.* Choix 46.1.

¹⁴³ Iuppiter Hammon was the tutelary god of Bostra. Legio III Cyrenaica was then stationed at Bostra and it is highly probable that it was the standard bearer and the hornblowers (i.e. those responsible for the religious life of the legion) of this legion which took an active part in the plundering of the Temple of Bel at in revenge for this earlier act of sacrilege.

44 Τῶν Σκυθῶν τοίνυν, ὥς διεξῆλθον, ἐσκεδασμένων καὶ τὸ πολὺ μέρος ἀποβαλόντων, μειζόνων ἐφιεμένη ἡ Ζηνοβία πραγμάτων Ζάβδαν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐκπέμπει, Τιμαγένους ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου Παλμυρηνοῖς καταπραττομένου· συναθρόντος δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐκ Παλμυρηνῶν καὶ Σύρων καὶ βαρβάρων ἐς ἑπτὰ μυριάδας, καὶ Αἰγυπτίων δὲ πέντε μυριάσιν ἀντιπαραταξαμένων, μάχης καρτερᾶς γενομένης περιῆσαν οἱ Παλμυρηνοὶ παρὰ πολὺ τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ φρουρὰν ἐγκαταστήσαντες πεντακισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἀνεχώρησαν. 2. Πρόβος δὲ καθῆραι τῶν καταποντιστῶν τὴν θάλατταν ἐκ βασιλέως ταχθεὶς, ἐπειδὴ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἔγνω παρὰ Παλμυρηνῶν ἐχομένην, ἅμα τῇ σὺν αὐτῷ δυνάμει καὶ Αἰγυπτίων ὅσοι μὴ τὰ Παλμυρηνῶν φρονούντες ἔτυχον ἐπιθέμενος τὴν μὲν φρουρὰν ἐξέβαλεν· αὐτῇ δὲ Παλμυρηνῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων, συναγαγόντος δὲ καὶ Πρόβου στρατόπεδον Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Λιβύων, ὑπέρτεροι μὲν ἦσαν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ τῶν ὀρίων τῆς Αἰγύπτου Παλμυρηνοὺς ἤλαυνον, Πρόβου δὲ τὸ πρὸς τῇ Βαβυλῶνι καταλαβόντος ὄρος καὶ ταύτῃ τὴν ἐπὶ Συρίαν τῶν πολεμίων πάροδον ἀποκλείοντος, Τιμαγένης ἄτε δὴ ἴδρις τῶν τόπων, ἅμα διςχιλίοις Παλμυρηνῶν τὴν ἄκραν τοῦ ὄρους κατασχών, ἀδοκίμοις ἐπιστάς τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις διέφθειρεν· ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Πρόβος ἀλοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἀποσφάττει. 45 Τῆς Αἰγύπτου τοίνυν ὑπὸ Παλμυρηνοῖς γενομένης, ...

Syncellus, p. 470,1-2 (p. 721,4-9, CSHB):

Αὐρηλιανὸς τοὺς Παλμυρηνοὺς ἐχειρώσατο καὶ Γαλλίαν ἀπέταξεν, ἐφ' οὗ φασι Φιλόστρατον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἱστοριογράφον καὶ Λογγίνον ἀκμάσαι. Τότε Ζηνοβία κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπαίρεται, δύναντιν ἀθροίσασα πλείστην, καὶ Αἰγύπτου κρατεῖ, Πρόβον ἀνελοῦσα τὸν ἐκεῖ τότε στρατηγοῦντα Ῥωμαίων.

44 When, as I have said, the Scythians had dispersed and lost most of their people, Zenobia, harbouring greater ambitions sent Zabdas to Egypt, where a local named Timagenes wanted to hand over the government of Egypt to the Palmyrenes. An army of Palmyrenes, Syrians and barbarians, 70,000 men strong, was now gathered and faced with 50,000 Egyptians warriors; an intense battle ensued, in which the Palmyrenes proved to their superiority in arms. They therefore stationed five thousand men in the country and returned home. 2. Probus, who had been appointed by the emperor to clear the sea of pirates, when learning of the subjugation of Egypt by the Palmyrenes, marched at once against them with his own forces and with as many of the Egyptians as were opposed to the Palmyrenes, and expelled their garrison. The Palmyrenes rallied afresh but Probus too levied a force of Egyptians and Libyans, and the Egyptians gained another victory, and drove the Palmyrenes beyond the frontiers of Egypt. But just as Probus was encamped on a mountain near Babylon, thereby cutting off the passage of the enemy into Syria, Timagenes, who was well acquainted with the country, captured the summit of the mountain with two thousand men and destroyed the force of Egyptians by surprise. Probus was among those taken prisoner but he killed himself. 45 Egypt was now in the hands of the Palmyrenes ... (tr. SL)

Aurelian subjugated the Palmyrenes and brought Gaul under subjection. It is said that Philostratus, the Athenian historian (*FGrH* 99T), and Longinus flourished in his reign. Then Zenobia revolted against the Romans, and assembling a large army, took control of Egypt and defeating Probus the Roman general there.

Epitaph of a soldier who fell in the Egyptian campaign

Seyrig, *Syria* 31 (1954) p. 215 (Greek funerary epitaph of uncertain provenance, probably from the Hauran in Arabia):

(Greek)

1. Αἴγυπτος στν-
2. γερὴ ψυχὰς ὤλε-
3. σε σὺν σεο πολ-

Odious Egypt snatched away the souls of many, including that of yours. While your uncle and your illustrious mother have buried

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 4. λάς, ἀλλά σ' | you with the appropriate rites, the others had |
| 5. <ENI> ἐνκτερέϊξ- | become food for birds of prey. Courage ... (tr. |
| 6. ε θῖος καὶ πό- | Speidel, p. 724) |
| 7. τνια μήτηρ, | |
| 8. κείνους δ' οὔτις· οἰωνοῖσι | |
| 9. δὲ κύρμ' ἐγένον- | |
| 10. το. θάρσει, | |
| 11. ... | |

Statues to Septimius Odaenathus and Zenobia raised on adjacent columns at Palmyra (271 CE)

PAT 0292, *AIDRP* 35, *Inv.* 3, 19, C3946 (Grand Colonnade):

(Palmyrene)¹⁴⁴

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1. šlm spṭmyws 'dy[nt] mlk mlk' | Statue of SPṬMYWS (Septimius) 'DY[NT] |
| 2. wmtqnn' dy mdn(?)h' klh spṭmy' | (Odainath), King of Kings, and |
| 3. zbd' rb hyl' rb' wzby rb hyl' | governor/restorer of the whole East. The |
| 4. dy tdmwr qrtst' 'qym lmrhwn | SPṬMY' (i.e. the Septimii) ZBD' (Zabda), army |
| 5. byrh 'b dy šnt 5.100+80+2 | chief, and ZBY, general of Tadmor, the most |
| | excellent, have set (it) up for their lord. In the |
| | month of 'b (Ab) of the year 582 (Sel. = |
| | August, 271 CE/AD). |

IGLS xvii, 57, cf. *AIDRP* 36, *PAT* 0293, *Inv.* 3, 20, C3947 (Grand Colonnade):

(Greek)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Σεπτιμίαν Ζηνοβίαν τὴν λαμ- | Statue of Septimia Zenobia, most illustrious |
| 2. προτάτην εὐσεβῆ βασιλίσσαν | and pious Queen; the Septimii Zabdas, com- |
| 3. Σεπτίμιοι Ζάβδας ὁ μέγας στρα- | mander-in-chief (lit. great general), and |
| 4. τηλάτης καὶ Ζαββαῖος ὁ ἐνθάδε | Zabbaïos, local commander, (both) most |
| 5. στρατηλάτης, οἱ κράτιστοι, τὴν | eminent (men), raised it to their sovereign |
| 6. δέσποιναν ἔτους βπφ' μηνὶ Λῶφ ¹⁴⁵ | lady, in the month of Lōos, in the year 582 |
| | (Sel. = August, 271 CE/AD). |

(Palmyrene)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. šlmt spṭmy' btzby nhyt' wzdqt' | Statue of SPṬMY' (Septimia) BTZBY |
| 2. mlkt' spṭmyw' zbd' rb hyl' | (Bathzabbai) most illustrious and pious |
| 3. rb' wzby rb hyl' dy tdmwr qrtstw' | queen; the SPṬMYW' (i.e. the Septimii) ZBD' |
| 4. 'qym lmrthwn byrh 'b dy šnt 5. 100+80+2 | (Zabda), commander in chief, and ZBY |
| | (Zabbai), commander of Tadmor, the most |
| | excellent (men), have set (it) up to their |
| | mistress, in the month of 'B in the year 582 |
| | (Sel. = August, 271 CE/AD) |

Dedications to Vaballathus Athenodorus found on milestones near Bostra

ILS 8924 = *AE* 1904, 60 (Prov. Bostra):

(Latin)

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| 1. Im[p.] Caesari L. Iulio | To the Emperor Caesar L. Julius Aurelius |
| 2. Aurelio Septimio | Septimius Vaballathus Athenodorus, Persicus |
| | Maximus, Arabicus Maximus, Adiabenicus |

¹⁴⁴ The Greek version, probably erased, has now disappeared,.

¹⁴⁵ Λῶφ as given in *IGLS* 57 (Gr.):7 appears to be a typographical error for Λῶφ.

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 3. Vaballatho | Maximus, the Devout, the Fortunate, the |
| 4. Athenodoro Per- | Unconquered, Augustus, [...] |
| 5. sico maximo Ara- | |
| 6. bico maximo Adia- | |
| 7. benico maximo Pio | |
| 8. Felici invicto Au[g.] ... | |

Bauzou, p. 2 (Prov. found at the 15th and 20th mile stations from Bostra on the Via Nova):

(Latin)

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. [L(ucius) Iuli]us Aurelius | [Lu(cius) Juli]us Aurelius Septimius |
| 2. [Septi]mius | Vaballathus Athenodorus, King, Consul, |
| 3. [Va]ballath[us] | Imperator, dux of the Romans. Fifteen miles. |
| 4. [Ath]enodorus | |
| 5. [Rex] Co(n)s(ul) | |
| 6. [Imper]ator Dux | |
| 7. [R]o[m]anorum | |
| 8. (Milia Passuum) XV | |
| 9. I € | |

Ibid. p. 3:

(Latin)

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 1. L(ucius) Iulius Aurel(ius)[...] | L(ucius) Julius Aurel[ius Septimius] |
| 2. Baballat(us) [...] | Baballa[thus Athenodorus], King, Co(n)[s(ul)] |
| 3. Rex Co(n)s(ul) [...] | Imperator, Dux of the Ro]mans ... |
| 4. [... Ro]man[orum ...] | |

Aurelian marched against Zenobia, the recovery of Tyana (271/2)

SHA, Aurel. 22,1-24,9, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 236-43:

22 Transactis igitur quae ad saeptiones atque urbis statum et civilia pertinebant contra Palmyrenos, id est contra Zenobiam, quae filiorum nomine orientale tenebat imperium, iter flexit. 2. Multa in itinere ac magna bellorum genera confecit, nam in Thraciis et in Illyrico occurrentes barbaros vicit, Gothorum quin etiam ducem Cannaban sive Cannabaudem cum quinque milibus hominum trans Danuvium interemit. 3. Atque inde per Byzantium in Bithyniam transitum fecit eamque nullo certamine obtinuit. 4. Multa eius magna et praeclara tam facta quam dicta sunt, sed omnia libro innectere nec possumus fastidii evitatione nec volumus, sed ad intelligendos mores atque virtutem pauca libanda sunt. 5. Nam cum Tyanam venisset eamque obclusam repperisset, iratus dixisse fertur: 6. ‘Canem in hoc oppido non relinquam.’ tunc et militibus acrius incumbenibus spe praedae, et Heraclammone quodam timore, ne inter ceteros occideretur, patriam suam prodente civitas capta est.

22 And so, having arranged for all that had to do with the fortifications and the general state of the city and with city affairs as a whole, he directed his march against the Palmyrenes, or rather against Zenobia, who, in the name of her sons, was wielding the imperial power in the East. 2. On this march he ended many great wars of various kinds. For in Thrace and Illyricum he defeated the barbarians who came against him, and on the other side of the Danube he even slew the leader of the Goths, Cannabas, or Cannabaudes as he is also called, and with him five thousand men. 3. From there he crossed over by way of Byzantium into Bithynia, and took possession of it without a struggle. 4. Many were the great and famous things that he said and did, but we cannot include them all in our book without causing a surfeit, nor, indeed, do we wish to do so, but for the better understanding of his character and valour a few of them must be selected. 5. For instance, when he came to Tyana and found its gates closed against him,

he became enraged and exclaimed, it is said: 'In this town I will not leave even a dog alive.' 6. Then, indeed, the soldiers, in the hope of plunder, pressed on with greater vigour, but a certain Heraclammon, fearing that he would be killed along with the rest, betrayed his native-place, and so the city was captured.

23 Sed Aurelianus duo statim praecipua, quod unum severitatem ostenderet, alterum lenitatem, ex imperatoria mente monstravit. 2. Nam et Heraclammonem proditorem patriae suae sapiens victor occidit et, cum milites iuxta illud dictum, quo canem se relictum apud Tyanos negarat, eversionem urbis exposcerent, respondit his: 'Canem,' inquit, 'negavi in hac urbe me relictum; canes omnes occidite.' 3. Grande principis dictum, grandius militum factum 1; nam iocatum principis, quo praeda negabatur, civitas servabatur, totus exercitus ita quasi ditaretur accepit.

4. Epistula de Heraclammone: 'Aurelianus Augustus Mallio Chiloni. occidi passus sum cuius quasi beneficio Tyanam recepi, ego vero proditorem amare non potui, et libenter tuli quod eum milites occiderunt; neque enim mihi fidem servare potuisset, qui patriae non pepercit. 5. Solum denique ex omnibus, qui oppugnabantur, campus accepit, divitem hominem negare non possum, sed cuius bona eius liberis reddidi, ne quis me causa pecuniae locupletem hominem occidi passum esse criminetur.'

24 Capta autem civitas est miro modo. nam cum Heraclammon locum ostendisset aggeris naturali specie tumentem, qua posset Aurelianus cultus ascendere, ille conscendit atque elata purpurea chlamyde intus civibus foris militibus se ostendit, et ita civitas capta est, quasi totus in muris Aureliani fuisset exercitus.

23 Aurelian, however, with the true spirit of an emperor, at once performed two notable deeds, one of which showed his severity, the other his leniency. 2. For, like a wise victor, he put to death Heraclammon, the betrayer of his native-place, and when the soldiers clamoured for the destruction of the city in accordance with the words in which he had declared that he would not leave a dog alive in Tyana, he answered them, saying: 'I did, indeed, declare that I would not leave a dog alive in this city; well, then, kill all the dogs.' 3. Notable, indeed, were the prince's words, but more notable still was the deed of the soldiers; for the entire army, just as though it were gaining riches thereby, took up the prince's jest, by which both booty was denied them and the city preserved intact.

4. The letter concerning Heraclammon: 'From Aurelian Augustus to Mallius Chilo. I have suffered the man to be put to death by whose kindness, as it were, I recovered Tyana. But never have I been able to love a traitor and I was pleased that the soldiers killed him; for he who spared not his native city would not have been able to keep faith with me. 5. He, indeed, is the only one of all who opposed me that the earth now holds. The fellow was rich, I cannot deny it, but the property I have restored to the children of whom it belonged, that no one may charge me with having permitted a man who was rich to be slain, for the sake of his money.'

24 The city, moreover, was captured in a wonderful way. For after Heraclammon had shown Aurelian a place where the ground sloped upward by nature in the form of a siege-mound, up which he could climb in full attire, the emperor ascended there, and, holding aloft his purple cloak he showed himself to the towns-folk within and the soldiers without, and so the city was captured, just as though Aurelian's entire army had

2. Taceri non debet res quae ad famam venerabilis viri pertinet. 3. fertur enim Aurelianum de Tyanae civitatis eversione vere dixisse, vere cogitasse ; verum Apollonium Tyanaeum, celeberrimae famae auctoritatisque sapientem, veterem philosophum, amicum verum deorum, ipsum etiam pro numine frequentandum, recipienti se in tentorium ea forma qua videtur subito adstitisse, atque haec Latine, ut homo Pannonius intellexeret, verba dixisse: 4. ‘Aureliane, si vis vincere, nihil est quod de civium meorum nece cogites. Aureliane, si vis imperare, a cruore innocentium abstine. Aureliane, clementer te age, si vis vivere.’ 5. Norat vultum philosophi venerabilis Aurelianus atque in multis eius imaginem viderat templis. 6. Denique statim adtonitus et imaginem et statuas et templum eidem promisit atque in meliorem rediit mentem. 7. Haec ego et a gravibus viris comperi et in Ulpiae Bibliothecae libris relegi et pro maiestate Apollonii magis credidi. 8. Quid enim illo viro sanctius, venerabilius, antiquius diviniusque inter homines fuit? ille mortuis reddidit vitam, ille multa ultra homines et fecit et dixit, quae qui velit nosse, Graecos legat libros qui de eius vita conscripti sunt. 9. Ipse autem, si vita suppetit, atque ipsius viri favori usque placuerit, breviter saltem tanti viri facta in litteras mittam, non quo illius viri gesta munere mei sermonis indigeant, sed ut ea quae miranda sunt omnium voce praedicentur.

been within the walls.

2. We must not omit one event which enhances the fame of a venerated man. 3. For, it is said, Aurelian did indeed truly speak and truly think of destroying the city of Tyana; but Apollonius of Tyana, a sage of the greatest renown and authority, a philosopher of former days, the true friend of the gods, and himself even to be regarded as a supernatural being, as Aurelian was withdrawing to his tent, suddenly appeared to him in the form in which he is usually portrayed, and spoke to him as follows, using Latin in order that he might be understood by a man from Pannonia: 4. ‘Aurelian, if you wish to conquer, there is no reason why you should plan the death of my fellow-citizens. Aurelian, if you wish to rule, abstain from the blood of the innocent. Aurelian, act with mercy, if you wish to live long.’ 5. Aurelian recognized the countenance of the venerated philosopher, and, in fact, he had seen his portrait in many a temple. 6. And so, at once stricken with terror, he promised him a portrait and statues and a temple, and returned to his better self. 7. This incident I have learned from trustworthy men and read over again in the books in the Ulpian Library, and I have been the more ready to believe it because of the reverence in which Apollonius is held. 8. For who among men has ever been more venerated, more revered, more renowned, or more holy than that very man? He brought back the dead to life, he said and did many things beyond the power of man. If any one should wish to learn these, let him read the Greek books which have been composed concerning his life. 9. I myself, moreover, if the length of my life shall permit and the plan shall continue to meet with his favour, will put into writing the deeds of this great man, even though it be briefly, not because his achievements need the tribute of my discourse, but in order that these wondrous things may be proclaimed by the voice of every man.

Zosimus, *Hist. Nova* I,50,1:

Διωκημένων δὲ ὧδε τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Παιονίαν, ὁ βασιλεὺς στρατείαν ἐπὶ Παλμυρηνοὺς ἄγειν διενоеῖτο, κρατοῦντας ἤδη τῶν τε Αἰγυπτιακῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ τῆς ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ἀπάσης καὶ μέχρις Ἀγκύρας τῆς Γαλατίας, ἐθελή-

The affairs of Italy and Pannonia had been settled in such a way that Aurelian could now think of a campaign against the Palmyrenes who now ruled over the Egyptian provinces and the entire Orient up to Ancyra in Galatia;

σαντας δὲ καὶ Βιθυνίας μέχρι Χαλκηδόνος ἀντιλαβέσθαι, εἰ μὴ βεβασιλευκέναι γνόντες Αὐρηλιανὸν τὴν Παλμυρηῶν ἀπεσείσαντο προστασίαν.

and who also wanted to take possession of Bithynia to Chalcedon, but the local population on hearing of the accession of Aurelianus and rejected Palmyrene rule.

Anonymous Continuator of Dio Cassius 10,4, ed. Boissevain, iii, p. 746 (= *FHG*, IV, p. 197):

Ὅτι Αὐρηλιανὸς ἐν τῷ πολιορκεῖν τὰ Τύανα εἰρήκει τοῖς στρατιώταις ὅτι ‘ἐὰν εἰσέλθωμεν, μὴδὲ κύνα ἐάσητε.’ Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄλωσιν ἀπηγόρευσε τοῖς στρατιώταις μήτε φονεῦσαι μήτε διαρπάσαι. Ἐλεγον οὖν αὐτῷ θυμούμενοι οἱ στρατιῶται ὅτι ‘Ἄ ὑπέσχου, ἐπίτρεψον ἡμῖν ποιῆσαι.’ ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτοῖς: ‘Ἀληθευετε ὅτι ἐγὼ εἶπον· ἀπέλθετε, κύων μὴ εὐρεθῇ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταυτη, ἀλλὰ πάντα φονευσάτε.’ Καὶ ἔπεμψε καὶ τοὺς τριβουνούς καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ πάντας τοὺς κύνας ἐφόνευσεν· ὥστε εἰς γέλωτα λυθῆναι (οἱ ἐλθῆναι) τὸν θυμὸν τοῦ στρατευματος. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συγκαλέσας αὐτοὺς εἶπεν ὅτι ‘Ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐλευθερῶσαι τὰς πόλεις ταυτας πολεμοῦμεν· καὶ ἐὰν μέλλωμεν πραιδεῦναι αὐτάς, οὐκέτι ἡμῖν πιστευουσιν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὴν πραΐδα τῶν βαρβάρων ζητήσωμεν, καὶ τουτων ὡς ἡμετέρων φεισώμεθα.’

In the course of the siege of Tyana, Aurelian said to his troops: ‘If we should enter the city, no dog should be left alive.’ However, after the city had been captured, he forbade the soldiers to kill or plunder. The enraged soldiers said to him: ‘You should now permit us to do what you have promised.’ But he replied to them saying: ‘You have correctly repeated what I have said. Go now, therefore, and kill all the dogs, so that none of them may be found alive in the city.’ Thereupon he dispatched the tribunes and the soldiers and exterminated the dogs, so that the anger of the army dissolved into jest. Afterwards he called the soldiers together and addressed them as follows: ‘We are fighting to liberate the cities and if we prefer to pillage them, they will have no more faith in us. Let us rather seek plunder from the barbarians and we will spare those whom (we regard) as our own.’

Greek documents from Egypt dated by the joint regnal year of Aurelian and Vaballathus Athenodorus (271-72 CE)

P. Oxy. 2921, xl, ed. & tr. Rea, 79-80:

6. (ἔτους) α' Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Λουκίου
7. Δομιτίου Αὐρηλία[νοῦ] Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς
8. Σεβαστοῦ καὶ [Ιο]υλίῳ Αὐρηλίου Σεπτιμίου
9. Οὐβαλλάθου Ἀθην[οδώρου] τοῦ λαμπροτάτου
10. βασιλέως ὑπάτου αὐτοκράτορος στρατηγοῦ
11. Ῥωμαίων, Χοῖακ ι[]

Year 1 of Emperor Caesar Lucius Domitius Aurelianus Pius Felix Augustus and of Julius Aurelius Septimius Vaballathus Athenodorus the most glorious king, consul, *imperator*, general of the Romans, Choeac ... (7-15 December, 270 CE/AD)

P. Oxy. 2922, xl, ed. & tr. Rea, 80-81:

1. Εὐτ[υ]χοῦς Σεβαστοῦ καὶ
2. Ιουλίου Αὐρηλίου Σεπτιμίου
3. Οὐβαλλάθου Ἀθην[οδώρου]
4. τοῦ λαμπροτάτου βασιλέως ὑπάτου
5. αὐτοκράτορος στρατηγοῦ Ῥωμαίων
6. Τῷβι ιε. []

Felix Augustus and (year ...?) of Julius Aurelius Septimius Vaballathus Athenodorus, most glorious king, consul, *imperator*, general of the Romans, Tybi 15 (10 January 271 CE/AD or 11 January, CE/AD 272).

P. Oxy. 1264, 20-27, 30, x, ed. & tr. Grenfell and Hunt, 188:

20. (ἔτους) β' Αὐτοκράτορος
21. Καίσαρος Λουκίου Δομιτίου
Αὐρηλιανοῦ
22. Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ
23. καὶ ε (ἔτους) Ἰουιλίου Αὐρηλίου
Σεπτιμίου
24. Οὐβαλλάθου Ἀθην[οδ]ώρου τοῦ
25. λαμπροτάτου βασιλέως ὑπάτου
26. Αὐτοκράτορος στρατηγοῦ Ῥωμα(ίων)
27. Φαρμενῶθ η

... The second year of the Emperor Caesar Lucius Domitius Aurelianus Pius Felix Augustus and the fifth year of Julius Aurelius Septimius Vaballathus Athenodorus, most illustrious king, consul, Emperor, general of the Romans, Phamenoth 8 (= 14 March, 272 CE/AD).

BGU 946: (Prov. Herakleopolis, Egypt The main text is lost.):

1. [(ἔτους) β τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Λουκίου Δομιτίου Αὐρηλιανοῦ] The second year of our Lord Lucius Domitius Aurelianus Augustus and the fifth year of our
2. Σεβαστοῦ καὶ (ἔτους) ε τοῦ κ[υρίου] ἡμῶν Lord Septimius Vabalathus (sic.)
3. Οὐβαλλάθου Ἀθηνοδώρο[υ] τοῦ λαμπ- Athenodorus, the most illustrious king,
4. ρ[οτάτου] consul, Emperor, general of the Romans,
5. βασιλέως ὑπάτου αὐτοκράτορος στ[ρα- Phamenoth 15 (11 March, 272) ...
- τηγοῦ]
5. Ῥωμαίων Φαρμενῶθ ιε.

Aurelian defeated the Palmyrenes at Immae and recovered Antioch (272 CE)

Festus, *Breviarium* 24, p. 65,1-6, ed. Eadie:

Aureliani imperatoris gloriae Zenobia, Odenathi uxor, accessit. Ea enim post mortem mariti feminea dicione Orientis tenebat imperium. Quam Aurelianus multis cibariarum et sagittariorum milibus fretam apud Immae haut procul ab Antiochia uicit et captam ...

Zenobia, the wife of Odaenathus, was an addition to the glory of the emperor Aurelian. For, after her husband's death she held the Eastern empire within her female control. Although she relied on many thousands of heavy cavalry and archers, Aurelian defeated her at Immae not far from Antioch and captured her ...

Eutropius, *Breviarium* IX,13,2:

Zenobiam quoque, quae occiso Odenatho marito Orientem tenebat, haud longe ab Antiochia sine gravi proelio cepit,

He (i.e. Aurelian) also took prisoner Zenobia, who, having killed her husband Odaenathus, was mistress of the east, in a battle of no great importance not far from Antioch, ... (tr. Watson, p. 521)

Jerome, *Chron.*, s. a. 273, p. 222,15-22 (PL 27.487):

Zenobia apud Immae haut longe ab Antiochia uincitur: quae occiso Odenato marito, orientis tenebat imperium. In qua pugna streuissime aduersus eam dimicauit Pompeianus dux cognomento Francus. Cuius familia hodieque apud Antiochiam perseuerat. Ex cuius Evagrius presbyter carissimus nobis stirpe descendit.

Zenobia was defeated in battle at Immae, not far from Antioch. She had ruled over the East after the death of her husband Odaenathus. In that battle, the *dux* Pompeianus, surnamed Francus, fought most bravely against her. His family is still surviving today in Antioch and from his line, Evagrius the presbyter, dearest to me, is descended.

SHA, *Aurel.* 25,1-6, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 242-45:

25 Recepta Tyana Antiochiam proposita omnibus impunitate brevi apud Daphnem certamine obtinuit atque inde praeceptis, quantum probatur, venerabilis viri Apollonii parens humanior atque clementior fuit. 2. Pugnatum est post haec de summa rerum contra Zenobiam et Zabam eius socium apud Emesam magno certamine. 3. Cumque Aureliani equites fatigati iam paene discederent ac terga darent, subito vi numinis, quod postea est proditum, hortante quadam divina forma per pedites etiam equites restituti sunt. fugata est Zenobia cum Zaba, et plenissime parta victoria. 4. Recepto igitur orientis statu Emesam victor Aurelianus ingressus est ac statim ad Templum Heliogabali tetendit, quasi communi officio vota soluturus. 5. Verum illic eam formam numinis repperit quam in bello sibi faventem vidit. 6. Quare et illic templa fundavit donariis ingentibus positis et Romae Soli templum posuit maiore honorificentia consecratum, ut suo dicemus loco.

25 After thus recovering Tyana, Aurelian, by means of a brief engagement near Daphne, gained possession of Antioch, having promised forgiveness to all; and thereupon, obeying, as far as is known, the injunctions of that venerated man, Apollonius, he acted with greater kindness and mercy. 2. After this, the whole issue of the war was decided near Emesa in a mighty battle fought against Zenobia and Zaba, her ally. 3. When Aurelian's horsemen, now exhausted, were on the point of breaking their ranks and turning their backs, suddenly by the power of a supernatural agency, as was afterwards made known, a divine form spread encouragement throughout the foot-soldiers and rallied even the horsemen. Zenobia and Zaba were put to flight, and a victory was won in full. 4. And so, having reduced the East to its former state, Aurelian entered Emesa as a conqueror, and at once made his way to the Temple of Elagabalus, to pay his vows as if by a duty common to all. 5. But there he beheld that same divine form which he had seen supporting his cause in the battle. 6. Wherefore he not only established temples there, dedicating gifts of great value, but he also built a temple to the Sun at Rome, which he consecrated with still greater pomp, as we shall relate in the proper place.

Zosimus, *Hist. Nova* I,50,2-54,2:

Ἐλάσαντος τοίνυν ἅμα στρατῷ τοῦ βασιλέως, Ἀγκύρα τε προσετίθετο τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ καὶ Τύανα μετὰ ταύτην καὶ ἐξῆς ἅπασαι μέχρις Ἀντιοχείας, ἐν ἧ Ζηνοβίαν εὐρὼν ἅμα στρατῷ πολλῷ παρεσκευασμένην εἰκότως ἐς μάχην ἀπήντα καὶ αὐτὸς εὐτρεπής. 3. Ὅρῶν δὲ τοὺς Παλμυρηνῶν ἱππέας ὀπλίσει βαρεῖα καὶ ἀσφαλεῖ τεθαρρηκότας καὶ ἅμα πείρα τῇ περὶ τὴν ἱππασίαν πολὺ τῶν σφετέρων προέχοντας, τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς πέραν ποῦ τοῦ Ὀρόντου ποταμοῦ διεχώρισεν, σύνθημα δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῦσι δέδωκεν μὴ ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως ἀκμῆτι τῇ Παλμυρηνῶν ἱππῷ συνάψαι, δεξαμένοις δὲ τὴν αὐτῶν ἔφοδον ἐς φυγὴν δοκεῖν τρέπεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἄχρις ἂν ἴδωσιν αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος ἅμα καὶ τῆς τῶν ὀπλῶν βαρύτητος πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν ἀπειπόντας. 4. Οὗ δὴ γενομένου καὶ τῶν βασιλέως ἱππέων τὸ παράγγελμα φυλαζάντων, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐθεάσαντο παρειμένους ἤδη καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις

The emperor then advanced with his army and re-subjected Ancyra to Roman rule, then Tyana after that and all cities in succession except for Antioch, where he found Zenobia with a well-equipped army; and, being well-prepared, he naturally decided to fight. 3. When he saw that the Palmyrene cavalry trusted their weighty, protective armour and at the same time was far ahead of his own people in horsemanship, he placed the infantry separately at a certain point beyond the (River) Orontes, but instructed his Roman cavalry not to engage with the still fresh Palmyrene cavalry, but rather to wait for their attack, and then apparently turn to flee and continue until they had the impression that the attackers themselves and their horses had also stopped their pursuit due to the heat and heavy armour. 4. This duely happened. The Emperor's cavalry adhered to his command and when it saw that the enemies were

κεκμηκόσιν ἀκινήτους τοὺς ἐπικειμένους, ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς ἵππους ἐπήεσαν καὶ αὐτομάτους τῶν ἵππων ἐκπίπτοντας συνεπάτου· φόνος οὖν ἦν συμμιγῆς, τῶν μὲν ξίφεσι τῶν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων οἰκείων τε καὶ πολεμίων ἀναιρουμένων.

51 Εἰσελθόντων δὲ τῶν ὅσοι διαφυγεῖν οἰοί τε γεγόνασιν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, Ζάβδας ὁ Ζηνοβίας στρατηγὸς ὀρρωδῶν μὴ ποτε μαθόντες οἱ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας οἰκήτορες τὸ περὶ τὴν μάχην πταῖσμα σφίσιν ἐπίθοντο, ἄνδρα μεσαιπόλιον ἐμφέρειάν τινα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ιδέαν δοκοῦντά πως ἔχειν εὐρών, καὶ σχῆμα περιθεῖς οἷον εἰκὸς ἦν Αὐρηλιανὸν ἔχειν μαχόμενον, διὰ μέσης ἄγει τῆς πόλεως ὥς δὴ τὸν βασιλέα ζωγρίαν ἐλών. 2. Καὶ τούτῳ τῷ σοφίσματι τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς ἀπατήσας αὐτὸς τε ὑπεξέδωκε τῆς πόλεως οὐσης νυκτὸς ἅμα τῷ λελειμμένῳ στρατεύματι, καὶ τὴν Ζηνοβίαν ἑαυτῷ συνεξαγαγὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔμισαν ἀνεχώρησεν· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔχων ἐν νῷ γενομένης ἡμέρας ἀναλαβεῖν τὴν περὶ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπιθέσθαι τραπέισιν ἤδη τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐπειδὴ τὴν Ζηνοβίαν ἔγνω φυγὴν, εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν εἰσῆλθε, δεξαμένων αὐτὸν ἀσμένως τῶν πολιτῶν. 3. Εὐρὼν δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς τὴν πόλιν ἀπολιπόντας δέει τοῦ μὴ κακοῦ τινὸς ὥς τὰ Ζηνοβίας φρονήσαντας πειραθῆναι, προγράμματα πανταχοῦ πέμψας τοὺς πεφευγότας ἐκάλει, τῷ ἀκουσίῳ καὶ ἀναγκαστῷ πλέον ἢ προαιρέσει τὰ συμβάντα ἀνατιθεῖς.

52 Συνδραμόντων δὲ ἅμα τῷ θεάσασθαι τὰ προγράμματα τῶν πεφευγόντων καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως μετασχόντων φιλοφροσύνης, διαθεῖς τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔμισαν ἦλθον· μοῖραν δὲ τινα Παλμυρηνῶν λόφον καταλαβοῦσαν εὐρὼν ὑπερκεείμενον Δάφνης τοῦ προαστείου, τῷ ὑπερδεξίῳ τοῦ τόπου τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπὸδοδον εἶργειν οἰομένην, τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐνεκελεύσατο συνασπισαμένοις καὶ πυκνῇ τῇ φάλαγγι τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον ἀνάβασιν ποιουμένοις τὰ τε βέλη καὶ τοὺς ὀλοιστρούχους, εἰ καὶ τούτους τυχὸν ἐπαφεῖεν, τῇ πυκνότητι τῆς φάλαγγος ἀποσεῖσθαι. 2. Καὶ πρὸς τὸ παράγγελμα εἶχε προθύμους· ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατὰ τὸ προσταχθὲν τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἄναντες ἄνοδον ἐποίησαντο, καταστάντες τοῖς

exhausted and were sitting motionless on their worn-out horses, it brought their animals to a stop, and then wheeled round to attack and trample the enemies who had dismounted at their own will. What followed was a slaughter by various means, some by the sword, others by their own horses or those of the enemy.

51 After those (of the Palmyrenes) who had survived managed to escape into Antioch, Zenobia's general Zabdas became afraid that once the inhabitants of Antioch came to know about the defeat suffered in the battle they would attack his people. He therefore found a middle-aged man who seemed to have a certain resemblance in appearance to the emperor, and put on him clothes like those which Aurelianus wore in battle, and led him through the city as if he were the emperor who had been caught alive. 2. This ploy enabled Zabdas to deceive the inhabitants of Antioch and steal himself from the city at night with the rest of the army; with Zenobia accompanying him, he departed for Emesa. The emperor had in mind to draw up his infantry at dawn and attack the defeated enemy from two sides; however, when he received news of Zenobia's escape, he entered Antioch, where the citizens were happy to receive him. 3. He found that the majority of them had left the city for fear of suffering any punishment for taking sides with Zenobia. As a result, Aurelianus issued a general edict in which he invited the exiles to return and attributed their behaviour to necessity and coercion rather than to free choice.

52 As soon as the exiles had seen the announcements, they flocked back to benefit from the emperor's magnanimity. He intended to leave for Emesa but then discovered a section of Palmyrenes who had occupied a hill above the suburb of Daphne believing that, thanks to their higher position, they could prevent the enemy from marching through. The emperor therefore ordered his soldiers to close ranks and to make a direct ascent in tight order to ward off projectiles and curling stones which were expected to be hurled at them. 2. The soldiers complied with the order with enthusiasm. When they had completed the climb as instructed and faced the enemies on

ἐναντίοις ἰσοπαλεῖς ἔτρεψαν εὐθὺς εἰς φυγὴν· καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν φερόμενοι διερρήγγυντο, τοὺς δὲ οἱ διώκοντες ἀπέσφαττον οὗτοί τε καὶ οἱ μὴ μετασχόντες τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἀνόδου· μετὰ δὲ τὴν νίκην ἐπ' ἀδείας τὴν διάβασιν ποιουμένοις ... χαίροντας κύρον κατὰ ταῦτα τῇ ὁδοιπορίᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως χρωμένον. 3. Δέχεται μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν Ἀπάμεια καὶ Λάρισσα καὶ Ἀρέθουσα· τὸ δὲ τῶν Παλμυρηνῶν στρατόπεδον ἰδὼν ἐν τῷ πρὸ τῆς Ἑμίσης πεδίῳ συνειλεγμένον εἰς πλήθος ἐπτὰ μυριάδων ἔκ τε αὐτῶν Παλμυρηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσοι τῆς στρατείας αὐτοῖς εἴλοντο μετασχεῖν, ἀντεστρατοπεδεύετο τῇ τε Δαλματῶν ἵππῳ καὶ Μυσοῖς καὶ Παίοσιν καὶ ἔτι γε Νωρικοῖς καὶ Ῥαιτοῖς, ἅπερ ἐστὶ Κελτικά τάγματα. 4. Ἦσαν δὲ πρὸς τοῦτοις οἱ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τέλους, ἔκ πάντων ἀριστίνδην συνειλεγμένοι καὶ πάντων διαπρεπέστατοι· συνετέτακτο δὲ καὶ ἡ Μαυρουσία ἵππος αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας αἱ τε ἀπὸ Τυάνων δυνάμεις καὶ ἐκ τῆς μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Παλαιστίνης τέλη τινὰ τῶν ἀνδρειοτάτων· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Παλαιστίνης πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ ὀπλίσει κορύνας καὶ ρόπαλα ἐπεφέροντο.

53 Συμπεσόντων δὲ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀλλήλοισι, ἔδοξεν ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἵππος κατὰ τι μέρος ἐκκλίνειν, ὥς ἂν μὴ πλήθει τῶν Παλμυρηνῶν ἱππέων πλεονεκτοῦντων <καὶ> περιυπαζομένων πως τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον ἐμπεσὼν ἐς κύκλωσιν λάθῃ· τῶν τοίνυν Παλμυρηνῶν ἱππέων τοὺς ἐκκλίναντας διωκόντων καὶ ταύτῃ τὴν τάξιν τὴν οἰκείαν παρεξελθόντων, ἐς τοὐναντίον ἀπέβη τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῦσιν τὸ βουλευθέν· ἐδίωκοντο γὰρ τῷ ὄντι πολὺ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλασσωθέντες. 2. Ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐπιπτον πλεῖστοι, τότε δὴ τῶν πεζῶν τὸ πᾶν ἔργον γενέσθαι συνέβη· τὴν γὰρ τάξιν τοῖς Παλμυρηνοῖς διαρραγεῖσαν ἰδόντες ἐκ τοῦ τοὺς ἱππέας τῇ διώξει σχολάσαι, συστραφέντες ἀτάκτοις αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐσκεδασμένοις ἐπέθεντο· καὶ φόνοσ ἦν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολὺς, τῶν μὲν τοῖς συνήθεσιν ἐπιόντων ὅπλοις, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Παλαιστίνης τὰς κορύνας καὶ τὰ ρόπαλα τοῖς σιδήρῳ καὶ χαλκῷ τεθωρακισμένοις ἐπιφερόντων, ὅπερ μάλιστα τῆς νίκης ἐν μέρει γέγονεν αἴτιον, τῷ ξένῳ τῆς τῶν ροπάλων ἐπιφορᾶς τῶν πολεμίων καταπλαγέντων.

equal terms, they were immediately able to put the latter to flight. Some were knocked off the precipitous rocks and dashed to pieces, and the pursuers and those who had no share capturing the hill killed others as well as. After this victory, the Romans could pass through undisturbed ... the emperor made his way into these areas. 3. Apamea, Larissa and Arethusa received him (within their walls); when he saw that the Palmyrene army of about 70,000 men, consisting of their own people and others who had decided to take part in the campaign, was drawn up on the plain in front of Emesa, he camped there, before their eyes, with his Dalmatian cavalry, the Mysians, the Pannonians, and also the ones from Noricum and Raetia, which are Celtic units. 4. Among them were the imperial guards, who were all very skilled soldiers chosen for merit. With them were also the Moorish cavalry, the armed forces from Asia and Tyana and certain units from Mesopotamia, Phoenicia and Palestine, which were extremely brave sections; the Palestinians carried clubs and maces along with the other equipment.

53 Once the two armies were locked in combat, the Roman cavalry considered it appropriate to partially withdraw so that the Roman army could not be surrounded unawares by the Palmyrene cavalry which was superior in number and capable of encircling manoeuvres without them realizing it. However, by pursuing the opponents who were giving way and thus going beyond their own lines, the Palmyrene cavalry turned the Roman cavalry's plan into the opposite; they were pursued due to their much smaller numbers than the enemies. 2. As most of them fell, the weight of battle fell on the shoulders of the infantry; for when it saw how the order of battle of the Palmyrenes had been dashed by the fact that their cavalry were solely occupied with the pursuit, it moved close together and attacked the disorganized and scattered groups of enemies. A great masscure ensued: for while some fought with conventional weapons, the others, especially the Palestinians, attacked the enemies in iron and bronze armour with clubs and maces. This was a partial reason for the (Roman)

3. Φευγόντων δὲ ἤδη τῶν Παλμυρηνῶν προτροπάδην, καὶ ἐν τῷ φεύγειν ἑαυτοὺς τε συμπατοῦντων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀναιρουμένων, τὸ πεδῖον ἐπληροῦτο νεκρῶν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων, <τῶν> ὅσοι διαδρᾶναι δεδύνηνται τὴν πόλιν καταλαβόντων.

54 Ἀθυμίας δὲ πολλῆς εἰκότως ἐπὶ τῇ ἡττῇ Ζηνοβίαν ἐχούσης, βουλὴ προέκειτο περὶ τοῦ πρακτέου, καὶ κοινῇ γνώμῃ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει τοῖς μὲν περὶ τὴν Ἑμισαν πράγμασιν ἀπογνῶναι διὰ τὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἑμισηνοὺς ἀλλοτρίως πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔχοντας τὰ Ῥωμαίων αἰρεῖσθαι, Παλμύραν δὲ καταλαβεῖν καὶ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ὀχυρῷ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐπιτρέψαντας σχολαίτερον σκοπῆσαι τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς· οὐδὲν ἦν ἔργου καὶ λόγου τὸ μέσον, ἀλλὰ συνέθεον ἐφ' ὅπερ ἐδόκει. 2. Πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν Ζηνοβίας φυγὴν Αὐρηλιανὸς εἰς μὲν τὴν Ἑμισαν εἰσῆει, προθύμως αὐτὸν τῶν πολιτῶν δεχομένων, εὐρῶν δὲ πλοῦτον ὃν οὐχ οἷα τε ἐγγέγονει Ζηνοβία μετακομίσαι, παραχρῆμα σὺν τῷ στρατῷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ Παλμύραν εἶχετο·

victory as the enemies were terrified by the unorthodox use of the clubs. 3. In their headlong flight the Palmyrenes were trod upon and killed by their enemies. Eventually the plain was covered with corpses of men and horses, and those who were able to escape sought refuge sought refuge in the city.

54 Zenobia was naturally depressed by the defeat and took advice on what needed to be done. Everyone agreed that the activities around Emesa should be stopped, especially since the inhabitants of the city were hostile to her having now that they had embraced the Roman cause. Palmyra needed to be held firmly in the hand and the situation reflected on in greater peace and quiet once the necessary security had been gained in the well-fortified city. As no faction or advice interfered, the decision was made. 2. As soon as Aurelianus heard of Zenobia's flight, he went back to Emesa, with the citizens gladly taking him in. He also found valuables that Zenobia was no longer able to take with her, and immediately he and his army started to advance on Palmyra.

Jordanes, *Hist. Rom.* 291, p. 37,30-32:

Quo uxor sua occiso Orientis tenebat imperium; contra quam expeditionem suscipiens Aurelianus, apud Immas in vicino Antiochiaë superavit, ...

After his (i.e. Odaenathus') murder, Zenobia had control of the East: Aurelian undertook an expedition against her and defeated her at Immae in the vicinity of Antioch ...

Syncecellus, p. 470,3-5 (p. 721,9-12, CSHB):

Ταύτην τὴν ἀκοὴν Αὐρηλιανὸς οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν ἔρχεται μετὰ στρατιᾶς καὶ πλησίον Ἀντιοχείας τῆς κατὰ Συρίαν ἐν Ἱμμαῖς καλουμένῳ χωρίῳ τοὺς μὲν Παλμυρηνοὺς διαφθείρει, ...

Aurelian, unable to bear what he had heard (about the Palmyrene occupation of Egypt), departed with an army and near Antioch in Syria, at a place called Immae, he destroyed the Palmyrene forces, ...

Aurelian marched on Palmyra, attempts at negotiation (272 CE)

SHA, Aurel. 26,1-27,6, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 244-49:

26 Post haec Palmyram iter flexit, ut ea oppugnata laborum terminus fieret. sed in itinere a latronibus Syris male accepto frequenter exercitu multa perpressus est et in obsidione usque ad ictum sagittae periclitatus est. 2. Epistula ipsius exstat ad Mucaporem missa, in qua de huius belli difficultate ultra pudorem imperialem fatetur: 3. 'Romani me modo dicunt bellum contra feminam gerere,

26 After this, he directed his march toward Palmyra, in order that, by storming it, he might put an end to his labours. But frequently on the march his army met with a hostile reception from the brigands of Syria, and after suffering many mishaps he incurred great danger during the siege, being even wounded by an arrow. 2. A letter of his is still in existence, addressed to Mucapor, in which,

quasi sola mecum Zenobia et suis viribus pugnet, atque hostium quantum si vir a me oppugnandus esset, illa conscientia et timore longe deteriore. 4. dici non potest quantum hic sagittarum est, qui belli apparatus, quantum telorum, quantum lapidum; nulla pars muri est quae non binis et ternis ballistis occupata sit; ignes etiam tormentis iaciuntur. 5. Quid plura? timet quasi femina, pugnat quasi poenam timens, sed credo adiuturos Romanam rem publicam vere deos, qui numquam nostris conatibus defuerunt.' 6. Denique fatigatus ac pro malis fessus litteras ad Zenobiam misit deditionem illius petens, vitam pro- mittens, quarum exemplum indidi: 7. 'Aurelianus imperator Romani orbis et receptor orientis Zenobiae ceterisque quos societas tenet bellica. 8. Sponte facere debuistis id quod meis litteris nunc habetur, deditionem enim praecipio impunitate vitae proposita, ita ut illic, Zenobia, cum tuis agas vitam ubi te ex senatus amplissimi sententia conlocavero. 9. Gemmas, aurum, argentum, sericum, equos, camelos in Romanum aerarium conferatis. Palmyrenis ius suum servabitur.'

27 Hac epistula accepta Zenobia superbius insolentiusque rescripsit quam eius fortuna poscebat, credo ad terrorem; nam eius quoque epistulae exemplum indidi: 2. 'Zenobia regina orientis Aureliano Augusto. Nemo adhuc praeter te hoc quod poscis litteris petiit. virtute faciendum est quidquid in rebus bellicis est gerendum. 3. Deditionem meam petis, quasi nescias Cleopatram reginam perire maluisse quam in qualibet vivere dignitate. 4. Nobis Persarum auxilia non desunt, quae iam speramus, pro nobis sunt Saraceni, pro nobis Armenii. 5. Latrones Syri exercitum tuum, Aureliane, vicerunt, quid si

without the wonted reserve of an emperor, he confesses the difficulty of this war: 3. 'The Romans are saying that I am merely waging a war with a woman, just as if Zenobia alone and with her own forces only were fighting against me, and yet, as a matter of fact, there is as great a force of the enemy as if I had to make war against a man, while she, because of her fear and her sense of guilt, is a much baser foe. 4. It cannot be told what a store of arrows is here, what great preparations for war, what a store of spears and of stones; there is no section of the wall that is not held by two or three engines of war, and their machines can even hurl fire. Why say more? 5. She fears like a woman, and fights as one who fears punishment. I believe, however, that the gods will truly bring aid to the Roman commonwealth, for they have never failed our endeavours.' 6. Finally, exhausted and worn out by reason of ill-success, he despatched a letter to Zenobia, asking her to surrender and promising to spare her life; of this letter I have inserted a copy: 7. 'From Aurelian, Emperor of the Roman world and recoverer of the East, to Zenobia and all others who are bound to her by alliance in war. 8. You should have done of your own free will what I now command in my letter. For I bid you surrender, promising that your lives shall be spared, and with the condition that you, Zenobia, together with your children, shall dwell wherever I, acting in accordance with the wish of the most noble senate, shall appoint a place. 9. Your jewels, your gold, your silver, your silks, your horses, your camels, you shall all hand over to the Roman treasury. As for the people of Palmyra, their rights shall be preserved.'

27 On receiving this letter, Zenobia responded with more pride and insolence than befitted her fortunes, I suppose with a view to inspiring fear; for a copy of her letter, too, I have inserted: 2. 'From Zenobia, Queen of the East, to Aurelian Augustus. None save yourself has ever demanded by letter what you now demand. Whatever must be accomplished in matters of war must be done by valour alone. 3. You demand my surrender as though you were not aware that Cleopatra preferred to die a Queen rather than remain alive, however high her rank. 4. We

igitur illa venerit manus quae undique speratur, pones profecto supercilium, quo nunc mihi deditionem, quasi omnifariam victor, imperas.' 6. Hanc epistulam Nicomachus (*FGrH* 215F) se transtulisse in Graecum ex lingua Syrorum dicit ab ipsa Zenobia dictatam. nam illa superior Aureliani Graeca missa est.

shall not lack reinforcements from Persia, which we are even now expecting. On our side are the Saracens, on our side, too, the Armenians. 5. The brigands of Syria have defeated your army, Aurelian. What more need be said? If those forces, then, which we are expecting from every side, shall arrive, you will, of a surety, lay aside that arrogance with which you now command my surrender, as though victorious on every side.' 6. This letter, Nicomachus says, was dictated by Zenobia herself and translated by him into Greek from the Syrian tongue. For that earlier letter of Aurelian's was written in Greek.

Anonymous Continuator of Cassius Dio 10,5, ed. Boissevain, iii, pp. 746-747 (= *FHG* IV, p. 197):

Ὅτι Αὐρηλιανὸς ἔπεμψε πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς Ζηνοβίαν προτρέπων αὐτὴν ἐνδοῦναι τελεῖν ὑπ' αὐτόν· Ἡ δὲ ἀντεδήλωσεν ὅτι 'Εγὼ οὐδὲν μέγα ἐβλάβην· οἱ γὰρ πεσόντες ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ σχεδὸν πάντες Ῥωμαῖοί εἰσιν.'

Aurelian sent envoys to Zenobia, urging her finally to surrender to him. She replied, saying: 'I have hardly sustained any serious losses. For of those who had fallen, the majority were Romans.'

The siege of Palmyra, the escape and capture of Zenobia

SHA, Aurel. 28,1-5, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 249-53:

28 His acceptis litteris Aurelianus non erubuit sed iratus est statimque collecto exercitu ac ducibus suis undique Palmyram obsedit; neque quicquam vir fortis reliquit quod aut imperfectum videretur aut incuratum. 2. Nam et auxilia, quae a Persis missa fuerant, interceptit et alas Saracenas Armeniasque corripit atque ad se modo ferociter modo subtiliter transtulit, denique multa vi mulierem potentissimam vicit. 3. Victa igitur Zenobia cum fugeret camelis, quos dromedas vocitant, atque ad Persas iter tenderet, equitibus missis est capta atque in Aureliani potestatem deducta.

4. Victor itaque Aurelianus totiusque iam orientis possessor, cum in vinculis Zenobiam teneret, cum Persis, Armeniis, Saracenis superbior atque insolentior egit ea quae ratio temporis postulabat. 5. Tunc illatae illae vestes, quas in Templo Solis videmus, consertae gemmis, tunc Persici dracones et tiarae, tunc genus purpurae, quod postea nec

28 On receiving this letter, Aurelian felt no shame, but rather was angered, and at once he gathered together from every side his soldiers and leaders and laid siege to Palmyra; and that brave man gave his attention to everything that seemed incomplete or neglected. 2. For he cut off the reinforcements which the Persians had sent, and he tampered with the squadrons of Saracens and Armenians, bringing them over to his own side, some by forcible means and some by cunning. Finally, by a mighty effort he conquered that most powerful woman. 3. Zenobia, then, conquered, fled away on camels (which they call dromedaries), but while seeking to reach the Persians she was captured by the horsemen sent after her, and thus she was brought into the power of Aurelian. 4. And so Aurelian, victorious and in possession of the entire East, more proud and insolent now that he held Zenobia in chains, dealt with the Persians, Armenians, and Saracens as the needs of the occasion demanded. 5. Then were brought in those garments, encrusted with jewels, which we now see in the Temple of the Sun, then, too,

ulla gens detulit nec Romanus orbis vidit.

29 De qua pauca saltem libet dicere, meministis enim fuisse in Templo Iovis Optimi Maximi Capitolini pallium breve purpureum lanestre, ad quod cum matronae atque ipse Aurelianus iungerent purpuras suas, cineris specie decolorari videbantur ceterae divini comparatione fulgoris. 2. Hoc munus rex Persarum ab Indis interioribus sumptum Aureliano dedisse perhibetur, scribens: 'Sume purpuram, qualis apud nos est.' 3. Sed hoc falsum fuit. nam postea diligentissime et Aurelianus et Probus et proxime Diocletianus missis diligentissimis confectoribus requisierunt tale genus purpurae nec tamen invenire potuerunt, dicitur enim sandyx Indica talem purpuram facere, si curetur.

the Persian dragon-flags and head-dresses, and a species of purple such as no nation ever afterward offered or the Roman world beheld.

29 Concerning this, I desire to say at least a few words. For you remember that there was in the Temple of Jupiter Best and Greatest on the Capitolium a short woollen cloak of a purple hue, by the side of which all other purple garments, brought by the matrons and by Aurelian himself, seemed to fade to the colour of ashes in comparison with its divine brilliance. 2. This cloak, brought from the farthest Indies, the King of the Persians is said to have presented as a gift to Aurelian, writing as follows: 'Accept a purple robe, such as we ourselves use.' 3. But this was untrue. For later both Aurelian and Probus and, most recently, Diocletian made most diligent search for this species of purple, sending out their most diligent agents, but even so it could not be found. But indeed it is said that the Indian sandyx yields this kind of purple if properly prepared.

Orosius, *Adversus Paganos* VII,23,4:

Expeditione in Danuuium suscepta Gothos magnis proeliis profligavit dicionemque Romanam antiquis terminis statuit. inde in orientem conuersus Zenobiam, quae occiso Odenato marito suo Syriam receptam sibi uindicabat, magis proelii terrore quam proelio in potestatem redegit.

Then turning to the East, he (i.e. Aurelian) reduced Zenobia, who, when her husband, Odaenathus, was slain, was taking the recovered province of Syria to herself, under his power by fear of battle rather than by battle. (tr. Deferrari, p. 319)

Zosimus, *Hist. Nova* I,54,(2)-56,2:

... καὶ ἐπιστὰς τῇ πόλει, κύκλῳ περιλαβὼν τὸ τεῖχος ἐπολιόρκει, τῆς τροφῆς ἐκ τῶν πλησιαζόντων ἐθνῶν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ χορηγουμένης· τῶν δὲ Παλμυρηνῶν ἐπιτωθαζόντων ὡς ἀδυνάτου τῆς ἀλώσεως οὔσης, ἥδη δὲ τινος καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα λόγους αἰσχροῦς ἀφιέντος, παρεστὼς τις τῷ βασιλεῖ Πέρσης ἀνὴρ εἰ «κελεύεις» ἔφη, «τὸν ὑβριστὴν τοῦτον ὄψει νεκρόν». 3. Ἐγκελευσαμένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, προστησάμενος ἑαυτοῦ τινὰς ὁ Πέρσης τοὺς ἀποκρύπτοντας, ἐντείνας τὸ τόξον καὶ βέλος ἀρμόσας ἀφίησιν, ὃ δὴ προκεκυφότες τῆς ἐπάλξεως τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἔτι τὰς ὕβρεις ἐπαφιέντι προσπαγὲν κατάγει τε τοῦ τείχους αὐτὸν καὶ νεκρὸν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ δείκνυσιν.

... and reaching the city, he (Aurelian) encircled the walled-city and began the siege; the neighbouring peoples furnished his troops with the necessary supplies. As the Palmyrenes now mocked (the Romans) as their city appeared impregnable; in fact, one of them even hurled insults to the emperor's face; a Persian approached Aurelianus with the words: 'If you so command it, you will see this insolent guy as a corpse.' 3. The emperor gave the appropriate instructions, and the Persian placed some men in front of him who were supposed to cover him up, strung his bow, placed an arrow on it and shot at him. The projectile hit the man who had lent over the battlements and was still indulging in his revile, plunged him down from the wall and showed him to the army and the emperor as a

corpse.

55 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀντειχόν πολιορκούμενοι, σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπαγορεύειν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐλπίσαντες, ἐγκαρτεροῦντας θεώμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τροφῆς ἐνδεία πιεζόμενοι γνώμην ποιοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην δραμεῖν, κάκεισε παρὰ Περσῶν βοήθειαν εὐρέσθαι, πράγματά τε Ῥωμαίοις νεώτερα μηχανήσασθαι. 2. Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι, καμήλῳ <...> τὴν Ζηνοβίαν ἀναβιβάσαντες, αἱ δὲ καμήλων εἰσὶν τάχιστα καὶ ἵππους ὑπεραίρουσαι τάχει, τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξάγουσιν· Αὐρηλιανὸς δὲ ἀχθόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς Ζηνοβίας φυγῇ, τῷ κατὰ φύσιν οὐκ ἐνδοὺς δραστηρίῳ, πέμπει παραχρῆμα τοὺς διώζοντας ταύτην ἱππέας. 3. Οἱ δὲ καταλαβόντες ἤδη τὸν Εὐφράτην αὐτὴν μέλλουσαν περαιοῦσθαι, καταγαγόντες ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου πρὸς τὸν Αὐρηλιανὸν ἄγουσιν· ὃ δὲ τῷ μὲν ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ τῆς θέας περιχαρῆς ἐγγέγονει, φιλότιμος δὲ ὢν φύσει, λαβὼν κατὰ νοῦν ὡς γυναικὸς κρατήσας οὐκ ἔσται τοῖς ἔσομένοις ἐπίδοξος, ἐδυσχέραινε.

56 Τῶν δὲ ἐναποκεκλεισμένων τῇ πόλει Παλμυρηνῶν αἱ γνώμαι διχῇ διηροῦντο, τῶν μὲν προκινδυνεύειν τῆς πόλεως ἐθελόντων καὶ διαπολεμεῖν παντὶ σθένει Ῥωμαίοις, τῶν δὲ ἱκετηρίας ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους προτεινομένων αἰτούντων τε συγγνώμην ἐπὶ τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν· δεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν ἱκετείαν καὶ θαρρεῖν παρακελευσαμένου, πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐξεχέοντο, δῶρα καὶ ἱερεῖα προσάγοντες. 2. Αὐρηλιανὸς δὲ τὰ μὲν ἱερεῖα τιμήσας τὰ δὲ δῶρα δεξάμενος ἀθῶους ἡφίει·

55 The besieged continued their resistance in the hope that the enemies would have to give up due to shortage of food, but when they saw the stubbornness of their opponents and that they themselves suffered from food shortages, they envisaged the plan to hurry to the Euphrates to seek help from the Persians and then to create new problems for the Romans. 2. After this decision they let ... Zenobia mounted a camel - these are the fastest camels and out-perform even horses and they lead her out of the city in secret. Aurelian was seized with anger when she fled and did not want to resign himself to it due to his passionate nature. He therefore immediately dispatched horsemen (in pursuit) 3. They reached the Euphrates and forced Zenobia to get off the ship just when she was about to cross, and brought her as a prisoner before Aurelian. He was delighted by this unexpected sight, but being greedy of honour by nature, he bore in mind that victory over a woman would not bring him any special renown in later generations, so he was somewhat disappointed.

56 The Palmyrenes trapped in the city were divided: while some chose to undertake the city's perilous defence and endure the war against the Romans with all their might, the others gesticulated submission over the wall and apologised for their aforementioned actions. The emperor accepted their pleas and gave them encouragement, whereupon they rushed out of the city bearing gifts and offerings. 2. Aurelian respected the offerings, accepted the gifts and let the donors leave unpunished.

Zonaras XII,27, p. 607,1-6 (iii, pp. 152,19-25, Dindorf):

Ἀλλὰ μήπω περὶ τοῦ τέλους αὐτοῦ, τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ αὐταρχίᾳ αὐτῷπραχθέντα διηγητέον. στρατηγικώτατος γὰρ ὢν πολλοὺς πολέμους ἐνίκησε. τοὺς τε γὰρ Παλμυρηνοὺς ἐχειρώσατο, καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν βασιλίσσαν Ζηνοβίαν κρατήσασαν καὶ Αἰγύπτου καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ τότε στρατηγοῦντα Πρόβον ἐλοῦσαν αὐτὸς κατ' αὐτῆς στρατεύσας κατεπολέμησε καὶ ὑπέταξεν.

But we have not yet completed the story of his (i.e. Aurelian's) end, but must narrate what he accomplished in his period of supreme command. Being an excellent general, he defeated many enemies. For he overwhelmed the Palmyrenes; their queen Zenobia had gained control of Egypt and captured Probus, the military commander there at that time. He himself campaigned against her, wearing her down in war and bringing her under his authority. (tr. Dodgeon)

(Fictional?) Dialogue between Aurelian and Zenobia after her capture

SHA, Trig. Tyr. 30,23, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 140-41:

Cum illam Aurelianus cepisset atque in conspectum suum adductam sic appellasset, 'Quid est, Zenobia? ausa es insultare Romanis imperatoribus?' illa dixisse fertur: 'Imperatorem te esse cognosco, qui vineis, Gallienum et Aureolum et ceteros principes non putavi. Victoriā mei similem credens in consortium regni venire, si facultas locorum pateretur, optavit.'

When Aurelian had taken her prisoner, he caused her to be led into his presence and then addressed her thus: 'Why is it, Zenobia, that you dared to show insolence to the emperors of Rome?' To this she replied, it is said: 'You, I know, are an emperor indeed, for you win victories, but Gallienus and Aureolus and the others I never regarded as emperors. Believing Victoria to be a woman like me, I desired to become a partner in the royal power, should the supply of lands permit.'

Execution of the supporters of Zenobia ordered by Aurelian

SHA, Aurel. 30,1-3, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 252-53:

Sed ut ad incepta redeamus: ingens tamen strepitus militum fuit omnium Zenobiam ad poenam poscentium. 2. Sed Aurelianus indignum aestimans mulierem interimi occisis plerisque, quibus auctoribus illa bellum moverat, paraverat, gesserat, triumpho mulierem reservavit, ut populi Romani oculis esset ostentui. 3. Grave inter eos qui caesi sunt de Longino philosopho fuisse perhibetur, quo illa magistro usa esse ad Graecas litteras dicitur, quem quidem Aurelianus idcirco dicitur occidisse, quod superbior illa epistula ipsius diceretur dictata consilio, quamvis Syro esset sermone contexta.

30 But to return to my undertaking: despite all this, there arose a terrible uproar among all the soldiers, who demanded Zenobia for punishment. 2. Aurelian, however, deeming it improper that a woman should be put to death, killed many who had advised her to begin and prepare and wage the war, but the woman he saved for his triumph, wishing to show her to the eyes of the Roman people. 3. It was regarded as a cruel thing that Longinus the philosopher should have been among those who were killed. He, it is said, was employed by Zenobia as her teacher in Greek letters, and Aurelian is said to have slain him because he was told that the over-proud letter of hers had been dictated in accord with his counsel, although, in fact, it was composed in the Syrian tongue.

Zosimus, *Hist. Nova* I,56,(2)-3:

Τῆς δὲ πόλεως γενόμενος κύριος καὶ τοῦ κατὰ ταύτην πλούτου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀποσκευῆς καὶ ἀναθημάτων κρατήσας, ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὴν Ἑμισαν εἰς κρίσιν ἤγαγε Ζηνοβίαν τε καὶ τοὺς ταύτῃ συναραμένους· ἐπεὶ δὲ αἰτίας ἔλεγεν ἑαυτὴν ἐξαιροῦσα, πολλοὺς τε ἄλλους ἤγεν εἰς μέσον ὡς παραγαγόντας οἷα γυναῖκα, ἐν οἷς καὶ Λογγίνος ἦν, οὗ συγγράμματα ἔστι μέγα τοῖς παιδείας μεταποιουμένοις ὄφελος φέροντα. 3. ὥπερ ἐφ' οἷς κατηγορεῖτο ἐλεγχόμενῳ παραχρῆμα ὁ βασιλεὺς θανάτου

After taking possession of the city and making himself the master of the riches stored there as well as the other provisions and votive offerings, he returned to Emesa to put Zenobia and her helpers on trial here. By rejecting the charges, she cleared herself of everything, but in the proceedings implicated many others who might have misled her being a (weak) woman. These included Longinus from whom there are many writings of great benefits to those who are engaged in literary

ζημίαν ἐπέθηκεν, ἣν οὕτω γενναίως ἤνεγκεν ὁ Λογγίνος ὥστε καὶ τοὺς σχετλιάζοντας ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει παραμυθεῖσθαι, καὶ ἄλλων δὲ Ζηνοβίας κατεπιούσης κολάσεσιν ὑπαχθέντων.

training. 3. Longinus was convicted of the charges against him and sentenced to death on the spot by the emperor but accepted the punishment with such courage that he himself comforted those who mourned for his fate. Other persons denounced by Zenobia were also punished.

John of Antioch, *Frag.* 155, *FHG* iv, p. 599 (ed. Mariev, *Frag.* 180, p. 337, CFHB):

Ὅτι Αὐρηλιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ πολέμια δεινῶς ἦν ἡσκημένος, ἀκάθεκτος δὲ περὶ τὴν γνώμην, καὶ πολὺ πρὸς ὠμότητα ῥέπτων. Τῶν τε κατὰ πόλιν ἐπισήμων θανάτῳ πολλοὺς ἐξημίωσεν ὑπὸ Ζηνοβίας ἐλεγχθέντας, χαλεπὸς τις καὶ φονικὸς ὑπάρχων καὶ μᾶλλον ἀναγκαῖος στρατηγὸς ἢ περ αἰρετὸς βασιλεὺς, ἐν παντὶ δὲ καιρῷ δυσχερὴς καὶ ἀπρόσιτος, ὡς μὴδὲ τοῦ τῶν οἰκείων αἵματος διαμείναι καθαρὸς· τὴν γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς γαμετὴν καὶ ἀνέγκλητον διεχρήσατο. Τοῦ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τάγματος καὶ τῶν ἐξιτήλων καὶ διαλυμένων ἡθῶν ὡς ἐπίπαν γενναῖος ἐπανορθωτὴς ἦν.

The Emperor Aurelian was extremely proficient in matters of war, but undisciplined in mind and was much inclined towards cruelty. He inflicted the death penalty on many distinguished men in each city who were accused by Zenobia. He was a brutal sort of person and bloodthirsty - more of a general necessary for the time than an amiable emperor. Always ill-tempered and inaccessible, he did not remain free from the blood of his own household for he put to death the innocent wife of his son. However he was to a large extent a genuine restorer of military discipline and a rejuvenator of faded custom and reformer of dissolute morals.

The defeat and capture of Zenobia as told by Malalas

Malalas, *Chronographia* XII, p. 300,3-23:

Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Αὐρηλιανὸς δεξιόμενος μηνυσιν, ἐπεστράτευσεν κατὰ Ζηνοβίας, βασιλίσσης Σαρακηνῶν, εἰς τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἀπελθὼν. ἐμηνύθη γὰρ περὶ αὐτῆς ὅτι ἐπραΐδευσε καὶ ἔκαυσε τὰ ἀνατολικά μέρη ἕως τῶν ὁρίων Ἀντιοχείας τῆς μεγάλης, πλησίον τοῦ Ὀρόντου ποταμοῦ κατασκηνώσασα. ἢ μόνον δὲ κατέφθασεν ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Αὐρηλιανὸς Ἀντιόχειαν, εὐθέως ὥρμησεν, ὡς ἔχει, κατ' αὐτῆς ἐξελθὼν· καὶ συγκρούσας κατέκοψε τὰ πληθὴ αὐτῆς πάντα. παραλαβὼν δὲ αὐτὴν Ζηνοβίαν, ἐκάθισεν εἰς δρομωναρίαν κάμηλον· καὶ πομπεύσας αὐτὴν εἰς τὰς ἀνατολικὰς χώρας πάσας εἰσηγάγεν αὐτὴν καὶ εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν μεγάλην. καὶ θεωρησας ἐκεῖ ἵπποδρόμιον εἰσηγάγεν αὐτὴν εἰς δρομωναρίαν κάμηλον. καὶ κτίσας ἐν αὐτῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ τόπον, ἔστησεν αὐτὴν ἄνω δεδεμένην ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ὄντινα τόπον κτίσας ἐκάλεσε θρίαμβον. κάκειθεν κατενεγκὼν αὐτὴν ἀπηγάγεν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ὡς βασιλίσσαν βαρβάρων Σαρακηνῶν· καὶ θριαμβεύσας αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τῷ πρῶτον σχηματὶ ἀπεκεφάλισεν αὐτὴν. Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Αὐρηλιανὸς καὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν, κατ-

Immediately after he had received a dispatch, the same Aurelian mounted an expedition against Zenobia, the queen of the Saracens, and departed for the East. For concerning her he was informed (by the dispatch) that she had plundered and burnt the regions of the Orient as far as the borders of Antioch the Great and that she had encamped near the river Orontes. No sooner had the same emperor Aurelian arrived in Antioch than he immediately set out, just as he was, and went against her. When the battle was joined, he annihilated her forces. He seized Zenobia herself and sat her on a dromedary, and he put her on parade and led her through all the lands of the Orient and into Antioch the Great. After he had watched the chariot-races there, he brought her into the ring on a dromedary. He also set up a stage in Antioch itself, and chained her up and placed her on top of it for three days. He called the stage he set up a 'Triumph'. Taking her away from there, he led her to Rome as 'Queen of the barbarian Saracens'. After he had paraded her

εχομένην ἅπὸ βαρβάρων Σαρακηνῶν, συγγενῶν Ἐνάθου Σαρακηνοῦ, φονεύσας πάντας ἐποίησεν αὐτὴν ἅπὸ Ῥωμαίους εἶναι ἐπαρχίαν.

her in Rome in triumph in the accustomed fashion, he beheaded her. The same emperor Aurelian also made Arabia subject to the Romans by killing all the Saracens, relatives of Enathus, who were holding it.

The revolt of Palmyra under Septimius Apsaeus and its suppression by Aurelian (c. 272)

SHA, Aurel. 31,1-10, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 254-57:

31 Rarum est ut Syri fidem servant, immo difficile, nam Palmyreni, qui iam victi atque contusi fuerant, Aureliano rebus Europensibus occupato non mediocriter rebellarunt. 2. Sandarionem enim, quem in praesidio illic Aurelianus posuerat, cum sescentis sagittariis occiderunt, Achilleo cuidam parenti Zenobiae parantes imperium. 3. Verum adeo Aurelianus, ut erat paratus, e Rhodope revertit atque urbem, quia ita merebatur, evertit. 4. Crudelitas denique Aureliani vel, ut quidam dicunt, severitas eatenus exstitit ut epistula eius feratur confessionem inmanissimi furoris ostentans, cuius hoc exemplum est: 5. 'Aurelianus Augustus Cerronio Basso. non oportet ulterius progredi militum gladios, iam satis Palmyrenorum caesum atque concisum est. mulieribus non pepercimus, infantes occidimus, senes iugulavimus, rusticos interemimus. 6. Cui terras, cui urbem deinceps relinquemus? parcendum est iis qui remanserunt, credimus enim tam paucos tam multorum suppliciis esse correctos.

7. Templum sane Solis, quod apud Palmyram aquiliferi legionis tertiae cum vexilliferis et draconario et cornicinibus atque liticinibus diripuerunt, ad eam formam volo, quae fuit, reddi. 8. Habes trecentas auri libras de ² Zenobiae capsulis., habes argenti mille octingenta pondo de Palmyrenorum bonis, habes gemmas regias. 9. Ex his omnibus fac cohonestari templum ; mihi et dis immortalibus gratissimum feceris, ego ad senatum scribam, petens ut mittat pontificem qui dedicet templum.' 10. haec litterae, ut videmus, indicant satiatam esse inmanitatem principis duri.

31 It is rare thing, or rather, a difficult thing, for the Syrians to keep faith. For the Palmyrenes, who had once been defeated and crushed, now that Aurelian was busied with matters in Europe, began a rebellion of no small size. 2. For they killed Sandario, whom Aurelian had put in command of the garrison there, and with him six hundred bowmen, thus getting the rule for a certain Achilles, a kinsman of Zenobia's. 3. But Aurelian, indeed, prepared as he always was, came back from Rhodope and, because it deserved it, destroyed the city. 4. In fact, Aurelian's cruelty, or, as some say, his sternness, is so widely known that they even quote a letter of his, revealing a confession of most savage fury; of this the following is a copy: 5. 'From Aurelian Augustus to Cerronius Bassus. The swords of the soldiers should not proceed further. Already enough Palmyrenes have been killed and slaughtered. We have not spared the women, we have slain the children, we have butchered the old men, we have destroyed the peasants. 6. To whom, at this rate, shall we leave the land or the city? Those who still remain must be spared. For it is our belief that the few have been chastened by the punishment of the many. 7. Now as to the Temple of the Sun at Palmyra, which has been pillaged by the eagle-bearers of the Third Legion,³⁴ along with the standard-bearers, the dragon-bearer, and the buglers and trumpeters, I wish it restored to the condition in which it formerly was. 8. You have three hundred pounds of gold from Zenobia's coffers, you have eighteen hundred pounds of silver from the property of the Palmyrenes, and you have the royal jewels. 9. Use all these to embellish the temple; thus both to me and to the immortal gods you will do a most pleasing service. I will write to the senate and request it to send one of the pontiffs to dedicate the temple.' 10. This

letter, as we can see, shows that the savagery of the hard-hearted prince had been glutted.

Oracles foretelling the disaster that befell Palmyra

Zosimus, *Hist. Nova* I,57-58:

57 Ἄξιον <δὲ> τὰ συνενεχθέντα πρὸ τῆς [πρώτης] Παλμυρηνῶν καθαιρέσεως ἀφηγήσασθαι, εἰ καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐν ἐπιδρομῇ φαίνομαι ποιησάμενος διὰ τὴν εἰρημένην ἐν προοιμίῳ μοι πρόθεσιν· Πολυβίου γὰρ ὅπως ἐκτήσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ διεξεληθόντος, ὅπως ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ σφῆσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν αὐτὴν διέφθειραν ἔρχομαι λέξων. 2. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ἐπειδὴν ἐν ἐκείνῳ γένωμαι τῆς ἱστορίας τῷ μέρει· Παλμυρηνοῖς δὲ μέρους οὐκ ὀλίγου τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας ἤδη κεκρατηκόσιν, ὡς διεξῆλθον, ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πολλὰ προεμνηύθη τὴν συμβᾶσαν αὐτοῖς δηλοῦντα καθαίρεισιν· τίνα δὲ ταῦτα, ἐρῶ· ἐν Σελευκείᾳ τῇ κατὰ Κιλικίαν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἱδρυτο καλουμένου Σαρπηδονίου, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χρηστήριον. 3. Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου λεγόμενα, καὶ ὡς ἅπασιν τοῖς ὑπὸ λύμης ἀκρίδων ἐνοχλουμένοις Σελευκιάδας παραδιδούς (ὄρνεα δὲ ταῦτα ἐνδιαιτώμενα τοῖς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τόποις) συνεξέπεμπεν τοῖς αἰτουσίν, αἱ δὲ ταῖς ἀκρίσιν συμπεριπτάμεναι καὶ τοῖς στόμασιν αὐτάς δεχόμεναι καὶ παραχρῆμα διαφοροῦσαι πλῆθος τε ἄπειρον ἐν ἀκαριαίῳ διέφθειρον καὶ τῆς ἐκ τούτων βλάβης τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπήλλαττον, ταῦτα μὲν τῇ τηνικαῦτα τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονία παρίημι, τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς γένους πᾶσαν ἀποσεισαμένου θεῖαν εὐεργεσίαν. 4. Τοῖς Παλμυρηνοῖς δὲ χρωμένοις εἰ καθέξουσιν τὴν τῆς ἐφ᾽ αὐτῶν ἡγεμονίαν, ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς οὕτως

Ἔξιτέ μοι μεγάρων, ἀπατήμονες οὐλοῖ
ἄνδρες,

φύτλης ἀθανάτων ἐρικυδέος ἀλγυντήρες.

Πυνθανομένοις δὲ τισιν περὶ τῆς Αὐρηλιανοῦ
κατὰ Παλμυρηνῶν στρατείας ὁ θεὸς ἀνεῖλε

Κίρκος τρήρωσιν κρυερὸν γόνον ἡγηλάζων,
οἷος πολλῇσιν· ταὶ δὲ φρίσσουσι φονῆα.

58 Καὶ ἕτερον δὲ Παλμυρηνοῖς συνηνέχθη

57 It seems appropriate to me to describe in more detail the events that preceded Palmyra's destruction, even if I clearly wanted to deal with the story briefly as I have stated in the introduction. For, as Polybius has described the rapid acquisition of the empire by the Romans, I am now reporting on its demise which also took place in a short time and for which it was their atrocities that were to blame. 2. But I will only speak of this when I have reached that part of my history. When, as already mentioned, the Palmyrenes had already taken possession of a not insignificant part of the Roman Empire, the deity let them know in advance the impending doom with many signs. Here are a few examples: In Seleucia in Cilicia there was a sanctuary of the so-called Apollo Sarpedonius and in it was an oracle. 3. What is said about this deity is that it gave 'Seleucids' - which are birds living in the vicinity of the temple - to all those who suffered from locust plague - and sent these out together with the supplicants. These birds then flew about with the locusts, grasped them with their beaks, immediately tore them to pieces and wiped out at an instant an innumerable mass; so, they freed the people from the harm done by those insects. I attribute that to the fortunate people who lived at that time, whereas the current generation rejects all divine benevolence. 4. Now, the Palmyrenes, who asked the deity whether they would rule over the east, received the following answer:

'Get out of the temple, swindlers, perishable people who so aggrrieve the immortal gods' illustrious generation!'

However, the God prophesied for those who wanted to find out about Aurelian's campaign against the Palmyrene:

'If a hawk with a scary reputation leads the frightened pigeons,
he is alone among many; whereas they tremble before their murderer.'

58 The Palmyrenes received yet another

τοιούτων Ἄφακα χωρίον ἐστὶν μέσον Ἡλίου-πόλεως τε καὶ Βύβλου, καθ' ὃ ναὸς Ἀφροδίτης Ἀφακίτιδος ἵδρυται· τούτου πλησίον λίμνη τις ἔστιν ἐοικυῖα χειροποιήτῳ δεξαμενῇ· κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τοὺς πλησιάζοντας τόπους πῦρ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος λαμπάδος ἢ σφαίρας φαίνεται δίκην, συνόδων ἐν τῷ τόπῳ χρόνους τακτοῖς γινομένων, ὅπερ καὶ μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐφαίνετο χρόνων. 2. Ἐν δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ εἰς τιμὴν τῆς θεοῦ δῶρα προσέφερον οἱ συνιόντες ἕκ τε χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου πεποιημένα, καὶ ὑφάσματα μέντοι λίνου τε καὶ βύσσου καὶ ἄλλης ὕλης τιμιωτέρας· καὶ εἰ μὲν δεκτὰ ἐφάνη, παραπλησίως τοῖς βάρεσι καὶ τὰ ὑφάσματα κατεδύετο, εἰ δὲ ἄδεκτα καὶ ἀπόβλητα, αὐτὰ τε ἦν ἰδεῖν ἐπιπλέοντα τῷ ὕδατι τὰ ὑφάσματα καὶ εἴ τί περ ἦν ἐν χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ ἄλλαις ὕλαις, αἷς φύσις οὐκ αἰωρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀλλὰ καταδύεσθαι. 3. Τῶν Παλμυρηνῶν τοίνυν ἐν τῷ πρὸ τῆς καθαιρέσεως ἔτει συνελθόντων ἐν τῷ τῆς ἐορτῆς καιρῷ καὶ εἰς τιμὴν τῆς θεοῦ δῶρα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ ὑφασμάτων κατὰ τῆς λίμνης ἀφέντων, πάντων τε τοῦ βάθους καταδύντων, κατὰ τὸ ἐχόμενον ἔτος ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἐορτῆς ὤφθησαν αἰωρούμενα πάντα, τῆς θεοῦ διὰ τούτου τὰ ἐσόμενα δηλωσάσης. 4. Ἡ μὲν οὖν εἰς Ῥωμαίους εὐμένεια τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀγιστείας φυλαττομένης τοιαύτη· ἐπειδὴν δὲ εἰς ἐκείνους ἀφίκωμαι τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ κατὰ βραχὺ βαρβαρωθεῖσα εἰς ὀλίγον τι, καὶ αὐτὸ διαφθαρέν, περιέστη, τηνικαῦτα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας παραστήσω τοῦ δυστυχήματος, καὶ τοὺς χρησμούς ὡς ἂν οἷός τε ὧ παραθήσομαι τοὺς τὰ συνεχεχθέντα μηνύσαντας.

oracle of the following kind: Aphaka is a place in between Heliopolis and Byblos, where there is a temple of Aphrodite of Aphaka. Nearby is a pond that resembles an artificially created water basin. A fire in the area of the sanctuary and in the surrounding air, similar to a torch or orb, is seen when gatherings take place there at certain times, and this process has been observed up to our present day. 2. The attendees brought gifts made of gold and silver to the pond in honour of the goddess, as well as linen, silk and other precious materials. If the gifts appeared welcome, the textiles sank, as did the heavy objects; if, on the other hand, the textiles were unwelcome or contemptible, you could see them floating on the surface of the water, and likewise things made of gold, silver, or other substances that do not naturally float on the water but sink. 3. When the Palmyrenes gathered for the festival in the year before their city went into demise and threw gold, silver and weaving gifts into the lake in honour of the goddess, all the gifts sank deeply, while for the festival the following year sometimes everything was seen to be floating on the surface; and this is how the goddess revealed what would happen. 4. The benevolence of the deity towards the Romans was of the same kind, insofar as they maintained the sacred service. But then I come to those times when the Roman Empire was gradually barbarized and, only to a reduced extent, survived ruins. I will also explain the origins of the catastrophe and, to the best of my abilities, the oracles that announced the (later) events.

Aurelian's treatment of Zenobia

Zosimus, *Hist. Nova* I,59,(1)-61,1:

Αὐρηλιανοῦ τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐλαύνοντος, καὶ συνεπάγοντός οἱ Ζηνοβίαν τε καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν ταύτης καὶ πάντας ὅσοι τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως αὐτοῖς ἐκοινώνησαν, αὐτὴν μὲν Ζηνοβίαν φασὶν ἢ νόσῳ ληφθεῖσαν ἢ τροφῇ μεταλαβεῖν οὐκ ἀνασχομένην ἀποθανεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους πλὴν τοῦ Ζηνοβίας παιδὸς ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ μεταξὺ Χαλκηδόνος καὶ Βυζαντίου πορθμοῦ καταποντωθῆναι.

Aurelian therefore headed for Europe and brought with him Zenobia, her son (Vaballathus) and all those who had taken part in the rebellion. Some say that Zenobia herself died on the way, either because she fell ill or refused to eat; it is said that the rest of them, with the exception of her son, drowned in the middle of the strait between Chalcedon and Byzantium.

60 Ἐχομένου δὲ Αὐρηλιανοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην ὁδοῦ, κατέλαβεν ἀγγελία τοιαύτη,

60 Still on the march towards Europe, Aure-

ὡς τῶν ἐν Παλμύρᾳ καταλειφθέντων τινὲς Ἀψαῖον παραλαβόντες, ὃς καὶ τῶν προλαβόντων αὐτοῖς γέγονεν αἴτιος, ἀποπειρῶνται Μαρκελλίνου τοῦ καθεσταμένου τῆς μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν παρὰ βασιλέως ὑπάρχου καὶ τὴν τῆς ἐφ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐγκεχειρισμένου διοίκησιν, εἴ πως ἀνέχεται σχῆμα βασιλείου ἐαυτῷ περιθεῖναι. 2. Τοῦ δὲ εἰς τὸ διασκέπτεσθαι τὸ πρακτέον ἀναβαλλομένου, τὰ παραπλήσια καὶ αὖθις καὶ πολλάκις ἠνώχλουν· ὃ δὲ ἀποκρίσεσιν χρώμενος ἀμφιβόλοις αὐτὸς μὲν Αὐρηλιανῷ τὸ σκεφθὲν κατεμήνυσε, Παλμυρηνοὶ δὲ Ἀντιόχῳ περιθέντες ἀλουργεῖς ἱμάτιον κατὰ τὴν Παλμύραν εἶχον.

61 Αὐρηλιανὸς δὲ ταῦτα ἀκηκοὺς αὐτόθεν, ὡς εἶχεν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐφ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐπέπεσε, καταλαβὼν δὲ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ ἵππων ἀμίλλης ἐπιτελουμένης τῷ δήμῳ φανεὶς καὶ τῷ ἀδοκίτῳ πάντας ἐκπλήξας ἐπὶ τὴν Παλμύραν ἤλυνεν· ἀμαχητὶ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐλὼν καὶ κατασκάψας, οὐδὲ τιμωρίας Ἀντιόχον ἄξιον διὰ τὴν εὐτέλειαν εἶναι νομίσας ἀφίησιν ...

lian received the message that some of those who had remained in Palmyra had won over Apsaios, who had also initiated their earlier ventures, and tempted Marcellinus, who the Emperor had appointed Prefect of Mesopotamia and Rector Orientis to wear the imperial purple. 2. However, the latter postponed his decision so that he could calmly rethink the further steps, whereupon the Palmyrenes pressed him again and again with similar requests. But, while Marcellinus fed ambiguous answers to the conspirators, he informed Aurelian of the plot. The Palmyrenes, however, donned Antiochus with the purple cloak and took possession of Palmyra.

61 Hearing this news, Aurelian set off from his location as he was on the way to the east. After arriving in Antioch, he showed himself to the people during a horse race and amazed everyone with his unexpected appearance, but then he went on to Palmyra. He took the city without a fight and razed it to the ground; but bestowed freedom on Antiochus; the man did not even seem worthy of punishment due to his lowly origins. ...

Dedication to Septimius Apsaeus (date uncertain)

IGLS xvii, 77, cf. *Inv.* iii, 18, *IGRR* III, 1049 (Prov. Palmyra, on column):

1. Σεπτ(ίμιον) Ἀψαῖον τὸν πολεῖτην
2. καὶ προστάτην, ἡ πόλις

The City (i.e. Palmyra) to Septimius Apsaios, citizen and protector.

Support given to Aurelian by the priests of Bel (273-74 CE)

PAT 2812 (Prov. found in situ outside the main entrance of the Temple of Bel, Palmyra Museum):

1. brbnwt mrzhwt s[p]tm[yws] ḥdwdn [snqltyq']
2. nhyr' br sptm[yw]s 'gylw mqy dy 'dr [hyl' dy]
3. [']wrlwnws qsr [m]r[n]' w'dm[r] 'm wld' [...]
4. [whw]' 'mhwn bdy[r] byrh] 'b šnt 5.100+[80 +3]
5. [byr]h 'dr d[y] š[nt 584]
6. [wbryk]yn w[hby] br [š''] br 't'qb
7. [....] '[l]b[w]m'[w..]
8. [...]'t'qb yr[h]y dy] 'l
9. [w...br] 't'q[b yrhy] 'l tw'n w'g[y]lw br...
10. [dy] 'l '[m]w[d] w... 'l tly']
11. [....]

During the presidency of the confraternity of the priesthood (MRZHWT = θῆσος) of S[P]TM[YWS] (Septimius) ḤDWDN (Haddudan), illustrious [senator (SNQLTYQ')], son of SPTM[YW]S 'GYLW ('Ogeilu) MQY (Maqqai), who had aided [the army of [']WRLYNWS (Aurelianus) Caesar (QSR), [our master], and who had custody together with the progeniture of the [confraternity and who had been] with those in [the temple in the month] of 'B (Ab) of the year 5[83 (Sel. = 273 CE) in the month] of 'DR (Adar) of [the year 584 (Sel. = 274 CE), are commemorated and blessed]: W[HBY] (Wahbai) son of š'' [Ša'a] son of 'T'QB (Ate'qab) [in charge of ...; and

12. [w]yrhb[wl] br 'gy[lw dy] '[l b]t [ntr] [w]šm[']
 13. [tbyt..]
- So-and-so son of So-and-So] in charge of [...; and So-and-So, son of 'T'QB YR[HY] (Yarḥai] in charge of the chamber; and 'GY[LW] son of So-and-So, in charge of the porticos; and So-and-so son of 'GYLW, in charge of the pa[ges ...]; and] YRHB[WL'] (Yarḥibola) son of 'GYLW, in [charge of the ho]use [of guardians. Well] remembered.

Firmus, friend and ally of Zenobia, seized Egypt after her defeat (c. 272 CE)

SHA, Aurel. 32,1-3, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 256-57:

Securior denique iterum in Europam rediit atque illic omnes qui vagabantur hostes nota illa sua virtute contudit. 2. Interim res per Thracias Europamque omnem Aureliano ingentes agente Firmus quidam exstitit, qui sibi Aegyptum sine insignibus imperii, quasi ut esset civitas libera, vindicavit.

3. Ad quem continuo Aurelianus revertit, nec illic defuit felicitas solita, nam Aegyptum statim recepit atque, ut erat ferox animi, cogitationem ultus, vehementer irascens, ...

At length, now more secure, he returned again to Europe, and there, with his well-known valour, he crushed all the enemies who were roving about. 2. Meanwhile, when Aurelian was performing great deeds in the provinces of Thrace as well as in all Europe, there rose up a certain Firmus, who laid claim to Egypt, but without the imperial insignia and as though he purposed to make it into a free state. 3. Without delay Aurelian turned back against him, and there also his wonted good-fortune did not abandon him. For he recovered Egypt at once and took vengeance on the enterprise -violent in temper, as he always was; ...

SHA, Firmus 3,1-6 and 5,1-6, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 390-95:

3 Firmo patria Seleucia fuit, tametsi plerique Graecorum alteram tradunt, ignari eo tempore ipso tres fuisse Firmos, quorum unus praefectus Aegypti, alter dux limitis Africani idemque pro consule, tertius iste Zenobiae amicus ac socius, qui Alexandriam Aegyptiorum incitatus furore pervasit, et quem Aurelianus solita virtutum suarum felicitate contrivit.

2. De huius divitiis multa dicuntur, nam et vitreis quadraturis bitumine aliisque medicamentis insertis domum instruxisse perhibetur et tantum habuisse de chartis ut publice saepe diceret exercitum se alere posse papyro et glutine.

3. Idem et cum Blemmyis societatem maximam tenuit et cum Saracenis. naves quoque ad Indos negotiatorias saepe misit. 4. Ipse quoque dicitur habuisse duos dentes elephanti pedum denum, e quibus Aurelianus sellam constituerat facere additis aliis duobus, in qua Iuppiter aureus et gemmatus sederet cum

3 Now Firmus was a native of Seleucia, though many of the Greeks write otherwise, not knowing that at that same time there were three men called Firmus, one of them prefect of Egypt, another commander of the African frontier and also proconsul, and the third this friend and ally of Zenobia's, who, incited by the madness of the Egyptians, seized Alexandria and was crushed by Aurelian with the good fortune that was wont to attend his valour. 2. Concerning the wealth of this last-named Firmus, much is related. For example, it is said that he fitted his house with square panes of glass set in with pitch and other such substances and that he owned so many books that he often used to say in public that he could support an army on the paper and glue. 3. He kept up, moreover, the closest relations with the Blemmyae and Saracens, and he often sent merchant-vessels to the Indians also. 4. He even owned, it is said, two elephant-tusks, ten feet in length, to which Aurelian planned to add two more and make of them a throne on which he would place a

specie praetextae, ponendus in Templo Solis, Appenninis sortibus aditis, quem appellari voluerat Iovem Consulem vel Consulentem. 5. Sed eosdem dentes postea Carinus mulieri cuidam dono dedit, quae lectum ex iis fecisse narratur. quam, quia et nunc scitur et sciri apud posteros nihil proderit, taceo.

6. Ita donum Indicum, Iovi Optimo Maximo consecratum, per deterrimum principem et ministerium libidinis factum videtur et pretium. ...

5 Hic ergo contra Aurelium sumpsit imperium ad defendendas partes quae supererant Zenobiae. sed Aureliano de Thraciis redeunte superatus est. 2. Multi dicunt laqueo eum vitam finisse; aliud edictis suis ostendit Aurelianus; namque cum eum vicisset tale edictum Romae proponi iussit:

3. 'Amantissimo sui populo Romano Aurelianus Augustus salutem dicit. Pacato undique gentium toto qua late patet orbe terrarum, Firmum etiam latronem Aegyptium, barbaricis motibus aestuantem et feminei propudii reliquias colligentem, ne plurimum loquar, fugavimus, obsedimus, cruciavimus et occidimus.

4. Nihil est, Romulei Quirites, quod timere possitis, canon Aegypti, qui suspensus per latronem improbum fuerat, integer veniet. 5. Sit vobis cum senatu concordia, cum equestri ordine amicitia, cum praetorianis adfectio. ego efficiam ne sit aliqua sollicitudo Romana.

6. Vacate ludis, vacate circensibus, nos publicae necessitates teneant, vos occupent voluptates, quare sanctissimi Quirites,' et reliqua.

Zosimus, *Hist. Nova* I,61,1:

... σὺν τάχει δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέας στασιάζαντας καὶ πρὸς ἀπόστασιν ἰδόντας παρὰ στήσάμενος ...

statue of Jupiter, made of gold and decked with jewels and clad in a sort of bordered toga, to be set up in the Temple of the Sun; and after asking advice of the oracle in the Apennines, he purposed to call him Jupiter the Consul or the Consulting. 5. These tusks, however, were later presented by Carinus to a certain woman, who is said to have made them into a couch; her name, both because it is known now and because future generations will have no profit from knowing it, I will leave unmentioned. 6. So under a most evil prince the gift of the Indians, consecrated to Jupiter Best and Greatest, seems to have become both the instrument and the reward of lust. ...

5 He, then, seized the imperial power in opposition to Aurelian with the purpose of defending the remainder of Zenobia's party. Aurelian, however, returning from Thrace, defeated him. 2. Many relate that he put an end to his life by strangling, but Aurelian himself in his proclamations says otherwise; for when he had conquered him he gave orders to issue the following proclamation in Rome: 3. 'From Aurelian Augustus to his most devoted Roman people, greeting. We have established peace everywhere throughout the whole world in its widest extent, and also Firmus, that brigand in Egypt, who rose in revolt with barbarians and gathered together the remaining adherents of a shameless woman - not to speak at too great length - we have routed and seized and tortured and slain. 4. There is nothing now, fellow-citizens, sons of Romulus, which you need fear. The grain-supply from Egypt, which has been interrupted by that evil brigand, will now arrive undiminished. 5. Do you only maintain harmony with the senate, friendship with the equestrian order, and good will toward the praetorian guard. I will see to it that there is no anxiety in Rome. 6. Do you devote your leisure to games and to races in the circus. Let me be concerned with the needs of the state, and do not busy yourselves with your pleasures. Wherefore, most revered fellow-citizens,' and so forth.

Aurelian swiftly subdued the Alexandrines, who had been rioting and wanted to rebel.

Zenobia was paraded in Aurelian's triumph in Rome (274 CE)

Festus, *Breiarium* 24, p. 65,5-6, ed. Eadie:

... et captam Romae triumphans ante currum duxit.

... and (Aurelian) led her (i.e. Zenobia) captive in triumph before his chariot in Rome.

Eutropius, *Breviarium* IX,13,2:

... ingressusque Romam nobilem triumphum quasi receptor Orientis Occidentisque egit praecedentibus currum Tetrico et Zenobia.

... and entering Rome, (Aurelian) celebrated a magnificent triumph as restorer of the East and West, Tetricus (a usurper) and Zenobia going before his chariot.

Jerome, *Chron.*, s. a. 274, pp. 222,25-26 (*PL* 27.487):

Aurelium Romae triumphantem Tetricus et Zenobia praecesserunt.

Tetricus and Zenobia were paraded before a triumphant Aurelian in Rome.

SHA, Trig. Tyr. 30,24-26, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, p. 141:

Ducta est igitur per triumphum ea specie ut nihil pompabilius populo Romano videretur, iam primum ornata gemmis ingentibus, ita ut ornamentorum onere laboraret. 25. Fertur enim mulier fortissima saepissime restitisse, cum diceret se gemmarum onera ferre non posse. 26. Vinciti erant praeterea pedes auro, manus etiam catenis aureis, nec collo aureum vinculum [deerat, quod scurra Persicus praeferebat.

And so she was led in triumph with such magnificence that the Roman people had never seen a more splendid parade. For, in the first place, she was adorned with gems so huge that she laboured under the weight of her adornments; 25. For it is said that this woman, courageous though she was, halted very frequently, saying that she could not endure the load of her gems. 26. Furthermore, her feet were bound with shackles of gold and her hands with golden fetters, and even on her neck she wore a chain of gold, the weight of which was borne by a Persian buffoon.

SHA, Aurel. 33,1-34,6, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 258-63:

33 Non absque re est cognoscere qui fuerit Aureliani triumphus, fuit enim speciosissimus. 2. Currus regii tres fuerunt, in his unus Odaenathi, argento, auro, gemmis operosus atque distinctus, alter, quem rex Persarum Aureliano dono dedit, ipse quoque pari opere fabricatus, tertius, quem sibi Zenobia composuerat, sperans se urbem Romanam cum eo visuram. quod illam non fefellit; nam cum eo urbem ingressa est victa et triumphata. 3. Fuit alius currus quattuor cervis iunctus, qui fuisse dicitur regis Gothorum. quo, ut multi memoriae tradiderunt, Capitolium Aurelianus invectus est, ut illic caederet cervos, quos cum eodem curru captos vovisse Iovi Optimo Maximo ferebatur. 4. Praecesserunt elephanti viginti, ferae mansuetae Libycae, Palaestinae diversae ducentae, quas statim Aurelianus privatis donavit, ne fiscum annonis gravaret; tigrides quattuor, camelopardali, alces, cetera

33 It is not without advantage to know what manner of triumph Aurelian had, for it was a most brilliant spectacle. 2. There were three royal chariots, of which the first, carefully wrought and adorned with silver and gold and jewels, had belonged to Odaenathus, the second, also wrought with similar care, had been given to Aurelian by the king of the Persians, and the third Zenobia had made for herself, hoping in it to visit the city of Rome. And this hope was not unfulfilled; for she did, indeed, enter the city in it, but vanquished and led in triumph. 3. There was also another chariot, drawn by four stags and said to have once belonged to the king of the Goths. In this - so many have handed down to memory - Aurelian rode up to the Capitol, purposing there to slay the stags, which he had captured along with this chariot and then vowed, it was said, to Jupiter Best and Greatest. 4. There

taliam per ordinem ducta, gladiatorum paria octingenta, praeter captivos gentium barbararum. Blemmyes, Axomitae, Arabes Eudae-mones, Indi, Bactriani, Hiberi, Saraceni, Persae cum suis quique muneribus; Gothi, Alani, Roxolani, Sarmatae, Franci, Suebi, Vandali, Germani, religatis manibus captivi. 5. Praecesserunt inter hos etiam Palmyreni qui superfuerant principes civitatis et Aegyptii ob rebellionem.

34 ductae sunt et decem mulieres, quas virili habitu pugnantem inter Gothos ceperat, cum multae essent interemptae, quas de Amazonum genere titulus indicabat — praelati sunt tituli gentium nomina continentes. 2. Inter haec fuit Tetricus chlamyde coccea, tunica galbina, brachis Gallicis ornatus, adiuncto sibi filio, quem imperatorem in Gallia nuncupaverat. 3. Incedebat etiam Zenobia, ornata gemmis, catenis aureis, quas alii sustentabant, prae ferebantur coronae omnium civitatum aureae titulis eminentibus proditae. 4. Iam populus ipse Romanus, iam vexilla collegiorum atque castrorum et cataphractarii milites et opes regiae et omnis exercitus et senatus (etsi aliquantulo tristior, quod senatores triumphari videbant) multum pompae addiderant. 5. Denique vix nona hora in Capitolium pervenit. 6. sero autem ad Palatium, sequentibus diebus datae sunt populo voluptates ludorum scaenicorum, ludorum circensium, venationum, gladiatorum, naumachiae.

advanced, moreover, twenty elephants, and two hundred tamed beasts of diverse kinds from Libya and Palestine, which Aurelian at once presented to private citizens, that the privy-purse might not be burdened with the cost of their food; furthermore, there were led along in order four tigers and also giraffes and elks and other such animals, also eight hundred pairs of gladiators, besides the captives from the barbarian tribes. There were Blemmyes, Axomitae, Arabs from Arabia Felix, Indians, Bactrians, Iberians, Saracens and Persians, all bearing their gifts; there were Goths, Alans, Roxolani, Sarmatians, Franks, Suebians, Vandals and Germans - all captive, with their hands bound fast. 5. There also advanced among them certain men of Palmyra, who had survived its fall, the foremost of the State and Egyptians, too, because of their rebellion.

34 There were led along also ten women, who, fighting in male attire, had been captured among the Goths after many others had fallen; these a placard declared to be of the race of the Amazons - for placards were borne before all, displaying the names of their nations. 2. In the procession was Tetricus also, arrayed in scarlet cloak, a yellow tunic, and Gallic trousers, and with him his son, whom he had proclaimed in Gaul as emperor. 3. And there came Zenobia, too, decked with jewels and in golden chains, the weight of which was borne by others. There were carried aloft golden crowns presented by all the cities, made known by placards carried aloft. 4. Then came the Roman people itself, the flags of the guilds and the camps, the mailed cuirassiers, the wealth of the kings, the entire army, and, lastly, the senate (albeit somewhat sadly, since they saw senators, too, being led in triumph) - all adding much to the splendour of the procession. 5. Scarce did they reach the Capitol by the ninth hour of the day, and when they arrived at the Palace it was late indeed. 6. On the following days amusements were given to the populace, plays in the theatres, races in the Circus, wild-beast hunts, gladiatorial fights and also a naval battle.

Zosimus, *Hist. Nova* I,61,(1)-2:

θρίαμβον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην εἰσαγαγὼν μεγίστης

Now he entered Rome triumphant and re-

ἀποδοχῆς ἐκ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς γερουσίας ἐτύγγανεν. 2. Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἥλιου δειμιάμενος ἱερὸν μεγαλοπρεπῶς τοῖς ἀπὸ Παλμύρας ἐκόσμησεν ἀναθήμασιν, Ἥλιου τε καὶ Βήλου καθιδρύσας ἀγάλματα.

ceived an enthusiastic reception from the people and the Senate. 2. At this time, he also built the Temple of Helios and furnished it splendidly with the votive offerings brought from Palmyra. He also honoured Helios and Belos by erecting statues.

Jordanes, *Hist. Rom.* 291, p. 37,32:

... Romaeque in triumpho suo vivam perduxit.

...he (i.e. Aurelian) led her alive in triumph in Rome.

Aurelian declared war on the Persians and his murder (275 CE)

SHA, Aurel. 35,4-5, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 264-65:

His gestis ad Gallias profectus Vindelicos obsidione barbarica liberavit, deinde ad Illyricum rediit paratoque magno potius quam ingenti exercitu Persis, quos eo quoque tempore quo Zenobiam superavit gloriosissime iam vicerat, bellum indixit. 5. Sed cum iter faceret, apud Caenophrurium, mansionem quae est inter Heracleam et Byzantium, malitia notarii sui et manu Mucaporis interemptus est.

After doing these things, he set out for the regions of Gaul and delivered the Vindelici from a barbarian inroad; then he returned to Illyricum and having made ready an army, which was large, though not of inordinate size, he declared war on the Persians, whom he had already defeated with the greatest glory at the time that he conquered Zenobia. 5. While on his way thither, however, he was murdered at Caenophrurium, a station between Heraclea and Byzantium, through the hatred of his clerk but by the hand of Mucapor.

Zenobia's subsequent life in Rome and her descendants

Eutropius, *Breviarium* IX,13,2:

... Zenobia autem posteros, qui adhuc manent, Romae reliquit.

... Zenobia left descendants, who still live at Rome.

Jerome, *Chron.*, s. a. 274, p. 223,1-3:

... et Zenobia in Urbe summo honore consenuit: a quo hodieque Romae Zenobia familia nuncupatur.

Zenobia spent the rest of her days in the city (of Rome) and was accorded the highest respect. It is after her that the family of Zenobia in Rome is named.

SHA, Trig. Tyr. 30,27, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 140-43:

huic vita ab Aureliano concessa est, ferturque vixisse cum liberis matronae iam more Romanae data sibi possessione in Tiburti, quae hodieque Zenobia dicitur, non longe ab Hadriani palatio atque ab eo loco cui nomen est ae.

Her life was granted her by Aurelian, and they say that thereafter she lived with her children in the manner of a Roman matron on an estate that had been presented to her at Tibur, which even to this day is still called Zenobia, not far from the palace of Hadrian or from that place which wears the name of Concha.

Syncellus, p. 470,5-7 (p. 721,12-14, CSHB):

... , Ζηνοβίαν δὴ χειρωσάμενος εἰς Ῥώμην ἤγαγε, καὶ φιλανθρωπία χρησάμενος πολλῇ συνάπτει ταύτην ἐνδόξως ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἐν γερουσίᾳ.

... having taken Zenobia prisoner, he (i.e. Aurelian) led her to Rome and treated her with great magnanimity. He joined her in marriage to a distinguished senator.

Zonaras XII,27, p. 607,6-11 (iii, pp. 152,25-153,4, Dindorf):

ἦν ἔνιοι μὲν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπαχθῆναι φασι καὶ ἀνδρὶ συναφθῆναι τῶν ἐπιφανεστέρων ἐνί, οἱ δὲ καθ' ὁδὸν θανεῖν αὐτὴν λέγουσι, περιελγήσασαν διὰ τὴν τῆς τύχης μεταβολήν· μίαν δὲ τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτῆς λαβεῖν εἰς γυναῖκα τὸν Αὐρηλιανόν, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἐπισήμοις τῶν Ῥωμαίων συζευξαι

Some sources say that she (i.e. Zenobia) was led away to Rome and married off to a husband from the more distinguished classes, but others say that she died on the journey from excessive grief about the change in her fortunes; that Aurelian took one of her daughters to wife, and that he married off the rest to notable Romans.

The exploits of Odainath recalled by the rhetor Libanius (c. 391 CE/AD)

Libanius, *Ep.* 1006 (To Anatolius) 37 (*REFPW* 4.11.4.):

Οὐκ ἔσχε μὲν σῶσαι τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους τοῖς πολλοῖς λόγοις ὁ Δημοσθένης, εὐδοκίμει δὲ ὁμῶς ὡς σεσωκῶς διὰ τὸ σῶσαι προελέσθαι, κὰν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν τοῖς παρὰ τῶν σοφιστῶν ἴδοι τις ἂν καὶ τὴν Ὀλυνθον. τουτῷ δὴ καὶ τὸ σὸν ὁμοιον σκοπουντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν σπουδὴν, οὐ τὸ τέλος, καὶ ἄπερ ἡβουλήθης, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἄπερ ἡδυνήθης. 2. ταυτὶ μέντοι μοι καὶ δυνήσεσθαι δοκεῖς ὑπὲρ Εὐσεβίου χρώμενος παρρησίᾳ. χρήσι δὲ καὶ πάντα ποιήσεις εἰς τὸ μηδὲν αὐτὸν ὃ μὴ δίκαιον ὑπομεῖναι χρηστόν τε ὄντα καὶ σὺφρονα καὶ παιδείας ἐπιμεμελημένον παῖδά τε Ὀδαινάθου καὶ ἀπόγονον Ὀδαινάθου, οὗ καὶ τοῦνομα Πέρσαις ἔσεισε τὰς καρδίας. Οὕτω πανταχοῦ νικῶν τάς τε πόλεις ἐρρυετο καὶ γῆν τὴν οὖσαν ἐκάστη καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους οὐκ ἐν ταῖς χερσίν, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἔχειν ἐποίει τὰς τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδας. 3. ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτος Ὀδαινάθος, ὁ Εὐσεβίου πατήρ, τῶν λόχων τε ἀγαγόντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔστι καὶ τρεψαμένων καὶ διωξάντων καὶ 'βάλλ' οὕτως, ἐταῖρε', πολλακίς ἤκουσεν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ παρατάξει παρ' ἀνδρός, ὃν Ὅμηρος ἂν ἐξ αὐτοῦ φῦναι τοῦ Διὸς ἔφη· μὴ γὰρ ἂν οὕτω μεγάλα ἐργάσασθαι μὴ θειοτέρων ὄντα γονων. 4. ὡς οὖν καὶ τουτῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ καταθησόμενος χάριν βοήθησον ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων αὐτὸς εἰδὼς μόνος τῶν ἐκεῖ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα. σοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἔδει παρ' ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ἐλθεῖν· ἀγνοεῖν δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅ βουλομαι μεγάλη ροπή πρὸς τὸ καὶ γενέσθαι τι· ὡς ἔστι δέος μὴ μαθόντες οἱ τὰ πάντα ἐμοὶ

Demosthenes was unable to avert the fate of the Olynthians by his many speeches. Nevertheless he is held in high esteem, almost as if he had saved them through setting his mind to save them, and among the paeans raised to him by the sophists, one would see Olynthus (commem- orated). Your similarity to him will be obvious to men who recognize zeal rather than achievement and what you wish to achieve rather than what you could achieve. 2. However, in being outspoken on behalf of Eusebius, you seem to me that you would achieve your end. Use every means and do everything in order that he who is innocent should not have to endure in patience. He is upright and temperate and well brought up, being also the son of Odaenathus and a descendant of that Odaenathus, the mention of whose name alone caused the hearts of the Persians to falter. Everywhere victorious, he liberated the cities and the territories belonging to each of them and made the enemies place their salvation in their prayers rather than in the force of arms. 3. The Odaenathus, the father of Eusebius, is among those who, leading a force against them (i.e. the Persians?) and turning them to flight and pursuing them, was heard often in that battle array: 'Comrade, shoot in this wise!' (Hom., *Il.* VIII.282) from the man who Homer said would have sprung out of Zeus himself. The latter could not have performed all this if his parentage was entirely mortal.

χαριζόμενοι μέλειν μοι τοῦ χαίρειν Εὐσέβιον
ποιήσωσιν ἀφ' ὧν ἀνιάσεται.

4. So, therefore, in order to incur the favour of this monarch you should give aid concerning the righteous and that you alone should know what has been written (by me on this matter). For it was necessary for you that these words came from me, but for the others to be ignorant of what I want (could be) the deciding factor in something actually happening. For it is to be feared that if those who please me in every way learn that I am concerned to acknowledge Eusebius, they may do such things as would cause him grief.

Request by Libanius for a copy of the oration on Odaenathus by Longinus (c. 393 CE)

Libanius, *Ep.* 1078 (To Eusebius) (= *REFPW* 4.11.5):

Ὅδαίναθον τὸν λόγον, Λογγίνου δὲ ὁ λόγος,
ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπαιτῶ, σὲ δὲ δεῖ δοῦναι καὶ
γενέσθαι δίκαιον περὶ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν.

I am asking for the speech 'Odaenathus', the speech by Longinus. You must give it in fulfillment of your promise.

IV. LATE ROMAN AND EARLY BYZANTINE PALMYRA



For a comprehensive collection of literary and epigraphical sources on Palmyra in the 5th and 6th Centuries CE see S. Kowalski, 'Late Roman Palmyra in Literature and Epigraphy', *Studia Palmyreńskie* 10 (Warsaw, 1997) 39-62. Available on-line at:

https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/studia_palmyrenskie1997/0077

V. THE ISLAMIC PERIOD

ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE TEMPLE
OF BEL IN PALMYRA¹⁴⁶

BY

J. SAUVAGET

Translated by Camilla Ferard

The systematic clearing of the temple of Bel has not only been instrumental in restoring the monument to its original appearance and revealing a large number of new Palmyrene, Greek, and Latin inscriptions, but it has also made it possible to carry out a more complete study of the Arabic epigraphy of Palmyra. I will be publishing all the epigraphic documents of the Moslem period that are found in this locality in the *l'Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre* [Inventory of the inscriptions of Palmyra] by J. Cantineau. In the following pages I present a limited selection of the texts which the temple of Bel contains.

Construction text. - 527 H.: above the Muslim door masking the entrance to the temple, in a rectangular frame; dim. 98 x 52 cm.

Six lines in flowery Kufic of a beautiful style, small characters. A seventh line below, in the hollow, 45 cm long.

Very poorly preserved. *Estampages* [Embossings] J. Cantineau 1929 and 1930 (Fig. 1).

V. Huart, *Inscriptions arabes de Palmyre* [Arabic inscriptions of Palmyra] (in *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, 1929, pp. 237-244), No. 1, which only gives the *basmala*.

- 1 بسملة امر بانشاء ذلك الحائط المعمور
- 2 و انشاء الحائط الشرقي (1) لامير الحجب الاجل
- 3 السيد الكبير [1] مويد ناصر الذين عدلا الاسلام سيف
- 4 [الدولة] معتد الملك معين المجاهدين شرف الامراء فخر
- 5 الجيوش ذو النجاشين ابن الحسن يوسف بن فيروز
- 6 الاتابكي (؟) وجاح (؟) امير المومنين من خالص ماله في شهور سنة
- 7 سبع وعشرين وخمس مائة

¹⁴⁶ J. Sauvaget, 'Inscriptions arabes du Temple de Bêl à Palmyre', *Syria*, 1931, T. 12, Fasc. 2 (1931), pp. 143-153

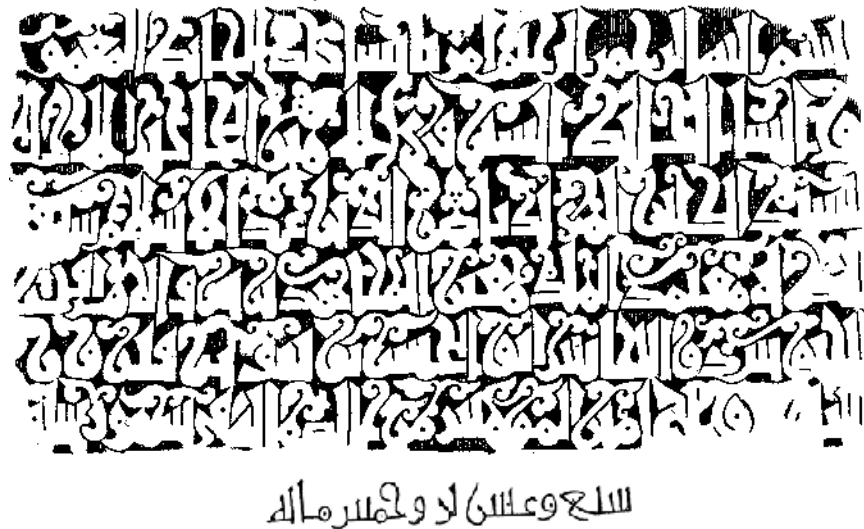


Fig.1.

In the name... The emir, the very high chamberlain, the great lord, the one whom God assists, Nâsir ad-Dîn. the resource of Islam, the sword of the government, the man of confidence of the empire, the auxiliary of the champions of the holy war, the honour of the emirs, the glory of the armies, the one who unites the two nobility, Abû al-Hasan Yûsuf son of Firûz, servant of the atabeg (?), the veil (?) of the Prince of Believers, ordered the foundation of this wall (may he remain prosperous!) and the foundation of the eastern wall, from his own and legitimate fortune, during the year 527 (1132-1133).

Line 1: *ḏâlika*, usually the name of the monument which bears the inscription is introduced by *ḥaḏā*, but *ḏâlika* superimposes on the writing.

al-ma'mûr is ill-suited to qualify a wall: one would normally expect *al-mubâarak*.

Line 2: *aš-šarqî*: it looks like there is a letter between the *šin* and the *ra*, but it is in fact the head of the latter that has received a decorative form (cf. 1.3: *al-kabir*). The reading adopted is based on the orientation of the temple, whose faces exactly correspond to the cardinal points (this is undoubtedly the east face of the peribolos, where we can still see the remains of fortifications of the Islamic period, which is presented as “the eastern wall”). The text would therefore be referring to: 1st - the construction of the wall which conceals the entrance to the temple, on the west face (*ḏâlika al-ḥâ'it* designating the work which bears the inscription), 2nd - the repair of the east wall of the peribolos.

Line 3: *'udda* appears only in the protocols reproduced by historians⁽²⁾, but it is impossible to read *'umda* or *'izza*, which are the only ones attested by the epigraphic examples⁽³⁾.

Line 4: *ad-dawla*: the remains of letters are insufficient to ensure a reading: the one I adopt is based, on the one hand, on the authority of Ibn al-Qalânîsî, who gives the founder the epithet of Sayf ad-Dawla⁽⁴⁾ and, on the other hand, on the fact that in the inscriptions of the atabegs the epithet *-dawla* almost always immediately follows the epithet *-islâm*⁽⁵⁾.

Line 5: *an-najâbatayni*: the spelling is clear but can lend itself to multiple combinations. We know that *dû* almost constantly introduced at this time a word in the dual indicating that the character unites the two civil and military powers⁽⁶⁾: we will therefore necessarily see in the last two letters the ending *-ayni*, which characterizes the case of the dual system. As for the word itself, the meaning is indicated approximately by analogous examples⁽⁷⁾, which limits the number of possible readings. I read *najâba*, “nobility, distinction”.

Line 6: *al-atâbaki*: the beginning of the line is particularly poorly preserved. The hypothesis of a title in *-dawlat amîr al-mu minîn* must be ruled out a priori⁽⁸⁾: we are therefore led to assume an epithet *-amîr al-m* preceded either by a *nisba*, or (which seems more satisfying) a possessive relative pronoun. In fact, it is frequent at this time to see a possessive relative pronoun follow the name of the author of the

inscription in order to indicate his dependence on another character, whether as a vassal, an official, a slave, or a freedman. The traces of letters and the space available seemed to me to authorize a restitution of *al-atâbaki*, "servant of the atabeg (Ṭuġtegîn)"; It was undoubtedly during the latter's reign that Yûsuf began his administrative career.

As the *Wajâh am. al-m.*: the *wâw* and the *hâ'* are very clear, the proposed lesson seems good, although it offers the disadvantage of assuming two letters in a relatively small space. The dictionaries give the word *wajâh* (also vocalized *wijâh* and *wujâh*) the meaning of "curtain, veil". It is hardly necessary to recall that the chamberlain (*hâjib, perde-dâr*) allows or refuses entry to the abode of the sovereign by lifting or letting fall the curtain (*hijâb, perde*) that hung in front of the door. The word *wajâh* would therefore be an allusion to the official functions of Yûsuf: similarly, the name of the sabre (*husâm, sayf*), the characteristic attribute of military charges, was used to form the epithet *-am al-m.* of many emirs.

(1) Gabriel, *Recherches archéologiques à Palmyre* [Archaeological research in Palmyra] (in Syria, 1926), pi. XII.

(2) P. ex. Ibn al-Qalânîsî (éd. Amedroz) p. 85 *et passim*; C. I. A., *Egypt*, II, index.

(3) C. I. A., *Egypt*, I, index; Sobernheim, *Das Heiligtum Schaikh Muhassin* [The Holy Sheik Muhassin], Nos. 1-2.

(4) Ibn al-Qalânîsî, pp. 245, 252

(5) Van Berchem, *Epigraphie des Alabeks de Damas* [Epigraphy of the Alabeks of Damascus], Nos. 1 and 3-5, and *Inschriften Oppenheim* [Oppenheim Inscriptions],

No. 124; Van Berchem, in Brunnow and Domszowski, *Provincia Arabia* [Arab Province], t. III, No. 22.

(6) C. I. A., *Egypt* I, p. 552, with references.

(7) Id., No. 45 (*al-faḍīlataynī*), 58 and 460 (*al-fahraynī*), 456 (*al-'azīmataynī*), 506 (*ar-rī'āsataynī*): Ibn al-Qalânîsî (*al-jalālaynī*), 83 and 86 (*al-majdaynī*).

(8) On this title, v. Wiet, *les Inscriptions de Saladin* [the Inscriptions of Saladin] (in Syria, 1922), pp. 315 and 317 ff.

Line 7: the date published by Cl. Huart (594 = 1198) is inadmissible for several reasons: first of all, the reading 527 imposes itself without restriction, and without even having to hesitate between 7 and 9, as is so often the case. On the other hand, by 594 Kufic had long been abandoned and was no longer used except as an ornamental writing. We will also see that on this date the founder had been dead for more than 60 years.

Yûsuf b. Firûz is, in fact, a very well-known character⁽¹⁾.

He had succeeded his father, who died in 516 (1122) in the two offices of chamberlain and *sihna* of Damascus, where then reigned the son of the atabeg Ṭuġtegîn, Tâj al-Mulûk Bûri. It was undoubtedly as a *sihna* that he took part, with the *ra'îs* of the city, in the massacre of the Ismailis in the course of the same year: he distinguished himself so well on this occasion that he had to take precautions against the emissaries sent from Alâmût to assassinate him.

On the death of Bûri (526 - 1132), his son Šams al-Mulûk Ismâ'il confirmed Yûsuf in his functions and entirely transferred to him the care of public affairs. Whether he felt the need to secure shelter against the Mamluks of the atabeg, who were indisposed by his ill-treatments, or he secretly thought to make himself independent, the chamberlain took advantage of the ascendancy he exercised over the city to obtain the government of Palmyra. He had it taken over by his son and a few reliable people, then "began to fortify and restore it, to provide it with supplies and ammunition". There is no doubt that it is precisely this work that our inscription commemorates.

However, relations between Yûsuf and his sovereign did not take long to change in character; Ismâ'il became a greedy, cruel, and suspicious tyrant⁽²⁾. No longer feeling safe in Damascus, the chamberlain took advantage of the prince's absence to reach Palmyra in all haste, escorted by some faithful servants (I Muharram 529 = 22 October 1134). The attempts by Sams al-Mulûk to bring him back received only protests of dedication and submission. Three months later, the atabeg was assassinated and replaced by his brother Mahmûd.

(1) Ibn al-Qalânîsî, index; *Historiens des Croisades, Orientaux*, [Historians of the Crusades, Orientals], t. 1, index.

(2) According to another version (Ibn al-Atîr, in *Hist. Cr. Or.*, 1, p. 404) Sams al-Mulûk's hostility against Yûsuf would have been provoked by the

mother of the prince. As Ibn al-Qalânîsî, who is the best source of the history of the atabegs of Damascus, does not mention it, we will consider this story as a novel, comparable to the legends on the fall of the Barmecids.

The following year, the dynasts of Homs, feeling themselves incapable of defending the city against Zengî, proposed to the prince of Damascus to deliver it to him in exchange for such other fief that he would designate to them. Yûsuf, seduced by the strategic value of Homs, immediately offered to cede Palmyra to them. Despite the opposition of the Mamluks, who feared seeing him take back the direction of public affairs, the former chamberlain presented himself in Damascus, on the authorization of the atabeg, to discuss the exchange, and this took place, despite some difficulties. As Master of Homs, whose situation was then giving a place of first importance, Yûsuf became one of the most important figures of Muslim Syria. Nothing more was needed to arouse the hatred of the Mamluks, who decided on his downfall. On 27 Jumâdâ II 530 (31 March 1136) Yûsuf was cut down with sabre blows in the Maydân al-Musallâ of Damascus and buried in the mosque built by his father to the north of the city, in the cemetery of Bâb al-Farâdîs.

The Mamluks, fearing the consequences of their attack, took refuge in Baalbek, and Mahmûd had to commence long negotiations with them to get them to come back to Damascus: they did not decide on this until their conditions had been accepted, and the murderer, Bezawc, had received the chief command of the troops of the atabeg.

The inscription of the chamberlain Yûsuf is important from the point of view of the local history of Palmyra because it indicates the date on which the temple of Bel was transformed into a fortress: the term *insâ* '(foundation)', used twice to designate the works, and the precision with which they are defined leave no doubt in this regard.

Viewed from the broader perspective of the history of Muslim architecture, its value is no less considerable. In fact, we know that the list of Syrian monuments presents a serious gap; of the successors of the Umayyads, we only have inscriptions and a few decorative fragments left, and we have to wait for the Seljuk conquest to find a group of buildings whose analysis can provide something other than indications of details. It is therefore understandable that a particular importance is attached to the monuments of the Atabegs, and that it is important to know the largest possible number.

To those already mentioned, we will now add not only the entrance to the temple of Bel, but also several other constructions of uncertain date which, along with this same, offer the most striking analogies. So, such door of the citadel of Damascus, which our documentation has hitherto forbidden us to attribute to a period prior to Saladin⁽¹⁾, can henceforth be considered, with almost certainty, as the entrance to the Bourid citadel.

II

Construction text. - 573 H. : in the interior and towards the south-eastern corner of the peribolos, on one of the masonry blocks which support the south wall: 70 X 60 cm.

Nine lines in Ayyubid naskh, very close to the writing of Huart, No. 2; small, indented characters, some diacritics.

Very well preserved. *Estampages* [Embossings] J. Cantineau (1930). Pl. XXVII, 1.

1 بسملة

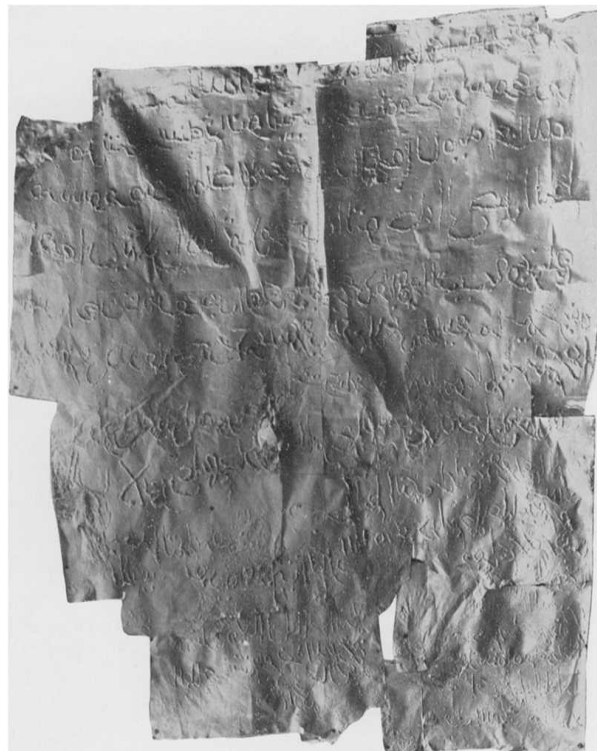
2 امر بعمارلا هذا البرج المياك من ماله المولى الا

- 3 مير الاجل السيد الاوحد الاصفهلار الكبير المالك
- 4 ناصر الدين صلاح الاسلام جمال الامة فخر الملة متدم
- 5 الجيوش طهير المحاهدين كهف الغزالا ابو عبد الله محعد
- 6 بن شيركولا بن شادي سيف امير المومنين ادام الله ايامه
- 7 في شهر حمادى الاول سنة ثلثة وسبعين و خمس مائة بتولي الحاجب
- الاجل السيد ناصح الدولة جمال الامراء ابي سعد موفق احسن الله
- 8 عمل غنائم بن عبد الوهاب رحمه الله ورحم من ترحم عليه
- 9
- (1 word) –
end of No. 8

(1) Säuvaget, *Citadelle de Damas* [Citadel of Damascus], in Syria, 1930, p. 87



1. Construction text (No. 2) in the enclosure of the temple.



2. Decree in the Mosque (No. 4). Back of the embossin

In the name... The, master, the august emir, the incomparable lord, the great general, the sovereign, Nâsir ad-Dîn, the good order of Islam, the beauty of the nation, the glory of religion, the ruler of the armies, the protector of the champions of the holy war, the refuge of those who fight for the faith, Abu 'Abd Allâh Muḥammad, son of Širkûh, son of Šādî, the sword of the Prince of Believers (may God prolong his days!) ordered the construction of this buttress (may God bless him!), from his own fortune, in the month of Jumâdâ I 573 (Oct.-Nov. 1177), through the august chamberlain of the lord, Nâsiḥ ad-Dawla, the beauty of the emirs, Abu Sa'îd Muwaffaq (may God improve his ... !). Work of Ganâ'im son of 'Abd al-Wahhâb (may God have mercy on him and on those who implore divine mercy on his behalf!)

I translate *burj* by "buttress" because the word obviously applies to the mass of masonry, of roughly cubic shape, which bears the inscription.

Two other texts already attributed to Nâsir ad-Dîn Muhammad, prince of Homs, of work in the temple of Bel⁽¹⁾; the chamberlain Nâsiḥ ad-Dawla, who had directed them, is certainly the same character, whose name is found here in its full form.

III

Restoration text. - 635 H. : inside the cella, on the east wall; 67 x 50 cm.

Eight lines in Ayyubid naskh, the engraving of which has remained unfinished; the characters are only sketched; small characters.

Well preserved; *Estampages* [Embossings] J. Cantineau (1930).

1	امر بعمار(لا) هذا الموضع
2	المبارك مولانا السلطان الملك
3	المجاهد عز نصره وكان عمار[تة]
4	على يد الناصح يوسف بن مو...
5	ومعاونته عمر بن اسماعيل
6	وصديق بن يغمور سنة خمسة
7	ثلاثين ستمائة والحمد لله وحد لا
8	و كتبه عفر المعمار

(1) Huart, *op. l.*, p. 238 (No. 2), and Massignon, *ibid.*, No. 2.
SYRIA. - XII

Our master the sultan al-Malik al-Mujâhid (may his victory be glorious!) ordered the restoration of this place (may God bless him !). The repair was carried out by Nâsiḥ (ad-Dîn) Yûsuf son of Mû ..., assisted by 'Umar son of Ismâ'il and Šadiq son of Yağmur, in the year 635 (1237-38). Praise be to God alone! Written by 'Umar the mason.

mi'mâr has the two meanings of "mason" and architect⁽¹⁾: it is the first that fits here, due to the nature of the work.

The text certainly relates to a restoration of the mosque, as indicated by its location and the final formula (*al-hamd lillâl wahdau*). The prince who had it executed is the son of Nâsir ad-Dîn Muhammad, named in the preceding inscription.

These three texts, compared to those already known elsewhere, are so many milestones in the history of the temple of Bel under Muslim domination. We can trace this as follows:

527 (1132-33): work to fortify the peribolos; transformation of the cella into a mosque, (our No. 1, and two XII century mihrabs still in place).

573 (1177): erection of masonry blocks intended to support the south wall of the peribolos, the inclination of which must therefore already be very pronounced (our No. 2).

577 (1180): construction of a mosque in the southwest corner of the temenos (Huart, No. 2, and Massignon text).

633 (1237-38): restoration of the cella mosque (our No. 3).

? - new restoration of the cella mosque (Huart, No. 3).

700 (1300-01): undetermined work at the cella mosque (Huart, No. 4).

The fourth text published here, although of a different character, is nonetheless interesting for local history.

Dozy, *Supplement aux dictionnaires arabes* [Supplement to Arabic Dictionaries] (2nd ed.), 11, p. 172.

IV

Decree. - 868 H.: inside the cella (mosque), on the eastern wall, next to number 3; dim. 2 m. x 2 m.

Twenty lines in very coarse naskh, in frankly loathsome writing; lines 12 to 20 distributed at the bottom, to the right (12-15) and to the left (16-20), over two columns; line 11 interspersed on the left between line 10 and line 16.

Some gaps. *Estampages* [Embossings] J. Cantineau 1930. Pl. XXVII, 2.

	بسملة. لما كان بتاريخ شهر ربيع الاخر لا	1
	من شهر سنة ثمان وستين وثمان مائة ورد مرسوم كريم	2
	مرسوم مولانا ملك الامراء تنم كافل الملكة الشامية اعز الله	3
	نصر لا ان يتكن اهل تدمر من التوجه الى جبل البطم	4
	من ارض تدمر ومن القاء دوابهم ورعي دوابهم و الشيت [??] به من غير مانع	5
	يمنعهم في ذلك ولا محكم يحكم عليهم في ذلك ذلك على ما بايديههم [من] مراسيم شريفة	6
	[من] دواوين الجيوش المنصور لا و [...] ات شرعة و ان لا يلزموا (ا) بما لم يلزمهم	7
(1 word illegible) - end of No. 7	[و] ان لا يحدث عليهم حادث ظلم رحم الله من قرالا وعمل بمنتهالا	8
	(4 or 5 words illegible) الى جبل البطم الذي من اراضي تدمر	9
(2 words illegible) - end of No. 9	بالتثبت [?] ورعي دوابهم حكما علما بيدهم من	10
(4 or 5 words illegible) - after [?] of No. 10		
(1 word illegible) - end No. 10		
	مراسيم شرفه كريمة	11
(4 or 5 words illegible)	من قبل مولانا السلطان الملك الظا [??]	12

مرحوم ابن مرحوم من قرالا	17	الظاهر خشن قدم نصره الله و شرفه	13
(و) مل بمنتهالا ملعون ابن ملعون	18	بصر في حال الرعية	14
[من اعداد] لا [?] او سعى في ابطاله ايدا	19	و دفع (عن) الرعية	15
و الدمدم الله رب العالمين. امين	20		

In the name of God... In the month of Rabi II 868 (Nov-Dec 1463), came the princely decree of our master the king of the emirs, Tanam, general prefect of the province of Damascus (may God glorify his victory!) (decreeing) that the people from Palmyra can go to Jabal al-Butm, from the territory of Palmyra, lead their camels there, graze them there, and settle there (?), without anyone preventing them and without any arbitrator saying that they cannot do this, given that they have in their hands royal decrees, issued from the Bureau of the Army (may God make her victorious !) as well as legal (attestations). May they not be subject to obligations which are not incumbent upon them and may no one repeat this injustice to their detriment! May God have mercy on those who will apply this decree after having read it ... towards the Jabal al-Butm, which belongs to the territory of Palmyra ... in complete safety (?) ... and graze their cattle there, in accordance with what they can produce of diplomas (?) and royal, princely decrees, emanating from our master the sultan al-Malik az-Zâhir Ḥusqadam (may God assist him and raise him up!) who examined the situation of his subjects and defended them ... Whoever will apply this decree after having taken cognizance of it, may he be blessed, at the same time as his father; whoever (will repeat this injustice?) or will try to make this decree inoperative, may he be forever cursed, at the same time as his father. Praise be to God, the master of the Universe; Amen.

The main difficulty of this text lies in the poor quality of the writing; it was written by an illiterate person who applied himself to slavishly reproducing on stone a handwritten template: hence certain extraordinary spellings (e.g., I. 3: *al-mamlaka*) which leaves one guessing, rather than reading, the word that they hide.

L. 4: I don't hesitate to read *يتمكن*, instead of *ايتمكن* of the text, as the latter makes no sense.

Jabal al-Butm: I did not find any mention of it in the Palmyrena of M. Musil, but the 1: 500,000 map of the *Topographique de l'Armée Française du Levant* [Topographical Office of the Army of the Levant] indicates this "mountain of Terebinths" at 35 km. to the East-South-East of Qaryateyn, i.e., 100 km. approximately as the crow flies to the southwest of Palmyra.

L. 5. - *dawâbbihim*: word for word "their beasts of burden". This term, like the distance to be travelled between Palmyra and the pasture in question, shows that it consists of camels and not small cattle.

L. 7. - *dawâwîn al-juyûs*: the plural form of the first word (for *dîwân al-j.*) is certainly due only to a search for emphasis.

L. 8. - *rahima*... ordinarily, decrees contain only the curse against those who infringe them; *muntahâhu*, illegible in this place, is restored according to the same formula in line 18. L. 9 et seq. : I do not know to what the repetition of the text of lines 4 and following, with some variations of form, refers. A decree of Baalbek⁽¹⁾ looks the same, but this is due to the fact that it mentions, alongside the decree of the governor of Damascus, the official document under which it was promulgated, in the form of a decree of the sultan. Here, we cannot assume anything of the sort, since it only concerns a decree of the governor of the province (*marsûm*, *karîm*).

Despite the gaps in the decipherment, the meaning clearly emerges. Some nomadic tribe (or, perhaps, the inhabitants of Qaryateyn) disputes the use of the pastures of Jabal al-Butm by the inhabitants of Palmyra. They complain to the administrative centre of the province, by producing in support of their request the official documents which confer on them the enjoyment of the disputed pastures, from the legal point of view, on the one hand, and from the

administrative point of view, on the other hand. The governor of Damascus refers this to the central administration of Cairo, which confirms the rights of the inhabitants of Palmyra. The sovereign's decision serves as the basis for a decree of the governor that the interested parties carefully classify in the village archives, having it engraved, according to the custom, on a wall of the great mosque⁽²⁾.

J. Sauvaget.

(1) Sobernheim in Baalbek, t. III, No. 31; Wiet, *Notes d'épigraphie syro-musulmane* [Syrian-Muslim epigraphic notes], in Syria, 1928, p. 167.

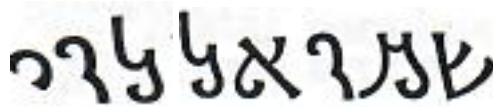
(2) *Sur l'affichage des decrets* [On the posting of decrees], v. Wiet, *Notes*, in Syria, 1925, p. 165, below.

Fontes Historiae Palmyrenae is an ongoing project.

More texts, notes and word-indices will follow.

Comments welcome.

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