

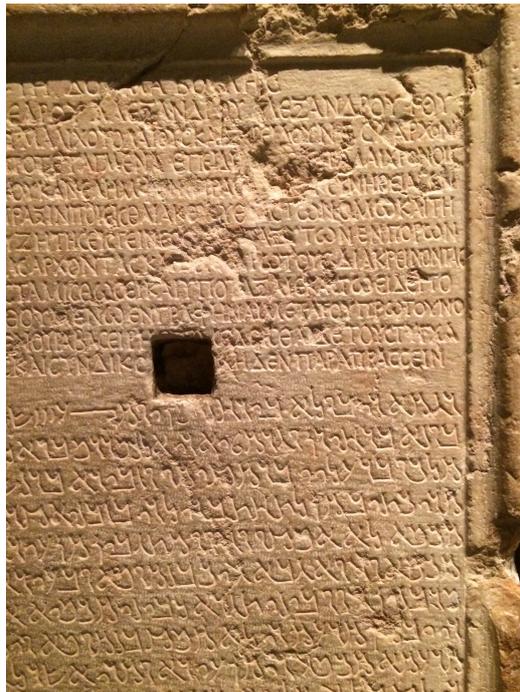
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ACADEMIES  
(UNION ACADÉMIQUE INTERNATIONALE)  
Project 67: China and the Mediterranean World:  
Archaeological and Written Sources

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

3

FONTES HISTORIAE  
PALMYRENAE (TADMORENAE)

SOURCES ON THE HISTORY OF PALMYRA (TADMOR)



COMPILED BY  
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## 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.<sup>1</sup>

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 in the vicinity of Warwick, 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)

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<sup>1</sup> 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).
- 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 sémitiques 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).
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- Déd.* J.T. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux (Palmyra, Hatra, Tyr et des thiasés sémitiques à l'époque romaine)* (Paris: Geuthner 1972).
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H.J.W. Drijvers, 'Sanctuaries and social safety. The iconography of divine peace in Hellenistic Syria', *Visible Religion* 1 (1982) 65-75.
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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.
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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
- H.-J. J. Hoftizer and K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, 2 vols (Leiden, 1995).
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- 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' *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)
- 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.
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- MUSJ *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* (Beirut, 1906ff.).
- OGIS *Oriens Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1903).
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- PAT D. R. Hillers and E. Cussini (eds.), *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts* (Baltimore, 1996).
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- PP J. Teixidor, *The Pantheon of Palmyra* (Leiden, 1979).
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- 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.
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- 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,).
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- 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)
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## 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, *IMP* 29, *PP*, p. 2, *Inv.* xi, 100 (On stone block from the Temple of Bel, Palmyra Museum A 959/959):

(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 pħd
5. bny khnbw

In the month of TŠRY in the year 269 (Sel. = Oct., 44 BCE), the priests of BL (Bel) erected this statue to GRYMY (Goraimai) son of NBWZBD (Nebuzabad), of the tribe of the Benē KHNBW (Kahnebw) (trans. *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 περιουσιάσαι. Παλμυρηνῶν δὲ προμαθόντων καὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ μετενεγκάντων τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὄχθης, εἴ τις ἐπιχειροῖη 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, 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.)

(Palmyrene)

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

In the month of SYWN (Siwan), (in) the year 279 (Sel. = June, 33 BCE), ZBDBWL (Zabdibol) son of B'YŠW (Ba'yašu), 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 yrħbwl. (Yarħibol) (tr. *PP*,

7. wyrḥbwl

p. 3, adapted)

**Honorific inscription to statue of 'Atte'em daughter of Kohailu (17 BCE)***PAT* 0315, cf. *Inv.* xi, 84, C3969 (Palmyra Museum?):**(Palmyrene)**

1. ṣlmt' dh dy 't'm b[rt khylw br]<sup>2</sup>
2. 'wšy 'tt bwlḥ' [br ... ]
3. dy 'qymw lh 'glbwl w[mlkbl]
4. wbnv kmr' byrḥ 'dr š[nt 2.100]<sup>3</sup>
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 7, Group 4109, 4110, 4111, *in situ*):**(Palmyrene)**

1. qbr' dnh dy
2. 'tntn br khylw dy
3. bnw 'lwhy bnwhy
4. khylw wḥyrn bnwhy
5. dy mn bny myt'
6. byrḥ knwn šnt 3.100+4

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. = Oct./Nov. 9 BCE).

**The priests of Ḥirta honour 'Ogeilu b. Aid'an (6/5 BCE)***PAT* 2766, cf. *AIDRP* 29, cf. *PP*, pp. 111-12, *RLP*, p. 76 (Prov. Ruins of the first temple of Bel. Loc. Palmyra Museum A 361/361):**(Palmyrene)**

1. byrḥ knwn šnt 3.100+5+1+[1] 'qymw
2. kmry' dy ḥrt' ṣlm' dnh
3. l'gylw br 'yd'n dy mn bny kmr'
4. dy 'bd wqrb hw wbnwhy plgwt
5. [m]lt' dh wmšl' wbt nhry' w
6. [']drn' lhrt' wlwny wlršp 'lhy'

In the month KNWN (Kanūn), 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?),<sup>4</sup> 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)

<sup>2</sup> b[rt khylw br] suggested by Milik (*Déd.* 63).

<sup>3</sup> š[nt 3.100] *restituit* C3969, i.e. 83 CE.

<sup>4</sup> For discussion on the meaning of the hapax *mšl'* see *RLP*, p. 76.

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

*IGLS* xvii, 134 (Temple of Allat):

(Greek)

1. Ἀλλαθῆ τ[ε καὶ Ἀ]ρτέμιδ[ι ...] ζτ'

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

(Palmyrene)

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

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

**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 mnh 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.<sup>5</sup> 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).

**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)

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}
2. imperatoribus posuit
3. [. Min]ucius T(iti) f(ilius) Hor(atia tribu), Rufus, legatus leg(ionis) X Fretensis.

To the rulers (*imperatoribus*) Drusus Caesar, {son of Tiberius Augustus, grandson of the divine (Augustus)}, to Tiberius Caesar, son of the divine Augustus, grandson of the divine (*Augusto*) 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?).

**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)

1. [.....οὶ ἐν Σελευ-]
2. [κεία ἔμπ]ο[ρ]οὶ Πα[λμυρηνοὶ]
3. [καὶ Ἑλλη]ν[ες ἀνέσ]τ[η]σ[αν]
4. [τὸν ἀνδριάν]τα Ἰεδειβ[ήλ]ω
5. [Ἀζίζου Παλ]μυρηνῶ φ[υλῆ]ς
6. [Μανθαβω]λαίων ἐπεὶ

[...] 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.

<sup>5</sup> The translation of this important text is uncertain. See notes in *PAT* 347 (Glossary, s.v. **blw**).

7. [κατεσπο]ύδασεν εἰς τὴν  
8. [κτίσιν] τοῦ ναοῦ Βήλου

**(Palmyrene)**

1. byrh 'b šnt 3.100+20+10 [šlm' dnh dy]
2. ydy'bl br 'zy(zw) br y(dy')[bl dy mn]
3. (bn)y mtbw[l dy] 'qym[w lh tdmry']
4. (w)y(wn)y'<sup>6</sup> dy b(s)lwky' [bdyl dy]
5. (q)m w(šmš bmgd' r)[b' lbt bl]

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) ('Azizū) son of YDY[BL] of the tribe of MTBW[L (Mattabol) 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.

**Statue of 'Azizu b. Yedi'ebel erected by his son Yedi'ebel (17 CE)**

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

**(Greek)**

1. [Ἀζειζον Ἰεδειβήλου τοῦ]
2. [Βαρ](χαίου Π)αλμυρην(όν)
3. φυλῆς Μανθαβωλείω[v]
4. Ἰεδε(ι)βηλος ὁ υἱὸς ἔτ[ους]
5. (ηκ)[τ',] μηνὸς Γο(ρπ)ιαί[ου]

[(This is the statue of) Azizos, son of Iedeibēlos, son of Bar]chaios, 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. [byrh] '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 132<sup>7</sup> (Temple of Bel, *in situ*?)

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

Statue of ḤŠŠ (Ḥšašāš) son of NŠ' (Nešā), son of BWLH' (Bōlhā) 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(?)<sup>8</sup> 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.)

<sup>6</sup> γωνυ' (= 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.

<sup>7</sup> The Greek version of the inscription given by Cooke (p. 293) belongs to *IGLS* xvii, 16 = *PAT* 1352 (*infra*).

<sup>8</sup> 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. H.-J. ii, 1078, s.v. **rmn**<sup>2</sup>) – hence a reference to some kind of common agreement or common fund.

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

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

(Palmyrene)

1. byrh šbt šnt 3.100+20+10+5 šlm' dnh dy
2. [yd]y br mlkw br 'gylw<sup>9</sup> br 'bd'stwr br 'tz'
3. [dy] mn bny zbwd dy 'qymw 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.

**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'[d]r bny
5. dy h[y]kl' dy bl wyhb mn kysh dy l' 'bdh
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. Μάλικον 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 wlmḥwzwhwn 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).

<sup>9</sup> 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 (p. 15).

**(Greek)**

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

{At the foot of the inscription}

- (1). Λ' Δ' AP
- (2). μέχρι τούτου

(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 Palmyrenes<sup>10</sup> (have erected it) {flower} for the sake of honour(ing him).  
{flower}

34 AP<sup>11</sup>  
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 ZDBWL (Zabdibol), of the tribe KMR' (Komarē), which was set up for him by his sons. In his honour, (in) the year 340 (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. [byrḥ] 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 mtan' wtymw br 'gylw rbbt
5. [w]mlkw br yrḥbwl' ḥty wyrḥbwl' br tymrsw
6. 'brwq wzbdbwl br ydy'bl 'lhw w'gylw br
7. nwry zbdbl 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*:<sup>12</sup> [WH]BY (Wahbai) son of 'TNWRY 'WDW ('Athenur 'Audu), HGGW (Ḥagegou) 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 YRḤBWL' ḤTY (Yarḥibola Ḥati), YRḤBWL' (Yarḥibola) son of TYMRŠW 'BRWQ (Taimaršu Abruq) and ZDBDL (Zabdibol) son of YDY'BL 'LHW (Yedi'ebel Alihu) and 'GYLW ('Ogeilu) son of NWRY ZDBDL (Nurai Zabdibol) and MLKW (Malku) son of MQYMW TYM'MD (Moqimu Taim'amad).

<sup>10</sup> 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)

<sup>11</sup> The same formula is found on at least two other inscriptions (*IGLS* xvii, 41 & 42) but accompanied by the word ἀπρητισμένον '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.

<sup>12</sup> On the significance of the *bny mrzh'* 'religious guild' or 'confraternity' see the important comments of *RLP*, pp. 229-34.

**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]lmlkbl ’lhy’ tby’
5. [’l hyyhn whyy b]nyhn w’hyhn whyy tym[’md]
6. [’bwhn]

In the month of ŠBT (Shebat), the year 348 (= 37 CE), [this] altar [and crater(?)] offered MLKW (Malikū) and [Z]BD’[TH] (Zabdateh) [and ...] sons of TYM’MD (Taymamad), son of BWRP’ ZG[WG] (Borfa Zagog), to ‘GLYBWL (‘Aglibol) and MLKBL (Malakbel), the good gods,[for their lives and the lives of their s]ons and brothers and for the life TYM[’MD (Taymamad), their father.] (tr. Kaizer, *RLP*, 131)

**(Greek after Milik, *Déd.* 147)**

1. [M]ηνι Περειτ(ι)φ έτους [... θεοῖς]
2. [A]γλιβωλω και [Μαλαχβηλω εις]
3. [τ]ειμην των ά[πο φυλης Χωνειτων]
4. το συμπόσιον ...]

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)

**(Greek after *IGLS* xvii, 384):**

1. [M]ηνι Περειτ(ι)φ έτους [... οί ιερείς]
2. [A]γλιβωλω και [Μαλαχβηλω εις]
3. [τ]ειμην των Α[...]
4. το συμπόσιον ...]

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 p̄hd bny
4. [gd]ybwł ’lwt’ ’ln trtyhn
5. [l]’lqwnr’ ’lh’ t̄b’

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 ’LQWNR’ (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’ dnh dy lšmš br tybwł
3. br škybl dy mn bny kmr’ dy
4. hnk hykl’ dy bl wyr̄hbwl
5. w’glbwł ’lhy’ bqdšwhy
6. ywm štt’ bnysn šnt 3.100+40+3
7. dy ’qymw 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 yr̄hbwl (Yarhibol) and ‘GLBWL (‘Aglibol), 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' dnh dy zbdbwl br 'byhn
3. br zbdbwl br lšmš br mkn'
4. rb' dy mn pḥd bny mtbwl dy
5. 'qymw lh tgr'y' tdmry'
6. dy b'sp[s]nqrṭ klhn spwn
7. [...].b]kl šbw dnpl'
8. [...].

... in the year 362 (or 382) (Sel. = 51 Or 71 CE/AD), this statue of ZBDBWL (Zabdibōl) son of 'BYHN ('Obayhān) son of ZBDBWL son of LŠMŠ (Lišamaš) son of MKN' (Maknā) the Great, of the tribe of MTBWL (Maṭṭabōl) which was erected for him by the merchants of Tadmor who are in 'SP[S]NQRṬ (Ispasinqert 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 πό[λις Μόκειμον Ὀγεῖλου τοῦ]<sup>13</sup>
2. [κα]ὶ Ὀχχαΐσου ἀρέσ[αντ]α αὐ(τ)ῆ τε καὶ τοῖς θεο[ῖς]
3. διδόντα ἐξ ἰδίων εἰς τ[ὸ ἐ]ρὸν σπονδοφό[ρον]
4. καὶ θυμιατήριον χρυσᾶ ἐγ' δηναρίων ρν' καὶ το[...]<sup>14</sup>
5. [φι]άλια τέσσαρα χρυσᾶ ἐγ' δη. ρκ' καὶ τ[ραπεζ]ώ[ματα]<sup>15</sup>
6. [κ]αὶ πρ[οσ]κε[φ]αλάδιον εἰς τὴν τῆς ἀ[δύτου]
7. [κ]λεινην 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 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[nd as a token of goodwi]ll. The year 362, the month [Dystros] (March, 51 CE). (tr. *PP*, 5, altered.)

(Palmyrene)

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

This statue is MQYMW (Moqimu) son of 'GYLW ('Ogeilu) son of PŠY'[L] (Phašaiel) son of TYMY (Taimai) known as ḤKYŠW (Ḥokkaishu), who is of the tribe of ZB[D]B[WL] (Zabdibol), which the Assembly<sup>16</sup> of all the people of Tadmor (GBL TDMRY') erected to him because he benefited them, and offered to the temple of the gods [...]. [In the month ']DR (Adar), [the year] 3[6]2 (March, 51 CE). (tr. Teixidor, *PP*, p. 5, altered.)

<sup>13</sup> Kaizer (*RLP*, 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 pšy' [l]*).

<sup>14</sup> Kaizer (*RLP*, 163-4) suggests restoring το[ρὸν] καὶ ('and a [ladel] (?)).

<sup>15</sup> Kaizer (*RLP*, 163) suggests restoring: πε[ρι]στ[ρ]ωμ[α] 'bed-covering' (?).

<sup>16</sup> Note the use of the Aramaic term GBL 'people' instead of BWL' (= Gr. βουλῆ) 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. 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 Ῥαββήλου
3. Παλμυρηνὸς φυλῆς Μειτθηνῶν ἑαυτῷ
4. καὶ Βωννῆ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ Βααλθηγα' 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. ḥyrn br bwn' br rb'l br bwn' br 'tntn br
3. tymy tdmry' dy mn pḥd bny myt' dy bn' '1
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 ḤYRN (Ḥairan), son of BWN' (Bonna) son of RB'L (Rabb'el) son of BWN' son of 'TNTN ('Atenatan) son of TYMY (Taimai), a Tadmorene of the tribe of MYT' (Mita), which he had built for BWN' his father and for B'LTG' (Ba'altaga) daughter of BLŠWRY (Bešuri), 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 A1500/9194):

**(Latin)**

1. [C. Virius Alcimus]
2. [et T. Stat]ili[us 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 Ἄλκιμος
3. [καὶ Τίτο]ς Στατίλιος Ἑρμῆς
4. [ἐποι]ησαν 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 nḥsh wm'rth 'ln lhn wlbnyhwn
- lyq[r]h[wn]
3. bšnt 3.100+60+5+3

GYS WYRS 'LQMS (Gaius Virius Alcimus) and TYTS 'STTLYS H[RMS] (Titus Statilius Hermes) have built this monument and this cave for themselves and for their children in their honour. In the year 368 (Sel. = 57/58 CE/AD).

**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. 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 Σ(π)έδιος Χρύσανθ(ο)[ς]
2. ζῶν ἐποίησεν ἑαυτῷ κ(α)ὶ τ[οῖς]
3. ἰδ[ιοῖς], 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[aios], 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 Caes]ar, 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 wtṭlylḥwn qrb zbdy  
br zbdnbw qḥzn dy mn bny m'zyn lb'lišmn 'lh  
ṭb'
2. wškr' 'l ḥywhy ḥywy bnwhy w'ḥwhy byrh 'lwl  
šnt 3.100+60+10+5+3

These five columns and their entablatures<sup>17</sup> and their roofing ZBDY (Zabdai), son of ZBDNBW (Zabdnebu), (son of) QHZN (Qahzan) who is of the Benē M'ZYN (Maazin), offered to B'LSMN (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).

<sup>17</sup> 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.

**Dedication from the Temple of Arṣu (63 CE)**

*PAT* 0992, cf. *IMP* 118, Dijkstra, 98 (On altar with crow-steps from the Temple of Arṣu. 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' tby' 'l
7. hyy mqymw 'bwhy wḥywhy
8. wḥyy bnwhy [wḥyy] w'hwhy

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[ποροι ...]

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)

**Tri-lingual inscription honouring Ḥairan b. Bonne (74 CE)<sup>18</sup>**

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

**(Latin)**

1. Bu[le et civi]tas Palmyrenorum Hairanem
2. Bo[nnae f.] qui et Rabbilum
3. pium [et philo]patrin.<sup>19</sup>

Council (*bule*)<sup>20</sup> and City of the Palmyrenes (honour) Hairan son of Bonna, surnamed Rabbilus (for being) pious and patriotic.

<sup>18</sup> 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)

<sup>19</sup> [*philo*]patrin: 'No attempt is made to translate φιλόπατριν (a common word in the Greek inscriptions of Palmyra), which retains as well in the Latin its Greek accusative ending; ...' (*ibid.*)

<sup>20</sup> *Bule* - this Latin *hapax* (found only in another Palmyrene inscription: *IGLS* xvii, 72) is a phonetic transliteration of the Greek βουλή and shows the lack of a suitable word in Latin because of the Latin West had a different system of urban administration.

**(Greek)**

1. ἡ [βουλ]ή και ὁ [δήμος] Αἰράνην Βωννέο[υς]
2. [τον και P]άββηλο[v],
3. κ[τιστ]ήν εὐσε[βή] καὶ [φιλ]όπατριν, τειμῆς  
χάριν
4. [ἔ]τους επτ' μηνός Ξανδικοῦ.

The [Counci]l and [People] (honour) Hairanēs, son of Bōnneos, 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 bbnyby [']l[hy'] wrhym
3. mdyntḥ '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 H[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 Zabdilah 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 βουλή]
2. Ζαβδιλᾶη Σαμισγεράμου Ἰο[ύ]σα γραμματέα  
πᾶσαν φιλοτειμ[ίαν] ἐνδειξάμενον ἐν τοῖς τῆς πό-
3. λεος [πρ]άγμασι [καὶ ἀγνῶς γραμματ[ε]ύ-
- σα]ντα, τειμῆς χάριν, ἔτους ζπτ'

[The Council] (has erected this statue of) Zabdilas 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 wbkl š[b]w klh
3. špr lmdyth w'p bgrmtý' 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]jar 387 (Sel. = 75 CE).

**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 ccciii 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]αβδίβωλον Ὁ[γ]ήλου τοῦ Ἀμ-]<sup>21</sup>
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 tgr[y]'
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 Λεκεΐσου
3. ἀγαθὸν πολεΐτην καὶ εὖνου
4. πρὸς τὴν ἴδιαν 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 p̄trqls
2. dy mtqrh 'stwrġ' br lqyšw
3. dy mn bny myt' dy 'qymw lh bwl'
4. lyqrh bdyl dy špr lhwn byrh
5. 'dr šnt 3.100+80+10+5

This statue of 'BGR (Abgar) son of P̄TRQLS (Patroklos) who is surnamed 'STWRĠ' (Astōrgā), son of LQYŠW (Leqīshū) of the Benē MYT' (Mītā). 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. p̄hd bny mgdt lšmš
7. 'lh byt 'bwhn 'l

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 MGDY (Migdath), to ŠMŠ (Shamash), god of their father's house, for their

<sup>21</sup> *Schuol* (p. 52) restores [Ἀκα]μάθου for line 1 of the Greek and ['q]mt for line 2 of the Palmyrene (p. 53).

8. ḥyḥwn wḥyy 'ḥyh[wn] life and the lives of their brothers and their sons.  
9. wbnḥwn

### 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]υλῆ Ἰαρ[αῖον Ζαβδιλᾶ φιλόπατριν καὶ] The Council (has dedicated this statue) to Iar[aios  
2. [φιλότειμ]ον εὐνοίας καὶ σπου- son of Zabdilas, patriot and benefactor] for the  
3. [δῆς ἔνεκεν ἧς ἐ]νδεδείκται πρὸς generosity and ze[al which] he showed to [the  
4. [τοὺς ἐμπό]ρους, τειμῆς χάριν merch]ants to honour him. In the year 397 in the  
5. [ἔτους ζστ' μην]ὸς Γορπιαί[ου]. month of Gorpaios (Sel. = September, 86 CE).

#### (Palmyrene)

1. bwl' lyrḥy br zbdl' qr[...] The Council (has dedicated this statue) to YRḤY  
2. lhšbn ḥpy<ṭ>wt' whš' ṭb[?] (Yarḥai) son of ZBDL' (Zabdilāh) son of QR[...] in  
3. dy 'št<k>ḥ lh lwt tgr'y' consideration for the zeal? and good will found in  
4. lyqrh byrh 'lwl him toward the merchants. In the month 'LWL  
5. šnt 3.100+80+10+5+2 (Elūl) 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 ὠκοδόμη- Salamathos, son of Malichos, son of Dio[nysios]  
2. σεν Σαλ[μά]λλαθος Μαλίχου built this tomb from his own resources for his  
3. τοῦ Διο[νυσίου ἐ]ξ ἰδίων ἐπὶ τοῦ father who died in the 33<sup>rd</sup> year (of his life) and  
4. π[ατρὸς αὐτοῦ τ]ελευ[τήσα-] for his children and grand-children.  
5. [ν]τὸς ἔτη λγ' ἑαυτῶ [κ]αὶ υ[ιοῖς]  
6. [κ]αὶ ὕ<ι>ωνο[ῖ]ς.

#### (Palmyrene)

1. bt 'lm' [dnh 'bd] šlml[t br mlkw] [This] house of eternity [was built by] ŠLML[T]  
2. br d[ynys m]n kysh 'l' bwhy] (Shalamallat), son of MLKW (Malku)], son of  
3. btr dy myt mlkw [br dynys br] D[YNYS (i.e. Dionysius) fr]om his own purse, [for  
4. šnyn 20+10+3 w'bd gw<sup>?</sup>[mḥyn ... hyk] his father] after MLKW [the son of DYNYS] died  
5. dy mn l' l ktyb lbt 'lm' [...] [at the age of] 33. And he made *loc[uli* (i.e. burial  
6. mn kysh lh wlbwwhy wl[bny bnwhy] places) as] written above for the house [of  
7. l'lm' byrh 'yr šnt 4[...] 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 This house of eternity has been made by MTNY

2. br tymḥ 'l nwrbl 'bwhy w'l nby 'mh lyqrh
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 mhwy wdy nwrbl 'bwhy wdy
6. nby 'mh byrḥ 'b šnt 4.100+5+1

(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 9<sup>th</sup> column of the southern portico of the Temple of Bel, *in situ*):

#### (Greek)

1. Ἄκκαεον Νοαραίου τοῦ Ἀκκαέου
2. οἱ Γαδδειβῶλοι τεμιῆς χάριν

The Gaddeibōlians (have dedicated this) to Akkaeos, son of Noraios, 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 bdyl dy 'bd lhn
3. bb' wtr'why w'p 'bd b'lgšy' ḥmn'
4. klh hw w'trh w'p ṭll 'drwn'
5. klh wšpr lhwn bkl šbw klh bdyl
6. kwt 'bdw lh šlm' dnh lyqrh
7. byrḥ knwn šnt 4.100+20

#### (Palmyrene)

This statue is that of 'QYH ('Aqqāyḥ) son of [N'R]Y (No'arai) son of 'QYH 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 wyrḥbwł' bny brnbw
3. br nbwzbd br zbdł' 'knby 'l
4. [ḥ]yyhwn ḥyy bnyhwn w'ḥyhwn
5. byrḥ 'b šnt 4.100+20+5

To B'LŠMN (Baalshamin), Lord of the World, (this) has been made by NBWZBD (Nebuzabad) and YRḤBWL' (Yarḥibola), sons of BRNBW (Barnabu), son of NBWZBD, son of ZBDL' 'KNBY (Zabdela Akonabi),<sup>22</sup> 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
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.

**(Palmyrene)**

1. gwr' hptyn

GWR' (Gura) a centurion's aide.

**Bi-lingual inscription erected by a Palmyrene archer (?) serving in Britannia (n.d. 2<sup>nd</sup> 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. Barates Palmyrenus natione
3. Catuallauna an(norum) XXX.

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

**(Palmyrene)**

1. rgyn' bt Ḥry br 't' ḥbl

RGYN' (Regina), the freedwoman of BR 'T' (Barates). Alas! (tr. *RIB*)

**Bi-lingual funerary inscription for a Palmyrene archer serving in Numidia (n.d. 2<sup>nd</sup> 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

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 sol-

<sup>22</sup> 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.

4. [vixit] ann(is) XL' mi(li)t-  
dier for 13 years.  
5. avit ann(is) XIII.

**(Palmyrene)**

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

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. Claudius Felix et
3. Claudia Helpis et
4. Ti. Claudius Alypus fil(ius) eorum
5. votum solverunt libens merito
6. Calbienses de coh(orte) III.

Consecrated to the most holy sun. Tiberius Claudius Felix, Claudia Helpis, and their son, Tiberius Claudius Alypus, (thus) who live in the third courtyard of the apartment house in the Galban complex (i.e. the *horrea Galbae*)<sup>23</sup> gladly have fulfilled a vow due to the Sun.

**(Palmyrene)**

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

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

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

PAT 0010 (Loc. Canberra, Australian War Memorial ART 00484)<sup>24</sup>:

**(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).

<sup>23</sup> 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.

<sup>24</sup> 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)

**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' ypth' lwhy gwmḥ'
4. dnh 'd 'lm' l' yhw' lh
5. zr' wgr 'd 'lm' wl' yqšt
6. lmn dy ypthyhy 'd 'lm'
7. wlḥm wmn lm' yšb'

Alas! ŠMŠGRM (Shamshigeram), son of NWRBL (Nurbel) the paymaster (?).<sup>25</sup> 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!

---

<sup>25</sup> 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. t̄b' wr[h]mn'
3. 'bd prn<k> br h̄ry
4. lšmš br šmšgrm
5. nrqys br h̄ry ml'
6. brp' 'l h̄yyhn w̄hyy
7. bnyhn byrh̄ 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. h̄yr' brq 'l h̄ywhy w̄hyy bnwhy
3. X byrh̄ nysn šnt 4.100+40+5+2 X<sup>26</sup>

To him whose name is blessed for ever (this) has been made by ŠLMN (Shalman), son of NŠ' (Nesha), (son of) HYR' (Haira)<sup>27</sup> (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 lyqrh bdy l d[y špr lhwn]
4. w'bd hw wlšmš 'h̄why b'st[w']
5. dnh 'mwdyn št' w̄srythwn
6. [wt]t̄lylhwn mn kyshwn lyqr šmš
7. w'lt wrhm 'lhy' t̄by' byrh̄
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 RHM (Rahmu), the good

<sup>26</sup> A satisfactory reason for the decorative 'X's at the beginning and end of line 3 cannot be found. (*CIS* II, p. 184).

<sup>27</sup> Cooke following Vogüé reads ŠYD' (Šaïda) but *CIS* has corrected the reading to HYR' 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)

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Ἰαραῖον Νεβο[υζαβάδ]ου τοῦ       | (Statue of) Iaraios Neb[ouzabad]os (son) of [S]al-         |
| 2. [Σ]αλαμαλλάθου [τοῦ] Ἀχχαδανοῦ   | amallathos (son) [of] Aqqadanos (a citizen of)             |
| 3. [Ἀδ]ριανὸν Παλμυρινόν, σατρά-    | Hadriana Palmyra, satrap of the Thilouanians <sup>28</sup> |
| 4. [π]ην Θιλουανῶν Μερεδάτου        | for Meeredates King of Spasinou Cha-rax.                   |
| 5. βασιλέως Σπασίνου Χάρακος        | ( <i>Blank</i> ) The merchants of Spasinou Charax (have    |
| 6. οἱ ἐν (Σ)πασίνου Χάρακι ἔμποροι, | dedicated it) to honour him. In the year 442, in           |
| 7. τεμιῆς χάριν, ἔτους βμυ', μη[νι] | the month of {flower} Xandikos (Sel. = April,              |
| 8. ⚡ Ξανδικῶ ⚡                      | 131 CE). {flower}  |

#### (Palmyrene)

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. [šlm' dnh] dy yrhy br nbwzbd br  | (This statue) is that of YRHY (Yarḥai) son of  |
| 2. [...]                            | NBWZBD (Nabuzabad) son of [...]                |
| { <i>On right side of console</i> } | { <i>On right side of console</i> }            |
| 1. lyqr[h]                          | to honour him. In the month of NYSN (Nisan) in |
| 2. [byrh nysn šn]t [4.100+40+2]     | the year 422 (Sel. = April, 131 CE).           |

### Council honours Male (Agrippa) b. Yarḥai (131 CE)

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

#### (Greek)

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος                                | The Council and the People (honoured) Males,        |
| 2. Μαλῆν τὸν καὶ Ἀγρίππα[ν]                           | who is also called Agrippa, son of Iaraeus son of   |
| 3. Ἰαραίου τοῦ Ρααίου, γραμμ[α]-                      | Raaius, when he was secretary for the second        |
| 4. τέα γενόμενον τὸ δεύτε-                            | time providing unguent for the visit of the god     |
| 5. ρον ἐπιδημ[ία] θεοῦ Ἀδρι-                          | Hadrian, for both foreigners and citizens, offering |
| 6. ανοῦ ἄλιμμα παρασχό[ν]-                            | service among all for the entertainment of the      |
| 7. τα ξένοις τε καὶ πολεῖται[ς],                      | troops, and the temple of Zeus with its front hall  |
| 8. ἐν πᾶσιν ὑπηρετήσαντα                              | and with [other (buildings?) ... at his o]wn        |
| 9. τῇ τ[ῶν] στρατευμάτων                              | [expense...]  |
| 10. ὑπο[δοχ]ῆ καὶ τὸν ναὸν                            |   |
| 11. τὸν [τοῦ] Διὸς σ[ὺ]ν τῷ π[ρο]-                    |   |
| 12. ναίῳ [καὶ σὺν] ταῖς ἄλλα[ις ...]τ[... ἐξ] ιδ[ί]ων |   |
| ... ] <sup>29</sup>                                   |   |

#### (Palmyrene)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. mn twḥyt bwl' wdmws [šlm' dnh dy ml']               | By decree of the Council and the People, This is |
| 2. br yrhy l[šmš] r'y dy hw' grmtws dy trty'           | the statue of ML' (Male) son of YRHY (Yarḥai)    |
| 3. wkdy 't[ ltn]n <sup>30</sup> hdry[n'] 'lh' yhb mšh' | (son of) L[ŠMŠ] (Lišamaš) son of R'Y (Ra'ai),    |

<sup>28</sup> Thilouana = Tylos, modern Bahrain.

<sup>29</sup> Milik (*Déd.*, p. 11), following *CIS* ii, p.136, suggests restoring the end of the line to read: καὶ σὺν] ταῖς ἄλλα[ις α]ἰ[ὺ]τ[οῦ] στοαῖς ...] 'and with its [other colonnades...]'.

<sup>30</sup> *PAT* 0305 (p. 72b) gives [mr ]m 'our lord'.

4. lbny md[ynt' wl]'str[ṭwm'] wl'ksny' dy 't'
5. 'mh [wšpr<sup>31</sup> lm]dyth<sup>32</sup> b[k]l md'n wbn' hykl'
6. wprn'[yn wtšb]yṭh 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

who was secretary (GRMTWS) a second time and 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], 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)

1. Σόαδον Βωλιάδου 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 Οὐλογασιά[δι]
6. πολεῖταις, καὶ π[ά]ντοτε ἀφειδήσαντα
7. [ψ]υχῆς καὶ οὐσίας ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆ πατρίδι
8. διαφ[ερ]ρόν[των] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δόγμασι
9. καὶ ψ[η]φίσ[μα]σι καὶ ἀνδριᾶσι δημοσίως
10. καὶ ἐ[πιστολ]αῖς καὶ διατάγματι Ποβλικίου
11. Μαρκ[έλλου] τοῦ διασημοτάτου κυρίου
12. ὑπατικ[οῦ] κεκοσμη[μένον] διασώσαντα
13. δὲ καὶ τὴν [προσφ]άτως ἀπὸ Οὐολογασιά[δος]
14. παραγενομένην συν[ο]δίαν ἐκ τοῦ
15. περιστάντος αὐ[τ]ῆν μεγάλου κινδύνου.
16. ἡ αὐτὴ συνοδία, [ἀρετ]ῆς καὶ μεγαλο-
17. φροσύνης [καὶ εὐσεβείας ἔνεκ] αὐτοῦ
18. ἀνδρ[ιάντας] τέσσαρας ἀνέστησ[ε]. ἐν[α]
19. μὲν ἐν[ταῦθα] ἐν ἱερῷ Δίος, ἓνα δὲ
20. [ἐ]ν ἱερῷ ἄλσει, ἓνα δὲ [ἐ]ν ἱερῷ Ἄρεος
21. καὶ τὸν τέταρτον ἐν ἱερῷ Ἀταργάτειος,
22. διὰ Ἄγεγοῦ Ἰαριβωλέου καὶ Θαιμάρσου
23. τοῦ Θαιμάρσου συνοδιάρχων· ἔτους
24. [γ]μυ' μηνὸς Περτιίου.

(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 Iaribōlēs and Thaimarsos son of Thaimarsos, caravan leaders. In the year 443, the month Peritios (Sel. = February, 132 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. w [ ]
2. b<sup>d</sup>rm [ ]
3. wb [ ]
4. wṭ' [ ]
5. mšbt bšm bwl' [wdm]s ' [ ]
6. wyqryn šgy'yn w'[p pw]blwqyws mrql[ws]

... statues in the name of the Council and (the Assembly of) the People [...] and many honours, and [PW]BLWQYWS MRQL[WS] (Publicius Marcellus), the HGMN' (i.e. *hegemon*), our Lord, in letters and by decrees testified concerning him

<sup>31</sup> *CIS*, p. 136 = *PAT* p. 72b suggests [wprns] 'he provided for'.

<sup>32</sup> [mš]ryth suggested by *CIS*, p. 136 and [lmš]ryth by *PAT* (p. 72b).

7. ḡmn' mrn b'g[rt'] wbdy[tg]m' šhd lh
8. wšbh 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' ḡ[ggw b]r
14. [yrḡbw] wtymr]šw br tymršw [byrḡ šbt]
15. [šnt 4]43

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 Ḥ[GGW] (Hagegu) son of YRḤBWL' (Yarḥibōlā) 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]rtn 'lwt' 'ln 'bd 'bydw br 'nmw
2. [br] š'dlt nbty' rwhy['] dy hw' prš
3. [b]ḡyrt' wbmšryt' dy 'n'
4. lšy''lqwm 'lh' ṭb' wškr' dy l'
5. št' ḡmr 'l ḡywhy whyy m'yty
6. w'bdw 'ḡwhy wš'dlt brh byrḡ
7. 'lwl šnt 4.100+40+3 wdkyr zbyd' br
8. [š]m'wn br bl'qb gyrh wrḡmh qdm
9. šy''lqwm 'lh' ṭb' wdkyr kl
10. m'yd 'lwt' 'ln w'mr dkyryn
11. [h]' 'ln klhwn bṭb

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),<sup>33</sup> to ŠY''LQWM (Shaiialqaum)<sup>34</sup>, 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)

1. Δὸν Μεγίστῳ Κεραυν-

To the Greatest Zeus the Thunderer. For the

<sup>33</sup> '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.

<sup>34</sup> The god Shaiialqaum is a protector of the nomads (*PP*, p. 87).

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

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 445<sup>35</sup> in the month of Lōos (Sel. =August, 134 CE).

**(Palmyrene)**

1. lb ʾlšmn mrʾ ʾlmʾ qrb
2. kptʾ wʾrsʾ ʾgtgls

To BʾLŠMN (Baalshamin), Lord of the World. ʾGTGLS (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. [Ἰούλιον Μάξιμον (ἐκατόνταρχον) λεγ(εῶνος) ..] (For) Julius Maximus, centurion of the] leg[ion]:
2. Μᾶρκος Οὔλιπος Ἄβγαρος Marcus Ulpius Abgar son of Hairanes and those
3. Αἰράνου υἱὸς καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Σπασίνου from Spasinou Charax (made this statue) in his
4. Χάρακος, τειμῆς χάριν. honour.

**(Palmyrene)**

1. šlmʾ dnh
2. dy ywlys mksms qtrynʾ dy lgywnʾ
3. dy ʾbdw lh mrqs ʾlpys ʾbgr br
4. hynʾ ʾbgr wbnʾy šyrtʾ dy slqt ʾmh
5. mn krk myšn lyqrh bksw šnt <4.100+>40+5+2

This is the statue of YWLYS MKSMS (Julius Maximus), centurion (QṬRYNʾ) of the legion (LGYWNʾ), which was made for him by MRQS ʾLPYS ʾBGR (Marcus Ulpius Abgar) son of HYNʾ (Hairan) ʾBGR 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)**

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

**(Palmyrene)**

{Front side}

1. šlmʾ dnh dy [.....]
2. [.....]br
3. ʾky dy ʾqymt lh ʾlt wbnʾy
4. nwrbl bdy l dy špr lhwn lyqrh
5. byrh ʾdr šnt 4.100+40+8
6. wʾbd bšnt 4.100+30+8

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

<sup>35</sup> 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.

7. mn dytq' dylh l'lt 'štr' 'lhth
8. mḥd' dy dhb' wksp' w'p 'bd
9. lbl wlyrhbwł wl'glbwł wl'štrt
10. 'lhy' tby' wškry' mḥd' dy klh dhb

{Left side}

11. w'p qrb lb'łšmn wrḥlwn
12. wlblty 'štr' mḥd' dy ksp'
13. lḥlq lywm 'šr' wtrn bsywn d
14. 'lpyn št' wyhb lbny plynws
15. l'lm' dy msqyn lbtlt'
16. 'lt ywm tš't' db[...]
17. wym 7 b'lwł lgd' dy[...]
18. w'p yhb lbny 'ky bny bt'
19. dy 'bhthwn bzbzn kl št' 'l
20. bnwhy wbnhy bnwhy l'lm'

(Allāt), his goddess, a basin of gold and silver, and he also made for BL (Bel), and yrḥbwł (Yarhiblōl), and 'GLBWL (Aglibōl), and 'ŠTRT (Astarte), the good and rewarding deities, a basin entirely of gold.

{Left side} And he offered to B'ŁŠMN (Baalshamin), and DRḤLWN (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 Τραιανου[ῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱοῦ, θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱωνοῦ, Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, ἀρχιερέως μεγίστου, δημορχικῆς ἐξουσίας
2. τὸ κα', αὐτοκράτορος τὸ β', ὑπάτου τὸ γ', πατρὸς πατρίδος, ὑπάτω[ν Λ. Αἰλίου Καίσαρος [τὸ β' Πουβλίου Κοιλίου Βαλβίνου]
- (1) During the rule of the Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, son of the deified Traianus Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, in the twenty-first year of his tribunician power, (2) twice declared imperator, three times consul, *pater patriae*, during the consulships of L. Aelius Caesar for the second time and Publius Coelius Balbinus.

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

1. [Ἐτ]ους ημυ', μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ ιη'. Δόγμα βουλῆς.
2. Ἐπὶ Βωννέους Βωννέους τοῦ Αἰράνου προέδρου, Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ
3. Φιλοπάτορος γραμματέως βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, Μαλίχου Ὀλαιοῦς καὶ Ζεβείδου Νεσά ἀρχόν-
4. των, βουλῆ[ς] νομίμου ἀγομένης, ἐψηφίσθη τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα. Ἐπειδὴ [ἐν το]ῖς πάλαι
- In the year 448, on the 18th day of the month Xandikos (Sel. = 18<sup>th</sup> April, 137 CE/AD). A decree of the Council. (2) In the presidency of Bonnēs, the son of Bonnēs, son of Hairanēs, when the secretary of the council and people was Alexandros, the son of Alexandros, (3) the son of Philopator, during the magistracies of Malichos, the son of Olaies, and Zebeidas, the son of Nesa, (4) at a regular meeting of the council, the

- χρόνοις
5. ἐν τῷ τε[λω]νικῷ νόμῳ πλείστα τῶν ὑποτελών οὐκ ἀνελήμφθη ἐπράσ[σето] δ[ἐ] ἐ]κ συνηθείας, ἐν-
  6. γραφομέ[νου] τῆ μισθώσει τὸν τελωνοῦντα τὴν πρᾶξιν ποιείσθαι<sup>36</sup> ἀκολούθ[ω]ς τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῆ
  7. συνηθείᾳ, συνέβαινε δὲ πλειστάκις περὶ τούτου ζητήσεις γείνεσθ[αι με]ταξὺ τῶν ἐνπόρων
  8. πρὸς τοὺς τελώνας· δεδόχθαι τοὺς ἐνεστώτας ἄρχοντας καὶ δεκαπρώτους διακρίνοντας
  9. τὰ μὴ ἀνελημμένα τῷ νόμῳ ἐνγράψαι τῆ ἔνγιστα μισθώσει καὶ ὑποτ[ά]ξι ἐκάστῳ εἶδει τὸ
  10. ἐκ συνηθείας τέλος, καὶ ἐπειδὴν κυρωθῆ τῷ μισθουμένῳ, ἐνγραφῆναι μετὰ τοῦ πρώτου νό-
  11. μου στήλη λιθίνῃ τῆ οὔσῃ ἄντικρυς ἱερ[οῦ] λεγομένου Ῥαβασείρη, ἐ[πι]μελεισθαι δὲ τοὺς τυγχά-
  12. νοντας κατὰ καιρὸν ἄρχοντας καὶ δεκαπρώτους καὶ συνδίκ[ο]υς τοῦ μηδὲν παραπράσσειν
  13. τὸν μισθούμενον.

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; <sup>37</sup> 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}

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. dgm' dy bwl' byrh nysn ywm 10+5+3 šnt 4.100+40+5+3 bplhdrwt' dy bwn' br</li> <li>2. bwn' br hym wgrmt'y dy 'lksdrs br 'lksdrs br plptr grmt'ws dy bwl' wdms w'rkwny'</li> <li>3. mlkw br 'lyy br mqymw wzbyd' br nš' kd hwt bwl' knyš' mn nmws' 'šrt</li> <li>4. mdy ktyb mn ltht bdyt dy bzbny' qdmy' bnmws' dy mks' 'bydn šgyn hybn</li> <li>5. mks' l' 'sqw whww mtgbyn mn 'yd' bmd'n dy hw' mtktb b'gwry' dy</li> <li>6. mks' whw' gb' hyk bnmws' wb'yd' wmtl kwt zbnyn šgyn 'l šbwt' 'ln</li> <li>7. srbyn hww byny tgr' lbyny mksy' 'thzy lbwl' dy 'rkwny' 'ln wl' šrt'</li> <li>8. dy ybn[w]n md'm dy l' msq bnmws' wyktb bštr 'gry' hdt' wyktb lmd'm'</li> </ol> | <p>Decree (DGM') of the Council, in the month of Nisan, the 18th day, the year 448 (Sel. = 18 April, 137 CE), during the presidency (PLHDRW) 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</p> |
|--|--|

<sup>36</sup> ποιείσθαι in *AIDRP*, p. 176 is a misprint for ποιείσθαι (cf. *CISem* iii, p. 35 & 40, Cooke, p. 313)

<sup>37</sup> 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' wktb<sup>38</sup> 'm nmws' qdmy' bgll' written in the contracts of (6) the tax-collector,<sup>39</sup> 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 about these matters (7) disputes arose between the
11. wsdqy' dy l' yhw' gb' 'gwr' mn 'nš md'm ytyr 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 καρρικὸς 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. ἧ'wn qrs dy klm' gns klh the rate of four camel-loads. (Palmyrene) A  
l'rb' ἧ'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 Παλμυρηνηῶν εἰς-] the borders of Palmyra, he will exact for each  
3. ἀγόντω[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 σ[ώματος Χ ιβ'] (not?)<sup>41</sup> for export,] for each person, 12 denarii.

<sup>38</sup> 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).

<sup>39</sup> The translator seems to have problems with converting the accusative-infinitive construction in the Greek that follows τῆ μισθώσει into an Aramaic equivalent and, by rendering τῆ 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 | συνθηαί), now emerges somewhat clumsily in the Aramaic: b'gwry' dy | mks' whw' gb' hyk bnmws' wb'yd' wmtl kwt zbnyn šgyn l'šbwt' 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]α<sup>40</sup> 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 γόμο[ν καμηλικοῦ] (14) For each donkey-load imported, [2 denarii ?].
11. εἰσκομισ[θέ]ντος [Χ γ'] Exported, [2 denarii ?].
12. Ἐκκομισθ[έν]τος [γόμου καμηλικοῦ] (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[κοῦ ἐκάστο]ν εἰ[σκομισθέν]τος (19) For a camel-load of unguent imported in alabaster vessels, he will exact 25 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[αμηλικοῦ] μύρου [τοῦ ἐν ἀλαβάσ-] (28) [Exported, 7 denarii?].
20. τρεις εἰ[σκομισθέν]τος 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 καμηλικοῦ] μύρου [τοῦ ἐν ἄσκοις] (35) Exporte[d, 13 denarii]
24. αἰγείους [εἰσκομισθέν]τος 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 ὀνικοῦ μύ]ρου τοῦ ἐ[ν ἀλαβάστροις] (41) For a load of oliv[e oil imported by donk]ey, he will exact [?7 denarii].
27. εἰσ[κομισθ]έντος 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 ὀνικοῦ μ[ύρου τοῦ ἐν ἄσκοις] (44) Exported, [?7 denarii].
30. αἰγείους 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 ἄσκο]ις [τέσσαρ-] (47) Exported, [?7 denarii].
33. σι αἰγείους 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 ἐλαιροῦ τοῦ ἐ[ν ἄσκοις] δυσι αἰ- (51) Exported, [?7 denarii].
37. γείους ἐπὶ καμήλ[ου εἰσκομισθέν]τος (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 εἰ[σκομισθέν-] (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 τ[έσσαρ]σι (58) Exported, [?7 denarii].
44. αἰγείους [εἰσκομισθέν]τος πρά[ξει Χ ιγ'] (59) Exported, [?7 denarii].

<sup>41</sup> '(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.

<sup>40</sup> [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]κομοσθέντος πράξει Χ ζ' c[amel] in two goatskins, he will exact 7 denarii.

## Col. II

48. [Ἐκκομ]σ[θέντος] [Χ ζ'] (48) [Expo]r[ted], [7 denarii]  
 49. [Γόμου ὀ]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. [Ἐκκομσθ]έν[τος Χ ζ'] (51) [Expo]rt[ed], 7 denarii  
 52. [Γ]ό[μου καμηλι]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. [.....]λλης[...]  
 68. [κα]μήλου το[.....]κης [.....] (68) camel-load (?) [.....]  
 69. [θ]ρέμματος [..]εσ[...ενου[ ....] [of an a]nimal (?) [.....]  
 70. [....]δ[.....]θ[....]  
 71. [..]νκαδ[.τ]εθυμένη[.....] (71) [...] (s)acrificed[...]  
 72. Ὁ αὐτὸς δ[ημ]οσιώνης ἐκάσ[του] μην[ός] (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 ὀκτώ [.....]αιη who receive eight asses [he will exact] 8 asses.  
 79. [..]σσάρια ἕξ ἐν [ἐ]καστ[η] ἄσς 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[εῖν] σκυτικῶν workers' shops .....] (82) according to  
 82. [.....]ς ἐκ συνηθείας ἐκάστου μηνός custom, from each workshop per month, 1  
 83. καὶ ἐργαστηρίου ἐκάστου, Χ α' denarius.  
 84. Παρὰ τῶν δέρματα εἰσκομζόντων ἢ πω- (84) From those importing or (85) selling skins,  
 85. λούντων, ἐκάστου δέρματος ἄσσάρια β' for each skin, 2 asses.  
 86. Ὅμοίως ἱματιοπῶλαι<sup>42</sup> 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 δημοσιώνη τὸ ἱκανὸν tax.  
 γ[ιν]έσ[θω].<sup>43</sup>  
 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-

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

<sup>43</sup> γ[ιν]έσ[θω] suggested by *OGIS* (ii, p. 330) – reading ΓΙ[.] for ΠΙ[.]

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 εἰσαχθῆ πρόξει X α' (92) For a camel brought in unloaded, he will  
 93. καθὼς Κίλιξ Καίσαρος ἀπελεύθερος ἔπρο- exact 1 denarius according to the exaction laid  
 αξεν down by Cilix (Gr. Kilix), freedman of Caesar.

## Col. III

94. [.....]  
 95. πο[.....]  
 96. τῆς γ[.....]  
 97. κ[.....]  
 98. [.....]  
 99. [.....]  
 100. ξ[.....]  
 101. Πορφ[.....] (101) Purp[le fleeces (?)]  
 102. [.....]εκ[.....] [.....]ex[porting ?...]  
 103-13 *little or nothing of these lines can be made out*  
 114. [.....]μ[...η[...γ]ο[.....]  
 115. [.....ἀποτ]εινέτω<sup>44</sup> (115) [...] pay [in full (?)]  
 116. Ὅς δ' ἂν ἄλα[ς ἔχ]η ἐν Παλμύροις ἢ [ἐν ὄροις] (116) Whoever shall have salt in Palmyra or [in the regions] of Palmyra, let him measure out to the tax-collector [1] assarius for each modius.  
 117. Παλμυρη[ν]ῶν παραμετροῦσάτω [τῷ δημο-] (119) Whoever would not [.....] measure out [...] having the [.....] tax-co[ll]ector ...]  
 118. σιώνη εἰς ἕκ]αστον μόδιον, ἀσσά[ριον...]  
 119. ὃς δ' ἂν οὐ [...]ν παραμετρήσ[η ...]  
 120. ση ἔχων το [...] δημο[σιών...]  
 121. Παρ' οὐ ἂν ὁ δη[μοσι]ώνης [.....ἐνέ-] (121) From whomsoever the tax-collector [.....] receives sureties [.....] let them be handed over [.....] let the tax-collector receive a double security.  
 122. χυρα λά[βη] .....  
 123. ἀποδο[θω]σιν ο[.....]αβρει  
 124. δημο[σιώνη] τοῦ διπ[λοῦ] τὸ ἱκανὸν λαμβα- (125) As far as this is concerned, let the sum deposited with the tax-collector be double.  
 125. νέτω· περὶ τ[ο]ῦτου πρὸς τὸν δημοσιώνην  
 126. τοῦ διπλοῦ εἰσα]γέσθω  
 127. Περὶ οὐ ἂν ὁ δημ[ο]σιώ[νης] τινὰ ἀπαιτῆ, (127) Concerning any demand which the tax collector may make of anyone or concerning any demand which is made of the tax collector by someone, let a judgment be given about this by the designated (130) official in Palmyra.  
 περὶ τε  
 128. οὐ ἂν ὁ δημοσιώ[νης] ὑ]πό τινος ἀπαιτῆται περὶ  
 129. τοῦτου δικαιοδο[τεῖσ]θω παρὰ τῷ ἐν Παλμύ-  
 130. ροις τεταγμένῳ *vacat*  
 131. Τῷ δημοσιώνη κύρι[ον] ἔ[σ]τω παρὰ τῶν μὴ ἀπο- (131) Let it be within the powers of the tax collector to take sureties for undischarged debts through his own agency or through [his assistants]; and if these sureties are not redeemed in [3] days, let the tax collector have the right to  
 132. λ[υόντων] ἐν]έχυρα [λ]α[μβάνει]ν δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἢ δι[ὰ]  
 133. [τῶν ὑπ]η[ρο]ετῶν· κὰν τα]ῦτα τὰ

<sup>44</sup> [ἀποτ]εινέτω suggested by Greg Fox.

[ἐνέ]χυρα ἡμέραις	sell.
134. [τρισὶν μὴ λυθῆ], ἐξέστω τῷ δημ]οσιώνῃ πωλεῖν.	
135. [..... ἐν τόπῳ δημ]οσίῳ χωρὶς	(135) [.....? in a] public [place?], without fraud
136. δόλου πο[νηροῦ... ]ω[.....] ἐπράθη	or malice. [If any surety?] was sold [for more?]
137. ἢ δοθῆναι ἔδει π[ράσσ]ειν τῷ δη[μοσιώνῃ] καθὼς	than was required to be paid, let the tax collector
138. καὶ [..]στιν [..] τοῦ νόμου [ἐξέσ]τω	be empowered to act as [is permitted by?] the
139. Λιμένος π[... πη]γῶν ὑδάτων Καίσαρος	law.
140. τῷ μισθωτῆ [.....]εντος [.....] παρασχέσ[θαι]	(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]	(141) [permitting] 'no one else to act, to give or to receive [.....] by any name (i.e. title of authority)',
142. ἐξέστω μήτε τ[... ]ε[... ]νωφο[... ] ἀνθρ[ωπ... μή]	[...] ma[n] (143) to anyone in the [name] of [...] of these, if (anyone) will carry out or [... let him perform] double [...]
143. τε τινὶ [ὄν]όματι το στ[... ]οε[... ]υπ[... ]ν	
144. τούτων εἰ ποιήσῃ ἢ ε[..... ]πραχ-	
145. [θήτω τὸ] διπλοῦν [..... ]	
146. [..... ]ητε <sup>45</sup> [..... ]οι[...]	(146-151) <i>Lines too fragmentary for translation.</i>
147. [..... ]	
148. Κ[..... ]	
149. κα[..... ]	
150. Γάϊο[..... ]	(150) Gaiu[s Mucianus ...]
151. ἀντι[..... ]	
152. Μεταξὺ Παλ[μυρηνῶν..]	(152) <i>Largely reconstructed from the Palmyrene:</i>
153. γνους, ἐστὶ [... .. . . .]	[On] the assessment of taxes between the
154. γείνεσθαι καθό[τι] οι[..... ]	Palmyrenes and [.....] taxes, having learnt, it is
155. εὐ[... ]σατο μ[..... ]	[my judgment] that [....] the tax should be
156. [..... ]οσα δὲ ἐξ[..... ]	[according to the schedule?] [.....] which [Alki-
157. [... ]ως	m]os contracted [.....]
158. Αὐτο[ῖ]ς [..]τα[..]λεισπ[..]	(158) To th[e]m [...]
159. τω[ν] τ[α] [....]ν[..... ]	let him pay to the tax-collector.
160. τῷ τελών[η] διδόσ[θω]	And whoever [import or export]
161. οἱ δ' ἄν ε[... ]α[... ]ασω[... ] ἐξα[γ...]	
162. [... ]ει[..... ]	
163. [.]εο[..... ]ό]δó[ν...]	(163) [r]oa[d]
164. καθ ἣν ἀναλο[γ..... ]	(164) according to which [it will be ]reckoned
165. Τοῦ δὲ ἐξαγω[..... ]αι[...]	And while the [person conducting the ] expo[rt]
166. α δώσε[... ]νο[..... ]	[...] he will give (?) [.....]
167. Ἐρίων[..... ]	(167) [...] wool
168. θαρ[..... ]	
169. π[..... ]	
170. [.]εο[..... ]δο[...]	(171) [...] tribute

<sup>45</sup> Given as ]τηε[ in *AIDRP*, p. 171.

171. [...]φόρον[...]ματουμεν[...] φορι[.]  
 172. [Ἐξ]αγωγῆ [.....]ι Χ ζ' τοῦ δὲ [..... Χ] θ'  
 173. ἀξιούντος τοῦ τελώ]νου εἰ καὶ μὴ [.....]  
 174. [Ἴτ]αλικῶν ἐξαγο[ομένων]ν πράσσειν  
 ὕστ[ερον] ὡς συν-]  
 175. εφωνήθη μ[ὴ] ἀπὸ τ]ούτων ἐξαγο[μένων]  
 τὸ τέλος δί-]  
 176. δοσθαι  
 177. Μύρου τοῦ ἐν ἀσκο[ῖς αἰγεί]οις πρά[ξι] ο  
 τελώνης]  
 178. κατὰ τὸν νόμο[ν .....] οὔτε[.....]ἀμ[άρ-]  
 179. τημα γέγονεν τῷ προτεθέντι [.εικ]..... ἐν  
 τῷ συν-]  
 180. εσφραγισμένῳ 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  
 ἀσσάριον Ἴτα[λικόν]  
 184. τὰ τέλη λογεύεσθαι· τὸ δὲ ἐντὸς  
 δηναρίου τέλο[ς]  
 185. συνηθεία ὁ τελώνης πρὸς κέρμα πράξι·  
 τῷ[ν δὲ]  
 186. διὰ τὸ νεκριμαῖα εἶναι ῥειπτουμένων τὸ  
 τέλο[ς] οὐκ ὀφείλεται.]  
 187. Τῶν βρωτῶν τὸ κα(τὰ) τὸν νόμον τοῦ  
 γόμου δη[νάριον]  
 188. εἰστημι πράσσεσθαι ὅταν ἔξωθεν τῶν  
 ὄρων εἰσά[γηται]  
 189. ἢ ἔξάγηται. 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 ἐάν τε κεναὶ ἐάν τε ἔνγομοι  
 εἰσάγονται ἔξωθεν  
 195. τῶν ὄρων ὀφείλεται δηνάριον ἐκάστης  
 κατὰ τὸν  
 196. νόμον ὡς καὶ Κουρβούλων ὁ κράτ[ιστ]ος  
 ἐσημ-  
 197. ὡσατο 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[... ..]οξη<sup>46</sup> [...] ]  
 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]γάστης[.....]α[.]αν  
 205. [.....]εου[.....]ναλα<sup>47</sup>  
 206. [.....]οσ[.....πρ]άσειν  
 207. [.....]τον κ[...]αν  
 208. [.....]ντος ο[.....]  
 209. [.....]του[.....]  
 210. [.....]ι[.....]  
 211. [.....]  
 212. [.....]νιτ[...ον[...]  
 213. [.....]μέννοι τ[.....]  
 214. [.]εἶποι[.....]  
 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[έ]ρειν.]  
 233. Ἐννόμιον<sup>48</sup> συνεφωνήθη μὴ δεῖν  
 πράσσειν ἐκτὸς τῶν]  
 234. τελῶν· [τ]ν δὲ ἐπὶ νομὴν μεταγομένων  
 [εἰς Παλ-]  
 235. μυρηνήν θρεμμάτων ὀφείλεσθαι·  
 χαρα[κτη]-]  
 236. ρίσασθαι τὰ θρέμματα ἐὰν θέλη 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' (1) The law of the taxes of the port of exchange of  
 dy my' [dy 'y]ls qysr HDRY' TDMR (Hadriana Tadmor) and the springs

<sup>46</sup> Given as [...]οζη[...] AIDRP, p. 172. (misprint?). Cf. CISem., iii, p. 39 and 45.

<sup>47</sup> The text in IGRR (iii, p. 400, l. 7) gives [...]nai ai[...] which strikes us as more probable.

<sup>48</sup> 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 (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.
3. 'w [lthwmyh ygb' mks]' lkl rgl[y] [. .] d<ynd> 20+2
4. mn 'lm dy y[zb]n b[mdy]t' . .] [d<ynd> 10+2 (4) From a slave who is [sol]d in the [cit]y, 12 denarii.
5. mn 'lm wtr[n] dy yzbn [...] [d<ynd> [.10 .] (5) From a veteran slave who will be sold, [10] denarii.
6. whn zbwn' [ypq] 'lymyn ytn lkl rgly [d<ynd> 10+2 (6) And if the buyer [exports] the slaves he will give for each person, 12 [d<enarii>].
7. hw m[ks' yg]b' [m]n t'wn gml' dy yby[šyn] (7) The said t[ax-collector will l]evy from a camel-load of dry goods, for import [.....] of the camel-load, [3] denarii.
8. lm'ln' [.....] dy t'wn gml' d<ynd> [3] (9) From [a camel-load] for ex[port], 3 denarii.
9. mn [t'wn gml'] lm[pqn'] d<ynd> 3 (10) From a donkey-l[oad], for import [and for export], 2 d<enarii>.
10. mn t[wn] hmr' lm'ln' w[lmpqn' d<ynd> 2 (11) From purple-fleeces, for each s[kin], for import] and for export, 8
11. mn 'rg]wn' ml't' lkl m[šk] lm'ln' (13) From a cam[el-lo]ad of perfumed oil [which] is imported [in] the a[labaster] jar(s?), 25 denarii
12. wlm[p]qn' 'sryn 5+3 (15) And for that [..... oil] which is exported, [... c]amel, for the load, 13 denarii.
13. mn t'wn g]ml['] dy mšh' bšym' [dy] (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].
14. mt'1 [b]š[typt]' d<ynd> 20+5 (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.
15. wlm' d[... mšh]' dnh (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>.
16. lmpqn' [...] gml l't'wn' d<ynd> 10+3 (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>.
17. mn t'wn gml' dy [m]šh' bšym' [dy yt'1] (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>.
18. bzqy[n dy] '[z l]m[l'n' d<ynd> 10+3 wlmq[n' d<ynd> 5+2] (28) From a donkey-load of oil, for im[port], 7 d<enarii>, and for export, [7 d<enarii>].
19. mn t[wn] hmr dy m]šh' bš[ym' d]y yt'1 (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>.
20. bš[typ]y' [d<ynd> 10+3 wlmq[n' d<ynd> 5+2] (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>.
21. mn t'wn hmr d]y mšh' b[šy]m' dy (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>.
22. yt'1 bzqy[n dy] 'z d<ynd> 5+2 [wlm]pqn' d<ynd> 4 (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>.
23. mn t'wn dy mš[h' dy bzq]yn 'rb' (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>.
24. dy 'z lm'ln' t'wn g[m]l' d<ynd> 10+3 (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>.
25. wlmq[n'<sup>49</sup> d<ynd> [10+3] (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>.
26. mn t'wn dy mš[h'] dy bzqyn trtn dy 'z (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>.
27. lm'ln] t[wn]' dy gml' d<ynd> [5+2] wlmq[n' d<ynd> [5+2] (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>.
28. mn t'w[n] hmr dy mšh' lm'[ln'] d<ynd> 5+2 wl<m>pqn' [d<ynd> 5+2] (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>.
29. mn t'wn dhn' dy bzqyn 'rb' dy 'z dy (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>.
30. t'wn gml' <l>m'ln' d<ynd> 10+3 wl[mpq]n' d<ynd> 10+3 (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>.

<sup>49</sup> *lmpqn'* in *AIDRP*, p. 176 is a misprint for *wlmq[n'* (cf. *CISem* iii, p. 37 & 47, Cooke, p. 324 and *PAT* p. 61.

31. mn ṭ'wn dhñ' dy bzqyn t[rtn dy] 'z  
 32. lṭ'wn gml lm'ln' d<yñr> 5+2 wlm[ṭpqn'  
 d]<yñr> 5+2  
 33. mn ṭ'wn [dh]n' dy ḥmr lm'ln' [d<yñr> 5+2  
 wlmṭpqn' d<yñr> 5+2]  
 34. mn ṭ'wn n[wñy]' mlyhy' lṭ'wn' dy [gml']  
 35. [lm']ln' d]<yñr> 10 wmn mpq mnhwn [...]
36. [.....]' lṭ'wn' dy gml' lm[...]  
 37. [.....]' dy ṭ'wn ḥmr' 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 wlmṭpqn] lrš' ḥd' sr' ḥd
43. mn[.]' gml' 'sry]n 3  
 44. mn[.]' rb' [.....]' ]sry]n 2  
 45. mn[.]w[.]d[n m]k[s' 'sr]' ḥd  
 46. 'p [y]g[b]' mk[s' lkl yr]ḥ mn dy yh[w'] mzbñ  
 mšḥ'  
 47. bšym' 'sry]n 2 \* 'p ygb' mks' mn znyt' mn  
 48. mn dy šql' dynr [w] ytyr dnr' ḥd mn 'tt'  
 49. wmn mn dy šql' 'sry]n tmny'  
 50. ygb' 'sry]n 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]ec[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' 'sry]n [š]t'  
 53. 'p ygb' [mks' mn .....]yw[...]  
 54. [..]yp' [...]ḥ[...]' hyk 'dt'  
 55. [lkl] yr[ḥ] mn ḥñwt' d<yñr> 1  
 56. [mn k]l mšk dy [y]t' '1' w yzbn l mšk' 'sry]n 2
57. [mzbn]y nḥty' dy ḥpkyn bmdyt' yhn mwṭ  
 mks'  
 58. [lṭ]myš 'ynn trtn dy m[y] dy bmdyt' d<yñr>  
 8.100  
 59. [y]gb' mks' lṭ'wn' dy ḥṭ' wḥmr' wtbn'  
 60. w[k]l mdy dm' [lhwn lk]l gml l' rḥ ḥd' d<yñr>  
 1  
 61. lgml' kdy yt' y'l sryq ygb' d<yñr> 1  
 62. hyk [dy gb'] qlqys br ḥry qysr
63. nm[ws' dy mk]s' dy tdmr w'ynt' dy my'  
 64. wml[ḥ' d]y b[m]dyt' wḥwmyh 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) [Haber]dashers 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<ygnr> 4  
wmpqn d<ygnr> 4
67. m[n 'r]gwn' mlt' lkl mšk lm'ln' d<ygnr> 4  
wmpqn' d<ygnr> 4
68. 'p ygb' [mks]' mn gnsy' klhwn hyk dy ktyb  
mn l'l
69. [mlh] t[bt] [ytg]b' 'sr' h[dy] lmdy' dy qstwn
70. 'šr w[š]t [w]m' dy ytb' ytn [lh]n ltšmys'
71. w[dy] l' y[...y]pr' lkl md' mn nm[ws]' dnh  
sstrtyn [trn]
72. mn dy yhw' lh mlh btd[mr 'w bthw]m' d[y]
73. t[dmry]' ykylnh l[mks]' [']py mdy' b'sr' h[dy]
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 rglm ltdmr
81. [']w lth[wm]yh wmpq lkl rgly d<ygnr> 20+2
82. w[m]n dy [..... m]pq ypr' lmk[s' d]<ygnr>  
10+2
83. w[mn] dy y[zbn 'l]m wtrn ypr' d<ygnr> 5+3
84. [....]l kl [....]my' dnh [....]
85. w[d]y m'l[....]hw d<ygnr> wmpq [d]<ygnr>  
10+2
86. [.....] mn dy mpq 'lm wtrn
87. [..] hšb[n] [..... hyk dy] ktyb bnmws'
88. [mn] dy yz[bn ....] ypr' d<ygnr> 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 bzyqyn dy 'z yhw' mks'
99. mt[gb] hyk nmws]' bdy l dy b'twn dy
- (Marinus) the governor (HYGMWN').<sup>50</sup>
- (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] *sestertii*.
- (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 tax[es ...] 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

<sup>50</sup> 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' rsyp d<ynr> 10+3
102. mks' dy qsb' 'py dnr hyb  
 103. lmthšbw hyk dy 'p grmn-qws qysr  
 104. b'grt' dy ktb lšttyls 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. l't' mt' hy<k> bnm[w]s' l't' wn' 'qymt  
 110. dy yhw' [mtgb]' dnr  
 111. mdy yhw' mt[ ' ]l br mn thwm' 'w m'pq  
 112. mn dy mpq l[qry]' [ 'w m]' 'l mn qry'  
 113. mks l' hyb hyk dy 'p hww spwn
114. 'strbyly' wmdy dm' lhwn 'thzy dy  
 115. lkl dy 'll hšbn tgr' yhw' mks'  
 116. hyk lybyš hyk dy hw' 'p bmdynt'  
 117. 'hrnyt'  
 118. gmyly' hn tynyn whn sryqyn yhn  
 119. mt' 'lyn br mn thwm' hyb kl  
 120. gml dnr hyk bnmws' whyk dy 'šr  
 121. qrblwn kšyr' b'grt' dy ktb lbrbrs  
 122. 'l gldy' dy gmyly['] 'p 'ln kprw dy mks  
 123. l' gbn \* 'šb[y]' w[nt]yrt' 'thzy dy yhwn  
 124. yhbyn mk[s'] bdyl dy 'yt bhwn tgrt'
125. mks' dy 'lymt' hyk dy nmws' m<wh>'<sup>51</sup>  
 pšqt  
 126. hw mks' yg[b' mk]s' mn 'lymt' dy šqln dnr  
 127. 'w ytyr l' t[t' dn]r whn hšyr thwh šql'  
 128. mdy hy šq[l' ygb' 'l] šlmy nḥš' 'drty'  
 129. 'thzy dy ytg[wn] hyk [nḥ]š' wyhw' pr' šlm  
 130. bplgwt [t'w]n wšlmyn trn t'wn \* 'l mlḥ'  
 131. qšt['] ]thzy 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-

<sup>51</sup> *mwh* ' in the text is probably an error for *mhw* ', pa'el or ap'el participle of ḤW'/Y. 'show'. (Healey, *AIDRP*, p. 203)

135. btdmr hyk bh[w nmws]<sup>52</sup> 'py 'sr yhw'  
 136. mtqbl wl[tdmry]' yhw' mzbh hyk 'yd'

137. [. mk]s' dy 'rgwn' bdy l dy  
 138. [....]'rb'' wplgw [...]b[..  
 139. [..] m[h]lkyn b[md]yt<'><sup>53</sup> 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. l'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' h'yb' whn lgw mn  
 147. [. mt]' 'l' lmdyt' lmgz mks l' h'yb[']  
 148. m[.....]nwt' wmn dy hyk <d>y hwn hwn

mble; and (that) any Tadmorene 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 Tadmorenes], 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, τειμηῆς]
3. χάριν ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ προ[θύμως συνερ-]
4. γούντα ἐμπόροις τοῖς ἐν Σπασίνου Χά-
5. [ρακι] καὶ [συναρ]άμενον αὐ[τοῖς .....]
6. [..]ε ἀφειδήσ[α]ντα ψυχῆς κα[ὶ χρημά-]
7. [τ]ων καὶ π[ρεσβεύσαντα] αὐθαιρέτως
8. [πρὸς Οὐρορώδην 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 [...]

<sup>52</sup> bh[w nmws]: restoration suggested by Healey (*AIDRP*, p. 184).

<sup>53</sup> b[md]yt<'>: restoration suggested by Healey (*AIDRP*, p. 184). *PAT*, p. 62: b[md]yt.

11. [.....]
12. [.....]
13. [.....] τῆ Αἰλυμηνῆ [.....]
14. [.....] ΠΟΤΩΝΑΠΟΙ [.....] εὐ[χα-]
15. ριστηθῆναι αὐτὸν [.....] ἐ]πὶ τῆς
16. κρατίστης βουλῆ[ς .....] αὐτοῦ τὸ
17. πρὸς τὴν πατρί[δα .... με]μαρ-
18. [τύ]ρηκεν [κατ]ὰ καιροῦς διὰ ψηφισμάτων  
παρὰ [.....]
19. [.....] καὶ Βρουττίω Πραίσειντι καὶ Ἰουλίω  
Μ[αίורי]
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 yrḥbwł' br lšmš[.....]
2. [.....]
3. [...] kktbw tgr'y' tdmry' [.....]
4. [...zb]nyn wl' z'wrn 'wdw lbwl' [...]
5. [...]t[...]
6. [...bdy]l dy
7. [...] bšwšn
8. [...] wrwd mlk
9. [.....]

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 βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος Αἰλάμειν Αἰράνου
2. τοῦ Μοκίμου τοῦ Αἰράνου τοῦ Μαθθαῖ, καὶ
3. Αἰράνην τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, εὐσεβεῖς καὶ
4. φιλοπάτριδας καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ φιλο-
5. τείμως ἀρέσαντας τῆ πατρίδι καὶ
6. τοῖς πατρίοις θεοῖς, τειμῆς χάριν,
7. ἔτους νυ', μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ.

The Council and the People (honoured) Aailamis 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 rḥymy mdythwn wdḥly 'lhy'
4. bdyl 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 (Hairan) 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 βου[λῆ κα]ὶ ὁ δῆμος Βαρεΐχειν
2. Ἀμρι[σά]μσου τοῦ Ἰαριβωλέου
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' wdms 'bdw šlmy' 'ln
2. trwyhn lbryky br 'mrš' br
3. yrḥbwł' wlmqym[w] brh rḥymy
4. mdythwn wdḥly '[lh]y' lyqrhwn
5. byrh 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 βουλή {On shaft} Ἀο[φ]άλειν Αἰράνου τοῦ Σαβᾶ τοῦ
2. [Αἰρ]άνου τοῦ Βωννέου, ἐπανγει-
3. [λά]μενον αὐτῇ ἐπίδοσιν αἰώνιαν
4. [κα]ὶ θυσίαν καὶ ἔτ[ε]ρα ἀναθέματα
5. [Μα]λαχβήλω καὶ Τύχη Θαιμεῖος καὶ
6. [Ἄτα]ργάτει, πατρῶνιοι 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 Thaimaios and Atargatis, 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. šlm' dnh dy 'hply 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'qm
4. [m]ḥr[m]n<sup>54</sup> lmlkb[l] wgd tymy wl'tr'th
5. 'lh[y'] tḥ[y'] btr dy myt lyqrh byrh
6. [qnyn] šnt 4.100+40+10+1

This statue is (of) 'HPLY ('Aḥofali)<sup>55</sup> son of ḤYRN (Ḥairan) (son of) ŠB' (Šaba) son of ḤYRN (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-'atth), the good gods, after he died, in his honour, in the month of [QNYN (Qinyan)] of the year 450 (Sel. = July, 140 CE/AD).

<sup>54</sup> 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 pedestal in *IMP* is unfortunately too small for the verification of individual letters.

<sup>55</sup> 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, *IPS* G10, *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 ἢ μετὰ Μάλχο[υ τοῦ]
5. [Ἀζ]εΐζου παραγενομένη
6. ἀπ[ὸ τ]οῦ Χάρακος εἰς Πάλμυρα
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 Gorpaioi (September, 140 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. [šlm' dnh dy ...]py[.]
2. [...br 'lksndrs ... prt] m(?)yšn
3. [dy 'qymw lh bny šyrt']
4. [dy] slqw 'm [mlkw br 'zyzw] mn krk[']
5. dy(?) myšn l'lgšy wltmdr bdyd 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).

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

*IGLS* xvii, 127, cf. *IPS* G15, *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. [ιερῶ Ἀθην]ᾶς, ἓνα τὸν ἐν ἱερῶ ἄλσει, ἓνα δὲ τὸν
  3. [ἐν ἱερῶ Ἄρεο]ς καὶ ἓνα τὸν ἱερῶ Ἀταργάτειος
  4. [τοὺς] ἐγγεγεμένους παρὰ τοῖς πρώτοις
  5. τέσσαρσι ἀνδριᾶσι τοῖς ἀνεγερωθεῖσι
  6. ὑπὸ τῆς πρώτης συνοδίας Σοάδω Βωλιάδου
  7. τοῦ Σοάδου τοῦ Θαιμισάμου εὐσεβεῖ καὶ φιλο-
  8. πατρίδι τῷ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ εὐνοίαν καὶ μεγαλο-
  9. φροσύνην τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πολεΐτας παντὶ
  10. τρόπῳ κεκοσμημένῳ ἀρεταῖς καὶ μεγίσ-
  11. ταις τειμαῖς ἀνέστησεν ἢ ἀπὸ Ὀλογασίας ἀνα-
  12. βᾶσα συνοδία πάντων Παλμυρηγῶν ἐπει-
  13. προώρησεν ἐπισήμως παραλαβῶν μ[ε]-
  14. θ' ἑαυτοῦ πολλὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἀνέστ[η]
- Left side:
15. [Ἀβ]δαλλάθω Ἐειθίνῳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ

[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 Sodos (son) of Boliades son of Sodos (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

- συναχθεῖσι ἀπὸ π[ (7 letters)]
16. [δ (12 letters) ]ριοις τοῖς ἐπὶ χρόνον  
ἐνεδρεύουσαι ἀδικῆσαι τὴν σ[υνοδίαν]
17. [(10 letters)] προσδιέσωσεν αὐτοὺς, διὰ τοῦτο  
ἀνέγειραν αὐτῶ
18. [τοὺς ἀνδριάντας (?)] τεμῆς χάριν  
συνδιαρχούντων Μαλῆ Συμώνου
19. [(12 letters) καὶ Ἐ]ννιβήλου Συμώνου τοῦ  
Βαζέκη ἔτους ενυ' μη[νός] Δαισίου.

[... 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'tyhwn 'hd dnh bt 'lt [w'hd  
bgnt' 'lym]
2. w'hd bt 'rsw w'hd bt 'tr'th dy qymyn lwt 'rb'[t'  
qdm'y dy]
3. 'qymw lh bny šyrt' qdm'y' lš'dw br blyd' br  
š[ 'dw dy dh]
4. 'lhy' wrhym mdynth dy mn ṭl hšh ṭb' 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' bdy l dy npq  
bydy'w[t' w'yty 'mh]
7. ḥl šgy wqm b'py 'bdlt 'hyty' wgyšy' dy knš  
[ 'm ...]
8. dy hww ytbyn zbn lmḥt'<sup>56</sup> 'l šyrt' whw š'dw  
šw[zb 'nwn bdy l kw]
9. 'qymw lh šlmy' 'ln lyqrh brbnwt šyrt' ml[ ' br  
šm'wn ...]
10. wḥnbl šm'wn bzq' byrh sywn šnt 4.100+5[...]

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. Atargartis), 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 large force and protected [them] against 'BDLT (Abdallat) the 'HYTY' (Aiḥtaia) 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)

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

#### (Greek)

Text A:

1. Ἔτο[υς .....]
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

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

<sup>56</sup> 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.

## Ὀλογασία

7. πολείταις, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις [ἐπισ]τολ[ᾶ] θεοῦ
8. [A]δριανοῦ καὶ τοῦ θειοτάτου  
A[ῦ]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 πρότετε πολειτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς
16. πατρίδος διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς καὶ ἐπαλ[λ]ήλους
17. εὐποίας τεσσάρων ἀνδριάντων ἐν τῷ
18. τετραδείῳ τῆς πόλεος ἐπὶ κειόνων δημοσίοις
19. ἀναλώμασι κατηξιωμένον, καὶ ἄλλων
20. ἀνδριάντων τριῶν ἐν τε Σπασίνου Χάρακι
21. [κα]ὶ ἐν Ὀλ[ο]γασία καὶ ἐ[ν] Γεννάη  
καταλύματι <συν>
22. [συ]νοδιῶν ὑπὸ β[ουλ]ῆς καὶ δήμου, καὶ  
κτίσαντα
23. ἐ[ν] Ὀλογα[σία] ναὸν τῶν Σε]βαστῶν κ[α]ὶ  
κ[α]θι-
24. [ερώ]σαν[τα .... ]

## Text B:

1. [καὶ (?) πίστε]ω[ς (?) κ]αὶ μεγαλοφ[ρ]οσύνης  
ἔ[νεκα] (?)
2. πά[ν]υ (?) πᾶσα]ν ἐνχειρισθέντα δυναστείαν
3. [ ... ]στωτο[ ... ]ειρω
4. [ ... ]ς στασι[ ... ]

## (Palmyrene)

1. [byrh ...] šn[t] 4.100+40+10 +5+2
2. b[w]l' wdms [I]š'dw br [bl]yd' br š'd[w]
3. tymšmš dhl 'l[hy' wrhym] mdynth wzbz[nyn]
4. šgy'n wrbrbn ... yb. [.....] nhw[ryt]
5. [...] tgr'y' 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. [I]šyryn [bkl šb]w kllh
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' .....]

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 [.....]

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[i]ons] .....[.....] 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, cf. *RLP*, p. 246, Seyrig, 1937: 372-78 (On stone block from the city-wall found east of the Temple of Bel):

(Greek)

1. [... ὑπὲρ ... ]ΙΟC καὶ αἰωνίου δ-
2. [ιαμονῆς τῶν κυρίων] αὐτοκρατόρων,  
ἐπανγελάμενον δὲ
3. [πρὸς τὸ ἱερ]ὸν ἄλλος κείονας παρίνουσ δύω  
σὺν ἐπιστυ-
4. [λίο]ις καὶ στέγη, καὶ περιαργυρώσαντα τὴν  
πᾶσαν ἄποψι[ν φ]ορ-
5. εἶου Βωρραοῶνου θεοῦ, καὶ φιλοτειμησάμενον  
εἰς τὸ κτίζ-
6. μα τοῦ ἱεροῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ Βήλου ἀργύριον  
ἔτι πάλαι, καὶ με-
7. τα ταῦτα εἰς διανομὴν ἀείδιον τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τοῦ  
Βήλου ἐξ ὄν[ό]-
8. ματος Ἰαριβωλέουσ καὶ Σαλαμαλάθου 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 ἐστιωμένων τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ  
ἔμπροσθεν Μάν-
12. νου θεοῦ δηνάρια τετρακόσια ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ  
τόκου γεινέσθε
13. [τ]ὴν κρεονομίαν· ἄσ πά[σα]ς φιλοτειμίας  
μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν
14. [α]ὐτοῦ οἱ υἱοὶ ἐπὶ πέρας [ῆ]γαγον καὶ  
προσεφιλοτειμήσαντο τῇ
15. [βουλ]ῇ δηνάρια τετρακισχεῖ[λια πεν]τακόσια  
ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ εἰσ
16. ....ΕΝΗΝΙΕΡΩ.....

[... 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 Iaribōlēs and Salamalath his sons, six thousand denarii on [s]et dates, and in his own name six thousand denarii on the 16<sup>th</sup> of (the month) Lōos and for the meat distribution for all the people who were entertained on the same day before 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 thousand five hundred denarii in his name to [...]

**Bilingual (Greek and Parthian) inscription celebrating the conquest of Mesene  
by the Parthian King Arsak (151 CE)<sup>57</sup>**

Morano, pp. 230-31, Skjærnø, 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-

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

<sup>57</sup> 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.

8. τεύσατο Μεσσήνη
9. κατὰ Μιραδάτου βασι-
10. λέως υἱοῦ Πακόρου
11. προβασιλεύσαντος καὶ
12. τὸν Μιραδάτην βασιλέ-
13. α ἐγδιώξας τῆς Μεσσηνῆς
14. ἐγένετο ἐγκρατῆς ὅλης
15. τῆς Μεσσηνῆς καὶ εἰκόνα
16. ταύτην χαλκῆν Ἑρακλέ-
17. οὺς θεοῦ, τὴν μετενεχθεῖ-
18. σαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσση-
19. νῆς ἀνέθηκεν ἐν ἱερῶι τῶι-
20. δὲ θεοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ
21. χαλκῆς πύλης προκα-
22. θημένου.

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 Walgaš 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 Mitrdates, fought in MYŠN (Maishan) against King MTRDT (Mitrdates), son of PKWR (Pakōr), King of Kings. He chased King Mitrdates 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. Skjærø, p. 292)

#### The 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. III,
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,<sup>58</sup> 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 propra[e]tor], in the month of

<sup>58</sup> Creticus Silanus was Legate of Syria AD 11-17, i.e. during the reign of Tiberius.

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. [Μᾶρκον Οὔλπιον Ἰαραῖον Αἰ-]
2. [ράνου τοῦ Ἀβγάρου ἢ τῶν ...]
3. [... ἀπὸ Σπασί-]
4. [νου] Χάρακος συνοδία βο[ηθή-]
5. σαντα αὐτῆ παντὶ τρόπῳ διὰ
6. Ζαβδεάθους Ζαβδεᾶ τοῦ
7. Ἰα[δδαίου] συνοδιάρχου,
8. ἔτους ζξϛ', μηνὸς Λώου.

The caravan of those [...] from Spasinou Charax (honoured) Marcus Ulpius Iaraeus<sup>59</sup> son of Hairanes son of Abgarus, because he helped it in every way, through Zabdeathēs son of Zabdela son of Iaddaios, leader of the caravan, in the month of Lōos of the year 466 (August, 155 CE/AD).

#### (Palmyrene)

1. [šl]m mrqs 'l[p]y[s] yr[h]y br h̄yrn]
2. [br ' ]<b>gr dy 'qymw lh bny šyrt' dy
3. [slq](t) mn krk 'spsn' bdy l 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 (H̄airan)] [son of] [' ]<B>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).

### Caravan leaders honour Marcus Ulpius Yarḥai (156 CE)

*PAT* 1411, cf. *IPS* G17, *L'Agora* VI.08, *Inv.* 10, 111 (On column console in the Agora. 8/6/1/415):

#### (Palmyrene)

1. [šlm mr]qs 'lpys yrhy b[r]
2. [h̄yr]n 'bgr dy 'qymt l[h]
3. šyrt' dy n̄htt 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) YRHY (Yarḥai) the s[on of] [H̄YR]N (H̄airan), (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).

### 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)

- [Μᾶρκον Οὔλπιον Ἰαραῖον] Αἰράν[ου]  
[υἶὸν τὸ]ν φιλό[πατρην οἱ ἀναχθέντες ἀπὸ]

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

<sup>59</sup> He belonged to the Sergia tribe and is one of the best-known protectors of caravans.

Σκυθίας ἐν πλοίῳ Βε[ελαίου Κύρου τοῦ Ὀγήλου]  
ἔμποροι συνλαβόμε[νον αὐτοῖς πάση προθυμίᾳ]  
5. καὶ πάση σπου[δῇ] τειμῆς χάριν, Δύστρω τοῦ  
ἡξυ' ἔτους].

Scythia<sup>61</sup> 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 hyn 'bgr]
2. dy 'qym[w lh tgry' dy ...w mn ... b ...']
3. dy b'l[y] br kwrš br ['g]yl[w bdy] dy 'drnn bkl  
hwpw]
4. wšky<sup>60</sup> lmrb' mb'r' [w... 'lyqrh byrh' dr šnt  
4.100+60+5+3]

[This is a statue of [MRQWS] 'LPYS (Marcus Ulpus) [YRHY] (Yarhai) the son of HYN (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).

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

*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. Μάρκον Αἰμίλιον Μαρκιανὸν
2. Ἀσκληπιάδην, Ἀντιοχέων βου-
3. λευτήν, τεταρτώνην, οἱ ἀναβάν-
4. τεσ ἀπὸ Σπασίνου Χάρακος ἔμπο-
5. ροι, προηγούμενου αὐτῶν Νεσῆ Βωλι-
6. ἄδου, ἔτους βου', μηνὶ Πανήμωι.

(A 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'nky' dy rb'
3. 'bdw lh tgry' dy slq mn krk'
4. dy slq bhwn rš šyr' nš' br blyd'
5. byrh qyn šnt 4.1000+60+10+4

MRQS 'MLYWS MRQYNWS (Marcus Aemilius Marcianus Asclepiades) Councillor (BLWT) of 'NŦKY' (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, cf. *Dijkstra* 161, *Inv.* 5 7\*; *Déd.*, p. 116, C3956 (On console, Transversal Colonnade):

**(Palmyrene)**

1. šl[m] hlypy br 'tpny br hlypy
2. [dy] 'bd lh hlypy [b]r(?) hggw br mlkw

Stat[ue of] HLYPY (Ḥalifi), son of 'TPNY (Ethpani), set up for him by HLYPY, son of HGGW

<sup>60</sup> *wšky*: *PAT* (p. 386) suggests *wšry*.

<sup>61</sup> 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.

3. [bd]yl dy špr lh lyqrh w'šlth
4. [...] b'mwd' dnh lmqmw 'lwhy
5. [šlm]yn trn dy yh['] byrh 'dr šnt
6. 4.100+60+10+3

(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)

Bowersock 1976, p. 350 (found in the bath area at Qaṣr el Ḥeir)<sup>62</sup>:

(Greek)

1. *vacat* τοῦ ηο[υ] ἔτους μηνὶ Ὑπερβερεταίῳ]
2. Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα [Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον Ἀντωνεῖνον Σεβαστὸν καὶ]
3. Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Λ[ούκιον Αὐρήλιον Οὐήρον Σεβαστὸν]
4. θεοῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου υἱοὺς [θεοῦ Ἄδριανοῦ υἱωνοὺς θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ]
5. Παρθικοῦ ἐγγόνο[υ]ς θε[οῦ] Νέρου ἀπογόνους ἀρχιερέας μεγίστους]
6. Ἀρμενιακοὺς Μηδικοὺς [Παρθικοὺς μεγίστους ...]
7. Συμῶνου ἀρχιερεὺς κα[ὶ] συμποσίαρχος ἱερέων μεγίστου θεοῦ Διὸς]
8. Βήλου, ἱερεὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν [Σεβαστῶν ἐξ ἰδίων ἀνέστησε ...]
9. πρὸς τοὺς Σεβαστοὺς Κα[ί]σαρας ....]
10. καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ <τ>ῆς συμ[ποσι]αρχίας αὐτοῦ καιρῷ]
11. ἐπιστολὴν τῶν αὐτῶ[ν] Σεβαστῶν ...]
12. προσθέσεος θυμ(ι)ατόρων περ[ὶ] ...]
13. τοῖς αὐτοῖς [πρε .....ο ...].....]

(*Lacuna*) In the year [4]78, [in the month of Hyperberetaios] (October, AD 166) (to honour) the Emperor Caesar [Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus and] the Emperor Caesar L[ucius Aurelius Verus Augustus,] the sons of the deified Antoninus, [grandsons of the deified Hadrianus,] descenda[n]ts of the [deified Traianus] Parthicus, [descended from the] dei[fied] Nerva, exalted High Priests], Armeniaci, Medici, [Parthici Maximi].

[.....] of Simonos, the highpriest an[d] symposiarch of the priests of the greatest god Zeus] Bel, and as priest of the [Augusti erected (this) at his own expense] for the Caes[ars] Augusti [.....] and the letter of those same Augusti (received?) at the [time of his] symp[osiarchy] [.....] co]ncerning the supply of censers(?) [ .....to the same .....]

### 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 τεταρτώ-
3. νῆ, Γαληνὸς πρᾶγ-

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

<sup>62</sup> The inscription was found on a stone (67 x 54 cm) reused upside down in the east pool of the Bath-area at Qaṣr el Ḥeir al-Gahrbi (East), about 80 km SW of Palmyra. Bowersock believes that it was part of a lintel supporting the statues of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus and that the Caesareum to which it probably belonged was located in Palmyra itself. There is no trace of a Palmyrene version on the existing stone but one might have once existed. Cf. Bowersock 1976: 349-351.

## 4. ματευτή[ς] ἴδιο[ς].

(Palmyrene) {Back of console}

1. šlm' dnh dy (L)wqys<sup>63</sup> 'ntwnys
2. qlstrṭws dy rb'' dy
3. 'qym lh lyqrh glnws
4. prgmtt'<sup>64</sup> dydh byrh '(b?) šnt
5. 4.100 +80+5 ☩

This statue is that of (L)WQYS 'NTWNYS QLSTRṬWS (Lucius Antonius Callistratus) (farmer of) the quarter-tax. His agent (PRGMTT') 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 βουλῆ
2. Σόραιχον Αἰράνου τοῦ
3. Αἰαίνῃ Σεφφερά εὐσεβῆ
4. καὶ φιλόπατρυν καὶ φιλό-
5. τειμον τειμῆς καὶ εὐ-
6. νοίας χάριν,
7. μηνὶ Δύστρω ἔτους.

The Council (honoured) Soraikos son of Hairanēs son of Alainēs son of Seppheras who reveres the 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 ḥyrn br 'lyn'
2. spr' 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 ḤYRN (Ḥairan) 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, Cooke 120 (On console, Transversal Colonnade)

(Greek)

1. Μάρθειν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ
2. καὶ Ἰαδῆ τοῦ Οὐαβαλλάθου
3. τοῦ Συμώνου, Σόραιχος
4. Αἰράνου ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς μηνί-
5. μης ἔνεκεν, μηνὶ Δύστρω
6. ☩ τοῦ 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]

This statue is of MRTY (Marthi) daughter of YD'

<sup>63</sup> 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)

<sup>64</sup> IGLS xvii, p. 193 and *Inv.* 10, p. 68 gives *prlgmtt'* which is an unusual word-division and appears to follow the way the Greek παραματευτή[ς] is divided between two lines. PAT 1413 gives *prgmtt'* 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.

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

(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).

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

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

#### (Palmyrene)

1. byrh knwn šnt 5.100
2. 'ħbr lšmš br lšmš
3. br tym' mn m'rt'
4. <d>h lbwn' br bwlh'
5. br bwn' br yqwrw
6. 'ħbrth mn 'ksdr' mqlb'
7. gmħyn 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 BWLH' (Bolħa), son of BWN', son of yqwrw (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 zbdbwl
2. wmqymw bny gd' br
3. mqymw rp'l lrhm<n>
4. ṭb' wtyr' 'l ḥyyhwn
5. ḥy' bnyhwn wbythwn
6. klh kdy l' glbwl wmlkbl 'l[...]
7. by[r]h [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 'stwrg' br 'wyd
3. br lšmš br lšmš lh šqqn
4. trtn ḥd' 'l ymyn' kdy 'nt
5. 'll w'ħrt' mqlb'
6. wzbyd' br m'n br bwl nrw <nwr>'th
7. šqq' kdy 'nt 'll 'l šml'

This vault of the eternal house has been made by PŠY'L (Phašaiel), son of 'STWRG' ('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 BWLNRW (Bolnur) (son of) <NWR>'TH (Nur'athe), (has made) the corridor as

8. 'ksdr' dnh mql' dy
9. m'rt' dy mql' bb' hpr
10. wšbt šy'n br tym' br
11. 'bgr lh wlbwhy wlbny
12. bnwhy h<yk> dy rḥqt lh šgl
13. brt lšmš br 'štwrg' br
14. psy'l byrh' dr šnt ḥmš
15. m'h w'rb'

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 (Shegal), daughter of LŠMŠ, son of 'STWRG', son of PSY'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] ἀνέστησαν [Θαι]μαρ-
2. σᾶ Θαιμῆ τοῦ [Μ]κίμου τοῦ Γαρ[β]ᾶ ξ[υv]-
3. οδιάρχη, οἱ σὺν [αὐτῶ ἀ]ναβάντε[ς ἀπὸ]
4. Σπασίνου Χάρ[ακος κουφίσαν]-
5. τι αὐτοῖς χρυσᾶ παλαιὰ δηνά<ι>ρι[α]
6. τριακόσια ἀναλ[μ]άτω[ν καὶ ἀρέ]-
7. σαντι αὐτοῖς, εἰς τειμῆν [αὐτοῦ]
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 dnb
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 (Zabdibōl), 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 ḥmst' dy
2. šnt 5.100+5 mqymw br lšmš
3. br ḥpny w'qmt bt yrhy br
4. mqymw 'hbr lšlmn br qlybw
5. br 'lhbl wlytmw br dbh' br ḥmyn
6. w'rḥq lhwn mn pnyn trtn dy str'
7. grbyy' wtymny' šhymy' 'd qwpy'
8. dy kpt' mqlt' dy 'ksdr' m'rb'y'
9. dy yhwn ḥpny' wbnm mqrn hyk dy šbyn

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 YRHY (Yarḥai), son of MQYMW, gave in partnership to ŠLMN (Šalman), son of QLYBW (Qulaibu), son of 'LHBL (Elahbel), and to TYMW (Taimu), son of DBH (Dabaḥ), son of HMYN (Ḥamyan), and transferred to them two stretches of the northern and

10. lhwn wlbnyhwn wlbny bnyhwn l'lm'

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 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]<sup>65</sup>
4. εἰρήνης κατασταθέντα ὑπὸ τε
5. Μανελίου Φούσκου καὶ Οὐενιδίου
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 Ἰαριβώλου τοῦ πατ-
12. ρίου θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἡγησαμένων καὶ ὑπὸ
13. τῆς πατρίδος ψηφίσμασι, ἐφ' οἷς ἀμειβομέ-
14. νη αὐτὸν ἡ πατρις τὰς πρεπούσας αὐτῶ
15. τειμὰς ἐψηφίσατο ἔφιππον ἀνδριάντα καὶ
16. αἰ τέσσαρες φυλαὶ ἐν ἰδίῳ ἱεροῖς ἐξ ἰδίων
17. ἀνδριάντας τέσσαρες (*sic*), ὧν τοῦτον Χωνει-
18. τῶν φυλῆ 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,<sup>67</sup> by Manilius Fuscus<sup>68</sup> and Venidius Rufus,<sup>69</sup> 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 twhyt bwl' wdms šlm' dnh dy 'lys
2. bwr' br tyts 'lys 'gylw 'strtg' dy
3. 'bd šlm' bthwmy mdyt' wl' 'h[y]s npšh
4. 'l mdyth dy 'qymw lh bny kmr' nwy't š'wr
5. phz' bt 'lhwhwn<sup>66</sup> lyqrh byrh šbt šnt 5.100+9

By decree of the Council and the People this statue of 'LYS (Aelius) BWR' (Bora), son of TYTS '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,

<sup>65</sup> Restored by Ingholt, 1932, 279 on the basis of the Palmyrene version.

<sup>66</sup> 'lhwhwn (*IGLS* xvii, p. 259); 'lhwhwn (*PAT*, p. 169a).

<sup>67</sup> 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.

<sup>68</sup> 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.

<sup>69</sup> 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.

in his honour, in the month of ŠBT (Shebat), in the year 509 (Sel. = February, 198 CE/AD).

### 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 ἀσφάλιαν παρασχόντα ἐν πάσαις
6. συνοδιάρχαις 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. btwhyt bwl’ wdms
2. šlmy’ ’ln ’rb’ tyhwn dy ’gylw br mqy ’gylw
3. šwyr’ dy ’bd lh ’rb’ phzy’ lyqrh bdy l dy špr
4. lhwn b’ štrtgwn šgy’ n wbsryhyn
5. wšyrn dy slq bhn ’qly dy ’pq mn kysh
6. nprn rbrbn wsy’ tgyr’ bkl šbw klh
7. w’bd plty’ šbyhwt 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. Σεπτίμιον Σεουήρον Εὐσεβῆ Περτίνακα Σεβαστόν Ἀραβικὸν Ἀδιαβηνικὸν Παρθικὸν μέγιστον
2. κα[ὶ] Αὐ[τοκ]ράτορα Καίσαρα Μάρκον [Α]ύρ[ή]λ[ον] Ἀντωνεῖνον Εὐσεβῆ Σεβαστόν

For the Emperor Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax,<sup>70</sup> 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,

<sup>70</sup> 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).

- ... *vac.* ..., καὶ Ἰουλίαν Δό-  
 3. μν[αν] Σεβαστὴν μητέρα τῶν ἱερέων  
 στρατοπέδων καὶ [Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Π.]  
 Σεπτίμιον Γέταν Σεβαστὸν δεσπότην γῆς καὶ  
 θαλάσσης καὶ  
 4. [παντός ἀνθρώπων γέ[ν]ους Σά[λμης  
 Μα]λίχου τ[οῦ Βω]λιάδου ἀρχιερέως καὶ  
 συ[μποσία]ρχος ἱερέων μεγίστου θεοῦ Διὸς  
 Βή-  
 5. [λου ....] ἐξ ἰδίων ἀνέστησεν, ἔτους [δ]ιφ'  
 μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ.

Mother of the S[acred Ca]mps<sup>71</sup> and the [Emperor  
 Caesar Publius Septimius Geta Augustu]s, rulers  
 of the earth and sea and [every ] 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).

#### (Palmyrene)

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

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).

### 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[iti]-  
 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(atr) 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 archers<sup>72</sup> under the super-  
 vision of Domitius Leo Procillianus, Augustan  
 Legate, performing the duty of Proprætor [...]   
 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 ὀκοδόμησαν [This memorial sepul]chre Zenobios and Samu-  
 Ζηνόβιος καὶ Σαμουῆλος Ληοὺ τοῦ Ἰακούβου elos, the sons of Lēoui(s), the son of Jakoubos, he

<sup>71</sup> 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.

<sup>72</sup> This cohort was part of the garrison of Palmyra from at least 206/7 to 247 CE.

2. [τοῦ Σαμουήλου εἰς τειμῆ]ν Ληοὺι πατρὸς αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀδελφοῖς καὶ υἱοῖς καὶ υ(ι)ωνοῖς καὶ
3. [ἐγγόνιοις εἰ]ς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, μηνὶ Ξανδικῶ τοῦ γκφ' ἔτους. 𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁

**(Palmyrene)**

1. qbr' dnh bt 'lm'
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 wlhwn ...]
3. [...b]yrh nysn šnt 5.100+20+3

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). (tr. Lieu)

This tomb, house of eternity, 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[ρσᾱ τοῦ Θαιμη̄ τοῦ]
2. Μοκίμου τοῦ Γα[ρβᾶ συνοδιάρχην]
3. τῶν ἐμπόρων καὶ σ[.....]
4. αὐτοῖς πανταχοῦ [...]
5. καὶ Οὐολογαισιά[δος ...]
6. αὐτοὺς κουφίσα[ντα ἢ σὺν αὐτῶ]
7. κατελθοῦσα συν[οδία τειμη̄ς]
8. χάριν, ἔτους βκ[φ', μηνὶ Δύστρω].

(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' [.....] dy 'qym lh
3. [.....] w'lgšy' wmwdn
4. [.....]nyn šgy'n
5. [...] w bkl 'tr klh
6. [...]hwn w'r dZ[....] bz'y<sup>d</sup> bkl
7. 'nwkl' [.....]wl' '[t]r kl'
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 hmš m'h w'šryn whmš
2. ywlys 'wrllys ydy 'bl dy mtqr' mzb'n' br ywlys
3. 'wrllys 'nynws 'š 'lt ktb ydy lywlys br 'wrllys
4. 'gylw br 'prht br hry zdbdwl bdy' dy l' yd' spr
5. d mwd' hw lywlys 'wrllys 'grp' br 'gtpws br
6. hry hlydws yrhbw' dy lwt lh brbw't' dy qym'
7. btr gwmhyn tlt' dy 'grp' md'n kl lmtl dy plg

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 (Julius), son of 'WRLYS (Aurelius) 'GYLW

- nsb  
 8. mnth plgh rwh' nwyd gmhwhy tlt' dy str wl'  
 9. yh' šlyt lh lmrh l'lw' l'rbw't' md'n w'n šb'  
 10. dy y'bd bštr' dydh hwlwh md'n yhw' bn' w'  
 11. ktl dy hwr' w hmryn dy yrh l'lyhwn bh  
 12. bštr' ywlys 'wrllys nš' br br'th  
 13. šhd ywlys 'wrllys yrhbwl' br mlkw  
 14. šhd

('Ogeilu)<sup>73</sup> son of 'PRHT (Afrahat), freedman<sup>74</sup> 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) YRHBWL' (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) YRHBWL' (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 Tyrriorum 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 Laodicea colonia in Syria Coele, cui diuus Seuerus ius Italicum ob belli ciuilis merita concessit. Ptolemens enim colonia, quae inter Phoenicem et Palaestinam sita est, nihil praeter nomen coloniae habet. 4. Sed et Emisenae ciuitati Phoenices imperator noster ius coloniae dedit

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 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

<sup>73</sup> *ywlys br 'wrllys 'gylw* 'Julius son of Aurelius 'Ogeilu' is likely to have been a stone-carver's error for *ywlys 'wrllys 'gylw* 'Julius Aurelius 'Ogeilu' – a well attested person in Palmyra (Hvidberg-Hansen, p. 83).

<sup>74</sup> *br hry*: lit. 'son of a freedman'.

iurisque Italici eam fecit. 5. Est et Palmyrena ciuitas in prouincia Phoenice prope barbaras gentes et nationes collocata.

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.<sup>75</sup> 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. ναϊκὸς Περ-
10. τίνακος.

Markos Ioulios Maximos Aristeidēs, a *colonus* of Bērytios (i.e. Beirut).<sup>76</sup> 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).

### 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]rḇnwt 'yn' dy bwlḥ' br ḥyrn br
2. 't'qb ḥwml dy 'ḥd yrḥbwl 'lh'
3. bn' bny'n' dnh dy 'yn'<sup>77</sup> wktl' dy qd[m]
4. bt gb' wktl' dy br' w'bd ktl' dy
5. [l]bn' byrḥ nysn šnt 5.100+10+5+1
6. wdkyr t[y]m'' br m'[,] tym'' blyd[']

While supervisor of the spring BWLḤ' (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. =

<sup>75</sup> 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)

<sup>76</sup> I.e. he was a citizen of the Roman *colonia* of Berytus.

<sup>77</sup> *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).

7. [w]hryn b[r] mqym[w mlk]w dy 'hd lh  
8. bwlh' dnh rb 'yn

(On right face)

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

April, 205 CE/AD). May T[Y]M'' (Taim'a) son of M'[.] (son of) TYM''BLYD['] (Belyada) [and] HRYN 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).

### Julius Aurelius Malku b. Washo 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. [ἡ βουλή και δῆμος Ἰούλιον Αὐρήλιον Μάλι(?)χον] Οὐάσεοῦ Μαλίχου το[ῦ] <Οὐ>άσεοῦ Νεβουλᾶ, στρατη[γῆσαντα τῆς κολωνείας]
2. [καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντα ἐπι]σήμως και φιλοτείμω[ς] ὡς ἐπὶ πᾶσιν μεμαρτυρηῆσθαι ὑπὸ τε τοῦ πατρῶου θεοῦ και τῆς
3. [κρατίστης βουλῆς και τοῦ λαμ]προτάτου ἡγουμένου κα[ὶ] Οὐάσεῶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ πάσας λειτουργίας ἐκτελέσαντι τειμῆς και μνή-
4. [μης χάριν].

[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 services. To their honour and memory.

(Palmyrene)

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

These three statues are of YWLYS 'WRLYS (Julius Aurelius) MLKW (Malku) son of WŠHW (Washo) son of MLKW son of WŠHW 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 WŠHW, 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/AD)

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

(Greek)

1. [Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος [Εὐτύχης]
2. [Ἀγγαί]οῦ κοινωνὸν [προσ-]
3. [ελάβε]το· ἐν τῷ ἀναγαί[ω]

[Julius Au]relius [Eutyches, son of Aggaios,] has [mad]e as partner - in the upper floor, [above] funeral monument - [Gaiu]s Julius Hermeias, his

4. [...]ετου μνηείο[υ]
5. [Γά]ιον Ίούλιον Ἐρμεϊαν· ἄ-
6. δελφὸν αὐτοῦ· ὁ ἀμφό-
7. τεροι οἰκοδομήσαντες·
8. ἀνεπέωσαν ἐξ ἰδίων· ἕαυ-
9. τοῖς καὶ υἱοῖς καὶ υἰωνοῖς,
10. καὶ εἰς τεμῆν υἰῶν Μαε-
11. νᾶ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῶν. Μη-
12. νὶ Λώω ημφ' ἔτους

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).

### 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 𐤀
2. m'rt' 'l ymyn' str mn gwmhyn trn bryyn  
ymnyyn
3. mqdšyn rḥq ywly' 'wryl' šlmt brt 'bd'stwr br
4. yrḥbwł' w'mdbw brt ḥry lwqys 'wryls brsmy'
5. mprnsyt'<sup>78</sup> 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 bwlḥ' gwmhyn  
tlt'
8. št' m'lyk 'ksdr' 'l sml' wmqblyn gwmhyn tlt'
9. dy plg bnyhwn lhwn wlbnyhwn wlbny bnyhwn  
'lm' byrh nysn
10. šnt 5.100+40+10 𐤀

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 YRḤBWL' (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 BWLḤ' (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}* (tr. Ingholt, adapted).

### Council 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. Ίούλιον Αὐρήλιον Ζηνόβιον
3. τὸν καὶ Ζαβδιλᾶν, δις Μάλ-
4. χου τοῦ Νασσούμου, στρατη-

The Council and the People (honoured) Iulius Aurelius Zenobius, who is also called Zabdilas,<sup>80</sup> son and grandson of Malchus son of Nassoum(us), who held the office of general at the visit of the *divus* Alexander<sup>81</sup>, offering service for the

<sup>78</sup> *mprnsyt'* given in the original publication is a misprint for *mprnsnyt'*. Cf. H.-J. ii, 674.

<sup>80</sup> He was *strategos* in 229 AD and *agoranomos* in 242/43. (*Pros.* ii, p. 840)

<sup>81</sup> 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.

5. γήσαντα ἐν ἐπιδημίᾳ θεοῦ
6. Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ὑπηρετή-
7. σαντα παρουσία διηνεκεῖ
8. Ῥουτιλλίου Κρισπείνου τοῦ
9. ἡγησαμένου καὶ ταῖς ἐπιδη-
10. μῆσάσαις οὐξίλλατιοσιν, ἄ-
11. γορανομήσαντα τε καὶ οὐκ ὀλί-
12. γων ἀφειδήσαντα χρημάτων
13. καὶ καλῶς πολειτευσάμενον,
14. ὡς διὰ ταῦτα μαρτυρηθῆναι
15. ὑπὸ θεοῦ Ἰαριβώλου καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰου-
16. λίου Π[ρε]ῖσκ[ου] τοῦ ἐξοχωτά-
17. του ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτω-
18. ρίου, καὶ τῆς πατρίδος, τὸν φιλό-
19. πατρὶν, τειμῆς χάριν. ἔτους δνφ'

**(Palmyrene)**

1. šlm ywlys 'wrllys zbdl' br mlkw br mlkw
2. nšwm dy hw' 'sṯrtg lqlny' bmytwyt' dy
3. 'lh' 'lksndrws qsr wšmš kdy hw' tnn
4. qrspynws hygmwn' wkdy 'ty lk' yt lgy'ny'
5. zbnyn sgy'n whw' rb šwq wḥsk rz'yn šgy'yn
6. wdbr 'mrh škytyt mṯl kwt šhd lh yrḥbwl
7. 'lh' w' p ywlys [prysqws rb'(?)] dy sp' wrḥym  
mdth
8. dy<sup>79</sup> 'qym lh bwl' wdmws lyqrh šnt  
5.100+40+10+4

whole length of the stay of Rutillius Crispinus,<sup>82</sup> 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 Iaribōlēš and by Iulius [Priscus]<sup>83</sup> the most eminent prefect of the sacred praetorium — and who was a lover of his fatherland, for the sake of honour. In the year 554 (Sel. = 242 CE/AD).

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 (LGYNY') here many times, and he was chief of the market and spent large amounts and conducted his life quietly. Therefore, YRḤBWL (Yarḥibol) the god testified for him, and also YWLYS [PRYSQWS] (Julius Priscus) chief(?) of the praetorium(?),<sup>84</sup> 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. Ἀσθώρου Βαιδᾶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῶ
4. κατελθόντες εἰς Ὀλογεσι-

(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

<sup>79</sup> *dy* – word omitted (inadvertently?) by editor in *IGLS* xvii, p. 62. See facsimile edition in the Palmyrene script in *CIS* II, p. 98.

<sup>82</sup> He was governor of Thracia and *legatus Augusti* in Syria Phoenice. (*Pros.* ii, p. 825)

<sup>83</sup> 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.

<sup>84</sup> 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 nutritius (fuit)' i.e. 'nourisher (of his city)' in *CIS*.

5. ἀδα ἔμποροι ἀνέστησαν ἀρέ-
6. σαντα αὐτοῖς, τειμῆς χάριν·
7. Ξανδικῶ τοῦ ηἰνφ' ἔτους.

honour, in the month of Xandikos of the year 558 (Sel. = April, 247 CE/AD).

**(Palmyrene)**

1. šlm' dnh dy ywlys 'wrllys
2. zbdyd'<sup>85</sup> br mqymw br zbyd' 'štwr
3. byd' dy 'qym lh tgr' bny šyrt'
4. dy nht 'mh l'lgšy' lyqrh bdyt
5. dy špr lhwn byrh nysn šnt
6. 5.100+40+10+5+3

This statue is (of) YWLYS 'WRLYS (Julius Aurelius) ZBYD' (Zebīdā) son of MQYMW (Moqimu) son of ZBYD' (Zebīdā) (son of) 'ŠTWR ('Aštōr) (son of) 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. [Βαρβωνέ]ους τοῦ κα[ι...]
4. [... ἀδ]ελφῶ [αὐτοῦ]
5. [καὶ] υἰοῖς Βωννέους [καὶ]
6. [Μά]λχου .ENOYNEO[...]
7. [...]ΡΑΟΥ καὶ Χαφαθο[ύθου]
8. [υἱ]ῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ΛΟΓΟ[....]
9. [κ]αὶ μεταθέσεις καὶ [...]
10. [Α]ὑρήλιου Βαρβων[νέους]
11. [κ]αὶ ἔγχωμα [τ]ρις Βω[ννέους]
12. [ἀδ]ελ[φ]οῦ θεντου Νε[...]
13. [.] δε τῆς Β[α]θσαεδῆς
14. [τ]ν υἱῶν Βωννέους [...]
15. [κ]αὶ Χαφαθ[ο]ύθου τε[.]θ[...]
16. [κα]ὶ ἐντειλαμένου [...]
16. ὑπ' ἀρχόντων τοῦ ΙΟΣ[...]
17. [ἐαυτ]ῶν καὶ υἱῶν καὶ υἱ[ωνῶν]
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).

**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      SLWQS (Seleukos), son of TYPYLS (Theofilos),

<sup>85</sup> zbdyd' (*IGLS* xvii, 104) appears to be a misprint for zdyd' – see text in Palmyrene script from *CIS* II.

- b'ksdr  
 2. m'lyk' bb' lqbl' lyrḥbwl' br sbyn' wtrn' br  
 tym' ḥl' lh  
 3. wlbwnwhy wlb<n>y bnwhy lyqrhwn dy 'lm' šnt  
 5.100+60+2 byrh qnyn

son of SLWQS (Seleukos), transferred ten niches which are in the exedra, when you enter the door, facing you, to YRḤBWL' (Yarḥibola), 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 ḥgb'

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 וְאַהַבְתָּה אֶת אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּכָל לֵבְךָ וּבְכָל  
 נַפְשְׁךָ וּבְכָל מְאֹדְךָ וְהָיָה הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה  
 אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מְצַוְךָ הַיּוֹם עַל לִבְבְּךָ  
 3 וְשִׁנַּנְתָּם לְבִנְיָךָ וְדִבַּרְתָּ בָּם בְּשִׁיבְתְּךָ  
 בְּבֵיתְךָ וּבְלִכְתְּךָ בְּדַעְרְךָ וּבְשֹׁכְבְּךָ  
 וּבְקוּמְךָ וְקִשְׁרַתָּם לְאוֹת עַל יָדְךָ  
 4 וְהָיוּ לְשׁוֹטְפֹת בֵּין עֵינֶיךָ וְכַתְּבָתָם 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).<sup>86</sup>

<sup>86</sup> 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 yhwḥ 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) ṭwpt for ṭpt. 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. δαινάθου τὸν λαμπρό-
3. τατον συνκλητικόν
4. ἔξα[ρχον τῶν? Παλμυ]ρηγῶν
5. Αὐρήλι[ος Φλαβιανὸς]<sup>87</sup> Αὐρ. Ἡλι-
6. οδώρου [τοῦ Ῥααίου] στρατιώ-
7. της λεγ[ 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 h̄yrn br
2. 'dynt snq̄ltyqh nhyr' wrš
3. tdmwr dy 'qym lh 'wrl̄ys
4. plynws br mry' plyn' r' y plh'
5. dblygnw' dy b̄sr' lyqrh byrh
6. tšry dy šnt 5.100+60+3

This is the statue of SPTMYWS (Septimius) H̄YRN (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 B̄SR' (i.e. Bosra), erected for him, in his honour, in the month of TŠRY (Tishri) in the year 563 (Sel. = October, 251 CE/AD).

**Septimius Odainath honoured by Ate'qab b. 'Ogeilu (252 CE)**

*IGLS* xvii, 54 = *PAT* 2815 (On column. Grand Colonnade):

**(Greek)**

1. Σεπτίμιον Ὀδαίνα-
2. [θον Αἰ]ράνου Ο[ὐαβ]αλλά-
3. θ[ου τοῦ Νασώρου] λα[μ]πρό-
4. τατον [ἔξαρχον Παλμυ]-
5. ρηῶν Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος
6. Ἀθηκά[βος Ὀ]γήλου Ζαβδι-
7. βώ[λου Μο]κίμου τοῦ καὶ Κω-
8. ρᾶ, τὸν φίλον στοργῆς ἔνε-
9. κεν ἔτους γξφ' μηνεῖ [Ξανδ]ικῶ

(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).

**(Palmyrene)**

1. šlm 'sptmyws '[dynt br h̄yrn]
2. br whblt nšwr rš[ 'tdmw]r
3. nhyr' d'bd lh 't'qb br 'gylw br
4. zbdbwl br mqymw dmqr' qr'
5. r̄hmh lyqrhwn brbnwth byrh

The statue of 'SPTMYWS (Septimius) '[DYNT] (Odainath) son of H̄YRN (Hairan), son of WHBLT NŠWR (Wahaballat (Nasor), the Illustrious Chie[f of Tadm]o[r, was made for him by 'T'QB (Ate'qab) son of 'GYLW ('Ogeilu), son of ZBDBWL (Zabdibol), son of MQYMW (Moqimu),

<sup>87</sup> The Palmyrene version gives 'wrl̄ys plynws which is suggestive of Αὐρήλι[ος Φιλεῖνο]ς.

6. nysn šnt 5.100+60+3

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. Ἡ β[ουλῆ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἰ]ούλιον
2. Αὐρή[λιον Ὅγγαν τὸν καὶ] Σέλευ-
3. κον [δῖς τοῦ Ἀζίζου] τοῦ σεειλά
4. δνα[νδρικὸν<sup>88</sup> φιλοτεῖ]μωσ
5. στρατ[ηγῆσαντα κ]αὶ μαρτυ-
6. ρηθέν[τα καὶ φιλ]οτειμη-
7. σάμεν[ον τῆ] κρατίστη
8. βουλῆ Ἀτ[τικὰς] μυρίασ,
9. τειμῆσ ἔνεκεν, ἔτους
10. ζξφ', Ὑπερβερεταῖω.

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 'wrlys
2. 'g' dy mtqr' slwqws br
3. 'zyzw 'zyzw š'yl' dy šmš wšpr
4. lhwn b' štrṭgwth wmgd lbwl'
5. zwzyn rbw lyqrh byrh ṭšry 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' (Še'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 ṬŠRY (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. bryk šmh l'im' [t]b'
2. wrḥmn' mwd' mhryt
3. lšmš lrḥmn' dy qr lh
4. bym' wbybš' w'nh [bk]l
5. dy qrh hw w[bny by]th
6. byrh 'lwl šnt [5.100]+60 +5+2

Blessed be his name for ever, [the go]od and the compassionate! LŠMŠ (Lishamash) offered (this altar) judiciously <sup>89</sup> (?heartily) to the compassionate one, whose aid he invoked by land and sea, and he answered him [whene]ver he invoked him, he and his household. In the month 'LWL (Elul), the year [5]67 (Sel. = September, 256 CE/AD).

**Ḥairan b. Odainath honoured by the guild of raft-makers (257 CE)**

<sup>88</sup> δνα[νδρικὸν]: restoration suggested by Waddington. Other restorations are possible.

<sup>89</sup> 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 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)

*IGLS* xvii, 59, cf. *IMP* 25 (On console. Prov. Grand Colonnade. Loc. Palmyra Museum A1247/6532):

(Greek)

1. [Σεπτίμιον] Αἰράνην τὸν
2. λαμπρότατον υἱὸν Ὀδαι-
3. νάθου τοῦ λαμπρο-
4. τάτου ὑπατικοῦ τὸ
5. συμπόσιον σκυτ(έ)-
6. ων καὶ ἄσκοναυτο-
7. ποιῶν<sup>90</sup> τὸν πάτρωνα
8. ἔτους θξφ'

(This is the statue of Septimius) Hairanēs the most glorious son of the most glorious consul Odainathos. The *symposion* of the leather cutters and floating skin(-raft) makers, (set it up to honour) their patron. In the year 569 (257/8 CE/AD).

#### Dedication to (Septimius) Odainath (date uncertain)<sup>91</sup>

*PAT* 2753, cf. Ingholt, 1976: 120, Cantineau, 1931: 138 (n<sup>o</sup>. 17) (Palmyra Museum):

(Palmyrene)

1. [...] l[y]qr 'dynt br ḥyrn whblt [...]
2. [... rš] 'dy tdmwr 'bd 'gylw b[r]
3. [...]ny ḥdwdn ḥd' mw[...]dnh[...]
4. [.....]wn' wmq[.....]<sup>92</sup>

In honour of 'DYNT (Odainath), son of ḤYRN (Hairan), WHBLT (Wahaballat), the head of Tadmor. 'GYLW ('Ogeilu), son of [...]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 ἰδίων  
Σεπτίμιος Ὀδαίναθος, ὁ λαμπρότατος συγκλη-  
τ[ικός],
2. Αἰράνου Οὐαβαλλάθου τοῦ Νασώρου αὐτῷ τε  
καὶ υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ υἱωνοῖς εἰς τὸ παντελές,  
αἰώνιον τειμήν.

This monument of burial has been built, at his own expense, by Septimius Odaenathos, the most illustrious Councillor, son of Hairanēs, (son of) 'aballathus, 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 wlnwh wln' bnwhy l'im'

Th[is sepulchre] has been built by 'DYNT (Odainath), senator (SLQTYQ'), son of ḤYRN (Hairan), (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 ὡς  
ὑπερβεβηκότα κατὰ πολὺ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. Βουλό-  
μενος δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπαγαγέσθαι, πέμπει δῶρα

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

<sup>90</sup> ἄσκοναυτοποιῶν 'makers of rafts supported on inflated skins' (not in *LSJ*), cf. *RLP*, 217.

<sup>91</sup> 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.

<sup>92</sup> ll. 3-4 reading: mw[tb]' dnh [wq]rb [mwdq'] wk[n]wn' wmq[lwt] ...

μεγαλοπρεπῆ 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 τοῦς οἰκέτας ὑπέτασσε δεξαμένους τὰ δῶρα ῥίπτειν 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 ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἀπολώ.’

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.<sup>93</sup> 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
2. ywm 25 dy šnt
3. 500.20+20+20+5+4
4. ’n’ ’bgr br
5. ’bšmy’ šmmr
6. ’tt bkr’ npšy
7. ltnn ybrwk ’lh’
8. dy šrn tnn lk gbr
9. dy yqr’ lwh’ dnh
10. wybrknn wyšbqnh
- 11 llwh’ bdkth

In the month of Tammûz  
on the 25<sup>th</sup> day, of the year  
569 (Sel. = July, 258).  
I, Abgar, son of ‘Abe/iššmāyayyâ šmmr (sailor?),  
I came, in the pain of my soul,  
here. Bless you the god  
who installed us/me here. (You) man  
who will read this tablet  
you will bless me/us and he will levae  
the tablet in its place.

**The Council hours 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 βουλῆ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἰουλίον
2. Αὐρήλιο[ν Σαλαμάλ]λαθον
3. Μαλῆ τοῦ [Ἀβδαίου ἀ]ρχέμπορον
4. ἀνακομίσα[ντα τὴν] συνοδίαν
5. προῖκα ἐξ ἰδίων τειμῆς χάριν,
6. ἔτους θξφ’

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 ‘wrllys
2. šlmlt br ml’ ’bdy rb šyrt’
3. dy ‘qymt lh bwl’ wdms lyqhr
4. dy ‘sq šyrt’ mgn mn kysh
5. šnt 5.100+60+5+4

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

<sup>93</sup> 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

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]          | The guild of the goldsmiths and silversmiths              |
| 2. τὸν λαμ[πρότατον ὑπατικ]ὸν     | (honoured) the most illustrious consul(ar)                |
| 3. συντεχ[νία τῶν χρυσοχ]όων      | Septimius Odainathus, their lord, for the sake of         |
| 4. καὶ ἀργυ[ροκόπων τ]ὸν δεσπότην | honour, in the [ye]ar 569, { <i>flower</i> } in the month |
| 5. τειμῆς χάριν, [ἔτ]ους θξφ'     | of Xandikos (= Apri, 258 CE/ AD). { <i>flower</i> }       |
| 6. ☩ μηνεὶ Ξανδικῶ ☩              |   |

**(Palmyrene)**

- |                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. šlm sptmyws 'dynt             | The statue of SPTMYWS (Septimius) 'DYNT              |
| 2. nhyr' hptyq' mrrn dy          | (Odainath), the illustrious, the consular, our lord, |
| 3. 'qym lh tgm' dy qyny'         | which the association of smiths, workers in gold     |
| 4. 'bd' dhb' wksp' lyqrh         | and silver, erected for him, in his honour, in the   |
| 5. byrh nysn dy šnt 5.100+60+5+4 | 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 Οὐορόδην     | Bēlakabos son of Arsas (honoured) his friend     |
| 2. ἱππικὸν καὶ βουλευτὴν | Aurelius Vorōdes, Equestrian and Councillor of   |
| 3. Παλμυρηγνὸν Βηλά-     | Palmyra, for the sake of honour, in the year 570 |
| 4. καβος Ἀρσαῖ τὸν φί-   | (Sel. = 258/9 CE/AD).                            |
| 5. [λον τ]ειμῆς χάριν,   |  |
| 6. ἔτους οφ'             |  |

**(Palmyrene)**

- |                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| 1. l'wrls [w]rwd hpq'  | For 'WRLYS (Aurelius) WRWD (Worod) the eque-        |
| 2. wbylwṭ' tdmry' 'bd  | strian and Tadmōrene Councillor, BL'QB              |
| 3. bl'qb br hrš' lyqrh | (Bel'aqab) son of hrš' (Harsa) built (this) for his |
| 4. šnt 5.100+60+10     | 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 Nehardea<sup>9</sup> 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)

**Ḥairan 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 (υἰὸν)
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 Odaenathos. ὀροδῆς, 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) ἡνῖκα δ' αὐτ' ἄρξουσιν ὑπερμενων Ῥωμαίων

ἄνδρες ἀρηίθοοι δυο κοίρανοι· ὃς μὲν ἐφέξει  
ἐβδομήκοντ' ἀριθμόν, ὁ δὲ τριτάτου ἀριθμοῦ·  
καὶ τότε δ' ὑψαυχην ταῦρος σκάπτων ὄνουχισσιν  
γαῖαν καὶ κέρασιν κονίην δισσοῖσιν ἐγείρων,  
(160) ἐρπυστήν κυανόχρων δράσει κακὰ πολλὰ  
ὄλκον σύροντα φολίσιν· ἐπὶ δ' αὐτὸς ὀλεῖται.

ἡυκέρως δ' ἔλαφος μετὰ τόνδ' ἤξει πάλιν ἄλλος  
πεινάων κατ' ὄρη μεμαῶς ἐν γαστρὶ πάσασθαι  
ιοβόλους θήρας· τὸτ' ἐλευσεται ἡλιόπεμπτος  
(165) δεινός τε φοβερὸς τε λέων πνείων φλόγα  
πολλήν.

δὴ τόθ' ὁ γ' αὐτ' ὀλέσει πολλῇ καὶ ἀναιδεί τόλμῃ  
εὐκεράωτ' ἔλαφόν τε θοὸν καὶ θῆρα μέγιστον  
ιοβόλον φοβερὸν συρίγματα πόλλ' ἀφιέντα  
λοξοβάτην τε τράγον, ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῷ κῦδος ὀπηδεῖ·  
(170) αὐτὸς δὲ ὀλόκληρος ἀλώβητος καὶ ἄπλητος  
ἄρξει Ῥωμαίων, Πέρσαι δ' ἔσσοντ' ἀλαπαδνοί.

(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 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, collecta Syrorum agrestium manu acriter restitisset: et fuis aliquoties Persis, non modo nostrum limitem defendisset, sed etiam ad Ctesiphontem Romani ultor imperii, quod mirum est dictu, penetrasset.

Under Gallienus the Persians invaded Mesopotamia 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 Odaenathus Palmyrenus collecto exercitu rem Romanam prope in pristinum statum reddidit. 3. Cepit regis thesauros, cepit etiam, quas thesauris cariores habent reges Parthici, concubinas, 4. quare magis reformidans Romanos duces Sapor timore Ballistae atque Odaenathi in regnum suum ocus se recepit, atque hic interim finis belli fuit Persici.

Meanwhile, however, while Valerian was growing old in Persia, Odaenathus the Palmyrene gathered together an army and 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, Gallienus comperta patris captivitate gauderet, vagabantur 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 commonwealth 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, Quietio nomine, consentientes Odaenatho auctore praefecto Macriani Ballista

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

iuvenem occiderunt missoque per murum corpore Odaenatho se omnes affatim dederunt, 3. Totius prope igitur orientis factus est Odaenathus imperator, cum Illyricum teneret Aureolus, Romam Gallienus. 4. Idem Ballista multos Emesenos, ad quos confugerant Macriani milites, cum Quieto et thesaurorum custode interfecit, ita ut civitas paene deleteretur. 5. Odaenathus inter haec, quasi Gallieni partes ageret, cuncta eidem nuntiari ex veritate faciebat.

with Macrianus' son - whose name was Quietus<sup>94</sup> – taking sides with Odaenathus, by the instigation of Ballista, Macrianus' prefect, killed the young man,<sup>95</sup> 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 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 Ctesi-phontem 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

<sup>94</sup> 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.

<sup>95</sup> The allegation that Ballista murdered Quietus and seized the throne for himself is not supported by other evidence.

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 satrapas, 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.

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 Mesopotamia ours, and finally 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 children 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. 108-111:

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

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.

dixerunt, occisum autem per eos quos Aureolus miserat ad comprehendendum Quietum, Macriani filium, quem praedam suam esse dicebat.

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 rusticani Syriae cum Odenato suo uincendo uenerunt

Zosimus, *Hist. Nova* I,39,1-2:

Τῶν δὲ Σκυθῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα κάκιστα διαθέντων καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας αὐτὰς ἐκπολιορ-κησάντων, Γαλλιηνὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τούτους μετῆι μάχην ἤδη τὴν Θράκην καταλαμβάνοντας, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὴν ἑώραν πράγμασιν οὖσιν ἐν ἀπογνώσει βοηθεῖν Ὀδαίναθον ἔταξεν, ἄνδρα Παλμυρηνὸν καὶ ἐκ προγόνων τῆς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἀξιωθέντα τιμῆς: ὁ δὲ τοῖς αὐτόθι λελειμμένοις στρατοπέδοις δύναμιν ἀναμίξας ὅτι πλείστην οἰκείαν ἐπεξῆει 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 Κτησιφῶντος αὐτοῖς οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ καὶ δευτέρον, Πέρσας μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐναπέκλεισεν, ἀγαπῶντας εἰ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἐαυτοὺς περι-σώσαιεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἤδη πεπορ-θημένην χώραν, ὡς οἷός τε ἦν, εὖ διετίθει: ...

Jordanes, *Historia Romana* 290, p. 37,29-30:

Odaenathus Palmyrenus ante ipsum, collecta rusticorum manu, Persas de Mesopotamia expellens, ipse ea loca invaserat.

Agathias, *Hist.* IV,24,4 (ed. Keydell, pp. 153.29-154.5):

Τοῦτον μὲν οὖν οἶκαδε αὐθις ἀφιγμένον καὶ οὐ μετρίως χρησάμενον οἷς ἀσεβήσας ἐτυγχάνεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀλαονειαν ἀρθέντα πολλήν, ἀπέπαυσεν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν τοῦ φρυάγματος Ὀδέναθος ὁ Παλμυρηνός, ἀνὴρ ἀφανῆς μὲν τὰ πρῶτα καὶ ἄγνωστος, ταῖς δὲ Σαπῶρου ξυμφοραῖς καὶ οἷς ἔδρασεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, μεγίστην ἀράμενος δόξαν καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν πάλαι ξυγγραφοῦν

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.

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.)

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.

Before him (i.e. Aurelian), Odaenathus the Palmyrene, with a band of rustics had expelled the Persians from Mesopotamia and had occupied it.

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. Cameron, p. 121.)

ἀξιαφήγητος γεγενημένος.

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 βαρβάρων καὶ δηλοῖ αὐτοῖς ὅτι ‘παράδοτε ἑαυτοὺς πολεμήσατε.’ Οἱ δὲ εἶπον ὅτιοῦν ἠνείχοντο ὑπομένειν ἢ βαρβάρῳ ἑαυτοὺς παραδοῦναι.

As soon as Quietus, the son of Macrinus, had established imperial rule at Emesa, Odaenathus 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 anything than to hand themselves over.

*Ibid.* 8,2 (= *FHG* IV, p. 195):

Ὅτι Κυρίνος ἐδυσχέρανεν ὥσῳτι τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὸν πόλεμον οἰκειώσατο Ὀδέναθος. Ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μαθὼν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀναιρεθῆναι· καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων πολλὰ ἐφιλοτιμήσατο εἰς ταφήν 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 χαριζόμεθα, ἀγνοεῖν δὲ αὐτὸς πότερον εἰς φίλους ἢ εἰς ἐχθροὺς τάξει αὐτόν· εὐηθείας δὲ, ὅτι βουλεται περιόντα αὐτὸν καὶ αἰσθανόμενον λυπῆσαι καὶ φονεῦσαι, τελευτῶντα δὲ καὶ ἀναισθητοῦντα δωρεαῖς τιμᾶν. – Καὶ ἡ τοσαυτὴ εὐτυχία ταχεῖαν ἔσχε μετὰ πτωσιν.

Kyrinus (Quirinus?)<sup>96</sup> was greatly displeased when Odaenathus took over the war of the Romans (against the Persians). When Odaenathus 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):

Ὀδέναθος δὴ Παλμυρηνὸς ἀνὴρ στρατηγικὸς συμμαχῶν Ῥωμαίοις πολλοὺς διέφθειρε Περσῶν ἀναστρέφοντας κατὰ τὴν Εὐφρατησίαν ἐπιθέμενος χώραν· ὃς καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς ἐφᾶς 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 Νικομηδειαν Βιθυνίας πόλιν μεγάλην ἔλαβον καὶ τὰς Ἰωνίδας πόλεις διέφθειραν, τὰς μὴν ἀτειχίστους, τὰς δὲ μερικῶς ὀχυρωθείσας καταλαβόντες· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Φρυγίας ἦψαντο, Τροίαν πορθησαντες, Καππαδοκίαν 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 honoured 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 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 ἐνέδου τὴν

Another war was undertaken by Gallienus against Macrinus who had two sons, Macrianus and Quintus, and made an attempt for the emperorship.

<sup>96</sup> 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.

στολήν τὴν βασιλείον, τοῖς δ' υἱοῖς αὐτὴν περιέβαλε. Καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἀσμένως αὐτὸν προσεδέξαντο· ὁ δὲ ὀλίγα πρὸς Πέρσας ἐνδιατρίψας ἐπὶ Γαλιῆνον παρεσκευάζετο, καὶ τοῖς Πέρσαις Βαλλίσταν ἀντικατέστησεν, ὃν αὐτὸς προεχειρίσατο ἵπαρχον, καὶ σὺν τούτῳ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καταέλοιπε Κύντον. ... (p. 599,23) Κύντος γε μὴν ὁ νεώτερος τοῦ Μακρίνου υἱὸς ἐν τῇ ἐφ' ἣν σὺν Βαλλίστᾳ, πᾶσαν αὐτὴν σχεδὸν πεποιημένος ὕφ' οὗς ὁ Γαλιῆνος Ὡδέναθον ἔπεμψεν, ἡγεμοεύοντα τῶν Παλμυρηνῶν. Τῆς ἡττης δὲ τῶν Μακρίνων τῆς κατὰ Παιονίαν συμβάσης ἀγγελθείσης τῷ Κυϊντῷ καὶ τῷ Βαλλίστᾳ, πολλαὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοὺς ἀπέστησαν πόλεων. οἱ δ' ἐν Ἐμέσῃ διῆγον. Ἐνθα γενόμενος ὁ Ὡδέναθος καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς νικᾷ, καὶ τὸν μὲν Βαλλίσταν αὐτὸς ἀναιρεῖ, τὸν δὲ Κύντον οἱ τῆς πόλεως. Ὡδέναθον δὲ τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀμειβόμενος πάσης ἀνατολῆς αὐτὸν προεχειρίσατο στρατηγόν.

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. [B]ασιλεῖ βασιλέων (π)ρὸς [Ὀρ]όν(τ)η [... βα]σιλείας τὴν κατὰ
2. [Π]ε[ρ]σῶν νείκην ἀναδησαμένῳ Σεπ[τιμ]ίῳ Ἡρωδιανῷ, Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος
3. [Σεπτί]μ(Ο)[ύ](ο)[ρ]ώ(δης) [καὶ Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος ... ἐπίτροπος τῆς]
4. [δ](εσ)ᾶπᾶ(οί)νης κεντηνάριος (ἀμ)φότεροι στρα[τηγοὶ τῆς λαμ]προτάτης [κ]ολων[ν]είας.

(This statue is dedicated) to the King of Kings, [having received?] the royalty near the Orontes, crowned for victory over the Persians, Septimius Herodianus, by Julius Aurelius Septimius Vorōdēs and [Julius Aurelius ..., procurator] of the Queen, *centenarius*, both strategoi of the illustrious colony.

#### Peace between Odaenathus and Gallienus (c. 264 CE)

*SHA, Trig. Tyr.* 21,5 (ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 62-63), *REFPW* §4.3.5:

... 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.

... 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 Lollianus, and did many things that make a virtuous life, but more that tend to dishonour.

### Statues of Septimius Worod, Procurator Augusti Ducenarius, erected 262-67 CE

*IGLS* xvii, 64, cf. *PAT* 0284, *Inv.* iii,11, C3938 (Grand Colonnade):

(Greek)

1. Ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος Σεπτίμιον
2. Οὐορώδην τὸν κράτιστον ἐπί-
3. τροπον [Σεβ]αστοῦ [ῶ ...]<sup>97</sup>
4. δου[κηνάριον ..... τειμῆς]
5. χάριν, [ἔτους γοφ' μηνεῖ]
6. [Ξ]αν[δικῶ]

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).

(Palmyrene)

1. šlm' dnh dy sptm[y]ws
2. wrwd 'ptrp' dwqnr' dy
3. qsr mrrn dy 'qym lh
4. bwl' wdmws lyqrh
5. byrh nysn dy šnt 5.100 +60+10+3

This is the statue of SPTMYWS (Septimius) WRWD (Worod), procurator ducenarius ('PTRP' 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).

*IGLS* xvii, 65, cf. *PAT* 0285, *Inv.* iii, 10, C3939 (Grand Colonnade):

(Greek)

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 Αἰρᾶ<sup>98</sup> [στρατ]ηγός [τῆς] λαμπροτά-
5. της κολωνείας [τ]ὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον
6. τειμῆς ἔνεκεν ἔτους δοφ' μηνεῖ
7. Ἀπελλαίω

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 year 574, in the month Appellaios (Sel. = Dec., 262 CE/AD).

(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<t>g' dy qlny' rḥmh
5. šnt 5.100+60+10+4 byrh kslwl

(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):

(Greek)

1. Σεπτίμο[v] Οὐορώδην

Septimius Vorōdēs, most excellent procurator of

<sup>97</sup> *IGRR* iii, 104 restores [τοῦ κυρίου] but there is not enough space to accommodate such a restoration.

<sup>98</sup> Αἰρᾶ: Αἰρή in earlier editions.

2. τὸν κράτιστον ἐπίτρο-
3. πον Σεβαστοῦ δουκη-
4. νάριον καὶ ἀργαπέτην
5. Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος
6. Σεπτίμιος Ἰαδῆς ἰπ-
7. πικὸς Σεπτιμίου Ἀλε-
8. [ξά]νδρου τοῦ Ἡρώδου
9. ἀπὸ στρατιῶν τὸν φί-
10. λον καὶ προστάτην
11. τειμῆς ἔνεκεν, ἔτους
12. ηοφ', μηνεὶ Ξανδικῶ

**(Palmyrene)**

1. sptmyws wrwd qrtstws 'ptrp'
2. dqnr' w'rgbt' 'qym ywlys
3. 'wrllys s[p]tmyws yd' hpqws
4. br 'lks[nd]rws hyrn srykw lyqr
5. rḥmh wqywmb byrh sywn dy
6. šnt 5.100+60+10+5

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).

SPTMYWS (Septimius) WRWD (Worod), most powerful procurator ducenarius and commandant ('RGBT'),<sup>99</sup> (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. Σεπτίμι[ιον Οὐρώδη]ν
2. τὸν καράτ[ιστον ἐπίτρο]-
3. πον Σεβα[στοῦ δουκ]η-
4. νάριον καὶ ἀ[ργαπ]έτην,
5. Ἰούλιος Αὐρή[λι]ος Σε-
6. πτίμιος Μάλχος Μαλω-
7. χᾶ Νασσοῦμου ὁ κράτι-
8. στος τὸν φίλον καὶ προ-
9. στάτην τειμῆς ἔνεκεν,
10. ἔτους ζοφ' μηνεὶ Ξανδικῶ

The eminent Julius Aurelius Septimius Malchos, son of Malōcha(s) Nassoumos (has dedicated this) to Septimius Vorōdēs,<sup>100</sup> the eminent imperial procurator ducenarius and *argapete*, his friend and patron, for the sake of honour in the year 576 in the month of Xandikos (Sel. = April, 265 CE/AD).

**(Palmyrene)**

1. spt[myws wrw]d qr[tst]ws
2. '[p]t[rp] dqnr' w'rg[bt]'
3. ['qym ywlys 'wrllys sptmy]ws
4. mlk[w br mlwk' nšwm qrtsts lyqr]
5. rḥm[h wqywmb, byrh ny]sn
6. [šnt 5.100+60+10+5+1]

SPT[MYWS (Septimius) WRW]D (Worod) the eminent (QR[TST]WS) procurator ducenarius ('[P]T[RP] DQNR') and *argapete* ('rgbt') - the eminent (QRTSTS) [YWLYS 'WRLYS SPTMY]WS (Julius Aurelius Septimius MLK[W son of MLWK' NŠWM (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[λή καὶ ὁ δῆ]μος
2. Σεπτίμι[ιον Οὐρώδη]ν τὸν κρά-
3. τιστον ἐ[πίτροπον] Σεβαστοῦ

The Council and the People have erected this statue to Septimius Vorōdēs, the eminent imperial procurator ducenarius, administrator of justice of

<sup>99</sup> 'rgbt' / ἀργαπέτης: Persian word meaning 'commander of a fortress' – the highest military rank in Palmyra.

<sup>100</sup> The name Worod (WRWD) is Iranian which is entirely explicable given the importance of commerce to his family. Cf. *IP*, p. 65.

4. δουκηνά[ριον, δι]κεοδότην
5. τῆς μητρ[οκολω]νείας, καὶ ἄ-
6. νακομίσαν[τα τ]ὰς συνοδίας
7. ἐξ ἰδίων, καὶ μαρτυρηθέντα
8. ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχεμπόρων καὶ
9. λαμπρῶς στρατηγήσαντα
10. καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντα τῆς αὐτῆς
11. μητροκολωνείας, καὶ πλεῖστα
12. οἴκοθεν ἀναλώσαντα, καὶ ἀρέσαν-
13. τα τῆ τε αὐτῆ βουλῆ καὶ τῶ 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' μη]νεὶ Ξανδικῶ

**(Palmyrene)**

1. [...] qrtstš
2. [...]q.' [...]
3. [...]s[...]
4. [...]w[.]wdy[...]

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).

[SPTMYWS (Septimius) WRWD (Worod)] most excellent [procurator du]cena[rius] ...

*IGLS* xvii, 69, cf. *PAT* 0289, *Inv.* iii, 6, C3943 (On console, Grand Colonnade):

**(Greek)**

1. Σεπτίμιον Οὐρόδην
2. τὸν καράτιστον ἐπίτρο-
3. πον Σεβαστοῦ δουκην-
4. νάριον καὶ ἀργαπέτην
5. Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος Σάλμης
6. Κασσιανοῦ τοῦ Μαεναίου
7. ἱππεὺς Ῥωμαίων τὸν φίλον
8. καὶ προστάτην, ἔτους ἠοφ'
9. ἔμνηνεὶ Ξανδικῶ ἔμ

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). {flower}

**(Palmyrene)**

1. sptmyws wrwd qrtstšws
2. 'ptrp' dqnr' w'rgbt'
3. 'qym ywlys 'wrllys šlm'
4. br qsyn' br m'ny hpq'
5. lyqr rhmh 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 ἰδ'. ... καὶ ἦ μόνον ἐβασίλευσεν, ἐπεστράτευσε κατὰ Περσῶν καὶ κατήλθεν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν Ῥωμαίων· καὶ πολλὰ παρέσχε τοῖς πραιδευθεῖσι καὶ ζήσασι, καὶ ἀνήγειρε τὰ καυθέντα καὶ ἐκουφισε τὰς συντελείας ἐπὶ ἔτη δ'. ἔκτισε δὲ καὶ ἱερὸν ἐν

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 survived the Persian raids, and he rebuilt what

Ἐμίση 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 τελευτῶ, ὧν ἐνιαυτῶν ν'.

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 papiliones 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 commendabilior patri eum fecerat, neque plura sunt quae de Herode dicantur.

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 concubines 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 posterum 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

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,

Latinorum rhetorem facere.

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 |<sup>5</sup> [w]cydg 'n w nywš'g 'n ° | wcyd °° ptyg yk s' r | 'nwḥ bwd 'b'c | 'md pyš prystg °° | ps xwd'wn ° sh dbyr |<sup>10</sup> 'wnglywn °° 'ny dw nbyg | 'w 'd' prystyd °° | prm'd kw 'wrwn m' | 'wr °° 'n'y 'nwḥ pt'y | ° <pd> nyš' n 'y w'c'rg 'n |<sup>15</sup> ky gnz hrwbyd °°

{h.2} 'd' | pd 'wyn šhr' n ws | rnz bwrđ °° nš'st | ws m'nyst' n' n ° | wcyd prhyd wcydg 'n w |<sup>20</sup> nywš'g 'n °° kyrd nbyg 'n | 'wd whyy hs'xt zyn | pdyrg qyš' n rpt | 'b'g 'wys' n pd | hrwtys bwxt °° |<sup>25</sup> sr'xšnyd 'wd 'ndrx | 'w qyš' n °° d' 'w | 'lxsyndrgyrd md °° | npš' 'w dyn wcyd ° | prhyd wdimwš'tyh |<sup>30</sup> 'wd wrc pd 'wyn šhr' n | qyrd °° wpr'yhyšt | dyn 'y prystg pd | hrwm °° °° |

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 |<sup>5</sup> [... ..](n ng)[w](š'g) | [... ky](rb)gyft 'nd(r) | [.....]t(b)[...ws | [...]' [... ](rd)'(w')n [w n](gw)š'g 'n | [°° ] °°

'wd kd fryšt |<sup>10</sup> ['nd](r) w(hy) 'rdhšyr bwd ° 'b'w | [ptyg] (')mweg ° 'd' 'spsg | ['wd m](')ny dbyr °° 'w (f)rw m | [fršwd °° ](w)d cf'r 'bdys | [V] 'w' [... ..] | 'wwd[... ..] | ' [... ..] | '(c)[... ..] |<sup>5</sup> [m]w(rd)y(d) °° (')[.....] | ws m'n(y)[st' n

[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.

[R] [...wa]lgons [... | ... | ... | ...] (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.

.... ...] | [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] |<sup>10</sup> 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 ..] |

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-wyδ pr xwrtγ-yz|cykt (')[wt'kt cywy](δ) pyδ'r p'rZY ZKn dywyδ z-'yh | 'bry-t'k (β)[...](k) pcp'nh w'nkw xcy 'YKZY ywn'k |<sup>5</sup> 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'nkw ZY-βn ['](p)št'tw-δ'(r'm) rty | nwkr pr 'šm'xw prβ'r ZKh δynh pr'y-w'yδ |<sup>10</sup> wy'kt βrδβ'y-t-k'm rtβn 'rkh ZY k'(rh)[ ZKh] | prtry'kh βwtk'm

[R] [... | ...] on it in the western \*regions, because on this earth a blessed [...] is thus prepared that this (5) goodness should be 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.

rtβn 'yw w'nkw 'pš(t)[y'm 'skwn] | 'sk'tryk 'δcw n' pexšδ(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)

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.

r(ty δ)[β](t)[y](k) |<sup>15</sup> (cnn) 'yncmy-nch wryy-δ w'β ZY prβ'yr 'ny-t'k | [p't](k) ['](skw)yδ 'št(°)yk w'nkw ZY 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(°)[.....](.) |

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 [...]

c'nkw ZK βr'y-štk ZKwh 'pš[t'w'nh 'pš](t)'t- | δ'rt rtšn ZKwh sm'ttyx' 'M [']ny](t)t np'ykty |<sup>5</sup> nβ'nt δ'βr

When the apostle had delivered the command, then he gave them the Treasure of the living together (5) with other writings.

rtxw pty mwz-'k' [c]nn 12-nw | 'yw 't' 'βt'δ'n ZY m'ny m'ny-st'nd'r'k 'M 'ny-tt | βr't'rtwy 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 |<sup>10</sup> [.....](....) 'nyw rty γ-rβ d'ynδ'rt ZY γ-rβ | [ny'wš'k](t) pry-wyδ 'wt'kt wcy-t'nt rtxw pty | [mwz'k''] (y)w srδ (Z)Kwy βr'wmy 'skw'z rtp't'r | δβ[tyk \*srδ 'x](w) '(z)[w](°rs)ty ZY kw swrstn 'γ-t | ZKn (βr') [yš](tk) p(t)[']yc](y)

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.

rtxw mr't' pr pwst'k |<sup>15</sup> [k](w) βγ-w (s'r) ptškw't-δ(°rt w'n)kw ZY prm'nh | [.....](ty) ZKn βγ-(y) ZKw pt(c)wš(.. wy)[..-..] | [.....]. 'z-γ-'rt pr(m'nh)[.....]

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'kr't'k βγ-' | [... ...]. cy-wy-δ py-δ'r p'rZY pr tw' | [.....]k ZKwy δyn'ykty my-δ'ny rty |<sup>5</sup> [..-..-..](y) βr'y-štk 'nkm'ny 'wxšt ZKwy |

[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 pub-

nβš' pt'y-cy rtxw dštw 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 |<sup>10</sup> ršty'kh pcyγ-'z-'nt rtmš ZKh t'δyyh xwt'y'nh | nβš' xw'rh ZKn kysr δβ'mpnwh pr Rβk' | [Z](K)n mr'tt' pt'y-cy 'γ-t rtšc ZKwh | [...]ršty'kh pcy-γ'z rty ZK mr'tt' | [kw ...]t s'r xrt ° ° rty |<sup>15</sup> [...] pr'γ-t rtxw mrtxm'y-t | [ky \*ZY \*pr \*dywmyc pc](kw)yr 'r'γ-ty-t wm't'nt | [... ...] w'β'nt m'xw ZY t'β'k | [... w]('c'y'mk'm cy-wy-δ py-δ'r | [... βγ](y)'st'ny ky ZY šy ZKw |<sup>20</sup> [... ...] |

[I/V] rctenn 'xšpy' ZK wnxr ZY '[...] | c'nkw ZY šn wγ-t'k wm't rt[y] | 'ny-t'k 'nd'st'k 'wšt't cy-wy-δ [...] | 'yz-tyskt'k ZKh δ'tth pr '[... ...] |<sup>5</sup> 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'yškwy w'nkw ZY cy-my-δ wnxrš |<sup>10</sup> 'z'nt βyr'n rty ywn'yδ p'γ-wyδ ZY 'γ-t ZK | βr'y-št'k rtšy βrtpdy'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 c[n](n) [...] | mwry-'y-t knt'k xcy mrxw '[kw ...] |<sup>15</sup> kw ZY ZK ptkr'y-t nyst'y-t [...] | xnt 12nw mrty-tt ky Z(Y)[... ...] | xwr'nt z-yty'kh z-yn'nt [...] | ZKw 'z-γ-'r δ'r'nt rtxw[...] | kysr šw' rtšy r'z-y'(n) [...] |<sup>20</sup> 'z-(pr)[t ... ...] | [II/R] [...] (.) [...] | (np')ys p(tkwy)[n-δ](y-n'k) kβnptz-'n'y-t p(r) p(.š.y) | w'm'nt'k rty 'δ'k ptp't'yn xwtryz-'k ZY | wtk'm'k n' 'skw't w'nkw ZY šn ZK γ-npnh ZY |<sup>5</sup> tyh pw β(y)r'k L' β't ° ° rtšn kw 'ny'm | ZKw s't cxš'pδt 'nd'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](') wkrw ° 'δry t'p'kw pr wxwšw wkrw ° pncw |<sup>10</sup> [ \*pr ](10) wkrw ° wγ-r't'ky'kh ZY 'nspst'kyh | [...] (2) šxrδ'ryβt pr 62 wkrw ° | [...] .kh wy-spw pr pnc pnc | [...] .h 'yw 'yw prw 'βt' | [...] xwyc]k'w'k ° 'βt' p'šykh |<sup>15</sup> [...] .kh ZY pnc xwy-ck'w'k ° | [ \*'yw 'y]w pr 'βt' pexw'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 dnyh (c)ntr pty'pw | 'sty ZY šn ZK cxš'pδ wy-n'ncyk xcy rty nwkr |<sup>5</sup> myšn ky ny-'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 dnyh | ZK cxš'pδ ZY ZKh prm'nh wy-n'ncyk [xcy] |<sup>10</sup> 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-txr ky ZY

licly 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 (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

ZKwyh [... ...] | 'spyš'nt-'skwn rtms p.[... ] | xnt  
 ZKn δy-ny-prn ky ZY .[... ...] |<sup>15</sup> 'skwty rtcnn βγ-  
 'n'ykh [... ...] | wnty' ptšmrt'y-t xn[t ] | ZY  
 prm'nh 'sty w'nk(w)[... ...] | ..δ[. ] |

the living self the holy ghost, who in the [...] they  
 worship [...] And also [...] are [...] whoever is [...] to the glory (*farn*) of the religion (the voūç) (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'y mk'm ZY ZKn ..)[... ] |  
 rtšy ZKh nβš' w'nk w'β t'δyh x[wt'y nh mn'] |  
 'xšnk' xw'ryh šw'nyky kysr ky ZY tyw mynw  
 δ'r'y skwn | rty r'm'nt L' βyry-k'm rtšy ms  
 'wδp'r ''δ'y kysr |<sup>5</sup> L' 'z-γ'yr'nt-k'm p'rZ<Y>  
 kδ' 'z-p'rt δynh L' | ptz-'n'y rty wβyw tyw ZY  
 'z-w ZY ZK kysr ZKn xwp'xy | rytyh w'n'kw  
 m'n'kw prw'yrt'ym c'nkwy ZY tr'ygnpt'yδ'k |  
 kwrth ZY pykšyt wδy s't mγ[wn ...] | βymk'm rty  
 pyšt 'wδp'r kysr ZY ZK [...] |<sup>10</sup> (βwtk'm ky ZY)  
 mδ'yδ my 'βc'npδyh (š)[...] | [...] (k)δry tγ(w)  
 [...] ('wy) [... ...] |

... we shall be (*female*) friends.

Then Nafša said to her: 'O Queen T'δyh, O my excellent sister, you will not always find your Emperor (*kysr*) whom you are holding a hope. And also over there (after death?) nobody will call him Emperor because if one does not |<sup>5</sup> know the pure religion (= Manichaeism) in front of the Good Lord (?) both you, I and I and the Emperor will just become contemptible (?) [...] and (Buddhist) mendicants. There the whole and all [of us] |<sup>10</sup> will be [...] who [are] here in this world [...] 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 consobrini sui interemptus est cum filio Herode, quem et ipsum imperatorem appellaverat.

About this same time (i.e. as the invasion of the Scythians), Odaenathus was treacherously 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 statu a consobrino suo Maeonio, qui et ipse imperium sumpserat, interemptus est cum filio suo Herode, qui et ipse post reditum de Perside cum patre imperator est appellatus, 6. iratum fuisse rei publicae deum credo, qui interfecto Valeriano noluit Odaenathum reservare.

Then, after he had for the most part put in order the affairs of the East, he was killed by his cousin Maeonius (who also had seized the imperial power), together with his son Herodes, who, also, after returning from Persia along with his father, had received the title of emperor. 6. Some god, I believe, was angry with the commonwealth, who, after Valerian's death, was unwilling to preserve Odaenathus alive.

*Ibid.* 17, ed. & tr. Magie, iii, pp. 108-09:

Hic consobrinius Odaenathi fuit nec ulla re alia ductus nisi damnabili invidia imperatorem optimum interemit, cum ei nihil aliud obiceret praeter filium Herodem. 2. Dicitur autem primum cum Zenobia consensisse, quae ferre non poterat ut privignus eius Herodes priore loco quam filii eius, Herennianus et Timolaus, principes dicerentur, sed hic quoque spurcissimus fuit. 3. Quare imperator appellatus per errorem brevi a militibus pro suae luxuriae meritis interemptus est.

This man (i.e. Maeonius) the cousin of Odaenathus, murdered that excellent emperor, being moved thereto by nothing else than contemptible envy, for he could bring no charge against him save that Herodes was his son. 2. It is said, however, that previously he had entered into a conspiracy with Zenobia, who could not bear that her stepson Herodes should be called a prince in a higher rank than 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 διατριβῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἐμεσα καὶ τινα γενέθλιον ἄγων ἑορτὴν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἀνηρέθη, τῶν ἐκεῖσε πραγμάτων ἀντιλαμβάνεται Ζηνοβία, συνοικοῦσα μὲν Ὀδαινάθῳ, φρονήματι δὲ ἀνδρείῳ χρωμένη καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐκείνῳ συνόντων τὴν ἴσην 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 ἀναίρει ὡς νεωτέροις ἐπιχειροῦντα πράγμασιν· κατηγορεῖ 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 παραχρῆμα τοῦτο ἐποίουν.’ Ἦν δὲ ὁ Ρουφίνος ποδαλγὸς καὶ χειραλγὸς, 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, ἢ δυνάμην διὰ τοῦ σώματός μου τί ποτε εἰς αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι· ἀλλὰ τῇ σῆ δεξιᾷ κελευῶν καὶ διατυπῶν πάντα κατῴρθουν· Καὶ σὺ γὰρ αὐτός, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὐ τῷ σώματί σου ἰσχυρὸν ποιεῖς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις σου κελευῶν.’ Καὶ ἐπήνεσε τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ὁ Γαλιηνός.

As Rufinus had executed the elder Odaenathus for fomenting revolt, the younger Odaenathus<sup>22</sup> 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 Ὀδέναθος ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς Γαλλιηνοῦ ἀναίρειται· καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε πραγμάτων ἀντιλαμβάνεται Ζηνοβία, συνοικοῦσα μὲν Ὀδαινάθῳ, φρονήματι δὲ ἀνδρείῳ χρωμένη καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐκείνῳ συνόντων τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς 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 δυνάμεσι τοὺς Σκύθας καταληψόμενος, καὶ ὁ μὴν αὐτόθι δολοφονεῖται πρὸς τινος Ὀδέναθου τοῦνομα καὶ αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὰ ἴδια διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Πόντου, καὶ διαφθείρουσιν Ὀδέναθον τὸν Ὀδέναθου φονευτὴν οἱ τούτου δορυφόροι, Ζηνοβία δὲ τῇ γαμετῇ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐφάσ ἐγγχειρίζουσι.

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. 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 Ὡδέναθος μέγας γενόμενος καὶ Ῥωμαίοις πιστὸς καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς πολέμοις διαφορῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν τῶν Περσῶν ἀριστεύσας, τελευταῖον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀδελφόπαιδος ἀνῆρέθη. Ἐν γὰρ θήρα τῷ θείῳ συνὼν ἐκεῖνος, ἐπεὶ θηρίον ἐξέθορε προεχείρησε καὶ τὸν θήρα βαλὼν ἀνεῖλεν· ὁ δὲ Ὡδέναθος ἠγανάκτησε καὶ ἠπέλιψε τῷ ἀνεπιῷ. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπαύσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ δις καὶ τρις τοῦτο ἐποίησε. Καὶ ὀργισθεὶς ὁ Ὡδέναθος ἀφείλετο τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ· τοῦτο δὲ εἰς μεγάλην ὕβριν τοῖς βαρβάροις λογίζεται. Ἀχθόμενος τοίνυν ὁ νεανίας ἠπεῖλει τῷ θείῳ· ὁ δὲ διὰ τοῦτο τοῦτον ἐδέσμησεν. εἶτα ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν Ὡδέναθου υἱῶν λυθῆναι τὸν δέσμιον τὸν πατέρα ἠτήσατο· κάκεῖνος λυθεὶς συμποσιάζοντι τῷ Ὡδ-ενάθῳ ἐπελθὼν μετὰ ξίφους κάκεῖνον ἀνέιλε καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου υἱόν, δι' οὗπερ ἐλέλυτο. Ἀνῆρέθη 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 sententia fortior marito fuisse perhibetur, mulier omnium nobilissima orientalium feminarum et, ut Cornelius Capitolinus adserit, speciosissima.

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 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

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

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 duces 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 laudent, 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 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 in 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.'

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 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

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, exspectatis 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 contiones galeata processit cum limbo purpureo gemmis dependentibus per ultimam fimbriam, media etiam cochlide veluti fibula muliebri adstricta, brachio saepe nudo. 15. Fuit vultu subaquilo, fuscii 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 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.

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 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

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.'

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 successfully, but also many an emperor.

*SHA, Aurel.* 38,1, ed. & tr. (Magie, iii, pp. 268-69: ... Vaballathi filii nomine Zenobiam, non Timolai et Herenniani, imperium tenuisse quod tenuit.

... it was in the name of her son Vaballathus and not in that of Timolaus or Herennianus, that Zenobia held the imperial power, which she did really hold.

### Dedication to Zenobia and her son Vaballat Athenodorus<sup>101</sup> (c. 268/70)

*PAT* 0317, cf. *AIDRP* 34, C3971 (On milestone. Prov. West of Palmyra):

(Greek)

1. [...]
2. [...κ]α[ι ὑπὲρ σω]-
3. τηρίας Σεπτιμίας Ζηνο-
4. βίας τῆς λαμπροτάτης
5. βασιλίσσης μητρὸς τοῦ
6. βασιλέως, [...]υ[...]

... and [for the sa]fety of Septimia Zenobia, the most illustrious queen, the mother of the Emperor [Septimius Athenōdoros] V[aballathus ...]

(Palmyrene)

1. 'I h[ywh] wz[kwth dy] sptymyws
2. whblt 'tndr[ws nhy]r' mlk mlk'
3. w'pnrtt' dy mdnh' klh br

For the safety and vi[ctory] of SPTYMYWS (Septimius) WHBLT (Wahaballat) 'TNDR[WS] (Athenodorus), the most illustrious King of Kings and Corrector ('PNRTT')<sup>102</sup> of the

<sup>101</sup> 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.

<sup>102</sup> 'pnrtt' is transliteration 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

4. spt[ymy]ws [ˈdynt mlk] mlkˈ wˈl
5. hyh dy sptymyˈ btzby nhyrtˈ
6. mlktˈ ˈmh dy mlk mlkˈ
7. bt ˈntywkws m<y|> 10+4

entire Orient, son of SPT[YMY]WS (Septimius) [ˈDYNT (Odainath), King] of Kings; and for the safety of SPTYMYˈ (Septimia) BTZBY (Bathzabbai i.e. Zenobia), the most illustrious queen, mother of the King of Kings, daughter of ˈNTYWKWS (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 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 ὄχθην ἀνύσας πόλει Ζηνοβία ἐπιτυγχάνει: ἦν ἡ Ζηνοβία ποτὲ δειμαμένη τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῇ πόλει, 5. ὡς τὸ εἰκόσ, ἔδωκεν. ἦν δὲ ἡ Ζηνοβία Ὀδοῦ-άθου γυνή, τῶν ἐκεῖνη Σαρακηνῶν ἄρχοντος, οἱ Ῥωμαίοις μαίοις ἔνσπονδοὶ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦσαν. 6. οὗτος ὁ Ὀδοῦάθος ἀνεσώσατο Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἐφάν 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

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Greek, as is normally suggested for official bilingual inscriptions of the era of Odaenathus and Zenobia. (Ricklefs)

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* 9107 = *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) [dirutum a Pal]myrenis hostibu[s ...]
2. quem refecit cum statua argen[tea ... ]ERRA

... the temple of Iuppiter Hammon, destroyed by the Palmyrene enemies, which ... rebuilt, with a silver statue [and iron doors (?)].<sup>103</sup>

Malalas, XII, p. 299,3-10 (CSHB):

Ἐν αὐτῷ χρόνῳ Ζηνοβία ἡ Σαρακηνή, ἡ Ἐνάθου 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, κάκεισε τελευτῶν, ὧν ἑτῶν νϛ'.

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)<sup>25</sup>**

*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 Probatas 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. Probatas, 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:

<sup>103</sup> 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.

... 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:

**44** Τῶν Σκυθῶν τοίνυν, ὡς διεξήλθον, 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· συναχθέντος 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 φρονοῦντες ἔτυχον ἐπιθέμενος τὴν μὲν φρουρὰν ἐξέβαλεν· αὐτὸς δὲ Παλμυρηνῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων, συναγαγόντος δὲ καὶ Πρόβου στρατόπεδον Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Λιβύων, ὑπέρτεροι μὲν ἦσαν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ τῶν ὀρίων τῆς Αἰγύπτου Παλμυρηνοὺς ἤλαυνον, Πρόβος δὲ τὸ πρὸς τῇ Βαβυλῶνι καταλαβόντος ὄρος καὶ ταύτη τὴν ἐπὶ Συρίαν τῶν πολεμίων πάροδον ἀποκλείοντος, Τιμαγένης ἅτε δὴ ἴδρις τῶν τόπων, ἅμα δισχιλίοις Παλμυρηνῶν τὴν ἄκραν τοῦ ὄρους κατασχών, ἀδοκῆτοις ἐπιστὰς τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις διέφθειρεν· ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Πρόβος ἀλοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἀποσφάττει. **45** Τῆς Αἰγύπτου τοίνυν ὑπὸ Παλμυρηνοῖς γενομένης, ...

**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)

Syncellus, p. 470,1-2 (p. 721,4-9, CSHB):

Αὐρηλιανὸς τοὺς Παλμυρηνοὺς ἐχειρώσατο καὶ Γαλλίαν ἄπέταξεν, ἐφ' οὗ φασι Φιλόστρατον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἱστοριογράφον καὶ Λογγῖνον ἀκμάσαι. Τότε Ζηνοβία κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπαίρεται, δύναμιν ἀθροίσασα πλείστην, καὶ Αἰγύπτου κρατεῖ, Πρόβον ἀνελοῦσα τὸν ἐκεῖ τότε στρατηγοῦντα Ῥωμαίων.

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 στυ-
2. γερῆ ψυχᾶς ὄλε-
3. σε σὺν σεο πολ-
4. λάς, ἀλλά σ'
5. <ENI> ἐνκτερέϊξ-
6. ε θῖος καὶ πό-
7. τνια μήτηρ,
8. κείνους δ' οὔτις· οἰωνοῖσι
9. δὲ κύρμ' ἐγένον-
10. το. θάρσει,
11. ...

Odious Egypt snatched away the souls of many, including that of yours. While your uncle and your illustrious mother have buried you with the appropriate rites, the others had become food for birds of prey. Courage ... (tr. Speidel, p. 724)

### 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)<sup>104</sup>

1. šlm sptmyws 'dy[nt] mlk mlk'
2. wmtqnn' dy mdn(?)h' klh sptmy'
3. zbd' rb hyl' rb' wzby rb hyl'
4. dy tdmwr qrtst' 'qym lmrhwn
5. byrh 'b dy šnt 5.100+80+2

Statue of SPTMYWS (Septimius) 'DY[NT] (Odainath), King of Kings, and governor/restorer of the whole East. The SPTMY' (i.e. the Septimii) ZBD' (Zabda), army 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-
2. προτάτην εὐσεβῆ βασιλίσσαν
3. Σεπτίμιοι Ζάβδας ὁ μέγας στρα-
4. τηλάτης καὶ Ζαββαῖος ὁ ἐνθάδε
5. στρατηλάτης, οἱ κράτιστοι, τὴν
6. δέσποιναν, ἔτους βπφ', μηνεὶ Λώφ

Statue of Septimia Zenobia, most illustrious and pious Queen; the Septimii Zabdas, commander-in-chief (lit. great general), and Zabbaïos, local commander, (both) most eminent (men), raised it to their sovereign lady, in the month of Lōos, in the year 582 (Sel. = August, 271 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene)

1. šlmt sptmy' btzby nhyrt' wzdqf'
2. mlkt' sptmyw' zbd' rb hyl'
3. rb' wzby rb hyl' dy tdmwr qrtstw'
4. 'qym lmrthwn byrh 'b dy šnt 5. 100+80+2

Statue of SPTMY' (Septimia) BTZBY (Bathzabbai) most illustrious and pious queen; the SPTMYW' (i.e. the Septimii) ZBD' (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
2. Aurelio Septimio
3. Vaballatho

To the Emperor Caesar L. Julius Aurelius Septimius Vaballathus Athenodorus, Persicus Maximus, Arabicus Maximus, Adiabenicus Maximus, the Devout, the Fortunate, the Uncon-

<sup>104</sup> The Greek version, probably erased, has now disappeared,.

- |                              |                         |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 4. Athenodoro Per-           | quered, 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 15<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> mile stations from Bostra on the Via Nova):

(Latin)

- |                               |  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. [L(ucius) Iuli]us Aurelius | [Lu(cius) Juli]us Aurelius Septimius Vaballathus |
| 2. [Septi]mius                | Athenodorus, King, Consul, Emperor, dux of the   |
| 3. [Va]ballath[us]            | 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] Baballa[thus |
| 2. Baballat(us) [...]              | Athenodorus], King, Co(n)[s(ul) Emperor, Dux      |
| 3. Rex Co(n)s(ul) [...]            | 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 evitacione nec volumus, sed ad intellegendos 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 incumbentibus 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

**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 relicturum apud Tyanos negarat, eversionem urbis exposcerent, respondit his: ‘Canem,’ inquit, ‘negavi in hac urbe me relicturum; 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 criminaretur.’

**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.

2. Taceri non debet res quae ad famam venerabilis viri pertinet. 3. fertur enim Aurelianus 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

Heraclammon, fearing that he would be killed along with the rest, betrayed his native-place, and so the city was captured.

**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 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

subito adstitisse, atque haec Latine, ut homo Pannonius intellegeret, 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.

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 διανοεῖτο, κρατοῦντας ἤδη τῶν τε Αἰγυπτιακῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ τῆς ἐώας ἀπάσης καὶ μέχρις Ἀγκύρας τῆς Γαλατίας, ἐθελήσαντας δὲ καὶ Βιθυνίας μέχρι Χαλκηδόνος ἀντιλαβέσθαι, εἰ μὴ βεβασιλευκέναι γνόντες Αὐρηλιανὸν τὴν Παλμυρηνοῶν ἀπεσείσαντο προστασίαν.

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; 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, μηδὲ κύνα ἐάσητε.’ Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄλωσιν ἀπηγόρευσε τοῖς στρατιώταις μήτε φονεῦσαι μήτε διαρπάσαι. Ἔλεγον οὖν αὐτῷ θυμούμενοι οἱ στρατιῶται ὅτι ‘Ἄ υπέσχου, ἐπίτρεψον ἡμῖν ποιῆσαι.’ ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτοῖς: ‘Ἀληθευετε ὅτι ἐγὼ εἶπον· ἀπέλθετε, κύων μὴ εὐρεθῆ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταυτη, ἀλλὰ πάντας φονευσάτε.’ Καὶ ἔπεμψε καὶ τοὺς τριβουνους καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ πάντας τοὺς κύνας ἐφόνευσεν· ὥστε εἰς γέλωτα λυθῆναι

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

(οἱ ἐλθῆναι) τὸν θυμὸν τοῦ στρατευματος. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συγκαλέσας αὐτοὺς εἶπεν ὅτι Ἕμεῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐλευθερῶσαι τὰς πόλεις ταυτας πολεμοῦμεν· καὶ ἐὰν μέλλωμεν πραιδευειν αὐτάς, οὐκέτι ἡμῖν πιστευουσιν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὴν πραΐδα τῶν βαρβάρων ζητήσωμεν, καὶ τουτων ὡς ἡμετέρων φεισώμεθα.’

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 Καίσι[αρος Λουκίου
7. Δομιτίου Αὐρηλια[νοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς
8. Σεβαστοῦ καὶ [Ιο]υιλίου Αὐρηλίου Σεπτιμίου
9. Οὐβαλλάθου Αθην[οδώρου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου
10. βασιλέως ὑπάτου ἀ[υτοκράτορος στρατηγοῦ
11. Ῥωμαίων, Χοϊακ 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. Ἰουλίου Α[υ]ρηλίου Σεπτιμίου
3. Οὐβαλλάθου Αθην[οδώρου
4. τοῦ λαμπροτάτου β[ασιλέως ὑπάτου
5. αὐτοκράτορ[ος στρατηγοῦ Ῥωμαίων
6. Τῦβι 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 Αθην[οδ]ώρου τοῦ
25. λαμπροτάτου βασιλέως ὑπάτου
26. Αὐτοκράτορος στρατηγοῦ Ῥωμα(ίων)
27. Φαρμενώθ 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]
2. Σεβαστοῦ καὶ (ἔτους) ε' τοῦ κ[υρίου ἡμῶν Σεπτιμίου]
3. Οὐβαλλάθου Αθην[οδώρο]υ τοῦ λαμπρ[οτάτου]
4. βασιλέως ὑπάτου αὐτοκράτορος στ[ρατηγοῦ]
5. Ῥωμαίων Φαρμενώθ ιε.

The second year of our Lord Lucius Domitius Aurelianus Augustus and the fifth year of our Lord Septimius Vabalathus (sic.) Athenodorus, the most illustrious king, consul, Emperor, general of the Romans, Phamenoth 15 (11 March, 272) ...

### 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

Zenobia, the wife of Odaenathus, was an addition to the glory of the emperor Aurelian. For, after

feminea ditione Orientis tenebat imperium. Quam Aurelianus multis cibariarum et sagittariorum milibus fretam apud Immae haut procul ab Antiochia uicit et captam ...

her husband's death she held the Eastern empire within her female control. Although she relied on many thousands of heavy cavalry and archers, Aurelianus defeated her at Immae not far from Antioch and captured her ...

Eutropius, *Breviarium* IX,13,2:

Zenobiam quoque, quae occiso Odenatho marito Orientem tenebat, haut longe ab Antiochia sine gravi proelio cepit, ....

He (i.e. Aurelianus) 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 strenuissime 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, Aurelianus, 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 Aurelianus'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, Aurelianus 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

The emperor then advanced with his army and re-subjected Ancyra to Roman rule, then Tyana after

Τύανα μετὰ ταύτην καὶ ἐξῆς ἅπασαι μέχρις Ἀντιοχείας, ἐν ἧ Ζηνοβίαν εὐρών ἅμα στρατῷ πολλῷ παρεσκευασμένην εἰκότως ἐς μάχην ἀπήντα καὶ αὐτὸς εὐτρεπῆς. 3. Ὅρων δὲ τοὺς Παλμυρηνῶν ἰππέας ὀπλίσει βαρεῖα καὶ ἀσφαλεῖ τεθαρρηκότας καὶ ἅμα πείρα τῆ περι τὴν ἰππασίαν πολὺ τῶν σφετέρων προέχοντας, τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς πέραν που τοῦ Ὀρόντου ποταμοῦ διεχώρισεν, σύνθημα δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἰππεῦσι δέδωκεν μὴ ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ἀκμῆτι τῆ Παλμυρηνῶν ἵππῳ 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 ὄπλων βαρύτητος πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν ἀπειπόντας. 4. Οὗ δὴ γενομένου καὶ τῶν βασιλέως ἰππέων τὸ παράγγελμα φυλαξάντων, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐθέασαντο παρεμμένους ἤδη καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις κεκμηκόσιν ἀκινήτους τοὺς ἐπικειμένους, ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς ἵππους ἐπήσαν καὶ αὐτομάτους τῶν ἵππων ἐκίπτοντας συνεπάτουσαν φόνος οὗν 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 περι τὴν μάχην πταῖσμα σφίσι ἐπιθινοῦντο, ἄνδρα μεσαιπόλιον ἐμφερίαν τινα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ιδέαν δοκοῦντά πως ἔχειν εὐρών, καὶ σχῆμα περιθεις οἷον εἰκὸς ἦν Αὐρηλιανὸν ἔχειν μαχόμενον, διὰ μέσης ἄγει τῆς πόλεως ὡς δὴ τὸν βασιλέα ζωγρίαν ἐλών. 2. Καὶ τούτῳ τῷ σοφίσματι τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς ἀπατήσας αὐτὸς τε ὑπεξέδου τῆς πόλεως οὐσης νυκτὸς ἅμα τῷ λελειμμένῳ στρατεύματι, καὶ τὴν Ζηνοβίαν ἐαυτῷ συνεξαγαγὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐμισαν ἀνεχώρησεν ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔχων ἐν νῷ γενομένης ἡμέρας ἀναλαβεῖν τὴν πεζὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπιθέσθαι τραπεῖσιν ἤδη τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐπειδὴ τὴν Ζηνοβίαν ἔγνω φυγὴν, εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν εἰσῆει, δεξαμένων αὐτὸν ἀσμένως τῶν πολιτῶν. 3. Εὐρών δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς τὴν πόλιν ἀπολιπόντας δέει τοῦ μὴ κακοῦ τινὸς ὡς 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

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 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

περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐμισαν ἤλαυνεν· μοῖραν δὲ τινα Παλμυρηνῶν λόφον καταλαβοῦσαν εὐρῶν ὑπερκείμενον Δάφνης τοῦ προαστείου, τῷ ὑπερδεξίῳ τοῦ τόπου τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων πάροδον εἴργειν οἰομένην, τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐνεκελεύσατο συνασπισαμένοις καὶ πυκνῇ τῇ φάλαγγι τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον ἀνάβασιν ποιούμενοις τὰ τε βέλη καὶ τοὺς ὄλοιτρόχους, εἰ καὶ τούτους τυχὸν ἐπαφεῖεν, τῇ πυκνότητι τῆς φάλαγγος ἀποσεῖσασθαι. 2. Καὶ πρὸς τὸ παράγγελμα εἶχε προθύμους· ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατὰ τὸ προσταχθὲν τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἄναντες ἄνοδον ἐποίησαντο, καταστάντες τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἰσοπαλεῖς ἔτρεψαν εὐθὺς εἰς φυγὴν· καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν φερόμενοι διερρήγγυντο, τοὺς δὲ οἱ διάκοντες ἀπέσφαττον οὗτοί τε καὶ οἱ μὴ μετασχόντες τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἀνόδου· μετὰ δὲ τὴν νίκην ἐπ' ἀδείας τὴν διάβασιν ποιούμενοις ... χαίροντας κύρον κατὰ ταῦτα τῇ ὁδοιπορίᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως χρωμένους. 3. Δέχεται μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν Ἀπάμεια καὶ Λάρισα καὶ Ἀρέθουσα· τὸ δὲ τῶν Παλμυρηνῶν στρατόπεδον ἰδὼν ἐν τῷ πρὸ τῆς Ἐμίσης πεδίῳ συνειλεγμένον εἰς πλῆθος ἐπτὰ μυριάδων ἕκ τε αὐτῶν Παλμυρηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσοι τῆς στρατείας αὐτοῖς εἴλοντο μετασχεῖν, ἀντεστρατοπεδεύετο τῇ τε Δαλματῶν ἵππῳ καὶ Μυσοῖς καὶ Παίσιον καὶ ἔτι γε Νορικοῖς καὶ Ῥαιτοῖς, ἅπερ ἐστὶ Κελτικά τάγματα. 4. Ἦσαν δὲ πρὸς τούτοις οἱ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τέλους, ἐκ 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 ἀλλήλοις, ἔδοξεν ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἵππος κατὰ τι μέρος ἐκκλίνειν, ὡς ἂν μὴ πλήθει τῶν Παλμυρηνῶν ἱππέων πλεονεκτούντων <καὶ> περιππαζομένων πως τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον ἐμπεσὸν ἐς κύκλωσιν λάθῃ τῶν τοίνυν Παλμυρηνῶν ἱππέων τοὺς ἐκκλινάστας διωκόντων καὶ ταύτη τὴν τάξιν τὴν οἰκείαν παρεξελθόντων, ἐς τοῦναντίον ἀπέβη τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῦσιν τὸ βουλευθὲν· ἐδιώκοντο γὰρ τῷ ὄντι πολὺ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλασσωθέντες. 2. Ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐπιπτον πλείστοι, τότε δὴ τῶν πεζῶν τὸ πᾶν ἔργον γενέσθαι συνέβη· τὴν γὰρ τάξιν τοῖς Παλμυρηνοῖς διαρραγεῖσαν ἰδόντες ἐκ τοῦ τοῦς ἱππέας τῇ διώξει σχολάσαι, συστραφέντες ἀτάκτοις αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐσκεδασμένοις ἐπέθεντο· καὶ φόνος ἦν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολὺς, τῶν μὲν τοῖς συνήθεσιν ἐπιόντων ὄπλοις, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Παλαιστίνης τὰς κορύνας καὶ τὰ ρόπαλα τοῖς σιδήρῳ καὶ

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 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

χαλκῷ τεθωρακισμένοις ἐπιφερόντων, ὅπερ μάλιστα τῆς νίκης ἐν μέρει γέγονεν αἴτιον, τῷ ξένῳ τῆς τῶν ῥοπάλων ἐπιφορᾶς τῶν πολεμίων καταπλαγέντων.

3. Φευγόντων δὲ ἤδη τῶν Παλμυρηνῶν προτροπάδην, καὶ ἐν τῷ φεύγειν ἑαυτοὺς τε συμπατούντων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀναιρουμένων, τὸ πεδῖον ἐπληροῦτο νεκρῶν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων, <τῶν> ὅσοι διαδρᾶναι δεδύνηται τὴν πόλιν καταλαβόντων.

**54** Ἀθυμίας δὲ πολλῆς εἰκότως ἐπὶ τῇ ἡττῇ Ζηνοβίαν ἐχούσης, βουλή προέκειτο περὶ τοῦ πρακτέου, καὶ κοινῇ γνώμῃ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει τοῖς μὲν περὶ τὴν Ἐμισαν πράγμασιν ἀπογνῶναι διὰ τὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἐμισηνοὺς ἀλλοτρίως πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔχοντας τὰ Ῥωμαίων αἰρεῖσθαι, Παλμύραν δὲ καταλαβεῖν καὶ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ὄχυρῳ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐπιτρέψαντας σχολαίτερον σκοπῆσαι τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς· οὐδὲν ἦν ἔργου καὶ λόγου τὸ μέσον, ἀλλὰ συνέθεον ἐφ' ὅπερ ἐδόκει. 2. Πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν Ζηνοβίαν φυγὴν Αὐρηλιανὸς εἰς μὲν τὴν Ἐμισαν εἰσῆει, προθύμως αὐτὸν τῶν πολιτῶν δεχομένων, εὐρῶν δὲ πλοῦτον ὄν οὐχ οἷα τε ἐγγένοι Ζηνοβία μετακομίσει, παραχρῆμα σὺν τῷ στρατῷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ Παλμύραν εἶχετο·

Jordanes, *Hist. Rom.* 291, p. 37,30-32:

Quo uxor sua occiso Orientis tenebat imperium; contra quam expeditionem suscipiens Aurelianus, apud Immas in vicino Antiochiæ superavit, ...

Syncellus, 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 Ἰμμαῖς καλουμένῳ χωρίῳ τοὺς μὴν Παλμυρηνοὺς διαφθεῖρει, ...

great massacre 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) 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.

After his (i.e. Odaenathus') murder, Zenobia had control of the East: Aurelianus undertook an expedition against her and defeated her at Immae in the vicinity of Antioch ...

Aurelianus, 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, ...

### Aurelianus 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, quasi sola mecum

**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, without the wonted reserve of

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 promittens, 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.’

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 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 igitur illa venerit manus quae undique speratur, pones profecto supercilium, quo nunc mihi deditionem, quasi omnifariam victor, imperas.’ 6. Hanc epistolam Nicomachus (*FGrH* 215F) se transtulisse in Graecum ex lingua Syrorum dicit ab ipsa Zenobia dictatam. nam illa superior

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 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

Aureliani Graeca missa est.

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 Ἐγὼ 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 corrupit 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 superbius 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 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 Aure-

**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, 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

lianus 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.

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, κύκλω περιλαβὼν τὸ τεῖχος ἐπολιόρκει, τῆς τροφῆς ἐκ τῶν πλησιαζόντων ἐθνῶν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ χορηγουμένης· τῶν δὲ Παλμυρηνῶν ἐπιτωθαζόντων ὡς ἀδυνάτου τῆς ἀλώσεως οὐσης, ἤδη δὲ τινος καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα λόγους αἰσχροῦς ἀφιέντος, παρεστῶς τις τῷ βασιλεῖ Πέρσης ἀνήρ εἰ «κελεύεις» ἔφη, «τὸν ὑβριστὴν τοῦτον ὄψει νεκρόν». 3. Ἐγκελευσάμενου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, προστησάμενος ἑαυτοῦ τινὰς ὁ Πέρσης τοὺς ἀποκρύπτοντας, ἐντεινας τὸ τόξον καὶ βέλος ἀρμόσας ἀφήσιν, ὃ δὴ προκεκυφῶτι τῆς ἐπάλλξεως τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἔτι τὰς ὕβρεις ἐπαφιέντι προσπαγὲν κατάγει τε τοῦ τείχους αὐτὸν καὶ νεκρὸν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ δεικνυσιν.

... 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 ἀντεῖχον πολιορκούμενοι, σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπαγορεύσειν 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 ἐνδοῦς δραστηρίῳ, πέμπει παραχρῆμα τοὺς διώξοντας ταύτην ἱππέας. 3. Οἱ δὲ καταλαβόντες ἤδη τὸν Εὐφράτην αὐτὴν μέλλουσαν περαιουῆσθαι, καταγαγόντες ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου πρὸς τὸν Αὐρηλιανὸν ἄγουσιν· ὃ δὲ τῷ μὲν ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ τῆς

**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

θέας περιχαρῆς ἐγεγόνει, φιλότιμος δὲ ὢν φύσει, λαβῶν κατὰ νοῦν ὡς γυναικὸς κρατήσας οὐκ ἔσται τοῖς ἔσομένοις ἐπίδοξος, ἐδυσχέραινεν.

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** Τῶν δὲ ἐναποκεκλεισμένων τῆ πόλει Παλμυρηνῶν αἱ γυνῶμαι διχῆ 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 ἤφιει

**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 τῆ αὐταρχίᾳ αὐτῷ πραχθέντα διηγητέον. στρατηγικώτατος γὰρ ὢν πολλοὺς πολέμους ἐνίκησε. τοὺς τε γὰρ Παλμυρηνοὺς ἐχειρώσατο, καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν βασίλισσαν 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,

**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

quibus auctoribus illa bellum moverat, paraverat, gesserat, trium-pho 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.

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 Ἐμισαν εἰς κρίσιν ἤγαγε Ζηνοβίαν τε καὶ τοὺς ταύτη συναραμένους· ἐπεὶ δὲ αἰτίας ἔλεγεν ἑαυτὴν ἐξαιρούσα, πολλοὺς τε ἄλλους ἤγεν εἰς μέσον ὡς παραγαγόντας οἷα γυναῖκα, ἐν οἷς καὶ Λογγίνος ἦν, οὗ συγγράμματα ἔστι μέγα τοῖς παιδείας μεταποιούμενοις ὄφελος φέροντα. 3. ὅπερ ἐφ' οἷς κατηγορεῖτο ἐλεγχόμενῳ παραχρήμα ὁ βασιλεὺς θανάτου ζημίαν ἐπέθηκεν, ἦν οὕτω γενναίως ἠνεγκεν ὁ Λογγίνος ὥστε καὶ τοὺς σχετιάζοντας ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει παραμυθεῖσθαι, καὶ ἄλλων δὲ Ζηνοβίας κατειπούσης κολάσεσιν ὑπαχθέντων.

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 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 ἠσκημένος, ἀκάθεκτος δὲ περὶ τὴν γνώμην, καὶ πολὺ πρὸς ὠμότητα ῥέπτων. Τῶν τε κατὰ πόλιν ἐπισήμων θανάτῳ πολλοὺς ἐζημίωσεν ὑπὸ Ζηνοβίας ἐλεγχθέντας, χαλεπὸς τις καὶ φονικὸς ὑπάρχων καὶ μᾶλλον ἀναγκαῖος στρατηγὸς ἢ περ αἰρετὸς βασιλεὺς, ἐν παντὶ δὲ καιρῷ δυσχερῆς καὶ ἀπρόσιτος, ὡς μηδὲ τοῦ τῶν οἰκείων αἵματος διαμεῖναι καθαρὸς· τὴν γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς γαμετὴν καὶ ἀνέγκλητον διεχρήσατο. Τοῦ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τάγματος καὶ τῶν ἐξιτήλων καὶ διαλελυμένων ἠθῶν ὡς ἐπίπαν γενναίως ἐπανορθωτῆς 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 δεξάμενος μηνυσιν, ἐπεστράτευσε κατὰ Ζηνοβίας, βασιλίσσης Σαρα-

Immediately after he had received a dispatch, the same Aurelian mounted an expedition against

κηνῶν, εἰς τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἀπελθόν. ἐμηνύθη γὰρ περὶ αὐτῆς ὅτι ἐπραΐδευσε καὶ ἔκαυσε τὰ ἀνατολικά μέρη ἕως τῶν ὀρίων Ἀντιοχείας τῆς μεγάλης, πλησίον τοῦ Ὀρόντου ποταμοῦ κατασκηνώσασα. ἢ μόνον δὴ κατέφθασεν ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Αὐρηλιανὸς Ἀντιόχειαν, εὐθέως ὄρμησεν, ὡς ἔχει, κατ' αὐτῆς ἐξελθόν· καὶ συγκρούσας κατέκοψε τὰ πληθὴ αὐτῆς πάντα. παραλαβὼν δὴ αὐτὴν Ζηνοβίαν, ἐκάθισεν εἰς δρομωναρίαν κάμηλον· καὶ πομπεύσας αὐτὴν εἰς τὰς ἀνατολικὰς χώρας πάσας εἰσηγαγεν αὐτὴν καὶ εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν μεγάλην. καὶ θεωρησας ἐκεῖ ἵπποδρόμιον εἰσηγαγεν 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 ἀπηγαγεν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ὡς βασιλίσσαν βαρβάρων Σαρακηνῶν· καὶ θριαμβεύσας αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τῷ πρόφην σχηματὶ ἀπεκεφάλισεν αὐτὴν. Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Αὐρηλιανὸς καὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν, κατεχομένην ἀπὸ βαρβάρων Σαρακηνῶν, συγγενῶν Ἐνάθου Σαρακηνοῦ, φονεύσας πάντας ἐποίησεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίουσ εἶναι ἐπαρχίαν.

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 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 servent, 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 suppliciiis esse correctos.

**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

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 <sup>2</sup> 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.

Temple of the Sun at Palmyra, which has been pillaged by the eagle-bearers of the Third Legion,<sup>34</sup> 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 ἐκτίσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ διεξελοθέντος, ὅπως ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ σφῆσιν ἀτασταλίησιν 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 καθάρισιν· τίνα δὲ ταῦτα, ἐρῶ ἐν Σελευκείᾳ τῇ κατὰ Κιλικίαν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἴδρυτο καλουμένου Σαρπηδονίου, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χρηστήριον. 3. Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου λεγόμενα, καὶ ὡς ἅπασιν τοῖς ὑπὸ λύμης ἀκριδῶν ἐνοχλουμένοις Σελευκιάδας παραδιδούς (ὄρνεα δὲ ταῦτα ἐνδαιτώμενα τοῖς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τόποις) συνεξέπεμπεν τοῖς αἰτοῦσιν, αἱ δὲ ταῖς ἀκρίσιν συμπεριπτάμεναι καὶ τοῖς στόμασιν ταύτας δεχόμεναι καὶ παραχρῆμα διαφοροῦσαι πλῆθος τε ἄπειρον ἐν ἀκαριαίῳ διέφθειρον καὶ τῆς ἐκ τούτων βλάβης τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπήλλαττον, ταῦτα μὲν τῇ τῆνικαῦτα τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονία παρήμι, τοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς γένους πᾶσαν ἀποσεισαμένου θείαν εὐεργεσίαν. 4. Τοῖς Παλμυρηνοῖς δὲ χρωμένοις εἰ καθέξουσιν τὴν τῆς ἐφᾶς ἡγεμονίαν, ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς οὕτως

Ἔξιτέ μοι μεγάρων, ἀπατήμονες οὐλοῖοι ἄνδρες, φύτλης ἀθανάτων ἐρικυδέος ἀλγυντῆρες.

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 aggrieve the immortal gods’ illustrious generation!’

Πυνθανομένοις δέ τισιν περι τῆς Αὐρηλιανοῦ  
κατὰ Παλμυρηνηῶν στρατείας ὁ θεὸς ἀνεῖλε

Κίρκος τρήρωσιν κρυερὸν γόον ἠγγλάζων,  
οἶος πολλῆσιν ται δὲ φρίσσουσι φονῆα.

**58** Καὶ ἕτερον δὲ Παλμυρηνοῖς συνηέχθη τοιοῦτον Ἄφακα χωρίον ἐστὶν μέσον Ἡλιουπόλεως τε καὶ Βύβλου, καθ' ὃ ναὸς Ἀφροδίτης Ἀφακίτιδος ἵδρυται τούτου πλησίον λίμνη τις ἐστὶν ἐοικυῖα χειροποίητῳ δεξαμενῇ κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τοὺς πλησιάζοντας τόπους πῦρ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος λαμπάδος ἢ σφαίρας φαίνεται δίκην, συνόδων ἐν τῷ τόπῳ χρόνοις 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 χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ ἄλλαις ὕλαις, αἷς φύσις οὐκ αἰωρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀλλὰ καταδύεσθαι. 3. Τῶν Παλμυρηνηῶν 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 ὄφθησαν αἰωρούμενα πάντα, τῆς θεοῦ διὰ τούτου τὰ ἐσόμενα δηλώσασης. 4. Ἡ μὲν οὖν εἰς Ῥωμαίους εὐμένεια τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀγιστείας φυλαττομένης τοιαύτη ἐπειδὴν δὲ εἰς ἐκείνους ἀφίκομαι τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ κατὰ βραχὺ βαρβαρωθεῖσα εἰς ὀλίγον τι, καὶ αὐτὸ διαφθαρὲν, περιέστη, τῆνικαῦτα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας παραστήσω τοῦ δυστυχήματος, καὶ τοὺς χρησμοὺς ὡς ἂν οἷός τε ᾧ παραθήσομαι τοὺς τὰ συνενεχθέντα μηνύσαντας.

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 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 τροφῆς μεταλαβεῖν οὐκ ἀνασχομένην ἀποθανεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους πλὴν τοῦ Ζηνοβίας παιδὸς ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ μεταξὺ Χαλκηδόνος καὶ Βυζαντίου πορθμοῦ κατα-

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.

ποντωθῆναι.

**60** Ἐχομένου δὲ Αὐρηλιανοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην ὁδοῦ, κατέλαβεν ἀγγελία τοιαύτη, ὡς τῶν ἐν Παλμύρα 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 αὐθις καὶ πολλακίς ἠνώχλουν· ὃ δὲ ἀποκρίσεσιν χρώμενος ἀμφιβόλοις αὐτὸς μὲν Αὐρηλιανῷ τὸ σκεφθὲν κατεμήνυσε, Παλμυρηνοὶ δὲ Ἀντιόχῳ περιθέντες ἄλουργές 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 φανείς καὶ τῷ ἀδοκῆτῳ πάντας ἐκπλήξας ἐπὶ τὴν Παλμύραν ἤλαυνεν· ἀμαχητὶ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐλὼν καὶ κατασκάψας, οὐδὲ τιμωρίας Ἀντιόχῳ ἄξιον διὰ τὴν εὐτέλειαν εἶναι νομίσας ἀφίησιν ...

**60** Still on the march towards Europe, Aurelian 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. [.....] '[I]b[w]m'[w..]
8. [...]'t'qb yr[h]y dy] '1
9. [w...br]'t'qb yr[h]y] '1 tw'n w'g[y]lw br...]
10. [dy '1]m[w]d' w... '1 tly']
11. [.....]
12. [w]yrhb[w]l' br 'gy[lw dy] '[l b]t [ntr]' [w]šm[']
13. [t]byt..]

During the presidency of the confraternity of the priesthood (MRZHWT = θίασος) 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 So-and-so son of So-and-So] in charge of [...; and So-and-So, son of 'T'QB YR[H]Y (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] YRḤB[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 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

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 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

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 Aurelianum 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 στασιάσαντας καὶ πρὸς ἀπόστασιν ἰδόντας παραστησάμενος ...

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, *Breviarium* 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 praece-

... and entering Rome, (Aurelian) celebrated a magnificent triumph as restorer of the East and

dentibus currum Tetrico et Zenobia.

West, Tetricus (a usurper) and Zenobia going before his chariot.

Jerome, *Chron.*, s. a. 274, pp. 222,25-26 (PL 27.487):

Aurelianum 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. Vincit 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 talia per ordinem ducta, gladiatorum paria octingenta, praeter captivos gentium barbararum. Blemmyes, Axomitae, Arabes Eudaemones, 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.

**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 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,

34 ductae sunt et decem mulieres, quas virili habitu pugnantes 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, brasis 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, nau-machiae.

Zosimus, *Hist. Nova* I,61,(1)-2:

θρίαμβον εἰς τὴν Πρώμην εἰσαγαγὼν μεγίστης ἀποδοχῆς ἐκ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς γερουσίας ἐτύγγανεν. 2. Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἡλίου δειμάμενος ἱερὸν μεγαλοπρεπῶς τοῖς ἀπὸ Παλμύρας ἐκόσμησεν ἀναθήμασιν, Ἡλίου τε καὶ Βήλου καθιδρύσας ἀγάλματα·

Jordanes, *Hist. Rom.* 291, p. 37,32:

... Romaeque in triumpho suo vivam perduxit.

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.

Now he entered Rome triumphant and received 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.

...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

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,

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.

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 φασὶ καὶ ἀνδρὶ συναφθῆναι τῶν ἐπιφανεστέρων ἐνί, οἱ δὲ καθ' ὁδὸν θανεῖν αὐτὴν λέγουσι, περιαλγῆσασαν διὰ τὴν τῆς τύχης μεταβολήν· μίαν δὲ τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτῆς λαβεῖν εἰς γυναῖκα τὸν Αὐρηλιανόν, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἐπισήμοις τῶν Ῥωμαίων συζεῦξαι

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 ὅμως ὡς σεσωκῶς διὰ τὸ σῶσαι προελέσθαι, κὰν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν τοῖς παρὰ τῶν σοφιστῶν ἴδοι τις ἂν καὶ τὴν Ὀλυνθον. τουτῶ δὴ καὶ τὸ σὸν ὅμοιον σκοποῦντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν σπουδὴν,

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-

οὐ τὸ τέλος, καὶ ἄπερ ἠβουλήθης, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἄπερ ἠδυνήθης. 2. ταυτὶ μέντοι μοι καὶ δυνήσεσθαι δοκεῖς ὑπὲρ Εὐσεβίου χρώμενος παρρησίᾳ. χρῆσι δὲ καὶ πάντα ποιήσεις εἰς τὸ μηδὲν αὐτὸν ὁ μὴ δίκαιον ὑπομῆναι χρηστὸν τε ὄντα καὶ σώφρονα καὶ παιδείας ἐπιμελελημένον 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 Ὀδαίναθος, ὁ Εὐσεβίου πατήρ, τῶν λόχων τε ἀγαγόντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐστὶ καὶ τρεψαμένων καὶ διωζάντων καὶ 'βάλλ' οὕτως, ἐταῖρε', πολλάκις 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 γονῶν. 4. ὥς οὖν καὶ τουτῶ 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· ὥς ἔστι δέος μὴ μαθόντες οἱ τὰ πάντα ἐμοὶ χαριζόμενοι μέλειν μοι τοῦ χαίρειν Εὐσέβιον ποιήσωσιν ἀφ' ὧν ἀνιάσεται.

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. 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):

Ὀδαίναθον 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 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> 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](https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/studia_palmyrenskie1997/0077)

## V. THE ISLAMIC PERIOD

ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE TEMPLE  
OF BEL IN PALMYRA<sup>105</sup>

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 (١) لامير الحجب الاجل
- 3 السيد الكبير [١] مويد ناصر الذين عدلا الاسلام سيف
- 4 [الدولة] معتعد الملك معين المجاهدين شرف الامراء فخر
- 5 الجيوش ذو النجاشين ابن الحسن يوسف بن فيروز
- 6 الاتابكي (٤) وجاح (٤) امير المومنين من خالص ماله في شهور سنة  
سبع وعشرين وخمس مائة

<sup>105</sup> J. Sauvaget, 'Inscriptions arabes du Temple de Bêl à Palmyre', *Syria*, 1931, T. 12, Fasc. 2 (1931), pp. 143-153

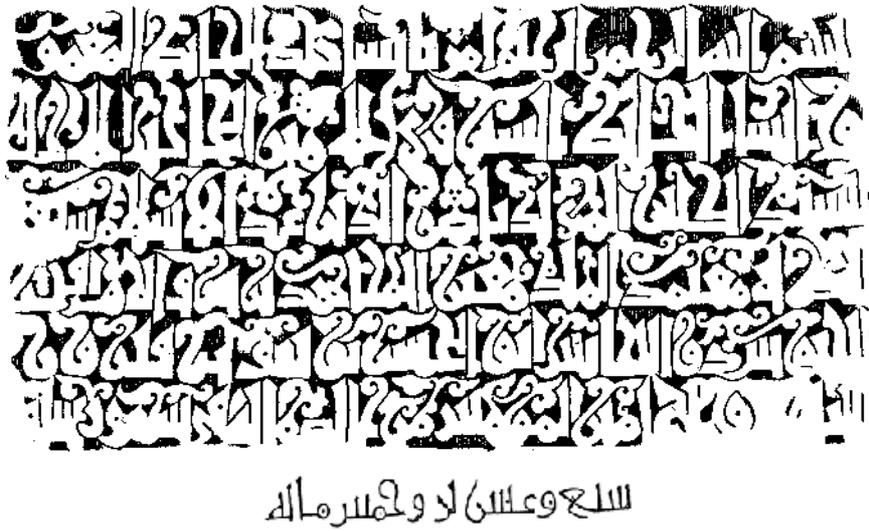


Fig.1.

*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: *dâlîka*, usually the name of the monument which bears the inscription is introduced by *hâdâ*, but *dâlîka* 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 *râ*, but it is in fact the head of the latter that has received a decorative form (cf. 1.3: *al-kabîr*). 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: 1<sup>st</sup> - the construction of the wall which conceals the entrance to the temple, on the west face (*dâlîka al-hâ'it* designating the work which bears the inscription), 2<sup>nd</sup> - the repair of the east wall of the peribolos.

Line 3: *'udda* appears only in the protocols reproduced by historians<sup>(2)</sup>, but it is impossible to read *'umda* or *'izza*, which are the only ones attested by the epigraphic examples<sup>(3)</sup>.

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<sup>(4)</sup> 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*<sup>(5)</sup>.

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<sup>(6)</sup>: 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<sup>(7)</sup>, 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<sup>(8)</sup>: 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 *Wajâḥ am. al-m.*: the *wâw* and the *ḥâ'* 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 *wajâḥ* (also vocalized *wijâḥ* and *wujâḥ*) the meaning of "curtain, veil". It is hardly necessary to recall that the chamberlain (*ḥâjib, perde-dâr*) allows or refuses entry to the abode of the sovereign by lifting or letting fall the curtain (*ḥijâb, perde*) that hung in front of the door. The word *wajâḥ* would therefore be an allusion to the official functions of Yûsuf: similarly, the name of the sabre (*ḥusâm, 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 Domaszewski, *Provincia Arabia* [Arab Province], t. III, No. 22.

(6) C. I. A., *Egypt* I, p. 552, with references.

(7) Id., No. 45 (*al-faḍḍilatayni*), 58 and 460 (*al-fahrayni*), 456 (*al-'azîmatayni*), 506 (*ar-rî'âsatayni*): Ibn al-Qalânîsî (*al-jalâlayni*), 83 and 86 (*al-majdayni*).

(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<sup>(1)</sup>.

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 Tuğtegîn, 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'îl 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'îl became a greedy, cruel, and suspicious tyrant<sup>(2)</sup>. 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<sup>(1)</sup>, 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 بسمله
- 2 امر بعمار لا هذا البرج المياك من ماله المولى الا
- 3 مير الاجل السيد الاوحد الاصفهسلار 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
- 8 الاجل السيد ناصح الدولة جمال الامراء ابي سعد موفق احسن الله
- 9 عمل غنائم بن عبد الوهاب رحمه الله ورحم من ترحم عليه
- (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 embossing.**

*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 Šâdî, 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, Nâših ad-Dawla, the beauty of the emirs, Abu Sa'id 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<sup>(1)</sup>; the chamberlain Nâših 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	وكتبه 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 Nâših (ad-Dîn) Yûsuf son of Mû ..., assisted by 'Umar son of Ismâ'îl 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<sup>(1)</sup> ": 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 which were 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.

بسمله. لما كان بتاريخ شهر ربيع الاخر لا	1
من شهور سنة ثمان وستين وثمان مائتة ورد مرسوم كريم	2
مرسوم مولانا ملك الامراء تنم كافل الملكة الشامية اعز الله	3
نصرلا ان يتكن اهل تدمر من التوجه الى جبل اليطم	4
من ارض تدمر ومن القاء دوابهم ورعي دوابهم و الشبت [???] به من غير مانع	5
	6

	يمنعهم في ذلك ولا محكم يحكم عليهم في ذلك ذلك على ما بأيديهم [من] مراسيم شريفة	
(1 word illegible) - end of No. 7	[من] دواوين الجيوش المنصور لا و [...] انت شرعة و ان لا يلزمو (ا) بما لم يلزمهم	7
	[و] ان لا يحدث عليهم حادث ظلم رحم الله من قرالا وعمل بمنتهالا	8
(2 words illegible) - end of No. 9	من اراضي تدمر	9
(4 or 5 words illegible) – after [?] of No. 10	بالثبث [?] ورعي دوابهم حكما علما بيدهم من	10
(1 word illegible) – end No. 10		
	مراسيم شرفة كريمة	11
	(4 or 5 words illegible)	12
	مرحوم ابن مرحوم من قرالا	13
	(وء) مل بمنتهالا ملعون ابن ملعون	14
	[من اعاد] لا [?] او سعى في ابطاله ابدا	15
	و الدمدم الله رب العالمين. امين	20

*In the name of God... In the month of Rabî 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 aḏ-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 hand-written 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 *يُمكن*, instead of *يُكن* 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<sup>(1)</sup> 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<sup>(2)</sup>.

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.

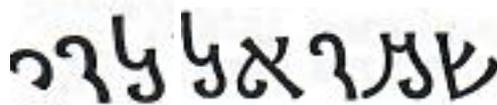
(2) *Sur l'affichage des decrets* [On the posting of decrees], v. Wiet, *Notes*, in Syria, 1925, p. 165, below.

*Fontes Historiae Palmyrenae* is an ongoing project.

More texts, notes and word-indices will follow.

**Comments welcome.**

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