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*INSCRIPTIONES PALMYRENAE SELECTAE
AD COMMERCIIUM PERTINENTES*

SELECT PALMYRENE INSCRIPTIONS ON COMMERCE



The Triple Arch at Palmyra (SL)



INTRODUCTION

The importance of inscriptions from Roman Palmyra (Aramaic: *Tadmor* and Latin: *Colonia Palmyrena Hadriana*) in Syria on the history of commerce between East and West in the pre-Islamic period cannot be over-estimated. They reveal a network of routes, mainly via the kingdom of Mesene (capital Charax Spasinou) and Babylonia as well as details on the leadership and organization of caravans and the dangers they faced, esp. from brigandage. The majority of the inscriptions relating to caravans to and from Palmyra were found in the precinct of the Temple of Bel and in and around the city's Agora. Some of the inscriptions (in Palmyrene Aramaic with Greek) were published in a major corpus in the early part of the 20th C. (see under *CIS* in List of Abbreviations). The French occupation of the site in the years between the two World Wars as part of her Mandate over Syria resulted in the publication of an inventory of all discovered inscriptions (esp. those in Greek and Latin) (see *Inv.* in List of Abbreviations). Two fascicles of the *Inventaire* (IX, The Temple of Bel, 1933 and X, The Agora, 1949) are of particular importance for the study of commerce. The fascicle on the Agora has now been substantially updated and augmented by the important publication of the Institut français du Proche-Orient (see under *L'Agora* in the List of Abbreviations). A useful list of Palmyrene inscriptions relevant to caravan trade was given by M. Gawlikowski in 1994 (see under *G* in List of Abbreviations) and the following selection is based on this list as it is still much consulted and cited by researchers and students alike.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS



- Bibl. Bibliography.
- CIS *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, Pars secunda. Tomus III: Inscriptiones palmyrenae*, edd. Jean-Baptiste Chabot *et al.* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale 1926).
- Cooke G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press 1903).
- Déd. J.T. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux (Palmyra, Hatra, Tyr et des thiasés sémitiques à l'époque romaine)* (Paris: Geuthner 1972)
- Dirven L. Dirven, *The Palmyrenes of Dura Europos, A Study of Religious Interaction in Roman Syria*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 138 (Leiden, 1999).
- Dunant C. Dunant, *Le sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre III, Les inscriptions* (Rome, 1971).
- FTPZ I. Gardner, S. Lieu and K. Parry (eds.) *From Palmyra to Zayton*, Silk Road Studies X (Turnhout, 2005).
- G M. Gawlikowski, 'Palmyra as a trading centre', *Iraq* 56 (1994) 27-33.
- IEOG F.C. De Rossi (ed.) *Iscrizioni dello Estremo Oriente Greco*, Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 65 (Bonn, 2004).
- Inv. *Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique 1930-65 and Damascus: Publications de la Direction Générale des Antiquités et Musées de la République Arabe Syrienne 1975).
- IP Khaled As'ad and J.-B Yon, *Inscriptions de Palmyre - Promenades épigraphiques dans la ville antique de Palmyre* (Beyrouth–Damas–Amman 2001).
- Kaizer T. Kaizer, *The Religious Life of Palmyra*, Oriens et Occidens 4 (Stuttgart, 2002).
- L'Agora C. Delplace *et al.* (eds.) *L'Agora de Palmyre* (Bordeaux-Beyrouth 2005).
- Loc. Location.
- PAT D. R. Hillers and E. Cussini (edd.) *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts* (Baltimore, 1996).
- Palmyra *Palmyra and the Aramaeans*, ARAM Periodical Vol. 7 (Leuven, 1995).
- Prov. Provenance.
- Schuol M. Schuol, *Die Charakene, Ein Mesopotamisches Königreich in hellenistisch-parthischen Zeit*, Oriens et Occidens 1 (Stuttgart, 2000).
- Trade Routes
Trade Routes in the Near East and Cultural Interchange in the Arabian Peninsula, ARAM Periodical, Vol. 8 (Leuven, 1996).).
- Yon J.-B. Yon, *Les notables de Palmyre*, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 163 (Beirut, 2002).
- Young G.K. Young, *Rome's Eastern Trade - International commerce and imperial policy, 31 B.C. - A.D. 305* (London: Routledge 2001).

G1

Date: 19 CE/AD.

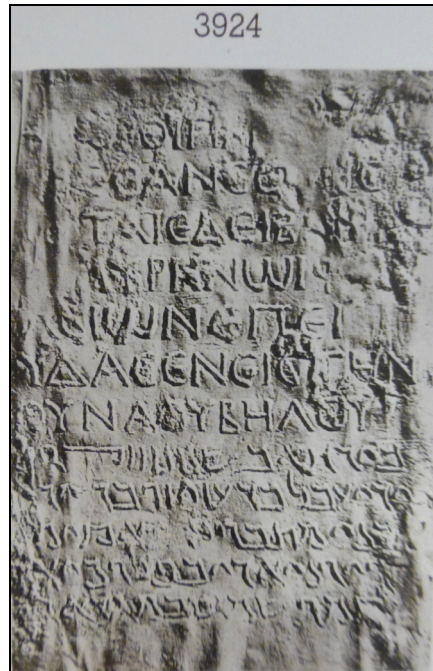
Subject: Palmyrene and Greek merchants from Seleucia honour Yedi‘ebel b. ‘Azizu, a benefactor of the temple of Bel. (G.)

Prov.: Palmyra, Temple of Bel, re-employed.

Loc.: Palmyra, A 34.

Honorific. On stone tablet.

Bibl. *CIS* 3924 and 3925, *Inv.* IX 6A and 6B; *PAT* 0270 and 0271; *School* 2 (Text A only); *FTPZ*, p. 57; *IEOG* 83; *L’Agora*, Annexe 24.



Photograph of squeeze of the inscription from *CIS II*, Tab. II.

Text A

1. [.....οἱ ἐν Σελευ-]
2. [κεία ἔμπ]ο[ρ]οι Πα[λμυρηνοὶ]
3. [καὶ Ἑλλη]ν[ες ἀνέσ]τη[σαν]
4. [τὸν ἀνδριάν]τα Ἰεδειβ[ήλω]
5. [Ἀζίζου Παλ]μυρηνῶ φ[υλῆς]
6. [Μανθαβω]λείων ἐπεὶ
7. [κατεσπο]ύδασεν εἰς τὴν
8. [κτίσιν τ]οῦ ναοῦ Βήλου.

(Greek) [...] 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 zeal]lous in the [construction of t]he Temple of Bēl.

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' dy b(s)lwk'y' [bdyl dy]
5. (q)m w(šmš bmgd' r)[b' lbt bl]

(Palmyrene) In the month of 'B (Ab) of the year 330 (August, 19 CE/AD). [This is the statue of] YDY'BL (Yedī'ebel), son of 'ZYZW ('Azīzū) son of YDY['BL] of the tribe of MTBW[L (Maṭṭabōl) which] the Tadmorenes and Greeks from SLWKY' (i.e. Seleucia) have erected (to him) because he rose and served [the House of BL (Bēl)] with a gr[eat] gift.

Text B

1. [Ἄξειζον Ἰεδειβήλου τοῦ]
2. [Βαρ](χαίου Π)αλμυρην(ὸν)
3. φυλῆς Μανθαβωλείω[ν]
4. Ἰεδε(ί)βηλος ὁ υἱὸς ἔτ[ους]
5. (ηκ)[τ',] μηνὸς Γ(οπ)ιαί[ου]

(Greek) [(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 Gorpiaiios (17 September CE/AD).

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

(Palmyrene) [In the month of) 'LWL (Elūl) of the year 328 (September, 17/CE AD). (This is the) sta[tue o]f 'ZYZW son of YDY'BL son of BRKY (Berīkī) who is from the tribe MTBWL (Maṭṭabōl) which YDY'BL his son had erected to him.



The *Cella* at the Temple of Bel at Palmyra (SL)



G2

Date: 24 CE/AD.

Subject: Merchants from the city of Babylon (“people of the Palmyrenes”) honour Maliku b. Neša Bolḥa, called Ḥšaš, a benefactor of the Bel temple. (G.)

Prov.: Palmyra, Temple of Bel, re-employed.

Loc.: Palmyra, *in situ*.

Honorific. On column console.

Bibl: *Inv.* IX 11; *PAT* 1352; *Dirven* 64-65; *Schuol* 3; *IEOG* 109; *FPTZ* p. 95; *IP* 27.



Photograph from *IP*, p. 88.

1. b[yr]ḥ knwn šnt 3.100+20 +10+5+1 šlm' dnh dy mlkw
2. br nš' br bwlḥ' dy mtqr' ḥšš dy mn bny
3. kmr' dy 'qymw lh t[gr]y' klhwn dy bmdynt
4. bbl mn dy špr lhwn bkl gns klh w'[d]r bny'n
5. dy h[y]kl' dy bl wyhb mn kysh dy l' 'bdh
6. 'nš bdy' kwt 'qymw lh šlm' dnh lyqrh

(Palmyrene) In the m[on]th KNWN (Kanūn) of the year 336 (November, 24 CE/AD); this (is a) statue of MLKW (Malikō), the son of NŠ' (Nešā), the son of BWLḤ' (Bōlḥā), who is called ḤŠŠ (Ḥšaš), of the tribe of KMR' (Komarē), which was erected for him by all the merchants in the city of Babylon, because he has done good to them in all (kinds of) ways and has helped (in) the building of the temple of BL (Bēl) and has contributed from his own purse, which nobody (else ever) did; for this reason they erected this statue for him in his honour.

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

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



G3

Date: 50/51 or 70/71 CE/AD.

Subject: Palmyrene merchants from Ispasiṅqert (Charax Spasinou) honour Zabdibol b. Obayhan. (G.)

Prov: Palmyra. **Loc.:** Palmyra Museum.

Dedicatory: *On column drum.*

Bibl.: J. Cantineau, 'Inscriptions palmyréniennes', *Revue d'Assyriologie* 27, inscr. 34, 49-50; *Déd.* 20-21; *PAT* 1584; *Schuol* 4; *IEOG* 148; *FPTZ* p. 105.

ܥܥܥܠܝ(ܟܟ)ܝܝ ܫܢܬ ܥܥܥܠܝ(ܟܟ)ܝܝ
 ܥܠܡܐ ܕܢܗ ܕܝ ܙܒܕܒܘܠ ܒܪ ܐܒܝܗܢ
 ܒܪ ܙܒܕܒܘܠ ܒܪ ܠܫܡܫ ܒܪ ܡܟܢܐ
 ܪܒܐ ܕܝ ܡܢ ܦܗܕ ܒܢܝ ܡܬܒܘܠ ܕܝ
 ܐܩܝܡܘ ܠܗ ܚܢܪܝܐ ܚܢܪܝܐ ܚܢܪܝܐ
 ܕܝ ܒܐܫܫܘܦܝܢ ܕܩܪܬ ܕܠܗܢ ܫܦܘܢ
 ܕܝ ܥܒܘ ܕܢܦܠܐ ܕܝ ܥܒܘ ܕܢܦܠܐ

Transcription of Aramaic text by Cantineau from *IEOG*, p. 89.

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 tgry' tdmry'
6. dy b'sp[s]nqrṭ klhn spwn
7. [.....b]kl šbw dnpl'
8. [.....]

(**Palmyrene**) ... in the year 362 (or 382), this statue of ZBDBWL (Zabdibōl) son of 'BYHN ('Obayhān) son of ZBDBW 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]NQRTṬ (Ispasiṅqert i.e. Charax Spasinou) - all of them in accord [..in] everything that occurs (?) [...]



Orthostat of a lion protecting an antelope outside Palmyra Museum. (SL)

G4

Date: Between 28 and 88 CE/AD.

Subject: Palmyrene merchants on their return from Karka of Maišan (= Charax)
honour NN. (G.)

Prov.: Palmyra, Agora.

Loc.: Palmyra, in situ, S 1910

Unclassified. *On console.*

Bibl: *Inv.* IX 7; *PAT* 1366; *Schuol* 6; *IEOG* 149; *FPTZ* p. 96; *L'Agora* VI.02.



Photograph from *IEOG*, p. 89.

1. [... οἱ ἀνα-]
2. βάντες ἀπὸ Σπασίνο[υ Χάρακ-]
3. ος Παλμυρηγῶν ἔμ[ποροι ...]

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

1. [... tgry]' dy tdm[wr dy slqw]
2. ['mh mn krk'] dy myšn lyq[rh]
3. [byrh ...] šnt 3.100+20+[.] [...]

(**Palmyrene**) [The merchant]s of Tadmor [who went up with him from KRK'] DY MYŠN (Karka dy Mayšān) to honour him. In the year 320 + ? (between 28 and 88 CE/AD).



G5

Date: 81 CE/AD.

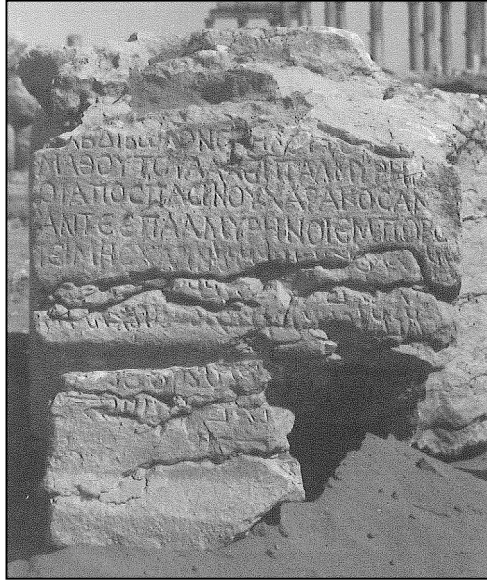
Subject: Palmyrene merchants on their return from Charax honour Zabdibol b. 'Ogeilu b. 'Aqamat A'aki. (G.)

Prov.: Palmyra, Agora.

Loc.: Palmyra, *in situ*, S 1308

Honorific. On console.

Bibl.: *Inv.* X 40 and pl. ii.1; Young (Gr. only) 140; *PAT* 1376; *Schuol* 5; *IEOG* 150 (Greek only); *FPTZ*, p. 98, *L'Agora* VI.01.



Photograph from *L'Agora*, p. 172, fig. 314.

1. [Z]αβδίβωλον Ὁ[γ]ήλου το[ῦ] Ἄμ-
2. μαθοῦ τοῦ Ἀάχει Παλμυρην[ὸν]
3. οἱ ἀπὸ Σπασίνου Χάρακος ἀν[αβ]άντες Παλμυρηνοὶ ἔμπορο[ι]
4. τειμῆς χάριν.

(Greek) 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.

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

(Palmyrene) 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 MYŠN (Karka Mayšn) have erected to honour him. In the month 'B in the year 3[9]2 (August, 81 CE/ AD).



G6

Date: 86 CE/AD

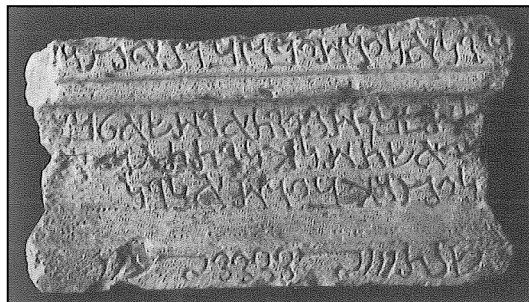
Subject: The Council honours Yarḥai b. Zabdilah, for protecting and favouring merchants. (G.)

Prov.: Palmyra, Agora (from a pit).

Loc.: Palmyra A1901.

Honorific. On console.

Bibl. *Inv.* X 127 and pl. IV 6; *PAT* 1421; *FPTZ*, p. 105; *L'Agora* VI.03.



Photographs from *L'Agora*, p. 173, figs 315 and 316.

1. [ἡ βο]υλὴ Ἴαρ[αῖον Ζαβδιλά φιλόπατρι καὶ]
2. [φιλότειμ]ον εὐνοίας καὶ σπου-
3. [δῆς ἔνεκεν ἧς ἐ]νδέδεικται πρὸς
4. [τοὺς ἐμπό]ρους, τιμῆς χάριν
5. [ἔτους ζϞτ' μην]ὸς Γορπιαί[ου].

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

1. bwl' lyrḥy br zbdl' qr[..]

2. lhšbn ḥpy<ṭ>wt' whš' ṭb[']
3. dy 'št<k>ḥ lh lwt tgry'
4. lyqrh byrh 'lwl
5. šnt 3.100+80+10+5+2

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



Remains of the Agora in Palmyra. (SL)

G7

PAT 1374 = **Inv. 10 38, AD 131**

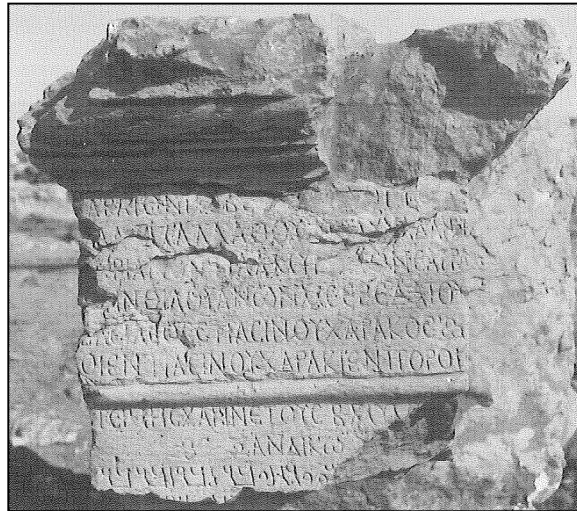
Subject: Merchants from Charax honour Yarhai b. Nebozabad b. Šalamallat, satrap of Thilouana (= Tylos, Bahrein) for the king Neherdat of Mesene. (G.)

Prov.: Palmyra, Agora.

Loc.: Palmyra, in situ, S1494.

Honorific. On column console.

Bibl.: *Inv.* X 38 and pl. III,1; *PAT* 1374; *Schuol* 9, pp. 56-57, *IP* 15, p. 60; *IEOG* 153 (Greek only); *FPTZ*, p. 97; *L'Agora* VI.04.



Photograph from *L'Agora*, p. 173, fig. 317.

1. Ἰαραῖον Νεβο[υζαβάδ]ου τοῦ
2. [Σ]αλαμαλλάθου [τοῦ] Ἀχχαδανοῦ
3. [Ἀδ]ριανὸν Παλμυρηνὸν, σατρά-
4. [π]ην Θιλουανῶν Μεερεδάτου
5. βασιλέως Σπασίνου Χάρακος
6. οἱ ἐν (Σ)πασίνου Χάρακι ἔμποροι,
7. τειμῆς χάριν, ἔτους βμ', μη[νὶ]
8. Χανδικῷ

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

{*Under Greek text*}

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

{*On right side of statue*}

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

(Palmyrene) {*Under Greek text*} (This statue) is that of YRḤY (Yarḥai) son of NBWZBD (Nebozabad) son of [...] {*On right side of statue*} to honour him. In the month of NŠN (Nišān) in the year 422 (April, 131 CE/AD).



G8

Date: 135 CE/AD/

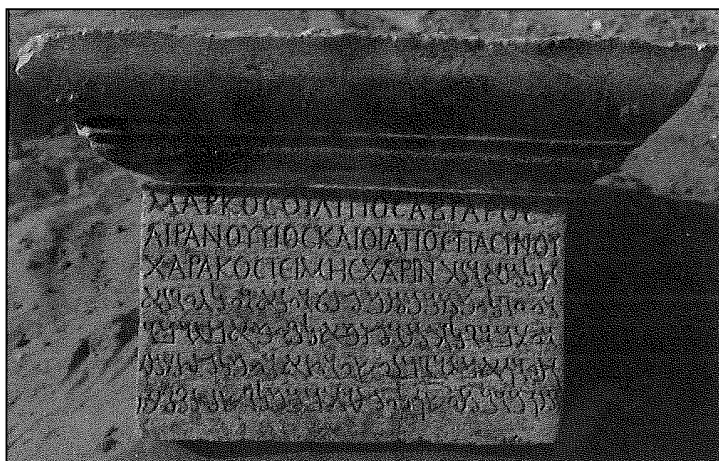
Subject: M. Ulpius Abgar b. Hairan and his caravan, upon return from Charax, honour a centurion, Julius Maximus.

Prov.: Palmyra, Agora.

Loc.: Palmyra, *in situ*, S1903.

Honorific. On wall console.

Bibl.: Seyrig, 1941, pl. XIX; *Inv.* X 81; J.F. Healey, 'Palmyra and the Arabian Gulf' in *Trade Routes* 33-37; Schulz 11; *PAT* 1397; *IEOG* 155 (Greek only); *FPTZ*, p.100; *L'Agora* IB.03.



Photograph from *L'Agora*, p. 156, fig. 283.

1. [Ἰούλιον Μάξιμον (ἐκατόνταρχον) λεγ(ιώνος) ..]
2. Μάρκος Οὔλιος Ἄβγαρος
3. Αἰράνου υἱὸς καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Σπασίνου
4. Χάρακος, τειμῆς χάριν.

(Greek) (For) Julius Maximus, centurion of the] leg[ion], Marcus Ulpius Abgar son of Hairanes and those from Spasinou Charax (made this statue) in his honour.

1. ṣlm' dnh
2. dy ywlys mksms qṭryn' dy lgywn'
3. dy 'bdw lh mrqs 'lpys 'bgr br
4. ḥyrn 'bgr wbny šyrt' dy slqt 'mh
5. mn krk myšn lyqrh bksw šnt <4.100+>40+5+2

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



G9

Date: 138 CE/AD.

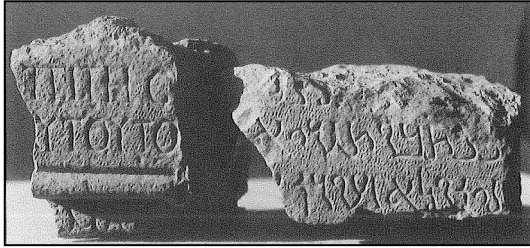
Subject: The Council honours Yarḥibola b. Lišamš A'abi for having helped the merchants in Charax, and assumed an embassy to Worod, king of Ailymene.

Prov.: Palmyra, Agora.

Loc.: Palmyra, A618.

Honorific. On console fragments.

Bibl.: *Inv.* X 114, pl. IV 8a, b, c, d; *PAT* 1414 ; *Schuol* 12; *IEOG* 224 (Greek only); *FPTZ*, pp. 102-03; *L'Agora* VI.05.



Photographs from *L'Agora*, p. 175, figs. 318-325.

1. ἡ βουλὴ Ἰαριβώλην Λισάμσο[υ τοῦ]
2. Ἀαβεῖ τὸν φιλόπατριον καὶ φ(ι)λότ[ειμον, τειμῆς]
3. χάριν, ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ προ[θύμως συνερ-]
4. γούντα ἐμπόροις τοῖς ἐ[ν Σπασίνου Χά-]
5. [ρακι] καὶ [συναρ]άμενον αὐ[τοῖς]
6. [..]ε ἀφειδήσ[α]ντα ψυχῆς κα[ὶ] χρημά-]
7. [τ]ν καὶ π[ρ]εσβεύσαντα] αὐθαιρέτως
8. [πρὸς Ὀρώδην τὸν β]ασιλέα τῆς Αἰλ[υ-]
9. [μήνης]κῶν δωρη-
10. [.....]
11. [.....]
12. [.....]
13. [.....] τῇ Αἰλυμήνῃ [...]
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 καιροὺς διὰ ψηφισμάτων παρὰ [...]
19. [.....] καὶ Βρουττίω Πραΐσεντι καὶ Ἰουλίω Μ[...]
20. [..... ὑ]πατικοῖς, ἔτους θμυ', Χανδικοῦ.

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

1. ṣlm yrḥbwł' br lšmš[.....]
2. [...]
3. [..]kktbw tgry' tdmry' [...]
4. [zb]nyn wl' z'wrn 'wdw lbwl' [...]
5. [...]t[...]
6. [...bdy]l dy
7. [...] bšwšn
8. [...] wrwd mlk
9. [.....]

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



G10

Date: 140 CE/AD.

Subject: A caravan under Malku b. ‘Azizu, on return from Charax and Vologesias, honours NN, [archon of Phor]ath near Charax. (G.)

Prov.: Palmyra, Agora.

Loc.: Palmyra, *in situ*, A1055 = A 1070.

Honorific. On console fragments.

Bibl.: *Inv.* X 112 and pl. vii.2; Young (Gr. only) 152; *PAT* 1412; *Schuel* 14, pp. 64-65; *FPTZ*, p. 101; *L’Agora* VI.6.



Photograph from *L’Agora*, p. 176, fig. 322.

1. [.....]
2. [του Ἀ]λεξάνδ[ρου, ἄρχοντα (?)]
3. [Φορ]αθών τῆς περ[ὶ Σπασίνου]
4. [Χά]ρακα· ἢ μετὰ Μάλχο[υ τοῦ]
5. [ΔΑζ]εῖζου παραγενομένη
6. ἀπ[ὸ τ]οῦ Χάρακος εἰς Πάλμυρα
7. <καὶ> Ὀλογαισιάν συνοδία, τειμῆς
8. ἔνεκεν, ἔτ[ο]υς ανυ΄,
9. μηνὸς Γορπιαίου.

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

1. [šlmʹ dnh dy ...]py[.]
2. [...br ʹlksndrs ... prt] m(?)yšn
3. [dy ʹqymw lh bny šyrtʹ]
4. [dy] slqw ʹm [mlkw br ʹzyzw] mn krk[ʹ]
5. dy(?) myšn lʹlgšy wltdmr bdyl dy
6. [špr lhn bkl] šbw klh lyqrh
7. [byrh ʹlwl šnt 4.100+] 40+10+1

Select Palmyrene Inscriptions on Commerce

(Palmyrene) [This is the statue of NN, the son of NN, the son of Alexander archon (?) of Forat in] MYŠN (Mayšān) [which was erected to him by members of the caravan, who came up with MLKW (Malkō), son of ‘ZYZW (‘Azīzū) from] KRK MYŠN (Karka Mayšān) to ’LGŠY (i.e. Vologesias) and to TDMR (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 (September, 140 CE/AD).



G11

Date: n.d. (between 89 and 188 CE/AD).

Subject: NN ... b. A'abi archon of [Maiš]an honoured for having favoured his native city and its merchants.

Prov.: Palmyra.

Loc.: Palmyra.

Dedicatory. On socle of statue.

Bibl: M. Rostovtzeff, 'Une nouvelle inscription carvannée de Palmyre', *Berytus* 2, 1935, 143-48; D. Schlumberger, 'Palmyre et la Mésène', *Syria* 38, 1961, 256; Schuol 13; *IEOG* 151.

COYAABEITONAP IAIC . NUUNAPECANTA
 ΤΗΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΙCΕΝΠΟΡΟΙCΠΛ,
 . — — — — — ΠΑΝΗΜΟΥΤΟΥ
 ΥΕΤΟΥC

Transcription of Greek text by Rostovtzeff, *ap. IEOG*, p. 90.

1. [ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος τὸν δ. του]
2. σου Ἀάβει τὸν ἀρχ[οντα] (Μαισ)ηνῶν, ἀρέσαντα
3. τῆ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ [καὶ] τοῖς ἐνπόροις Παλ[μ]-
4. υ[ρηνοῖς] τοῖς ἐν Χάρακι μηνὶ Πανήμω τοῦ
5. [..]υ' ἔτους

(Greek) The Council and People of (has erected this in honour of) [...]SOU of (the family of) Aabeis, the Archon of Maisene (= Mesene) who was pleasing to his fatherland and the Palmyrene merchants who were in Charax in the month Panemos of the year 4[.].



G12

Date: AD 142 CE/AD.

Subject: A caravan returning from Phorat and Vologesias honours its leader, Nesa b.

Hala b. Nesa b. Ḥala Raphael Abisai.

Prov.: Palmyra, Temple of Bel.

Loc.: Palmyra, *in situ*. *Honorific. On column console.*

Bibl.: CIS 3916 and Tab. VI, *Inv.* IX 14a, 23-25; PAT 0262; Schuol, 15; IEOG 91 (Greek only).

ΝΕΣΗΑΛΑΤΟΥΝΕΣ
 ΝΕΣΗΑΛΑΤΟΥΝΕΣΗΤΟΥΑΛΑΤΟΥΡΕΦΕΛΟΥ
 ΤΟΥΑΡΙΣΣΕΟΥΣΥΝΟΔΙΑΡΧΗΝΟΙΣΥΝΑΝΑΒΑΝ
 ΤΕΣΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΥΕΜΠΟΡΟΙΑΠΟΦΟΡΑΘΟΥΚΕ
 ΟΛΑΓΑΣΙΑΔΟΣΤΕΙΜΗΣΚΑΙΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΑΣ
 ΕΝΕΚΕΝΕΤΟΥΣΓΝΨΜΗΝΟΣΧΑΝΔ

Transcription of Greek text by Rostovtzeff, *ap. IEOG*, p. 58.

1. Νεσή Ἄλᾶ τοῦ Νεσή τοῦ Ἄλᾶ τοῦ Ῥεφαέλου
2. τοῦ Ἀβισσέου συνοδιάρχην οἱ συναναβάν-
3. τες μετὰ α[ὐ]τοῦ ἔμποροι ἀπὸ Φοράθου καὶ
4. Ὀλαγασιάδος τειμῆς καὶ εὐχαριστείας
5. ἔνεκεν, ἔτους γνψ', μηνὸς Χανδ[ικοῦ].

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

1. slm' dnh dy ns' br ḥl' br ns' br ḥl' br
2. rp'l br 'bsy dy 'qym lh bny šyrt' dy slq
3. 'mh mn prt wmn 'lgšy' bdyldy špr lhwn
4. wqm bršhyn w'drnwn bkl šbw klh [lyqrh]
- (lower margin)
5. byrḥ nysn [šn]t 4.100+40+10+3

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



G13

Date: 150 CE/ AD.

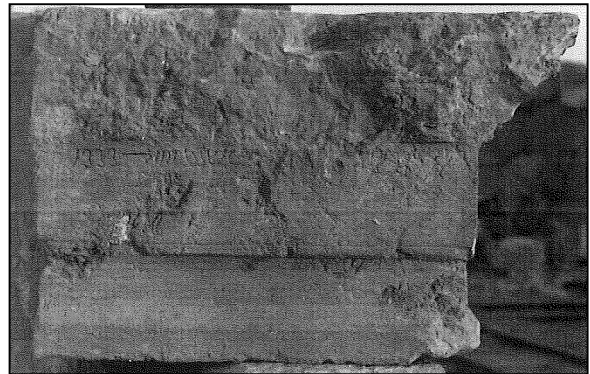
Subject: A caravan having gone to Vologesias, for the same, its leader. (G.)

Prov.: Palmyra, Agora, rampart.

Loc.: Palmyra.

Honorific. On wall console.

Bibl: *Inv.* X124 and pl. iv, 2a,b; *PAT* 1419; *Schuol* 17; *IEOG* 93 (Greek only); *L'Agora* VI.07.



Photographs from *L'Agora*, p. 177, figs. 324 and 325.

1. Νε[σή Ἀλ]ᾶ τοῦ Νεσή τοῦ Ἀλᾶ συνο[διάροχην]
2. ἡ ξ[υνκα]ταβάσα μετὰ αὐτοῦ συνο(δ)ία εἰς [Ἵλο]-
3. γασίαν, μηνὶ Περιοτίῳ τοῦ
4. ἀξυ' ἔτους, τειμῆς {β} καὶ εὐχα-
5. ριστει[δ]<α>ς ἔνεκεν.

(Greek) (Statue of) Nesēs son of Ala son of Nesēs son of Ala, the caravan which had come down with him to Vologesias (has erected this) for the sake of honour and (in) gratitude.

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

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



G14

Date: 132 CE/AD.

Subject: A caravan under Ḥagegu b. Yarḥibōlā and Taimarṣu b. Taimarṣu, having been saved by Šo‘adu b. Bolyada‘ b. Šo‘adu Taimišamš, honours him with statues in 4 sanctuaries, also for assisting citizens settled in Vologesias, caravans and merchants. (G.)

Prov.: Palmyra, Temple of Baalshamin, re-employed.

Loc.: Palmyra Museum, exc no. 134.

Honorific. *On statue console.*

Bibl.: Dunant 45, p. 56 and pls XIII.1-3; *PAT* 0197; Schuol 10, pp. 58-60; Kaizer, pp. 60-62; *IEOG* 89 (Greek only); *FPTZ*, pp. 32-33; *L’Agora*. Annexe 29.



Photographs from C. Dunant, *Le sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre III* (Rome, 1971) Pl. XIII.

1. Σόαδον Βωλιάδους τοῦ Σοάδου [εὐσεβῆ καὶ]
2. φιλόπατρην 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 Οὐλογοασιά[δι]
6. πολεῖταις, καὶ π[ά]ντοτε ἀφειδήσαντα
7. [ψ]υχῆς καὶ οὐσίας ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆ πατρίδι
8. διαφ[ε]ρόν[τ]ην καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δόγμασι
9. καὶ ψ[η]φίσ[μα]σι καὶ ἀνδριάσι δημοσίοις
10. καὶ ἐπιστολ[α]ῖς καὶ διατάγματι Ποβλικίου
11. Μαρκ[έ]λλου τοῦ διασημοτάτου κυρίου
12. ὑπατικ[οῦ] τετειμη[μένον], διασώσαντα
13. δὲ καὶ τὴν [προσφ]άτως ἀπὸ Οὐλογοασιά[δος]
14. παραγενομέν[ην] συνοδίαν ἐκ τοῦ
15. περιστάντος αὐ[τ]ῆν μεγάλου κινδύνου,
16. ἢ αὐτῆ συνοδία, [ἀρετ]ῆς καὶ μεγαλο-
17. φροσύνης [καὶ εὐσεβείας ἔνεκ]α, αὐτοῦ
18. ἀνδρ[ιάν]τας τέσσαρας ἀνέστησ[ε], ἐν[α]
19. μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἐν ἱερῷ Ἀταργάτειος
20. [ἐ]ν ἱερῷ ἄλλει, ἓνα δὲ [ἐ]ν ἱερῷ Ἄρεος
21. καὶ τὸν τέταρτον ἐν ἱερῷ Ἀταργάτειος
22. διὰ Ἀγεγού Ἰαριβωλέους καὶ Θαιμάρσου
23. τοῦ Θαιμάρσου συνοδιαρχῶν· ἔτους
24. [γ]μυ' μηνὸς Περιτίου.

(Greek) (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 (February, 132 CE/AD).

1. w []
2. b^drm[]
3. wb[]
4. wt'[]
5. mšbt bšm bwl' [wdm]s' []
6. wyqryn šgy'yn w'[p pw]blwqyws mrql[ws]
7. hgmn' 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' h[ggw b]r
14. [yrhbw]l' wtymr]šw br tymršw [byrh šbt]
15. [šnt 4]43

(Palmyrene) (Line 5ff.) ... statues in the name of the Council and (the Assembly of) the People [...] and many honours, and PWBLWQYWS MRQLWS (Publicius Marcellus), the HG MN' (i.e. *hegemon*), our Lord, in letters and by decrees testified concerning him and honoured him, because he helped the caravan that came down from 'LGŠY' (i.e. Vologesias) in every way and saved it from great peril in which it was. And they, the members of this caravan, erected these four statues to honour him: one, here, in the temple of B'LŠMN (Baalshamin) one, in the temple of 'RŠW (Aršū); one in the Garden of the Gods; and the fourth in temple of 'TR'TH (i.e. Atargatis), by the caravan leader ḤGGW (Ḥagegu) son of YRḤBWL' (Yarḥibōlā) and TYMRŠW (Taimaršu) son of TYMRŠW. In the month of ŠBT (Shebat), the year 443 (February, 132 CE/ AD) (trans. N. Ricklefs).

Select Palmyrene Inscriptions on Commerce



Sanctuary of the Temple of Baalshamin at Palmyra (SL)



G15

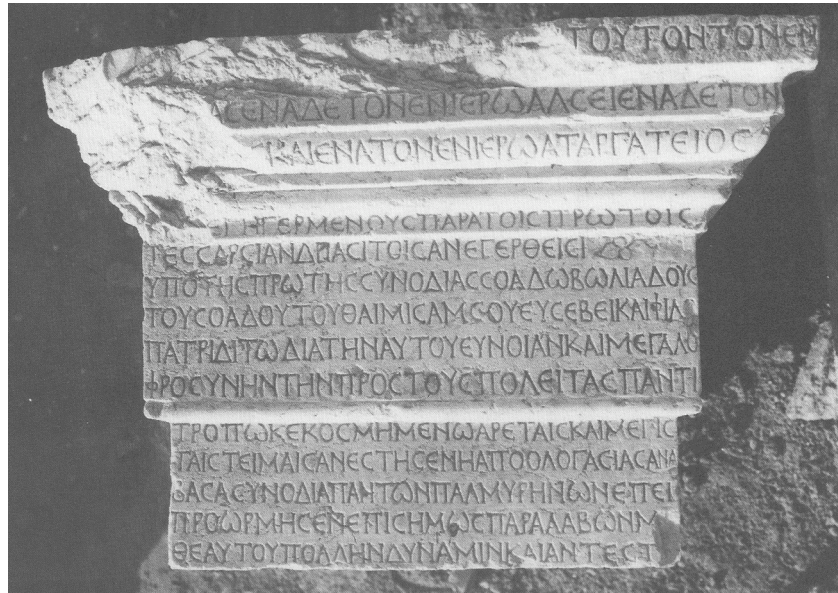
Date: 144 CE/AD.

Subject: A caravan of all the Palmyrenes back from Vologesias, having been attacked by robbers under ‘Abdallat Ahitaya, honours the same with 4 statues in 4 sanctuaries. (G.)

Prov.: Palmyra.

Loc.: Palmyra Museum

Bibl.: Drijvers, *JSS* S4, pp. 34-36; Kaizer, pp. 62-63; *FPTZ*, p. 106; *L’Agora*, Annexe 31.



Photographs from *JSS* S4.

Select Palmyrene Inscriptions on Commerce

- Front: 1. [τοὺς ἀνδριάντας τέσσαρας χαλκίνους, ἕνα] τοῦτον τὸν ἐν
 2. [ιερωῖ Ἀθην]ᾶς, ἕνα τὸν ἐν ιερωῖ ἄλσει, ἕνα δὲ τὸν
 3. [ἐν ιερωῖ Ἄρειο]ς καὶ ἕνα τὸν ιερωῖ Ἀταργάτειος
 4. [τοὺς] ἐγγεγερωμένους παρὰ τοῖς πρώτοις
 5. τέσσαρασι ἀνδριάσι τοῖς ἀνεγεροθεῖσι
 6. ὑπὸ τῆς πρώτης συνοδίας Σοάδω Βωλιάδους
 7. τοῦ Σοάδου τοῦ Θαιμισάμου εὐσεβεῖ καὶ φιλο-
 8. πατρίδι τῷ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ εὐνοίαν καὶ μεγαλο-
 9. φροσύνην τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πολεῖτας παντὶ
 10. τρόπῳ κεκοσμημένῳ ἀρεταῖς καὶ μεγίσ-
 11. ταις τειμαῖς ἀνέστησεν ἢ ἀπὸ Ὀλογοσίας ἀνα-
 12. βᾶσα συνοδία πάντων Παλμυρηνῶν ἐπεὶ
 13. προώρησεν ἐπισήμως παραλαβῶν μ[ε]-
 14. θ' ἑαυτοῦ πολλὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἀνέστ[η] Left side:
 15. [Ἀβ]δαλλάθω Ἐειθήνω καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συναχθεῖσι ἀπὸ π[(7 letters)]
 16. [δ (12 letters)] ριοῖς τοῖς ἐπὶ χρόνον ἐνεδρεύσασι ἀδικῆσαι τὴν ξ[υνοδίαν]
 17. [(10 letters)] προσδιέσωσεν αὐτούς, διὰ τοῦτο ἀνέγειραν αὐτῷ
 18. [τοὺς ἀνδριάντας (?)] τειμῆς χάριν συνοδιαρχούντων Μαλῆ Συμώνου
 19. [(12 letters) καὶ Ἐ]ννιβήλου Συμώνου τοῦ Βαζέκη ἔτους ενν' μη[ὼς] Δαισίου.

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

1. ṣlmy' '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' qdmy' dy]
3. 'qymw lh bny šyrt' qdmyt' lš'dw br blyd' br š['dw dy dhl]
4. 'lhy' wrhym mdynth dy mn tl hšh tḅ' wr'yneh rb' dy l[t ...]
5. bkl gnsh wmsbt bšbhyn wbyqryn šgy'yn dy 'qymw l[h šyrt' dy]
6. tdmr klh dy slqt mn 'lgšy' bdyl dy npq bydy'w[t' w'yty 'mh]
7. hl šgy wqm b'py 'bdlt 'hyty' wgyšy' dy knš ['m ...]
8. dy hww ytbyn zbn mhṭ' 'l šyrt' whw š'dw šw[zb 'nwn bdyl kwt]
9. 'qymw lh ṣlmy' 'ln lyqrh brbnwt šyrt' ml[' br šm'wn ...]
10. whnbl šm'wn bzq' byrh sywn šnt 4.100+5[...]

(Palmyrene) 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 (Aršū), and one in the temple of 'TR'TH (i.e. Atargatis), which are standing next to the (first) four ones, (which) the members of the first caravan erected for Š'DW (Šo'adu) son of BLYD' (Bolyadā) 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’ (Aih̄taia) and the robbers that he brought together [.....] who were sitting a (long) time to harm the caravan. But this Š‘DW (Šo‘adu) saved [them. Therefore] they erected for him these statues to honour him, when ML’ (Malā) (son) of ŠM‘WN (Šim‘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) (trans. Drijvers).



G16

Date: 145/6 CE/AD.

Subject: The Council (and perhaps a caravan) honour the same with statues in Palmyra, Charax, Vologesias and the station of Gennaê (= Umm el 'Ammed). Mention of building by him of a [temple] of imperial cult in Vologesias, and

SYRIA. 1931.

PL. XXVI



Inscription grecque.
Reproduction de l'estampage pris par M. Cantineau.

Text A:

1. Ἔτο[υς]
2. ἡ βουλὴ [καὶ] ὁ δῆμος [Σόαδ]ον Βωλιάδους
3. τοῦ Ξ[ο]άδου τοῦ Θαμισάμου, εὐσεβὴ καὶ
4. φιλόπατρην, καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις καιροῖς
5. γν[η]σίως καὶ φιλοτείμως παραστάντα τοῖς

6. ἐ[μπόρ]οις καὶ ταῖς συνοδίαις καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ὀλογοσία
7. πολεΐταις, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις [ἐπισ]τολ[ᾶ] θεοῦ
8. [Ἀ]δριανοῦ καὶ τοῦ θειοτάτου Α[ὐ]τοκράτορος
9. Ἀντωνεῖνου υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ μαρτυρηθέντα,
10. ὁμοίως καὶ διατάγματι Ποβλικίου Μαρκέλλου
11. καὶ ἐπιστολᾷ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκῆς ὑπατικῶν,
12. καὶ ψηφίσμασι καὶ ἀνδριᾶσι τειμηθέντα ὑπὸ
13. βουλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ τῶν κατὰ καιρὸν συν-
14. οδιῶν καὶ τῶν καθ' ἓνα πολειτῶν, καὶ νῦν τοῦτον
15. μόνον τῶν πώποτε πολειτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς
16. πατρίδος διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς καὶ ἐπαλ[λ]ήλους
17. εὐποίας τεσσάρων ἀνδριάντων ἐν τῷ
18. τετραδείῳ τῆς πόλεος ἐπὶ κειόνων δημοσίαις
19. ἀναλώμασι κατηχιωμένον, καὶ ἄλλων
20. ἀνδριάντων τριῶν ἐν τε Σπασίνου Χάρακι
21. [κα]ὶ ἐν Ὀλ[ο]γοσιά[δι] καὶ ἐ[ν] Γεννάη καταλύματι {συν-}
22. [ξ]νοδιῶν ὑπὸ β[ουλ]ῆς καὶ δήμου, καὶ κτίσαντα
23. [ἐ]ν Ὀλογο[σί]α ναδὸν τῶν Σε[β]αστῶν κ[α]ὶ κ[α]κ-
24. [ερώ]σαν[τα ...]

Text B:

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

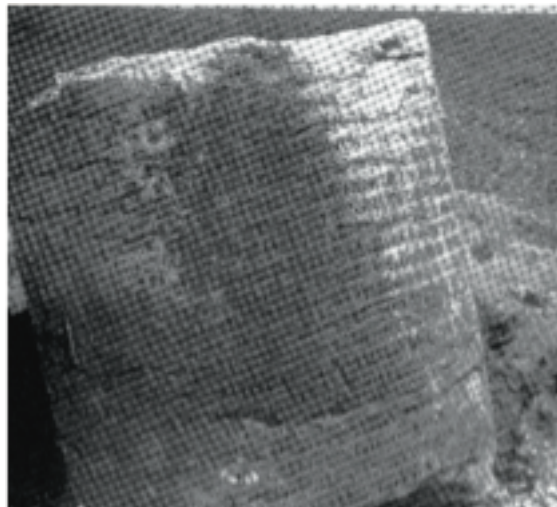
(**Greek**) In the ye[ar]. the Council [a]nd the People (honour) [Soad]os son of Boliades, son of S[o]ados son of Thaimisamsos, for his piety and love of his city, and for the n[o]bility and munificence that he has on many important occasions shown to the me[rch]ants and the caravans and the citizens at Vologesias. For these services he received testimonial letters from the divine Hadrian and from the most divine Emperor Antoninus his son, similarly in a proclamation of Publicius Marcellus and letters from him and successive consular governors. He has been honoured by decrees and statues by the council and people, by the caravans on various occasions, and by individual citizens: and now, he alone of all citizens of all time is on account of his continuous and cumulative good services honoured by his city at public expense by four statues mounted on pillars in the *tetradeion* of the city, and by decision of the council and people another three, at Spasinou Charax and at Vologesias and at the caravanserai of Gennaes. In addition, he founded and dedicated at Vologesias a temple of the Augusti [.....]and in gratitude for his loyalty and generosity in his management of [every] position of authority [.....] (trans. Matthews, pp. 166-67).

1. [byrh ...] šn[t] 4.100+40+10 +5+2
2. b[w]l' wdms [l]š'dw br [bl]yd' br š'd[w]
3. tymšmš dh[]l[hy] wrhym] mdynth wbzb[nyn]
4. šgy'n wrbrbn ... yb. [.....] nhw[ryt]
5. [...] tgry' wšy[rt]' wb[ny mdyn]th d[y]
6. [b'lgšy']
7. [.....]

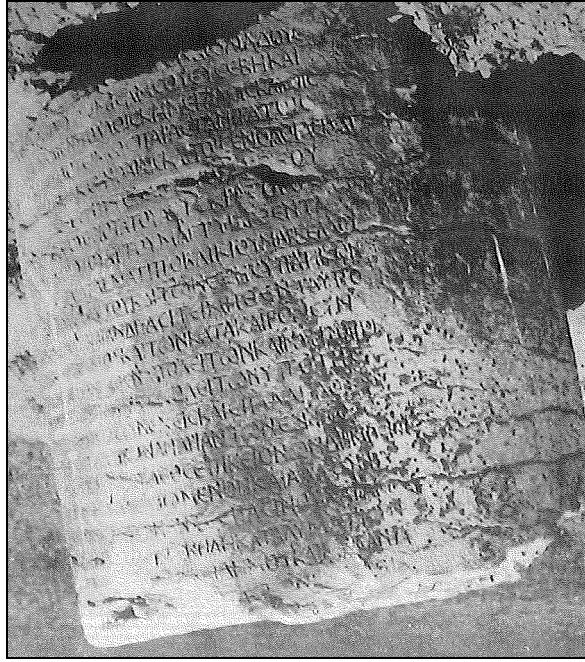
Select Palmyrene Inscriptions on Commerce

8. [.....] ... [.....]
9. whgmyn dy b'[trh
10. wbdgmyn wyqryn wš[l]myn [.....]
11. [l]šyryn [bkl šb]w klh
12. [.....]
13. [.....]
14. [.....]
15. ['h]d šlm [bkrk' dy myšn w'hd šlm]
16. b'lg[šy
17. bwl' wdms dm[h l]'qmw[...]
18. [...]. yhk [.....]
19. mn bny šyr[t'

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



Photograph from *Syria* 1931, p. 104 of the original column bearing the inscription found at Umm el-'Amad.



Inverted photograph of the same inscription from *IEOG*, p. 92, fig. 2.



G17

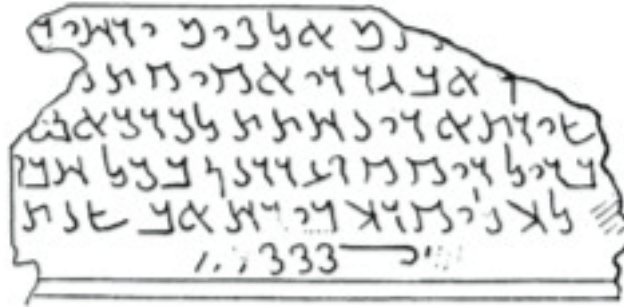
Date: 156 CE/ AD.

Prov.: Palmyra, Agora.

Loc.: Palmyra, A603.

Honorific. On column console.

Bibl.: *Inv.* X 111 and pl. VII.5; J. Cantineau, 'Tadmorea (suite)', *Syria* 19 (1938) 75; *PAT* 1411; *Schuol* 19; *IEOG* 160; *FPTZ*, p. 100; *L'Agora* VI.08.



Drawing of the inscription from *Syria* 19 (1938) 75.

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

(Palmyrene) [Statue of MR]QS 'LPYS (Marcus Ulpius) YRḤY (Yarhai) the s[on of ḤYR]N (Ḥairan), (the son of) 'BGR (Abgar), which the caravan which went down to KRK' (Karkā 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 (August, 156 CE/AD).



G18

Date: 157 AD/CE.

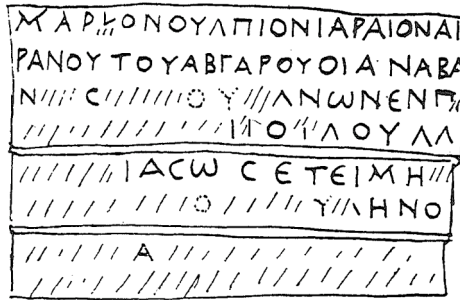
Subject: Merchants back from an expedition honour the same. (G.)

Prov.: Palmyra, Agora.

Loc.: Palmyra, *in situ*.

Honorific. On Column console.

Bibl: *CIS* 3960; *Inv X* 87 (Aram.) and 88 (Gr.); *PAT* 0306; *Schuol*, 23; *IEOG* 96; *L'Agora* VI.14.



Drawing of inscription from *Inv. X* p. 56.

1. Μάρκον Ούλπ[ιο]ν Ἰαραῖον Αἰ-
2. ράνου τοῦ Ἀβγάρου οἱ ἀναβάν-
3. [τε]ς [ἀπ]ὸ [Κ]ου[κ]άνων ἔνπ-
4. [οροὶ]
5. [.....] τείμης
6. [χάριν ἔτους ηχ]υ' [μηνὸς]
7. Δύστρου

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

1. [s̄l]m' dnh dy mrqs 'lps
2. yr̄hy br ḥyrn 'bgr dy
3. 'qymw lh ḥyrn br yr̄hy
4. br tym' wḥbyby br
5. yr̄hy br ḥyrn bny 'nwb̄t
6. r̄hmwhy wtgry' dy slq
7. 'mhwn lyqrh byrh' dr
8. šnt 4.100+60+8

(Palmyrene) [Stat]ue of MRQS 'LPYS (Marcus Ulpius) YRH̄Y (Yarḥai) son of ḤYRN (Ḥairan) 'BGR (Abgar) which ḤYRN son of YRH̄Y, son of TYM' (Taymā), and ḤBYBY (Ḥabībī), son of YRH̄Y, son of ḤYRN of the Bene 'NWB̄T (Annūbat), his friends and the merchants who came up with him made in his honour in the month of 'DR (Adar), the year 468 (March, 157 CE/ AD).



G19

Date: 157 CE/AD.

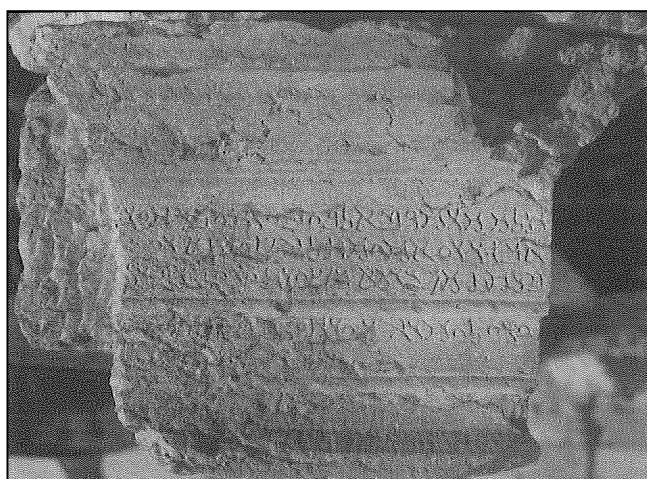
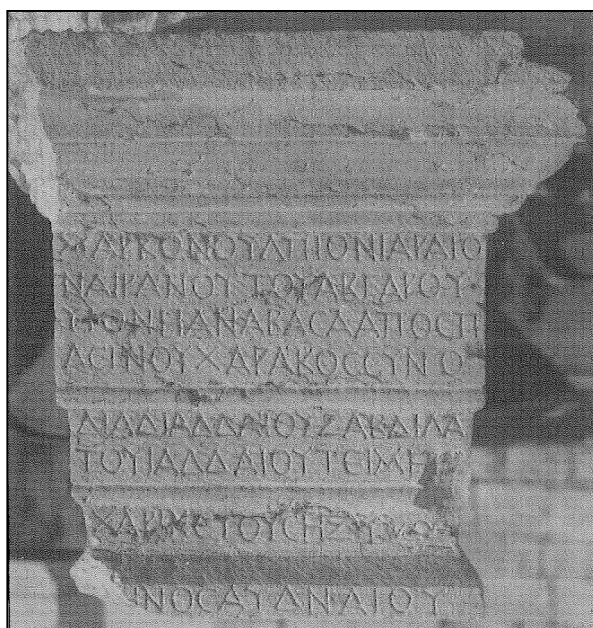
Subject: A caravan under Yarḥai Zabdilāh, back from Charax, honours the same. (G.)

Prov.: Palmyra, Agora.

Loc.: Palmyra, *in situ*, S118.

Honorific. On column console.

Bibl: *Inv.* X 90 and pl. III,7; *PAT* 1399; Schoul 20; *IEOG* 161; *L'Agora* VI.10.



Photographs from *L'Agora*, p. 179, figs. 328 and 329.

1. Μάρκον Οὔλπιον Ἰαραίο-
2. ν Αἰράνου τοῦ Ἀβγάρου
3. υῖόν, ἢ ἀναβάσα ἀπὸ Σπ-
4. ασίνου Χάρακος συνο-
5. δία, διὰ [Ἰα]δδαίου Ζαβδιλά
6. τοῦ Ἰαδδαίου, τειμῆς
7. χάριν, ἔτους ηξυ'

8. [μ]ηνὸς Αὐδ<u>ναίου.

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

1. ṣlm’ mrqws ’lpys yrḥy br ḥyrn
2. ’bgr dy ’qmt lh šyrt’ dy
3. slqt mn krk’ bšyrt ydy br zbdl[h]
4. ydy lyqrh byrḥ ṭbt šnt [468]

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



G20

Date: 157 AD/CE.

Subject: Merchants back from Scythia on the ship of Ḥonainu b. Ḥaddudan, honour the same for having helped them. (G)

Prov.: Palmyra, Agora, rampart.

Loc.: Palmyra, A 964.

Honorific. On console fragment.

Bibl: *Inv.* X 96 and pl. IV.5; *PAT* 1403; Schoul 21; *IEOG* 412; *L'Agora* VI.09.



Photograph from *L'Agora*, p. 178, fig. 326.

1. Μάρκον Οὔλπ[ιο]ν Ἰαραῖον] Αἰράν[ου]
2. τοῦ Ἀβγάρου υ[ιὸ]ν τὸν φιλόπατριν
3. [ἔ]μποροι οἱ ἀν[αχ]θέντες ἀπὸ Σκυθ[ίας]
4. [ἐν] πλύω Ὀνα[ῖν]ου Ἀδδουδανοῦ τοῦ
5. [... πάση προ]θυμία βοηθήσαντα
6. αὐτοῖς καὶ συνλαβόμενον, τείμης
7. χάριν, Δύστρω τοῦ ἡξυ' ἔτους

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

1. ṣlm' dnh dy [mrqs 'lpys yrḥy br ḥyrn 'bgr]
2. dy 'qymw l[h tgry' dy]
3. [...] ḥnynw br [ḥddn]
4. [ly]qrh by[rḥ 'dr šnt 4.100+60+8]

(Palmyrene) This statue is that of [MRQS 'LPYS (Marcus Ulpius) YRḤY (Yarḥai) the son of ḤYRN (Ḥairan) (son of) 'BGR (Abgar)] which the merchants of [.....] have made [...]ḤNYNW (Ḥonainu) son of [ḤDDN (Ḥaddudan)...] in his honour in the mo[nth of 'DR (Adar) in the year 468 (March, 157 CE/AD).



G21

Date: 159 CE/AD.

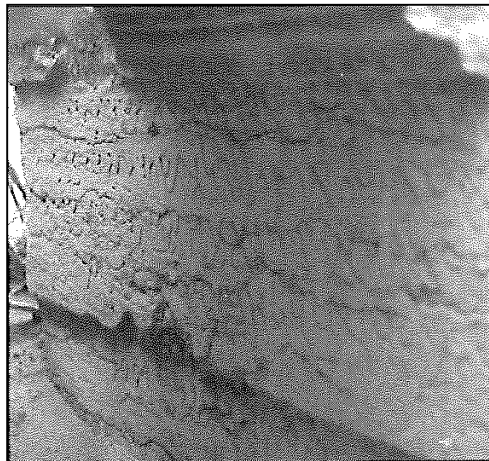
Subject: A caravan from Charax under his son Abgar, honours the same. (G.)

Prov.: Palmyra, Agora.

Loc.: Palmyra, A 621 (formerly CaD 28a).

Honorific. *On column console.*

Bibl.: *Inv. X 107* and pl. VIII.1; K. Dijkstra, *Life and Loyalty. A Study in the Socio-Religious Interaction in Roman Syria* (Brill, 1995) 155-56; *PAT 1409*; Schoultz 24; *IEOG 162*; *L'Agora VI.13*.



Photographs from *L'Agora*, p. 181, figs. 333 and 334.

1. [Μάρκον Ούλπιον Ἰαραίων] Αἰρά[ν τ]οῦ Ἀβγάρο[υ]
2. [ἡ] ἀναβάσα ἀπὸ Σπασίνου Χάρακο[ς]
3. συνοδία ἧς ἠγήσατο βγαρος υἱὸ[ς]
4. αὐτοῦ βοηθήσαντα αὐτῇ παντὶ
5. τρόπῳ τειμῆς χάριν ἔτους ου'
6. μηνὸς Ἀρτεμεισίου.

(Greek) (This is the statue of) Marcus Ulpius Iaraios son of Hairanes son of Abgaros. The members of the caravan that came up from Spasinou Charax guided by Abgaros his son, have erected (this for) him because he has assisted them in every respect, for his honour. In the month Artemesios of the year 470 (May, 159 CE/AD).

1. ṣlm mrqs 'lpys yrḥy br ḥyrn
2. 'bgr dy 'qymw lh šyrt' dy slqt
3. mn krk 'spsn' 'm 'bgr brh bdył
4. dy 'drh bkl šbw' klh lyqrh
5. byrḥ 'yr šnt 470.

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



G22

Date: 159 CE/AD.

Subject: Ḥaddudan b. Ḥaddudan Firmon honours the same, for helping him in Charax.

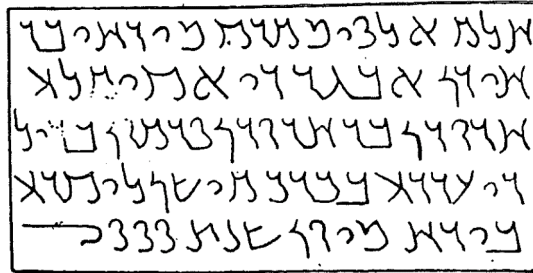
(G.)

Prov.: Palmyra. Temple of Bel.

Loc.: in situ?

Honorific.

Bibl: J. Cantineau, 'Tadmorea (suite)', *Syria* 19 (1938) 75; cf. *Inv. X 77; Déd.*, p. 32; Schoul 25.



Drawing of inscription from Cantineau, *Syria* 19 (1938) 75 (c).

1. ṣlm 'lpys mrqs yrḥy br
2. ḥyrn 'bgr dy 'qymw lh
3. ḥdwdn br ḥdwdn prmw n bdy l
4. dy 'drh bkrk myšn lyqrh
5. byrḥ sywn šnt 70

(Palmyrene) Statue of 'LPYS MRQS (Ulpius Marcus) YRḤY (Yarḥai) son of ḤYRN (Ḥairan) (son of) 'BGR (Abgar) which ḤDWDN (Ḥaddudan) son of ḤDWDN PRMWN (Firmon?) has made for him in his honour because he had helped him in KRK MYŠN (Karka Maišan), in the month of SYWN (Siwān), the year [4]70 (June, 159 CE/AD).



G23

Date: n.d. (ca. 150/60 CE/AD)

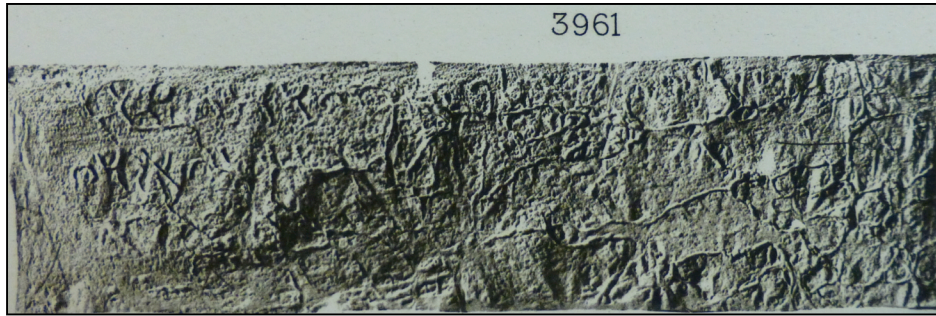
Subject: Merchants ... honour the same. (G.)

Prov.: Palmyra, Agora.

Loc.: Palmyra, *lost*.

Honorific. On wall console.

Bibl.: *CIS* 3961; *Inv.* X 89; *PAT* 0307; cf. *IEOG* 163 (ref. only); *L'Agora* VI.15.



Photograph of the squeeze of the Aramaic version from *CIS II*, Tab. XIV.

1. [š]lm m[rqs] 'lp[ys] yrḥy br
2. [ḥy]rn ['bgr dy ']bdw l[h tg]r(?)y' dy
3. [slqw 'mh mn]
4. [...]

(Palmyrene) [St]atue of M[RQS] 'LP[YS] YRH̄Y (Yarḥai) son of [ḤY]RN (Ḥairan) ['BGR (Abgar) which] the [merch]ants of [SLQW (Seleucia) [who have come up] with him from [...] have made [...]



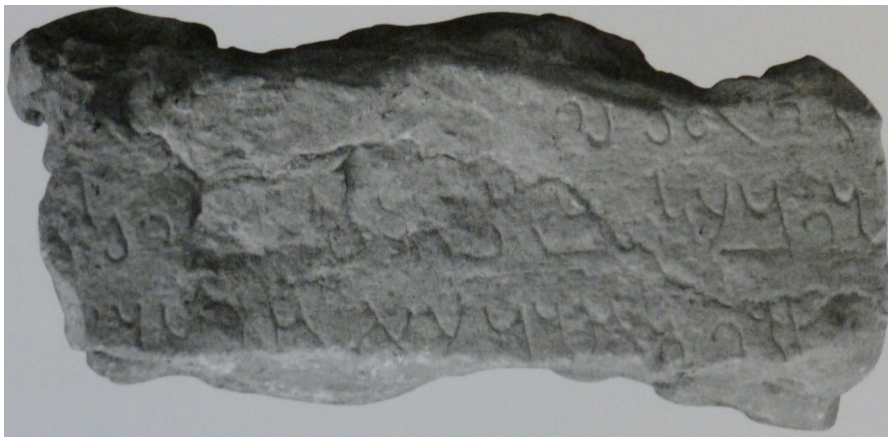
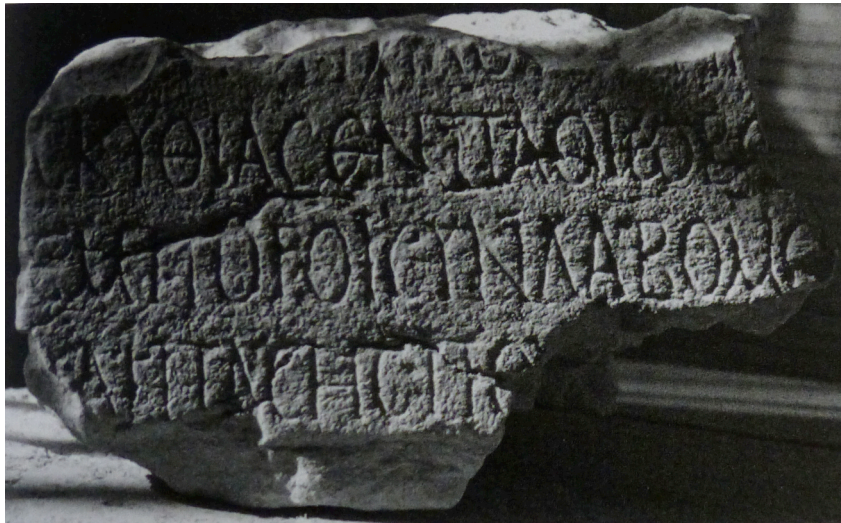
G24

Date: 157 AD/CE.

Subject: Merchants back from Scythia (= India?) on the ship of Beelaios Kyrrou honour NN. (G.)

Honorific, On statue console.

Bibl: J. Cantineau, 'Tadmorea', *Syria* 18 (1933) 187 (Tad. 10); H. Seyrig, 'Inscription relative au commerce maritime de Palmyre' in *Mélanges Franz Cumont, Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire* 4 (Paris, 1936) 397-400; *Inv. X* 95 + (?) 91; *Déd.* p. 32; cf. *PAT* 2763; *FPTZ*, p. 90; *IEOG* 413.



Photographs from *IGLS XVII.1 Inscr. no. 26*, p.41.

1. [Μάρκον Ούλπιον Ἰαραίων] Αἰράν[ου]
2. [υῖὸν τὸ]ν φιλό[πατρῖν οἱ ἀναχθέντες ἀπὸ]
3. Σκυθίας ἐν πλοίῳ Βε[ελαίου Κύρου τοῦ Ὀγήλου]
4. ἔμποροι συνλαβόμε[νον αὐτοῖς πάση προθυμίᾳ]
5. καὶ πάση σπου[δῆ] τειμῆς χάριν, Δύστρω τοῦ ἡξυ' ἔτους].

1. [šlm' dnh dy mrqws] 'lpys [yrh̄y br h̄yrn 'bgr]
2. dy 'qym[w lh tgry' dy ...w mn ... b ...']

3. dy b'ly br kwrš br ['g]yl[w bdy] dy 'drnn bkl ɥpw]
4. wšky lmr'b' mb'r' [w...' lyqrh byrḥ 'dr šnt 4.100+60+5+3]

(Greek) For [Marcus Ulpius Iaræus, the son of Hairanes, patri[ot, the merchants who [set sail from] Scythia (= India?) 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] (March, 157 CE/AD).

(Palmyrene) [This is a statue of MRQWS] 'LPYS [YRḤY (Yarḥai) the son of ḤYRN (Ḥairan) 'BGR] which [the merchants who ... from ...] erect[ed], which the masters of the Son of KWRŠ (Kōrash) the son of ['G]YL[W ('Ogēlu) (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 (March, 157 CE/AD).



G25

Date: 161 CE/AD (Gr.) or 163 CE/AD (Aram.)

Subject: Merchants back from Charax under Neša b. Bolyada' (brother of Šo'adu see above G14-G16) honour Marcus Aemilius Marcianus Asclepiades, a councillor of Antioch and tax-collector. (G.)

Prov.: Palmyra, Agora.

Loc.: Palmyra, S1737 (8/6/1/16).

Honorific. On column console.

Bibl.: H. Seyrig, 'Inscriptions grecques de lagora de Palmyre', *Syria* 22: 263 and pl. xx; *Inv.* X 29; *PAT* 1373; *Schuol* 26; *IEOG* 164; *FPTZ*, p. 96; *L'Agora* VI.16.



Photograph from *L'Agora*, p. 183, fig. 335.

1. Μάρκον Αιμίλιον Μαρκιανόν
2. Ἀσκληπιάδην, Ἀντιοχέων βου-
3. λευτήν, τεταρτώνην, οἱ ἀναβάν-
4. τες ἀπὸ Σπασίνου Χάρακος ἔμπο-
5. ροι, προηγουμένου αὐτῶν Νεσή Βωλι-
6. άδους, ἔτους βου', μηνὶ Πανήμωι.

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

(Greek) (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 Nese(s) (the son of) Boliades. In the year 472. In the month Panēmos (July, 161 CE/AD).

(**Palmyrene**) MRQS 'MLYWS MRQYNWS 'SQLPYD' (Marcus Aemilius Marcianus Asclepiades) Councillor (BLWT) of 'NṬKY' (Antioch), tax-collector. The merchants who came up from KRK' (Karkā) made this for him, and NŠ' (Neša), the son of BLYD' (Bōlyada') went up as the caravan leader over them. In the month QNYN (Kanūn) and year 474 (July, 163 CE/AD).



G26

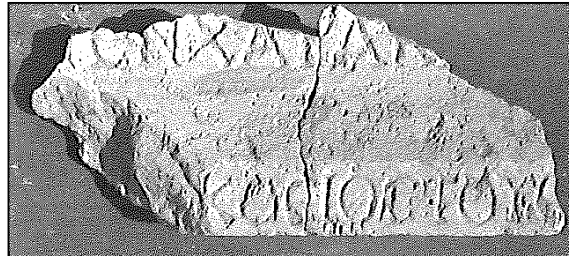
Date: n.d. (between 100 and 150 CE/AD ?)

Subject: Merchants back from Charax ... (G.)

Prov.: Palmyra.

Loc.: Agora. Now in Dépôt des Antiquités. A988 (S416). (8/6/1/147)

Bibl.: *Inv.* X 19; *IEOG* 152; *L'Agora* VI.19.



Photograph from *L'Agora*, p. 185, fig. 399.

1. [... οἱ] ἐν Χαρακ[ι ἔμποροι]

2. [...]κοσιότου ἔ[τους ...]

(Greek) [The merchants] in Charax [...] in the y[ear] ... [hundred] ...



G27

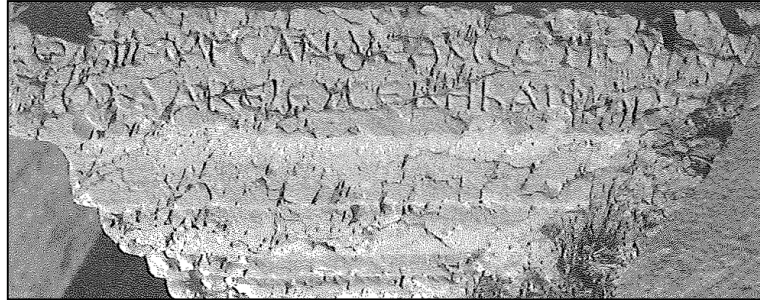
Date: n.d. (between 100 and 150 CE/AD)

Prov: Palmyra, Agora.

Loc: Palmyra, *in situ*. (8/6/1/20)

Honorific. On wall console.

Bibl: CIS 3963; *Inv.* X 47; PAT 0309; Schuol, 27; *L'Agora* VI.17, 183-84.



Photographs from *L'Agora*, p. 183, figs. 336 (top) and 337 (bottom).

1. Θαιμαρσάν Λισάμσου τοῦ Μαλί[χου]
2. τοῦ Ἀβεῖ εὐσεβῆ καὶ φιλόπατ[ιν]
3. [.....]

(Greek) (Statue of) Thaimarsas son of Lisamsos son of Mali[chos] son of Abeies, pious and patriotic [...]

1. [š]lm tymršw br lšmš br mlkw 'by dy
2. [ʿqym]w lh bny šyrt' dy [slq]w [ʿ]mh
3. [... b]dyldy špr lhwn w'dr[nwn bkl]
4. [šbw klh by]rḥ nysn šnt 4[.100+..].

(Palmyrene) (This is the) [s]tatue of TYMRŠW (Taimaršu) son of LŠMŠ (Lišamš) son of MLKW (Malkō) 'BY (A'bi) which the members of the caravan who travelled with him made in his honour because he was pleasing to them and was helpful in every way; in the month NYSN (Nisān), the year 4[..].



G28

Date: 193 CE/AD.

Subject: A caravan back from Charax honours its leader Taimaršu b. Taime b. Moqimu Garba and his sons Yaddai and Zabdibol, for having spared it an expense of 300 gold denarii.

Prov.: Palmyra, Great Colonnade.

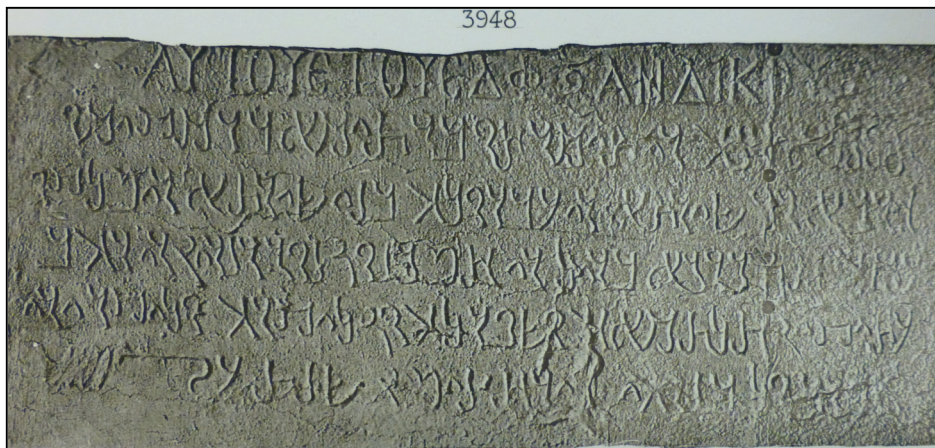
Loc.: Palmyra, *in situ*. (8/6/1/138)

Honorific. *On column.*

Bibl: Cooke 115; *CIS* 3948; *Inv.* III 28; *PAT* 0294; *Schuol* 28; *IEOG* 165; *FPTZ*, p. 72; *L'Agora*, Annexe 35.

ΤΟΝ ΑΝΔΡ[] ΝΕΣΤΗCΑΝΘΑΙ
 CΑΘΑΙΜΗΤΟΙ[] ΟΥΤΟΥ[] ΑΝ[]
 ΟΔΙΑΡΧΗΟΙCΥΝ[] ΑΝΑΒΑΝΤΕ[]
 CΠΑCΙΝΟΥΧΑΡ[]
 ΤΙΑΥΤΟΥCΧΡΥCΑΠΑΛΑΙΑΔΗΝΑΙΡ[]
 ΤΡΙΑΚΟCΙΑΑΙ[] ΑΤΩ[]
 CΑΝΤΙΑΥΤΟΙCΕΙCΤΕΙΜΗΝΑΙ[]
 ΚΑΙΙΑΔΔΑΙΟΥΚΑΙΖΑΒΔΙΒΩΛΟΥΥΙΩΝ
 ΑΥΤΟΥΕΤΟΥCΔΦΞΑΝΔΙΚΟΥ

Reproduction of the transcription of the Greek version by Sterrett from *IEOG*, p. 96.



Photograph of the squeeze of the Aramaic version from *CIS II*, Tab. XII.

1. Τὸν ἀνδρ[ιάντα] ἀνέστησαν [Θαι]μαρ-
2. σῶ Θαιμῆ τοῦ [Μ]κίμου τοῦ Γαρ[β]ᾶ ξ[υν]-
3. οδιάρχῃ, οἱ ξ;ν [αὐτῶ] ἀ[ναβάντε]ς ἀπὸ
4. Σπασίνου Χάρ[ακος] κουφίσαν]-
5. τι αὐτοῖς χρυσᾶ παλαιὰ δηνάρι[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' Χανδικοῦ.

(Greek) 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 (Apri, AD 193).

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

(Palmyrene) This is the statue of TYMRṢW (Taimarṣū) 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' (Karkā), 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 ZBDBWL (Zabdibōl), in the month of NYSN (Nisān) of the year 504 (April, 193 CE/AD).



G29

Date: 199 CE/AD.

Subject: The Council orders the four tribes to honour with 4 statues ‘Ogeilu b. ‘Ogeilu b. Maqqai b. ‘Ogeilu Šewira, several times strategos against the nomads, having assured security of merchants and of many caravans under his leadership. (G.)

Prov: Palmyra, outside Agora.

Honorific. *On wall console.*

Loc: Palmyra, *in situ*, S1861.

Bibl: *Inv.* X 44, Young (Gr. only), pp. 161-62, *PAT* 1378; Kaizer, pp. 47-8; Schuol 30; *IP* 16; *L’Agora* VI.18.



Photograph from *IP*, p. 62.

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. συνοδιαρχίαις καὶ πολλὰ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἐκ ἰδίων ἀναλώσαντα καὶ πᾶ-
7. σαν πολειτίαν λαμπρῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως ἐκτε[λέσαντα], τειμῆς χάριν, ἔτους ιϛϛ’.

(Greek) By the decree of the Council and the People, the four tribes (have erected these images) of Ogelos, (the son) of Makkaïos, (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 all his 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 (January, 199 CE/AD).

1. btwhyt bwl’ wdms
2. šlmy’ ’ln ’rb’tyhwn dy ‘gylw br mqy ‘gylw
3. šwyr’ dy ‘bd lh ‘rb’ pḥzy’ lyqrh bdyd dy špr
4. lhwn b’strṭgwn šgy’n wbsryḥyn
5. wšyryn dy slq bhñ ‘qly dy ’pq mn kysh
6. nḥqn rbrbn wsy’ tgry’ bkl šbw klh
7. w’bd plty’ šbyḥyt wnhwryt byrh
8. ṭbt šnt 5.100+10

(Palmyrene) By the decree of the Council and the People. These four statues are those of ‘GYLW (‘Ogēlu), son of MQY (Maqqai), (son of) ‘GYLW (son of) ŠWYR’ (Šewira). The four tribes have made them for them, in his honour, because he benefited them with many campaigns and enterprises (?) ŠRYḤYN(?) and 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 ṬBT in the year 510 (January, 199 CE/ AD).



G30

Date: 211 CE/AD.

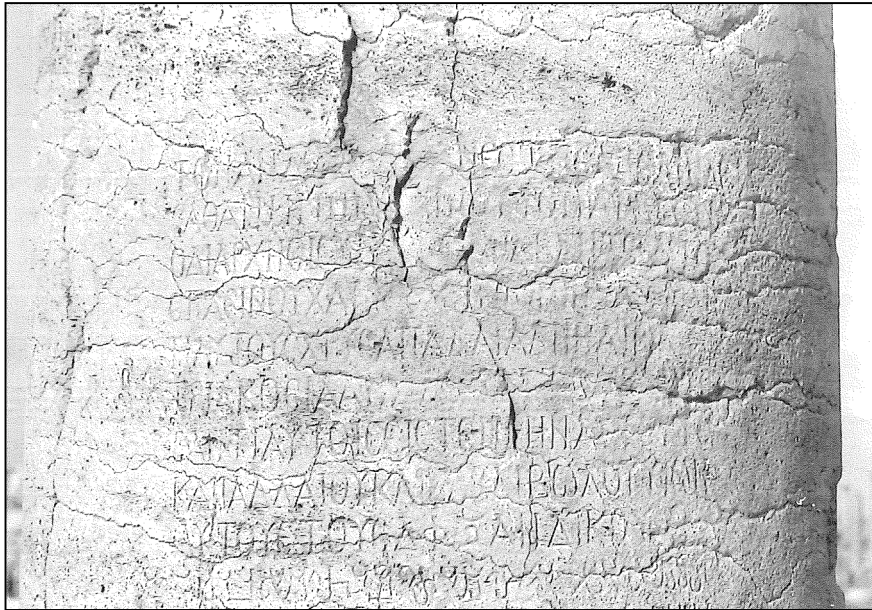
Subject: Honouring Yaddai b. Taimaršu b. Taime Moqimu Garba (cf. *supra* G28),
having helped the merchants in Vologesias. (G.)

Prov.: Palmyra. Great Colonnade.

Loc: Palmyra, *in situ*. (8/6/1/139)

Honorific. On console.

Bibl.: CIS 3949; *Inv.* III 29; PAT 0295; Schuol 31; IEOG 94; FPTZ, p. 73; L'Agora, Annexe 36.



Photograph from J.-B. Yon, *Les Notables de Palmyre* (Beyrouth, 2002) p. 360, fig. 28.

1. Ἰαδδαιον Θαιμα[ρσά τοῦ Θαιμή τοῦ]
2. Μοκίμου τοῦ Γα[ρβᾶ συνοδιάρχην]
3. τῶν ἐμπόρων κα[ὶ; ἀρέσαντα]
4. αὐτοῖς πανταχοῦ [...]
5. καὶ Οὐολογαισιά[δος ...]
6. αὐτοὺς κουφίσ[αντα ἢ σὺν αὐτῶ]
7. κατελθοῦσα συν[οδία τειμῆς]
8. χάριν, ἔτους βκ[φ', μηνεὶ Δύστρω.]

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

1. šlm' [.....] dy 'qym lh
3. [.....] w'lgšy' wmwdn
4. [.....]nyn šgy'n

5. [...] wḅkl 'tr klh
6. [...]hwn w'rḏz[...] bz'y^d_r bkl
7. 'nwkl' [.....]wl' '[t]r kl'
8. [...] byrḥ 'dr
9. šnt 5.100+20+2

(Palmyrene, very fragmentary) [Statue of TYMRṢW (Taimarṣū) son of TYM' (Taimē) son of MQYMW (Moqymō) (son of) [...] which (the caravan) from 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 (March, 211 CE/AD).



G31

Date: 247 CE/AD.

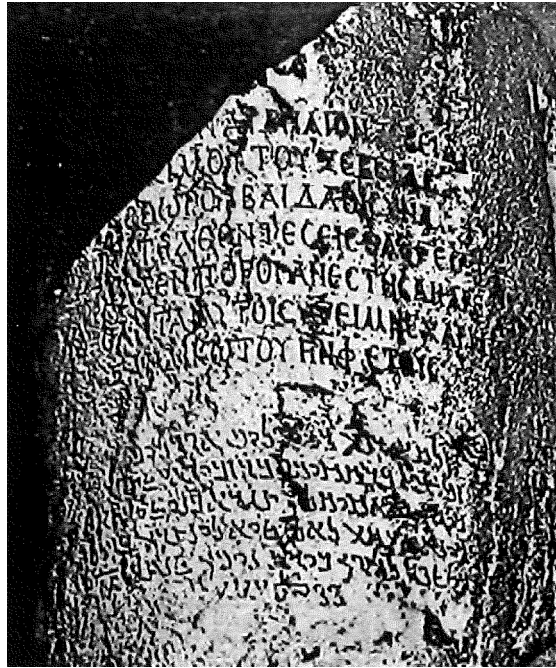
Subject: Merchants having gone to Vologesias, for their leader Juius Aurelis Zebida b. Moqimu Zebida 'Astor Baida.

Prov: Palmyra, Great Colonnade.

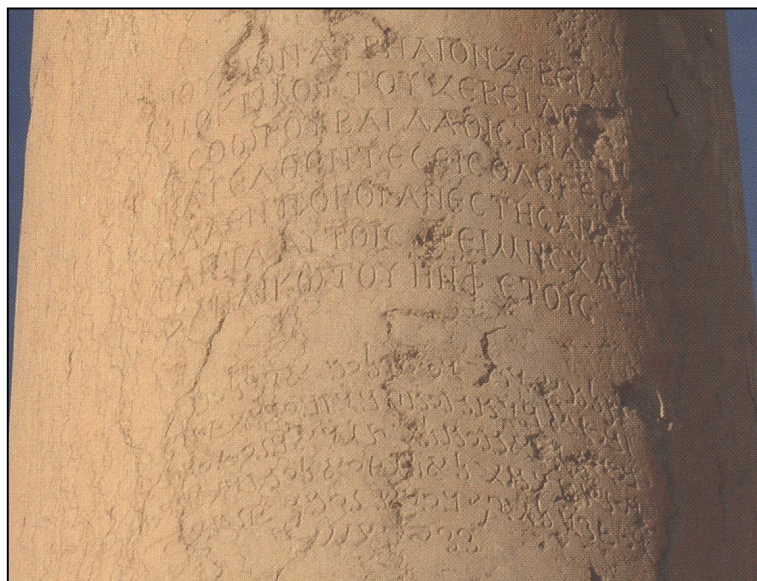
Loc: Palmyra, *in situ*. (8/6/1/139)

Honorific. *On column.*

Bibl: Cooke 113; CIS 3933; *Inv.* III 21; *PAT* 0279; *Schuol* 32; *IEOG* 95; *FPTZ*, p. 63; *L'Agora*, Annexe 37.



Photograph from *IEOG*, p. 61.



Photograph of restored version from *FPTZ*, pl. 2. (Peter Edwell).

1. Ἰούλιον Αὐρήλιον Ζεβείδαν
2. Μοκίμου τοῦ Ζεβείδου
3. Ἀσθώρου Βαιδᾶ οἱ ν αὐτῶ'
4. κατελθόντες εἰς Ὀλογεσι-
5. ἄδα ἔνποροι ἀνέστησαν ἀρ-
6. ἔσαντα αὐτοῖς, τειμῆς χάριν·
7. Χανδικῶ τοῦ ηνφ' ἔτους.

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

1. ṣlm' dnh dy ywlys 'wrllys
2. zbyd' br mqymw br zbyd' 'štwr
3. byd' dy 'qym lh tgr' bny šyrt'
4. dy nht 'mh l'lgšy' lyqrh bdył
5. dy špr lhwn byrh nysn šnt
5.100
6. +40+10+5+3

(Palmyrene) This statue is (of) YWLYS 'WRLYS (Julius Aurelius) ZBYD' son of MQYMW (Moqymō) 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).



G32

Date: 257/258 CE/AD.

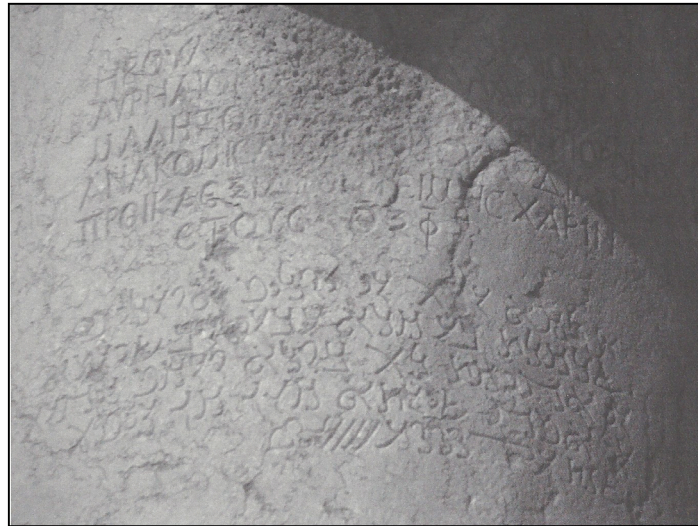
Subject: The Council hours Julius Aurelius Šallamat b. Male ‘Abdai, caravan leader (*archemporos*), having brought back a caravan at this own expense. (G.)

Prov: Palmyra, Great Colonnade.

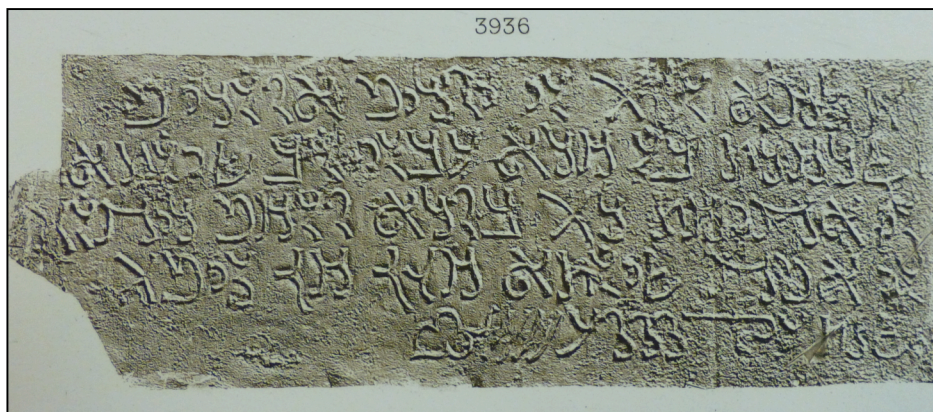
Loc: Palmyra, *in situ*. (8/6/1/125)

Honorific. *On column.*

Bibl: Cooke 116; *CIS* 3936; *Inv.* III 13; Young, p. 155 (Gr. only); *PAT* 0282; Schuol 33; *L’Agora*, Annexe 38.



Photograph of the Greek and Aramaic versions of the inscriptions from *IGLS* XVII,i, p. 90.



Photograph of the squeeze of the Aramaic version from *CIS II*, Tab. X.

1. Ἡ βουλ[ῆ] καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἰούλιον
2. Αὐρήλιο[ν Σαλαμάλ]λαθον
3. Μαλή τοῦ [Ἀβδαίου ἀ]ρχέμπορον
4. ἀνακομίσα[ντα τὴν] συνοδίαν
5. προίκα ἐκ ἰδίων τειμῆς χάριν
6. ἔτους θξϛ'

(Greek) 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 (AD 257).

1. šlm' dnh dy ywlyš 'wrylyš
2. šlmlt br ml' 'bdy rb šyrt'
3. dy 'qymt lh bwl' wdms lyqrh
4. dy 'sq šyrt' mgn mn kysh
5. šnt 5.100+60+5+4 □

(Palmyrene) 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 led up a caravan, at his own expense, in the year 566 {Leaf} (AD 257).



G33

Date: n.d. (beginning of 3rd C. AD).

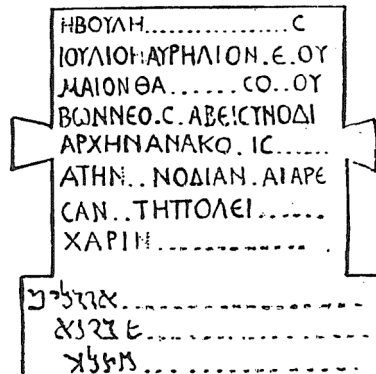
Subject: The Council honours Julius Aurelius Nebomai b. Taimišamš b. Bonne Šabi, caravan leader, having brought a caravan back. (G.)

Prov.: Palmyra, Temple of Bel, reemployed.

Loc.: Palmyra, A222 (8/6/1/314)

Honorific. On column drum.

Bibl.: *Inv.* IX 30; *PAT* 1360; *L'Agora*, Annexe 39.



Drawing of inscription from *Inv.* IX, p. 42.

1. Ἡ βουλή [καὶ ὁ δῆμος]
2. Ἰούλιον Αὐρήλιον [Ν]ε[β]ού-
3. μαιον Θαι[μισάμ]σο[υ τ]οῦ
4. Βωννέο[υ]ς [Σ]αβεῖ συνοδι-
5. ἀρχην ἀνακο[μ]ί[σαντ]-
6. α τὴν [συ]νοδίαν [κ]αὶ ἀρέ-
7. σαν[τα] τῇ πόλει [τειμῆς]
8. χάριν [ἔτους]

(Greek) The Senate [and the People] (has erected this statue for) Julius Aurelius [N]e[b]oumaios Thai[misam]s[ou], son of Bonneos [S]abeis, chief of the caravan, who has provisioned the caravan and has been pleasing to the city, for the sake of honour; the year [...]

1. [šlm' dnh dy ywlyš] 'wrlyš
2. [nbwmy br tymšm]š bwn'
3. [šby ... dy 'qym]t lh

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



G34

Date: 267 CE/AD.

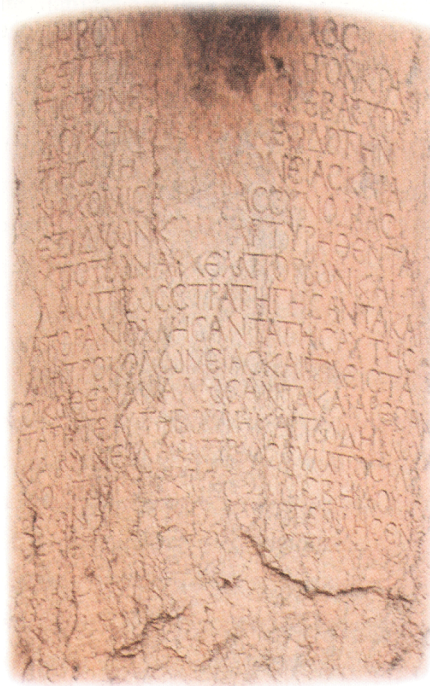
Subject: The Council honours Septimius Worod, procurator and *argapet*, having brought back caravans at his own expense and being given testimony by caravan leaders.

Prov.: Palmyra, Great Colonnade.

Loc.: Palmyra, *in situ*. (8/6/1/119)

Honorific. On column.

Bibl: *CIS* 3942; *Inv.* III 7; Young, p. 59; *PAT* 0288; *Schuol* 34; *IP* 17; *FPTZ*, p. 68; *L'Agora*, Annexe 253.



Photograph from *IP*, p. 64.

1. Ἡ βου[λὴ καὶ ὁ δῆ]μος
2. Σεπτίμ[ιον Οὐρώδη]ν τὸν κρά-
3. τιστον ἐ[πίτροπον] Σεβαστοῦ
4. δουκηνά[ριον, δι]κεοδότην
5. τῆς μητρ[οκολω]νείας, καὶ ἀ-
6. νακομίσαν[τα τ]ὰς συνοδίας
7. ἐξ ἰδίων, καὶ μαρτυρηθέντα
8. ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχεμπόρων
9. καὶ λαμπρῶς στρατηγήσαντα
10. καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντα τῆς αὐτῆς
11. μητροκολωνείας, καὶ πλείστα
12. οἴκοθεν ἀναλώσαντα, καὶ ἀρέσαν-
13. τα τῇ τε αὐτῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
14. καὶ νυνεὶ λαμπρῶς συμποσίαρ-
15. χον τῶν το[ῦ θεοῦ] Διὸς Βήλου ἱε-
16. ρέων, ἀ[γνείας καὶ] τειμῆς ἐνε-
17. κεν, ἔτ[ους ζοφ' μη]νεὶ Χανδικῶ

Select Palmyrene Inscriptions on Commerce

(Greek) The Council and the People have erected this statue to Septimius Vorōdēs, the eminent imperial procurator ducenarius, administrator of justice of the metrocolonia (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 metrocolonia; 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 (April, 266 CE/AD).

1. [...] qrtṣṣ
2. [...dw]qn[r' ...]
3. [...]s[...]
4. [...]w[...w]dy[...]

(Palmyrene) {*Almost completely destroyed.*} [SPTMYWS WRWD (I.e. Septimius Vorōd) most excellent [procurator du]cena[rius] ...

