II. TRIBES, CLANS AND FAMILIES
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The problem of the social structure at Palmyra has already been met by many authors who have focused their interest mainly to the study of the tribal organisation. In dealing with this subject, it comes natural to attempt a distinction amongst the so-called tribes or family groups, for they are so well and widely attested. On the other hand, as shall be seen, it is not easy to define exactly what a tribe or a clan meant in terms of structure and size and which are the limits to take into account in trying to distinguish them.

At the heart of Palmyrene social organisation we find not only individuals or families but tribes or groups of families, in any case groups linked by a common (true or presumed) ancestry. The Palmyrene language expresses the main gentilic grouping with *phd*, for which the Greek corresponding word is ϕυλή in the bilingual texts. The most common Palmyrene formula is: *dy ma phd bay x...* 'who is from the tribe of', where sometimes the word *phd* is omitted. Usually, the term *bny* introduces the name of a tribe that either refers to a common ancestor or represents a guild as the Benê Komarê, lit. 'the sons of the priest' and the Benê Zimrâ, 'the sons of the cantors', according to a well-established Semitic tradition of attaching the guilds' names to an ancestor, so that we have the corporations of pastoral nomads, musicians, smiths, etc. Only the tribes

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2 The term is of Arabic origin *šabī*, see Canteneau, *Grammaire*, p. 101 and 150 and *DNWSI* 905-906.

3 We find a similar example in the sacerdotal tribe of Levi, where the term *lēva* came to signify 'priest' (lit. 'the one who is allowed into the sacred precinct'), see R. de Vaux, "Lévites minéens et Lévites israélites", in *Lex tua Veritas*, Trier, 1961, p. 265-273; see also Haran, *Temples*, p. 58-131.

4 See Gn. 4,20-21 and Philon of Byblos (Eus., *P.E. 1* 10, 11) that attributes an ancestor to the fishermen and the hunters (Halieus and AGREUS). For the phoenico-punic world see, M. Szncyer, "Les noms de métier et de fonction" in *Chypre. La vie quotidienne de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, Paris 1985, p. 79-86.
introduced by the word *phd* or *phˈuː*n* should safely be considered as such; they are now counted to the number of fourteen.  

The whole group of Palmyrene tribes constituted 'the Assembly of the whole Palmyrenes', the base of the political organisation in the 1st c. AD. The executive officials of the municipality, the *'rkwn* - *āpθw*n* were chosen amongst the aristocratic members of the tribes. Among the tribes we find very old and more recent ones. In the 2nd c. AD, a reduction in number of the tribes possibly occurred; only four tribes began to be attested, as consequence of the administrative reform in Roman times, each of which was attached to its own sanctuary. A bilingual inscription from the temple of Baalshamīn dated as early as 132 AD speaks of four sanctuaries, which very likely means that, at the time, the four tribes already represented the entire city. The four tribes, whose names are not given in the inscriptions, are first attested in 171 AD. An implicit mention of the four tribes is already found in a text of the first half of the 2nd c. AD where four statues were erected in the Agora in honour of Soadō. They are, it would seem, an artificial social creation, the result of the desire to put some order in the municipal government, previously represented by a larger number of tribes that were difficult to organize or to keep together. On the other hand, it is impossible to imagine that all the others disappeared: most likely the tribes were reorganized, from a social and religious point of view, under the four main groups. The designation of the tribe becomes rare in the first half of the 2nd c. AD and disappears completely in the 3rd c. AD. Nonetheless we still find the Komarē tribe attested in 182 and 198 AD, the Zabdiḇōl tribe

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5 Due to M. Gawlikowski, *Palmyre VI*, p. 31–41 and Milik, p. 16–40, the number of the nearly fifty tribes previously recognized has been drastically reduced.


7 BS 34. See also *Palmyre*, p. 41 and M. Gawlikowski, *Palmyre VI*, p. 43.


9 *Tadmorea II*, 20: *'rb *'phd* - ai τέσσαρες φιλαί. Regarding the names of the tribes we know from the inscriptions that the Benē Ma'āzaẓyān had under their care the temple of Baalshamīn, the Benē Komarē had the temple of Aglibōl and Malakbel whilst the Benē Mattabol were attached to the cult of Arṣū.


11 This opinion already expressed by Milik, p. 30 and M. Gawlikowski, *Palmyre VI*, p. 47 finds an opposition in J. Teixidor, *Pantheon*, p. 36 who thinks that the sanctuaries represented an institution in the Palmyrene life that could not be artificially created.
in 179 AD and the Mattabôl tribe in 159 AD. The Ḥāṭrai tribe is last mentioned in 128 AD and the ‘Attar tribe in 179 AD.

THE PALMYRENE TRIBES

THE GADDIBÔL TRIBE, bny gdbwl - oî ἀδήσειβώλλοι
This tribe must be an autochthonous one, since the theophorous element is represented by the local deity Bôl. A certain Zabdibôl son of Ba‘aihû built the temple of Bel and Yarḥ iböl in the year 32 BC, at Dura-Europos. Another offered an altar to Elqonera‘ - Poseidon in 39 AD. A woman, Ba‘altagâ daughter of Belsûrî married to Bonnê, a member of the Sa‘at family of the Benê Mitâ (see below no.17), is attested in a foundation text and she is said to belong to this tribe. In the sanctuary of Bel, the Benê Gaddibêl erected a statue in 108 AD to a certain Aqqaih who contributed to the erection of cultual buildings at Palmyra and Vologaësias.

- 32 BC, ID, 1: dy mn bny gdbwl.
- 108 AD, CIS 3917=Inv IX, 15: bny gdbwl - oî ἀδήσειβώλλοι.

THE ZABÛD TRIBE, bny zbwd
The name of the tribe is an anthroponym of Aramaic origin with the meaning of ‘bestowed’. The tribe is only attested once with certainty. The family ‘Atehzâ of the Benê Zabûd is an old family, going back to approx. 120 BC.

- 24 AD, Inv IX, 7: [dy] mn bny zbwd.
- 51 AD, CIS 3923=Inv IX, 8: dy mn bny zb[wd] or zb[dbwl].

THE ZIMRÅ TRIBE, bny zmrt

12 Bôl is only attested at Palmyra and he is more ancient compared to Bel that must have reached the oasis in a relatively more recent times. But it is worth noting that the ancestor of the most ancient Palmyrene family (150 BC ca.) bears the name Yeḏphel.
13 Cf. WSB 128 and PIAP 111.
14 M. Gawlikowski, Palmyre VI, p. 35 derives the name from the root dur‘ ‘to guard’ whilst Milik, p. 55 proposes zammarê ‘cantors and musicians’.

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This is another tribe that takes its name after a profession. Two members of this tribe made an offering of a *hammanā*\(^\text{15}\) to Sadrafā and Du‘anat. The family of these two generous people is known as Abbanīt, attested as early as 100 BC. In fact here the gentilic ‘Palmyrene’ is attested twice, a fact that confirms the antiquity of the family and probably of the tribe as well. The most recent attestation of this family is in 83 AD, with the foundation of the tower tomb no.51 of Yamlikû in the Valley of Tombs.


**THE HĀTRAI TRIBE, bny ḫtry**

The name Hātrai is attested many times as personal name. It must be here the gentilic ‘the one from Hatra’, ‘the Hatraean’, as the final yod clearly shows, which has become a personal name. This is very likely a foreign tribe at Palmyra and its meaning is ‘the sons of the Hatraean’.


**THE KOHENNABŪ TRIBE, bny khnbw**

According to its etymology the Benê Kohennabū do not represent a personal name but the name of a sacerdotal office ‘the tribe of the priest of Nabû’\(^\text{16}\). The cult of ‘Aglibōl and Malakbel is under their care as the inscriptions show it. The priests of Bel erected a statue to Garīmai son of Nabûzabad, member of this tribe.

- 44 BC, *Inv* XI, 100: dy mn ḫdh bny khnbw.
- 50 AD ca., *Inv* XI, 83=Milik, p. 31: bny khnbw.

**THE KOMARĒ TRIBE, bny kmr**

The Benê Komarē ‘the tribe of priests’ has two transcriptions in Greek. One is the correspondent *Χωμαρῆς* from *kmr* and the other is *Χωμητῶν* that has the same

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\(^{16}\) Assuming that the name is formed by the word *khn* ‘priest’ together with the theonym Nabû, the vocalisation of the first element is based on the Greek translation Kōne(t)tôn, for which see the next entry. Milik, p. 31 and 41 prefers to explain it as ‘priests of Bêl’, with an apheresis of the last consonant. Cf. M. Gawlikowski, *Palmyre VI*, p. 36; Eodem, *Syria* 51 (1974) 94 and E. Lipinski, *FO* 24 (1987) 139. J. Starcky in *Studi Levi Della Vida*, 1956, p. 515 explains the presence of RHNBW as an Arabic influence and he vocalizes it Kahinnabû.
meaning of 'priest' but it is derived from the synonymous *khn* 17. One member of this tribe erected buildings to Ḫertā and other deities and another offered a temple to Bel and Yarḥ ibōl at Dura Europos. Furthermore, in a number of inscriptions the Benē Komarē made offerings together with 'Aglibōl and Malakbel and must have been a sort of administrators of the sanctuary of the two gods. Four important families belong to the Benē Komarē: Sakaibel (mid-1st c. BC to mid-2nd c. AD), Ḥaṣaš (beginning of the 1st BC to mid-1st AD), Aggodom (mid-1st c. BC to the 2nd c. AD) and Aida‘an (mid-1st c. BC to 2nd c. AD). A priest of the Sakaibel family was honoured with a statue for building the temple of the gods Bel, Yarḥ ibōl and 'Aglibōl and its sanctuaries in 32 AD. Malkū of the Ḥaṣaš family received honours from the tradesmen of Babylon because of his contribution, in 24 AD, to the construction of the temple of Bel; his brother Ḥaṣaš was honoured for settling peace between the Benē Komarē and the Benē Mattabōl. The Ḥaṣaš family must have been an important group as they erected two statues, in the sanctuary of Bel, to Ḥabbā son of Bagešū and to his son Bagesū (*Inv IX*, 33-34) and they are mentioned in two tesserae (*RTP* 93, 457). The Firmôn family, of the *phylē Chōneitai* identified with the Benē Komarē, is attested down to the year 182 AD and goes back to the 2nd half of the 1st c. BC.

- 4 BC, *CIS* 4112: [dy mn] bny kmr².
- 6 BC, *Tadmorea II*, 17: dy mn bny kmr².
- 17 BC, *CIS* 3969= *Inv XI*, 84: bny kmr².
- 198 AD, Ingholt, *Syria* 13 (1932) 278-289 (Greek)+Milik, p. 37 (Palm.): bny kmr² - Χωρετων φυλή.

17 Milik, p. 55 identifies the *bny khanbw* with the *bny kmr²* since both of them have the same meaning of 'sons of the priests' and represent a 'professional' tribe.
THE KNBT TRIBE, bny knbt\textsuperscript{18}

The name is of unknown origin. The founder of the tower no. 67 of Ḥairan, of the Ba‘ā family, belonged to this tribe. The family Ba‘ā goes back to the beginning of the 1st c. AD and it is attested down to the 3rd c. AD. Three tombs were in its possession, the nos. 21, 67 and 68, the last founded in 83 AD.

- 89 AD or 188 AD, RSP 162=Gawlikowski, \textit{Syria} 47 (1970) 319-325 no.5: [bny] kmr\textsuperscript{6}.
- \textit{Inv XI}, 90: bny kmr\textsuperscript{6}.

- 33 AD, CIS 4114=\textit{Inv IV}, 4 a: mn phd bny knbt.

THE MGRT-(MAGERENÔN) TRIBE, bny mgrt - \textit{φυλής} Μαγέρηνον\textsuperscript{19}

Two people from the MGRT tribe, offered a \textit{θυσία} and an altar to Samaš. The tessera is for a banquet in honour of Bel.

- 59 AD, CIS 4120: \textit{φυλής} Μαγέρηνον.
- 85 AD, CIS 3978: dy mn phd bny mgrt.
- RTP 105: bny mgrt.

THE MÎTÅ TRIBE, bny myt\textsuperscript{c} - \textit{φυλής} Μιτηνόν\textsuperscript{20}

The tribe is probably named after the name of the ancestor, even if in the only case where the name recurs as a personal name, it is not certain. At least five family groups are part of the tribe. Two very old families go back to the beginning of the 1st c. BC, namely the Auṣai and the Sa‘at families. To the Auṣai, still attested as late as 250 AD, are attributed the building of two tombs (9 BC) and the offering of a portico to Bōl‘astor. The second family, the Sa‘at, includes a symposiarch, a president of the Senate in charge in 137 AD, and a public figure known for his generosity and honoured by the priests of Bel as such.

A member of the Laqīšū family received honours from the Senate in 84 AD, which represents the latest mention of the Benê Mītâ. A woman of the ‘Atenatan family,
married to a man of the Benê Ma‘ziyân, dedicated a column to Baalshamîn in 52 AD. The Zabdâ Rabbâ family recorded the construction of a tomb in 56 AD, and one of its members was a priest. The archers of the Benê Mîtâ made a dedication to the god Yarhibôl of the Spring at Dura-Europos.

- 9 BC, *Inv IV*, 28: dy mn bny myt'.
- 48/49 AD, Cantineau, *Syria* 12 (1931) 130-132 no. 11: [dy mn phd] bny myt'.
- 52 AD, *BS*, 11: dy mn bnt myt'.
- 56 AD, *CIS* 4116: dy mn phd bny myt'.
- 57 AD, *CIS* 4119: dy mn phd bny myt'.
- 84 AD, *Tadmorea III*, 29: dy mn bny myt'.
- *Tadmorea I*, 9: dy mn phd bny myt'.
- *ID*, 33: bny myt'.

**THE MA‘ZIYÂN TRIBE, bny m‘zyn**

They were in charge of the temple of Baalshamîn and probably owners of it as all the monuments in the temple were made by people belonging to the tribe. The majority of inscriptions mentioning the Benê Ma‘ziyân comes from the sanctuary of Baalshamîn and they are attested for the first time in 32 AD and for the last in the year 103/104 AD. We must recall here three inscriptions reused in foundation T, earlier than the cella of the temple of Bel built in 32 AD, where the Benê Ma‘ziyân are attested. Thus this tribe might be considered as one of the oldest tribes of Palmyra, since the most ancient inscription from foundation T is dated to 44 BC. The tribe’s mention is most frequent from 50 AD to 90 AD, the period in which all the major constructions were made by its members. Thirteen families are attested, but possibly many more belonged to it. The most ancient family known at Palmyra is the one of Yedîbel (see below no. 21), it goes

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21 D. Schlumberger, *Syria* 48 (1971) 132 proposes to see in the Benê Ma‘ziyân the φυλής Μεθηνών of *CIS* 4120; cf. above note 16. The name M‘ZYN is attested only once as anthroponym, J. Teixidor, *Sumer* 18 (1962) 63, otherwise introduced by phd bny wî zyn. The meaning is 'goat-herds' and the Greek transcription may be found in *CIS* 3966 and according to Milik’s interpretation, p. 82-85 is Me 1 Μαζιγνόμενος, which it is rejected by M. Gawlikowski, *RSP* 156. Anyhow in favour of it there is one inscription from the 1st auran, R. Savignac, *RB* 14 (1905) 96, where a MaCa[lw] is attested and Ladzburski, *ESE*, II, p. 334 E, identifies it with the Palmyrene m‘zyn. Furthermore, at Dura, a soldier bears the name Mezianus; see *Dura, Final Report* V, p. 30.
back to the 2nd c. BC and it owned the tomb found on the site of the temple itself. The onomastics present in the family suggests an Arabic origin, as also the name of the tribe itself. It may be emphasized that no specific mention of the Benê Ma‘ziyân is made in the inscriptions concerning the Yedîbel family (below no.21); however the Fortune of Yedîbel received offerings (together with Baalshamîn, Duraḫlôn and Raḥîm) from a member of the Benê Ma‘ziyân. This family group is still attested in 115 AD when an altar and a stele are dedicated to the goddess Allat. A member of the Ra‘ai family was honoured with five columns because he offered a whole portico in 67 AD to Baalshamîn and later, around 130/131 AD, another one received honours from the Senate because he had built, at his own expense, the temple of Baalshamîn. Three brothers of the Belhazû/Bôlhazi family were honoured by the priests of Baalshamîn for the offering of a portico each in the temple, respectively in the 90 AD and 103/104 AD. The A‘akai family is attested outside the temple (1st c. BC - 225 AD), a statue was erected in 81 AD to a certain Zabdibôl by the tradesmen of Spasinou Charax. In 225 AD, another member made a dedication to the Anonymous god. The Qaḥazan family offered five columns in the temple in 67 AD. The wife of a person of the Zabdibel family offered a column in 52 AD. The Aytîbel family offered in 62/63 AD an altar to Baalshamîn, Duraḫlôn, Raḥîm and the Gad of Yedîbel; very likely a member of the family was chosen as archon. Other altars were offered by the Taimai family in 73 AD. Members of the Gaddâ and Qainû families received statues by the Benê Maziyan in 61 AD and 32 AD. A person of a homonym Yedîbel family (see below no.25) was honoured by Allat with the erection of a statue for his constructions and offerings in 64 AD. A member of the Iyyasâ family was honoured by Allat and the Benê Nu‘rbel in 62 AD. A certain Moqîmû Ma‘ziyân appears in an inscription from the Museum of Baghdad dated to mid-2nd c. AD. It is unlikely to be a personal name, since it would be attested there for the first time and the two anthroponyms are not separated by the word *br* ‘son’. On the other hand the name is not introduced by any word of the usual formula used for the tribes (*dy mn bny*, *bny* or *dy mn phd bnx*, etc.).

As we can see the Benê Ma‘ziyân are mainly attested in the 1st c. AD, while no other mention is given after that date. Even if members of the families belonging to the tribe were still recorded, it did not seem necessary for them to specify their tribe any longer.
- 32 AD, BS 37: dy mn bny m'zyn.
- 49 AD, BS 38: dy mn phd bny m'zyn.
- 50 AD ca., Tadmorea II, 24: dy mn bny m'zyn.
- 52 AD, BS 11: dy mn phd bny m'zyn.
- 61 AD, BS 39: dy mn bny m'zyn.
- 62 AD, RSP 159: dy mn [bny] m'zyn.
- 62/63 AD, BS 23: dy mn bny m'zyn.
- 64 AD, CIS 3966=Inv II, 1: dy mn [bny] m'zyn.
- 67 AD, CIS 3983=Inv I, 4=BS 13: dy mn bny m'zyn.
- 67 AD, BS 1 A-B: dy mn bny m'zyn.
- 73 AD, BS 24: dy mn bny m'zyn.
- 81 AD, CIS 3958=Inv I, 3=BS 49: [bny] m'zyn.
- 81 AD, Inv X, 40: [d]y mn bny m'zyn.
- 81/82 AD, CIS 4197: mn bny m'zyn.
- 90 AD, BS 7: dy mn b[ny m'zyn].
- 90 AD, BS 40: dy mn bny m'zyn.
- 98 AD, BS 41: bny m'zyn.
- 103/104 AD, BS 43: bny m'zyn.
- BS 34: [bny m'zyn.
- BS 11: [d]y mn b[ny m'zyn.
- Inv XI, 88: dy mn bny m'zyn.
- Inv XI, 92: dy mn bny m'zyn.
- Teixidor, Syria 40 (1963) 33-34: m'zyn.

THE MATTABÔL TRIBE, bny mtbwl - Φύλης Μανθαβωλ(ε)ών, Μαθθαβωλείων
Mattabôl is a personal name referring to an ancestor. As anthroponym, it is only attested
three times; it is of a good Aramaic type, formed upon the theophorous element Bôl.
From the texts we learn that the Benê Mattabôl had the temple of Arşû, built on the
borders of the Palmyrene oasis, under their care; this was one of the sanctuaries
attached to the four tribes, representing the four administrative divisions of the Palmyrene
political body. The tribe was of Arabic origin as is shown in one inscription where Aršû
is worshipped together with the deity of Destiny, Qismayâ and the ‘daughters of the god’

22 For the inscriptions showing this binomial, Benê Mattabôl and the god Arşû, see CIS 3975; As'ad-
23 The first mention of the sanctuary of Arşû is in BS 45 and as regards its location that corresponded to the
(Al-Lât, Al-'Uzzâ and Manât\textsuperscript{24}); it must have changed its name at the moment it became sedentary and came into contact with other Semitic people\textsuperscript{25}. It is possible to ascribe eight family groups to this tribe. The largest are the Šokayyî, the Barîkai, the Bar'a, the 'Ośailat and the Elahsâ families. The first ranges from the 1st c. BC to mid-1st c. AD and its members were responsible for the construction of two tombs, built respectively in 9 AD and in 40 AD (tower of Kitôt). The second also is attested from the 1st c. BC down to the end of the 2nd c. AD, roughly the same period as Šokayyî's family. Its members were honoured for their contribution to the construction of the temple of Bel by the tradesmen of Seleucia. One of the members dedicated an altar to Allat and Arsû. Only one tomb foundation is recorded. The Bar'a is probably the largest and best attested family of the Mêtêtôl tribe. Only one inscription referring to an offering to the god Arsû preserves the name of the tribe\textsuperscript{26}, while all the others are funerary texts. The Bar'a group also goes back to the 1st c. BC (40 BC ca.). The 'Ośailat family is attested during the 1st-2nd c. AD and the building of the tower tomb no.149 is due to one of its members. The Elahsâ family goes back to the beginning of the 1st c. AD and at least two symposiarchs come from it; one of them appears in two tesserae and one inscription. The name of this tribe was preserved till the end of the 2nd c. AD.

- 9 AD, \textit{CIS} 4113=\textit{Inv VIII}, 56: dy mn phd bny mtbwI.
- 17 AD, \textit{CIS} 3925=\textit{Inv IX}, 6 b: dy m[n phd b]ny mtbwI - φυλης Μανθβαλενων.
- 21 AD, \textit{Inv IX}, 13: bny mtbwI.
- 50 AD ca., \textit{CIS} 3975: dy mn bny mtbwI.
- 89 AD, \textit{Inv VII}, 3=MFP 189-190 no.20: φυλης Μανθβαλενων.
- 101 AD, Cantineau, \textit{RB} 39 (1930) 545-547 no.13: dy mn bny mtbwI.
- 166 AD, \textit{CIS} 4187=\textit{Inv IV}, 2: ph[bd bny m]t bwI.
- 197 AD, As'ad-Gawlikowski, \textit{AAAS} 36 (1986) 165 no.5: [bny mtbwI.

\textsuperscript{24} This is the traditional reading of this divine name in Classical Arabic although the name of the goddess is spelled MNWT like at Palmyra and its Latin transcription is Manavat.
\textsuperscript{25} Cf. As'ad-Teixidor, \textit{CRAI}, 1985, p. 287, 289 and J. Teixidor, \textit{SUSR}, p. 53-55 where the sedentisation of this tribe, the trade with Seleucia on the Tigris and the deities worshipped are all discussed.
\textsuperscript{26} As'ad-Teixidor, \textit{CRAI}, 1985, p. 287.
- 203 AD, As'ad Gawlikowski, AAAS 36 (1986) 165 no.4: bny mtbwl.
- [203 AD], As'ad-Gawlikowski, AAAS 36 (1986) 164 no.1: φυλή Μα[θαββωλίων]
- 279/280 AD, As'ad-Gawlikowski, AAAS 36 (1986) 167 nos.7 8: Μαθαββωλίων φυλή.
- Inv III, 24: Μαθαββωλίων φυλή.

THE ‘AGRÛD TRIBE, bny ‘grwd - Αγρουδηνοι

The name is of unknown origin. The tribe seems to be in relation to the cult of Belḥamōn as the tesserae also show it. In fact, Moqîmû and Yarhibolâ, members of the two family groups attested in the tribe, built a temple to Belḥ amôn and Manawat in the year 89 AD on the Jebel Munţar. The family ‘Arîmâ goes back to the year of 89 AD and is not attested later than 89 AD. A single tomb foundation is recorded. The family A’abî is more widely attested and goes back to the end of the 1st c. BC till the 2nd c. AD. Two tesserae mention Salman as chief of a thiasos and two more priests are present in the family. Other people of the family were in charge of important offices. One was president of the Senate, another was a messenger to the king of Susa, Worôd and others were honoured by the tradesmen and members of caravans for their help. The tribe is last attested in 89 AD.

- 81 AD, Inv X, 131: bny ‘grwd - Αγρουδηνοι.
- Inv XI, 73: dy mn bny ‘grwd.
- RTP 99: bny ‘grwd.
- RTP 213: blhmwn and gd ‘grwd.
- RTP 224: gd ‘grwd.

THE ‘ATTAR TRIBE, bny ‘tr

The name, in this form, is not present in Palmyrene onomastics. It may be found in compound names. This tribe is attested only from the foundation text of a hypogeum.

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27 For the ‘Bel of the Mt. Amanus’, the transcription Belhamôn has to be definitely adopted, since in a Latin inscription from Sarmisegetuza we find Bebellahamon (ILS 4341). The Latin Hammon/Ammon and the Greek Αμμων normally transcribe the Egyptian god Ammon, see E. Lipuński, in Studia Phoenicia IV, p. 321 note 55.

28 In PNPI 108, we find trswry
The name, according to Milik, represents the first element of the divine name ‘tr ‘th, Atargatis. Note that in the onomastics of this family the name of the deity ‘Ateh seems to be quite popular.

-179 AD, Inv IV, 14: [dy] mn phd bny ‘tr.

**THE §M\R[?/Y?] TRIBE, bny §m\r[?/y?]**

The name of this tribe is not attested as personal name, but on two tesserae we find a close form of it, that is §M\R\r\? and §M\[R\]Y\?31. A certain Taima'amad son of Nešâ was honoured with a statue. Unfortunately the inscription is broken and neither a full affiliation nor a date are left.

- Inv IX, 16: dy mn phd bny §m\r.

**THE ROMAN TRIBES**

**THE CLAUDIA TRIBE, kldy / kldy - φυλής Κλαυδίαδος**

The Claudia tribe is introduced, in the Greek version of a bilingual text, by the term φυλή that normally designates a tribe, whilst the Palmyrene does not give any transcription of it. A specific problem concerns the meaning that has to be attached to the designation φυλής Κλαυδίαδος. Milik's hypothesis is to view the tribe Claudia as a foreign social group. It is to be noted on this part, however, that all the members of this tribe bear pure Palmyrene names. A different hypothesis brought forth by M. Gawlikowski is to consider it either as an authochtonous tribe named after the emperors Claudius or Nero or as resulting from the administrative reform introduced by Nero or probably Claudius34. The Claudia tribe is attested together with two more Roman tribes, the Fabia and the Sergia. The names of the Fabia and Sergia tribes are used following the model of Latin inscriptions, where the name of the tribe is expressed by an adjective and takes its place

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29 Milik, p. 30.

30 RTP 585.

31 RTP 706.

32 See Milik, p. 259-261 who surmises an origin from a Greek-Roman city of Syria or Palmyra.


34 See M. Gawlikowski, Palmyre VI, p. 45 and 47.
after the first surname\textsuperscript{35} and where the term $\varphi \upsilon \alpha \upsilon \eta$ although omitted is very likely implied; thus the Palmyrene text emulates the Latin formula by adding the name of the Roman tribe directly after the patronymic. Most probably these Roman tribes, recognized as such, did not require to be introduced by the word $\varphi \nu \delta$ because they were not considered actual tribes but referred to Roman citizenship, accorded by Roman imperators to the most distinguished Palmyrene citizens. We do not believe, in the case of the phylê Claudia, that we are dealing with a local tribe that has took on a new name after Claudius or Nero but more likely with citizens who were honoured for military or commercial reasons, by Roman citizenship. Thus, the reason for which the Palmyrene texts omit any translation of $\varphi \upsilon \alpha \upsilon \eta$ was because the Claudia, Fabia and Sergia tribes were not regarded as such, but corresponded to a kind of honorary title.

The transcription of the name Claudia, KLD$\nu$ / $\nu$KLD$\nu$, is also found in five further inscriptions (see below): KLD$\nu$ is treated like other Roman tribes as the SRGY$\nu$ (Sergia); while $\nu$KLD$\nu$ is a nisbe with a prosthetic $\nu$aleph. It is not surprising to find different transcriptions for a name that was not local. H. Ingholt\textsuperscript{36} proposed to see in them the word for ‘Chaldean’ or ‘fortune-teller’, but this does not seem very likely as in the inscriptions we never find any mention to this kind of profession.

To the Claudia tribe belongs Malkû son of Moqîmû, son of Bôlbarak of the Haumal family (see below no.49). The Bôlhâ, Belsûr and Bôrrefâ families also belong to this tribe (see below nos.99, 331 and 559).

\textbullet\ 79/80 AD, \textit{Inv VII}, 6: $\phi \upsilon \lambda \nu \sigma \varsigma \ \kappa \lambda \alpha \nu \delta \iota \alpha \delta \sigma \varsigma$.
\textbullet\ Ingholt, \textit{Berytus} 1 (1934) 38-40 no.4: kld$\nu$.
\textbullet\ Sabeh, \textit{AAS} 3 (1953) 24-26 no.4: $\nu$kld$\nu$.
\textbullet\ \textit{CIS} 4357: kld$\nu$.
\textbullet\ \textit{CIS} 4358: $\nu$kld$\nu$.
\textbullet\ \textit{CIS} 4359: $\nu$kld$\nu$.

\textbf{THE FABIA TRIBE, $\Phi \alpha \beta \iota \alpha$\textsuperscript{37}}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{35} See R. Cagnat, \textit{Cours d'épigraphie latine}, Pars 1914, p. 61-64, where it is specified that the indication of tribe under Caracalla had completely lost any meaning and it had almost disappeared; cf. also G.C. Susini, \textit{Epigrafia romana}, p. 105 and J.E. Sandys, \textit{Latin Epigraphy}, p. 217-218.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{36} H. Ingholt, \textit{Berytus} 1 (1934) 38-40.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{37} This must be the tribe of Augustus or Caligula (Caus Julius Caesar Germancus). This represents the oldest Roman citizenship, see D. Schlumberger, \textit{BÉO} 9 (1943) 53, 66.}
Gaius Julius Hairan son of Elahbel, of the Elahbel family belongs to this tribe (see below no.63).

- 108 AD, In x, 129: φαβία.

THE SERGIA TRIBE, srgy' - Σεργία

The Sergia seems to be the most popular tribe at Palmyra and within it are inscribed different families. Four families belong to the Sergia tribe: Elahbel, Abgar, M. Ulpius Malkū and Acilius Moqīmū families (see below nos.63, 129, 568 and 570). M. Ulpius Malkū and M. Ulpius Yarḥai received their gentilics from Trajan (Marcus Ulpius Traianus) or from his father who was legatus of Syria. We do not know why they received the Roman citizenship but most likely they obtained it for military and commercial reasons.

- Inv IX, 24: Σεργία.
- Inv X, 108: Σεργία.
- Inv X, 109: Σεργία.
- Inv X, 128: Σεργία.
- Inv X, 130: srgy' - Σεργία.
- Seyrig, Syria 20 (1939) 320-321 no.25: Σεργία. The name in the inscription is lost and only his patronimic is left, [Πον]λίου Αλλίου.

INTERMEDIATE SOCIAL GROUPINGS

We have seen how the Greek is consistent in transcribing the Palmyrene ΡΗΔ with the word φυλή. Only once we find γένος; which in fact does not translate ΡΗΔ but the Palmyrene correspondent θν. This double use would seem to recognize a specific difference in terminology, which was noticed as such. As is well known, the Greek φυλή was used by Greek authors to express the Roman tribus and the Greek γένος to express the Roman gens. We do not have to apply the same criteria at Palmyra, but it is obvious that social groups were divided into categories, nor can it be regarded as a simple chance that at least twice γένος has been preferred to φυλή. There must have been a clear distinction between the two terms. Furthermore, it may be argued that the few

38 The Sergia tribe is the one of the Emperor Hadrian who must have given citizenship to Palmyrenes, see H. Seyrig, Syria 22 (1941) 227-229.
occurrences of *genos* can be explained by the restricted place in public life of groups less important than the tribes, so that they had little place in the official inscriptions. The majority of these Benê are attested in the tesserae. At Palmyra, we find the name of an ancestor not only introduced by *ph* but also by *bny* ‘sons of’. It is difficult to believe that all the names introduced by *bny* correspond to real tribes. They must represent the descendants of an ancestor of a family who is not necessarily the most remote and ancient founder of the family itself. To the Benê Mîţâ belong a certain ‘Atenatan called Bar Ša‘at’, this appellation represents the ancestor from which the whole family derives its name. The father of this ‘Atenatan is Taimai the Palmyrene. Now in the tesserae we find the Gad Taimai, ‘the Fortune of Taimai’ (the tutelar god of the family) associated with the god Malakbel and the Benê Bûnnê and the Benê Rabbel which are attested in the family as descendants of Taimai. These Benê, most likely, represent fractions of the Sa‘at family as well as they generally may constitute fractions of a tribe. We can see that these Benê are collective designation groups not larger than extended families and they act as representative of the whole family group so that they are the ones who honour single distinguished members of the family or offer banquets to their gods.

**BENÊ A‘ALÎ - bny ʿṣly**

They are associated with Bel since the tesserae read “banquet of Bel and the Benê A‘alî” or “bless Bel the Benê A‘alî”.

- *RTP* 98, 109 and 503: bny ʿṣly.

**BENÊ BAḤAR - bny bḥr**

Associated with Bel.

- *RTP* 106: bny bḥr.

**BENÊ BELNÛRÎ - bny blnwry**

Associated with Malakbel and Allat.

- *RTP* 272: bny blnwry.

**BENÊ BWDLî - bny bwdlî**

Associated with Bel.

- *RTP* 92: bny bwdlî.
BENÊ BÔLHÅ - bny bwlh
Associated with Bel.
- *RTP* 82 and 718: bny bwlh.

BENÊ BÔLÅ - bny bwl³
Associated with Bel.
- *RTP* 83, 107: bny bwl³.
- *APML* 97 no.39: bny bwl³.
- *APML* 98 no.42: bny bwl³.
- *APML* 130 no.135: bny bwl³.

BENÊ BÔNNÊ - bny bwn³
Associated with Bel, Malakbe! and Gad Taimai. They must be part of the Sa'at family member of the Mitâ tribe (see below no.17).
- *RTP* 135 and 993: bny bwn³.

BENÊ BÔRRÅ - bny bwr³
Associated with Bel.
- *RTP* 62 and 64: bny bwr³.

BENÊ GÔGÅ - bny gwg³
Associated with Bel.
- *RTP* 80 and 100: bny gwg³.

BENÊ GÔGÛ - bny gwgw
Associated with Bel.
- *RTP* 81: bny gwgw.

BENÊ ZABDI BÔL - bny zbdwl - oї ἔγ γένους Ζαβδιβωλείων
The Benê Zabdibôl derive their name from an anthroponym that includes the divine name Bôl. They erected statues in honour of a certain 'Alainê who had offered an object to the god Samaš and had been helpful to them. Another member was honoured by the city because he had made valuable offerings to the temple of Bel.
- 179 AD, *CIS* 3950= Inv V, 1: bny zbdwl - oї ἔγ γένους Ζαβδιβωλείων.
- *RTP* 138 and 141: ἄγ ὑ δ (w)σμ (w)bny zbdwl.

BENÊ ZAGÛG - bny zgwg
- *Inv XI* 96: bny zgwg.

**BENÈ ḤAKĪM** - bny ḥkym
- *RTP* 364: bny ḥkym.

**BENÈ HALĀ** - bny ḥlp
Associated with Bel, Ḥerta, Nanai and Arṣū.
- *RTP* 102, 134 and 195: bny ḥlp.

**BENÈ ḤANNŪR** - bny ḥnwř
Associated with Bel.
- *RTP* 97: bny ḥnwř.

**BENÈ ḤASAS** - bny ḥṣṣ
The Ḥasaš family belongs to the Komarē tribe (see below no.6).
- 128 AD ca., *Inv IX*, 34: bny ḥṣṣ.
- *RTP93*: bny ḥṣṣ.
- *RTP457*: bny ḥṣṣ.
- *APML 97* no.40: bny ḥṣṣ.

**BENÈ YEDĪBEL** - bny ydyәbl
The name is widely attested as personal name and the divine element Bel indicates a more recent origin of this family group even if the anthroponym is already attested in the 2nd c. BC. The Benê Yedībel are attested together with the Benê Maʿziyān in the temple of Baalshamîn and they are probably a subgroup within the above mentioned tribe. According to C. Dunant, *BS* 23, the Benê Yedībel belong to the Benê Maʿziyān. In the tomb found in the very place of the temple of Baalshamîn, the ancestor of a family there buried is a certain Yedī bel Rabbā and he must have lived around the 2nd c. BC. It has been supposed that this branch of the Benê Maʿziyān took its origin from him. The Benê Yedībel attested in the tesserae may represent a different group as they are related to the cult of Bel and Astarte.

- *BS* 34: dy bny ydyәbl klhn.
- *RTP* 85, 95, 124, 586: bny ydyәbl.
- *APML* 100 no.45: bny ydyәbl.
BENÊ YARHAI - bny yrhy
- PNO 58: bny yrhy.

BENÊ YAŠŪ'ALÄ - bny yšwʿp
- RTP 985: bny yšwʿp.

BENÊ MAKANĀ - bny mknʿ
Associated with Bel and Baalshamēn.
- RTP 96: bny mknʿ.
- Teixidor, MUSJ 42 (1966) 178 no.4 a b: bny mknʿ.

BENÊ MASKANĀ - bny msknʿ
The inscription tells us they are dy tymʿ ‘from Teima’ in Northern Arabia. The anthroponym MSKN is attested in Safaitic (see ICPANI 548).
- Safar, Sumer 20 (1964) 16 no.5: bny msknʿ.

BENÊ NÛRBEL - bny nwrbl
Associated with Bel and Allat.
- RTP 123 and 165: bny nwrbl

BENÊ ʿALIYYĪ - bny ʿlyy
Associated with Bel and Nabû.
- RTP 137 and 295: bny ʿlyy.

BENÊ ʿAŞAR - bny ʿsr
Associated with Samaš.
- RTP 339: bny ʿsr.

BENÊ PÂṬARTĀ - bny prtʿ 39
- RSP 154: bny prtʿ.
- Tadmorea II, 22: bny prtʿ.

BENÊ QAŠMĪT - bny qšmyt
Associated with Bel.
- RTP 106: bny qšmyt.

39 See Milik, p. 61-62.
BENÊ RABBEL - bny rb'l
They must be part of the Sa'at family member of the Mitâ tribe (see below no. 17).
Associated with Malakbel and Gad Taimai.
- *RTP* 276: bny rb'l.

BENÊ SAZÅ - bny $z$
- *RTP* 977: bny $z$.

BENÊ SALMÊ RABBÅ - bny $lm'$ rb'
Associated with Arșû.
- *RTP* 184: bny $lm'$ rb$'$.

BENÊ SIM'BON - bny $m'wn$
Associated with Bel, Beltû and Ma'anû.
- *RTP* 79, 128 and 252: bny $m'wn$.
- *APML* 116 no. 95: bny $m'wn$.

BENÊ SO'ADî - bny $dw$
Associated with Sama$š$.
- *RTP* 341: bny $dw$.

BENÊ SA'ADÎ - bny $dy$
Associated with Sama$š$.
- *RTP* 334: bny $dy$.

BENÊ SA'ARÊ - bny $r'$

BENÊ SAQMAT - bny $qmt$
Associated with Aṣeram and Sa'ad.
- *ID* 20: bny $qmt$.

BENÊ TAIMAI alias HOKAISÛ - bny tymy alias hky$w$
The Ḥokaisû family is attested under the Zabdôd tribe (see below no. 3).
- 51 AD, *Inv XII*, 35: bny tymy alias hky$w$.

BENÊ TAIMAI
Associated with Bel and Malakbel.

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40 Milik, p. 60-61 says that the Benê Sâ'arê were the organizers of the religious panegynes and that they dealt with practical aspects of the preparation of festivals and with the economic, commercial and financial affairs but not with the religious ones.
In listing the familial groups, the term 'family' has been adopted for all social groups bound by a relation of kinship and referring to a common ancestor. No distinction it has been made between clans and families since it is difficult to define in real terms the limits between a clan and a family. Theoretically, it is possible to attempt a differentiation: a) a tribe includes several clans or families which may or may not share a common ancestor; b) a clan includes several genetic families which share a common remote ancestor and are not related to one another; c) a family is a group of people sharing a common ancestor.

Family tombs have provided most of the data and information about families. As it is well known, at the highest of Palmyra's flourishing, wealthy people built towers and hypogea for themselves, their sons and grandsons and sometimes also for their relatives. Normally, a section of the tomb was kept for the builder's family while the rest was sold to either related or not related people. The genealogical trees are based mainly on the genealogies provided by the stelae, funerary banquets and sarcophagi found in the tombs. Each family is generally labelled with the name of the most remote ancestor.

The simplest family relation is represented by the onomastic formula $x \ br \ y \ 'x \ son \ of \ y'$. This is very frequent but the most common formula, at Palmyra, is of three

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41 M. Gawhkowski, *Monuments funéraires de Palmyre*, Warsaw 1970, was the first to list and divide into categories the Palmyrene funerary monuments according to their style, dating and the necropoles of origin. Other publications on the subject have followed, cf. below the bibliography. The tombs were hereditary and the right of property was usually restricted to male heirs, although the females had the right of burial. An inscription from the year 149 AD, mentions a certain Haran who built a tomb for himself and his daughters (see H. Ingholt, *AA* 3 (1932) 1) and during the third century we find several women acting as owners of tombs. Freedmen and freedwomen had also right of property and they are widely attested in cession texts, buying and selling portions of tombs (see, e.g. J.A. Agrrippa, J.A. ‘Ogeïla and Nahalzrab from the hypogeum of Malkû in the SW necropolis and J.A. Hermes who built a tomb for himself and his wife, she herself being a liberta.
generations, $x \ br \ y \ br \ z$ and also $x \ br \ y \ z$ ‘$x$ son of $y$, (son of) $z$’ where the names of the father and grandfather may follow one after the other with or without the word $bar$ ‘son’. In this case, the third name does not necessarily stand for the name of the grandfather but, may often represent the name of the ancestor of the family: the presence or the absence of this term of kinship becomes sometimes of difficult interpretation. A further formula indicates the family name: $dy$ $^{42}$; $dmqr$ $^{43}$; $dy \ mtqr \ z/h$ that is translated in Greek with $\tau\omicron\omicron \ \epsilon\pi\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$ or more simply $\tau\omicron\omicron \ \kappa\alpha\iota\iota$ and in Latin with $qui \ et$, ‘called’$^{44}$. This expression does not introduce names or aliases but it clearly designates the name of the ancestor through which the whole family is known and derives its name. This type of onomasiology seems to be frequent mostly in the 1st c. AD or at least quite back in time and it is attested in old families inscribed within a tribe$^{45}$.

The family names were usually passed on from father to son, so that we are before a patrilinear society; nonetheless matronymy is used for children who died young. Usually, a dead child and its mother are portrayed together on the stelae and the genealogy revealed by the inscription is mostly matrilineal$^{46}$.

As concerns the female onomastics, there is a category of anthroponyms introduced by the term $bt$ ‘daughter’ followed by the name of some male ancestor. While the word $brt$ ‘daughter’ indicates the physical father, the word $bt$ possibly stands for the name of the family to which she or her father belonged. The frequency of this type of names gains some justification in relation to marriages that took women within the husbands’ families and the keeping of the ‘surname’ would express their family of

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$^{42}$ We only find two examples, see CIS 4357, ‘$\omicron$T$K$ $dy \ BWLH$ and CIS 4565, $SLMN \ dy \ MRQL$ (cf. CIS 4566 where the last two names are attested without the particle $dy$ ). In the Abbanit family (see below no.4) we have instances of family names not being introduced by any specific formula: $MLKW$ ‘$BNYT$ and $MQYM$ ‘$QLYS$.


$^{44}$ It has to be noted that there is no consistency in its use. The expression ‘called’ may be attested in the Greek version and be missing in the Palmyrene one and vice versa or, for the same person, it can be used in one inscription and not in another, see for example Inv IX, 11-13. Inscription Inv IV, 3 presents a divergence between the Greek and the Palmyrene texts: to $\Gamma\alpha\theta\beta\omicron\rho\omicron$ $\tau\omicron\omicron \ \epsilon\pi\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$ $\beta$ $\alpha$ corresponds $gd$ $\delta$ $dy \ mtqr \ bny$ $b$ $b$ “that are called the Benê $Ba\alpha$”’ Milik, p. 87 sees in the family name the designation of a tribe’s fraction. The use of the plural is very unusual and it is the only example of the type and it would seem unlikely to consider all the Benê attested in the tesserae as fractions of tribes. It is possible that the plural form refers back to the four descendants of Gaddarsô.

$^{45}$ Cf. the Hokau$\tilde{\alpha}$ family (see below no.3), the Abbanit family (no.4), the $\H\alpha\kappa\tilde{\alpha}$ family (no.6), the $Ba\alpha$ family (no.13), the $Sa\at$ family (no.17), the $Laq\tilde{\alpha}$ family (no.20), etc.

$^{46}$ Cf. H. Ingholt, Berytus 5 (1938) 135 no.4 b; CIS 4366, 4417, 4437, 4594, 4604; RSP 15, 77 and 93. Matronymy is also frequent among Jews, especially in the families of priests and rabbis, cf. N. Avivag, IEJ 7 (1957) 243 and note 53.
origin. On the other hand, this type of names is also attested in the male onomastics where the formula is represented by the anthroponym, the expression ‘called’ followed by a compound name of the kind br ‘son’ plus the name of a male ancestor. All the bar -names seem to conform to this pattern and alike in the female onomastics, they make reference to the ancestor that often is the eponym from which the whole family takes its name.

In some inscriptions, the names in the genealogies are accompanied by the self-definition of tdmar_y ‘Palmyrene’. This gentilic was used to point out that the bearer considered himself as belonging to the autochthonous families of Palmyra and possibly was a way for the natives to distinguish themselves from newcomers in the oasis. We also wonder whether this indicated a position of prestige within the society or special offices proper to the city of Palmyra. In fact, in one inscription called the Sacred Law of the temple of Bel, all the members of the thiasos define themselves or specify that they are ‘Palmyrenes’. Shall we understand that for religious offices only Palmyrenes were in the position of being appointed? This should not be excluded but the appellative tdmar_y also appears in different contexts, in foundation, honorific and dedication texts.

The gentilic is attested not later than the 1st c. BC and it is limited to members of families inscribed within a tribe. The Greek Amathâ, the Egyptian Segel and the Nabataean ‘Obaidû are further attestations of gentilics. In the onomastics of the Ḥalaftâ family, the name Ḥatrai recurs twice and it suggests a foreign origin as also does the tribe Ḥatrai. A group of a clear Arabic origin is represented by the ‘Arabî family. Jewish people are

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47 The desire of referring to the family of origin is, no doubt, at the base of this type of anthroponyms and the best example can be found in RSP 42. On the other hand, these ‘surnames’ must have become, with time, real names so that we find a long list of BTMTY and BTLYD (H. Ingholt, Studies C.G. Miles, 1974, p. 38); J A BTRPBWL and J A. BT'QB (H. Ingholt Studies C.G. Miles, 1974, p. 50, where RPBWL is also the name of the grandfather); BTWIBY (CIS 4380; HTBYD (CIS 4027); BTYRN (CIS 4568); BTML (RSP 191), etc.

48 ‘TNTN called BRST (Inv IX, 20); ZBDL called BRZBYD (Tadmorea III, 31); MQWMW called BRZWL (F. Safar, Sumer 20 (1964) 19 no.10); NWRTH called BRMYQ (As’sad-Textidor, Syria 62 (1985) 271 no.1); NS called BRBDL (CIS 3976); GYLW called BR’KY (Inv XI, 81), etc.

49 CIS 4119, 4123, 4193; Inv IV, 6; Inv VIII, 3, etc.

50 Tadmorea II, 25=Palmyre VI, 56-57 no.3=Milik, p. 303 304, pl. XII 2.

51 Bel’aqab and Matâ of the Zamrâ tribe (see below no.4) Kahilû and Tarmai of the Miût tribe (see below nos.16 and 17); Yedî-bel of the Ma‘zûn tribe (see below no.25); ‘Azizû and Yedî-bel of the Mattabûl tribe (see below no.34), etc.

52 CIS 4546; jwyo, CIS 4547; mwyo and CIS 3973: abyt.

53 See below no.109.

54 See below no.295.
represented in the oasis by the Abramâ and the two Samûel families\textsuperscript{55}. The name of the Asorai family possibly meaning 'the man of Assur' reveals an Eastern origin\textsuperscript{56}. It was from the Palmyrene emporiums in the East that many of the freedmen came: the frequency of the names 'Abnergal, Hermes, Narqaios amongst them is striking\textsuperscript{57}.

With regard to marriages, exogamy was practised although there are clear examples of marriages within the same family. Exogamy is nothing new in a tribal environment like the one at Palmyra, because mixed marriages amongst members of different tribes were a guaranty of peace keeping and the blood bound implied an increase in size and power of both parties. A relation of blood is between the Komarê tribe and the Mattabôl tribe since Martahôn of the Sakaibel family\textsuperscript{58}, a priestly family, was the wife of Malkû Rabbâ, a member of the 'Ananû family\textsuperscript{59}; the Mitâ tribe is bound by marriages to the Gaddibôl tribe and the Ma'ziyân tribe\textsuperscript{60}. Furthermore, in one instance we find a marriage within the same tribe, the Mattabôl\textsuperscript{61}. Malkû of the A'abî family, that belongs to the 'Agrûd tribe, is the husband of 'Attai of the 'Argan family, very likely of Arabic origin\textsuperscript{62}. A well-attested custom is marriages among close relatives, especially among cousins\textsuperscript{63}, uncles and nieces\textsuperscript{64} and aunts and nephews\textsuperscript{65} and it is a widespread custom among sacerdotal families\textsuperscript{66}. The Palmyrene family seems to be of monogamic type although plurimarriages are also found: one case is represented by Maisâ, a woman, who was married twice and the other by Bôlbarak and his great-grandfather 'Ogeilû who

\textsuperscript{55} See below no.89, 217 and 479.\textsuperscript{56} See below no.93.\textsuperscript{57} See below no.587-589, 592-595 and 600-01.\textsuperscript{58} See below no.10.\textsuperscript{59} See below no.39.\textsuperscript{60} Ba'altagû of the Gaddibôl tribe was the wife of Bômmê of the Ša'at family (see below no.17) and Taimâ of the Zabdibel family (see below no.29) was the husband of Amatallat of the Mitê tribe.\textsuperscript{61} Bettî of the 'Ananû family (see below no.39) is the wife of Šnaddô of the Barêt family (see below no.42).\textsuperscript{62} See below nos. 44 and 48.\textsuperscript{63} The Elahbel family (see below no.63) provides numerous examples of married cousins, see also the Firmin family (see below no.11) of the Komarê tribe.\textsuperscript{64} Sokayyî of the Elahbel family (see below no.63) was married to Amâtê, his brother's daughter and Hannâ of the Sakaibel family of the Komarê tribe (see below no.10) was married to Lišamî, her father's brother.\textsuperscript{65} Maisâ of the Aggodom family (see below no.7) was married to the nephew of her first husband and B'adayî of the Hašat family of the Komarê tribe (see below no.6) was married to Bôlba of the Nabû̀rû Rabbâ family (see below no.68).\textsuperscript{66} Lišamî\textsuperscript{4} of the Sakaibel family (no.10) is the builder in 32 AD of the temples of Bel, Yarhibôl and 'Aglibôl and Sokayyî\textsuperscript{26} of the Elahbel family (no.63) is a symposiumarch. Jewish priests used to practise the same (e.g., Ant. XII, 4, 6) which attracted the criticism of the Essenes: "they (priests of Jerusalem) marry the daughter of their brother or the daughter of their sister" (Document of Damascus, V, 7-8); cf. Leviticus XVIII, 6-23 and XX, 10-21.
had both two wives. Ḥaggat, of the Aḥitūr family, was married to Dionysios from whom she had a daughter and later to Saddai from whom she had a son. Was this a prerogative of uniquely wealthy people?

Marriages could take place at an early age. This would explain the possibility of marriages between aunts and nephews. Maisā was married into the Aggodom family and she had three children from her first husband and one from the second who also was her nephew. An inscription from Rome speaks of a Jewish woman, Domitia, who died at the age of 19 and lived 7 years with her husband. Another, Julia Sabina, died at the age of 18 and had been married for 3 years. At Palmyra, texts are very laconic about this subject; in two cases we know the date of birth and death of a person, although the only date of death is often attested. For the reconstruction of the genealogical trees, we based ourselves upon the principle that the age of reproduction is approximately from the age of 20 to the age of 40 and we regard 20 years to be the duration of a generation, that is the period of time including the years from the date of birth of the parents to the one of the children.

We saw above that marriages within a same family took place more often in sacerdotal families. Several are the families that belonged to the Palmyrene priesthood. They do not seem to come from a specific tribe but from several: one is attested in the Zimrā tribe, two in the Komarē tribe, one in the Mītā tribe, one in the Mattabōl.
tribe\textsuperscript{75} and one in the ‘Agrūd tribe\textsuperscript{76}. We do not know, about the remnant families, of any affiliation to tribes but most of them are well attested and important. The fact that members of a same family, namely brothers, father and sons, grandfather and grandson, uncle and nephew, belong to the Palmyrene clergy would suggest that priesthood was kept within a family and the right was passed on from a member to another although it is possible that the charge of priest could have been bought as it seems to be the case of Ḥaddūdan who paid the expenses for his nephew to become priest\textsuperscript{77}.

\textsuperscript{75} Zebīd\textsuperscript{6} and his nephew Elahṣā\textsuperscript{10} of the Elahṣā family (see below no.40).
\textsuperscript{76} Yarbūbā\textsuperscript{12}, his son Salman and Mezzabbanā of the Aṣā‘bī family (see below no.44).
\textsuperscript{77} See the Azarzrat family (see below no. 76).
Tribes and families represent the two major groups of the social structure. The tribes are listed in the Semitic alphabetic order; all the families are in a consecutive numerical order and the name of the family's ancestor is indicated. They are classified according to the chronology, from the oldest ones to the most recent ones.

The families not belonging to the tribes are grouped according to the number of generations counted in each one. They go from ten or more to two generations. As regards the two generations families we have chosen the ones which present a more complex family relationship, while simple son-father relations are left out. Given the difficulty of using chronology as a criterion of classification for all the families represented by the genealogical trees, we have preferred to list them in the Latin alphabetical order. The letter ‘ayin is after the ‘aleph, the he and het are together as well as samekh, sin and sin.

As regards the transcription of the Semitic names it has to be noted that the letter P is transcribed F whereas the Greek Φ is rendered PH.
THE GADDĪBŌL TRIBE

1. The Zebīdai family

Moqīmū offered two altars to the god Elgonera⁵-Poseidon. According to a recurring formula the name BR ZBYDY indicates that the ancestor of the family is a certain Zebīdai. The family is not attested elsewhere.

THE ZABŪD TRIBE

2. The ‘Atehzā family

In 24 AD, ‘Oqeīlū⁶ and Yaddai⁷ erected a statue in honour of their father [Yaddai]. The restitution of [Yaddai] is the most probable, given the fact that his son bears the same name. Nonetheless, other possibilities cannot be excluded, such as [MQ]Y or [RM]Y which are also very frequent. This family is among the oldest Palmyrene families as it goes back in time to the 2nd c. BC. The name of the ancestor is, so far, attested only once.
THE ZABŪD TRIBE

3. The Ḥokaišû family

TYMY alias ḤKYSW ¹

PSYL ²

'GYLW ³

MQYMW ⁴

In 51 AD, Moqimfi is honoured by the whole Palmyrene community because he offered many precious objects to the sanctuary of Bel. The tribe he belongs to could be either the Benê Zabdibol or the Benê Zab[ad], as the inscription is mutilated. The Zabd tribe has been preferred here as another inscription mentioning it is dated earlier (24 AD) and it comes also from the court of the temple of Bel (Inv IX, 7). In inscription Inv XII, 35, Moqimfi receives honours from the Benê Taimai called Ḥokaišû in the same year. The tessera RTP 378, may refer to the same person: MQYMW 'GY[LW]. So far, we have seen the Benê Yeditbel, the Benê Taimai and here the Benê Taimai called Ḥokaišû to act as representative of the whole family. They are not to be considered as tribes. The Ḥokaišû family goes back to the half of the 1st c. BC.

THE ZIMRĀ TRIBE

4. The Abbanît family: tower tomb no.51 of Yamlikû, VT

The gentilic idiom 'Palmyrene', repeated twice, underlines the antiquity of this family. With few others, this is one of the most ancient families of the oasis. In fact, its history goes back to the first c. BC. In 30/31 AD, Malkû Aqqališ builds a temple for Sadrafa and Du'anat together with another member of the Benê Zimrâ whose name is lost. In 83 AD, his grandson Yamlikû builds the tower tomb no.51 in the Valley of Tombs and appears as symposiarch in RTP761. Mlikh, p. 222 suggests us Mattâ ² the same person as Mattû ², surmising that Malkû Abbanît had married his paternal aunt. In Bûlha's and the Aggodom families we find other examples of marriages between aunts and nephews. The occurrence of a same name twice in the same family does not always necessarily imply blood bonds.
THE HÂTRAI TRIBE

5. The Yarḥai family: tower tomb no.34, VT

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{YRHY}^1 \\
\text{ZBYD}^2 \\
\text{MQVMW}^3 \\
\text{128 AD}
\end{array}
\]

In 128 AD, Moqimu builds a tomb for himself and his descendants in the Valley of Tombs.

THE KOMARÊ TRIBE

6. The Ḥaṣas family

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{HSS}^1 \\
\text{BWLHP} \\
\text{NS}^3 \\
\text{24 AD} \\
\text{HSS}^4 \\
\text{BLHP}^5 \\
\text{MLKW}^6 \\
\text{NS}^7 \\
\text{HYRN}^8 \\
\text{FBDY}^9 \\
\text{45 AD} \\
\text{55 BC} \\
\text{35 BC} \\
\text{15 BC} \\
\text{5 AD} \\
\text{25 AD} \\
\text{65 AD}
\end{array}
\]

Ḥaṣas⁴ was honoured by the Benê Komarê and the Benê Mattabōl because he reconciled them and helped them. His brother, Malkū, was honoured with two statues erected in the years 24 and 25 AD. The first was erected by the tradesmen of Babylon because he had been helpful and contributed financially to the building of the temple of Bel. The second statue comes from the treasurers and the People of Palmyra because ‘he had been good to them, to the city and to the temple of their gods’. A member of this family is mentioned in RSP 81, a certain Baṣādiyā daughter of Hairan Ḥaṣas. The inscription is undated but the sculpture, judging by its style, could be placed around 50-150 AD, which is why a date for her birth if approximately 65 AD seems appropriate. Furthermore, she is the wife of Boḥā, who founded an hypogeum in the SE necropolis in the year 89 AD (see RSP 75). The Benê Ḥaṣas are also mentioned in Inv IX, 33-34 and in RTP 93, 457.
The inscription attesting the Aggodom family consists essentially of a foundation and a cession text. It was engraved in a lintel reused for a second hypogeum, so that we do not know the exact location of the original tomb. The text is one of the most complex and interesting. The founder of the tomb is a certain Yedîbel\footnote{13} who built it, in 67 AD, for his father Taimhâ and for his mother Maiâ and for his three half-brothers on the mother's side 'Ogeilû, Taimhâ and 'Attai sons of Haaran son of 'Abd'ateh Aggodom. If the text is correctly interpreted, Maiâ was married twice. Her first marriage was to Haiiun, from whom she had three children, and she later married the nephew of her first husband, Taimhâ, from whom she had one son. We have already seen marriages between uncles and nieces (see the Elahbel family) and marriages between aunts and nephews are otherwise attested (see Bôîlâ's family). This confirms that marriages could take place quite an early age. Another portion of the family appears in a contract of cession of 191 AD, where Alexandros sells five niches to Baggai son of 'Azizû son of Malkû. To note the unusual spelling with a yod of the name Alexandros: 'LKDRYS (elsewhere 'LKSDRS, 'LKSNDRS and 'LKSNDRS, see \textit{PNPI 5}). A photo of the original was not available to the author. The name Aggodom presents some difficulties in that the first consonant is doubled as in the case of Aqqah's and Aqqamal. It was proposed to considered them as formed with the prefix 'an- (see, Cantineau, \textit{RB} 39 (1930) 535 and \textit{PNPI 64}) but neither in Aramaic nor in Arabic is such a form attested (see, \textit{WSB} 141). Given the presence of Greek names in the family such as Teimôn, Alexandros and Apollonios, one may suggest a Greek origin for Aggodom.
The name Ayd'an is generally derived from the Arabic 'a'id 'saffron', see *PNK* 57, *CIS* 4581 and Milik, p. 39. The same name is attested once in South Arabian as a family group or a clan of Daw'at, cf. *ICPANI* 88. As already suggested by M. Gawlikowski (*Berytus* 19 (1970) 66) the name could also be derived from the well-attested root *yd* 'to know'. 'Ogeilû² son of Ayd'an was honoured by the priests of Hertâ with a statue because of his generosity and contribution to the construction of buildings for the gods Hertâ, Nanai and Relief. The date is as early as the year 6 BC. He is said to be of the Benê Komaré. Another portion of the same family, according to the onomastics, is attested much later, when in 141 AD, a certain Yarhai erects a statue to his friend and colleague Šqadû the acknowledged chief of the fundûq of the Palmyrene tradesmen in Volosgeus. We have identified the father of 'Ogeilû² and the ancestor of Yarhai as the same person but unfortunately the lack of epigraphical material attesting to this family does not allow for a complete reconstruction. The name *SRY* is transcribed into Greek, Asorauos, and is to be considered here a surname indicating the remote ancestor of the family (for its meaning see the Asorai family, no. 35).
9. The Zabdibôl family

A statue was erected by 'Ogeiľů's sons in his honour. Their names are not attested but the word \textit{bnwhy} (plur.), tells us they are more than one. It is possible that at the moment of the dedication, 'Ogeiľů was already dead, and that -as in other cases- the honours were posthumous. The date is 28/29 AD, but the script would favour the end of the 1st c. AD. This implies that the inscription has been engraved a second time. Tessera \textit{RTP} 229 mentions a ZBDBWL \text{[CGY]}LW but we do not know if they can be identified with our family because the names Zabdibôl and 'Ogeiľů are frequently attested. The Zabdibôl family goes back to the half of the 1st c. BC.
Liam is the builder in 32 AD of the temples of Bel, Yarhibol and 'Aglibol with their sanctuaries, and he was honoured with the erection of a statue by his sons in the year 45 AD, probably after his death. Although 'sons' are indicated, we only know of one son to Liam, that is Haran. If the reconstruction of the inscription C1S4493 proposed by Milik, p. 112 and adopted here is correct, Hannâ, the wife of Liam, is also his niece, daughter of his brother, following a custom elsewhere attested at Palmyra (see below no.63, the Elahbei family). The grandchild of Liam, also named Liam, is mentioned in an inscription from Wadi Hauran found together with ten more inscriptions dated to 98 AD. Liam must have been a great priest of the temple of Bel and his nephew, Abulai, also belonged to the Palmyrene priesthood as his genealogy, attested in RTP638, testifies it. Martahôn and her sister 'Amrat clearly belongs to this family but the degree of kinship of their grandfather with the rest of the family is not sufficiently recorded. Martahôn was the wife of Malkû Rabbû of the 'Ananî family (see below under the Mattaböl tribe, no.39).
In the year 175 AD, 'Awîdâ and Yaráhîbôlà were honoured by the Senate and the People because they had offered six panels in bronze for the temple of Bel. In 59 AD, Háddûdan erected a statue in honour of Marcus Ulpius Yarhâi, Palmyra's acknowledged leader of the caravan trade, because he helped him in Spasinou Charax, one of the Palmyrene emporiums in the East. Tomallakis received a statue in her honour, in 182 AD, because she had presented the sum of 2500 denarii for the building of a bath in the temple of the gods 'Aglibôl and Malakbel. Tomallakis' grandfather had held the most prestigious office of the time, that of symposiarch of the priests of the temple of Bel. In H. Ingholt, *Beryrus 3* (1936) 89-91 no.2, pl. XX 2, a BTPRMWN is mentioned that Milik, p. 35 considers a surname of Tomallakis, and the inscription reads: “Image of Háddûdan son of DKT of the inner chamber, freedman of Bat-Firmôn”. If we accept the interpretation of H. Ingholt (in *Studies in Honor of G.C. Mires*, Beirut 1974, pp. 46-47) who sees in dkt an Iranian loan-word with the meaning of ‘lady’, then Háddûdan would refer to the hieros gamos, the sacred marriage already attested at Palmyra, according to Gawlikowski (*Syria* 48 (1971) 408-409). In 160 AD, Háddûdan bought from the tomb of the Three Brothers eight niches for himself and his family. The Malkô attested in the same tomb is without doubt his son. A double bust now at the Louvre Museum, represents a couple, Haggai daughter of Háddûdan, identified here with Háddûdan and Zabadibôl son of Salman, her husband. Their marriage following a well attested custom is a marriage among relatives, in this case among cousins. Another son of Salman is Abgar mentioned in an inscription found near the Euphrates. The Firmôn family is probably of foreign origin as the name of the ancestor, Firmôn, might be the Persian Fermân (see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 99). It goes back to the beginning of the 1st c. AD. The inscription mentioning Ma'nâu surely refers to this same family, as Háddûdan Firmôn are two names given respectively as grandfather and ancestor's names. Unfortunately the date is partially erased and only the signs for '400' are visible and no signs for the units are left, which suggest a date between 88 AD and 187 AD. Milik, p. 237 reads tessera RTP35, YRBWL PRMN RB MRZH*, instead of YRBWL LRMN, identifying this symposiarch with our Yaráhîbôlà. The reproduction of the tessera on pl. III is not sufficiently clear to judge.
In 128 AD, Bagesû and Habbâ were honoured by the Benê Ḥaṣãš, a family of the Benê Komarê, with two statues in the temple of Bel. It is for this reason that Milik, p. 239 surmises that the Bagesû family belongs to the group of the Benê Ḥaṣãš. From an onomastic point of view no connections may be seen between the two. Certainly, the Bagesû family belongs to the Palmyrene priesthood as at least three of its members are attested or portrayed as priests. The name of Bagesû appears in a tessera dated to 132/133 AD and he is the chief of a thiasos. Together with other people, Rabbel was priest and administrator in 134 135 of the temple of ‘Aglibôl and Malakbel. Male was also a priest. From the inscriptions we know that the Benê Komarê had that sanctuary under their care. The presence of priests and the devotion to the cult of ‘Aglibôl and Malakbel suggest that the Bagesû family was member of the Benê Komarê. The different spelling BGS is attested in CIS 4395 and Inv XII, 15. The fact that the name Bagesû appears only in this family argues in favour of recognizing them all as one family, although there is no direct evidence for BGS to be considered Zabdibôl’s father, apart from dating based upon the sculptural style and the script of the inscriptions. The date should be to the end of the 1st c. AD. Milik, p. 117 restores CIS 3979 and adds it to this family, but there is a discrepancy in the chronology. The altar of CIS 3979 is dated before the half of the 1st c. AD while the person is identified with the one of Inv IX, 34 honoured in 128 AD. The gap of time is therefore too big and the identification cannot be accepted. The name Bagesû is of uncertain derivation (see PNPI 74). We propose a Persian origin for it as at Persepolis and Susa we find the name Beš it is a name formed by the word baga ‘god’ (cf. OP 138; I. Gershevitch, Transactions of the Philological Society, 1969, p. 193 and M. Mayrhofer, Aus der Namenwelt Alt-Iran, Innsbruck 1971, p. 15) and Be ge-e-sattested in Achaemenian Nippur (see R. Zadok, The Jews in Babylonia During the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods, Jerusalem 1979, p. 65).
The Ba'at family had three tombs in its possession. The tomb no.21 built before 8 AD is where MoqImtl6 and BelflrI7 were buried. The tomb no.67, belonging to Hairan, was built in the year 33 AD by BelthI and the tomb no.68 built by four brothers, SabI, NabOzbad, Taimai and NabtMâ. Their brother Hairan'0, that is not mentioned in the foundation text must have died earlier than 83 AD. In an undated inscription BelürI7 is honoured by the god Sadrâfa and the priests with a statue because he pleased them. Three of the four brothers who founded the tomb no.68, SabI, NabOzbad and NabûIâ, made an offering in the temple of Nabû to which they attached a special devotion as the onomastics itself shows. The fact that the three sons of BelthI bear the same name can be explained with the death of the first-born and the taking on the name by the second, etc. In any case, this is not the only example at Palmyra (cf. no.68, the Nab(lthI Rabbâ family). It is interesting to note that the first born of Taimai'4 had been named after his maternal grandfather and the latter one after his paternal grandfather, with an inverted use on the the traditional naming customs. In this family we again see the usual reference to the ancestor by the omission of the word bar 'son' and sometimes underlined by the expression dy mqr 'called' which very often introduces, or stands for, the denomination of the whole family group. Genealogical trees of this family are in M. Gawlikowski, SP 3 (1969) 61; Syria 48 (1971) 423 and Milik, p. 88.
We know the vocalisation of 'QML from the bilingual texts (CIS 4167; Gawlikowski, Berjtus 19 (1970) 71): Aqqimal/Aqamal. He represents the ancestor of this large clan that belongs to the Benê Magerian. The well attested formula where the term BR 'son' is omitted before the last name of the genealogy confirms that. This family goes back to the 1st c. BC. Members of it have founded tombs. The first foundation took place in 59 AD and was made by Arônâ, for himself and his brother Ogeïfl. The exact location of the tomb is unknown. Possibly in the same year, two statues had been erected in honour of the brothers in the tomb (Tadmore III, 38). Almost a century later Likám son of Nûrbel built tomb no.188 in the year 143 AD for himself and his son Malik (CIS 4167). Likâm's nephews, Nûrbel, Moqîmî and Hainin, one year later, in 144 AD, dug a tomb in the Valley of Tombs (Jew XII, 1). There is no an exact date for the tower tomb no.15 of VT, but according to the their style, the sculptures found reflect the period between 70 and 140 AD (see Makowski, SPJ 19 (1985) 76 note 29) and half of the 2nd c. AD according to Michałowski, Palmyre IV, 163 no.6 and 164 no.7. Makowski, art. cit., 77 believes that the tower tombs nos.15 and 19 had been built in the 2nd half of the 1st c. AD. In the year 215 AD, J.A.

Moqûmî member of this same clan, sells part of the tomb no.83 in VT which is said to be contemporary to the tomb of Kilût (40 AD). 'Ogeïfl is one of the members of the thiasos (kleros, group of people associated in the worship of a particular deity or deities) of the temple. All these people have a common ancestor, Aqamal, a name seldom used outside the clan. 'Ogeïfl is one of the members of the thiasos of the temple of Bel (probably of the first temple of Bel).
15. The ‘Abdibel family

Nēṣā is called BR ‘BDBL thus showing that ‘Abdibel is the ancestor of the family. The two brothers Lišamē and Zebidā offer a jōmmāna and an altar to Samaṣ who is called ‘the god of the house of their father’.
The Auṣai family is one of the oldest families at Palmyra as it goes back to the end of the 2nd c. BC. The ancestor Auṣai must have been of Arabic origin. We have two early dates in the family, one being 17 BC when ‘Atchamm was honoured with a statue by ‘Aglibôl, Malakbel and the Benê Komarê. The other is 9 BC, when Kahîth and Haran built a tomb for their father ‘Atenatan who most probably was already dead at the time. The two tomb founders are mentioned again in CIS 4111 from the same tomb as CIS 4110 where ‘Abdibel, very likely a son to Kahîth, is attested. A second tomb foundation took place in 57 AD and the construction was made by ‘Ogeilû son of Auṣai son of Kahîth, the Palmyrene. Milik, p. 63, in his genealogical tree identifies this Kahîth with the Kahîth founder of the other tomb. For chronological reasons we prefer to see in him the son of Auṣai and not of ‘Atenatan. Furthermore we consider the two Auṣai (12-13), who erected a portico to Bôl'astor, two cousins, the grandson of Haran son of Auṣai as already suggested by M. Gawlikowski, Palmyre VI, 63 and not as uncle and nephew, pace Milik, p. 63.
Two sisters also seem to belong to this family, Tomaleke who died in 123 AD and Salôm who died 28 years later, in 151 AD. Milik, p. 63-64 proposes to see in Au šal the father of these two women, the brother of Lišamā, father of ‘Autan, son of Aušai of CIS4361. The problem is that the inscription is undated and according to the sculptural style should be dated to 230-250 AD, almost a century later compared to Tomaleke and Salôm inscriptions. This does not exclude the possibility that CIS4361 belongs to this family. The vocalisation of the name KHYLW as Kohailō, a qatil form, should be definitely dismissed since a bilingual text (Inv X, 54) gives the Greek transcription Χελου. The name is the verbal adjective of the qatil form with the meaning of ‘successful’. The root khl ‘to be able’, ‘to be successful’ is attested both in Aramaic (D2Ψ51 133-130; WSB 174) and in pre-Islamic Arabic (Sabean, see SD 77) with the same meaning. It is difficult to decide whether the name is to be considered Aramaic or Arabic. The final waw and the fact that it is attested in Nabataean (PNMR 35 no.551), would favour the second view. The Greek transcription Xηλ and Χαλ would refer to the name KHL (ICPANT 506), while Χελου (Wuthnow, 146) would transcribe the same name as Χελου, with a diphong ay-ey or a long vowel i. Therefore we propose to vocalize KHYLW, Kahilō or Kahailō, the second less probable as the form qatil does not seem to be attested.
In inscription CIS 3927 we find the name BWN S̱T. According to a well attested formulary the omission of BR indicates a reference to the ancestor of the family. A member of this group is called BRS̱T, thus confirming our assumption of a Saat as ancestor. This family belongs to the tribe of Benê Mitã and must have been an autochthonous family as members point out that they are 'Palmyrenes', and the family is already known in the 1st c. BC. The best attested individual is Ḥairan, who must have been an important figure since he is honoured by the priests of Bel and by the Senate and People. It is very likely that Ḥairan has generously contributed to the decoration of the buildings of the gods and his prodigality was registered in the house of the archons in 68 69 AD. His son, Bônê, was a symposiarch (RTP 463) and his grandson was the president of the Senate and the People in 137 AD, at the moment of the promulgation of the new Fiscal Law. It is noteworthy that Aḥpal, whose ancestor is Taimai, helped to build foundations for Malakbel Gad Taimai and ‘Aṭīrāteh, ancestral gods. Like in the old family of Yedīrbel (see below no.21), we find here the Gad Yedīrbel the 'Fortune' of their ancestor, and Aḥpal also built foundations for Malakbel Gad Taimai and ‘Aṭīrāteh. The Gad Taimai is associated with Malakbel and with the Bene Bônê in RTP 135, 273 277 and 279, as well as in RTP 276 to the Benê Rabbel. The Benê Taimai are related to Malakbel in RTP 262 and invoke the blessing of Bel in RTP 108.
18. The 'Atenatan Kaftût family

'Atenatan Kaftût and his son Yamlikû were in charge of the duties that applied to any goods that entered the oasis and it is the only example of local management of taxes. The date is as early as 10/11 AD. The family of 'Atenatan is not known otherwise. The name of his father, Bar'â, is widespread, a Bar'â family appears in the Mattaböl tribe. A far ancestor of this family may have been someone called Kaftût, as the second name of 'Atenatan suggests.

19. The Zabdû Rabbû family: tomb of 'Ate'aqab

'Ate'aqab built a tomb in 56 AD for his father, probably already dead at the time. Moqîmû was a priest, since he is portrayed with a simple modius. All the inscriptions regarding this family are funerary.
20. The Laqisū family

LQYSW ¹

PTRQLS alias 'STWRG' ²

'BGR ³ ⁴ AD

Abgar was honoured by the Senate because he had been an 'excellent citizen'. The name Laqisū or Laqasū is only attested once. One Greek name, Patroklos, stands out in a probably Arabic family.
The Yedbe1 family is, so far, the oldest family attested at Palmyra. In fact, it goes back to the 2nd c. BC and was very likely of Arabic origin. A ritual of purification was carried out by Wahballat, in his family tomb, in 11 AD to modify the sacredness of the place, before the construction of the temple of Baalshamin started. Mathanaï had erected a stele to the ‘Lady of the temple’ sometimes before or possibly at the same time Gaddarsî3 consecrated an altar to the goddess. It is worth noting that the names Gaddarsî and Qamû are good Arabic names. Bar'atai Rabbâ8 could be identified with Bar'atai2 but in the inscription (RSP 143) he is said to be the great-grandfather of Gaddarsî3.
The inscription Inv X, 40 has been restored by Milik, p. 102 on the basis of the Greek version and other inscriptions referring to the Benê Ma'zûyân. They are well attested in inscriptions coming from the temple of Baalshamin. Zabdi'ôl was honoured by the Palmyrene tradesmen who returned with him from Spasinou Charax, and must have been a caravan chief. In fact, caravan chiefs usually received honours from the tradesmen after a successful trip to and back from the Eastern emporiums (cf. the two most popular synodarchs of Palmyra, M.U. Yarḥas and Šeṣadû). In Inv XI, 88 we find a certain Qelevû called BR'TKY in parallel with Inv IX, 20 where we find 'Atenaton BRST, in both instances a designation of belonging to a clan or a family. Inscription Inv XI, 88 comes from the foundation T of the temple of Bel, which is older than the cella of Bel built in 32 AD. The earliest dated text from the wall T is of the year 44 BC and this is one of the many reused to build the wall. This allows us to refer this family to the beginning of the 1st c. BC. Milik’s suggestion, p. 102, that the people of Inv XI, 92 and Tadmorea II, 24 were part of this family cannot be accepted. The fact that they belong to the Benê Ma'zûyân and that the inscriptions have been found in the wall T is not sufficiently convincing.
Zabdilah was honoured by the Benê Ma'ziyân with a statue in the temple of Baalshamin. The name of the ancestor, attested also in the family of Yedî'bel (see above no.21) is a name of a good Arabic origin and it has the meaning of 'smith', a name derived from a profession. The family goes back to the 1st c. BC.
The Aytîbel family belongs to the tribe of Benê Maʿzîyân and was active in the temple of Baalshamin. In RSP 161 (dateless) Malkû was honoured with a statue erected in the temple by a certain ‘Ogeilû son of Moqimû son of ‘Ogeilû and Malkû is said to be his master. We propose to see in BS 23 and 34 the same person as RSP 161. It must be the same Malkû, the archon mentioned in BS 34 and the one who offered an altar to Baalshamin, Dûrahôn, Rahım and the Fortune of Yedîbel in 62/63 AD. Probably, it is Malkû’s grandson, whose name is lost, who built, with another person, in the year 81 82 the tomb found in the new village at Palmyra. Together with this fragmentary foundation text there is mention of the restoration of a door made by Malê and ‘Oggâ descendants of Aytîbel, sometimes after 188 AD. The father and grandfather of ‘Oggâ bear a double name which is not at all unusual at Palmyra (cf. above no.4, the Abbanît family). Chabot, CIS 4197, p. 303 has proposed to see in them three different people, namely ‘G’ br SLMP, SMSGRM br BR(SM)S and ‘G’ br YTYBL, but in fact there should be a waw separating the names, or at least between the last two names, and the reading cannot be accepted. The name BR(SM)S could be adopted here, since there is enough room for these two letters, in the lacuna. In two tesserae we find HYRN ‘GYS’ (RTP 666) and HY(RN) ‘GY(LW)’ (RTP 799), probably to be identified with the father of Malkû.
25. The Yedîbel family

In 64 AD, Allat and the Benê Maʿzûyân honoured Salamallat because he made offerings, constructed buildings and had been generous. His great-grandfather was called the 'Palmyrene', indicating a local and ancient origin of the family.

26. The Raʿai family

In 67 AD, Yarḥai offered a whole portico to Baalshamin and no less than five columns in the temple commemorated him. In 130 131 AD, Yarḥai's son Malê Agrippa built, at his own expenses, the temple of Baalshamin, Duraḥlon and the Gad of Benê Yedîbel. The same year Malê Agrippa was honoured by the Senate and People because, being secretary for the second time when the divine Hadrian went to Palmyra, he had supplied the citizens and the troops with oil and took care of the camp. The Raʿai family goes back to the 1st c. BC.
27. The Belhazî/Bôlhazî family

Three brothers, Wahbai, Malkû and Belhazî had built each person a portico in the temple of Baalshamin. The first two in the year 90 AD, the other in the year 103/104 AD. Malkû and Belhazî were honoured with a statue by the priests of Baalshamin and the Benê Ma'rizyan for their generosity. In 49 AD, Zabbâ, their cousin, received three statues in his honour. Ramî son of Taimnâ, son of Zabbâ has been considered a member of this family as well as the woman 'GB'.

28. The Aqmat family

The two inscriptions attesting this family come from the foundation wall T, in the temple of Bel. They were reused there and their dating must go back at least to the 1st c. BC, as the wall T is older than the cella of Bel built in 32 AD. The oldest text from the foundation T is dated to 44 BC. The two brothers, Sailâ and Wahbai, were honoured with a statue and both are said to belong to the Ma'rizyan tribe.
29. The Zabdibel family

```
ZBD 1
|
BLHZY 3
|
TYM 5
```

```
TNTN 2
|
BRV 4
|
FMTLT 6
```

Amatallat, of the Mitâ tribe, who offered a column to Baalshamin, was married to Taimâ of the Ma'ziyân tribe.

30. The Gabbâ family

```
GBP 1
|
MQYM 2
|
DY 3
|
ZBY 4
```

Zebidâ was honoured by his tribe, the Benê Ma'ziyân, because he pleased them and their gods.
31. The Qaḥazan family

QHZN
  |
ZBDNBW
  |
ZBDY

In 67 AD, Zabdai offered five columns to Baalshamin.

32. The Taimai family

TYMY
  |
GD

MLKW
  |
R'Y'L

In 73 AD, the two brothers Malkû and Raʕaʕel, offered altars to Baalshamin which are said to be for the great door yet to be built. We propose to identify Gaddâ son of Taimai of Inv VIII, 35 with our Gaddâ; the same names could possibly be simple homonyms.
In 61 62 AD, Zabdilah called SHPLH was honoured by Allat and the Bene Nūrbel. The name SHPLH was read by Milik, p. 79, MHPLH, compared by him with MPL of CIS4160 that he also corrects to MHPLH or MHPLY, the Greek transcription of whose names is Μοιάου. Unfortunately, the plate in Milik, pl. V 2 is too effaced to favour any interpretation. The name 'YS' is widely attested in Nabataean under the form 'YSW. The name is Arabic, cf. 'Y S̱, Iyās, IPCAN R88 and IFSC 556. The Greek transcription is Iasow, see Lidzbarski, ESE II, 332. Zabdilah⁵ was honoured by the Senate because he had carried out his charge of scribe with merit.
Yedîbel⁴ offered a statue in honour of his father who was very likely already dead at that time. 'Aδι/α, Yedîbel’s father, in the Greek version is called ‘Palmyrene’. Yedîbel also is called ‘Palmyrene’ in the Greek version of the text where is recorded that he was honoured by the Palmyrene and Greek tradesmen of Seleucia because he had generously contributed to the construction of the temple of Bel. The regular papponomy of the name Yedîbel and its recurrence in every other generation is noteworthy. For this reason we thought of the builders of a hypogeum in Jebel ‘Antar, Yedîbel and Wahballat, to be members of this same family. We also note that the name of the ancestor of the family, Barakai, is not introduced by BR ‘son’ which indicates that the anthroponym has a character of eponym.
In 63 AD Barṣ7 of the Benē Mattabol, offered an altar to Arṣā, Qismayā and 'the daughters of the god'. This is the oldest mention of the name Barṣ, and in spite of being a very common name we believe it to be part of a larger group. Barṣ6 was the founder of a tomb in the SW necropolis of Palmyra in the year 185 AD. The sculptures C/S246-2457 are considered to come from this tomb. They must have been transferred there after the construction of the tomb as all the people portrayed have died before 186 AD. No doubt anyway they belong to the same family. The person who dedicated a stele to Ṣadrafa, Atenaran6 very likely belonged to this same group. His grandfather is a certain Ṭobeb ṣ but it is impossible to identify him with the other Ṭobeb6 because according to their genealogies there is a gap between the two of almost eighty years. They indeed may represent another branch of the same clan. The family includes at least one priest portrayed with a simple modius on the beautiful bust kept in the Louvre Museum, AO 2200. The relief of Zabdaateh shows, above his right shoulder, a wreathed menorah probably indicating his creed. It is the only example, so far, of the kind. The stele is in the Danish National Museum.
36. The Sokayyi family: tomb of Kitôt no.44

Salman was the founder of a tomb whose location is unknown. The date, 9 AD, is one of the earliest at Palmyra. There is a second foundation in this family by Kitôt, in the year 40 AD (the date has been correctly read 351, Seleucid era, by E. Will, Syria 28 (1951) 70, pl. VII 2). They all belong to the Mattabôl tribe.

37. The Makanâ Rabbâ family

Zabdibôl of the Mattabôl tribe was honoured by the tradesmen of Spasinou-Charax with a statue. The date is broken so that it could be either 50/51 AD or 70/71 AD. Milik, p. 21 recognizes the same Makanâ in a dedication to the god Arşû dated to 157 AD previously read by Starcky in Mélanges A. Robert, Pans 1957, p. 370-380 as MKô. The Benê Makanâ appear also in RTP 96 and J. Teixidor, MUSJ 42 (1966) 178 no.4 a-b.
38. The Rabbel family: tower tomb no.169, NW

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<td>[RPL] (^1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>[ZBDBWL] (^2)</td>
<td>10 - 20 AD</td>
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<tr>
<td>[TYMS] (^3)</td>
<td>30 - 40 AD</td>
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<tr>
<td>[TYMS] (^4)</td>
<td>89 AD</td>
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<td>50 - 60 AD</td>
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Only the Greek version of this text is preserved. Because the transcriptions are all well known, it has been possible to recognize the Palmyrene names in them.
We believe that the 'Ananû family belongs to the Mattabôl tribe, since two of its members received great honours from the tribe itself because they paid for the roofing of the basilica dedicated to Ares-Arsû. Under the quaestorship of 'Ananû, in 114 AD, the City erected an altar to the Anonymous God. Chabot, CJS 3994, publishes three inscriptions (A–C) which have the same content. The name CNNW is spelt CNNW in CJS 3994 B and their Greek transcription is respectively Ananou and Ananidos. We have chosen the spelling with final waw, being more frequent (CJS 3994 A, C). The name CNNW is amply attested at Elephantine (see, TADAE, 2, p. 11 and TADAE, 3, p. lxiii). The people attested in CJS 4237-4238 come from the same tomb, that is why they are part of this family and the reconstruction has been done on onomastic bases. Martahôn, wife of Malkû Rabbû, belongs to the Sakaibel family of the Benê Komarê (see above no.10). The date, 156 AD, has been adopted from CJS 4241 where a sister of Martahôn is mentioned Betî, married to a member of the Bartê family (see below no.42), received honours from the Benê Mattabôl in 208 AD; she is not necessarily Malkû Rabbû's granddaughter but chronologically the relation is very suitable. Malkû and Moqimû, father and son, who paid for the roofing of the temple of Arsû, cannot be attached to the rest of the group since they are attested too late. We believe that Malkû and 'Ananû belong to this family as the names are so frequent here. They are devoted to Baalshamin to whom they made a dedication in 228 AD.
The Elahšă family belongs to the Mattabôl tribe. The inscription, *CJS* 4187, attesting it is partially erased and only the Greek text preserved a part of the name. In fact, the name of the tribe may also be interpreted as Zabdibôl but the frequency of some names in the Mattabôl group favours this interpretation. In the year 166 AD (or 136, see Milik, p. 27), three brothers, Moqimû, Taimîšă, and Zebïdâ together with their sons were honoured with statues but we do not know who offered them. Zebïdâ appears in tessera *RTP* 775 and he was probably in charge as symposiarch around the same time he received the statue. His nephew Elahšă is well attested and he also must have been a symposiarch (*RTP* 725 and Dunant, *Syria* 36 (1959) 107 no.24) and he is portrayed as such in a funerary bust made for him by Elahšă, son of Taimîšă, son of Samîsgeram, son of Habazau, probably a distant relative or a member of another branch of the Benê Mattabôl (*see below no. 6*).
41. The ‘Osailat family: tower tomb no.149 of Taimarsū, NW

The Greek transcription of the name ‘SYLT is given in two bilingual texts (CIS 4618 and Inv VII, 5 A). K.J. Stark, *PNPI* 107, explains it as an Arabic name derived from ‘asal ‘honey’ in the qu’tail form, but it would be difficult then to explain the final taw. Malkō is portrayed in a tessera under a vineyard and he is probably a symposiarch who carried out his activity around 130-150 AD. Two foundations are recorded in the family: Taimarsū built in 159 AD, a tomb that he was not able to complete and it was his son who, in 172 AD, constructed the higher part of the tomb. The inscription attesting this second construction is in Greek only. It is possible to identify Taimarsū and his father Bōrrefā, but Taimarsū’s son’s name is read Koupoc which is somewhat uncertain according to Cantineau. Milik, p. 238 proposes to read it Bouppos - Būppos that elsewhere corresponds to Bōrrefā (see, Inv X, 130) in line with the grandfather’s name.
42. The Bartê family: tomb of Elahbel, VT

Elahbel built a tomb in the Valley of Tombs in 164 AD but its exact location is unknown as the lintel was reused in the Great Colonnade. His descendants are honoured with five columns set up in the so-called Islamic sūq to the West of the Tetrapylon and later reused in the building of Islamic shops. Malkü 11 was honoured by the Mattabôl tribe twice. One column is dateless, the second is dated 203 AD. In July 208 Bettî, mother of Malkû and wife of Šadô, was also honoured by the Mattabôl tribe. The two brothers, Šadô and Yarhibôlâ were honored in 201 and 197 respectively. For Bettî’s family see the ‘Ananû family (above no.39).

43. The Ḥabazai family

Elahšâ made a funerary relief for Elahšâ, son of Taumšâ probably a distant relative or member of another branch of the Elahšâ family. A certain Ḥabazai is attested in Inv VIII, 58 but it is improbable we have to do with the same person in spite of the rarity of this name. This family must also belong to the Benê Mattabôl.
44. The 'Aabî family

The symposiarch Yarhibolâ built in 89 AD, together with Moqimû, son of Moqimû, son of Zabdibol 'Arîmâ, a temple dedicated to Belhamôn and Manawat on the Jebel Munţar. He was also synedros or president of the Senate. In this family are recorded at least two more priests, one is Salman and the other is Mezabbanâ. Like in many other important families, their members constituted the Palmyrene priesthood. Other people of this family were in charge of important offices. Yarhibolâ had been honoured by the Senate and People of Palmyra because he helped the tradesmen and took messages to Susa in Elymais. Malikê was honoured by the 'Agrûd tribe in 81 AD. Baratchân who is said to belong to the Benê 'Agrûd made offers to Malakbel and 'Aghbûl. Tessera RTP 770 reads: [M]LKW HYRN 'B[Y], indicating a symposiarch who definitely belongs to this family, but no suggestions can be made as to his position within the family tree.
45. The 'Arîmâ family: tomb of Moqîmû, unknown location

Moqîmû Rabbâ built a tomb in the year 79 AD. The location of the tomb is unknown as the foundation text was found in the temple of Bel. Ten years later the construction, in 89 AD, his son Moqîmû together with Yarhibolā son of Malikû of the A'abî family (same tribe, see no.44) built the temple dedicated to Belhamôn and Manawat on the Jebel Munţar.

THE 'ATTAR TRIBE

46. The Barateh family: hypogeum no.81, W

The inscription is bilingual and can be restored through the Greek version. Sa'adāt built an hypogeum for himself and his descendants. The Greek transcription of this name is Saedos and Cantineau, Inv IV, 14 reads it [S'DW]. This name is only attested under the variant S'DY. One is tempted to see in it the name S'DW amply attested at Palmyra, but for this name the Greek transcription is always Saodos. This is the only epigraphical evidence where the Benê 'Aṭar are mentioned. The name of the ancestor is of a good Aramaic type including the divine name 'Aṭeh, very popular in Palmyrene onomastics.
The reconstruction of this family is partially hypothetical. A number of 15 inscriptions seems to refer to the Arâš family for several names constantly recur. The inscription C1S 4159 dated 114 AD, is a foundation text of the tomb of Zabda’ateh and Moqîmû where their affiliation goes back of seven generations. In the year 181 AD, a descendant of Zabda’ateh, Sirai bought from the tomb of Liham son of Liham six niches in the central chamber and the exedra on the left when you enter. From the same tomb come some graffiti attesting the names Kitôi (son of) Mezzabbanâ (son of) ‘Ate ‘aqab that we considered a single family. A problem we had to deal with is the name SRY attested twice under this form, otherwise written and read SDY. The alternance S/S is not at all unusual at Palmyra (see for example, SRYKW/ SRYKW). C1S 4159 gives the spelling SRY with pointed ะร whilst in inscriptions coming from the same tomb we find SDY (C1S 4219, 4220). Names and words in these inscriptions have pointed ะร with the exception of the name SDY. C1S 4378 offers the missing link between these two different spellings as Chabot in the Corpus reads SDY but, in fact, the letter is pointed so to be read SRY as pl. LVII shows. Ledzbarks, ESE, I, 198 had already suggested this reading. Therefore the name SDY should be deleted from Stark’s list. In Inv XII, 28 we have a broken text where a Moqîmû (son of) Arâš is mentioned and he has been identified to our Moqîmû.  

The Arâ family: tomb of Zabda’ateh and Moqîmû, SW

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<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>MQYMW</td>
<td>4 - 14 AD</td>
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<tr>
<td>’TQB</td>
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<td>SRY</td>
<td>24 - 34 AD</td>
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<td>’TQB</td>
<td>24 - 34 AD</td>
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<td>SRY</td>
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<td>RPBWL</td>
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<td>BRTh</td>
<td>16 - 6 BC</td>
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<td>SRY</td>
<td>6 - 14 AD</td>
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<td>RSTQ</td>
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<tr>
<td>QML[L]</td>
<td>8 - 16 AD</td>
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<td>PSY’L</td>
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<td>SLMY</td>
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<tr>
<td>SLMP</td>
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48. The 'Argan family

The 'Argan family must have been of Arabic origin as the name shows it (cf. Inv VI, p. 9). The name is only attested three times and it represents a family name. It can also be found in Safaitic, see ICPAN 415. 'Attai was married to a man of the A'ab family and in a date between 89 and 188 AD, she offered an altar to Baalshamin. We have provisionally chosen a date halfway between the two, placing 'Attai's birth around 82 AD, although it might well be much earlier. Furthermore we have identified the symposiarch Yarhai of CIS 3964 with Yarhibolah 10 of Inv XI, 20 as they have the same ancestor 'Argan ('Arga is a variant of 'Argan) and the name Yarhai is not other than an abbreviated form of Yarhibolah. In 263 AD, his son offered an altar to the Anonymous God.
It is to be noted that Bôlhank is from the Claudia tribe; he was married twice, Amanhatch and Safonnis and his great grandfather Othri also was married twice. The frequency of names and the common ancestor Hamal have fostered the belief of Zichad and his family to be part of the Hamal family. The date 239 AD for Zichad derives from an inscription found in Wad Hamal where the second Zichad son of Hamal is attested. Hamal is again attested as the ancestor of Bôlhank, the administrator of the Spring Elia and his son also was attested. Bôlhank had also built the building, the pool and the external wall of the Spring Elia and at the same time he had offered an altar. Bôlhank called Bôlhank, to indicate that she was a member of the Hamal family. She must have been married to someone who had property in the tomb of Safonnis as the inscription naming her comes from this tomb. In June 239 AD, an altar was offered to the Anonymous God by Bôlhank and Hamal at the expense of a certain 'Ateaqub son of Hamal. The altar was found not far from the Spring Elia. There might be a relation between the administrator's family and the one of 'Ateaqub.

Only as widely attested and the contextual meaning of the ancestor's name, Hamal, made no option a single family. For all the people mentioned in the inscriptions a safe reconstruction cannot always be given, but on the base of osteoarchaeological and available data it may be stated that the family of the family's ancestor may be the most representative of the family's history. The most general date available is 7690 AD, the tomb being in the Claudia tribe. Another tomb recorded in the family is 291 AD, Bôlhank's son of 'Ateaqub, and Bôlhank's son of Bôlhank, both of them are attested in the Valley of Tomba. All the inscriptions regarding Bôlhank's family were found in the tomb. It represents Bôlhank's two sons and their two children.

AD is considered by W. Sader (LOM 2 [1986] 291 and 294) the date of birth of Bôlhank. The date was introduced by the words 'Ateaqub, which is normally used for people still alive opposed to 'Ateaqub for people who are dead. If we assume that Bôlhank had built the tomb being in an age between 20 and 40 years old, then he must have been born around 220-230 AD. Furthermore, if we consider the age of reproduction to be approximately from the age of 20 (it could actually be even earlier) to the age of 40, his children must have been born in a lapse of time between 230-240 AD. Keeping the same pattern for the rest of the family we can go back to 210-140 AD. On the genealogical tree proposed by W. Sader, the sons, Bôlhank's and Bôlhank's sons, are born both as sons of 'Ateaqub. As we have seen, Bôlhank's tomb should be placed around 291 AD and MalkUs's tomb around 307-309 AD where he must have been at least 20 years old. If we consider the duration of a generation the latest time spanning the years from the birth date of the parents and the one of their children, then the chronology of Sader for MalkUs cannot be older 100-130 (Oudriana) or 90-100 (Sudre) as MalkUs was not yet born at that time.
50. The Qasmā family: from the hypogeum of Ta‘ai, SE

The only available date from the hypogeum of Ta‘ai is the foundation date which is between 88 and 188 AD as the inscription is damaged. The tomb according to the style of the sculptures had been built at the beginning of the 2nd c. AD. The above genealogical tree has been reconstructed taking into account the onomastic patterns, and the patronymy and the sculpture categories. The bust of Būrrefā, ‘Oggā and Būlayā all belong to the second group of Palmyrene sculpture, that is 150-200 AD. The one of Ommabī, where she is portrayed in a mourning attitude with her breast uncovered, could instead be dated to 200-250 AD. For a map of the tomb see K. Makowski, SP 8 (1985) 84, fig. 6. The name QSM is widely attested in Safaitic, see ICPAN 482.
51. The Samṣigeram family

Inscription Inv X, 106 dated to 119 AD, has been the starting point for the reconstruction of this family. This is the earliest date at our disposal. The name of the synedros is unfortunately lost, but we presume that to hold such a high position the person must have been in his thirties, so that his birth would take place around 90 AD. Is he to be identified to Naššūm⁵ that appears in RTP 773 as symposiarch? Another point is that Naššūm son of Zabdâ is called Julius Bassus on the tessera RTP 778. Julu Bass at Palmyra are attested around Commodus time (176-192 AD). This family belongs to the Palmyrene aristocracy. As we have seen one was synedros in 119 AD. Julius Aurelius Zenobios Zabdīlah was strategos in 229 when Severus Alexandros visited Palmyra and agoranomus before 242/243 AD. Julius Aurelius Septimius Malkū had the title of kratisios 'eminent' and he is said to be client of Worōd in 265 AD. Some members belonged to the Palmyrene priesthood as few tesserae attest. Naššūm⁵ was honoured by Allat and other deities as we found in a dedication of which only the Greek version is preserved. He must be the Naššūm of RTP 773 and 774. Būrrefā son of Samṣigeram built a tomb for his family. The location is unknown and the date is 158 AD.
Two dated inscriptions (CIS 3916 = Inv IX, 14a and Inv X, 124) refer to the synodiarch, head of caravans, Nesâ/Neâ. He was honoured twice by the tradesmen who went to and back with him from Phorat and Vologesias. The text CIS 3916 is written on the 8th column of the Southern Colonnade of the temple of Bel. In spite of the date 142 AD, the script seems to be later. The inscription must have been engraved for the second time in the third century. Ahmar's family presents connections with the above mentioned Nesâ's, because of the names recurring in it. The two relative inscriptions are undated: Inv XII, 24, the script is of classical type tending to mannered (after 2nd c. AD) and Inv IX, 14b has a cursive type of script (same period or later). For chronological reasons has been considered Nesâ's brother. Of the name 'BSY is also attested the variant 'BSY and 'BS' (see PNPI 103). The bilingual text CIS 3916, gives the Greek transcription of 'BS', Abisseos. The anthroponym is derived from Arabic 'ābiṣ' austere, severe' and is also found in Safaitic, see ICPANI 402.
53. The ‘Ašūlī family: from the hypogeum of Abda’astôr, SW

‘Abd’ astor son of Nūrbel the physician, built in 99 AD a tomb for himself and his family. Beside the foundation text, we have only one cession text recorded almost one hundred and forty years later by the great-granddaughter of the tomb builder. Many other people were buried in this tomb but we do not know how they acquired rights of burial in it. Few busts, certainly originally in the tomb, give us the names of other members of this family. For CIS 4418 we based ourselves on papponomy supposing a regular recurrence of ‘Abd’astôr’s name. The latter seems to be typical of this family. In CIS 4417 the link is the name Ba’altagâ, as the founder’s daughter’s name is Ba’altagâ, thus implying a Baraltagâ already in the family, possibly Nūrbel’s wife. We must recognize here the difficulty of fitting only four generations in a span of time of 140 years that means from 99 AD to 239 AD, if we adopt the principle of an average of twenty years between two generations. In fact, it would probably correspond better to reality a gap of thirty years unless, given the lack of a precise dating and of a larger epigraphical material, more generations would take place between ‘Abd’astôr and his great-granddaughter. Julius Aurelius Salmat is a joint-owner of the side-chamber to the right when you enter the tomb, with Amdâbû freedwoman of Julius Aurelius Absamayâ and foster-mother of Bonnê son of Rafael.
54. The Mahōy family: tomb in Qaryatein

Mattanai built a tomb in Qaryatein for his father Nurbel and his mother Nabbai probably already dead at the time. Mahōy preceded by the expression dy ṭiqrī ⴰ ‘called’ stands for the family name that is the ancestor’s name. The name MAHOY is attested as Persian in Gignoux, Iranisches, 113 no.545 where it is explained as an hypoconsticon of the personal name MAH ‘Persian’. The name MHWY is also found in Aramaic incantation bowls, see AITN no.28, spelled with a ūṣīr.
According to an accurate study by C. Makowski (DM 1 (1983) 175-187) of the sculptures from the 'Ailami and Zebîdî tomb, he proposes the date 170-190 as the years in which they were executed. He suggests that it is not to be excluded that the funerary reliefs were executed while the co-founders of the tomb were still alive. This is a tomb with the most fragmentary epigraphical evidence. In some cases we had only the Greek version of the inscriptions. For 'Ailami, most likely, MQYMW is the Palmyrene correspondent. For the name \\u03b3\u03ba\u03b1\u03c4\u03b7\u03c7\u03b3, Milik, p. 251 has proposed HNWNY or [HN]NY but the beginning of the name does not seem to have a missing letter. There is a NNY, female name or NNN but attested only as masculine. The tomb was founded in 119 AD by the two brothers 'Ailami and Zebîdî. 'Ailami and his father Harran were honoured by the Senate and People ten years before because they loved their city and honoured and pleased their gods. To this family belong Bûlai-Bûlalas who held one of the most important charges at Palmyra, that is the administration of the Spring Ecca in 162 AD. It must have been after one year (lasting time of this charge) that he was appointed as symposiarch of the priests of Bel which represented the top of the priestly carrier. Other members of this family belonged to the Palmyrene priesthood like Zebîdî. In the tesserae RTP 375 and 380 we find a [MOJ YMW ZBYD' and MQYMW respectively. This priest Moqîmû must be the same in both tesserae and he could be identified either with Moqîmû brother of the symposiarch Bûlalas or he may be considered a brother of the priest Zebîdî.
56. The Lišamī family: from the hypogeum of Fašael and Zebīdā

This hypogeum was built by Fašael son of 'Astorgā but we do not know when as the date is not given in the inscription. This records also a cession of part of the tomb made by the great-granddaughter of the builder, Segel. The year is 193 AD. Fašael excavated two galleries on the right and Zebīdā, one gallery to the left.

57. The Mariōn family

The only date available is 217 AD when Mariōn’s wife and sister died. He was a priest and if our identification is correct his wife’s father ‘Awīdā was a symposiarch. Following the onomastic patterns this seems to be the only family tree possible but we cannot justify it from a chronological point of view because of the lack of datings. The name MRYWN is to be considered the Greek name Mariōn, see WGE 862 and LGPN 298. The name is attested another time at Palmyra, see Inv IX, 24.
Of the foundation text CIS 4215 only the Greek text is left. The names being all well known have been easily identified and transcribed into Palmyrene. The foundation date is lost. The busts of two brothers, both of them symposiarchs, are one in the Museum of Archaeology of the American University of Beirut and the other in the National Museum of Belgrade, are part of this family. According to their sculptural style, they both belong to the 2nd group (150-200 AD) of the classification established by H. Ingholt in his classical study on Palmyrene sculpture. More likely they are closer to 200 AD. If this dating is correct, the record of this family goes back to the end of the 1st c. AD. We propose to see in the ‘Aliyat of CIS 4411 the wife of Yarhibolâ son of Nesâ, (son of) ‘Oggâ, taking into account onomastics and sculptural evidence. The same is true for CIS 4423. It is worth noting the abbreviated form of ‘Ogeilû in ‘Oggâ and Salamallat in Salmâ.
For this family we have only one date which is 150 AD. If our reconstruction is correct, this family is one among the oldest families at Palmyra. The onomastics helped to identify Halaftâ'2 of CIS 4268 with the one of Qāqah Rabbā's family attested in CIS 4277. In Inv VIII, 198 Qāqah is written Qāqâ which must be a mispelhng for the first as this name appears only here. Tammâ could also be the daughter of Halaftâ'2 or Halaftâ'. The name QWQH is also attested in Syriac, see Payne-Smith, Thesaurus Syriacus, 3558.
60. The Sewirâ family

In the year 97 AD, the two brothers Taimâš and Haggû must have been active under the orders of a strategos of nomads, Zebidâ Haumal in the SE desert of Palmyra in the year 97 AD. A grandson of Taimâš, Sewirâ made a relief together with a certain Malê son of [...]MLKY to the merciful and bountiful gods Baalshamin, 'Aglîbûl, Malakbel, Astarte, Nemesis, Arûtû and Abgal. The year is 153 AD. Another member of this family 'Ogêilû[13] was honoured by the Senate, the People and the Four Tribes with four statues because he had fought against the nomads and he assured security to the tradesmen and caravans and because his carrier in politics had been glorious and successful. The year is 199 AD. Yarhibâlâ and his family belongs to this group but the inscription is damaged and the date lost. His position in the genealogical tree might be wrong. A family with so many socially and military important people makes think of a family of an old date at Palmyra. It is not excluded that the family of the senator and symposarch belongs to this family as well as the family of 'Oggû son of 'Ogêilû, founder in the SE necropolis of the tower tomb no.194. No clear evidence are available. Cf. Milik, p. 23-25.
61. The Ya'atai family

Yadai Agrippa is a symposiarch of the thiasos of the temple of Bel whose office expired in 243 AD. One of his sons Perinna appears in RTP 806 and the other, Malkha may be the same of CIS 4385. In PNO, p. 177 we find G* MRQL Y*T which is clearly related to this family but it is difficult to find for him a safe position in the genealogical tree. In Inv XI, 69 the name of 'Oggil's grandfather is lost. As the papponimy recurs here with a certain regularity, we have surmised that it might be YediThel3. In CIS 3967, in the year 150 AD, a certain Yanilikü son of 'Oggil, son of Ya'atai was honoured with the erection of a statue. Clear seems to be the connection of Yanilikü with this family. It is also possible to imagine that G*GyLW7 may be his father, but the date made us to look for a further extension of the family. Thus, hypothetically guided by the chronology we have thought of an 'Oggil son of Ya'atai and brother of Y[DyBL]. If the reconstruction is right, the name 'Oggil will return for three generations.

The vocalisation of the name Y*T can be found in the bilingual text CIS 4022 where the Greek transcription of the name is Eiathos. In the same text, the name HBT is rendered Abbatha and HGT is to be vocalized Aggath.
In 87 AD, Belhazi and his sons A'ailami, Nergalzabad and 'Ogeilî built an hypogeum in the SE necropolis. The tomb is made in honour of the sons of their paternal uncle and of the descendants of A'ailami. Another person seems to take part to the construction, that is Wahballat son of Belnüri Bôşî. Wahballat also built the tomb in honour of the children of his paternal uncle. It is difficult to understand what kind of kinship there is between the two families. 'Ogeilî is a member of the thiasos of the ‘holy garden’ dedicated to 'Aglibûl and Malakbel and in 34 AD, together with eight more thiasists, he offered an altar to these two gods.
The Elahbel family is one of the largest and well attested families at Palmyra. Its history goes back to the 1st c. BC. In 103 AD, four brothers Elahbel, Mārunai, Sokayyl and Maltkī founded the tower tomb no.13 called of Elahbel. Elahbel, the first born, was a Roman citizen because he bears the gentilic Marcus Ulpianus (the citizenship given by Trajan, see D. Schlumberger, BEO 9 (1942-43) 53, 66 nos.5-7) and in Bounni and Saliby, AA 15 (1965) 126-135=Milik, p. 163 he is said to belong to the Sergia tribe. Mārunai, his brother, died the 30th of October 121 AD. This is one of the few dates available. Sokayyl was attested in two testaments, RTP 376 and 825 and he was a symposiarch. At least another priest is attested in the family, Elahbel alias Saturninus mentioned in a bilingual text (Palmyra-Latin) erected a statue in honour of Celesticus, the centurio of Legio III Gallica, IV Scythica and VI Ferrata. The fourth brother Maltkī was honoured in the temple of Bel by the Senate and People in 120/121 AD. This family gives the best example of marriages within the same family: Sokayyl is married to Amatā, his brother's daughter; Maltkī married his cousin 'Aatā and the same does Belqāb and Wabballā and Wabballā. Caius Julius Hārin belongs to the Falsa tribe which is the tribe of Augustus and Caligula and his family is one of the earliest to have received the right of Roman citizenship.
64. The Dakâ family

The name Dakâ is attested only in three inscriptions. This is why we preferred to present together these two family groups that may be related between them. 

Yarhai received a statue from his father after his and his brother's death. The name of the brother is not given. One may identify him with Yarhâ. 

Hagegû, attested in two texts, made in 232 AD and in 261 AD a dedication to the Anonymous God.

65. The Garbâ family

The Garbâ family is attested from the end of the 1st c. AD to the first half of the 3nd c. AD. Some of the members have received special honours. In 158 AD, Zebïdâ brother of Taimarštû was honoured by the Senate and People of Palmyra because he loved his city and he founded something which is not specified in the inscription. His brother received honours from his sons Yaddai and Zabdibîl from the caravan people who went back from Spasinou Charax with him because he spared them from spending 300 golden dinars. Taimarštû was the synodarch, i.e. the chief of the caravan.
Sasan is considered to be the founder of the hypogeum no.6 in the SE necropolis. The foundation text is lost and so eventual cession texts. The numerous sculptures available seem to belong to the 1st-2nd c. AD. Only one inscription is dated to the year 181 AD. The reconstruction has been made on onomastic and sculptural bases. The hypogeum has quite large dimensions. It contains six exedras with a high number of loculi. Sarcophagi and funerary banquetas have not been found. Furthermore, the modest decorations may reflect limited financial resources. This family was not authochtonous as the name of one ancestor, Sasan, may suggest. They must have mingled quite soon with the locals, since good Aramaic and Palmyrene names are present in the family. Nevertheless, some peculiar names attested in the family deserve attention like MPLWN, 'BRNYQ, TLHBL and MTY, for some of which the etymology is unknown.
According to the foundation text (RSP 1), the hypogeum was founded by 'Ogerilâ, son of Bôrrefâ, son of Qasmâ. We wonder whether this family belongs or not to Ta'aï's family. The recurring of some names in both families would favour to recognize them as a whole group (see above no.50, the Qasmâ family). This means that the hypogeum had only one owner. In fact no cessions were recorded. The fragmentarity of the epigraphical material and the lack of dates have compelled us to base our reconstruction only on the onomastics and the sculptural style. M. Gawlikowski, RSP, p. 12 proposes two partial genealogical trees. It has to be noted that Ta'aï (18) of the first tree cannot have an offspring as he is represented on the stele as a boy. The inscription RSP 3 of Nabûlâ, son of Wahballat, son of Ta'aï and RSP 16 of Nabûlâ, son of Ma'ranû, son of Ta'aï have not found place in the tree.
Older Rabbi family; hypogeum of Bithlid SE

Tomb was built by Rabbi son of Nabunid. From the inscription RSP 79, we learn that he died in 58 B.C. A date between 57 and 49 can be chosen as both dates at the moment of the death is 1 year old. The spelling BWP changes often in BWP and BWP becomes BWP. We retained the most common spellings with W and Y. The tomb is largely empty and its brothers in the family Burjudeh was married to her nephew who was the son of Bithlid. We have two cases in which at the moment but the son of a Y. Qorbul and Qorbul and Qorbul. The reconstruction of this large family on the basis of epigraphical and sculptural evidence, which helped us to identify the names and their portraits. Having the consonants so repetitive, it would have been almost certain. Members of this family belong to the Paleophone priesthood, Malkot, the tambour.

1. Children mostly have a meander type of genealogies, due to the case of Hanum and of Hanum. Qorbul son of Bithlid from the same tomb (see RSP 80). Amongst young there two boys, Qorbul and Qorbul, Qorbul and Qorbul, Qorbul and Yedan. For a sb, see K. Mahawati, SB 26 (1985) 79, fig. 2. On the contrary the right when you enter the tomb there is a sarcophagus representing two men Zabdibôl Qorbul and Bithlid, son of Qorbul. Zabdibôl and Nabunid and one man Qorbul son of Bithlid. In the same cove another sarcophagus represents two men one of whom is a priest Malkot and the other is his father Qorbul son of Bithlid; a woman "Ami" and of Shallit appears as well as their sons Nabunid and Qorbul. Between the legs of the rostrum there are four boxes, three of which in name: Qorbul and "Barak" sons of Malkot, sons of Qorbul and "Barak" daughter of Yedan son of Bithlid. A third sarcophagus in the same Northern cove belongs to "Ami" the freedman of Malkot and Bithlid. Barak, Qorbul, Qorbul son of Bithlid who married a nephew, and probably their grandchildren, Qorbul and Yedan. A fourth sarcophagus was found in the Northern cove, where two men, a woman and two children are portrayed. They are Qorbul, dead at the age of sixty, and his son Nabunid, the priest. The name of the woman is "Ami" daughter of Barak (RSP 109), probably the daughters of the priest Barak.}

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Publius Aelius Obaihan, as the Greek version tells us, was the founder of the tower tomb no.164 in the North West necropolis in 118 AD. Only one cession text is recorded beside the foundation one. Unfortunately the inscription is damaged so that no date is left and the Julii Aureli Obaihan and Malkû may be regarded as either the grandchildren of P.A. Obaihan or the great-grandchildren. The transfer of part of the tomb was in favour of Julius Aurelius Taimarshû and Julius Aurelius X sonsof 'Awdû, son of Malkû.
The name Qirdå represents here the name of the whole family. It is not introduced by the word BR ‘son’. The name is found in an inscription engraved on a funerary banquet representing the symposiarch Taibbôl son of Yadî’ai Taibbôl Qirdå, his wife Martî and two young men whose names are unknown. The trikínum is undated but sculpturally is very similar to the one from the tombs of Yarḥâi, Bôlhâ and the Three Brothers, Yarḥâi, ‘Aṭenûrî and Zabdîbôl. They must have been executed around 200 AD. Three more members are portrayed on the banquet, a man, a woman and another man with a wreathed modius. Their names are not known. The anthroponym Qirdå appears only in four more reliefs. Its rarity made us surmise that they must come from the same tomb and might belong to the same family. The above represented genealogical tree may be hypothetical in that the four busts are not dated. According to their sculptural style they belong to the 3rd group of Ingholt’s classification which corresponds to 200-250 AD. Batmâlî and her husband Qirdå gave to the second-born the same name, Hairan, of the first-born who died when he was still a child. Qirdå7 is also father to Baṭâ and Yaddâi and his name, in this instance, is introduced by the word ‘son’. One might be tempted to see in Yaddâi the grandchild of Yadî’ai but the first is not an abbreviation of the second. Yaddâi must derive from a different root than Yadî’ai. In fact, in the Greek transcription we have a doubling of the letter ‘d’ that does not take place for Yadî’ai which comes from the root yd ‘to know’. The name QRD7 finds parallels in Safaitic, QRD, cf. ICPANI 479 vocalized QIRD, see CJK 469.1.
In Tadmorea I, 12 A is impossible to understand who honoured whom and why. 'Astorgā and Simōn offered three columns to Baalshamin in his temple.
The hypogeum was founded by one of the three brothers, Male, in 142 AD. The history of the tomb is known to us till 241 AD with a great-grandniece of the founder. In the year 160, AD two cessions of the tomb took place: Male and his brothers gave to Haddúdan son of Salman, son of Zabdiból eight loculi in the exedra on the left when you enter (CIS 4171. See page 281 for a map of the tomb). In the same year, 160 AD, the three brothers gave to ‘Abdsayará freedman of ‘Ate‘aqab son of Rafaeból the whole exedra on the right when you enter and four loculi in the first central chamber. Thirty years later, they ceded to Zabdiból son of Kastú son of Bará the Eastern wall of the exedra on the left consisting of eight loculi and three loculi in the first central chamber (see below no.322). The same year, in turn, Zabdiból sold all his property to Narqaos freedman of ‘Oqeínól son of Mallól (CIS 4173; see below no.600). In 191 AD, Narqaos sold four loculi of the Eastern wall of the exedra on the left and two loculi of the first central chamber to the Jewish family of Simrón son of Abbá, son of Honamá, son of Abramá (CIS 4174; see below no.89). Batmalkól, fifty years later, sold to Julius Aurelius Male son of Yada‘l, son of Yedt‘bel four loculi of the Northern wall of the first central chamber (CIS 4175). Male5, the founder, is without doubt the first-born in the family. In fact, he was the one who built the tomb at a time when his brothers were not of age yet or anyhow too young. They act all together in 160 AD for the first cession of the tomb. We have kept the names of the Three Brothers in the order they appear in the inscriptions.
The ʿSeleferā family: tomb of the ʿAlainē

The tomb of ʿʿAlainē was founded in 138 AD which represents the earliest date for the whole family. ʿʿAlainē, the tomb builder, his brother Soraikū and his sister-in-law Martī together with their sons, Hairan and Yadē were honoured with statues in 179 AD. ʿʿAlainē was honoured by the Zabdibōl tribe. He was the first-born and his birth must be placed around 100-120 AD and he was probably still alive in 179 AD. His brother Soraikū, who offered seven columns was instead honoured by the Senate and he was very likely more well-off than his brother. Soraikū is definitely still alive in 179 AD as himself erected a statue in memory of his wife Martī dead by that time. His first-born son Hairan-Herōdēs was offered a statue by the Zabdibōl tribe in honour of his father Soraikū and the same is for Yadē who in 179 AD also received a statue from the Zabdibōl tribe in honour of his father. Yadē is still alive in 194 AD when he honoured Manilius Fuscus, legatus of Syra Phoenice in that year. Septimius Alexandros must have received his gentilic before Caracalla and after Septimius Severus (193 AD). In fact, his son's name is Julius Aurelius Septimius Yadē, who received his third name from his father and the first two names in honour of Julia Domna and of Caracalla, in 212, like many other Palmyrenes. J.A.S. Yadē offered a statue to Septimius Worōd in 264 AD when he had accomplished his service in the three equestrian militiae. For the family, its tomb and sculptures and for a detailed study, see A. Sadurska, *Palmyre VII*. 

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The family is attested on the busts found in the exedra E of the hypogeum of Sasan. The name MTY is new. In Nabataean we find MTWY, see PNNR 38 no.625. In Safaitic MTY is also attested, see ICPANI 551. The vocalisation Matwi is recorded in CIK 404.2. The Greek transcription Matthaios is in Wuthnow, 69. The feminine name 'BRNYQ (and not 'BRNYM of the author) is also new.

The second part is of difficult interpretation. Should the name Berenice be approached to our 'BRNYQ?
This family is well attested thanks to the large number of sculptures portraying its members. In the year 133/134 AD three brothers, Yaḥai, Ḍanūrī and Zabdīböl built a tomb in the SW necropolis. Their brother Nūrbel is not mentioned in the foundation text. As H. Ingholt (Berytus 5 (1938) 103) had already pointed out he was not yet born or he was not of age. He died in 181 AD. These four brothers had a sister named after their mother TDMR. In CIS 4262 the name is restored TDM[R]. As the name of her mother is TDMR we opted for this restoration. Tadmor senior was still alive when in 133/134 AD her sons built the tomb. She died in 148 AD. The date of her death (CIS 4258) has been restored CCCCLVII for we have another inscription (J. Sabeh, AAS 3 (1953) 19) where the date is 459 (Seleucid era) and it is not broken. Sixty years after the foundation, Aqmat daughter of Yaḥai, together with Moqimū son of Lišamū son of Ḫifrū (see below no 377), gave in cession a portion of the tomb. We do not know what type of relationship there was between the two. They could be husband and wife but Aqmat is not followed by ‘ḥ his wife’.
The first tomb in the family was built by Ḫagegū and Moqīmū in the year 99 AD and they had prepared their portraits before their death. The second one is recorded in the year (1)53 AD (if the date is correct, otherwise is 253 AD) when Ḫaddūdan and his brother ʿAlaišā built the tower tomb no.144. Ḫaddūdan son of Ḫagegū was honoured by his brother ʿAlaišā with the erection of a statue in the Agora to thank him of having paid the expenses to consacrate his son Ḫaddūdan to the service of Bel in 164 AD. The date of CIS 4213 is 5[...] in the Palmyrene text and [...]64 in the Greek one, from which one can restore 564, that is 253 AD. The above proposed tree can be only in the case the date of CIS 4213 should be read 464, that is 153 AD. The restoration of the broken text given by Milik, p. 276 would suit perfectly the time and the people of this family already known from other inscriptions. On the other hand, the sign for 5 hundred is full preserved in Palmyrene and a scribal mistake seems to be unlikely. Nonetheless, from the onomastics it is clear that the builders of the tower tomb no.144, Ḫaddūdan and ʿAlaišā and their ancestor Taimē Azarzirat belong to this family.
77. The Annūbat family

Hašran⁶ and Hašbi⁷ were relatives and both of them tradesmen. In fact they gave honours to the most acknowledged Palmyrene chief of caravans Marcus Ulpius Yarḥai. From a bilingual text in the Capitolino Museum, we know a Hašbi son of Maškū, son of Hašbi Annūbat. We propose to see in the tradesmen and Hašbi's grandfather the same person. The chronology does not help in the identification as the date of CIS 3905 is lost. The only information we have is that Hašbi⁹ died at the age of 32, the 21st of May.

78. The Belyada family

The 22nd of February 115 AD, three brothers, Belyada, 'Atenūrī and Ma'anū made a dedication to the Anonymous God. Taṃtū⁸ is assistant of Bōlḥā (see above no.49, the Haumal family), administrator of the Spring Esca. He and Hašran son of Moqīmū, son of Maškū, another assistant, were commemorated, in 250 AD, by the same Bōlḥā, the administrator. The onomastics of Taṃtū's family would suggest that the three brothers belonged to the same family.
79. The Bonné family

The second name of Yarkhileghë8 must refer to a remote ancestor of this family. This is not the only example, see e.g.: EBBBWL SRL, 2TNN KPTWN, 2BYDW 8STYY, etc.
80. The Dionysios family: hypogeum no.24 of Salamallat, VT

We have three inscriptions attesting Salamallat as founder of the tomb no.24 (RSP 24-25, 28). In RSP 25, the only date of construction is given but unfortunately it is not complete. Salamallat’s father died at the age of 33, at which time Salamallat had to build a tomb for his father. After Salamallat’s death, his son Ḥenrišel together with his mother Prisina, had to give in cession half of the tomb to his uncle Zabdaʿatḥ, who according to the Greek version of RSP 24, was a co-founder of the tomb with Salamallat. It is possible that Salamallat was not of age at the time his father died and in fact he insists that he paid for the tomb out of his own pocket. Other cessions must have taken place in the following years because we find, in the tomb, people who did not belong to the founder’s family. A bust now at the Istanbul Museum (CIS 4518) probably represents another portion of this same family. The stele portrays a woman Aqmā, daughter of Malkū, son of Dionysios and her two children, Sonaḵū and Bataḫū. The name Dionysios is
It is probable that in the date 540 (Seleucid era) = 229 AD, the units are missing. Bar'ateh restored the statue of his grandfather Malkū whose original inscription is lost. In C1S 4347=PS 154 is attested a certain Moqimū son of Holaifi that might belong to this family. The Greek transcription of the name HLYPY can be found in Inv IV, 13: Olaiphei.
The tomb of Malkû was discovered in 1924 in the Southwestern necropolis at Palmyra. The foundation text of the tomb is dated, April 121 AD. This date was corrected by J. Cantineau, Syria 19 (1938) 162 and Littmann, art. cit., 165. The founder is a certain Malkû, son of Malkû, son of Nûrbel, the physician. In Palmyra the right of burial in a tomb was not restricted to one family (see Kraeling, AAS 11-12 (1961-62) 14-16), in fact we have "... a total of fourteen inscriptions recording transfers of funeral niches to non members of the Malkû family, ranging the date from 186 AD to 279 AD" (H. Ingholt, MUSJ 46 (1970-71) 173-200). The second central chamber was the original tomb which continued to be in the possession of the family of Malkû, the founder. In fact this chamber has given a large number of sculptures portraying Malkû, his father, his mother and his grandfather Nûrbel. The transfers of parts of the tomb had beginning with Julius Aurelius Nûrbel and his sister Aqmat Habbê in 186 AD, more than 60 years later the building of the hypogeum. Aqmat Habbê with Nûrbel is responsible for two cessions in the year 186 AD. In 213 AD, her name would disappear and Malê, her brother, started to be mentioned. That made us think that Malê in 186 AD was not of age yet. Malê and J.A. Nûrbel carried out three more cessions till 214 AD. A small Greek inscription engraved on the doorway tells us the name of the sculptor which is Barlaas.
83. The (Nūr)‘āteh family: from the hypogeum of Fāsael and Zebidā

Zebidā excavated one gallery on the left in the same hypogeum where Fāsael son of *Astorgā made two galleries on the right. The date is not given. The sculpture of Aqmat belongs to the 2nd group of H. Ingholt's classification that corresponds to 150-200 AD.

84. The Saidan family

The name SYDN is attested in Safaitic, ICPANI 363 where it is derived from Arab. Said 'insane, possessed' while in PNPI 114 the name is derived from Arab. Sayyid 'lord, master'. The name Tridatēs, attested only in this family, is a anthroponym of Persian origin, see PNPI 117 and OP 239-240 no 8 1641.
The origin of this family goes back to the beginning of the 1st c. AD. It is difficult to say if there is any relation of this family with the one that built a tomb in the temple of Baalshamin (BS 60), whose ancestor is also a YedibceI (see above no. 21). Here the dating goes back to the 1st half of the 2nd c. BC. The Benê YedibceI are also mentioned in some tesserae: RTP 95, 124 and 586. We may consider the YedibceI of the 2nd c. BC as the ancestor from whom several different Palmyrene families derived, as suggested by Milik, p. 98. The same Milik, p. 266 proposes to see in the synedros Hagegô the brother of Y IT(W) of the Yaâta family (see above no. 61) so that the name of their father is restored by him Y[RHY]. From a chronological point of view, this proposition seems to us improbable, as there would be a difference of fifty years between the two brothers. From CJS 3920 we learn that Tamû died before or in 127 AD as the inscription specifies and his son Šôâdû erected a statue in his honour after his death.
Julius Aurelius 'Abissai bought a whole wall in 223 AD from J.A. Male (see below no 121, the Sasan family from the hypogeum of J.A. Male) and in the small chamber of 'Abissai's property, three sarcophagi have been found representing his family. At the moment of the execution of the sculptures, 'Abissai and his wife Marti, his mother Aqmat and his sister Sullä must have been still alive as their names are introduced by the word *statue, image* and not *abjad* alas'.
87. The A'abi family

The restorations are given in the Corpus but without sufficient supporting evidence. On the other hand this family is not known elsewhere and alternative suggestions cannot be proposed. The name 'BY appears in a good number of inscriptions and the Greek transcription Aabei is found in a bilingual text (CIS 3963).

88. The A'awid family

The feminine name in CIS 4321 has to be read Sabbâ and not Habbâ as the first letter of the name has the typical shape of a šurand not of a ħet.
89. The Abramâ family: from the hypogeum of the Three Brothers, SW

Simôn bought from Narqaios the freedman four loculi from the exedra to the left when you enter the tomb (see, Corpus p. 281 and K. Makowski, SP 8 (1985) 91, fig. 8) and two in the first central chamber in the year 191 AD. Abraham is a Jewish name and at Palmyra is only attested once. This is not the only Jewish family present in the Palmyrene community, for the others see CIS4201; J. Cantineau, RA 27 (1930) 39 no. 72; H. Ingholt in G.C. Miles, Beirut 1974, p. 50; Inv VIII, 68, etc.
90. The Aḥṭūr family

The only dated inscription regarding this family is the one of Aṭenatan Gāna who died in 133/134 AD. All the sculptures belong to the first group of Ingholt's classification that corresponds to 50-150 AD. This family is attested for five generations but the funerary busts can be dated the latest to the 2nd c. AD. Būḥa is represented as a priest and Ḥaggat is said to be married twice, to Donyis from whom she had Aqmā and to Saddai from whom she had Aṭa'aqāb. It is impossible to say to who she was married first.
91. The Aknabî family

The two brothers dedicated an altar to Baalshamin.

92. The Allatai family

Haggâ, who in the Greek version of the text is called Julia Aurelia, erected two statues in honour of her father Tarmê and her brother Halafû after their death. The date in the Palmyrene version is January 214 AD and in the Greek one is August 216 AD.
In the hypogeum of Bölhâ a text was found recording the foundation of a tower tomb by a woman, Habbatâ daughter of Zab[...], son of Honainâ Asorai. We find other members of her family in the Palmyrena. In 195 AD, `Oggâ built a temple for the gods Abgal and Ma`an (P N O 7-8). As regards Habbatâ's husband Malkô, we find a Malkô son of HLES QRQPN, of the Qurqebân? family in a hononfic text dated to 4 AD (Tadmorea I, 12 A). The name `SRY is also attested in a bilingual text where the Greek transcription is Asomiaou (see M. Gawlikowski, Berytus 19 (1970) 65-67 no.1). At Hatra, we find a parallel `SRYBRK 'Assur will bless' (see A. Caquot, Syria 41 (1964) 259 no.141), but the same element `SR is attested in the Aramaic inscriptions from Assur: `HY+SR, `SRNTN, `SRSMR. For our name we may suggest 'the man of Assur' as gentilic or as theophorous with a hypocoristic yod.
94. The Ḃṣraʿ family

Aṣraʿ, the ancestor of this family, appears in all the inscriptions without the word br "son" introducing it. It is clear that these different families belong to the same group but a lack of epigraphical material attesting it, does not allow us to determine which is the relationship amongst its members. The only dated inscription is the one of Malkū son of ‘Alaušā, that offered three columns in the temple of Baalshamin. The year is 67 AD. This family probably belongs to the Maʿziyân tribe like many others in the temple of Baalshamin, but we do not have clear evidence to support it. The family goes back at least to the 1st c. BC and it can be regarded as one of the oldest families at Palmyra. The other family groups, according to the script, are also attested to the 1st c. AD.
The rarity of the name 'Alban, only present in these inscriptions, suggests that the ancestor of these two families is the same person. In both cases 'Alban is not introduced by the term br 'son'. The lack of dating does not allow us to establish with certainty if they belong to the same period and how many generations can be counted between 'Alban and his descendants. Of the first group, we have an approximate date according to the sculptural style which is 200-250 AD. For the second familial group in the tree, it is impossible date as the inscription is a graffito found in the side-chamber to the left of the hypogeum of 'Abd'astôr in the SW necropolis. The graffito commemorates Harrâ but we do not know how he acquired burial rights in the tomb. Barûqâ and Ţâbûbî are represented on the stele as two young boys. Thus we surmised that Ţâbûbî represents a first-born of Ťâbûbî who died young and whose name was given to the second born. As regards the name Nesâ/Nesâ, there are numerous examples at Palmyra of the alternative use of Ȝ. In this case Nesâ represents the Aramaic variant with phonetic ȝ and Nesâ, the older form, with etymological ȝ. According to Stark, PNP 100, the name has to be considered as a hypocoristicon with the meaning of 'DN has lifted up' from CS * ȝs 'to raise, to lift up'. The name 'LBN has parallels in Safaitic, cf. ICPANI 430 and in Nabataean under the form 'LBW, see PNRR 51 no.886. The Greek transcription is Alab, Alebou, see Wuthnow, 17.
The Greek transcription of the name ‘QBY is Akkabaiou, see Wuthnow, 15. Three busts portray two brothers, Yedibel and Taimarsû Rabbâ and a relative ‘Ate’aqab. Yedibel is a priest, he is beardless and he wears a simple modius while his brother, Taimarsû Rabbâ, wears a wreathed modius and died at the age of 76. The fact that the two brothers belong to the Palmyrene clergy confirms that the priesthood was kept within a family and the right was given from a member to another of the same family. This family also offers rare examples of very carefully dated busts mentioning the age at the moment of death. Thus we know for sure that ‘Ate’aqab was born in 101 AD and died in 157 AD at the age of 56 and Taimarsû Rabbâ was born in 86 AD and died in 162 AD at the age of 76.
Julius Aurelius Zebidâ, was honoured by the tradesmen that went to Vologesias with him in the year 247 AD. His cousin Julius Aurelius Zebidâ, who also appears in tessera RTP 997, gave in cession the tomb he bought from Julius Aurelius Marônâ who built the tower tomb no.150 in 236 AD. Of the same family is Barateh, honoured by the Senate and People of Palmyra because he loved his city. The date is uncertain as the missing part of the date may be restored either 505 or 550 AD= 194 or 239 AD. The second date seems to be more probable as Zabdaateh son of Zebidâ is attested in the first half of the 2nd c. AD (see J. Teixidor, MUSJ 42 (1966) 178 no.5) and we identify him with Zabdaateh. Based on this second inscription, we restored the names of Zabdaateh6 and Zebidâ. 

[Diagram of family tree with dates and names: ZBYD1 120 AD, BYD2 140 AD, ZBYD3 160 AD, ZBYD4 180 AD, ZBYD5, ZBYD6, ZBYD7, ZBYD8, ZBYD9, ZBYD10, ZBYD11, ZBYD12.}
From this tomb we have three inscriptions. There is not a proper foundation text. The genealogy Beltihan daughter of Atefan appears in the tomb of Elahbel (see above no.63). If it is the same person, then Beltihan had been married twice. According to the sculptures, ca. 150 AD is the time when they were made (see K. Makowski, *SP* 8 (1985) 86-87). Unlike other sculptures of the same period they seem to have been done with extreme accuracy. Zabdâ has been considered here Zabdâ's grandchild following the onomastic patterns. As the sculpture seems have been produced together with the one of Beltihan and her husband, Zabdâ son of 'Oggâ could well be a cousin of the founder of the tomb. Always according to the style, the statue of Beltihan daughter of Atefan belongs to a period from 70 AD to 120 AD. The banquet representing the founder Zabdâ and the bust of Zabdâ son of 'Oggâ belong, according to its style, to a period 120-170 AD, one has to surmise that the tomb was built around the first half of the 2nd c. AD and that the hypogeum has been dug at two different times starting from the beginning of the 2nd c. AD (see K. Makowski, *SP* 8 (1985) 87). The inscription of Zabdâ son of Moqimû is not a foundation text but testifies his contribute to the building of a part of the tomb.
99. The Bôlhâ family of the Claudia tribe

No date is given in these inscriptions. Milik, p. 261 regards these people as part of the Haumal family where the Claudia tribe is also attested. Apart from the presence in the personal names of the theophorous element Bôl, we cannot see any other connection between the two family groups. According to the sculptural style, the bust of Bôrrefâ is dated around 150 AD ca. and the stele of Zebîdâ around 150-200 AD. As regards Eutykês, we are presented with a problem as the name is simply followed by the relative particle dy. We have considered the word mtqr 'called' understood here and identified the two Bôrrefâ as a single person.

100. The Corbulo family: from the hypogeum of Zabda‘ateh, SW

We do not know how Corbulo and his family acquired right of burial in this tomb. No dates also are left, but the sculptural style is in favour of a period between 150 and 200 AD. The name Corbulo and its transcription appear also in CIS 3913, col. 3, 121.
101. The Dionysios family: from the hypogeum no.24 of Salamallat, VT

This might well be another branch of Dionysios' family (see above no.80), but the reading is uncertain. We have no records about when and how they acquired property in this tomb. The dating is missing. Hannâ and her husband Barîkai are cousins; a quite well attested custom at Palmyra. Hannâ died at the age of 32.

102. The Ḥaddâ family: Ḥaddûdân the symposiarch and senator

'Oqeellû offered a throne, an altar and a burnt offering to Odarnat son of Ḥaran Wahballat prince of Palmyra. In two other texts, he is mentioned with his son Ḥaddûdân. Ḥaddûdân is a Roman senator like the princes of Palmyra, and he was in charge for two years in a row, 272-273 AD, as symposiarch of the thiasos of Bel; normally one was in charge only for one year. Like his father, he bears the gentilic Septimius. He must have played an important role in the critical moments of Palmyra when Aurelianus came to the oasis to set back the order and the symposiarch is said to have helped the troops of Aurelianus and stayed with the custodians in the temple in August 272 when the imperator arrived. Many tesserae mention a Haddûdân Maqqai (RTP 486, 490-492, 495) but it is not certain that can be identified with our Haddûdân. A tessera in the Louvre Museum, AO 11596 also bears the same names.
103. The Ḥaddūdan family: tower tomb no. 194, SE

```
HDWJDN 1
MQYMW 2
4G 3
+ after 73 AD
GYLW 5
FJMTW 6
+ after 73 AD
G 7
73 AD
BWN 4
3 13 AD
```

Oggā son of Ogeilū built in 73 AD a lower tomb in his honour and the honour of his father still alive at the moment of the construction. Oggā's family and his mother's family are said 'Palmyrene', probably to underline their belonging to the indigenous group of the oasis. The onomastics suggests a possible relationship between this family and the one attested in the 3rd c. AD of Ḥaddūdan the senator and great-priest of Palmyra at the moment of the pillage by Aurelianus. Undoubtedly this is one of the oldest families at Palmyra.

104. The Ḥagegū family

```
HGGW 1
BRTH 2
BNBW 3
F HSD 4
+ 150-200 AD
HGGW 5
MQYMW 6
HYBL 7
```

The stèle of Hesod is dated, according to its style, to 150-200 AD. A sarcophagus from Jebel el-ハウスネット represents three men, two brothers and the son of one of them. According to the onomastics, all these people belong to the same family but no safe evidence is available from an archaeological or chronological point of view.
We believe that this text does not concern the building of a tomb itself but the late construction of two lateral exedrae (the one to the right and the one to the left when you enter). Bôlha is the builder of the exedra to the right whilst the one to the left has two builders: ‘Ate’aqab and Yarhai. On the same plaque almost 30 years later two lines were added to register the partnership of the tomb between Taimâ and Sim’ôn, probably two cousins. The last sentence gives problems in that it is not clear if Taimâ’s uncle is (referred to) Sim’ôn or (to) his father Hairan. The text reads: TYM’ W SM’WN BR HYRN DDH. Grammatically speaking the word ‘uncle’ should refer to Sim’ôn but then he would be the cousin of Taimâ’s father instead of being Taimâ’s cousin.

The inscription seems to be composed of two parts. In the first (A), Zabdîböl made a dedication to the Anonymous god and in the second (B), it is his son who did the same.
107. The Ḥairan family

The name CTDRT is of unknown origin.

108. The Ḥalā family

The Greek transcription of Ḥ2, Ḥ17, is found in bilingual texts (see US 2814 and INY 136).
109. The Ḥalaftā family

In 175 AD, Yarḥai offered altars to the Anonymous God. One of those has been found near the Gate of Damascus at Palmyra. Sullā's husband, who is also her cousin, is represented on the funerary stele CIS 4483 and must have died after 175 AD, as did her husband. J. Starcky (MUSJ 28 (1949-50) 53) identifies the Ḥatrai of CIS 4484 with the father of Sullā and refuses to see a different person (see Eodem, art. cit., the genealogical tree presented). Instead we believe that we have the nephew of Ḥatrai named after his maternal grandfather. It is possible that this family belongs to the Ḥatrai tribe (see CIS 4164) but no evidence is available. Hannā, daughter of Yarḥai, mother of Ḥalaftā (Inv VIII, 134) may belong to this family (see below no. 519). The name ḤLPT is transcribed into Greek as Alaphatha, see Inv X, 119.

110. The Kūlai family

The name TSWR is only attested twice (CIS 4524, 4557). We also know TRSWY, BLšWR and BLšWRY.
111. The Lišām family

```
x₁
[Li] sms²
x₃
SPRY⁴
QWP² HLP⁵ 204 AD
```

The text is very damaged. Originally it was composed by a foundation text, of which very little is left, and a cession text. Qūfah Ḥalafah sold a portion of his property to a certain Zebidah son of Salmanai, son of ʿAbdalmā ( axle 30ow me. ʿAd).

112. The Malkū family: the sarcophagus of Soraiku

```
MLKW¹

BLHZY²

MLKW³

SRYKW⁴

YDY'BL⁵

BLHZY⁶

TYMH⁷

BLHZY⁸

YDY'BL⁵

YDY'BL⁵
```

This sarcophagus of Soraiku must have come from a tomb, but unfortunately we do not know from which one. Five portraits represent people of the same family and according to the sculpture, it belongs to the 3rd c. AD. It is difficult to say if Martī is a granddaughter of Malkū¹ or of Malkū³. The people portrayed are Soraiku⁴ and he had built an ʿamn ʿplace of (eternal) restʼ (see, M. Gawlikowski, Beryus 19 (1970) 78). Then we have a bust of a young man, Bōlnā son of Soraiku⁴, that cannot be identified to Soraiku's ⁴ father as he is represented as a young boy. Another brother of Soraiku⁴ is portrayed and he is Malkū³ and Martī.
113. The Malkü family

None of the inscriptions concerning this family are dated. We have to rely on the iconographic representations. The sculptures of CIS 4501 and 4502 belong to the 3rd group of Ingholt's classification that corresponds to 200-250 AD and the portrait of TBNN belongs to the 2nd group, that is 150-200 AD. Malkü is said to be a qift-‘presbyter’ but he is not portrayed with the priesthood modius. The qaṣṣāṣīna according to Milik, p. 367 must have been a special group of the clergy of the temple of Bel, distanced from the priests and charged with secondary services in the temple. It is not sure that the priest Malkü son of Hagētū also mentioned in RTP 315 belongs to the same family, but the onomastics favours this hypothesis. Malkū is represented with a wreathed modius like the one of symposiarches.

114. The Malkū family: from the hypogeum of Malkū, SW

Bṣal'ai in September 186 AD bought from the grandchildren of the tomb builder, Malkū, the whole Southern exedra (the one on the left when you enter). Two years later he transfers to Sa'arōnā son of Belai three niches (see the Belai family no.160). In this chamber was found a sarcophagus representing Bṣal'ai's family, dated to 188 AD (see H. Ingholt, MUSJ 46 (1970-71) 173-200, pl. III). Bṣal'ai and his son Dīyōn are portrayed with a modius, from which we can deduce they belonged to the rank of priests of Palmyra. Bṣal'ai is also called dqrwtn ‘decunon’ (H. Ingholt, Berytus 2 (1935) 93 no.3). From 188 AD to 267 AD the exedra seems not to have been used as no cession text is recorded. After 267 AD the number of owners seems to multiply (see the Diogenes, Germanus, ‘Adōn, ‘Anan and the Tammā families).
Zabbâ received honours from the cavalrymen stationed at Gamla and 'Ana.

In the year 118 AD, Sim'ôn and his two sons were of age. Bôrefâ and Malkû built an hypogeum in the South-Eastern necropolis of Palmyra. Maizan, not introduced by the word br 'son', represents here the ancestor of this family. The bust of Malkû bought in 1937 from a French antiques dealer must belong to this tomb and be identified with the Malkû, the tomb founder, as his genealogy clearly shows. The bust is undated but according to its style belongs to the 1st group of the Palmyrene sculptures that is 50-150 AD. The script would favor a date around the 1st half of the 2nd c. AD. A possible parallel for the name MTN can be found in Safaitic MṬ, cf. ICPANI 550 derived from Arabic MṬṬ "to stretch, lengthen".
117. The Nabôlî family

Julius Aurelius Malkû was honoured with three statues by the Senate and People when he was strategos of the colony and agoronomus. His father Washô is also mentioned in the text and most probably he had a statue or more erected in his honour. The date is lost but the inscription must be later than 212 AD because the gentilic Julius Aurelius was given by the edict of Caracalla.

118. The Qorainû family

Qorainû 5 offered an altar to the Anonymous God in 207 AD. His son Lištûm 7, in 256 AD, offered another altar to thank the same god because he heard his prayers. Another member, Qorainû 8 did the same. We have surmized that Male and Yaribbolû are brothers only on the base of chronology as we lack of sufficient epigraphical evidence.
119. The Qufiyân family

\[
\begin{align*}
QW\text{PYN} & \\
\text{BWLT} & \\
[MQYM\text{W}] & \\
\text{HYRN} & \\
\text{FX} & \sim MQYM\text{W}
\end{align*}
\]

The name QW\text{PYN} is only attested in this family. Stowk, PWN 110 considers it a plural form to QW\text{P}\text{N} from Arabic QPD 'ape'.

120. The Royal family

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{NSWR} & \\
\text{WHBLT} & \\
\text{HYRN} & \sim ^\text{NTY}W\text{KW}S \\
\text{FX} & \sim S\text{PTMYWS} \ '\text{DYNT}
\end{align*}
\]

It was only after the discovery of the text, M. Gawlikowski, *Syria* 62 (1985) 257 no.13=As'ad - Gawlikowski, AAAS 36 (1986) 169 no.10, and the relative brilliant study carried out by M. Gawlikowski (*Syria* 62 (1985), 251-261) that the existence of two Odainat, the Elder and the Young was regarded as untrue. The inscriptions, J. Cantineau, *Syria* 12 (1931) 138 no.17 and *Inv VIII*, 55=CIS 4202, concerned Odainat the Elder, a notable who received the Roman citizenship, was awarded senatorial rank and later became the 'head of Palmyra' (cf. *PIR* III, p. 209; Milik, p. 316-321; Ingholt, *PBP*, p. 120-130). Septimius Harran son of Odainat, exarch of the Palmyrenes and Roman senator, would be his son, while the Odainat husband of Zenobia would be a brother or a son of Harran (cf. *PIR* III, p. 208-209; J. Févner, *Histoire*, p. 648).
A. Alfoldi, Berytus 5 (1938) 80 note 2; H. Seyrig, AAS 13 (1963) 162. The inscription in question shows that only one Odainat existed and in 252 AD he took the title of exarch and shared the title with his son Ḥaran, already senator in 251 AD. Odainat is first ḍy idnir - ḍy 'head of Palmyra' in 252 (see, Asad - Gawlikowski, art. cit., 169 no.10), then governor of Syria-Phoece in 257 258 AD (BS 52; BS p. 66 note 2; CIS 3945=Inv III, 17), 'RE³STORER of the whole East' and finally king of kings (CIS 3946=Inv III, 19). He is the sole founder of the power of the family. His birth can be placed around 210-220 AD. Ḥaran, very likely to be identified to Herodianus (Inv III, 3=H. Seyrig, Syria 18 91937) 1-4; H. Seyrig, AAS 13 (1963) 171-172 refuses the identification), is attested in 251 and in 257/258 AD by two inscriptions also mentioning his father Odainat (H. Seyrig, AAS 13 (1963) 161 and CIS 3944=Inv III, 16) where he is called 'head of Palmyra' and 'illustrious senator'. Ḥaran-Herodianus was the son of Odainat and a first wife before Zenobia. The Histona Augusta mentions two more sons of Zenobia (SHA, XXX Tyranni, XVII), Herennianus and Timolaus. Their names could correspond to Ḥaran and Taimallat (see, H. Seyrig, AAS 13 (1963) 170 and A. Baldini, SP8 (1985) 143-152). As regards Zenobia she was honoured with a statue by Septimius Zabdâ and Septimius Zabbai in 272 AD who also offered a statue to Odainat, after his death, in the same year. In RTP736 there are a Wahballat and a Ḥaran sons of Odainat. H. Seyrig (AAS 13 (1963) 172) identifies Ḥaran with Herennianus while Milik, p. 320 identifies them with Wahballat Atenodôros and Ḥaran-Herodianus.

121. The Sasan family: from the hypogeum of Julius Aurelius Malê, SW

SSN 1

HYRN 2

193-223 AD YWLYS WRLYS ML 3

WRLYS HYRN 4

234-235 AD YWLYS WRLYS ML 5

The date of foundation of the tomb is 109 AD, but the inscription does not give the name of the founder (see H. Ingholt, Berytus 2 (1935) 75 no.1). The tomb called of Julius Aurelius Malê contains a number of nine inscriptions, eight of which are cession texts. The oldest is dated 193 AD and the owner, Malê, sold a portion of it to a relative, Taibbôl son of ʿAbdâ, son of Taibbôl. Twenty years later the same J.A. Malê gave in cession another part of the tomb to Julius Aurelius Ḥaran and Julius Aurelius Abbû sons of Julius Aurelius Malê son of Yarha, his relatives. A whole wall is bought in 223 AD by Julius Aurelius Ḥassû from J.A. Malês. The grandson of J.A. Malê, J.A. Malês, is attested by three cession texts: in 234 he sold to J.A. Sibû three niches; in 235 three more niches to J.A. Ḥalaštâ and in the same year other three to J.A. Zabdibôl. As we can understand the history of this tomb is quite complex. Between the foundation of the tomb and the first cession there is a lapse of time of almost 90 years. It has been suggested to see Sasan as the founder of the tomb. It seems to be likely that Sasan did not use it immediately. Till the year 215 AD, the tomb was shared by J.A. Malê senior with his relatives, although we do not know the nature of their kinship. Later, from 223 AD to 237 AD, the end of epigraphical evidence, parts of the tomb were given in cession and transferred to non-members of the family according to a well established custom at Palmyra. The name Sasan comes up again only in the so-called hypogeum of Sasan in the SE necropolis. The onomastics would suggest that this family and the other may form a bigger family group.

649
122. The Saddadâ family

This inscription comes from Wadi Hawan.

123. The Lucius Salman family: hypogeum of unknown location

Livius built an hypogeum and a third of it belonged to him and to Taimisâ the whole exedra on the left of the tomb. The inscription is partially erased so that we do not know if Taimisâ is a member of the family. Because his genealogy is not given, it is very likely he is. The exact location of the tomb is unknown the inscription slab was reused. The Latin name Lucius is normally transcribed LWQYS but here LQY. Cf. also the variant LWQY in KAI 118.
124. The Sotadû family

Yarhai\(^5\) offered to the gods 'Aglibôl and Malakbel an ensign in silver. His name is transcribed in Greek as 'Heliodôros' which usually represents the transcription of 'Liajmâ'. The connection can be seen in the fact that Yarhai is a shortened form of Yarhibôl and the god Yarhibôl is also a solar god. The name 'Holai' is rendered in Greek with Antiokos. Yarhai is one of the numerous Palmyrenes in Rome.

125. The Taimâ family

SFônâ\(^7\) commemorated his sister's death with an 'image' in the year 226 AD. He himself died in 240 AD. His wife and child died 6 years before him.
126. The Taimaru family

Yar Hibolâ was a symposiarch of Bel and as suggested by Milik, p. 249 we think that his father is identical to the Sabi attested in RTP 188.

127. The Tôfâ family

In the year 242 AD, Hairan made a monument in memory of his brother Elahbel dead in 218 AD. Of the same year is a sculpture portraying Hairan and Abinâ his wife but it cannot be funerary as in 242 he is still alive. J. Starcky (Syria 26 (1949) 36 no.3) says that TWp is the Aramaised form of the Arabic TPN, attested there and he states that the family has an Arabic origin. We find also in Aramaic tâp 'kettle drum', cf. PNPl 116.
A sarcophagus represents five people, Faṣaēl⁸, his mother Faṣē⁷, his father Ḥagegū⁴ and his sister Faṣē⁹.
Marcus Ulpius Yarhai is a well attested figure of the Palmyrene trade with the East. In eight inscriptions he received honours from the caravans he had helped in their trips from and to Palmyra. Only in Inv X, 128 he is said to be of the Sergia tribe and here he honoured Tiberius Claudius, prefect and tribunus. His brother and his son are mentioned also as head of caravans. This family must have received the right of citizenship by Trajan as well as M.U. Malkū (Inv X, 108 and Inv IX, 24) and M.U. Abgar (Inv X, 29).

Elahbel received a statue erected for him by the Senate at the time of his presidency.
131. The Aḥib family

The name "HYB" lies unexplained. It has not been possible to check the reading or to photograph of the inscription is available.

132. The Aḥtai family

The name BR 'HTY is one of the several examples we find in Palmyrene onomastics of a formula which indicates the ancestor of a family. The BR-names are always introduced by the formula dy muqr 'h called'. We find BRZBYDY from the Gaddhbol tribe; BRB 9 from the Kennabat tribe; BR'BDXL from the MGRT tribe etc.
133. The Aklab family

\[ \text{'KLB} \quad \text{MQYMW} \quad \text{BRTH} \quad \text{'LHBL} \quad \text{188 AD} \]

Elahbel made a dedication to the Anonymous God in 188 AD.

134. The Amrai family

\[ \text{'MRY} \quad \text{'BDY} \quad \text{BLY} \quad \text{BRNY} \quad \text{209 AD} \]

For the name \text{'MRY} we find the Greek transcription Amraion in \text{Inv X}, 68. The name must be an hypoconsonant of a theophorous name formed by the root 'mr 'utter, to say' plus DN (see \text{WSB} 82, with literature). Stark, \text{PNP} 169, considers the name as 'man of DN'. The anthroponym \text{'BDY} is an abbreviated form for \text{'BDTH} such as \text{'BD} (H. Ingholt, \text{Berytus} 1 (1934) 42).
135. The Amṣar family

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{‘MSR}^1 \\
\text{NSM}^2 \\
\text{GR}^3 \\
\text{BYDN ‘STYY/W}^4 \\
\end{array} \]

‘Obaidū made a dedication to the Anonymous God. The name NSM is a variant of NSWM widely attested at Palmyra. For ‘MSR and ‘STYY/W a valid etymology cannot be proposed.

136. The Annaqir family

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{‘NQYR}^1 \\
\text{ZBDTH}^2 \\
\text{GRMY}^3 \\
\text{MTN}^4 \\
\text{ZBDTH}^5 \\
\end{array} \]

The Annaqir family seems to be devoted to the cult of Nabû. In fact the inscription comes from the temple of this god. The tesserae also are related to its cult. Zabda‘ateh$^2$ and Garīma‘i his son are portrayed as priests. In tessera RTP 819 we find the priest Zabda‘ateh (son of) Mattanā, (son of) Annaqīr(r) who must be a grandson of Zabda‘ateh$^2$. Mattanā$^4$ son of Zabda‘ateh is also attested in RTP 305. The name ‘NQYR can be definitely adopted as a revision of the plate of CIS 3968 clearly shows a dot above the R. Therefore it has to be preferred to ‘NQYD of Bounni-Saliby (AAS 15 (1965) 133-134) where this inscription was first published and to ‘NQYDW of Malik, p. 164. Also MTN has to be preferred to ‘TN of the authors. The relief has to be dated to the 1st c. AD.
137. The Aphphousos family: tower tomb no.191

‘Awidā built the tower tomb no.191 for himself, his male sons and grandsons. The names are preserved only in the Greek text. They are all well known and also their interpretations. The only problem we are presented with is the name Aphphousos. The Greek name Aphphous appears in 1 Macc. II.5. On the other hand in N/L Babylonian we find a related form in AP-PU-US-SA-A which lies unexplained (see WSB 136).

In 233 AD, Julius Aurelius Ḥalaṭōnā made a dedication to the Anonymous God.
139. The Artaban family

Nasrat Habbai was administrator of the ‘holy garden’ of ‘Aghböl and Malakbel together with Yarhiböl; Malkū son of ‘Awīdā Annaqīr; ‘Oggā and Rabbel son of Ḥairan Baghšū.

140. The Atefani family

Līsam son of Ḥolaifi was honoured with a statue by the priests of Ba‘altak, the Benē Tarnaršū. The goddess and the priests appear again in the tesserae; see RTP66 and 77. According to the script the inscription is of the 1st c. AD. Ḥolaifi² son of Atefani³ was honoured in 162/166 AD by Ḥolaifi son of Hagegū because he pleased him and “gave him power” (for an explanation of this expression see Palmyre VI, 89). We have preferred to see in Līsam son of Ḥolaifi². He might well be his son, but then his generation would be around 140-200 AD. This date would be too low if we take into account the fact that the inscription is approx. dated to the 1st c. AD.
141. The Athenodôros Afûqaḥ family

The name 'PWQH is difficult to interpret (see PNPI 71-72).

Dûrå, which should represent the shortened form of Athenodôros, made a dedication to the Anonymous God. The name 'PWQH is difficult to interpret (see PNPI 71-72).

142. The Isi'adar family

The name 'S'DR is attested only once. In CIS 4467 we find 'S'DR. We propose to consider the name as a verbal sentence with the meaning of 'Isis has helped'. The first element is the goddess - 'S - 'Isis', attested in Neo-Babylonian times with North-West Semitic elements, see APN 255. The root 'dr 'to help' is attested in Aram., Hebr., Ugar. and Phoen., see DNWS I 341. Cf. Nabataean QWS'DR, PNNR 57 no.1013 and 'T'DR, Silverman, JAOS 89 (1969) 699. It presents also some difficulties the variant spelling 'S which is rarely attested. In Phoenician, if the reading is correct, there is the variant 'BDS of 'BD'S, see PNPP 271. At Carthago the Greek name Isodôros 'gift of Isis' is transcribed 'S'DR (CIS , 1, 5981=RÉS 1842; see also H. Benichou-Safar, Les Tombes puniques de Carthage, Paris 1982, p. 215 no.43; photograph of the squeeze p. 217, fig. 96). It is to be noted that the deity and the root of this name appear for the first time in Palmyrene onomastics.
143. The Ḥyūṭ family

The name ‘YWN[W] could also have either a final aleph or yod. Milik, p. 2 identifies it with the Greek transcription Iouw from the Palmyrene Jews buried at Besara in Palestina, see Beth She ‘arim, Jerusalem 1967, p. 1, 3 nos. 1, 7 and 9.

144. The Ḫodainat family

The script would date the stele to the 1st c. AD.
145. The 'Abbâ family

Zebidâ made a dedication to the Anonymous God for himself and the servants of his house. 'Abbâ also offered an altar to a deity but it is not specified which one. His grandfather has been identified to the 'Abbâ of CIS 4033 on onomastic bases given the few attestations of such a name.

146. The 'Ammat family

The inscription is in Greek, but the names are known from other bilingual texts. The Greek Athenodôros usually transcribes Palmyrene Wahballat, see CIS 3971. For 'Ammat, see Cantineau, RA 27 (1930) 11-12 no.10. It is a dedication either to the Anonymous God or to Baalshamin which in Greek are both called 'Zeus most high'.
147. The ‘Aqqabel family

\[ \text{\tiny [QBL]} \]
\[ \text{\tiny [ZBD\^TH]} \]
\[ \text{\tiny [ZBD\^SWL]} \]
\[ \text{\tiny [ZBD\^SWL]} \]

The text is preserved only in the Greek version where Zabdibôl is said to honour Clodius Celsus, prefect of the Ala Herculiana. The date is lost. The Palmyrene names restored are well attested in bilingual inscriptions. The only exception is [QBL], in Greek Akkabelos. This name has the same form as ‘GDM, ‘QLYS, ‘QML and [QDN?] with a doubling of the first consonant. In Babylonian is known the name Aqabel and in Hebrew we find Yaqub-El, see \textit{IPN} 177. The meaning must be ‘QB-L ‘El has protected’.

148. The ‘Aqqadan family

\[ \text{\tiny [QDN]} \]
\[ \text{\tiny [SLMLT]} \]
\[ \text{\tiny NBWZBD} \]
\[ \text{\tiny YRHY} \]

The text is preserved only in the Greek version, a part from the two names Yarhai and Nabûzabad in Palmyrene. The name of the ancestor, Akkadan is attested here for the first time. We have proposed the name [QDN] as in Safaitic we find ‘QD and ‘QDT, see \textit{ICPANI} 426. Yarhai is said to be the satrapus of Thilouana for Meherdat, the king of Spasinou Charax and he is honoured with a statue by the tradesmen of Spasinou Charax in 131 AD.
149. The ‘Ate’aqab-Rafabôl family

In chronological order, ‘Abdşayarâ freedman of ‘Ate’aqab son of Rafabôl, bought in the hypogeum of the Three Brothers the whole exedra on the right in the year 160 AD. According to K. Makowski (SP 8 (1985) 100-101) all the triklinia in the form of sarcophagus come from the exedrae sold by the original owners to other people. In the exedra to the right of the tomb of the Three Brothers (see, Eodem, art. cii, p. 91, fig. 8) a triklinium has been found that can be dated to 170-220 AD and must portray the family of ‘Abdşayarâ freedman of Antiokos ‘Ate’aqab. In 186 AD another freedman, Wardan, acquired property in the hypogeum of Liai and more than forty years later gave in cession a portion of the tomb of his property. In the year 218 AD a certain Julius Aurelius Rafabôl built, at his expenses, a tomb for his family. The suggestion here is to see in this man and in the master of Wardan the same person. Antiokos Rafabôl might have taken the Roman citizenship after the ‘Constitutio Antoniana’ and added to his name the gentilic Julius Aurelius. In the SW necropolis, in further excavations, H. Ingholt has found two more tombs. In the tomb II (in G.C. Miles, Beirut 1974, p. 48-53) a certain Rafabôl son of ‘Ate’aqab appears to be the builder of the tomb with three more people, in the year 123 AD. A hundred and twenty years later two women gave in cession part of the tomb and they are said to be daughters of Wardan, son of Rafabôl. Ingholt proposes to see in this Wardan the freedman who, by the year 243 AD, should be in his eighties. However, the cession inscription is not complete and therefore the relationship among the people mentioned in it is not clear.
150. The 'Oggâ family

MTNY² and MTNY⁰ are variants of MTNY which must be a
hy po cry tico n of *MTNY not attested as such.

151. The 'Oggâ family

[Maljkû made a dedication to the Anonymous God. The date in the Palmyrene text is 46[,], thus not later
than 187 AD, and the Greek version allows the year 7 to be restored [50]7=195 AD. It is not the only
case of different dating between the two texts (cf. CIS 3940).
The identification of Ba' al and Bôl is attested by another form of 'LYB'L, that is 'LYBWL (Inv XI, 45) where the meaning of the name 'Bôl or Ba' al is exalted' does not change. This is a name of Arabic origin and the variant with Bôl is probably a local adaptation of a foreign name. Zabda'atkhoffered an altar to the Anonymous God for his life, the life of his children and brothers. Unfortunately, we do not know their names.
154. The Bagadan family

It is Anna, Mezzabbanâ’s nurse, that made the stele for him.

155. The Bannâ family

Yarhibolâ offered a relief to the ‘gods of the garden’ Arşû and Raḥîm. The inscription is undated but the script suggests the end of the 2nd c. AD or beginning of the 3rd c. AD. The Latin transcription Bannae of BNp is known from H. Ingholt, Berytus 5 (1938) 111 no.9.
156. The Bar’ai family

The date 43[.] could also be read 48[.], so that we have either 125/126 AD or 169/170 AD. Malkû received a statue from the Senate and the People because he was a patriotic person and financially very generous to the city.

157. The Barnabû family

As the onomastics shows, this family seems to be devoted to the cult of Nabû and ‘Ateh. We are presented here with two brothers bearing the same name, Bar’ateh. One, Bar’ateh⁸, is represented as an adult and he is a priest. The other, Bar’ateh⁹, is a youth. None of the inscriptions are funerary, so that we cannot use as argument for the same name the custom of giving the name of the dead first-born child to the second. On the other hand, ‘Atema’, is clearly said to be their mother. H. Ingholt in G.C. Miles, Beirut 1974, pp. 40-43, sees in their father Barnabû⁵ a brother to Bar’ateh⁶, being the latter then the uncle and not the brother of the three youths portrayed on the sarcophagus. In the expression ‘X¹ son of X², his brother’ Ingholt sees the term ‘brother’ referred to X² instead of X¹ as it normally should be. The question cannot be easily explained because the inscription does not say more. To be a priest was a charge highly desired and one might surmise that the mother giving the same name to the second child wanted to put the new born under the same good star. Another hypothesis is that ‘Atema’ was married twice and only by chance her husbands had the same name. That could explain also the difference of age between Bar’ateh the priest and his three little brothers.
158. The Barûkai family

Zabdâ offered a statue to Yarḥai son of ʿOgeiłū, son of Ḥaṛrān Dūḥai because he helped him.

159. The Batûši family: from the hypogeum of Zebidâ, SE

The reading SW? is not certain. The name BTWSY is attested here for the first time and no etymology can be proposed. This bust comes from the hypogeum of Zebidâ.
The Belai family: from the hypogeum of Malkū, SW

The first cession of the first central chamber of the hypogeum of Malkū is dated October 213 AD. The grandchildren of Malkū, the tomb founder, sold to Bassâ and Risqâ, two brothers, six niches. In 188 AD, their father Sa'aronâ had bought from the decurion BaaIai, three niches in the Southern exedra of this same tomb. Nearly eighty years later a granddaughter of Sa'aronâ, Ammô, bought four more niches in the Southern exedra and in the same year 267 AD resold two out of the four niches. The Sa'aronâ family owned six niches in the first central chamber and five in the chamber to the left when you enter the tomb. It is not clear why Bassâ and Risqâ bought niches in a different place from their father’s when Ammô, Bassâ’s daughter is owner of niches in the same exedra of her grandfather.

The Belšûr family: from the hypogeum of Bôlhâ, SE

According to the sculptural style this bust belongs to the 2nd group of Hughold’s classification, that is 150-200 AD.
162. The Bôlai family

Wahbâ is represented with a modius decorated with a wreath which usually indicates symposiarchs. He died in 154/155 AD. The name of his father is a hypocoristicon of 'BD'TH 'Servant of 'Ateh' and it is not common. That is why we believe that the priest 'Abda'â of an, so far, unpublished bust must be the father of our Wahbâ.

163. The Bôlemmâ Abab family

The 7th of February 115 AD, four brothers offered an altar to Baalshamin and in honour of the Benê Sa'arê, their relatives. These Benê are not to be considered a tribe but more simply a family group. Milik, p. 60-61 suggests to see in them the promoters of the religious panegynes. A re-examination of the inscription has favoured a new reading for 'D/RB in 'BB (see also Milik, p. 60) already attested at Palmyra (PNPJ 1). It is not the first time we meet with a double name and possibly the second, Abab, is the name of a ancestor of the family.
164. The Bôlhâ family: from the hypogeum of Bôlhâ, SE

The names Bôlhâ, Nabûštîrî and Yaddai are very common in this tomb but it is difficult to establish a kinship among them.

165. The Bôlhâ family

The funerary stele attesting this family, portrays Ba’adyâ and her two children, Yarḫîbôlâ and Baharâ. The name Baharâ is only attested once and may derive from the root bfr ‘to choose, select’ (Hebr. and Aram., see WSB 118 and 130).
166. The Boraq family

Salman dedicated an altar to the Anonymous God. Lidzarski, ESEII, p. 341 registers a soldier called Bópakos.

167. The Bôrrefâ family: from the hypogeum no. 6 of Sasan, SE

These busts come from the exedra D of the hypogeum of Sasan.
168. The Bôâ family: from the hypogeum of Malkû, SW

Wahballat<sup>4</sup> took part to the construction of the tomb that Belhazî and his sons of the A'ailami in the SE necropolis in 87 AD. The tomb is made in honour of the children of his paternal uncle. A relation of kinship can be guessed between these two families but no sure epigraphical evidence is available. Three busts from a private collection in Damascus must come from the same tomb as people of the same family are attested. One represents the same Wahballat<sup>4</sup> whose father bears the surname Bôai that definitely refers to an ancestor. A second bust portrays a son of Wahballat, Wahballat<sup>6</sup>. The last one is of Hairan son of Nadabel, whose father's name is attested only once at Palmyra.

169. The Dionysios family

The Greek transcription of DYNYS can be found in bilingual texts: Διονυσίος (A. Bounni, AAS 11 (1961) 146-147, 155). It is Bennûrî who made the stele in honour of his wife because she had honoured her/his brother. There is a problem in the interpretation whether Malkû<sup>3</sup> is Aqmâ's or Bennûrî's brother. Aqmâ's father bears the same name Malkû, so that we are in favour of seeing in Malkû<sup>3</sup> her brother. On the other hand, Bennûrî specifies that he honoured his wife because she had honoured his brother in a special way when he died.
170. The Dūḥai family

Yarḥai was honoured with a statue in the temple of Baalshamin by Zabdā son of Barīkai, son of Śimrôn, son of Barīkai. The name Dūḥai is attested once (H. Ingholt, Berytus 2 (1935) 60 no.2) in the tomb of ‘Atenatan, but the onomastics does not suggest any relationship between the two.

171. The Dūḥai family: from the hypogeum of ‘Atenatan

The hypogeum of ‘Atenatan was built in 98 AD and 130 years later, Julius Aurelius Maqqai built the single lateral exedra of the tomb. The exedra excavated in 229 AD was for Maqqai himself, his sons and grandsons. It is specified that the property rights of the tomb was prerogative of the male heirs only. Actually women too had the right of burial and, in fact we find several of them as owners of tombs. Three sarcophagi were found in the chamber of Maqqai. Unfortunately all of them are anepigraphical. The first clearly represents Maqqai, his wife, two children and three more men. For a fine analytical study of the sculptures, see H. Ingholt, Berytus 2 (1935) 64-75.
172. The Fazal family

The name PZL is of uncertain derivation and it is attested only in this family.

173. The Fatibab family

The spelling PTYHB, only attested once, is very peculiar. It could be a past participle of *ptb* 'to open' and the letter bet could stand for 'b 'father', but the meaning is unclear.
174. The Gašalû family

GMLW

MLKW

SM'WN

ML'

Gašal is attested in Hebrew, see IPN230 and G'L in KA1227. In Neo- and Late-Babylonian we find GA-AH-LA', see WSB 113 and PIAP 81. The name is amply attested in Safaitic, J'L, see ICPANI 163.

175. The Gamaluwa family

GMLWH

KMLW

Z'WR

ML'

† 150-200 AD

The name GMLW is attested in Nabataean, PNNR 19 no. 236 and Safatic, ICPANI 167 and very likely it derives from Arabic, *jamal* 'camel'. At Palmyra, the form GML' is also attested, see PNPI 82. The name KMLW, if correctly read, may derive from the root *kml* 'to be perfect' attested in Safatic, see ICPANI 505 and it is found here for the first time. The other name Z'WR may be derived from *z r*, Aram. *z rā* 'small', see WSB 220 and 323 n. 17.

176. The Gamlâ family

GML

YRHBWL

MQYMW

F SGL

Under the quaestorship of Moqîmû, the city erected a monumental altar to the Anonymous God. He himself made a dedication to the Anonymous God concerning the health of his daughter.
177. The Garimai family

The name GRYMY is normally vocalized as a fu ‘ail form and in PNPI 82 the name is derived from Arabic, *jarīţ* ‘dry dates’. We prefer to consider the name a past participle of *grm* ‘to decide, determine’, well attested in Palmyrene onomastics. In Nabataean we find GRYMW, see PNNR 19 no.242.

178. The Gūrā family

179. The Gūronnai family

Taimē honoured Marcus Ulpius Yarḥai, one of the most popular chief of caravans of Palmyra.
180. The Hairan family

HYRN

| FR

| MLQ

| BWLY  

†150 200 AD

This was originally a double bust and the sculpture bears two inscriptions on both sides of the person portrayed.

181. The Hairan family

HYRN

| MQYMW

| SYD

| NBWZBD

Nabûzabad offered a vaulted building to the good and bountiful genius, in the Palmyrena.

182. The Ḥalâ family

HL

| MQYMW

| 'NNY

| SBTY

The name Sabaṭai is a Jewish name, see RVN 200. It finds parallels in Nabataean, see PWJ 65, no. 103, SBTY.
183. The Ḥannateh family: hypogeaun of Ḥairan, SW

In 106/107 AD, Ḥairan 4 build a tomb for his family. The name of the ancestor ḤNT 1 is otherwise attested as feminine name and it has the meaning of "Ateh is gracious", * ḤN - Ṣ. *

184. The Kad/rah family

The name KD RH 1 is unexplained.

185. The Kahilai family

This family is one of the few that bears the gentilic of Hadnan. We know three more Publii Aelii (D. Schlumberger, BÊO9 (1942-43) 53; H. Seyng, Syria20 (1939) 320 and Milik, p. 229-231). The inscription whose date is broken must be of Hadnan time (117-138 AD).
186. The Kümai family

KWMY

YMLKW

TYMLT

YML

LSMS

The name KWMY is widely attested in Nabataean, PNNR 35 no.555 and Safaitic, ICPANI 505, KMY. On its meaning, see PNPI 92. A certain Taimallat son of Yamhkó is attested in Inv VIII, 29.

187. The Maʿanū family

M*NW

ḤYRN

MLKW

SLMLT

This family is known from tessera RTP 630.

188. The Maiṣan family

MYSN

LSMS

ZBD

YDY↑BL

Yеди'бель offered an altar to the Anonymous God for his life and the life of his brother's sons.
189. The Male family: tomb of Ḥūr in the garden of Palmyra Museum

The inscription attesting this family is a curse text against anyone who will attempt to open the tomb. According to the script, it may be dated to the first half of the 1st c. AD.

190. The Male family

Hermes made a dedication to the Anonymous God. The date is 44[,], Seleucid era, that corresponds to not later than 138 AD.

191. The Malkû family

In the inscription there is a mistake of the sculptor who wrote the word ḫḫ variants before the last name of the genealogy, MLKW. One could also consider Malkû as the name of another brother of Luṭā. On the stele only a young woman, Luṭā and a child are portrayed.
192. The Malkû family: from the hypogeum of Zabda‘ateh, SW

```
MLKW 1
   |
WHBLT 2
   |
SYWN 3
   |
MLKW 4
   |
FSYL 5
```

All the inscriptions regarding this family are funerary. According to the style of the sculptures they have been executed in 150-200 AD. We do not know how they came to acquire property in this tomb.

193. The Maqqai family: hypogeum of Malkû son of Yarhibôlà

```
NWRTH alias BRMQY 1
   |
MLKW 2
   |
YRBWL 3
   ~
FTMLK 4
   |
MLKW 5 60 AD
```

The Greek transcription of the name TLK is THOMALLACHIS (Leghiti, Berytos 3, 1936, 109-112 no. 11).
195. The Marcus family: from the hypogeum of Zabda'ateh, SW

For the hypogeum of Zabda'ateh, no date or foundation text have been found. A number of 23 inscriptions are recorded, among them one cession text. The tomb seems to gather several different family groups. The best attested is the Marcus family. Another is the Corbulo family (see above no.100). It is to be noted that in both families the great frequency of Latin names, Marcus, Walis=Valens?, Attoniyâ=Antonia? and Corbulo. In the year 131 AD, a certain Zabda'ateh son of Hairan, son of Yakîn sold the exedra on the right when you enter (see K. Makowski, SP 8 (1985) 92, fig. 9, for a plan of the tomb), to Bar'ateh son of Marcus. A good number of inscriptions concern Marcus' family and its members are represented in a funerary banquet which is in the tomb. It is clear, anyhow, that the tomb was founded before 131 AD and that Zabda'ateh was probably the founder. At the time Bar'ateh became owner of a portion of the tomb he must have been 20-50 years old, so that his birth took place around 81-111 AD. His son Marcus and Walis must have been born between 101 AD and 131 AD. Marcus cannot be identified with Marcus as the latter is a child and the former is a young man (cf. Eodem, art. cit., 120-121 who made the same remark). Therefore the proposed genealogical tree of M. Gawlikowski, RSP, p. 36 needs to be revised since he considers Marcus father of Marcus. According to K. Makowski, the banquet of Marcus was carved at the same time, that is around 131 AD, and the style of the sculptures seems to confirm it. Something serious must have happened to this family whose members seem to have died at the same time.
196. The Mašikū family

Zebīdā was in 97 AD with the strategos Zebīdā Haumal in the desert, South-East of Palmyra and in 114 AD he was a quaestor at the time the city offered a monumental altar to the Anonymous God.

197. The Mītaqā family

No valid etymology can be proposed for the name Mītaqā.

198. The Mophleos family

In 114/115 AD, Sim'on built an hypogeum for his family in the South-Western necropolis. The tomb is in honour of his father Filā, already dead by 114/115 AD. The name of the ancestor presents difficulties in its etymology. The Greek reads Mophleou and the Palmyrene has been restored on the base of the Greek. The restoration of Chabot in CIS 4160, MPL[YS], cannot be accepted because yod is normally transcribed in Greek with η or ει and the samekh does not appear in the Greek transcription of the name.
199. The Moqimû family

```
[MQYM[W]  \\
NS  \\
MOY  \\
NS  \\
```

This reconstruction is based only on onomastic ground.

200. The Moqimû family

```
MQYM[W]  \\
MLKW  \\
MQYM[W]  \\
HYRN  \\
```

The inscription was part of a bust of unknown origin.

201. The Nabûmar family: tower tomb no.70 of Julius Aurelius Bûlemmâ, VT

```
NYN  \\
BWLMP  \\
ZBBWLT  \\
FWX  \\
NBWMR  \\
NBWZ  \\
SLMLT  \\
FWX  \\
TYMRSW  \\
FWX  \\
```

The foundation text of the tower no.70, in the Valley of Tombs, is lost. What we know is that in 229 AD a certain Julius Aurelius Bûlemmâ owned a part of the tomb and ceded half of his property to two cousins, Julius Aurelius 'Oggâ and Julius Aurelius Salmê, sons of his maternal uncle. Five years later the same J.A. Bûlemmâ, decided to sell a quarter of the remnant tomb to another cousin, a woman whose name is lost, that also belonged to the family of his maternal uncle. In 234 AD, two more cousins from his maternal uncle, made a dedication to the Anonymous God because they were miraculously saved from an earthquake.
202. The Naṣır family

Hairan made a dedication to the Gad of Dura in the year 159 AD and in the same year to the Gad of Tadmor.

203. The Naṣrallat family: hypogeum of Naṣrallat, SW

This hypogeum was founded in 142 AD by Naṣrallat 3 and it remained unused for more than a century. In fact, from the foundation the next record is a cession text dated to 263 AD. Naṣrallat 3 is portrayed in a bust with a modius that normally indicates members of the priesthood. Belai also is attested in a tessera and belonged to the Palmyrene clergy. The family is not attested elsewhere. As the name shows it, this family must be of Arabic origin.

204. The Naṣrallat family

The inscription was part of a bust portraying 'Agilū found in the new village of Palmyra.
205. The Qaisâ family

The inscription is engraved on a slab and it may come from a tomb although it is not a foundation text.

206. The Qamîlâ family

The inscription was found not far from 'Arâj in North Tripoli, Lebanon.

207. The Qâstai family

'Ogeilû offered an altar to Baalshamin.
In 252 AD, 'Ate'aqab honoured Septimus Odarnat, illustrious chief of Palmyra, with a statue in the Great Colonnade. The statue was erected in the 'presidency' of 'Ate'aqab, when he was probably the annual president of the priests of Bel.

The name Malakbel offers a good example of polyphony.

The two brothers offered an altar to the gods 'Aglibol and Malakbel.
211. The Re'ômâ family

Ma'anai offered an altar to the 'Lord of the world', that is Baalshamin.

212. The Sêmanaios family

For the name Sêmanaios it is difficult to identify the Palmyrene corresponding name. It is attested here for the first time. The other names instead, are well known. Malkû was in charge of the presidency of the Senate and he was honoured by Aetnus Severus the governor. H. Seyng (Syria 22 (1941) 245) proposes to identify this Aetnus Severus with the tutelar pretor of 193-198 AD (see Groag and Stein, PIR, I, 73 no.435. In this case he would have ruled the province of Syria Phoenice, as legatus of pretorian rank, around that time (see also P. Lambrecht, La composition du sénat romaine de Sept.-Sévère à Diocletien, Budapest 1937, p. 14 no.15).

213. The Šamâ family: hypogeum of Ḥairan and P.A. Taibbôl and P.A. Yarhibôlâ, SE

In 138 AD, Ḥairan and his cousins Publius Aelius Taibbôl and Publius Aelius Yarhibôlâ built a tomb. The half on the left when you enter belonged to Ḥairan and the half on the right to his cousins.
214. The Sa‘adallat family

```
\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
    \node (1) at (0,0) {\text{\textbf{S\textsuperscript{3}DLT}}};
    \node (2) at (1,0) {\text{\textbf{\textsuperscript{1}NMW}}};
    \node (3) at (2,0) {\text{\textsuperscript{2}BYDW}};
    \node (4) at (2,-1) {\text{\textsuperscript{4}BDW}};
    \node (5) at (2,-2) {\text{\textsuperscript{5}S\textsuperscript{3}DLT}};
    \node (6) at (1,-2) {\text{\textsuperscript{3}MYTY}};
    \node (7) at (3,-2) {132 AD};
    \draw (1) -- (2);
    \draw (2) -- (3);
    \draw (2) -- (4);
    \draw (1) -- (5);
    \draw (6) -- (3);
    \draw (6) -- (4);
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}
```

‘Obaidû, an ex-eques in Ḥirtâ and ‘Anâ, was a Nabataean of the tribe of Benê Rawwâh (see J.T. Milik, Syria\textsuperscript{35} (1958) 229). He erected two altars to Sa‘f-al-qaum, the god who does not drink wine. Furthermore he commemorated his friend Zebidâ son of Sim‘ôn, son of Bel‘aqaq (see below no. 383).

215. The Sa‘ilâ family

```
\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
    \node (1) at (0,0) {\text{\textbf{S\textsuperscript{3}YL}}};
    \node (2) at (1,0) {\text{\textsuperscript{1}ZYZW}};
    \node (3) at (1,-1) {\text{\textsuperscript{2}ZYZW}};
    \node (4) at (1,-2) {\text{\textsuperscript{3}ZYZW}};
    \node (5) at (0,-2) {140 - 150 AD};
    \node (6) at (1,-2) {160 - 170 AD};
    \node (7) at (1,-3) {180 - 190 AD};
    \node (8) at (1,-4) {254 - 259 AD};
    \node (9) at (1,-5) {200 - 210 AD};
    \draw (1) -- (2);
    \draw (2) -- (3);
    \draw (3) -- (4);
    \draw (1) -- (5);
    \draw (2) -- (6);
    \draw (3) -- (7);
    \draw (4) -- (8);
    \draw (5) -- (9);
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}
```

Two inscriptions CIS 3934 and 3935 mention Julius Aurelius ‘Oggâ alias Seleukos. He was generous with money (10,000 dracme) and he was good in his municipal office of strategos-duumvir, so to deserve a statue from the Senate and People of Palmyra. His brother Bôlanâ was in charge for two years in the office of administrator of the Spring Esca. The Greek transcription of ‘\textit{byg}’ is \textit{SEEILA} (as 3934).

216. The Sammai family

```
\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
    \node (1) at (0,0) {\text{\textbf{SMY}}};
    \node (2) at (1,0) {\text{\textbf{YRHY}}};
    \node (3) at (2,0) {\text{\textbf{FLYT}}};
    \node (4) at (2,-1) {\text{\textbf{X}}};
    \node (5) at (0,-1) {1};
    \node (6) at (1,-1) {2};
    \node (7) at (2,-1) {3};
    \node (8) at (0,-2) {1};
    \node (9) at (1,-2) {2};
    \node (10) at (2,-2) {4};
    \draw (1) -- (2);
    \draw (2) -- (3);
    \draw (3) -- (4);
    \draw (1) -- (5);
    \draw (2) -- (6);
    \draw (3) -- (7);
    \draw (4) -- (8);
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}
```

According to the receipt, this text can be dated to the beginning of the 1st c. AD.
217. The Samuel family: tower tomb no.175 of Zebida and Samuel, NW

The two brothers built a tomb for their own family. According to the onomastics this is a Jewish family that established himself, at some point, at Palmyra. The presence of Zebida, a well attested Palmyrene name, may be due to a desire to mix with the Palmyrene society.

218. The SWHBW family

On the name "YDN", see above the Ayderan family, no 8.
219. The Taibbol family

Hauran⁷ is said to be a ‘beneficianus’.

220. The Taibbol family

The name 'TY' is attested both as feminine and masculine.

221. The Taibbol family: from the hypogeum of Julius Aurelius Malē, SW

We have identified, on onomastic bases, Taibbol the one who bought a portion from the tomb of Julius Aurelius Malē in 193 AD with the Taibbol called 'Abdā mentioned in C154288. They might well be relatives of Taibbol Rabbā's family. No clear evidence is available.
222. The Taibböl Rabbâ family

A certain 'Azîz son of Taibböl called 'Abdâ erected a monument for Taibböl. They are probably relatives.

223. The Taimai family: hypogeum of 'Atenatan, SW

'Atenatan built a tomb for himself and his brother Hairan in the South-Western necropolis.

224. The Taimê family

Malkâ made an offering of two columns.
225. The Taimê family

TYMP₁

ZBYD₂

YRHBWL₃

X ₄ 89 or 188 AD

The son of Yar'hôlô built a tomb for him and his family and prohibited the use of the tomb for people other than his male children, threatening a fine of more than a thousand denarii. The date is broken and only the signs for 400 are visible, thus it would be a date between 89 and 188 AD.

226. The Taimê family: hypogeum of Seleukos, SW

TYMP₁

SLWQS₂

TYPLYLS₄

SBYN₅

FX₆

YRHBWL₇

251 AD

SLWQS₇

Unfortunately we do not have the foundation text of this tomb. Seleukos sold to his maternal uncle ten niches in the central chamber, five in each side side-wall. His family, according to the onomastices, must have been of Greek origin. His grandfather Sabinus, the veteran, had served in the Roman army. The Greek transcription of TYPLYS in THEOPHANES (Tadmor III, 26c).

227. The Taimê family

[TI] MP₁

'GYWL₂

[LI]SMS₃

SWS₄

Susâ made a dedication to the Anonymous God. The date is lost but the most part of the inscriptions mentioning this god belong to the 3rd c. AD.
228. The Taimarsû family

Habbatâ is the daughter of Halaftâ, son of Halaftâ, son of Taimärû and she was married to Zacdâ son of Taimê, son of Halaft. We propose for Habbatâ and Zacdâ the same grandfather, so that they are to be considered two married cousins, in line with a well established custom at Palmyra.

229. The Taimarsû family

The name 2BN is of uncertain etymology, see PNP 64.

230. The Taimarsû family: from the hypogeum of ʿAbdaʾastor, SW

We do not know how they acquired burial rights in the tomb. The names appear in graffiti in the chamber to the right, on the left wall which, in 239 AD, was transferred by J.A. Salmat and Amadabû to J.A. Malkû son of ʿOgerîlû, son of Salîm (ne bekome ma. qihû).
Yarhai built a tomb for himself, his sons and grandsons and in honour of his father Barîkai, already dead at the time of the construction. For plans and sculptures found in the hypogeum, see R. Amy and H. Seyng, *Syria* 17 (1936) 229-266.

So'adû with M.U. Yarhai is the most well known character among Palmyrene public figures. His activity as synodiarch is attested over a period of ten years. He was honoured with 17 statue rescripts from Hadînân and Antoninus, a decree from Publicius Marcellus. His brother Nësâ was a synodiarch and his paternal uncle was a symposiarch of the priests of Bel. On his career see also M. Gawlikowski, *Syria* 60 (1983) 64.
There is not a foundation text, so we do not know if this family was the one that built the tomb. The two brothers gave in cession an exedra to Julius Aurelius Yarhibolā son of Moqīm Nafrai (see below no. 447).
234. The Yaddai family: tower tomb no.38 of Zabda'ateh son of Zabdilâ, VT

Zabda'ateh, synodarch, and his brother Yaddai, head of caravans, honoured in 155 and 157 AD the well known trademan Marcus Ulpius Yarhai. Almost twenty years later Zabda'ateh built a 'house of eternity' for himself and his family. We propose to see in Yaddai a member of this family because of the chronology and genealogy. His wife made a dedication to the Anonymous God in 189 AD.

235. The Yamlē family

In 235 AD, Moqümâ offered an altar to the Anonymous God for his life and the life of his brother Ūårân. The same Ūårân and his father Yamlē are represented in an altar with the priest headdress. Ūårân also offered the altar to the Anonymous God, for his life, the life of his paternal uncle and of his brother. As Milik, p. 224 states, the relationship between uncle and nephew in the class of priests is very close (another example can be found in the Azarzirat family where an uncle pays the expenses to consacrate his nephew to the service of Bel; see above no.76). The third offering to the Anonymous God is made by Ūarhibôlé and his son 'Awidâ who also are portrayed as priests. The onomastics suggests a relationship between this family and the Yamlē family that made offers in the temple of Baalshamin (Rāmah below no. 516).

236. The Yaqrûr family: from the hypogeum of Lišamš, SW

Bônne acquired burial rights in the second central chamber of the hypogeum of Lišamš buying eight niches from Lišamš son of Lišamš, son of Taumê (see below no. 49).
237. The Yarhai family

Habbè is portrayed with a child in her arms, but we do not know his name. Her father and grandfather bear very common names so that any suggestion to attach them to a bigger family could result unlikely.

238. The Yarhai family

The name HB is offered both as feminine and masculine.

239. The Yarhibolâ family

Yarhibolâ offered an altar to the Anonymous God for himself, his son Yarhai and his brother.
240. The Yarhibolä family

The Senate and People of Palmyra erected a statue to Barifik and Maoqimm, his son, because they loved their city and honoured their gods. In SMC, p. 294-295, there is a MQYM\ W BR BRYKY 'MRS' who died the 23rd of August 138 and he is very likely the same Maoqimm honoured here and he is represented with a wreathed modius typical of symposiarchs. The statue must have been erected in honour of Maoqimm after his death.

241. The Yedi-bel family

The name Bybh is only attested in this family.

242. The Yedi-bel family: from the hypogeum of the Three Brothers, SW

In 241 AD, Julius Aurelius Malë bought from Julia Aurelia Batamk0, four loculi (see H2. S\ wad family, no. 98).
243. The Zabdâ family: from the hypogeum of Salamallat, VT

```
ZBD\(^2\)  
  |   
BRYKY\(^3\)  
  |   
MZBW\(^5\)  
```

240 AD

```
ZBD\(^6\)  
  |   
QYRL\(^7\)  
```

† 200 - 250 AD

The funerary stele represents Mezzabû and her son Kirillos.

244. The Zabda'ateh family

```
ZBD\(^1\)  
  |   
WHP\(^2\)  
  |   
ZBD\(^3\)  
```

Wahbâ, who is possibly the first-born, took care of the burial of his father Zabda'ateh and of his four brothers who died before he did.

245. The Zabdibôn family

```
ZDBWL\(^1\)  
  |   
MLKW\(^2\)  
  |   
ZDBWL\(^3\)  
```

240 AD

```
MLKW\(^4\)  
```

Zabdibôn, who is possibly the first-born, took care of the burial of his father Zabda'ateh and of his four brothers who died before he did.

Zabdibôn concrated an altar to the Anonymous God for himself, his sons and his servants. Malkû, his son, made also a dedication to the same god to thank him.
246. The Zabdilâ family: from the hypogeum of Barâ, SW

Hadâ is the wife of Barâ of the Barâ family of the Mattabôn tribe (see above no.35). The two inscriptions come from the tomb of Barâ in the SW necropolis.

247. The Zabdilâh family

CIS 4575 is a funerary inscription, the other two texts concerning this family are simply introduced by šlm ‘image’ and they portray two brothers, Zabdilâh³ and Wahballât. Both of them are priests. In the 'Aqqabai family we also find two brothers members of the Palmyrene clergy (see above no.96).

248. The Zaur(ü) family

The name Zaur(ü) is spelled twice as ZWR (c5 4826-4828) and once as ZWRW (c5 48285).
249. The Zebidâ family

The name NSR is a shortened form of øSRAT 'help from Allat'.

250. The Zebidâ family: from the hypogeum of Yarhai, VT

Julius Aurelius Theophilos bought burial rights in the hypogeum of Yarhai from Julius Aurelius Haran and Julius Aurelius Maloka sons of Germanus (see below no. 563).

251. The Zûzai family

The two brothers, Malkâ and 'Ate'ai made a dedication to the Anonymous God.
THREE GENERATIONS

252. The Aarag family: from the hyogeum no.6 of Sasan, SE

```
  RG
   |
  Q
   |
YRH
```

The name 'RG is attested here for the first time. In Safatic we find 'RG, see ICPANI 35 and ICPANI 7 records several names of this type, e.g. 'B, 'GL, 'R, 'SD etc. which should represent a tax formations.

253. The Abab family

```
  BB
   |
  HYRN
   |
MLK
```

This family is known from these RIP est.

254. The Abab family

```
  BB
   |
YRH
   |
Q
```

The name Abab is only attested in this family. The Greek transcription ἈΒΑΒΑ can be found in WUMNOW, 6.
255. The Abgar family: from the hypogeum of Faṣaṣel and Zebidā

Si can bought the central exedra in this tomb from the great-granddaughter of one of the tomb builder, Segel. The year is 193 AD. Si can is said to have excavated and decorated this exedra.

---

256. The Abroq family

Yarḥibōlā was a member of the thasos of the ‘holy garden’ and together with other eight thasists offered an altar to the gods ‘Aglḥbōl and Malakbel.
The name of Julius Aurelius Marônâ’s grandfather is a Latin name, probably influenced by the Roman onomastics present at Palmyra. In fact, the other anthroponyms are good Aramaic names and this is very likely an indigenous family.

This family is known from tessera RTP 704.
259. The Akran family

The name 'KRN is of Syriac derivation from 'AKĀRĀ, 'ploughman', see PPN 67-68.

260. The Aklab family

Zebidâ made a dedication to the Anonymous God.

261. The Aknat family

According to the relict the text can be dated to the 1st c. AD.
262. The Alahū family

Zabdibol, member of the thiasos of 'Aglibol and Malakbel offered an altar to the gods together with eight more thiasists.

263. The Alahū family

The inscription attesting his family was found in Wadi Humsa.

264. The Amrisa family

The bust bearing his inscription has been found in the Valley of Tombs. The name 'MRS' of unclear etymology is only attested here.
265. The Amrišā family

The Greek inscription of "NRΣ" in ANR1-SAN800 (c15 3250).

266. The Annaqır family

The scarce presence of the name Annaqır would suggest a relation between this family and the one attested in the temple of Nabû (see above no.136). Unfortunately there are no clear evidence, not even on onomastic ground. Malkû is the administrator of the 'holy garden' dedicated to the gods 'Aglibôl and Malakbel.

267. The Appiôn family

In 173 AD, Cassianus offered an altar to the Anonymous God for his life and the life of his brothers. Unfortunately we do not know their names. Kassianos is the Greek transcription of the Latin name Cassianus which is rendered in Palmyrene as QSYN, as we learn from the bilingual text CIS 3943. The Greek version of this text does not give the name Appiôn which is a Greek name (see PN172). For Zebidâ instead, we find that his surname is Phulopatoros, not found in the Palmyrene text.
268. The Aqzaman family

The best of Malkā is at the Iraq Museum of Baghdad.

269. The Aqqaih family

Aqqaih was honoured with a statue erected in the temple of Bel, by the Benē Gaddibōl because he had offered to them a door and its wings possibly for the temple of Bel and in Vologesias he had contributed to the expenses for the building of a *btamzao* or 'place of cult' (on the term see discussion in *Palmyre* VI, 85; Milik, p. 306-307; J. Starcky, *Syria* 26 (1949) 51-55 and under the Zimrā tribe) and an *athIarôná=àv5póv*, synonym of symposion 'room of banquets' (see *Palmyre* VI, 74; J. Starcky, *Syria* 26 (1949) 55-59; *Inv X*, 144). The name Aqqaih appears in two more inscriptions: *CIS* 4615 and *Palmyre I*, 207 no.1 but it is unlikely that there is any kind of relationship among them.

270. The Aqqaih family

Greek is the only version of the text left. We know the names from inscription *CIS* 3917=Inv IX, 15 (see above no.269).
In 79 AD, three brothers, Banai, Elaḥā and Araūm built a tomb in the Valley of Tombs, for themselves and their children. The name Elaḥā and Taimaḥ are found also in the Elaḥā family and in the Habazai family, both belonging to the Mattabōl tribe but the ancestors are different (see above nos. 40 and 43).

272. The Arqīm? family

The last letter of the name ṭ ROYM? could also be read _separator  since it is in shadow.

273. The Aṣīd mai family

According to the script, this text can be dated to the 1st c. AD.
274. The Aṣṣaṣ family

This family is attested in tessera RTP 480.

275. The Aṣbar family

The name 'SBR is attested for the first time. In Safaitic and Thamudic we find SBR and SBR'L, see JCPANJ 338 and also Seber, see PIAP 79.

276. The Aṣim family

The name 'SM is to be related to the name 'SYM found at Teima (K. Beyer and A. Livingstone, ZDMG 137 (1987) 286-288 no.1). Several names including the divine element 'SM are attested at Elephantine, see OAA 42.
277. The Ašiyān family

SYN  
/  
MLKW  
/  
HYR  
\  
FN'M  

The name SYN is only attested in this family.

278. The Azmar family

ZMR  
/  
TYM  
/  
YRHBWL  

The name ZMR is only attested once. A parallel can be found in Nabatean, ZMR, in PND 26, no. 385.

279. The Elahbel family

LHB  
/  
GYLW  
/  
YRH  

This is a graffito found in the temple of Baalshamin.
280. The Elahbel family: from the tomb of Yarḥai, 'Atenũrũ and Zabdiböl, SW

\[280. \text{The Elahbel family: from the tomb of Yarḥai, 'Atenũrũ and Zabdiböl, SW} \]

\[\text{̓LHBL}^1 \]

\[\text{QLYBW}^2 \]

\[\text{SLMN}^3 \quad 194 \text{AD} \]

Salman bought with Ta'mū son of Dabab, son of Ḥirmyan (see below no.377), a portion of the tomb from Aqmat daughter of Yarḥai, son of Moqīmū (see above no.75) and Moqīmū son of Liṣamūn son of Ḥifra (see below no.37).

281. The Elahbel-Theodôros family: tomb of Theodôros, CD

\[281. \text{The Elahbel-Theodôros family: tomb of Theodôros, CD} \]

\[\text{̓LHJBL - THEODÔROS}^1 \]

\[\text{MQYW}^2 \]

\[\text{MLKW}^3 \]

\[85 \text{AD} \quad \text{̓LJH[B]L alias MRWN}^4 \quad \sim \quad FX^5 \]

The bilingual text attesting the foundation of a tomb is engraved on a lintel found re-employed in the Camp of Diocletian. The lintel might come from the necropolis West which is very close to the Camp. In 85 AD, Elahbel called Marônā built the tomb in honour of his father Moqīmū and of his uncle Malkā who is also his father-in-law. Elahbel was married to a cousin according to a well-established custom of marriages amongst kin (a good example can be found in the Elahbel family, see above no.63). M. Gawlikowski (Berytus 19 (1970) 69) reads the date November 185, but the photograph (fig. 5) clearly shows three strokes and not four before the sign for hundred. Maybe one stroke has been mistaken with the hook of the preceding letter taw of the word ʿarʿ "year". Therefore the date has to be corrected in 85 AD. The onomastics of this family presents some peculiarties. The founder's name is Theodôros Elahbel alias Marônā, son of Moqīmū (called) Makareus (Greek version) and grandson of Theodôros-Elahbel. We can see that the Greek Theodôros 'given by god' does not correspond to Elahbel 'Bel is god'. Also the transcription Makareus for Moqīmū is very unusual.

282. The Ḳuṣṭadar family

\[282. \text{The Ḳuṣṭadar family} \]

\[\text{̓S}^3 \text{DR}^1 \]

\[\text{YRHY}^2 \]

\[\text{MLKW}^3 \]

On the name Ḳuṣṭadar, see explanation under the Ḳuṣṭadar family (see above no.142).
283. The Obaihan family: from the hypogeum of Malkū, SW

Malkū owned one niche in the Northern chamber of this tomb. He bought it in 249 AD from J.A. 'Oggā son of the freedman Rauḥbel.

284. The Odainat family

No valid etymology can be proposed for the name 'MY'.

285. The Odainat family

Lašamš dedicated an altar to the Anonymous God like many others found in the Camp of Diocletian.
286. The Ummabi family

According to the style, the sculpture can be dated to 50-150 AD. The stele was offered by Meconai for his two sisters.

287. The 'Abdai family

The name 'Mry is obsolete in their family and in decree RTP 38.

288. The 'Abdai family

J.A. Salamallat was honoured by the Palmyrene Senate and People because he reconducted the caravan with money from his pocket. He is said to be an archemporos=president of the tradesmen.
289. The 'Abşalmā family

`BSLM' 1  
`SLMNY 2  
[ZBYJD'] 3  204 AD

The inscription is very damaged and consisted of a foundation and a cession text. Zebidā, whose restoration seems to be the most probable given the space left, bought burial rights in this hypogeum from Qomā Ḥalafā son of Ṣeṭṭeraī son of X, son of Lišamā, son of X (see above no. 111).

290. The 'Adôn family: from the hypogeum of Malkū, SW

`BDY 2  
YWLYS 'WRLYS B'LY 3  267 AD

J.A. Ba'alai bought together with J.A. Agatōn son of Bassā, son of Germanus two niches in the Southern chamber of this hypogeum. The year is 267 AD.  
(see below no. 348)

291. The 'Amirat family

`MRT 1  
`YRHY 2  
HYR 3

The name 'MRT is attested in Nabataean, see **PNNR 53** no.919 and Safaric, **ICPANI 437** and **IFSC 597**. The Greek transcription is Amerathos, Amirathou, Wuthnow 19, 158.
292. The ʿAmr family

The name ʿMR finds parallels in Makteen, in PWR 52-53 no. 313-315.

293. The ʿAnan family

Male made a dedication to the Anonymous God.

294. The ʿAnan family: from the hypogeum of Malkû, SW

The acquisition of five niches in the Southern chamber by Abgar, represents the latest recorded cession in this hypogeum. In CIS 4000, we find a freedman Abnergal who made a dedication to the Anonymous God for his patron ʿAnan son of Taimë and his son ʿAnan. The year is 143 AD.
295. The 'Arabi family

'ARBY ¹
  'BDLT ²
  'GYLW ³ 249 AD

'Ogerilu made a dedication to the Anonymous god for his life, the life of his father and brothers. The name of his grandfather is a nisbe form with the meaning of 'Arabian'. This is a family of Arabic origin.

296. The 'Aštor family

'STWR ¹
  WHB ²
  'LJY ³

The name 'STWRA ² and 'STWRA ³ are variants of 'STWR.

297. The 'Ate-qab Taimê family

TYMP ¹
  TQBB ³
  ~
  HBP ⁵

MQYMW ²
  ~
  FS[ ] ⁴

The reading of Chabot, CIS 4373 A-B, gives Ḥabbâ as a feminine name, that is followed by BR[T]. Thus we have two feminine names together with a masculine name, while on the stele only a woman and a child are represented. The name Ḥabbâ is attested both as feminine and masculine (see PNPI 19). We propose to consider Ḥabbâ the name of the child. Revising the plate of CIS 4373, pl. LVII, does not seem necessary to restore BR in BR[T].
298. The ‘Atehatan family

The name ns\(^2\) has the variant spelling ns\(^5\).

299. The ‘Atikâ family

The name ‘Atikâ is of a good Aramaic formation ‘Ateh is here’ and appears only in this inscriptions. That is why we have chosen to present them all together. One date only is available CIS 4439, that is 20th November 205 AD. Chabot reads 512; in PS 21 we find 516 but the exact date should be 517=205 AD. Malokâ, his wife and children represent a family whose ancestor is ‘Atikâ. For the others, the kinship is evident but it is difficult to put in place because of the lack of dating. It is to be noted the frequency of the feminine name Hagar, very likely the name of a female ancestor not attested in the inscriptions.

300. The ‘Atehuõ family

The bust portraying ‘Atehuõ\(^3\) is mutilated and he is represented with a simple mantle.
301. The ‘Atenûri family

<rnwr> 1
 /
<glw> 2
 /<rnwr> 3

‘Ogeilû is represented with a wreathed modius that usually indicates the symposiarch. Is ‘Ogeilû to be identified to the priest in RTP 670 reading ‘Gylw ‘RNWR and not the contrary?

302. The ‘Atenûri family

<rnwr> 1
 /
<ym> 2
 /<rnwr> 3 219 AD

‘Atenûri made a dedication to the Anonymous God for himself, his children and the Benê PTRT'.

303. The ‘Awdû family

<wdw> 1
 /<rnwr> 2
 /
<whby> 3 34 AD

Wahbau, member of the theasos of the ‘holy garden’ dedicated to the gods ‘Aglibôl and Malakbel, offered an altar to them together with eight more theasists.
304. The ‘Awidai family

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\textasciitilde \textasciitilde \textasciitilde \textasciitilde} \\
\text{\textasciitilde \textasciitilde \textasciitilde \textasciitilde}
\end{array}
\]

Sa‘ad together with Holaiši son of Barīkai, son of Belhāzi built a tomb in the SW necropolis (see below no.330). The location of the tomb is unknown.

305. The ‘Awidai family

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\textasciitilde \textasciitilde \textasciitilde \textasciitilde} \\
\text{\textasciitilde \textasciitilde \textasciitilde \textasciitilde}
\end{array}
\]

This family is known from knee RIP 700.

306. The ‘Azulat family

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\textasciitilde \textasciitilde \textasciitilde \textasciitilde} \\
\text{\textasciitilde \textasciitilde \textasciitilde \textasciitilde}
\end{array}
\]

The inscription comes from Wadi Humau.
307. The 'Oggā family

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{O}^1 \\
\text{MQYMW}^2 \\
\text{MLKW}^3 \\
171 \text{AD}
\end{array}\]

In 171 AD, Malkū bought from Salmē daughter of Bûlāh, son of Bûrrefā, half of the portion that was in her possession. There is a witness to this transaction that is Yaddā son of Kīlī. Malkū paid the sum of 120 denarii.

308. The 'Oggā family

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{H}^1 \\
\text{TVQH}^2 \\
\text{[N]BWL}^3 \\
\text{SLM}^4
\end{array}\]

The name [H]BWL interpreted by Hvidberg-Hansen, has been corrected in [N]BWL as it is much more common and frequent. The family is unknown.

309. The 'Oggā family

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{O}^1 \\
\text{SLMN}^2 \\
\text{HýRN}^3 \\
\text{ca. 110-120 AD}
\end{array}\]

The name 'Oggā is also the name of a Hurrian god (see Stoner, Semitica 3 (1950) 45-52).
310. The ‘Oggâ family

`Oggâ is the shortened form of `Ogeîlî.

311. The ‘Ogeîlû family: from the hypogeum of Zebidâ, SE

The bust of `Salmut' can be dated, according to Hugliot's chronification, to 50-150 AD.

312. The ‘Ogeîlû family

The name ‘LYS' is attested for the first time. Its meaning is uncertain either the ‘aleph stands for ‘ayin (as the name ‘LYS' exists, see PNP 106) or if we retain the spelling with initial ‘aleph as correct, the meaning ‘Samaî is my god' may be suggested.
313. The ‘Ogeilû family

The stele is a double bust representing Zebidâ, the dead person as at his back can be seen the funerary drapery, and his mother Ummabi in a mourning attitude. Her hair is lose and her right breast is uncovered. On her breast as well as on her arm appear three small incised strokes which are part of the funerary custom, well known on Semitic ground and mentioned and forbidden both in Deuteronomic (Deuteronomy XIV, 1f.) and Levitic Laws (Leviticus XIX, 27f.; XXI, 1-5).

314. The ‘Ogeilû family

The bust of Malkû can be dated, according to its sculptural style, to 50-150 AD.

315. The ‘Ogeilû family

‘Ogeilû offered two statues. One in honour of a certain [...] son of Zabdâ, (son of) ‘Ogeilû. The other was erected in the temple of Baalshamin in honour of Malkû son of Ḥarran, son of ‘Ogeilû Ayîbel, his master. The date is lost. The type of script would suggest the 1st c. AD or later.
316. The 'Olaiba'al family

\[ 'LYBL \]
\[ TYMW \]
\[ MKY \]

The name may be deemed both of feminine and masculine.

317. The Ba'alai family

\[ BLY \]
\[ YDYBL \]
\[ BLY \]

In 121 AD, Ba'alai offered a stele to the gods Bel, Baalshamin, Yarhibol and 'Aglhibol.

318. The Babat family

\[ FBBT \]
\[ FBKW \]
\[ FBRL \]
\[ FRT \]
\[ WB \]
\[ MSLM \]
\[ HYRN \]

This inscription from Bucharest presents an unusual formulary. A tomb is made for BRLL and only example at Palmyra, her genealogy is matri-linear, being given the name of her mother and grandmother. An aunt, Arat, is mentioned and she must be of some importance because it is specified that BRLL is the daughter of the sister of Arat. It is possible that Hairan son of Arat and his father Meullam, had made the tomb for his cousin BRLL. That would explain and justify the mention of the aunt and of her family. Grammatically speaking, one could also understand that BRLL is the wife of Meullam and Hairan her son, but then the mention of Arat would be unexplained. The name MSLM is amply attested among the Jews of Elephantine, see TADAЕ, 2, p. 1 and TADAЕ, 3, p. lxii.
319. The Baidan family

BYDN¹
  |  |
TYMLT²
  |  |LY³

The etymology of the name BYDN is unknown.

320. The Bannai family

BNY¹
  |  |
TYMY²
  |  |GB³
BNY³

The orthography BNY is of uncertain etymology, see PNP 77.

321. The Baqqai family

BQY¹
  |  |
MLKW²
  |  |KDNNY³

The name KDNNY is only attested in this family and it is of uncertain derivation, cf. PNP 92.
322. The Barâ family: from the hypogeum of the Three Brothers, SW

\[\text{BR}^1 \rightarrow \text{KPTWT}^2 \rightarrow \text{ZBDWL}^3 \quad 191 \text{ AD}\]

In 191 AD, Zabdibôl bought from the Three Brothers, eight loculi from the Eastern wall of the exedra to the left when you enter and three loculi from the first central chamber.

323. The Barâteh family

\[\text{BR'T}^1 \rightarrow \text{TTN}^2 \rightarrow \text{FSB}^3\]

The name \( \text{BB} \) is attested both as feminine and masculine. A parallel can be found in Makatarâ, see PNDR 61 no. 1063.

324. The Barâteh family

\[\text{BR'TH}^1 \rightarrow \text{SPRY}^2 \rightarrow \text{HDWDN}^3 \quad 138 \text{ AD}\]

Haddûdan built a tomb in the SW necropolis for himself and his sons.
325. The Barateh family

The name of Amati's husband is lost.

326. The Barba'asamên family

The inscription was written on a jar from Drew.

327. The Battâ family

The name BT is only attested once.
328. The Bazî family

The name Bazî is only attested once and Struk, DNP 76 derives it from Arabic Bazîyy / Qaleom.

329. The Belaqab family

Zebidâ is commemorated before the god Sa'ret-al-qaum by his friend 'Obaidû son of 'Anandû, son of Sa'adallat of Nabataean origin (see below no. 81).

330. The Belhazî family

Holašt built a tomb in the SW necropolis together with Sa'ad son of 'Oggâ, son of 'Awidâi (see above no. 304).
331. The Belšur family of the Claudia tribe

All the inscriptions attesting this family are dateless and funerary. We only know that Belšur died at the age of eighteen and his brother Moqlm at the age of sixteen. They must belong to the Claudia tribe as the word ‘KLDY with a prosthetic ‘aleph testifies, otherwise spelled KLDY?. Malkû of the Haumal family, founder of the tower tomb no.155, is also said to belong to the Claudia tribe (see above no.49). The Bôlha family, probably related to the Haumal group (see Mihk, p. 261), is part of the Claudia tribe.

332. The Beltai family

This family is known from RTP 752.

333. The Belyada family

Salmê was a symposiarch. He honoured the emperor Septimius Severus and other members of his family with statues.
334. The Belyahab family

```
BLYHB 1
  TYMY 2
  TYMY 3
```

This inscription attesting this family is kept at the Iraq Museum of Baghdad.

335. The Bišră family

```
BSR 1
  HYRN 2
  MLKW 3
```

This family is known from tessera RTP 643.

336. The Bûlhâ family: from the hypogeum of 'Abdā‘astôr, SW

```
BWLHP 1
  BWN 2
  FMYN 3
```

Ma‘anā, together with J.A. Malkū son of 'Ogenlū, son of Salman, acquired burial rights in this tomb from J.A. Salmat, great-granddaughter of the tomb builder, and a freedwoman named Amdabû.

(see below, no. 210)
337. The Bonné family: from the hypogeum of Lišamès, SW

Aurelius Malkû acquired burial rights from Aurelius Wardan freedman of Antiochus Rafabôl. The names Malkû and Salman appear again in some graffiti in the tomb.

338. The Bonné family

The name MB^3 is attested both as feminine and masculine.

339. The Bôrrefâ family

This family is known from tessera R7P640.
340. The Bôrefâ family

This is a stele that records a tomb foundation by 'Ogeilû in 18 AD. The exact location of the tomb is unknown. 'Ogeilû belongs to a tribe but the last two lines of the text are broken so that we do not know the name.

341. The Bôrefâ family: tomb in Bazûriyye

The inscription concerning this family is a cession text and it is one of the most articulated example of juridical text at Palmyra. There is a witness, Yaddai son of KIll. The transaction is conducted by a woman, Salmê, that acts on behalf of her husband 'OgeiIü, probably dead at the time. The inscription records that she had received the sum of 120 denarii, from Malkû son of Moqîmû, son of 'Oggâ for half of the part out of the three of which the hypogeum was composed, that was in her possession.

342. The Dinai family

The two brothers Dinai and 'Olayû offered an altar to the Anonymous God and to the two Holy Brothers. The date is partially erased, only the signs for three hundred are visible. Another altar was offered to the two Holy Brothers by a freedman 'Abnergal in 161 AD. Thus we can date our altar also to the 2nd c. AD.
343. The Diogenes family: from the tomb of Malkū, SW

In February 267 AD, Dadiyôn son of Habba, son of Diogenes transferred four niches in the Southern chamber of the tomb to Ammū daughter of Bassā son of Safarōnā.

344. The Fagga family

The bust of Yorhū, according to its style, belongs to the second group of Hughett's classification, that is 150-200 AD.

345. The Fawrā? family

The name of the ancestor is of difficult reading. Previously has been read as PZG' (Chabot, Corpus p. 447) and BWN' (Ladzbarski, ESE, I, p. 348). The name is surely composed by four letters. The first two were forgotten by the sculptor who engraved them in a second time. In fact, they have a smaller size compared to the others and are written in an inaccurate way. The previous interpretations have to be excluded and the most probable is a name like PWR', unattested so far. Cf. Nabataean PR', PNNR 55 no.973 and Safaitic FR', ICPANI 464.
346. The Filâ family

PYL¹

MTNY²

MLKW³

The name PYL¹ is transcribed in Greek, Pheilas (CIS 4160).

347. The Gabinus family

GBYNS¹

G²

BWN³ 217 AD

Bônnê offered an altar to the Anonymous God.

348. The Germanus family: from the hypogeum of Malkû, SW

GRMN¹

BS²

YWLYS³ WRLYS GTWN³ 267 AD

Julius Aurelius Agatonâ bought two niches in the Southern chamber of the hypogeum of Malkû, from Ammô daughter of Bassâ, son of Safarônâ who had property here like her grandfather. Her father and uncle had property instead in the central chamber of this same tomb. J.A. Agatonâ shared the right of burial of these two niches with J.A. Ba'alai son of 'Abdai, son of 'Adôn.
349. The Goñ family: from the hypogeum of Malkû, SW

350. The Guñainat family

351. The Hana'i family

The name Hana'i is only attested here and in RSP 105. It has parallels in Nabataean under the form HNW, see PNNR 22 no.308 and its Greek transcription is Anaios, Wuthnow 135. Of the name 'LQMP we know the variant 'LQMS, Alkimos (CIS 3913).
352. The Hermai family

The name HRMY is probably a variant of HRMS, Hermes. J. Starcky, *PNQ* p. 174 regards it as an Aramaicized form of HRMS.

353. The Ḥabbā family

The name ḤB is attested both as feminine and masculine.

354. The Ḥabbai family

The inscription was found in Wadi Hamrin.
355. The Ḥabban family

The name of the ancestor is attested in Nabataean and Safaitic, see *PNNR* 27 no.410 and *ICPANI* 175. The Greek Ἄβανος (A. Negev, *IEJ* 31 (1981) 70 no.12) could represent the transcription of this name. Cf. Milik, p. 346 who finds a Greek inscription at Ṣammet el-Baradân (Ḥauran) where he reads Ἄβανης that also transcribes the name Ḥabān.

356. The Ḥabrai family

Moqîmû offered an altar to the Anonymous God because his prayers were heard. Ḥabrai is a one-word name derived from ḫbr “to unite, to be joined” attested in Aram., Hebr., Phoen., Eth., see *PNPI* 87 and Milik, p. 132.

357. The Ḥaddâ family

Ogeistû offered an altar to the Anonymous God.
358. The Ḥaddūdan family: from the hypogeum of Bōlḫā, SE

![Diagram]

According to the script, the text can be dated to the 1st c. AD.

359. The ḤaffaqĪs family

![Diagram]

J. Teixidor (MUSJ 42 (1966) 177-178) considers HPQWS a word with the meaning of ‘of the equestrian order’. His suggestion is difficult to accept because the word ḳwxw is normally transcribed with a he and not ū and the raw is not always written. Milik, p. 26 derives the name HPQWS from ḥṣr ‘to protect’, ‘Qōs has protected’. Qōs is a god of Edomite origin. On the other hand in Safaitic we find the name ḫ, from the root ḫṣr, with the meaning of ‘to surround, enclose’. Gaddā offered an altar in 213 AD to Bel and Arṣū.

360. The Ḥaggai family

![Diagram]

Haggai and his brothers, whose names are not given, offered a statue in honour of Yamīkū son of ‘Oggā, son of Yaʿātār. The date is 150 AD.

(see above no. 1)
361. The Ḥairan family

HYRN¹
YRHY²
FBTY³
† 150-200 AD

For a list of the several Ḥir-names, see the catalogue pp. 120-123.

362. The Ḥairan family

HYRN¹
BRYKY²
HYRN

Ḥairan made a dedication to the Anonymous God.

363. The Ḥairan family

HYRN¹
MTNY²
FKMT³
† 50-150 AD

According to the style, the bust of Ṭeqwē belongs to the 1st group of Lugnelt's classification, that is 50-150 AD.
The bust of Nerginâ is kept at the Museum of Fine Arts of Boston. Its origin is unknown.

The names of the three brothers are engraved on a stone jar that was used as a receptacle for liquids, probably wine, consumed during the religious banquets. The god to whom the jar was presented might be Bel as it was in his temple that the jar was found.

The name BLT² is also attested as feminine (c. 440 BC).
367. The Ḫairê family

Julius Aurelius Nabûzabad honoured his friend Septimius Worôd. He is said to be the illustrious strategos of the colony.

368. The Ḫairê family

In spite of the frequency of the name HYR, no connection can be seen between this family and the Ḫârî family, no. 347.

369. The Ḫâlâ family

The name HL is once attested as feminine, see RSP 83.
370. The Ḥalaftā family: from the hypogeum no.6 of Sasan, SE

The bust represents a man and two children. The children are Ḥalaftā 4 and Zabdilā 5 sons of Barūqā and the man is Zabdā 3 (son of) Ḥalaftā, very likely the brother of Barūqā and the uncle of the two children.

371. The Ḥaldā family

Ḥaldā made a dedication to the Anonymous God. Milik, p. 293 proposes the date 115 as he sees the sign for five plus one stroke, that is ١١٥, سلام اللهم.

372. The Ḥasas family

Soraḍū offered an altar to the Anonymous God because he was heard and fulfilled by the god.
373. The Ḥaṣāi family

According to the script the text can be dated to the 1st c. AD.

374. The Ḥattai family

Malkū was a member of the thiasos of ḤAglibōl and Malakbel and together with other eight thiasists offered an altar to the two gods.

375. The Ḥerṣō family: hypogeum of Lišamšū, SE

Lišamšū built a tomb for himself, his brother and for the children of his paternal uncle. His uncle and children are free to excavate any part of the tomb except the interior exedra where his sister Ṣabā and his wife Hanat were buried. From the genealogy we find the same Lišamšū portrayed on a bust that belongs to the M. Koutoulakis Collection (H. Lozachmeur, Semitica 29 (1979) 105-107). The name HRSW is attested in Nabataean, see PNNR 32 no.491 and the Greek transcription is Ersos, Erasos, see Wuthnow 47.
376. The Ḥifrai family: from the hypogeum of Yarḥai, ‘Atenūrī and Zabdiböl, SW

MoqImO together with Aqmat, the daughter of Yarḥai the tomb builder, gave in cession part of the tomb to Salman son of Qulaibū, son of Elahbel and to Taimū son of Dabaḥ, son of Ḥimyan (mention ed no. 377).

377. The Ḥimyan family: from the hypogeum of Yarḥai, ‘Atenūrī and Zabdiböl, SW

Taimū bought with Salman son of Qulaibū, son of Elahbel, a portion of the tomb from Aqmat daughter of Yarḥai, son of MoqIm and MoqIm son of Lišamū, son of Ḥifrai. The name ḤMYN is widely attested in Safaitic, cf. ICPANI 205 and in Nabataean, PNNR 30 no.462. See also IFSC 570, * Ḥamyān ūn and Ḥimyān.

378. The Ḥonainū family

The text was engraved on a sarcophagus found in a taver tomb in the SW necropolis.
379. The Kadırh family

KDJRH
NSR
YRHY

The name K DJR H  e i s unexplained.

380. The Kahılai family: from the hypogeum no. 6 of Sasan, SE

KHLY
ML
KHLY

This bust comes from the exedra E of the hypogeum of Sasan.

381. The Kahılû family: from the hypogeum of Julius Aurelius Malé, SW

KHLYW
ZBDBWL
YWLYS
YWLYS ZBDBWL

In 235 AD, Julius Aurelius Zabdiböl bought three niches from Julius Aurelius Malé junior in the hypogeum of J.A. Malé (see above no. 151).
382. The Kalb family

\[
\text{KLB}^1 \\
[M]QYMw^2 \\
[YDY]BL^3 \quad \dagger 170-190 \text{ AD}
\]

The bust portraying Yedîbel bears two inscriptions, one on the right shoulder and one on the left shoulder. Very likely, originally it was a double bust, half of which is now lost. According to the onomastics, the two people do not seem to be related. We have preferred to read KLB instead of KLB[W] as the name ends next to the beard of the man and there is no more space for other letters.

383. The Kallistos? family

\[
\text{QL[ST]P}^1 \\
\text{HYRN}^2 \\
\text{MLKW}^3
\]

This family is attested in tessera RTP 661.

384. The Kill family

\[
\text{KYLY}^1 \\
\text{NBWZBD}^2 \\
\text{HL}^3 \quad \dagger 237 \text{ AD}
\]

In Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus*, 1723 Kill is attested as personal name.
385. The Kili Rabbâ family

Mezzabbanâ offered an altar to the Anonymous God. Tessera *RTP 557* represents the bust of a priest, Yarḥai son of Kili Rabbâ.

386. The Komarê family

Hagegû was member of the thiasos of 'Aqilbî and Malakbel and he offered an altar to these gods together with eight more thiasists. The word *KMR* is attested only here as anthroponym. This is the name of the well attested tribe of the Benê Komarê. It could also be interpreted as 'Hagegû, the priest' but the genealogies of the other thiasists give the name of the father and the one of the grandfather without *br 'son' as well as in this case.

387. The Lišans family: from the hypogeum no.6 of Sasan, SE

This bust comes from the exedre D of the hypogeum of Sasan.
388. The Lišams family

The inscription seems to be part of a bust of unknown origin.

389. The Lišams family

The inscription was part of a stake where the fragment of a palm leaf is still visible.

390. The Lišams alias Saprai family

The name Saprai is attested for the first time.
391. The Ma'an family

Ma'an, a child, is portrayed on the funerary stele together with his mother.

392. The Ma'anai family

The name Ḥaggâ is a Jewish name, see BW 2320. A parallel can be found in Malāṭīna 'n Mev, see FWR 27 no. 414.

393. The Ma'anai family

Julius Aurelius Salmâ, eques, honoured his friend and protector Septimius Worôd, governor and procurator ducenanos. In an inscription of the 3rd c. AD, Salmâ is commemorated in a dedication to Allat and Raḥîm by Rabbel son of ‘Awîdâ, son of Yada‘ai and he is not the sculptor as Cantineau, Tadmorea 1, no.5 suggests. QSYP is the Palmyrene transcription of the Latin name Cassianus as the Greek version of the inscription attests.
394. The Makkai family

The sculpture bears two inscriptions and only the portrait of a young girl is left.

395. The Makkai family

The name MKY is attested both as feminine and masculine.

396. The Makkai family: from the tower no. 70, VT

The name MKY is also attested as feminine.
397. The Malai family

MLY¹
TTN²
FSGL³  + 150-170 AD

The name may be regarded, together with ML², as a shortened form of the more populous MLK.

398. The Malai family

MLY¹
MLKW²
TQR³  + 150 AD ca.

In spite of the few attestations of the name MLy, it has been difficult to see any connection between this family and the Malai family, no. 397.

399. The Malakel family

MLKEL¹
[H]JVRN²
ZBD³

The name Malakel is only attested at Polynx and its meaning is 'EL is King', see PNF 95.
400. The Male family

ML₁
YRHY²
ML₂ 272 AD

Male was a custodian of the temple of Bel but his charge is unfortunately lost.

401. The Male family

ML₁
TYBW1²
~
ML₃ ²
F:QM³ ³ 150-200 AD

This family offers a good example of

402. The Male family

ML₁ ²
† 150-170 AD
YRHBWL₂
F:BLT³ ³ 150-170 AD

Belt is a little girl.
403. The Male family

[Diagram]

ML^2

FHBP

ML^3

FHBP

1150-200 AD

He^2 is also attested as masculine name.

404. The Male family

[Diagram]

ML^2

WHBY

SKY^3

The bust has been found not far from the temple of Astarte. A man and a camel are portrayed.

405. The Male family

[Diagram]

ML^2

DNY

ML^3

ZBYD

133-134 AD

Male^3 offered in 133-134 AD an altar to Astarte the good goddess. Given the rarity of the name Dinai, we propose to see the same person in Dinai, father of Male and Dinai, father of Zebidah, which is also possible from the chronology.
406. The Malikbel family

The name MLKBL appears only in this family and it is spelled like the name of the Palmyrene solar god MLKBL, Malakbel. It is very unlikely that we have to do with the same name. A similar example may be found with the name of the god YRHBWL that as personal name always takes a final anthroponomic 'aleph. For Malakbel we propose 'Beli is king' as already suggested by H. Ingholt (Berytus 1 (1934) 37-38).

407. The Malkâ family: from the hypogeum of Naṣrallat, SW

In 263 AD, Julius Aurelius Yedîbel gave in cession two exedrae of this tomb to Julia Aurelia Amatê daughter of Bôthazi, son of Moqîmî and in 265 AD, four more niches. We do not know how and when Yedîbel acquired burial rights in this tomb that was built by Naṣrallat in 142 AD and till 263 AD was left without any epigraphical record.

408. The Malkû family

The family is attested on a fragment that was part of a funerary bust.
409. The Malkû family

MLKW¹
MQYM²
HYRN³

The inscription was part of a bust now completely destroyed.

410. The Malkû family

MLKW¹
HGGM²
HLFPY³ 162/166 AD

Halaifi³ honoured Halaifi son of Atefanî, son of Halaifi because he pleased him and 'gave him power' (on this expression, see Palmyra VI. 89; on the family see above no. 149).

411. The Malkû family

MLKW¹
TYMRSW²
WHBLT³ 236 AD

Wahballat offered an altar to the Anonymous God.
412. The Malkû family

The name Ṣîṣy is also attested as feminine in NAB, 33.

413. The Malkû family

Harran was commemorated by Bôlhâ of the Haumal family who was the administrator of the Spring Efca. He is said to be chosen as assistant by Bôlhâ himself.

414. The Malkû family

The two inscriptions attesting this family are incomplete. They come from the temple of Bel. We have surmised that we have to do with two brothers honoured with a statue each.
415. The Malkû family

MLKW ¹
ZBDBWL ²
MRYWN ³ 211 AD

Manôn offered an altar to the Anonymous God for his life and the life of his brother.

416. The Malkû family

MLKW ¹
YRHY ²
F<TSB> ³

The Greek transcription of the name ‘TSB’ is given in the bilingual text Inv VIII, 64: Athêôba. The same name is attested in another text, Inv VIII, 118 and its meaning is not clear. A certain Malkû is also mentioned. Are the two ‘Athêôba related?

417. The Maqqai family: from the hypogeum no.6 of Sasan, SE

MQY ¹
BWLM ²
PSY ³

This bust comes from the exedra D of the hypogeum of Sasan.
418. The Maqqai family: from the hypogeum of Lišamš, SW

\[ MQY^1 \]
\[ 'BYHY^2 \]
\[ SKY^3 \]
\[ 'ZYZW^4 \]

'Azīzū had burial rights in one of the side-chambers of the hypogeum of Malkū. We do not know how he did it. We propose to see in this 'Azīzū and the 'Azīz of CIS 4592 the same person, because of the rarity of his father’s name, Abīhai. Therefore Šokai is considered to belong to the same family.

419. The Maqqai family

\[ MQY^1 \]
\[ NBWD^2 \]
\[ YRHY^3 \]

263/264 AD

Yarḥai offered an ex-voto because he was heard by the god. The formula of the inscription is the one used for dedications to the Anonymous God.

420. The Maqqai family

\[ MQY^1 \]
\[ S'DY^2 \]
\[ MQY^3 \]

The bust of Maqqai is of unknown origin.
421. The Marcellus family: from the tower tomb no. 150 of Julius Aurelius Marônâ, NW

Julius Aurelius Theodôros bought from Julius Aurelius Zeblâ this tomb and its rights. J.A. Zeblâ must have bought the tomb from J.A. Marônâ, the founder. This family is probably of foreign origin as two names are Latin and one is Greek.

422. The Marcus family: from the hypogeum of Julius Aurelius Male, SW

In 234 AD, J.A. Sibai bought from J.A. Male junior three niches. The name MRQ would suggest the Latin name Marcus but it is the only instance of the name with a final 'aleph', otherwise transcribed MRQS and MRQWS. Cf. the Samaritan theologian Marqah whose book Memar Marqah 'Teaching of Marqah', is preserved and whose name is recognized as the Aramaic transcription of the name Marcus; the book has been written in the 3rd-4th c. AD.

423. The Marônâ family

Marônâ made a dedication to the Anonymous God. The date is lost.
424. The Mattà family

\[ \text{MT}^1 \]
\[ \text{BR}^2 \]
\[ \text{MZBN}^3 \]

Is MZBN BR BR[BR C ' of PS 288 the same person of this MZBN'? It is difficult to say as we do not know the date of this stele, found in the Merv oasis, which is very damaged. Sculpture PS 288 is dated by Ingholt, according to its style, to 200-250 AD.

425. The Mattanà family

\[ \text{MT}^N^1 \]
\[ \text{MLKW}^2 \]
\[ [N]BWZBD^3 \]

Nabûzabad, member of the thiasos of the 'holy garden' offered together with eight more thiasists, an altar to 'Aglibôl and Malakbel.

426. The Mattanai family

\[ \text{MTNY}^1 \]
\[ \text{MT}^2 \]
\[ F \text{QBWD}^3 \sim \text{ML[...]}^4 \]

\[ \uparrow 135-150 \text{ AD} \]

In spite of the reading ML of Chabot, Corpus, p. 434 and PSNCG 71 no.27, we clearly see a taw instead of a lamed and read MT. On the left shoulder we also see an 'aleph and not a dalet and it should be the beginning of the word 'ut -wife'. Thus the following name cannot be ML['] always attested as masculine but a name like ML[KT].
427. The Mawêlâ family

MW'L$^1$

ZBYD$^2$

SMW[N]$^3$

†200-250 AD

The name MW'L$^1$ is attested in Nabataean, PNNR 38 no.617 and Minean, ICPANI 573. The name is of Arabic origin with the meaning of 'refuge'.

428. The Menandros family

MNDRS$^1$

HYRN$^2$

TYBW Ł$^3$

The name Mênodôros could also be possible, see A. Caquot, RTP, p. 167; cf. also PNPI 95.

429. The Mikâ family

MYK$^1$

ZBD TH$^2$

ZBDLH$^3$

Zabdilah is very likely a priest of Baalshamin and he offered a portico in the temple of the god. In the portico only three inscriptions are left that tell us he was the one who made the offer. The date is lost but the script is identical to the one of BS 1 A-B, dated 67 AD.
430. The Moqīm family

MQYM
[N]BWZBD
[M]LKW

According to the script this altar dedicated to the Anonymous God may be dated to the 2nd c. AD.

431. The Moqīmū family

MQYMW
MKY
MQYMW

The name may be attested both as feminine and masculine (see XVIII, 5 and XXI, 63).

432. The Moqīmū family: from the hypogeum of Naṣrallat, SW

MQYMW
BLHZY
FYWLY
WRLY
MT

In 263 AD, J.A. Amatē bought two side-chambers of this tomb from J.A. Yedībel and, from the same person, four niches in 265 AD (see Mu Atalī Family, no. 105).
433. The Moqīmū family

MQYM[W]^1

MLKW^2

GYLW^3† 30-150 AD

According to the sculptural style, the bust of Cqilū can be dated to 30-150 AD.

434. The Moqīmū family

MQYMW^1

[?TNWRY^2

FSGL^3† 30-150 AD

In 133/134 AD, a certain 'Atenūrf son of Moqīmū built, with his two brothers, a tomb in the SW necropolis.

435. The Moqīmū family: from the hypogeum no.6 of Sasan, SE

MQYMW^1

μ^2

MLK/IL^3

MQYMW^4

FS/M^5

The busts of Moqīmū and Ātāzr came from the exedra 7 of the hypogeum of Sasan.
In the first central chamber of this tomb a sculptured slab portrays Bassus with his wife Amatē, his brother Malōkā and his two children whose names are not known. Unfortunately, it is impossible to know what type of kinship there was between Bassus and the tomb builders' family and how he acquired property in the tomb. According to H. Ingholt (Berytus 5 (1938) 102), the style of the costumes favours a date in the 3rd c. AD.

The Našrē family represents a shortened form of the name NSRIT.

The Greek hypocotion of 'WYDLT is ANE DALLIAOUN (see Continuœ, RB 33 (1920) 54f).
439. The Nabē family: from the hypogeum of Bōlḥā, SE

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NB</th>
<th>HYRN</th>
<th>YDY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

†150-200 AD

According to the script, the text can be dated to the 2nd c. AD.

440. The Nabūlā family

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NBWL</th>
<th>GYLW</th>
<th>HNYN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

The origin of his bust is unknown.

441. The Nabūṣūrī family: from the hypogeum of Bōlḥā, SE

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NBWSWRY</th>
<th>BWLHP</th>
<th>HYRN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

†150-200 AD

According to the script, the text can be dated to the 3rd c. AD.
442. The Nabûyadaṭ family

The name Nabûyadaṭ is deleted only in this inscription.

443. The Nesâ Rabbâ family

Male made a dedication to the Anonymous God.

444. The Nesâ family

According to the script, the text referring to this family can be dated to the end of AD.
445. The Nešā family

Nabūzā offered an altar to the Anonymous God for his life and the life of his two children Rabbanē and N[...]. The broken name could be restored as N[S'] like his grandfather's name.

446. The Nešā family

The sculpture of Rabbanē is kept at the Musée du Cinquantenaire of Brussels.

447. The Nafrai family

The family acquired an exedra in an hypogeum of the SW necropolis, from the two brothers J.A. Salman and J.A. Saknai. The name NPRY is attested in Safaitic, see ICPANI 596.
448. The Nafrai family

The stele is dedicated by Solomon to the tubular gods Solomon and Ewy.

449. The Nūrateh family

The name ēdy could be a hyphenotician aithun of ēdybrw or of ēdybūt.

450. The Nūrbel family

The bust of 'Atta is kept at the National Museum of Istanbul.
451. The Nürbel family

NWRBL$^1$

LSMS$^2$

NWRBL$^3$ $\dagger$ 150-200 AD

The skull portrays a man and two children on both sides.

452. The Nürbel family

NWRBL$^1$

YRHBWL$^2$

ΗBYBY R[BP]$^3$ $\dagger$ 150-200 AD

The Latin transcription of ΗΒΥΒΥ is HABEEL (1.e. c. 35380).

453. The Nürbel family: from the hypogeum no.6 of Sasan, SE

NWRBL$^1$

MQY$^2$

F ΗBYBT$^3$

This bust comes from the exedre D of the hypogeum of Sasan.
454. The Qaḥmā family

Yarḥau offered a relief to Allat, ‘the good goddess’ where she is represented enthroned between two lions. Her right hand holds a spear, the latter being with the lions her typical attributes. A turreted-wall crown adorns her head. The script would favour a date to the end of the 1st c. AD, beginning of the 2nd c. AD. The name QHM, attested here for the first time, finds parallels in Nabataean, QHM~W, PNNR 57 no.1016 and Safaitic, QHM, ICPANI 477.

455. The Qaṣṭā family

This family is attested in RTP 94.

456. The Qaṣṭā family

The Qaṣṭā family is known from tessera RTP 60.
457. The Rabbel family

```
457. The Rabbel family

RPL1

NS2

FMTM3 DYNYS4
```

The statue was originally a double bust of a brother and his sister. The only portrait of Dionysiac is left.

458. The Rabbel family

```
458. The Rabbel family

RPL1

RM2

ZYZW3 178 AD
```

‘Azizû bought from a woman, Salmat daughter of Sohaimû, son of Sohaimû, a portion of her property (see below no. 481).

459. The Rabûtî family

```
459. The Rabûtî family

RBWTY1

RMY2

SHPD3 150-150 AD
```

The name Reyti lies unexplained and no parallels can be found.
The stele representing Lišams was found in the hypogeum of Lišams and it belongs to the 1st sculptural group of Ingholt's classification that corresponds to 50-150 AD.

Milik, p. 279 prefers the reading RPBWL to RPNW.

Tamû was a member of the thiasos of the gods 'Aglîbûl and Malakbel to whom he and eight more thiasists offered an altar. The name RBBT is attested in Thamudic, ICPANJ 264. The name Ribâba is attested in CJK 486.2.
463. The Rốf family

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{RWY}^1 \\
\text{BRTH}^2 \\
\text{FHDY[RT]}^3
\end{array}
\]

In Safaitic there are many names attested from the root *r*y, see ICPANI 282. In Nabataean we find R*W* and R*WY, PNNR 19 no.1080. The Greek transcription is Roeos, Roeos, Wuthnow 167.

464. The Sokayyi family

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{SKYY}^1 \\
\text{‘GYLW}^2 \\
\text{YRHY}^3
\end{array}
\]

Yarhai made a dedication to the Anonymous God. The name SKYY has the variant spelling SKYY (see above no.36, the Sokayyi family of the Mattabôl tribe).

465. The Şabîhi family

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ŞBYHY}^1 \\
\text{YRHY}^2 \\
\text{‘GYLW}^3
\end{array}
\]

Cantineau, Inv VIII, 94, reads the inscription [*]GYLW BR YRHY BR HRY ḤY[RN]. He states that actually there is not space for the last two letters of the name Ḥairan. We propose a new reading for the last name: [*]GYLW BR YRHY BR ŞBYHY. The Ş and H in Palmyrene are very similar and the R of HRY is half affaced. Furthermore, the name SBH and its variants are extremely popular in Safaitic, see ICPANI 365, 367 and Arabic Şabîh ‘beautiful’.
466. The Sa'â family

Sa‘â³ was in charge of the altar and custodian of the temple of Bel.

467. The Sa'ad family

This inscription comes from Wadi e-Sineh in North Arabap.

468. The Sa'adai family

According to its style, the bust of Allah belongs to the end group of Highland's sculptural classification, that is 150-200 AD.
469. The Safâ family

The inscription is engraved on an limestone kept at the Iraq Museum of Baghdad.

470. The Sagâ/Sagâ family

The name SG is attested in Safaitic, SG, see ICPANI 340 and in Nabataean, SGY, PNNR 62 no.1105. The Greek transcription is Sagou, Sageios, Sagos and Sagios, see Wushnow 100, 173. We know from Inv XI, 50 the variant spelling SG, as it happens for other names like NS/NS, SRYKW/ SRYKW, SKYY/SKYY. It is strange that Berretâ's matronymic instead of the patronymic is given. For children only we usually find the mother's name in the genealogy. On the other hand one may surmise that Berretâ is in fact a child and that the word 'it 'wife' referred to her mother. Then the formula given in the inscription would be unusual because of the presence of the name of the man supposed to be Berretâ's father. The script of Inv XI, 50 is archaic and the bust of Aqmat is dated to 50-150 AD. This made us willing to identify the Saga of CIS 4574 with our Sagâ.

471. The Sagrai family

Yarhâ was a treasurer, in 114 AD, when the city offered a monumental altar to the Anonymous God. With him there are three more treasurers: Zebidâ of the Mahkû family; Moqîmû of the Gamlâ family and 'Ananû of the 'Ananû family (see above nos. 196, 176 and 39).
472. The Sagrai family

SGRY ¹
MQYMW ²
FTMH ³

The name SGRY is derived by stock, POPI 113 from Syriac गेरा "pistelio-mut".

473. The Sahra family

SHR ¹
HYRN ²
ZQW ³ 147 AD

The inscription comes from Kheirbet Abu Dahur from the Palmyrene.

474. The Salman family: from the hypogeum of 'Abda'astor, SW

SLMN ¹
'GYLW ²
YWLY(S) WRLY(S) MLKW ³ 239 AD

Julius Aurelius Malkû, together with Mu'ânâ daughter of Bûnne, son of Bûlûh, acquired property in the side-chamber to the right of this tomb. Julia Aurelia Salmat, great-granddaughter of the tomb builder and Amdabû, a freedwoman, gave it in cession to them (see above no. 334).
475. The Salman Marcellus family

Salman bears a typical Palmyrene name followed by another name that, in this case, is the Latin Marcellus. His two sons bear two Greek names: Kallistos and Narqaios. His grandchild has again a Semitic name, Taimé. We know another case where the second name is simply introduced by the relative particle *dy* instead of the whole formula *dy miqrh* ‘called’, see CIS 4357.

476. The Salamallat family: tower tomb no. 145 of Salamallat

Salamallat built a tomb for himself and his family. Unfortunately the date is not given.

477. The Salmé family

The sculpture of *yoshed* is kept at the *Byzantine Museum* of Ramla.
478. The Salmē family

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{SLM}^1 \\
\text{YDY'BL}^2 \\
\text{DYNYS}^3
\end{array}
\]

This family is attested in texte Rfp 850.

479. The Samuela family

\[
\begin{array}{c}
[\text{SMWL}]^1 \\
[\text{SMWL}]^2 \\
[\text{SMWL}]^3
\end{array}
\]

The only Greek version of this text is preserved. The restoration of the name Samuela based on the Greek can be taken as certain. It seems that an owner of Jewish origin had sold part of his burial property to two Julian Aurelii whose names are unfortunately lost.

480. The Sim'on family

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{SMWN}^1 \\
\text{[Y]RHY}^2 \\
\text{SMWN}^3 \\
\text{MZBN}^4
\end{array}
\]

Sim'on offered an altar to the gods 'Aglibol and Malakbel and Mezzabanā offered an altar to the Anonymous God.
481. The Sohaimū family

Salmat transferred portion of her burial rights to ‘Azizū son of ‘Addā, son of Rabbel. The names of her father and grandfather are attested only once. In Safaitic we find SHM 'sagacious, energetic', cf. ICPANI 361.

482. The Soraikī family: from the hypogeum of Salamallat, VT

The site portrays 'aterm with e child on her bums.'

483. The Taibböl family

The text 'o written in curvile script ously attested in the 3rd c. AD.
484. The Taibból family

TYBWL¹

 TYBWL²

TYBWL³

TYBWL⁴

AA: is unusual to be potential unclear according to a
well attested custom, see above families no. 10 and 63.

485. The Taibból family

TYBWL¹

 [T]TYBWL²

TYBWL³ ²52/253 AD

The name Taibból is common and his family cannot safely be attached to others.

486. The Taimfâ family

TYMâ¹

TYMRSW²

MQYMW³

The sculpture of Mqymû is kept at the Syrian Protestant
Museum of Beirut.
487. The Taimamad family

TYMMD

MQYMW

MLKW 3

Malkû, member of the thasos of the ‘holy garden’, made a dedication to the gods ‘Aglibôl and Malakbel together with eight more thasists.

488. The Taimaršû family

TYMRSW

İYRN

FBYT

According to the sculpture, the relief is dated to the 2nd c. AD. This is a portrait of a young girl. This family is without doubts of Arabic origin. On the mysterious finding of the two stelae from the Merv oasis, see M. Masson, E&W 17 (1967) 239-247 and P. Bernard, Studia Iranica 8 (1979) 135-139 who suggests to see in these two stelae the result of an antiques trade.

489. The Taimaršû family

TYMRSW

İQWB

KYLY

Kili consacrated an altar to the Anonymous God, for his life and the life of his brothers. His father Ya'aqôb must be a Palmyrene Jew.
490. The Taimarṣū family

TYMR{SW} ¹

‘LYBL ²

[M]QYMW ³

This is most probably a fragment of a funerary bust.

491. The Taimarṣū family

[T]YMR{SW} ¹

WHBLT ²

TYMR{SW} ³ ²²⁹ AD

Taimarṣū offered an altar to the Anonymous God for his life, the life of his brothers and for 'the sons of the house', that is his servants. The names are of a good Arabic derivation and the family of Arabic origin.

492. The Taimarṣū family

[T]YMR{SW} ¹

P]BGR ²

F [BL]JTG ³ ²²⁰-²⁵⁰ AD

An Abgar son of Taimarṣū is known from Inv X, 99, dated 141 AD. This inscription instead comes from a funerary kliné dated, according to the sculptural style, to 200-250 AD.
493. The Taimê family

The two brothers, Taimhâ and Philinos, are represented as two children. They must have died at a very young age. According to Ingholt's classification, the stele belongs to the 1st group of Palmyrene sculptures, that is 50-150 AD.

494. The Taimê family

The bust of Šarru can be dated, according to its sculptural style, to the 2nd c. AD.

495. The Taimê family

Belšûr honoured M.U. Yaršau, the well known Palmyrene chief of caravans.
496. The Taimê family

The sculpture is kept at the Museum of Natural History and Art of Pittsfield.

497. The Taimê family: from the hypogeum of Lišamš, SW

The history of the hypogeum of Lišamš starts around the year 181 AD, with the first cession text recorded when Lišamš gave in cession one exedra and six niches to Sirai son of Zabda'ateh, son of 'A'la'aq a b. See the Amd family no. 69.

Three more followed the first and many graffiti commemorated people not related to Lišamš' family. The foundation text is lost and we do not know who was the founder of this tomb. A small stele, that H. Ingholt (Berytus 5 (1938) 116) regards to be previous to 150 AD, gives proof that the tomb was already in use before its transfer to Wardan, Sirai and Bônne. In 186 AD, Lišamš together with his half-brother gave in cession a portion of the tomb. In the inscription is specified that Lišamš and Amdai shared the same mother whose name is omitted.

498. The Taimnâ family

The stele, attesting this family, shows a blaze on the background.
499. The Tawri family

The bust of "TYBWL is kept at the Museum of Natural History and Art of Pittsfield.

500. The Theodôros family

This is possibly a family of Greek origin, given the names Theodôros and Seleukos. No valid etymology can be proposed for "TYDWR.

501. The Timaios family

Zabdi made a dedication to the Anonymous God. For the date see also Milik, p. 293.
502. The Wahbai family: from the hypogeum of Salamallat, VT

Ma'an is portrayed like a symposiarch.

503. The Wahballat family

The bust of the three brothers can be dated, according to its style, to 50-150 AD.

504. The Wahballat family

Ma'anai was honoured by the Komarë tribe and the gods 'Aghibol and Malakbel.
505. The Wali family

Zabdâ is said to have died at the age of nine.

506. The Wartan family

Simôn made a dedication to the genii Ma'an and Sa'ar.

507. The Yada'u family

Yada'u offered an altar to the Anonymous God. The date is lost.
508. The Yakın family: from the hypogeum of Zabda'ateh, SW

```
| YKYN 1 |
| HYRN 2 |
| ZBDTH 3 | 131 AD |
```

Zabda'ateh, probably the founder of this tomb, sold in 131 AD a portion of the hypogeum to Bar'ateh son of Marcus. No foundation text nor other dated inscriptions were found. The name YKYN appears only in this family. We find IA-KI-NI among the Assyrian names, see APN 91 and in Hebrew YKYN, IPN 28, 202. The root is kw/yn ‘to be’ in the yqtl form. The name Yakın is the same as Neo-Assyrian and Neo- and Late-Babylonian IA-KI-NINU, see PIAP 36 and 134.

509. The Yamâlê family

```
| YML' 1 |
| YRHY 2 |
| YML' 3 | 1 50-200 AD |
```

The name Yamâlê represents a shortened form of yamâlân.

510. The Yamâlê family

```
| YML' 1 |
| TYMP 2 |
| YML' 3 |
| HYRN 4 | ca. 140 AD |
```

Yamâlê 3 and his brother Hâran offered four columns to Baalshamin and Durâhôn in the temple of Baalshamin. The onomastics would suggest to see in this family and in the Yamâlê family that belongs to the Palmyrene priesthood, the same group (see above no.221).
511. The Yamlikû family

YMLKW\(^1\)
  \quad 'GYLW\(^2\)
  \quad LSMS\(^3\)
  \quad \text{† 50-150 AD}

The inscription, according to the script, can be dated to the end of the 1st c. AD or beginning of the 2nd c. AD.

512. The Yamlikû family

YMLKW\(^1\)
  \quad MSKW\(^2\)
  \quad KHYLW\(^3\)

The Greek transcription of MSKW, NASECHOS, can be found in *Wuthnow*, 76.

513. The Yarḥai family

YRHY\(^1\)
  \quad SKY\(^2\)
  \quad LSMS\(^3\)

The inscription comes from Takum el Mareth from the Palmyrene
514. The Yarhai family

Domnina offered an altar to the Anonymous God.

515. The Yarhai family

Sabinus made a dedication to the Anonymous God.

516. The Yarhai family

The date of this inscription is broken and it could be restored either 47[1] or 48[1] Seleucid era.
517. The Yarḥai Edipus family

The name Sewîrâ comes up again in the Sewîrâ family (see above no.60) but we do not dispose of sufficient epigraphical evidence to think they belong to the same family group. The variant spelling SWYR' appears also in A. Bounni, *Mélanges Michalowski*, 1966, p. 316 and three are parallel cases like SRYKW/SRYKW or 'STWRG'/STWRG. Yarḥai had also a Greek name, Edipus, attested here for the first time, according to a well-known onomastic trend of bearing often a local and a foreign name together. Sewirâ erected a statue in honour of his wife who died before 169/170 AD.

518. The Yarḥai family

In *CIS* 4384 we found another Battai daughter of Yarḥai. From an iconographic point of view, they seem to be two well different people.

519. The Yarḥai family

Do they belong to the Halafā family?(cf. above no.109).
520. The Yarhai family

```
YRHY 1
\|  
SRYKW 2
\|  
QYP 3  \(*\text{†}\ 96\ \text{AD}\)
```

The name QYP was read QWP by F. Safar (*Sumer* 20 (1964) 15-17) but on pl. I clearly a yod is shown. In Nabataean we find QYPW, see *PNNR* 58 no.1030.

521. The YarHal family

```
YRHY 1
\|  
YLMY 2
\|  
YT 3  \(*\text{†}\ 70-150\ \text{AD}\)
```

The name 'YT' is only attested in this family.

522. The YarHal family: from the hypogeum of Julius Aurelius Malē, SW

```
YRHY 1
\|  
YWLYS 'WRLYS MQY 2
\|  
YWLYS 'WRLYS HYRN 3
YWLYS 'WRLYS 'B' 4  \(215\ \text{AD}\)
```

In 215 AD, J.A. Hairan and J.A. Abbā bought an exedra in the hypogeum of J.A. Malē, from J.A. Malē who is said to be their relative. It is difficult to understand what kind of kinship bound these people. In 273 AD, J.A. Hairan resold part of his property to J.A. As[... ] son of Ḥoana, son of Simōn and part to J.A. Ḥalafaḥ son of Hermes Marcus, seen already buying niches from J.A. Malē in 235 AD. Again in 237 AD, J.A. Hairan gave away two more niches to A. Ṣamīma, a woman, for herself and her offspring.

795
523. The Yarḥibolā family: from the hypogeum of Malkū, SW

Tammā sold five niches to Abgar son of Taumē, son of 'Anan. We do not know how she acquired right of property in the Southern chamber of this hypogeum. This represents the last transaction in the tomb. The year is 279 AD. From this text we learn that women also could conduct cessions as well as men.

524. The Yarḥibolā family

The inscription is on a fragment that was part of a funerary bust.

525. The Yarḥibolā family

This is a relief with a double bust representing two men, SKBL and his nephew Yarḥibolā. The name SKBL has been previously read in many different ways: [S]B[N'] (CIS 4535); SBBW (PNPI 40 and 101); MKBL (E. Cussini, Syria 69 (1992) 423-424, fig 1). The name SKBL is therefore attested for the first time, but other names deriving from the same root are known: SKYBL, SKYY, SK'T and SKYY. It is unusual, at Palmyra, to express an etymological מ by ס or ס (cf. F. Rosenthal, Sprache, p. 25-26, 38-39 and 42). The name has the meaning of 'Bel has looked out' with the verb šky 'to look out' in the perfect tense of the pa'al stem or of the pa 'il stem with the same meaning. SKBL must represent a graphic variant of SKYBL.
526. The Yarhibol family

YRHBWL

NS

HLPW

† 50-150 AD

The variant spelling NS of the name NS is also known.

527. The Yarhibol family

YRHBWL

'GYLW

FRP

5. The Yedi'bel family

YDYBL

ZBDBL

ZBYD[ niên] 129 AD

Zebid made a dedication to the Anonymous God.
529. The Yedîbel family

YDY'BL	1

YRHB(W)L	2

The second name of Yarhibôlâ is a Greek name, Timaios. It usually indicates a family name, the name of an ancestor who probably was of Greek origin.

530. The Yedîbel family

YDY'BL	1

N'B	2

YDY'BL	3

162 - 152 BC

142 - 132 BC

82 BC

122 - 112 BC

Yedîbel³ erected a stele to honour the goddess 'Astarte. The year is 82 BC. If Yedîbel³ had consecrated the stele around his fourties, he must be born in 122 BC and his grandfather in 162 BC. Thus Yedîbel¹ is contemporary with the one attested in BS 60, but we do not know if they can be identified (see above no.21, the Yedîbel family).

531. The Zabad family

ZBD	1

ZBD	2

ZBY	3

Zabbai offered an altar to the Anonymous God.
532. The Zabdâ family

The Greek transcription of ZBD' in ZABDAS (see us 394).

533. The Zabdâ family

This is a graffito found in the temple of Baalshamin.

534. The Zabdâ family: from the hypogeum of Julius Aurelius Male, SW

In 235 AD, J.A. Halafâ bought three niches from J.A. Male junior in the hypogeum of J.A. Male and in 237 AD, he bought some more from J.A. Hauran who also had property in the same tomb.
535. The Zabda'ateh family

This family is known from tessera RTP 407.

536. The Zabda'ateh family

The inscription is kept at the Iraq Museum of Baghdad.

537. The Zabda'ateh family

The Greek transcription of the name BGRN is Bogranès. The name is rare at Palmyra.
538. The Zabda'ateh family

```
ZBD'TH¹
   │
YDY'BL²
   │
ZBD'TH³ ¹ 200-250 AD
```

The stele portrays Yedibel and his son Zabda'ateh named after his grandfather.

539. The Zabda'ateh family

```
ZBD'TH¹
   │
FQMT²
   │
ZBD'WL³
```

Zabdibol made the funerary relief for his mother who was dead.

540. The Zabdibel family

```
ZBDBL¹
   │
LSMS²
   │
'LYS'³
```

'Alašā built and offered a whole portico and six columns in honour of Baalshamin. His name is engraved on the columns, reminding he was the one who made the offer. The date is lost but the script of these inscriptions is identical to the one of BS 1 A-B which are dated 67 AD.
541. The Zabdiböl family

This inscription is engraved on a sarcophagus found in the necropolis.

542. The Zabdiböl - ʿAmrū family

In 134 AD, these five brothers offered a column to the 'great god of Nazala'. They are Palmyrenes who lived in Nazala as the inscription specifies it. It is to be noted that the first-born bears the name of his grandfather from his father's side and the fourth child bears the name of the grandfather from his mother's side.

543. The Zabdiböl family

The bust portraying Zabdiböl can be dated to the end of the 1st c. AD or beginning of the 2nd c. AD.
544. The Zagûg family

The name Makkai is attested as both masculine and feminine.

545. The Zebidâ family

The stele represents two women, one of which had the right shoulder uncovered in the typical attitude of mourning.

546. The Zebidâ family

The name Makkai is attested as both masculine and feminine.
547. The Zebidâ family

ZB[YDP]₁
ZBYD₄
ZB[YDP]₃

Zebidâ offered an altar to the Anonymous God.

548. The Zebidâ family

ZBYD₄
M'N₂
'HLT₃

The inscription is a graffito found in the Palmyrene.

549. The Zebidâ family: tower tomb no.38 a, VT

ZBYD₄
MQYMW₂
ZBYD₃

This is the only record coming from the tower tomb no. 38a, excavated in the Valley of Tombs.
550. The Zebidâ family

The inscription comes from Wadi Ḥauran. The beginning is missing so that we do not know what it was about.

551. The Zebidâ family: from the hypogeum of Zebidâ, SE

This family may be related to the one of Salmat that comes from the same tomb (see above no.311, the 'Ogeilû family).
552. The Aristides family

The stele represents Marcus Julius Maximus Aristides, father of Lucilla wife of Pertinax. Aristides bears a Greek name introduced by three Roman names as well as his daughter and son-in-law have Roman names. He was a *colonus* of Beirut.

553. The Eutykês family

The cession text *RSP* 163 is engraved on a lintel found reused in the Camp of Diocletian. In the same lintel two names and the date of foundation of an hypogeum are also left. Unfortunately, it is impossible to know the original location of the tomb. A person, whose name is lost, son of Salman, son of Taimhâ, built a ‘house of eternity’. The date is 92/93 AD. Almost half a century later, a certain Julia Aurelia Sullâ transferred the exedra on the right when you enter to J.A. Taim Mét and J.A. Lišam Mét, sons of Eutykês. We are not informed how she had right of property in the tomb and also we do not know whether she belonged to the family of the founder or not.

554. The Baršams family

Baršams consacrated an altar to the Anonymous God together with Odanat, his son and Mariam his wife, of Jewish origin.
555. The Bešaqab family

The stele of RBT is kept at the Kunsthistorisches Museum of Vienna.

556. The Belšuri family: from the hypogeum no.6 of Sasan, SE

This bust comes from the exedra E of the hypogeum of Sasan.

557. The Bölai family

The three brothers made a dedication to Mašanu, the good and bountiful god.

558. The Bönnê family

It is the nurse or foster-mother of the two brothers who made the stele for them.
559. The Bôrrefā family of the Sergia tribe

C. Licinius Flavianus Malkū is a Palmyrene who belonged to the Sergia tribe. The text is undated but to the same tribe belong Roman citizens of Palmyra attested in the 2nd c. AD. He was honoured by three brothers, Zebīdā, 'Abdāi and 'Abdāstār, sons of Nēsā ‘A'īṣāqāb. The authors of *RTP* identify this C. Licinius Flavianus Malkū son of Bôrrefā-Burrus with LQNYS BRS attested in three tesserae which seem to represent a symposiarch.

560. The T. Claudius Felix family

T. Claudius Felix offered an altar to Malakbel. He is one of the Palmyrenes living in Rome.

561. The Gaddarsū family

Batzebīdā made a dedication to the Anonymous God for her life and the life of her husband C. Obādū. The names in BT- like the ones in BR- indicate that the anthroponym following them has the character of eponym.

562. The Germanus family: from the hypogeum of Yarḥai, VT

J.A. Hairan and his brother J.A. Malŏkā sold part of their burial rights to J.A. Theophilos. We do not know how they acquired the property in the hypogeum of Yarḥai.
563. The Ḫaggai family

J.A. Eutykēs took in partnership his brother Gaius Julius Hermeias in the high part of the tomb. They together built and restored the tomb of their own pocket. The tomb also was made in honour of the sons of another brother, Ma'anai.

564. The Ḫairan family

The stele of Solāwāt belongs to the 2nd group of Hugoldt's classification of sculptures, that is 150-200 AD.

565. The Ḫennibel family

According to the sculptural style, the bust of Malē can be dated to 150-200 AD.

566. The Hermes family

Hermes and his wife Amatbel made a dedication to the Anonymous god for their life and the life of their sons.
567. The Malkû family

In 207 AD, Makkai, daughter of Oggâ, made a dedication to the Anonymous God.

568. The Marcus Ulpius Malkû family of the Sergia tribe

The four sons of M.U. Malkû erected a statue in his honour because he accomplished with distinction the three equestrian militiae. He is attested in another text where he honoured his friend M. Acilius Wahballat (Inv X, 108) who was a tribunus. It is noteworthy that all the people who belonged to the Sergia tribe distinguished themselves in military matters that probably gained them the privilege of the Roman citizenship.

569. The Moqîmû family

570. The Acilius Moqîmû family of the Sergia tribe

The inscriptions Inv X, 108-109 are in Greek and undated. The name Wahballat is transcribed by the Greek Athenodoros (see CIS 3971). There is no doubt that both, father and son, are Palmyrenes as the Semitic names show. M.A. Wahballat was first tribunus of the Cohors I Ulpi Petraeorum (stationed in Syria) and then of the Legio X Frangens (stationed in Palestine). He was honoured with two statues erected the first by his friend M.U. Malkû (Inv IX, 24) and the second by the Senate and People of the city. He belonged to the Sergia tribe. Other families, at Palmyra, belong to the Sergia tribe: M.U. Malkû (Inv IX, 24); M.U. Yarhâi (Inv X, 128); C. Lacinus Flavianus Malkû (Inv X, 130); M.U. Elahbel (Bourk-Saliby, AAS 15 (1965) 126-135=Milik, p. 163). It is from Hadnan that they must have gained the right of Roman citizenship, as the Sergia was the tribe he belonged to. H. Seyng (Syria 22 (1942) 228-230) maintains that the origin of the concessions must be a military one, as result also of the noticeable development in the 2nd c. AD of the auxiliary troops where Palmyrenes archers were very numerous in the equestrian rank.
571. The Nabûmâ family: from the hypogeum of Yarḥai, VT

The name ⲡⲧⲏⲧⲧⲧ lies unexplained.

572. The RZŷSYH family

No valid etymology can be proposed for RZŷSYH although the reading seems to be certain.

573. The Sa‘ad family

It is not clearly specified that they are husband and wife but the stele represents a woman and the inscriptions are on her right and left shoulder. One can suspect that originally it was a double bust. Having two different fathers, it is difficult to imagine that they are brother and sister. It is their educator that made the stele for them.

574. The Saḥrā family

Two sisters, ‘Attâ and Satḥai, together with another woman, ‘Attâ daughter of Perdeš, offered two columns to Baalshamin. The year is 23 AD and it represents the oldest inscription of the temple of Baalshamin.
575. The Samšigeram family

The funerary stele portrays only Salmat mother and Salmat daughter, a little girl.

576. The Taimê family

The bust of Eež is kept at the Russian Institute of Archaeology of Istanbul.

577. The Tammâ family

Matronomy is normally used in the case of small children.

578. The Taimarsû family

The stele portraying the two sisters comes from Antioch on the Orontes.
579. The Yarḥai family

The bust of Ṭaquē is kept at the National Museum of Istanbul.

580. The Yedīībel family

The stele represents 'Aliyat and her husband Tarmai and it has to be dated to the end of the 1st c. AD. - beginning of the 2nd c. AD. In CIS 4260 we find another 'Aliyat daughter of Zabdībōl but it is difficult to say if they are the same person or not.

581. The Zabdībōl family

The stele represents 'Aliyat and her husband Tarmai and it has to be dated to the end of the 1st c. AD. - beginning of the 2nd c. AD. In CIS 4260 we find another 'Aliyat daughter of Zabdībōl but it is difficult to say if they are the same person or not.
582. The freedman Abūhan

Abūhan offered a stele to Allat in the shrine dedicated to the worship of GND, the Arab god of Fortune, at Hatra. The name Abūhan is attested here for the first time. At Palmyra, we find the form BYHN (see PNPI 1). The other name, Addai, is fully attested in the onomastics from Hatra. The variant DY is also found at Palmyra (PNPI 2).

583. The freedman Julius Aurelius Agrippa: from the hypogeum of Malkû, SW

J.A. Agrippa bought from the grandchildren of the tomb builder Malkû, three niches in the central chamber. In Sept. 214 AD, a legal document records J.A. Agrippa and another freedman J.A. Ogeîlû who also had property in the same chamber. Being that their niches were contiguous, some sort of agreement must have roused between the two. J.A. Ogeîlû specifies a restriction in Agrippa’s use of his half recess, that he will not be allowed to enlarge it in any way. A sarcophagus has been found in this chamber but there are no inscriptions. H. Ingholt (MUSJ 38 (1962) 104-119, pl. 112) surmises that it represents J.A. Agrippa’s family.

584. The freedman Ahiyâ

The freedman made a memorial to Bel, Yarhibûl, ‘Aglibûl and Arṣû.
585. The freedwoman Immedabû: from the hypogeum of 'Abda'astôr, SW

She sold to J.A. Malkû son of 'Oqeîî, son of Salman and to Mu'âna daughter of Bônnê, son of Bôlhâ, the side-chamber to the right. The Greek transcription of 'MDBW can be found at Dura-Europos, [1 'I]μηδαμος (Rep. VI, 171 no.691 B) and 'Εμηδαμος of a woman of Dana of Apamea who died in Rome (cf. H. Seyng, MUSJ 37 (1960-61) 269 note 1 where an 'Εμηδαμος is attested).

586. The freedman 'Abdâ

'MD(•)1 freedman of 'QMP 2

In this inscription the word for freedman is spelled 'HR ' instead of the more common 'HRY.

587. The freedman 'Abnergal

'MHRT 2 'BNRGL 3 freedman of MQY 4 160 AD

Meherdate and a friend, Gamiliyâ, made a tomb for his brother 'Abnergal freedman of Maqqar son of Yatimâ. 'Abnergal and his brother were foreigners at Palmyra as their names may suggest.

588. The freedman 'Abnergal

'BNRGL 3 freedman of LSMS 4

'Abnergal offered an altar to the Anonymous God.
589. The freedman 'Abnergal

143 AD  BNROL  freedman of  NN

'Abnergal made a dedication to the Anonymous God, not for himself but for his master 'Anan and his son 'Anan. The same happens in CIS 3996. There are cases in which the freedmen dedicate inscriptions to their own children (see the hypogeum of 'Abdastor). If this Taimê is the same of RTP 789, then he was a priest. We find in the hypogeum of Malkû, a certain Abgar son of Taimê, son of 'Anan who acquired some property there in 279 AD (see above no.294). Do they belong to the same family? From an onomastics point of view, the scarce attestation of the name 'Anan would favour this suggestion. On the other hand there is a long gap of time between the two family groups of almost a century.

590. The freedman Julius Aurelius 'Ogeilû: from the hypogeum of Malkû, SW

214 AD  YWLYS WRLYS 'GYLW  freedman of  ZBDBWL

In 214 AD, the descendants of the tomb builder Malkû sold three niches to J.A. 'Ogeilû in the first central chamber. A legal document, dated 214 AD, concerns a disagreement raised between J.A. 'Ogeilû and the freedman J.A. Agrippa, who also had property in the tomb. J.A. 'Ogeilû specifies a restriction in Agrippa’s use of his half recess, that he will not be allowed to enlarge in any way (see above no.583, the freedman J.A. Agrippa).

591. The freedman Farna(k)

PRN(K)  freedman of  LSMS

Farna(k) made a dedication to the Anonymous God.

592. The freedman Hermes

BRNBW  freedman of  BRTH

Hermes is portrayed with aodes on the background.
The freedman Hermes Bassam

Hermes made a dedication to the Anonymous God.

The freedman Julius Aurelius Hermes

In 232 AD, J.A. Hermes libertus of a certain Aurelius X, built a tomb for himself and his wife J.A. Taimē liberta of A. Aqmē daughter of Antiokos Ḥolaftī.

The freedman Hermes: from the hypogeum of Bōlhā, SE

The inscription reads ‘image of Hermes, freedman of Malkū and of his brother Bōlhā’. One hesitates in interpreting the word ‘brother’ as referred to Hermes or Malkū. The sculpture comes in our help as in the sarcophagus only one man is portrayed, that is Hermes and the term for ‘image’ is in the singular form, .setImage Thus Bōlhā is to be considered Malkū’s brother.

The freedman Kilix

The freedman is attested in the Tox Row of Polyyne (C15 3913)
597. The freedwoman Luïa

F [LJWY] 2 freedwoman of F[QMP] 3 +200-250 AD

The name LBŻY is of Arabic origin, from ḤABBĀZ 'balal'.

598. The freedman Ma'anâ

MRQL 2 freedman of BWRP 3 +200-250 AD

The bust of Ma'anâ is kept at the American University Museum of Beirut.

599. The freedman Nahâštâb: from the hypogeum of Malkû, SW

HI.PT 1

WHBY 2

NHSTB 3 freedman of HNT 4 186 AD

In 186 AD, Nûrbel and Aqmat Ḥabbê, grandchildren of the tomb builder Malkû, gave in cession for the first time a portion of the tomb. The whole Northern exedra (the one on the right when you enter) was sold to two freedmen, Nahâštâb and Rauhiel (for the letter see below no. 602).

600. The freedman Narqaios: from the hypogeum of the Three Brothers, SW

MLKW 1

NRQYS 2 freedman of GYLW 3 191 AD (see chart no. 383)

In 191 AD, Narqaios bought the whole property of Zabdibôl son of Kafût, son of Barâ, that is eight loculi from the exedra on the left when you enter the tomb and three from the first central chamber. In a second time, Narqaios resold to Sim'on of the Abramâ family (see above no. 89), four loculi from the exedra on the left and two from the first central chamber so that he was left with only five niches in the whole. The year is the same, 191 AD.
601. The freedman Narqaios

Narqaios made a dedication to the Anonymous God.

602. The freedman Rauhibel: from the hypogeum of Malkû, SW

Rauhibel shared the property of the whole Northern exedra with another freedman, Nahatab. In 213 AD, his son J.A. 'Oggâ sold 'the rest of the profane exedra' to a certain 'Attetan, maybe himself a freedman as the patronymic is not given. It is not specified the number of niches transferred or kept. In 241 AD, J.A. 'Oggâ sold two niches to J.A. Limalkâ and in 249 AD, one niche to Malkû son of Hermes, son of Obaihan (ι&ιιοδος οι. θητ.).

603. The freedwoman Regina

Regina is said to belong to the Catuallauna tribe and her funerary stele was found in South Shields in England. She died at the age of 30.

604. The freedwoman Salmat

The name BGDN is of Persian origin.
605. The freedwoman Segel

F SGL¹ freedwoman of YRH² 175/176 AD

The inscription is on a fragment of a funerary bust of unknown origin.

606. The freedwoman Tada'äl

'RQTWS¹

M³NW²

F TDL³ freedwoman of BSS⁴

The freedwoman offered an altar to the Anonymous God.
III. OFFICES AND PROFESSIONS
III. OFFICES AND PROFESSIONS

The Palmyrene inscriptions do not always give names of professions. However, the cases attested form a good cross-section of social life of the city.

In the present work, attention has been paid at the connection between specific names and the indicated professions; thus we have refrained from providing a general overview of the *cursus honorum* of Palmyra in the various phases of its history. The professional indication is merely divided in five general groups (magistrates; public administration; commercial and economic organisation; religious and military officials).

The terminology of office holding and professions can be found in honorary inscriptions that are mainly bilingual, Greek and Palmyrene. It is interesting to have a glimpse of what is the relationship between Aramaic and Greek-Latin in these texts. In early texts Palmyrene seems to be the original version but in the 2nd and 3rd century, the Greek seems to be the model for the Palmyrene. The way Palmyrene deals with foreign titles is not consistent, either it transliterates them or it uses an Aramaic word for them. There is a constant correspondence between Greek and Palmyrene in bilingual inscriptions concerning public offices and in the majority of cases, Palmyrene uses Greek terminology transcribing it into Aramaic, like *στρατηγός* for *Stratēgos* 3, *τρχων* for *τρχων* 4, *γραμματεῖος* for *συμποσιαρχία* 6 and *δυ ρξ* for *τεταρτώνης* 7. Elsewhere, in bilingual texts Palmyrene can diverge from the Greek like in the case of the term οὐξιλλατίσσων, ‘vexillationes’ rendered by *χλαν*, ‘legions’ 8. Other differences can be found in words concerning the military organisation: *ρξ* 'ρξ drmdry>, ‘chief of the dromedaries’.

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1 One example can be found in the terms *mēqam* (CIS 3946) and *παρτ* (CIS 3971) that indicate the title of ‘restorer’, the first being Aramaic and the second being a borrowing of the Greek ἐπανορθοτής.
3 CIS 3932, 3934, 3939, etc.
4 CIS 3913 and BS 34.
5 CIS 3913, 3959 and Inv X, 7 and 39.
6 CIS 3919, etc.
7 Inv X, 29, 113, etc.
8 CIS 3932.
As the professions come from tomb contexts, they are not representative from the point of view of the number (only some categories are represented). In the same way, the chronological variations in the tombs do not allow us to understand possible diachronic variations, the 'specific weight' of some professions in the city.

Although in a general way, it is possible to see through the great number of commercial professions and the religious charges the structure of what constituted the Palmyrene society: the care of the caravan trade from and to the oasis and the care of cults and buildings dedicated to the several deities of the place.

**MAGISTRATES**

**ARCHON**

General term for all holders of office in a state. But the word was frequently used to indicate the highest office of the state. At Palmyra they are the municipal magistrates of the city.

PN: *BS* 34, 'rkwn.

**ARGAPET**

This is a Persian title meaning 'governor of the city' and was given, in the times of the Arsacids, to a hereditary holder of a city, a kind of feudal lord. With the arrival of the Sassanians the title changed character and became the highest military title.

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9 *Inv X*, 128; see also *Inv X*, 17, 81 and 115.
10 It has to be noted the position of the word 'archons' in the Tax Law of 137 AD, which comes after the Senate, its president and the secretary. This is quite unusual compared to pre-emunence and importance normally given to these municipal magistrates; cf. J. Teixidor, *Semitica* 34 (1984) 61-62. There is mention of an archon to be chosen from the Mat'zyân tribe in *BS* 34. The text, dateless, may be compared to *BS* 23 of 62/63 AD and being fragmentary, it is not clear who is the archon.
12 For the several Aramaic transcriptions of this Persian loan-word, see S. Telegdi, *JA* 226 (1935) 228-229 no. 15.
13 Cf. M.J. Rostovtzeff and C. Bradford Welles, *Yale Classical Studies* 2 (1931) 55. In three inscriptions Worôd is called *procurator ducenarius* (Roman procurator) and *argapet*. The second title is a puzzle as it is difficult to imagine that he was an officer of the Persian king and, at the same time, Roman procurator. Possibly, being an Iranian, Worôd added the Iranian title to the Roman title.
Septimius Worôd: 267 AD, CIS 3943—Inv III 6, ῥγβτ — ἀργανητήν; 265 AD, CIS 3941=Inv III, 8, ῥγβτ — ἀργανητήν; 264 or 267 AD, CIS 3940=Inv III, 9, ῥγβτ — ἀργανητήν; CIS 4105 ter, ῥγβτ.

EXARCHON or CHIEF OF PALMYRA

The title of exarchon implied a military command outside the Roman regular army 14.


Septimius Hairan: 251 AD, CIS 3944=Inv III, 16, ῥς τδμωρ - ἐξα[ρχον τε Παλμυρη]νων.

DEKAPRYTOI15

They represented a board of municipal officials.

137 AD: CIS 3913, col. I 7 and 12, ἱστ - δεκαπρώτους.

IPATIKOS - CONSULARIS

The term ὑπατικός means consularis, an abbreviation of ὑπατικός πρεσβευτής, ‘consular governor’. Originally ὑπατικός was employed only for the governors of consular rank, to distinguish them from the governors of praetorian rank, but later became the ordinary title of a governor. Since 27 AD Syria became imperial province and, as such, a governor of consular rank was at its head. Under Septimius Severus, the province was divided into two; the Northern province called Syria Coele was governed by a governor of consular rank with two legions at his disposal and the Southern called Syria Phoenice to which Palmyra belonged and its governor was of praetorian rank, at the head of only one legion. In spite of the difference of rank both of them were called ὑπατικοῖ.16

Avidius Cassius: Tadmorea II, 20=BS 48. He conducted a brilliant campaign against the Parthians in 164-165 and he was governor of consular rank of Syria from 166 to 175 AD. In 175 he revolted against Marcus Aurelius and proclaimed himself emperor. He was killed three months later 17.

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14 Cf. RE, VI, 2 (1909) 1552-1553.
15 J. Teixidor, Semitica 34 (1984) 63 believes that the Palmyrene text of the Tax Law is not a translation from Greek but from Latin and he sees in this term the Latin decuria. Cf. also J.F. Matthews, JRS 74 (1984) 174 note 5.
16 See also Nomenclatura, p. 75.

C. Publicius Marcellus: 132 AD, BS 45, ἕγμων ἡμῖν - ὑπατικός. He was legatus of Syria in 132-135 AD ca. and consul suffectus in 120 AD with T. Rutilio Propinquit19.


Lucius Aelius Caesar: CIS 3913, ὑπάτωρ. He is said to have been consul for the second time. Consul with Publius Coelius Balbinus.

Manilius Fuscus: 198 AD, H. Ingholt, Syria 12 (1932) 278-289; Inv X, 27-28, ὑπατικός. He was legatus Augusti in 191 AD, in Dacia21. On some Roman milestones, Manilius Fuscus appears like governor of the Syria Phoenice22 and the date of his legation should correspond to the end 194 AD beginning of 195 AD.

Marcellus: 134/135 AD, CIS 3968=Inv VI, 6=Milik, p. 7-8=RSP 157, ἕγμων.23

Marinus: 137 AD, CIS 3913, col. II 2, ὑγμών ἡμῖν23.


Rutilius Crispinus24: 242/243 AD, CIS 3932=Inv III, 22. He is called in the Palmyrene text ἕγμων ἡμῖν that translates here the Greek ἱγνοσάμενος but elsewhere the Greek ἠγεμῶν already met as title of the governor. He was governor of Thracia and legatus Augusti25 in Syria Phoenice.


Venidius Rufus: 198 AD, Ingholt, Syria 12 (1932) 278-289. His name is found on milestones in 198 AD26. In 204 he was named curator alvei Tiberis. In 205 he was governor of the consular province of Germany and legatus Augusti of the Syria Phoenice province.27

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18 See H. Seyng, Syria 18 (1937) 369-378 who proposes to see in Bruttius 1. a friend of Plinius the young or 2. a colleague of Antoninus Pus, consul for the second time in 139 AD and governor of Galata under Hadrian (Groag and Stein, PIR, I, p. 370 no 61; p. 370-371 no.164). He must have been governor of Syria around 124 and 132 AD.

19 De Rohden and Dessau, PIR, III, p. 107 no.779
21 Dessau, PIR, II, p. 327-328 no.106.
23 H. Seyng, Syria 22 (1941) 159 argues that in spite of the title ἠγεμῶν, this oficial is not likely to have been a procurator but he must have been a legate. Cf. Bowersock, Epigrafia, p. 653 and p. 667 no.36 on the possible relation of this Mannus with a L Julius Mannus proconsul of Bithynia and Pontus in 89/90 AD.
24 De Rohden and Dessau, PIR, III, p. 147-148 no.166.
25 F. Cumont, Syria 10 (1929) 281-282.
26 CIS, III, 205, 6723 and 6725.
27 His full name is Q. Venidius Rufus Marus Maxim(us) L. Calv manus, see De Rohden and Dessau, PIR, III, p. 395-396 no.245.
KING OF KINGS

Title of Iranian origin that Odainat and his son adopted after their victory on the Persians.

Septimius Odainat: 271 AD, CIS 3946=Inv III, 19, mlk m k²⁸.

*Palmyre VI, 100.*

Septimius Herodianus: *Inv III, 3,* [βασιλεὺς βασιλέων.

Septimius Wahballat Athenodôros²⁹: CIS 3971, mlk mlk² - βασιλέως.

PROCURATOR ³⁰

Septimius Worôd: 262 AD, *Inv III, 10,* ἀγὸς ὄξαρις - [κράτιστον ἐπίτροπον Σεβαστοῦ δοικημάριον; 262 AD, CIS 3938=Inv III, 11, ἀγὸς ὄξαρις - κράτιστον ἐπίτροπον Σεβαστοῦ δοικημάριον; 264 AD, Inv III, 9, ἀγὸς ὄξαρις - κράτιστον ἐπίτροπον Σεβαστοῦ δοικημάριον; 265 AD, Inv III, 8, ἀγὸς ὄξαρις - κράτιστον ἐπίτροπον Σεβαστοῦ δοικημάριον; 266 AD, Inv III, 7, κράτιστον ἐπίτροπον Σεβαστοῦ δοικημάριον; 267 AD, Inv III, 6, ἀγὸς ὄξαρις - κράτιστον ἐπίτροπον Σεβαστοῦ δοικημάριον.

PROEDROS OR PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

The term, derived from the equivalent Greek term πρόεδρος 'chairmen of the Senate',

indicates the charge of chief of the local Senate³¹.

Bônnê: 137 AD, CIS 3913, col. I 1, bplhdrw - προέδρως.

[Zebidâ]: Inv X, 45, προέδρου.

[Malkû]: Inv X, 55, προεδρεύοντα.

[Yarhibolâ]: Inv X, 59, [προ]ἐδρον.

RESTORER ³³

Septimius Odainat: 271 AD, CIS 3946=Inv III, 19, μίμησις ὁ μᾶν ἤ ἠσθε, 'restorer of the whole East'.

Septimius Wahballat Athenodôros: CIS 3971, ἀγὸς ὄξαρις μᾶν ἤ ἠσθε.

SATRAP

Yarhai (citizen of Palmyra): 131 AD, Inv X, 38, σατράπην (satrap of Thilouana for Meherdate king of Spasinou Charax).

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²⁸ In Aramaic the plural for 'kings' would be mlky ' mlk is the plural form in Syriac.

²⁹ See Bowersock, *Epigrafia* p. 666 no.23.

³⁰ On this term see, *Nomenclatura,* p. 76 notes 1 and 2.

³¹ See *Nomenclatura,* p. 74.

³² It could be restored as [μαίνεδρον but in the inscriptions in honour of synedros, the People is not associated to the Senate like in this text and others, see for example Inv X, 55 and 69.

³³ For a good analysis of the terms σατράπην and ἀγὸς see S. Swain, *ZPE* 99 (1993) 157-159, 161-164 where he argues that these two terms have nothing to do with the institutions of Roman government but they are "an appropriation of an idea of power" by the princes of Palmyra. The first is to be considered a verbal noun from the root ταπ 'to make strong, to establish' and the second the transcription of the Greek word ἐπινοαθαντίς.
SENATOR

In both instances, the Aramaic is a simple transcription of the Greek terms. This term is used in the acceptance of members of the local Senate.  
M.E. Marcianus Asklepiedes: 161 AD, Inv X, 29, blwt - χοιλευτής ‘senator (of Antiochia)’.  
Aurelius Worod: 258/259 AD, CIS 3937 = Inv III, 12, bylwt - δούλη τῆς Παλαιαρχην.  

This term is used to indicate exclusively members of the Roman Senate.  
Septimius Haddudan: 227 AD, Inv IX, 28 and Gawinski, Syria 48 (1971) 412-421, sqlyq'.  
Septimius Odainat: CIS 4202 = Inv VIII, 55, sqlyq’ - [συγκλητικός].  
Septimius Hairan: 251 AD, CIS 3944 = Inv III, 16, sqlyq’ - συγκλητικός.  

SYNEDROS OR MEMBER OF THE SENATE

Elahbel: 119 AD ca., Inv X, 63, bmwtbh.  
Hagegul: 112 AD, Inv X, 69, σύνεθρον.  
G. Vibius Celer: Inv IX, 23, σύνεθρον.  
PN: Inv X, 57, [σ]ύνεθρον.  

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

AGENT


GYMNASIARCH

The name of the official is lost and the inscription can be dated to the first half of the second century AD. The office corresponds to the Roman curator ludentum. We do not know if at Palmyra it was identical to the Roman one.  
PN: Inv X, 102, gmnsyrks, ‘gymnasiarch’

PUBLICANUS OR TAX COLLECTOR

Lucius Antonius Callistratus: 174 AD, Inv X, 113, dy rb’ - τεταρτῶν - manc(ipi) II la(mer(caturae)).

34 On the different use of the terms συγκλητικός and χοιλευτής see Nomenclatura, p. 73. and note 2.  
35 See Bowersock, Epigrafia, p. 666 no. 24.  
37 C. Bowersock, Epigrafia, p. 666 no 20 and 22.  
38 See Starcky, Palmyre, p. 39; a governor in the sessions of the Senate apud J. Teixidor, Semitica 34 (1984) 63 64.
Lucius Spedius Krisanthus. 58 AD, CIS 4235 = Inv VIII, 57, mks ρε‘publicanus’.
M.E. Marcianus Asklépiadês: 161 AD, Inv X, 29, dy rb- τεταρτάην, ‘publican of the quarter’. It is a duty of the 25%.
137 AD: CIS 3913, col. I 6, mks – τελωνιντα.

SECRETARY

It designates the secretary of the Senate and People of Palmyra.

Alexandros: 137 AD, CIS 3913, col 12, grmtws dy bwl & dms - γραμματεως βουλης και δήμου.39
Malè alias Agrippa: 130/131 AD, CIS 3959 = BS 44, grmtws dy trty - γραμματεα γενόμενον το δευτερον ‘secretary for the second time’.
Taibböl: 218 AD, Inv X, 13, bgrmtf.

SYNDICS OR DIFENSORES CIVITATIS

They constituted an official body entrusted with the protection of the interests of Palmyra before the governor of the Syrian province40.

137 AD: CIS 3913, col. I 11, sdyo - συντρίκοντος, ‘difensores civitatis’.

TREASURER

‘Ananí: 114 AD, CIS 3994, bnw ʃt - ετη ἀργυροταμιων, ‘under the quaestorship’.
Moqîmî: 114 AD, CIS 3994, bnw ʃt - ετη ἀργυροταμιων.
Yarhai: 114 AD, CIS 3994, bnw ʃt - ετη ἀργυροταμιων.
Zebîdâ: 114 AD, CIS 3994, bnw ʃt - ετη ἀργυροταμιων.
25 AD: Inv IX, 12, nwʃt - ot ἀργυροταμία, ‘treasurers’.

COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANISATION

The merchants of Palmyra were very active in Mesopotamia. The first inscription concerning the trade of Palmyra with the East is dated to 19 AD and the city mentioned is Seleucia on the Tigris. The Palmyrene and Greek tradesmen of Seleucia honour Yedîbel son of ‘Azîzû, son of Yedîbel of the Benê Mattabôl.41 In 17 or 18 AD, Germanicus sent on a diplomatic mission the Palmyrene Alexandros to Mesene, an autonomous kingdom at the mouth of the Tigris and Euphrates.42 In 24 AD, the tradesmen of Babylon honour Haṣaš son of Nesâ43 and in a text of 81 AD, the capital of the Mesene, Charax is

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39 Only one text (CIS 3913) specifies "secretary of the People and Senate", the other texts mention more simply a 'secretary'.
41 CIS 3924 = Inv IX, 6 a.
42 J. Cantineau, Syria 12 (1931) 139 no. 18.
43 Inv IX 11.
mentioned. Another Palmyrene emporium was at Vologaesias where in 08 AD, a certain Aqqaih adorned the sanctuary of Palmyrene gods. Furthermore, an inscription of 131 AD, tells us that the king of Mesene, Meherdate, had given the administration of Thiouana to the Palmyrene Yarhâi son of Nabûzabad with the title of satrap. Yarhâ bôlâ of the A'abi family, was sent to Susa for an embassy in 138 AD. Also the port of Phorat in Characene is mentioned in two inscriptions dated to 140 and 141 AD. Palmyrene tradesmen are also present in Egypt, one group was resident in Coptos and others were attested in Denderah.

AGORANOMUS

PN: 193 AD *Inv X, 85*, ἀγορανόμης αὐτα, 'chief of the market'.

ARCHEMPOROS or PRESIDENT OF THE TRADESMEN


TRADESMEN

The tradesmen are always mentioned collectively in the inscriptions and their names are not given.

tγρη - ἄρχειμπορον ‘tradesmen'  
*Inv X, 89*.  
*Inv X, 97*.  
24 AD: *Inv IX, 11* (of Babylon.  
70 AD ca.: *Inv X, 7* (from Spasinou Charax).  
81 AD: *Inv X, 40* (from Spasinou Charax).  
86 AD: *Inv X, 127*.  
157 AD: *Inv X, 87*.  
157 AD: *Inv X, 96* (of Scythia.  
161 AD: *Inv X, 29* (from Spasinou Charax).  
199 AD: *Inv X, 44*.  
247 AD: *CIS 3933=Inv III, 21* (of Vologaesias.

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44 *Inv X 40*. In Aramaic the city is called ḫr [(ён) сураг] and in Greek Ἱάσμην Χαράξ.  
45 *Inv IX, 15*.  
46 *Inv X 38*.  
47 *Inv X 1 4*.  
48 *Inv X, 12* and *Inv IX, 14*.  
49 *CIS 3910*.  
50 The most well-known chief of the market is Worôd, see D. Schlumberger, *Syria 49* (972) 339-341.
CARAVANMEN

The caravanmen like the tradesmen are mentioned in the inscriptions collectively. Their names are not known.

bny šyrṯ ‘caravanmen’
88-188 AD: Inv X, 47.
132 AD: BS 45 (from Vologaesias).
135 AD: Inv X, 81 (from Spasinou Charax).
140 AD: Inv X, 112 (from Spasinou Charax to Palmyra and Vologaesias).
142 AD: CIS 3916=Inv IX, 14 (from Phorat and Vologaesias).
150 AD: Inv X, 124 (from Palmyra to Vologaesias).
155 AD: CIS 3928 (from Spasinou Charax).
156 AD: Inv X, 111 (from Spasinou Charax).
157 AD: Inv X, 90 (from Spasinou Charax).
159 AD: Inv X, 107 (from Spasinou Charax).
193 AD: CIS 3948=Inv III, 28.

CHIEF OF CARAVAN

rb šyrṯ or brbuwṯ šyrṯ - οὐνόδια ἄρχως
‘Qeclu: 199 AD, Inv X, 44.
Hageqû: 132 AD, BS 45.
Julius Aurelius Nabûma: Inv IX, 30.
Nesâ: 142 AD, CIS 3916=Inv IX, 14 (same person of Inv X, 124).
Nešâ: 150 AD, Inv X, 124.
Taimarsû: 193 AD, CIS 3948=Inv III, 28.
Taimarsû: 132 AD, BS 45.
Yaddai: 157 AD, Inv X, 90.
Zabda’ateh: 155 AD, CIS 3928.

RELIGIOUS OFFICES

The personal names attested in the tesserae designate priests, members of the sacerdotal colleges or thiasos (tlios ‘thiasos’, a group of people associated in the worship of a particular deity or deities) and they were responsible of the organisation of ritual banquets. It seems also that they carried out important functions in the sanctuary, following a tribal or family tradition, and they were responsible for the main constructions of sanctuaries attested by the inscriptions.

The priests of Bel were organized in a thiasos and at their head there was a great priest who also had the title of symposiarch. The symposiarchy of the priests of Bel constituted the top of the ‘sacred carrier’ at Palmyra because itself was enough to indicate

52 Inv IX 20; Tadmorea I, 3 and 4 and the tesserae, RTP 10-29.
53 For a list of symposiarches, see H. Seyng Syria 14 (1933) 263 and Milik, p. 219-281.
the importance of the dead person. Most probably this charge was to come after the charge of chief of the Spring Efca and it was annual. The members of the college of the 'holy garden', dedicated to Aglibôl and Malakbel, are attested in two inscriptions. The priests of Baalshamin; the priests of Ḥertâ and the priests of Sadrafa and Dûranat are also known. To enter the priestly guild must have been an expensive burden whether the new priest had to pay a sum like the senator and the magistrates when they began to be in charge, or had to pay an official sacrifice, followed by a banquet. It is attested a case in which an uncle takes on him the expenses for his nephew to become priest.

Priests at Palmyra are married, in fact they are often portrayed on sarcophagi with their wives seated at the right of the sculpture. They are represented and identified by their modius and they usually appear beardless.

ADMINISTRATOR OF THE SPRING EFCA

Bôlai: 162 AD, RSP 125 and 126, rb 'yn 'l ṭpq - ṭµ µελητης κιριεθεις 'Efkkas.

Bôlanâ: CIS 3976, b'prmlwt tn trtn 'administrator for the second time'.

Bôlhâ: 205 AD, RSP 127, brblwt 'yn' 'under the administration of the Spring'.

ADMINISTRATOR OF THE TEMPLE OF AGLIBÔL AND MALABEL

'Oggâ: 114 AD, CIS 3968=Inv VI, 6=RSP 157, b'prmlwt 'during the administration'.

Malkû

Naṣrâi Ḥabbâi

Rabbâl

Yarhibûlâ

CHIEF OF THE DIVISION FOR DUTY OF PRIESTS

In Palmyrene the term wur has the generic meaning of 'daily duty' and it is synonymous of ephêmeria 'division of the sacerdotal college'.

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54 CIS 3968 and 3980.
55 BS 38 and 47.
56 Tadmorea I, 17 and CIS 3929.
57 They belong to the Azarzirat family (see Chapter II, no.76) M. Gawlikowski, Syria 62 (1985) 27 no.2.
58 See CIS 4458=PS 8 pl. III 1; CIS 4458 b't=RSP 38, pl. XII 1; H. nghol, Berytus 2 (1935) 68, pl. XXVIII 1.
60 On the term ṭµ µελητης, see Nomenclatura, p. 77 n.2.
61 In Hebrew, ṭet as well as in Judeo-Aramaic, ṭet have the meaning of 'specific time for a service', see DNWSI 833. Milik, p. 283 states that the college of the temple of Bel must have been very numerous and it must have been organized in divisions that in turn took care of the liturgical service.
62 Milik, p. 284 thinks of four liturgical divisions for the clergy of Bel since the tesserae give four personal names. Each division would attend the temple for three months.
rb 'wnt dy bl 'chief of the division for duty of the priests of Bel'  
Amrai: RTP 37.  
'Oggâ: RTP 37.  
'Abd[...]: RTP 37.  
Moqimû: RTP 37.

rb 'wnt'  
Hairan: RTP 38.  
Šată: RTP 38.  
Taibbôl: RTP 38.  
Yadiû: RTP 38.

CUSTODIAN  
mhdmryn, 'custodians' (of the temple of Bel)63.  
[m]dmryn' or dmry', 'custodians' (of the temple of Baalshamin)64.

PRIESTS  
Ba'âlai: 213 AD, CIS 3974 (of the god Aršû), 'pkp 'priest'65.  
Fasael: CIS 4065, 'pkp 'of the stele of the Spring'.  
Malkû: CIS 4501, qyš dy dyr' 'priest of the precinct'66.  
Maqqai: CIS 4064, 'pkp 'of the stele of the Spring'.

SYMPOSIARCH  
brbwnwt mrzh wt 'at the head of a thiasos' and rb mrzh? - συμποσιάρχης 'chief of the thiasos' or 'symposiarch'  
'Awîdâ: RTP 30.  
Bagesû: 132/133 AD, RTP 32.  
Bôlai: Milik, p. 250=IP 14 (of the priests of Bel).  
Bôlţâ: RTP 33.  
Casperianus: 140/141 AD, Seyrig, Syria 20 (1939) 320 no.24 and RTP 785.  
Haddûdan: 272 AD, Inv IX, 28; RTP 486, 490-492, 495; APML 114 no.87; Gawlikowski, Syria 48 (1971) 412-421.  
Hairan: RTP 27 (of Bel).  
Salmê: 203 AD, CIS 3970 and RTP 821.  
Salman: RTP 31 and 34.  
Septimius Worôd: 266 AD, Inv III, 7, συμποσιάρχον τῶν το[ν θεοῦ] Διὸς Βηλου  
&ɛrøwv.  

63 Published and studied by M. Gawlikowski, Syria 48 (1971) 415, 417. He derives the term from the root  
dar 'to protect, to guard', in the a[t] form. Cf. also of the same author, Syria 51 (1974) 92 n 1.  
64 M. Gawlikowski, Semitica 23 (1973) 121-123.  
65 The term apkallu of Akkadian origin has three different meanings: 1 wise man, 2. sage, 3. priest.  
Moreover, in the Annals of Esarhaddon is mentioned 'Apakallatu, the queen of the Arabs', cf. R. Borger  
'Akkadologie und altarabischen Mysterien', Orientalia 26 (1957) 9-10. It is possible that this word has  
arived at Palmyra with the tribes of Arabic origin and it must represent a special class of priests whose  
function is not clear.  
66 Milik, p. 367 states that they probably represented a special class of the clergy distinct from the priests  
and charged with secondary services in the temple of Bel.
Yarhibôlā: *RTP* 35.

Represented as symposiarch with wreathed modius or mentioned in the tesserae with the triad of Bel.

Amôn: *PS* 244 A.
Qōgelû: *RTP* 14 (of the priests of Bel).
Qōgelû: 150-200 AD ca., *CIS* 4497.
Barrāteh: 50-150 AD, *RSP* 94.
Barsegel: *RTP* 903.
Lišmā: *RTP* 19.
Māqān: *RSP* 43.
Malkû: *RTP* 770.
Malkû: *RTP* 17.
Malkû: *RTP* 118.
Malkû: *RTP* 661.
Malkû: *RTP* 754.
Malkû: *CIS* 4504.
Malkûsâ: *RTP* 551.
Moqīmû: *RTP* 375.
MZDYMN: *RTP* 23.
Nabûzabad: *RTP* 822.
Naššûm: *RTP* 773 and 774.
Nesā: *RTP* 10 (of the priests of Bel).
Pertinax: *RTP* 806.
Rafabôl: *RTP* 779.
Salamallat: *RTP* 630.
Samsigeram: *RTP* 381 and 767.
Simţôn: *RTP* 12 (of the priests of Bel).
Sokayyî: *RTP* 825 and 376.
Taibbôl: 180 AD ca., *SMC* 298-299 no.238.
Wahballat: *RTP* 696, 724 and *APML* 105 no.62.
Wahballat: *RTP* 786 and *APML* 107 nos.66-67.
Yarḥai: 150 AD ca., *CIS* 4607.
Yarḥai: 180-200 AD ca., *CIS* 4381.
Yarḥai: 210-230 AD ca., *CIS* 4364.
Yarḥai: 230-250 AD ca., *CIS* 4322.
Yarḥibolā: *RTP* 15 and 22 (of Bel).
Yarḥibolā: *RTP* 763.
Yarḥibolā: Ingholt, *Berytus* 1 (1934) 33 no.2.
Zabdibolā: 150 AD ca., *CIS* 4465-*PS* 146.
Zimrai: *RTP* 933.

**MILITARY ORGANISATION**

Palmyra was the second important town (from the second century) for recruitment of equestrian officers\(^67\). From Hadrian, equestrian officers from Palmyra entered the Roman army because they were renowned archers and they had desert and camel's experience\(^68\).

**ALA**

*Ala I Ulpia Dromedariorum Palmyrenorum* (150 AD), *Inv X*, 128, \(\text{ὃ} \text{dr̈m̈\text{dr̈m}}\)\(^6\) - 'ε\(\text{λ̂n̂} \text{̲p̲i̲α̲ς} \text{̲δ̲r̲̃m̈a̲d̲a̲r̈\text{̃ɭ俣}}\) \text{\(\Pi\text{̲a̲l̲m̈r̃m̈n̂v̂n̂}\)}

*Ala Herculiana*: *Inv X*, 117 and *Inv X*, 125, 'ε\(\text{λ̂n̂} \text{̲p̲i̲α̲ς} \text{̲Η̲ρ̲α̲κ̲λ̂λ̂a̲n̂n̂ς\text{̃̃̃̃̃}}\).

*Ala I Ulpia Singularium*: *Inv X*, 121, [ε\(\text{λ̂n̂} \text{̲p̲i̲α̲ς} \text{̲Σ̲ι̲γ̲(γ̂ου̂λ̂α̲ρ̂\text{̃ς}}\)]

**ARCHER**

Soraikū: *CIS* 3908, qτ̂q̂ τρ̂γ̂ύ̂ν̂\(\text{ς} \text{̲m̂} \text{̲k̂ŝm̂ŵs} - \text{sag(ittarius) c(centuria) Maximi ‘archer of the centuria Maxima’}.

Taimarsū: *Inv VIII*, 121, qτ̂q̂.

**CENTURION**

Catulus (K\(\text{ά̲t̂l̂o̲v̂})*: *Inv X*, 1, (é\(\text{k̂α̲t̂o̲ν̂τ̂a̲r̂p̂ĥο̂ûς} \text{̲λ̂e̲γ̂(t̂ω̂n̂ς}} \text{̲γ̂} \text{̲\(\text{Γ̂a̲l̂(λ̂îκ̂ς}}\)), ‘centurion of the III Legio Gallica’.

Celesticus: *Inv X*, 17, qτ̂ρ̂γ̂υ̂ν̂\(\text{ς} \text{dy mn Iγ̂γ̂ŵn̂\(\text{ς} \text{dy }\text{̃\(\text{r̄h̄t̄ρ̄} - \(\text{[centurioni) leg(ionis) III Gall(icae), III Scy(thiae), VI Fer(ratae); Inv X, 22, ([centurioni) leg(ionis) III Gall(icae), III Scy(thiae), VI Fer(ratae).}}

Julius Maximus: 135 AD, *Inv X*, 81. qτ̂ρ̂γ̂υ̂ν̂\(\text{ς} \text{dy Iγ̂γ̂ŵn̂\(\text{ς} - (é\(\text{k̂α̲t̂o̲ν̂τ̂a̲r̂p̂ĥο̂ûς} \text{̲λ̂e̲γ̂(t̂ω̂n̂ς}} \text{̲1̂1̂5̂ AD, Inv XII, 33, qτ̂ρ̂γ̂υ̂ν̂\(\text{ς} dy mn Iγ̂γ̂ŵn̂\(\text{ς dy [...}}

Pomponius Darius: 224/225 AD, *Inv III*, 5, (é\(\text{k̂α̲t̂o̲ν̂τ̂a̲r̂p̂ĥο̂ûς} \text{̲λ̂e̲γ̂(e̲ŵn̂ς} \text{̲Σ̂ε̲ου̲μ̂ρ̂α̲ν̂n̂ς}}.

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\(^68\) Bowersock, *Epigrafia*, p. 661 and note 52.

\(^69\) The *Ala Thracum Herculiana* represents a unity of cavalry and must have been camped at Palmyra under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.
COHORT

Cohort I Sebastena (?): *Inv X, 17, coh(ortis) I (S)ebasteni*; *Inv X, 22, [coh(ortis) I] Sebastenorum*.

Cohort I Ulpia Petraeorum: *Inv X, 108 and 109, στρατιώτης α' Ὑπόλτας Πετραύκης*.

Cohort I Augusta Thracum: (150 AD), *Inv X, 128, στρατιώτης Πρωτης Αὐγούστης Θρακῶν ἤπειρων*.

EQUES

'Obaîdû: *CIS 3973*, pr' 'eques'.

M. Ulpius Malkû: τρεῖς ἵππους στρατεύειας (a tribus militiis)⁷⁰.

Aurelius Wordô: 258/259 AD, *CIS 3937=Inv III, 12: hrq - ἵππους 'eques of the order of knighthood'.

Julius Aurelius Yadv: 265 AD, CIS 3940=Inv III, 9, ἵππων ἀνδρός στρατίων. *BS 51, prisya τπρ dy gmπ w 'n 'cavalrymen of the ala (stationed) at Gamla and Ana on the Euphrates'*

GENERAL


Septimius Zabbai: 271 AD, *Inv III, 19-20, ἄρχωμα ἄρχω ἅρμυρ - ὁ ἐνδάδε στρατηλάτης 'general of Palmyra'*.  

LEGION

Legion III Gallica: *Inv X, 1, λεγ(είωνος) γ' Γαλ(λικῆς);* *Inv X, 17, leg(ionis) III Gallica*.


Legion VI Ferrata: *Inv X, 17, VI Ferratae*; VI Fer⑩ratae.  

Legion X Fretensis: *Inv X, 108 and 109, λεγέωνος τ' Φρετηνίσιας*.  

Legion XVI Flavia Firma: *Inv X, 128, λεγέωνος ἐκκαθαρκάτης Φλαουίας Φίρμης (Syria)⁷².  


OPTIO - ὁπτίτων

The grade of *optio* is a characteristic of legions. It designates the non commissioned officer placed under the centurion. In imperial times, the charge can be found in other army corps or in civil offices⁷⁵.


⁷¹ The legion IV Scythicae was stationed almost constantly in Syria, see Le Bohec, *Armée*, p. 183 and 218.

⁷² Stationed in Cappadocia from Vespasian to Trajan and in Syria from Hadrian, see Le Bohec, *Armée*, p. 219.

⁷³ This legio was stationed in Egypt from Augustus to Trajan or Hadrian and in Arabia later, see Le Bohec, *Armée*, p. 218.

⁷⁴ Under the reign of Severus Alexander the majority of legions bear the name *Severiana*.

⁷⁵ A Palmyrene *optio ex numero* Palmyrenorum or *heqys* found in Dacia (CIS 3906) where he belonged to the Palmyrene auxiliaries attached to a legion there. The fact that Avitus consecrated an altar in
Avitus: 302 AD, BS 31, ὃπτὼν πρίνκυς, ‘optio princeps’.

PRAEFECTUS - ἔπαρχον

The classic scheme of the tres militiae after Claudius is: 1. praefectura cohortis quingenariae; 2. tribunatus angusticlavii legionis; 3. praefectura alae quingenariae 76.

Clodius Celsus: Inv X, 125, ἔπαρχον ἔλης Ἡρακλιάνης. He is prefect of the Ala Herculaniana.

G. Vibius Celer: Inv IX, 2377.

Julius Julianus: Inv IX, 22. He is prefect of the ala Thracum Herculaniana in 167 AD and he is regarded to be a Palmyrene since he is called philopatris even if his names does not favour this hypothesis.

Marcus Ulpius [Abga]: Inv X, 99. He is the prefect of the Palmyrene archers in 141 AD (ἔπαρχος Παλμυρεων[ν το]ξοτων και γερ[...] - praefectus sagittariorum Palmyrenorum; Porolissum, Dacia)78.

Tiberius Claudius: (150 AD), Inv X, 128. Prefect of the cohort I Augustae Thracum equitatae (Syria-Palestina), prefect of the ala I Ulpiae dromedariorum Palmyrenorum (Syria); ἔπαρχον σπέρης πρώτης Αὐγούσττης Θακών ῥπεων καὶ ἔπαρχον εἴλης πρώτης Όυλπίας δρομαδαρίων Παλμυρηνῶν79.

Titus Aelius: Inv X, 79. He is prefect of the archers at Porolissum in Dacia. He bears the prenom and gentilic of Antoninus Pius. He must have received the citizenship from this prince. This text should be placed between 138 and 159 AD80, [ἔπαρχον τῶν ἐν Παρολλ[σω τῆς ἄνοτέ]πας Δακίας κατελεγμένων τοξότων.

SOLDIER

Septimius Alexander81, 267 AD ca.

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76 See H. Devijver, BARIS 297.1 (1986) 112.
77 He was probably procurator in Arabia under C. Allius Fuscianus whose legation is placed at the beginning of the reign of Antoninus, see H. Seyrig, Syria 22 (1941) 235 note 7; De Rohden and Dessau, PIR III, p. 420 no.377 a.
79 H. Devijver, BARIS 297.1 (1986) 180 no.8 and 188.
80 Cf. H. Devijver, BARIS 297.1 (1986) 179 no.3.
82 For this person see H. Ingholt, PBP, 132, 133; H.-G. Pflaum, Syria 29 (1952) 307-309, 312-313; M. Sartre, Syria 50 (1973) 229-230. He is a beneficiarius ‘administrator’.
83 The name of the soldier is lost. He made a dedication to Bel and the symposiarch of the thiasos of Bel, Casperianus who also appears in RIT 785.
It was the ordinary term for military commanders in Greece, but in Athens in the fifth c. BC strategoi had political as well as military importance. In the Hellenistic empires was the title of officials with wide powers, political as well as military and it became the regular Greek word for the Roman praetor.

This Greek loan-word came to be used to designate at Palmyra local charges, in fact it indicates local military ranks. In a text published by H. Ingholt (Syria 13 (1932) 278-289) is attested a charge called στρατηγὸς ἐν τῇ τῆς εἰρήνῃς ‘strategos for the peace’. The Palmyrene version says “the strategos who has re-established peace within the boundaries of the city” pointing more to a military action than other. It is probably a matter of fights against the nomads, the enemies of the caravans. Thus Aelius Bôrra was in charge of the safety of the caravans within the confines of the Palmyrene state.

Atefanî: 168 AD, ID 19, θυτυγ’ ἵ σφα, ‘general of the archers’.
Julius Aurelius ‘Oggâ alias Seleukos: 254 AD, CIS 3934=Inv III, 14, στρατ[νγάντα].
Julius Aurelius Malkû: Inv X, 115, β’στιγδωσ ἀδ ὅλγαμ - στρατη[νγάντα τῆς]
κολώνειας].
Julius Aurelius Nabûzabad: 262 AD, CIS 3939=Inv III, 10, θυτυγ’ ὅσ ὅλγαμ - στρατηγὸς τῆς λαμπροτάτης κολώνειας.
[Julius Aurelius Seîbâ]: 224/225 AD, Inv III, 5, στρατηγοῦντων, ‘in the generalship’.
[Wahballat]: 224/225 AD, Inv III, 5, στρατηγοῦντων.
Julius Aurelius Septimius Wôrû: 260 AD ca., Inv III, 3, στρα[τηγάοὐ τῆς]
λαμ [προτάτης] [κόλωνειας; 266 AD, Inv III, 7, στρατηγιάντα.
Julius Aurelius […] 260 AD ca., Inv III, 3, στρα[τηγάοὐ τῆς λαμ [προτάτης]
[κόλωνειας
PN: 193 AD, Inv X, 85, [στρατηγιάντα.

TRIBUNUS - χειλίαρχον

In the Republican army they were the senior officers of the legions. Elected by the people they ranked as magistrates, and six were assigned to each legion. They were attached directly to the legion.

84 On this Greek loan-word see, Rosenthal, Sprache, p. 34 n.4 and 91; DNWSI 87.
85 Cf. H. Ingholt, Syria 13 (1932) 278-289; Tadmorea I, 4 and ID, 19, etc.
86 M. Gawlikowski, Syria 60 (1983) 67 says that it is not clear whether Aelius Bôrra was a duovir of the colony or his was a temporary charge.
M. Acilius Athenodóros: *Inv X*, 108, χειλάρχον λεγέωνος ἡ Φρετνίας καὶ χειλάρχον σπείρης α' Οὐλπίας Πετραϊκῆς; *Inv X*, 109, χειλάρχον λεγέωνος ἡ Φρετνίας καὶ χειλάρχον σπείρης α' Οὐλπίας Πετραϊκῆς.  
Frontonius: *Inv X*, 25, praef(ecto) coh(ortis).

Tiberius Claudius: *Inv X*, 128, χειλάρχον λεγέωνος ἐκκαθεκάτης Φλαυνίας Φίμης.

**VARIous**

**COOK**

Zabbai: Ingholt, *Syria* 7 (1926) 128-141, δυ ἡ λ ἦ 'I b ῥ ῦ ἦ ἔ χ 'chief of the kitchen'.

**PHYSICIAN**

Małê: *CIS* 4513, ἕ'συ'.
MLQ: 243 AD, *Inv XII*, 45, ἕ'συ' gwy'.
Nūrbel: Ingholt, *Berytus* 5 (1938) 120-124 no.1, ἕ'συ'.

**SCRIBE**

J. Aurelius Yeddībel alias Mezzabbanā: 214 AD, Ingholt, *MUSJ* 38 (1962) 106, ἕ'συ' ktb ydy 'I have lent the writing of my hand'.

**SCULPTOR**

Holaiñ: 62 AD, *RSP* 159, [g]lw'.
Yarhai: (2)13 AD, *CIS* 3974, glw'.
PN: *Inv X*, 110, glw[p?].

**PEOPLE AND PROFESSIONS**

**M.E. MARCIANUS ASKΛΕΠΙΑΔΕΣ**

He was senator of Antioch and tax collector in 161 AD (*Inv X*, 29).

**BŌLAI - BŌLANOS**

He was administrator of the Spring Efca and symposiarch in 162 AD (*RSP* 126; see the Mattā family no.55).

**BŌLHA** 26

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He was administrator of the Spring Efca in 205 AD and symposiarch (*RSP* 127 and *RTP* 33). He also built a building, the pool and the external wall of the Spring Efca (see the Haumal family no.49).

**G. VIBIUS CELER**

He was prefect of the ala stationed at Palmyra and synedros (*Inv IX*, 23).

**SEPTIMIUS HADDÜDAN**

He was senator and symposiarch of the priests of Bel. His charge lasted for two years 272-273 AD (*Inv IX*, 28; see the Haddâ family no.102).

**MALÊ AGrippa**

He belongs to the Maziyan tribe. In 130/131 AD, he built the temples of Baalshamîn, Dûrahlôn and the Gad of Benê Yedîbel. This implies he was symposiarch or priest. In the same year he also was secretary for the second time (*CIS* 3959=Inv I, 2=BS 44; see the Ra’ai family no.26).

**M. ULPIUS MALKÛ**

His sons belong to the Sergia tribe and he accomplished the three equestrian militias (*Inv IX*, 24; see the M. Ulpius Malkû family no.568).

**JULIUS AURELIUS MALKÛ**

He was strategos of the colony and agoranomos in the 3rd c. AD (*Inv X*, 115; see the Nabûlû family no.117). Septimius WorÔd in 266 AD and another person whose name is lost held the same charges in 193 AD (*Inv X*, 85).

**SOÇADÛ**

He was at the head of an army in the Palmyrene territory and he was also chief of the Palmyrene community in the Parthian territory. He also was synodiarch over a period of ten years and 17 statues honour him. His brother Nesâ was a synodiarch and his uncle was a symposiarch of the priests of Bel (see the Taimsamî family, no.232).

**TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS**

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In 150 AD he was prefect of the cohort I Augustae Thracum equitatae, tribunus of the legion XVI Flaviae Firmae, prefect of the ala I Ulpiae dromedariorum Palmyrenorum (Inv X, 128).

SEPTIMIUS WORÔD

His career is one of the best attested. In 258/259 AD, he was senator of Palmyra and belonged to the equestrian rank (CIS 3937=Inv III, 12); in 262 AD he was Imperial procurator ducenaries (Inv III, 10 11); from 265 AD to 267 he was Imperial procurator ducenaries and argapet and he also held office of chief of caravan, strategos, agoranomos and symposiarch (Inv III, 6-9)89.

M. ULPIUS YARHAI

He belonged to the Sergia tribe and he is best known as chief and protector of caravans. In eight inscriptions he is honoured by caravans. We do not know exactly his position but his services might have been of financial and diplomatic type. His brother M.U. Abgar and his son Abgar are also mentioned as heads of caravans (see the Abgar family no.129).

YARHIBÔLÂ12

He belonged to the 'Agrûd tribe. He was symposiarch and president of the Senate (Inv X, 59 and RTP 763; see the A'abî family no.44).

JULIUS AURELIUS ZENOBIOS ZABDILAH

He was strategos in 229 AD and agoranomos in 242/243 AD (CIS 3932=Inv III, 22; see the Qasmâ family no.50).

CONCLUSIONS
CONCLUSIONS

A prosopography of Palmyra has been for long time a desideratum, because of the large quantity of epigraphical material available and the abundance of onomastic data in the inscriptions.

The texts, although basically stereotyped, reveal four centuries of history of the oasis and of the people who populated it, who they were and what they did. Written records are the main source of information through which a wider picture of the social structure of Palmyra can be obtained.

The main category of the records is represented by inscriptions of funerary type. A large number of funerary towers and hypogea excavated in the area around Palmyra has preserved witnesses of the history of whole families. The knowledge of the origin of texts and sculptures coming from the same tomb facilitated the identification of familial groups, although we know with certainty that these ‘houses of eternity’ were not kept for the exclusive use of a single family. Very often, only one portion of the tomb belonged to the builder’s family, the rest being sold to others. Each family was normally confined to one chamber. The building of a tomb constituted an important moment in the life of a person, this showing the care they had for afterlife matters. Thus, the texts carefully record the name of the builder, of his ancestors and relatives as well as the time of building. The date of death is, on the contrary, rarely known. Few inscriptions record the age at the time of death and only two examples can be cited of funerary inscriptions providing both the date of birth and the age of death.

A second category of records is represented by honorary texts where knowledgeable people were honoured with statues, either by the Senate and People or the caravanmen and the tradesmen, for their actions and for having contributed to the welfare of the city. This type of inscription is usually dated.

The third category is also quite numerous and it is represented by dedications made to and by the gods. This is a feature characteristic to Palmyra where not only
people thank the gods for their help and mercy but also the gods themselves take an active role in the life of the Palmyrenes. In 64 AD, a member of the Yedîbel family (no.25) is honoured by the goddess Allat, with the erection of a statue, because of his constructions and offerings. In the case of building of temples for the deities, the texts are dated.

Palmyra as an urban centre was a creation which did not go back beyond the first century BC. The place had certainly existed since there are very ancient records referring to the city centuries before. The earliest known Palmyrene inscription dates from 44 BC and records the erection of a statue by the priests of Bel (Inv XI, 100). The text comes from the temple of Bel dedicated in 32 AD, but it seems clear that an earlier temple already occupied the site. Moreover two Palmyrenes at Dura Europos erected a temple of Bel and Yarḥibôl as early as 32 BC (ID 1). The earliest of the several sepulchral inscriptions belongs to 12 BC and records the construction of a tomb (RSP 164). The most important document of this period is an honorary inscription, dating 21 AD, that records the erection of a statue to Ḥāṣāš (see the homonymous family, no.6) by two Palmyrenes tribes, the Komarē and the Mattabôl tribes, ‘because he made peace between them’ (CIS 3915). This reference reinforces the idea of Palmyra constituted, at this time, by several separate tribes. It is only in the second century that we find evidence of ‘the four tribes of the city’, each attached to its own sanctuary (see Chapter II).

The social structure of Palmyra is substantially constituted by tribes which are counted to the number of fourteen and they namely are: the ‘Agrûd, the ‘Attar, the Gaddîbôl, the Ḥattarai, the Kohennabû, the Komarê, the MGRT-Magerenôn, the Ma’ziyan, the Mattabôl, the Mitâ, the SMR[?/Y?], the Zabûd and the Zimrâ tribes. The designation of tribe is already found in the first century BC; it becomes rare in the first half of the second century AD and it disappears in the third century AD. The ‘Agrûd tribe is attested in 81 AD and two families are part of it. The ‘Attar tribe is mentioned only once; the year is 179 AD and it includes one family. The Gaddîbôl tribe goes from 32 BC to 108 AD with one family attested. One family is member of the Ḥattarai tribe and the date is 128 AD. The tribe of the ‘priest of Nabû’ is the oldest tribe being attested from 44 BC to 50 AD, but unfortunately no families can be counted in it. The Komarê tribe counts seven families and the span of time is from 4 BC to 198 AD. To the not vocalized
The KNBT tribe belongs to the Ba’â family (see above family no. 13) and the date is 33 AD. The MGRT-Magerenôn is attested from 59 to 85 AD and comprises two families. The Mitâ tribe includes five family groups going from 9 BC to 84 AD. The largest and best known tribe is the Ma’ziyan one with thirteen families and the time is from 82 AD to 103/104 AD. The Mattabôn tribe is attested over a long period of time that goes from 9 AD to 279/280 AD and this is the latest record concerning a tribe. Ten families are its members. Finally we find the SMR[?/Y?] tribe mentioned in only one undated inscription.

The Palmyrene tribes are numerous but they are not the only ones present in the oasis. Three Roman tribes find place in the inscriptions: the Claudia, the Fabia and the Sergia tribes (the Claudia tribe refers to the tribe of Nero or Claudius; the Fabia tribe must be the tribe of Augustus or Caligula and it represents the oldest Roman citizenship; the Sergia tribe is the tribe of Emperor Hadrian). One date is available for the Claudia tribe which is 79/80 AD. The Fabia tribe is recorded only once, in 108 AD. All the texts regarding the Sergia tribe are undated. These Roman tribes are treated in the inscriptions following the model of Latin inscriptions; they are, with the only exception of the phylê Claudia, never introduced by the Palmyrene term for ‘tribe’, that is $\text{phd}$. They were most probably honorary titles either given to citizens who distinguished themselves for military and commercial reasons or they simply referred to the Roman citizenship given for the same reasons.

A further social grouping is represented by a long list of anthroponyms introduced by the word $\text{bny}$ ‘sons’. They are mainly and largely attested in the tesserae. The tesserae were clay jettons of small dimensions used for the entry to banquets given in honour of deities. For long time all these Benê were regarded as tribes and it was thank to M. Gawlikowski and J.T. Milik that a distinction was made between real tribes ($\text{phdy}*$) and these Benê who should be considered as collective designation groups, possibly representing fractions of tribes or of extended families. In the inscriptions and in the tesserae they act as representative of a whole family group giving honours to members of the family or offering banquets to their gods.
The work of reconstruction of social and familial relations was the most difficult and painstaking task to be carried out in this type of research.

While a tribe includes several families which may or may not share a common ancestor, a family is a group of people sharing the same ancestor. The smallest family group can be found in the simplest relation of kinship ‘X son of Y’. This is enough to establish that between two individuals there is some kind of relation. In a laconic epigraphic context, it is natural to turn one's attention to the main source of information, that is to onomastics and to onomastic formulas. The understanding of the onomastic system implies also the understanding of the system of relations. The single person gains importance from his relation with his father, with his grandfather, with his ancestor or with his tribe.

The familial background of an individual can be traced back up to the 7th generation (CIS 3914, 4130 and BS 60, etc.). This is as far as the inscriptions record at Palmyra. Unfortunately, there are only few texts so generous in data. Most of inscriptions record families consisting of three to five generations. It is from foundation texts that a more detailed picture of families can be obtained. A total of 606 familial groups has been identified at Palmyra. At least 135 families are attested in funerary contexts. With no doubts more families come from tombs but many of the inscriptions attesting them have been found in different contexts from the original ones so that it is impossible to know their origin. It has not been possible to reduce the number of families although originally they must have been less than the ones identified. The lack of specific archaeological evidence gives no support to establish a relation amongst people. Sculptural and paleographic evidence can mainly be used for chronological reasons. Furthermore, the great number of homonyms does not facilitate the work of identification of individuals; it is possible to find the same name and genealogy referring to two different people and in that case only the portraits can be of some help. Finally many families are attested in the above mentioned tesserae which have a stereotyped imagery consisting in symbols of the gods, animals and people most often with the priestly headdress lying under a vineyard. Their bulk is undated and only occasionally the people attested can be attached to a specific group.
In spite of some difficulties, we have been able to reconstruct families up to the 12th generation like the Arâš family (see above no.47) and the Yedîbel family (see above no.21); the first going back to ca. 40 BC and the second to ca. 150 BC. These are not the only ones that can refer back to the first century BC. The oldest family groups attested at Palmyra belong to tribes: the ʿAtehzâ family of the Zabûd tribe goes back to ca. 120 BC (see above no.2), the Abbanît family of the Zimrâ tribe goes back to ca. 80 BC (see above no.4), the Baʿâ family of the KنبT tribe goes back to ca. 100 BC (see above no.13) and the Auṣai family of the Mîtâ tribe to ca. 110 BC (see above no.16), etc.

There is no doubt that these families constituted the heart of the population at the origin of the oasis itself and of its development. It also should be noted that the use of the gentilic “Palmyrene” is limited to members of families inscribed within tribes. This self-definition was used by the bearer to point out an autochthonous origin (see also Chapter II, note 49). The use of the gentilic is not attested later than the first century AD.

The fact that the tribal designation rarefies in the second century AD and the gentilic designation cannot be found later than the first century AD testify that significant changes have occurred in the social structure of the city between the first and the second century AD. The first and the second centuries are also the time when the commercial exchanges with the East intensify and newcomers must have settled at Palmyra.

Looking at the names of the tribes, it can be seen that at least two of them have a local origin since they bear a good Palmyrene type of name: the Gaddibôl and the Mattabôl tribes, where the theophorous element is represented by the local deity Bûl. The Zabûd, the Komarê and the Zimrâ tribes bear pure Aramaic names whilst the Maʿziyan tribe is with certainty of Arabic origin. The ʿHaṭrai tribe must also represent a foreign tribe at Palmyra being its meaning ‘the sons of the Hatraean’. Regarding the names of old families inscribed within tribes, two are of Persian origin: the Firmôn and the Bagesû families. All the other family names may be derived either from Arabic or from Aramaic in the same proportion.

The second and third century AD represent a period in which we find the main attestations of offices and professions. The number of categories is limited to five:
magistrates, public administration, commercial and economic organisation, religious and military officials.

In the magistrates section a strong influence of Greek and Latin administrative terminology can be noticed with the exception of two terms, argapet and king of kings, which are two Persian titles. Some scholars see in the adoption of loan-words in office holding and in the intrusion of Greek and Latin nomenclature alongside Palmyrene, as well as in the spread of Roman citizenship, a gradual evolution of Palmyra towards the structure of a Greek city.

With regard to the commercial charges, these together with the religious ones represent the structure of what constituted the Palmyrene society: the care for the caravan trade and the great care of cults and buildings dedicated to the several gods of the city.

There is not evidence as to whether the Palmyrene long-distance trade had already begun in the first century BC. The honorary inscriptions provide the first documentary evidence for the trade activity with Babylon and more generally record the trade activity itself. A Palmyrene text dated to 24 AD records that a statue has been erected by ‘all the merchants who are in the city of Babylon’. This is the first of several inscriptions reflecting Palmyrene trade with places in the Parthian and Persian empires.

The Palmyrene trade was directed to the middle Euphrates and then down to the river to Vologaesias, and to Spasinou Charax in Mesene on the Persian Gulf. Seleucia on the Tigris is also mentioned once in 19 AD and Babylon in 24 AD (CIS 3924 and Inv IX, 1). From the Gulf the Palmyrenes sailed as far as ‘Scythia’, that is north-west India (Inv X, 96). The caravans were used to cross the steppe to the Euphrates and the relations between the caravans and the nomads were of diplomatic, economic and military nature. One Palmyrene went to king Worôd in Elymais on an embassy and another was satrap for Meherdate, king of Spasinou Charax (Inv X, 38). We also find a great number of honorary inscriptions where the members of caravans often honour the magnates of Palmyra for their help and assistance in situations of need and danger (Inv III, 13 and Inv X, 44). Moreover Palmyrenes not only travelled by land and sea, but also they were established in the cities where they had emporiums, in Babylon, Spasinou Charax,
Vologaesias and Coptos. The latest inscriptions on caravan trade are of 247 AD (*Inv III*, 21), 257/258 AD (*Inv III*, 13) and ca. 260 AD (*Inv III*, 7).

A picture of the religious organisation of Palmyra suffers from the lack of Palmyrene liturgical or literary texts. The inscriptions limit themselves to record a long list of priests, symposiarches and to the mention of different colleges attached to the cult of a specific deity. Colleges of priests or single priests as well as common people were responsible for the construction of sanctuaries. The oldest record is dated to 6 BC, ‘Ogeilî son of Yarḥâi of the Ay’dân family (see under the Komarê tribe, no.8) is honoured because of his generosity and contribution to the buildings of the gods Ḥertâ, Nanai and Rešef. In 11 AD, Wahballât of the Yedîbel family (no.21, of the Ma‘aziyân tribe) carries out a ritual of purification in his family tomb before the construction of the temple of Baalshamîn started. The temple of Baalshamîn is mentioned again in 130/131 AD, when Maleh Agrippa of the Ra‘ai family (no.26, of the Ma‘aziyân tribe) built a place of cult for Baalshamîn, Dûrahîôn and the Gad of the Benê Yedîbel. A temple of Bel was built in Babylon in 24 AD and Malikû of the Haśaś family (see no.6, of the Komarê tribe) received honours from the tradesmen because he contributed to its construction. In 32 AD, a temple dedicated to the gods Bel, Yarḥibîl and ‘Aglibîl is built by a priest of the Šakaibîl family (no.10, of the Komarê tribe). In the same year, a member of the Gaddîbîl tribe offered a temple to Bel and Yarḥibîl at Dura-Europos. Other constructions of temples are attested outside the oasis. The Benê Gaddîbîl are mentioned a second time in a text where they erect a statue in honour of a certain Aqqaih who contributed to the erection of cultual buildings at Palmyra and Vologaesias in 108 AD. At Seleucia on the Tigris, Yedîbel of the Barakai family (see no.34, of the Mattabûl tribe) is honoured by the Palmyrene and Greek tradesmen because he had contributed to the construction of the temple of Bel in 17-19 AD. At the end of the second century two more temples were built: two brothers of the MGRT tribe offered in 85 AD a sanctuary to Šamas (see the ‘Abdîbel family, no.15) and two people respectively of the ‘Arimâ and Aṭâbi families built a temple to Belḥamîn and Manawat on the Jebel Munṭar in 89 AD (see no.44 and 45, of the ‘Agrûd tribe).
To the temples mentioned above the temples of Allat, 'Arṣû and Nabû have to be added for which no records of foundation are left but only archaeological evidence. The presence of so many cults and deities, and the different origin of the gods (Babylonian, Phoenician, Arabic and local) show the great ability of syncretism of the Palmyrenes and reflects the multi-ethnicity of the oasis itself where populations from Mesopotamia, Persia, Arabia and possibly Syria mingled and cohabited.

Regarding the military organisation, there are good evidence for Palmyrenes serving in the Roman army in the second century. They have contributed to the auxiliary forces of the Imperial army. They are attested in Rome (CIS 3902), at South Shield in Britain (CIS 3901), a unit of Palmyrene archers is attested at Porolissum in Dacia (Inv X, 79 and CIS 3906) and in Numidia (CIS 3908). Palmyrene archers were also stationed at Dura (ID 19). The inscriptions reveal a long list of alas, cohorts and legions present at Palmyra and in Syria and more generally in the middle-eastern area. One Palmyrene is honoured by his sons because he accomplished with distinction the three equestrian militias (Inv IX, 24; see the Malkû family, no.568), but many others distinguished themselves in the army.

The tribal organisation, the evolution of the Palmyrenes into a collectivity with a municipal organisation, the successful and well-organized trade with the East, the specialized body of the archers, and finally the number of gods worshipped are elements that show the multiplicity and the complexity of the Palmyrene society.

Despite the vastness of data collected and analysed, a study of the type is nothing else than a preliminary survey of the Palmyrene society, from a historical and socio-linguistic point of view. Nonetheless one needs to point out that a prosopography of Palmyra of such breadth has never been approached before. We hope to have laid a stepping stone towards a comprehensive historical knowledge of Palmyra.
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